

UNIV OF

Czechoslovakia
The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

Vol. 1708
1-3, no. 5
1917
MAY 1917
1-3

February, 1917

Masaryk and His Work.
Dismemberment of Austria.
Why Germany Wants Peace Now.
How Austria Recruits Her Armies.
Czernin and Clam-Martinic.



**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

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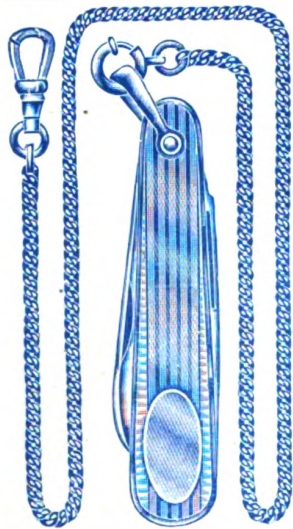
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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

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Vol. I., No. 1.

FEBRUARY, 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Masaryk and His Work

A patriot desires but one reward: that he should live to see his labors bear fruit. On January 12, 1917, thousands of Czechs in the United States found time in the midst of their joyous celebration of the dawn of Bohemia's independence to remember the grand old man of Bohemia, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. He it was who put the ancient kingdom of Bohemia once more upon the map of Europe. On the day when the Allies' answer to President Wilson was published, he surely was happy, for he had proof that his titanic labors, his tremendous personal and family sacrifices were not made in vain. Bohemia's right to independence was clearly recognized by the Allies and the liberation of the country from foreign domination was made one of the conditions of peace.

For centuries no one in Bohemia did more than dream of independence. This Slav country had been subject to the Hapsburgs for so many generations and so thoroughly was it repressed that even the boldest spirits among its leaders regretfully put aside all thoughts of absolute freedom as visionary and aimed merely at securing for the lands of the Bohemian crown the widest possible autonomy within the confines of the Austrian Empire. On several occasions during the long reign of Francis Joseph the Czechs came near to the realization of these moderate ambitions, but always the emperor drew back unable to give up his ambition to be the German ruler of German or Germanized subjects.

Of late years the struggle of the Czechs for a certain amount of liberty at home and for the right to participate in the government of the Empire was growing more and more hopeless. The general European situation was undergoing a change greatly to the disadvantage of Bohemia. The Hapsburg realm was losing its standing as a great power, due mainly to the constant internal dissensions and language disputes,

while the truly national states of Europe were growing in population, wealth and military power. Above all Germany, excelling in industrial and military preparedness, aggressive and domineering, was looking for new worlds to conquer. America was out of the question, for the United States was guarding jealously against the invasion of the two western continents through its Monroe doctrine. Germany's African colonies were unsuitable for colonization by white men and constituted merely a financial burden. Only Asia offered an undeveloped field — the ramshackle Turkish Empire — and to that land of promise the road from Germany led through the dual empire and the Balkan states. Prague was the first stage on the Berlin-Bagdad highway, and the Czech people were the first obstacle to German expansion. It was a part of Germany's plan to reduce Austria to complete subserviency by the exaltation of its German minority and a more thorough repression of the Slav and Latin races, with the assistance of the Magyars.

There were not lacking statemen in Bohemia who saw whither things were tending. Two of them stand out above the other Czech patriots: Dr. Charles Kramar and Professor Thomas G. Masaryk. Kramar, the leader of the Young Czech party, for years representative of the middle class of Bohemia, yielded to no one in his devotion to the race from which he sprang or in the sincerity of his intentions to serve the Czech people to the best of his great ability. But being a wealthy manufacturer, a "practical" man, intent upon gaining results in the Vienna parliament, he failed to draw the only conclusion necessitated by the changed European situation which he so well understood. He realized that Germany was "peacefully penetrating" the Danube monarchy, that the very existence of the Czech nation was imperiled; on the floor of the parliament and in the Austrian delegation

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he admonished the powers ruling in Vienna that the fate of the Empire and of the dynasty was just as much at stake as the fate of Bohemia, should German designs prevail. But knowing his own impotence and the helplessness of his people, aware of the gigantic forces behind the schemes of Germany, he still clung to the Austrian Empire as the only political structure under which the Czech race could exist and prosper. As persecutions multiplied in Bohemia and cabinet succeeded cabinet in Vienna, each more unfriendly to the aspirations of the Czech race for free national development, Kramar lost much of his former popularity in Bohemia and Moravia. The Czechs resented instinctively his conciliatory attitude toward ministers who took away bit by bit political concessions secured in times more favorable. But the tragedy of Kramar's life consists in this: the man who spent his career in trying to establish Austria on the firm foundation of justice to all its various races was taken into custody some months after the war broke out, was accused of high treason, convicted on flimsy and falsified evidence, and finally saved from hanging only by the accession of the new emperor, who out of his royal mercy commuted Kramar's death sentence to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor.

Masaryk is a statesman of a different type. He possesses few of the qualities usually associated with successful politicians; he is not a stirring orator nor a magnetic personality nor a clever manipulator of men. One might describe him as a great intellect energized by love of his country and a passion for justice. Two incidents of his earlier public life illustrate what manner of man is this great Bohemian. As a young university teacher he denounced for forgeries two celebrated manuscripts that had been treasured by several generations of Bohemians as precious monuments of the earliest literary activity of their race. He proved his contention, but not till he had been attacked for years as an iconoclast and almost a traitor to his people. Again he incurred the utmost unpopularity, when he championed the cause of a Jew, named Hilsner, whom the courts convicted of ritual murder and who was universally and fanatically held guilty.

It is not to be wondered that a man who chooses to fight against popular delusions does not become the official leader of his

nation. Masaryk who was chiefly a scholar and teacher of young men took up parliamentary work not from inclination, but as a matter of duty. In the Vienna Reichsrat he was the leader of a small group of Czech deputies who called themselves originally realists and later progressives. But although the party gathered around him remained always small, Masaryk himself with his wonderful insight into the intricacies of politics, his ability to shove aside the subtleties and uncover the heart of the question, his merciless logic and the absolute integrity of his mind and character was the one man to whom the deputies and the whole Czech nation looked in a crisis.

What was at the bottom of Masaryk's mind, as he saw the European catastrophe approaching, no one in this country can tell. It is certain that he, not less clearly than Kramar, realized the growing subordination of Austria to its stronger partner, realized the German ambitions upon the Balkan Slavs as a bridge between Germany and Anatolia, realized the inevitableness of a general European war. But Masaryk, whom no one would call a dreamer, saw more clearly than the brilliant leader of the Young Czech party what his people were to do, as the storm was gathering: fight the ambitious German plans to use Austria as a tool in the Balkans; oppose boldly Vienna cabinets controlled by Berlin; vote in parliament against the so-called state necessities and above all against the army increase; ignore the wishes of the emperor and brave the anger of the archdukes and the generals who made and unmade ministers. Kramar hesitated to act resolutely lest he should bring about a definite break between the dynasty and the Czech nation. Masaryk was not halted by this fear. He dared to say with Palacky: "We were here before Austria, we shall be here after it is gone."

In the strenuous years since the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, years occupied by warfare against the dishonest, bullying "high politics" of Vienna and Budapest and by constant endeavor at home to arouse the Czech people to unite their ranks and forget their differences in view of the probable cataclysm, Masaryk's most significant accomplishment was his exposure of the forged documents by means of which fifty Serbo-Croats were convicted in Zagreb (Agram) of plotting high treason against

the monarchy for the benefit of Serbia. Masaryk proved at the celebrated Friedjung trial in Vienna that the Austro-Hungarian legation in Belgrade manufactured the evidence by means of which the prosecuting attorney convinced the court of the guilt of the accused. But neither the exposure, with

that was all the big men in the two capitals of the Hapsburg empire cared to know.

When the long impending war finally came, Masaryk was the one man in Bohemia who was prepared for it and knew what to do. The entire Czech nation was furious at the crime committed by their



THOMAS GARIGUE MASARYK

its European scandal, nor the most severe attacks delivered by Masaryk in the Delegations against the foreign minister, Count Aehrenthal, availed to turn the ruling circles of the Dual Monarchy from their mad policy of crushing Serbia. Germany approved and would back Austria to the limit;

rulers; they, the Slavs of Bohemia, were ordered to shoot brother Slavs for the greater glory of Germany. The country seethed with discontent, reservists mutinied, whole Czech and Slovak regiments surrendered. But armed rebellion in Bohemia would have been an act of madness. Little could be

done in the land ruled by bayonets and machine guns. Masaryk, a man sixty-five years old, fled from the accursed Austria never to return to it. He knew he could come back to his native land only when it was free.

His plans are revealed in the document he gave out to the world in the fall of 1915. The future Bohemian state will look upon this document with the same reverence which Americans accord to their Declaration of Independence. In it he says: "All Bohemian political parties have up to this time been fighting for a qualified independence within the limits of Austria-Hungary. But the occurrence of this terrible war and the reckless violence of Vienna constrain us to claim independence without regard to Austria-Hungary. We ask for an independent Bohemian-Slovak State."

It was a full year before he took this momentous action which will forever remain one of the landmarks in the history of Bohemia. There was much preparatory work that had to be done first. He needed assistants and he needed money. Great man though he is, the task before him could not be carried out by one man alone. He found Czech exiles in Switzerland; he established relations with emigrants in Paris and London and Russia. He told them that the hour had come to strike a blow for free Bohemia. Let those that are physically able enlist in the Allied armies and thus fight for their native land; let others collect money and care for the families of volunteers and let others still assist him in his work of making Europe hear the cry of enslaved Bohemia.

His call reached across the ocean. Nearly ten per cent of the Czech people live in the United States. The war roused them from their absorption in earning a livelihood, it swept away their bickerings and petty disputes and inspired them to render some signal service to their unfortunate native land and to their enslaved, perishing brethren. On the very day when Austrian cannon were first fired against Serbia, Bohemians in Chicago organized a relief fund which in a few months collected nearly \$20,000. But it was soon evident that it would be useless to send this money to Bohemia, for the Austrian Government would appropriate it for their Red Cross and save its own money. As a matter of fact most of these relief funds have been since applied for the ben-

efit of Czech prisoners of war in Russia and Serbia.

Bohemians in the United States realized that the fate of their people was in the balance. Sympathizing absolutely with the cause of the Allies they held no doubt that in the end it would be victorious. But what would even Allied victory avail the Czechs should they alone of all the Slavs be left under the Hapsburgs having the Germans and Magyars for their partners? So the emigrants in America felt that something must be done by them. They organized the Bohemian National Alliance, collected some money, renounced forever Francis Joseph and all his works, protested against the German campaign in the United States for an embargo, but all the time they felt the insignificance of their efforts. With great joy they accepted the definite task which Masaryk assigned to the Bohemian speaking people of America, namely to furnish the money for the prosecution of his mission in the Allied capitals to gain them for Bohemian independence.

One man against the Hapsburg Empire. For Masaryk's plan for the liberation of Bohemia involved the total disruption of that "mosaic of nations" which had occupied the central place on the maps of Europe for four hundred years in substantially its present form. Long before the German Empire arose, when Italy was but a geographical expression, when few people knew ought of Muscovy, the Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian lands composed a powerful realm in the heart of Europe under the sceptre of the Hapsburgs. It had existed so long that age alone seemed to justify its existence, and statesmen could not conceive of a map of Europe without this ancient monarchy. In fact in the earlier days of the war English and French political writers seeking for means to do away permanently with the menace of Prussian militarism generally suggested the enlargement of Austria by the inclusion within its boundary of Catholic South Germany in the vain hope of restoring the ancient rivalry of Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns and reducing in that fashion modern Germany to impotence.

Masaryk had to convince the statesmen and the people of the Allied Powers that this archaic solution of their great problem was quite impracticable.

Just as Napoleon III. built false hopes on the separation of the South German Federation from the North German Bund, so would the Allies deceive themselves if they counted on a permanent division of a Prussian Germany and an Austrian Germany, especially if the Teuton minority in the latter country were turned into a majority. The way to make Germany powerless to disturb the peace in the future, argued Masaryk, is to take away from it its control over fifty million Hapsburg subjects. Germany that would not command the resources of the Dual Empire in men, war supplies and foodstuffs, Germany that would have potential enemies instead of a willing vassal on her southeastern flank, would not be strong enough to upset the arrangements which the Allies expect to establish at the close of the war. Such was the argument Masaryk addressed to the selfinterest of the Powers grouped against the Teutons. But even more powerful was Masaryk's appeal to the sense of justice of the men that professed to fight for the rights of small nations. To leave Bohemia under the Hapsburgs would mean turning them over to the tender mercies of their ancient oppressors made savage because of the substantial assistance furnished by the Czechs to the Allies during the war. And here Masaryk could point to Austrian defeats in Serbia and Galicia which were due in great measure to the unreliability of the Czecho-Slovak soldiers, he pointed to the absence of any expressions of loyalty on the part of the Czech people at home, to the many Czech volunteers in every Allied army, above all to the Czecho-Slovak regiments in the Russian army, made up of prisoners of war who were eager to avenge the wrongs of their country by fighting on the side of their brother-Slavs.

Such were Masaryk's weapons with which he set about the liberation of his native land. The hopes, fears, anxieties, disappointments, successes of the two years 1915 and 1916 he will perhaps describe to us some day, when his work is finished and his country will be able to spare him. In a general way it can be said that he lectured in universities, talked to statesmen, gave interviews to journalists, wrote to the reviews, established a French periodical in the interests of his country, enlisted gifted writers and generous friends of freedom in the cause of Bohemia. In two years' time he persuaded Europe that it could exist without the old Austria and that the Czechs and Slovaks should be set free. He did all that with the help of a few faithful fellow-exiles and a few thousand American dollars.

Masaryk's work is not done. No one who knows him doubts that far from all thoughts of rest he aims to double his activities. He toils day and night, and when he retires sleep does not come to him. The burden of his great work, constant thoughts of wife and children persecuted by revengeful officials, anxieties over countless details tax the great strength of this patriot who judged by years alone is an old man. He has one daughter with him now to bear him company and look to his personal wants. A little remark made in a confidential mood to a friend illuminates like a flash of light the heavy soul of this man of burdens: "I did not sleep three nights since I left Bohemia two years ago."

Not until the Czecho-Slovak people is actually set free by the future peace conference will Professor Masaryk rest from his labors, and even then he will get little rest, for his country will need him. But the first part of his work has been done, when the Allies promised freedom to Bohemia.



Dismemberment of Austria.

The note of the Allies communicating the terms on which they are willing to make peace has been received in America on the whole very favorably. Many voices welcomed it as a second proclamation of emancipation announcing the coming of freedom to the submerged small nations of Europe.

President Wilson's move in the interests of peace, looked upon at first as bound to result to the advantage of the Central Powers, has actually strengthened the sympathies of the neutrals for the Allied cause. The Teutons made an evasive answer, while the Allies announced freely their program

which, radical though it be, finds approval in the eyes of all freedom-loving citizens of the country of liberty.

It was, however, inevitable that newspapers sympathizing with the Germans would twist certain demands of the Allies into unjust, wicked designs of rapacious would-be conquerors. In particular the intention of the Allies to liberate Italians, Slavs, Rumanians and Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination has been emphasized by friends of Germany in this country as a proof that the enemies of Germany want to commit the great crime of dismembering a nation.

It is true that the liberation of the races just enumerated implies the dismemberment of Austria. Nothing would be left of the present empire of the Hapsburgs, numbering over fifty million subjects, except eight or nine million Germans and about the same number of Magyars, and these two fragments would be separated and would no longer form even a dualistic state. But when people talk about the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary as if it were a crime, they either totally misunderstand or wilfully refuse to understand the nature and composition of the queer monarchy on the Danube. For Austria is not a nation, like the other great powers of Europe, it is not a living organism that could be dismembered; it is a handful of provinces and races acquired by the Hapsburgs through lucky marriages and more or less clever diplomacy, held together only through common subjection to one family enforced by a great army. When Poland was partitioned nearly 150 years ago by Austria, Russia and Prussia, that was indeed a crime, for a living nation was cut into three pieces; the civilized world now asks unanimously that Poland be reunited and only the Teuton powers object. If the Allies proposed to make the dismemberment of Germany one of the conditions of peace, the neutrals would be justified in protesting against the idea as unnatural and pregnant with menace for the future. But the disappearance of Austria from the family of nations is in reality necessary if Europe is to enjoy permanent peace.

Fifteen years ago a writer in "The World's Work" described conditions in Austria-Hungary as follows:

"The fundamental fact of the realm of the Hapsburgs is that its development has been one long exception to the ordinary

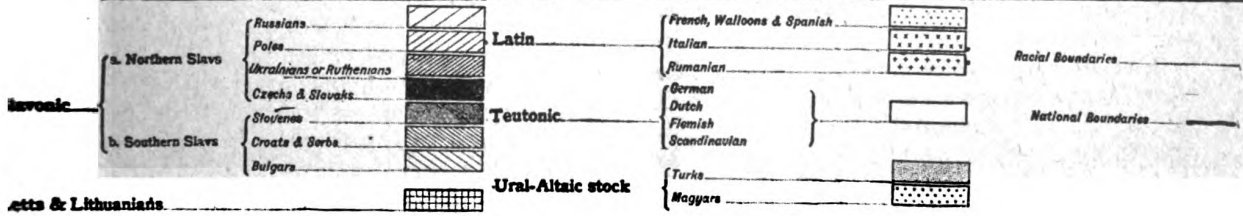
rules of national growth. The races that compose it never fused as the Celts and Gallo-Romans, Franks and Iberians have fused in France, as nearly every nationality under the sun is fusing in the United States today. No dominant type has arisen to master its weaker neighbors and weld them into a homogeneous nation. Indeed, as the late Professor Freeman used to insist with lofty impatience and somewhat rasping iteration, the word "nation" has no application to Austria, and very little to Hungary. To talk of either state so as to give the impression that it can act or think as a unit, is, to use his own shattering conclusion, to talk nonsense. It is this variegated contradictoriness of Austria-Hungary that makes up its fascination for the political student. There is hardly a problem of those that are common to all modern countries with which it is not faced, and in addition it is an inexhaustible problem itself — a paradox, a mosaic without obvious cement, a Tower of Babel erected into a system of government, everything, in short, that is abnormal, unreasonable and impossible. The nationalities that inhabit it have owned a common sceptre and jostled side by side for centuries in an area smaller than Texas, and yet never mingled. Each race has lived its own life, made its own history, produced its own literature, preserved, and, of course, tried to extend, its own nationality.

"Austria today is what Metternich with less truth called Italy, little more than a geographical expression. Three bonds, to be touched on later, do indeed unite its discordant nationalities; but for the too hasty observer the country might well seem in the last stages of decomposition. There is nothing really Austrian in Austria — no Austrian interests, no Austrian language, or literature, or patriotism, no Austrian nobility, no Austrian standard of civilization, nothing except the Emperor, and the army, and the cockpit of Reichsrat that the races share in common."

The foundations for the present Austrian empire were laid in 1526, when Ferdinand, to whom his elder brother Charles conveyed the Hapsburg dominions on the Danube and in the Alps, secured his election to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary made vacant by the death of his brother-in-law Louis. Austria-Hungary of today contains in addition to these three elements only the Polish-Ruthenian provinces of Galicia and

Bukovina on the northeast and smaller districts inhabited by Italians and Croatians on the southwest. The two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, annexed

population among the states of Europe, is not the product of the expansion of a single race occupying constantly new lands and assimilating new people. The races that



recently, are purely Serbo-Croat in race and language.

Out of this brief statement of the origin and growth of the Hapsburg empire one fact stands out clearly, namely, that this great power, second in area and third in

the Hapsburgs gathered under their sway are still in existence, full of energy, conscious of their separate nationality, eager to live their own life, fighting bitterly all attempts to make them over into something else, whether it be into Germans or Mag-

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yars. The dynasty could have justified and made possible the continued existence of this collection of nations and fragments of nations only if it had allowed each race full opportunity for self-development and widest possible measure of autonomy. But the dynasty was German. Up to 1866 its ambition was to be the head of the entire German nation, of which the Hapsburg territories were to form an integral part. When the Prussian kings supplanted the rulers of Austria in the leadership of Germany, Francis Joseph hesitated for a while and was on the verge of making his empire a federal structure with equal rights for all races, but instead of that he put into effect a compromise by means of which he pacified the Magyars and sacrificed all the rest. He divided his empire into two parts. In the Austrian half of it the German minority was made the ruling race, while the Hungarian half with its Slav and Ruman majority, was turned over to the Magyars.

A few figures will show the galling injustice of this arrangement. But before Austrian official statistics are cited, it is necessary to mention that they are notoriously biased in favor of the two ruling races. In 1910 the racial figures for the Austrian half of the monarchy were as follows:

Germans	9,950,266
Bohemians	6,435,983
Poles	4,967,984
Little Russians	3,608,844
Slovenians	1,252,940
Serbo-Croatians	783,334
Italians	768,422
Roumanians	275,115

The German population, which numbers only 35.58 per cent, has a majority in parliament and treats the Slavs, who number more than 60 per cent, as "minderwertig", inferior people.

In Hungary the Slavs and the Roumanians fared even worse, for the Magyars, an Asiatic race, proceeded ruthlessly to make the word Magyar and Hungarian synonymous. Everything non-Magyar was treason against the Hungarian state, and races that lived in Hungary, when the Magyars were still an unknown tribe wandering on the steppes of Central Asia, were condemned to extinction. This barbarous policy did bring results, for in 1910 the Magyars, according to their statistics, for the first time formed a bare majority of the people of Hungary. The figures for 1910 are as follows

Magyars	10,050,575
Roumanians	2,949,027
Germans	2,037,435
Slovaks	1,967,970
Croatians	1,833,167
Serbians	1,106,471
Little Russians	472,587

The policy of oppression pursued by the two ruling races of the dual empire made the collapse of the whole crazy structure of the Hapsburg monarchy inevitable sooner or later. For years, as Francis Joseph was growing old, speculation was rife about the fate of Austria after his death. As it is, Francis Joseph preceded his empire into the tomb by only a year or so. When he declared war on Serbia, he signed the death warrant of the greatness of the Hapsburg dynasty.

Today not a single one of the eleven races subject to Emperor Charles desires the continuation of Austria-Hungary. Poles expect the restoration of Poland; Little Russians want to join twenty-five million of their kinsmen in Russia; Roumanians hope to form a part of greater Roumania; Croats, Slovenians and Serbians plan the union of their race with Serbia and Montenegro in a great Yugoslav kingdom. Italians of Austria will naturally be joined to Italy. Bohemians and Slovaks want independence in a common Czechoslovak state. Magyars care for only one thing, to maintain their tyranny over all Hungary, while the Germans want the closest union with or even annexation to imperial Germany. The only Austrian left is the emperor. Dismemberment of Austria will hurt Emperor Charles in pride and pocket, but it will be welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the people of the empire.

During the nineteenth century the Turk was the sick man of Europe. Today that ignoble rôle is played by Austria. The sooner it is partitioned in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of its races, the better for the peace of the world.

The Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West 26th St., Chicago, has published several pamphlets dealing with Bohemian and Austrian questions and presenting several distinct phases of the large problem of reconstruction of Europe. These pamphlets will be sent free on application.

If you are in sympathy with our aims, send us your subscription or help our publication fund.

Why Germany Wants Peace Now.

The German Chancellor, at the height of his arrogance, appealed to the war-map of Europe as a proof of Germany's triumph, and it is the war-map of Europe which provides by far the most effective answer to his master's no less arrogant appeal for peace. The motives which underlie the German overtures are threefold. The increasing exhaustion of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, the menace of almost irreparable financial ruin and the prospect of genuine famine in the near future — famine such as must inevitably continue for many months, even after the conclusion of a tolerable peace— may at any moment reduce Germany's two foremost Allies to desperation; and though there is no intention of breaking away from the alliance, and though Germany's military control of her partners is more effective than ever, the consequences of the latter's exhaustion are equally incalculable and disquieting. Moreover, Germany is well aware that any serious prolongation of the war will strain to the breaking-point the economic and financial resources of her own people and lead to the gravest social consequences. But, above all, Germany is desirous of peace because, while she realizes that she has definitely failed in her sea-aims, she has succeeded in her land-aims to a degree which seems to offer her ample compensation in Europe for her losses in Africa. It is true that she failed to occupy Paris or Petrograd, but—to use Mr. Henderson's telling phrase—if she has failed to conquer her enemies, she has, at any rate, conquered her Allies. Today the whole world is aware that Germany alone stands between her Allies and ruin, that first Austria, then Turkey, then Hungary, and then Bulgaria, would have collapsed but for her effective military aid at an acute crisis, and that in each case her success has been made the pretext for concentrating the real direction of military operations in her own hands. Archdukes and Feldzeugmeisters may retain their ornamental positions, but the real "drive" comes from the German generals behind them. German instructors are everywhere; German drill and German methods are enforced in Budapest and Prague, in Agram and Sofia, in Constantinople and Damascus. German non-commis-

sioned officers are lent to Austria and Bulgaria; German troops are sent to stiffen, and, if necessary, to fire upon, unreliable non-German regiments. Even the commissariat is more and more in German hands, and German officers and German agents are everywhere in the Dual Monarchy and the Balkans.

Germany's economic control is scarcely less effective than her military predominance. Vienna and Budapest have long been financially at the mercy of Berlin, and the longer the war lasts the more complete will their economic thralldom become. Sofia receives at stated intervals the doles which alone enable her to continue fighting, and these are withheld whenever she shows signs of being refractory. Of Constantinople it is unnecessary to speak, since utter bankruptcy and liquidation are inevitable in Turkey, whatever may be the issue of the war.

Germany herself, as a compact State of nearly 70,000,000 inhabitants — organized, and organized, above all, for war, as no State has ever been in the history of the world—is already sufficiently formidable. But we find her also in effective control of the 52,000,000 inhabitants of Austria-Hungary and the 20,000,000 of Turkey, and the war has added to these the intermediate populations of the Balkan peninsula. Geographically, Germany and her satellites form a single unit, and the essence of the Pangerman plan is to weld it into a political and economic whole. The realization of "Central Europe", as a federation of States under the Prussian hegemony—not falling, it may be, under any known category of States, but none the less effective for the business of this world—would not immediately supply the Germans with an equivalent for the loss of their overseas trade and of the possibilities of colonial expansion. But it would provide an incentive for the future, and a field for operations on a vast scale. The whole of the Danubian and Balkan countries, with the vast undeveloped riches of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, would become Germany's economic sphere of influence, and indeed, a virtual German monopoly; while Germany would be free to resume undisturbed, at the expense of the Slavonic and other non-German races

*Reprinted from *New Europe*, London, Jan. 11.

of the central and southeast European zone, that policy of colonization and Germanization which was one of the main features of her mediæval history.

During the last two years the design of Berlin-Bagdad has materialized under our very eyes. Its weak spot was Serbia, who, when war broke out, gallantly held the breach alone. The supineness of the Entente and the successive blunders of its political and military leaders muddled the attack upon the naval base of Cattaro, lost us the Danube front, with its infinite possibilities of striking at the vitals of the Central Powers, made a present to Austria of the strategic point of Mt. Lovcen, produced chaos in Greece and failed to save Roumania from disaster. The narrow and precarious corridor of a year ago has become the broad route of today, with several alternative railway lines and waterways. But for us the problem remains what it was from the be-

ginning, save that it has become more difficult, and that the very success of our efforts in other directions makes Germany exert herself all the more in the Southeast. Germany's land connection with the East must be cut, the Turks must be ejected from Europe, the 35,000,000 Slavs and Latins whom Germany is ruthlessly exploiting in a quarrel which is not theirs, must be set free to live their own lives without foreign interference. It is only by their emancipation that the Drang nach Osten can be effectually checked and the menace to European peace which comes from unsatisfied national feeling, allayed. The alternative is the rise of a continental power far more formidable than that of Napoleon, and threatening the very existence of the British Empire by its access to the frontiers of Egypt and of India, under changed conditions of naval warfare which every year may render more unfavorable to Britain.



How Austria Recruits Her Armies.

By Vojta Benes.

There has been a large number of recruiting drafts; during the first year of war I saw nine. The manhood of Bohemia was so exhausted that in the villages there were no men left with the exception of priests, old men and cripples. If the ordinary percentage of young men recruited in times of peace was 25, the second draft passed as fit from 50 to 60 per cent of those who had been rejected by the ordinary draft, and the third draft caught 80 per cent of the leavings of the former inspections. That means that out of each one hundred men between the ages of 18 and 50 at least 92 were in the army. The last draft gathered in veritable physical wrecks. Medical inspectors were Magyars, because Bohemian physicians were not strict enough, and even the Magyar doctors were switched daily from place to place to avoid all possibility of bribery. But that was an unnecessary precaution. The Magyar physicians acted in a truly Asiatic fashion and passed every one with soul in his body. Only the mani-

fest cripples were excused, while many people with serious internal disorders were pronounced fit for service. These had still the hope that they might be rejected upon reaching their regiment, but few had so much luck. In the early days of the "Magyar" drafts Bohemian deputies registered a complaint in Vienna against the excessive severity of the draft, which seemed to aim at the extinction of the Czech nation. For a few days following the complaint the recruiting was more reasonable, but after that severe methods were again followed.

The rule was established that every one, presenting himself to the recruiting officers, shall be pronounced "tauglich", if either member of the commission, whether the medical officer or the line officer, shall consider him fit for military service. Only those escaped whom both members of the commission rejected, and such lucky fellows were very few.

During the war many soldiers were sent home as quite unable to perform military service and received the so-called "Abschied", releasing them from all ties to the

Translated from his book: "How our Homeland lives and suffers under the blows of war."

army. All of these men were again called for service in September, 1915, and only those who were seriously sick or had been maimed in the war were sent home. But not all. I saw myself a case, where a young fellow who had been first wounded in the leg and then lost three fingers of the right hand and had only the thumb and index finger left, was first sent home and received a pension of 22 crowns a month, and then a few months later was ordered back into uniform. Soldiers without number went insane at the front, thousands came back crippled with rheumatism or broken-down nerves, thousands of poor beings lacking hands or feet crawl now along the streets. An army of cripples. The military schools for invalids have a gigantic task ahead of them.

Our people were thunderstruck by the imperial order commanding the enlistment of men up to the age of 51. Bohemians looked upon it as a deliberate attempt of the Vienna and Berlin rulers to slaughter the Austrian Slavs. As it was impossible to protest in parliament, which had not been called together during the war, Bohemian deputies attempted to protest in print against the drafting of elderly men, but declarations signed by the Bohemian Club and by the Socialist Club, comprising together all the Czech deputies, were confiscated and never saw the light of day. The irony of it was that the government in its proclamations cynically assumed that these elderly men would joyfully sacrifice their lives in company with their sons in the defense of the Austrian "fatherland" . . .

The new recruits must report upon a certain day, according to the year of their birth, and are at once sent to Hungary or Saltzburg. Bohemia, on the other hand, is filled with Rumanian, Magyar and German recruits. They are very bold in their contact with the public, conscious of their privileged position in the empire. In Pilsen soldiers of a Magyar regiment treated women and all civilists with indecency and violence in full daylight. In Stara Boleslav, Dr. Saroch, mayor of the city, greatly esteemed in the whole district, was brutally beaten by soldiers of the local garrison, when he reproved them for their violence. In Hungary the contrary is true. In Szegedin our soldiers had to suffer insults from the civil population and were virtually decimated by the terribly insanitary state of the barracks.

Several thousands of Bohemian conscripts were here packed into dirty, delapidated barracks, their sleeping quarters were filthy and infested with vermin, and two hand pumps in the square furnished all the facilities for the ablutions of thousands. The toilets were in an unspeakable condition. The result was an epidemic of typhus and cholera. A young friend of mine, not quite eighteen years old, touched with tuberculosis, dared to complain that he was sick. For that he was chained to the wall and left in chains until he fainted.

The stories we heard were hard to believe, but occasionally some desperately sick man came back and verified the rumors. Once I received a postal card from a friend who was in Szegedin as a so-called one-year volunteer. He wrote "It is not true that our life in Szegedin is hell, that typhus and cholera rage here. It is not true to say that when a Czech soldier goes by the people here raise their hands to imitate the sign of surrender and that we are insulted. There are no trenches and wire entanglements in this neighborhood. And it is not true, as the rumor says, that 15,000 Roumanians fled from this region into Roumania. We are having a fine time, lots of fun and think of you often." Why did my friend write "it is not true"? I never said or wrote to him anything of that sort. It was the only way he could inform me that the things he denied were facts.

Terrible are the straits amid which our nation lives. The military rulers of the state send our people to the slaughter, and the percentage of killed among our countrymen will be much higher than among the Germans and Magyars. And yet we are not discouraged. We shall not perish, neither shall our children.

I stood in July, 1915, in the square of our town, when from the direction of Prague we heard the military trumpet. In a few minutes we saw marching through the town the first companies of a regiment recruited from Magyars and Rumanians of Transylvania. They were men advanced in age, forty years and over, emaciated, feeble, with a dumb expression in their faces — and I do not say that by way of ridicule. Like loaded camels they carried their heavy war equipment, dragged their feet in a tired way, and their appearance made us feel as if all humanity had been beaten out of them. What a testimonial they presented to

the degree of enthusiasm and understanding with which the races of the empire fight in its desperate military adventure.

And then we heard a Bohemian song and it poured a new life into us. The last companies of the regiment were made up of Bohemian boys, marching in the heat of July with full equipment to the training camp at Mlada. What a different appearance! There were younger men and older men among them, some fathers of families with bearded faces, but all with an intelligent determined look. They accepted their bitter fate with a song. It was as if a soft

hand had stroked our cheeks. Tears ran from our eyes and through them we, the on-lookers, smiled at each other, as if to say that our nation after all has in it eternal life and energy. It can bear and survive whatever heavy burden the fate may deal out.

Our hope and confidence was strengthened that the Czech people would emerge even from this terrible catastrophe unscathed and would have a part in the true brotherhood and more human civilization of future ages.



Czernin and Clam-Martinic.

The murder of Count Stuergh, prime minister of Austria, hastened the death of Prince Thun, former premier and twice governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The death notices spoke of Thun as the last Austrian, and the term really was not much of an exaggeration. For Thun himself had been fully aware that men of his type, devoted to the Austrian monarchy, as embodied in the Hapsburg dynasty, were almost extinct. A year ago the story was current of a conversation which is said to have taken place between Prince Thun and Count Coudenhove upon the occasion of the assumption by the latter man of the governorship of Bohemia. Coudenhove inquired of the retiring governor "Tell me, how much is there in this talk of the revolutionary sentiments of the Czechs?" Thun answered, "Yes, it is true that the Czechs want to get away from Austria, but then the Germans aim to attach themselves to Berlin." "Does then no one remain faithful to Vienna," asked the count. "Only you and I", replied sadly the faithful old servant of Francis Joseph.

If it be not literally true that Prince Thun was the last Austrian, he was at least the last Austrian statesman of ability and experience. He had courage to fight for Austrian, that is Hapsburg interests, when every one else in Vienna took orders from Berlin. He came forward as a witness in behalf of the Czech leader, Dr. Karel Kramar, to testify that documents seized among Kramar's effects and produced by the gov-

ernment as evidence of seditious designs had their original wording altered. Thun was opposed to the reckless, wholesale death sentences pronounced daily by the military courts sitting in Bohemia, and advocated a policy of conciliation toward the Czech people; but the only result of his sincere endeavors to save Austria was his own removal from office in 1915. He died a few weeks before his sovereign and personal friend, Francis Joseph.

The new emperor, after casting around for a while for suitable servants, finally selected for the head of his Austrian ministry, and for the Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs two members of the high Bohemian nobility. Count Henry Czernin of Chudenic, former minister at Bucharest, was entrusted with the conduct of such diplomatic business, as Germany would permit its weaker partner to handle, while Count Richard Clam-Martinic was given the difficult task of governing the Austrian half of the dual monarchy. These appointments aroused many speculations as to the intentions of Emperor Charles, and the fact that the new ministers had Bohemian names was taken as a sign that the policy of oppression, applied to the Czechs under the old monarch, would be reversed under Charles. But the deduction was far fetched; Czernin and Martinic are Bohemian in name only and have neither desire nor orders to make concessions to Bohemia.

The two names, to be sure, are well known in Bohemian history. The Czernins

occupied chief offices of the Bohemian state in the old days, but after the unsuccessful rebellion of 1618 were rewarded for their faithfulness to the dynasty by grants of confiscated estates and mixed their pure Bohemian blood with the upstart nobility of military adventurers settled in Bohemia by Ferdinand II. They remained Bohemian noblemen in that their large landed estates were located in Bohemia and they could trace their descent to Czech ancestors, but for generations they thought and acted as Germans. The Martinic family is even better known in the records of the Bohemian Kingdom. One of the forbears of this ancient family had a leading rôle in the so-called defenestration of Prague; Jaroslav Borita of Martinic and William Slavata, two of the emperor's lieutenants for Bohemia, with a clerk were thrown out of the high window of the castle of Prague by the infuriated members of the estates of Bohemia, and the act is held to be the starting point of the thirty years' war, as well as the opening of the Bohemian rebellion, which was suppressed two years later at the battle of White Mountain. There is another Martinic of recent days who played a much more patriotic rôle from the Bohemian point of view, Count Henry Martinic, an associate of F. L. Rieger, the great Czech leader of the sixties and seventies; he backed the commoner with all the prestige and influence of a powerful noble family, leading a number of other Bohemian aristocrats in the fight for the recognition of the historical rights of the Bohemian Kingdom and the achievement of such self-government for Bohemia as was granted to Hungary.

The new minister, whose first name is also Henry, has nothing in common with his uncle, the Bohemian patriot, except the name and the enjoyment of the entailed Martinic family possessions. Count Martinic put himself in line for the premiership by his attempt to get a condemnation of Czech national ambitions from the so-called conservative nobility of Bohemia. At a meeting of the political committee of this body, held in fall of 1916, he proposed a resolution in which it was said: "With deep sorrow we had to take notice of the fact that in this war in which our common fatherland (namely Austria) has to fight for its very existence, the long continued, underground work aimed against the state and carried on by damnable elements had its effect in cool-

ing the holy sentiments of civic duty and military honor in the hearts of the Czech race. Every one knows of it, all speak of it, and enemies of the Czech people strongly emphasize the fact that army formations recruited in Czech districts, contrary to the glorious traditions of the old, glory bedecked Bohemian regiments, failed in the field. And in foreign countries also criminal agitation bore fruit, for certain Bohemian publications, especially in the first months of the war, did not come up to the standard which a patriot has the right to expect from those who interpret the public opinion at home." The resolution went on to say that a certain improvement had taken place since. But the conservative Bohemian nobility declared the resolution unnecessary and rejected it.

In addition to the two "Bohemian" ministers one ought to mention a third figure with great influence upon the young emperor, Count Berchtold. He is the man who was foreign minister in 1914 and signed the declaration of war upon Serbia. He has just been named master of ceremonies of the Imperial Court and as such is the emperor's closest confidant. Berchtold also might be called a Bohemian nobleman, for his landed estates are located in Moravia in the midst of Czech population.

The three counts, Czernin, Clam-Martinic and Berchtold, will try to carry out the political plans of the assassinated Francis Ferdinand. They had been his personal friends, and that alone defines their designs. These will be apparently aimed against the domination of the Magyars in the Hapsburg realm, but in reality will be addressed principally against the Slavs. It has been announced by cablegrams from Vienna that Clam-Martinic will now take up the question of redistricting Bohemia. What that really means is the fulfillment of an old demand of the Germans that districts in Bohemia in which the census found the majority of the people using the German language—and the Austrian census is very partial to Germans—should be cut off from the rest of Bohemia and treated as a purely German province. The result would be the abandonment of the Czech minorities in the north and northwest of Bohemia to forcible germanization. The second part of the program of the new Austrian premier, as briefly announced in America, is the introduction of German as the language of the state.

This can only mean that Bohemian and other Slav languages, with the exception of Polish, will be eliminated altogether from the sphere of public affairs, and that Austrian subjects of every race will be compelled to learn the German language as the only medium of communication with public authorities and all public service. That also has been for years the principal demand of the Germans of Austria and it means the absolute defeat of all the struggles of the Czech political leaders since the days of 1848.

But the policy of Germanization will not save Austria. The outcome of the war may still be in the distance, but this much is certain that Germans will not be allowed to swallow the Slavs of Austria. Over there in the old home all the Bohemian political parties into which the parliamentary delega-

tion had formerly been broken up have formed one solid body of 108 deputies and preserve an attitude of cold aloofness to threats and blandishments on the part of Vienna. Beyond the line of German trenches Czech soldiers fight on the side of the Allies and Czech leaders appeal to the world for justice. A Bohemian, familiar with this history of his native country, is reminded again and again of the year 1618 by the spectacle of a Martinic, tool of the Hapsburg emperor for the oppression of Bohemia. When Martinic was last at the head of affairs in Bohemia, the country lost its freedom. Now Martinic is again in the seat of power and the cycle of three hundred years is coming to a close. With it the days of subjection of the Czech race will pass away.



Current Topics.

WHY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW?

It is customary for the publishers of a new periodical to state the reasons for their belief that they have a mission to perform or some useful purpose to serve. And so we are ready to account here for the existence of the Bohemian Review.

If times were ordinary, we would simply point to the census figures of 1910, giving the number of Bohemians and their children then living in the United States. It appears that seven years ago there resided in this country 228,130 men and women of the Bohemian or Czech race born in Europe; on the other hand the number of men, women and children born in this country of Bohemian parents was 310,654. Now, if two hundred some thousand people can support more than eighty periodicals in the Bohemian language, why should not three hundred thousand of their children, more used to the English language, establish and support just one organ devoted to their interests as Americans of Czech descent, men and women having an affection for the country they had never seen, but in which generations upon generations of their ancestors had lived and suffered?

To that reason for the creation of a journal dealing with Bohemian questions in the English language the war has added a reason still more cogent. The war will decide whether Bohemia shall flourish or perish, whether the Czech tongue will continue to enrich the literatures of the world, or become one of the dead languages, whether the Czech people will again become one of the nations of the earth or

be swallowed by German Kultur. No one who has Bohemian blood in his veins can be indifferent to these issues. And men in America of Bohemian birth or descent who cannot take a direct part in the momentous struggle want to help the land of their fathers by calling attention at least to its cry for liberty.

America needs to have its eyes directed to the country of Hus and Comenius. For America is so big, so self-sufficing, so sure of its "manifest destiny" and the special favor of Providence that it cares little for the small nations of Europe and knows of Bohemia, a highly cultured country in the heart of Europe with ten million Czechs and Slovaks, little more than of some tribe of pigmies in the darkest Africa. But America is also a land of noble principles and much idealism. The cry for help of the Cubans, of Armenians, of Poles, of Belgians, has found ready response in the United States. Bohemians know that the powerful influence of the United States, the only great neutral country, will be exerted in favor of the just demands of the Bohemians for liberty, if only the people of the Union will take at least as much interest in the fate of Bohemia, as they do in the disposition of Poland.

Here is the chief aim of this modest publication at this time: to tell the people of the United States that "no lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to reconcile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria", as Woodrow Wilson expressed it many years ago; that they demand independence, and that they possess in abundance the

qualities which would make of Bohemia an important member of the family of civilized nations. To earn the sympathy and good will of America for the struggles of Czechs and Slovaks toward freedom will be the main purpose of the Bohemian Review.

BAZAARS FOR INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA

This winter will be remembered among the Czechs in the United States as the season of big bazaars. In almost every large city the Bohemians either held their own bazaars, or participated in the Allied Bazaars as one of the races ranged on the side of the ten nations.

Of the more notable of these fairs, as far as they occupied the attention of the Bohemians, one ought to mention first the Allied Bazaar in Detroit, held in November; the Czechoslovak booth attracted much favorable comment and contributed materially to the financial success of the big fair. Bohemian artists from Chicago took part in the program. About the same time Bohemians in San Francisco, who number only a few hundred, held their own bazaar and made a net profit of three thousand dollars, a really remarkable result, when compared to the size of the colony that gave it.

From the financial point of view the greatest success was the bazaar given by the Bohemians in New York in the month of December. It netted \$23,000 to the cause of Bohemian independence. When we consider that the great Allied Bazaar in New York, advertised by all the papers and patronized by the whole city and its countless millionaires, resulted in a profit of about half a million, the forty or fifty thousand Czechs in New York with the co-operation of a smaller number of Slovaks, among whom there are no rich people, proved that they possessed ample energy and generosity.

In January the two kindred races of Czechs and Slovaks participated in the Chicago Allied Bazaar. They were given two booths in the Coliseum and sold seven thousand dollars worth of goods donated by their own people. Through the Bohemian National Alliance nearly ten thousand advance admission tickets were disposed of. On the last day of the Bazaar, the Slav day, Bohemian artists furnished the greater part of the musical and cabaret program.

Chicago Czechs have now in preparation a large fair of their own, to be given on March 3 to 10. They aim to exceed the high goal set for Chicago by New York, a difficult undertaking, as each large Bohemian settlement in Chicago has already had its own fair and all helped to boost the Allied Bazaar. The proceeds will be devoted to the cause of independence of Bohemia.

SOKOL UNION OF AMERICA.

An important event in the life of the Bohemians in America is the accomplishment of the long discussed union between the so-called blue Sokols and the red Sokols. Both organizations have for many years represented in the United States the principles

embodied in the great Sokol (Falcon) movement which had its beginning in Bohemia in the sixties and has since spread into every Slav nation. The principles, or rather the spirit of the Sokols, one might sum up as patriotism, progress, energy, discipline, and the chief means by which these ideals are sought to be realized is strict physical training of the youth of both sexes. The Bohemian Sokols have produced from their ranks some of the best athletes of America.

In the old country nearly all the Sokol societies were linked together in the Bohemian Sokol Union. One of the first acts of the Austrian government after the outbreak of the war was the dissolution of the central organization and the gradual suppression of the local societies, for the Sokol training made itself felt on the battlefields, where Czech soldiers who were members of this great Slav fellowship deserted in groups to the Russians and the Serbians. In America the Bohemian emigrants have had Sokol organizations almost as long as their brothers in the old fatherland; these were gathered into several national bodies. The strongest of them, the National Sokol Union, adopted the blue uniform for their members, while another strong body, known as the Zupa Fuegner Tyrs, adhered to the red uniforms as used in Bohemia. The Sokols have proved themselves the most energetic fighters in the cause of Bohemian independence, and it was the feeling that the times required the closest possible organization and co-operation on behalf of all the Czechs which brought about the union of these two bodies on the basis of freedom for each local society to select either the blue or the red uniform.

The Sokol Union of America which this month commences its existence will number more than 12,000 members with about 150 local societies, most of them possessing their own halls and paying their own physical instructors.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

That part of the "peace terms" answer of the Entente, relating to the liberation of the Czech-Slovaks from foreign domination, has been generally passed over in silence by the American press. Its comment dealt mainly with the more familiar topics of Belgium and Serbia and Alsace-Lorraine and Constantinople; the great significance of the resurrection of Bohemia, both from the historical and diplomatic point of view, has not been at all appreciated. It is merely another proof of the short vision and ignorance of European geography on the part of editorial writers of the great American papers. Only in a few cities with a large percentage of Bohemian immigrants have the dailies paid attention to the demand of the Allies for independent Bohemia. The Cleveland Plain Dealer of January 14 says on the editorial page: "Now comes the entente note with a definite promise of Czech freedom. From a Bohemian standpoint this is the most important thing in all the war. . . No people has finer traditions than the Czechs, no people is more worthy of self-

government. Inasmuch as the entente can hope for no help from a people which is absolutely dominated by Austria-Hungary and which is even compelled to fight on the Austro-Hungarian side, the declaration as to "Tcheco-Slovaques" is quite unselfish and consistent with the entente's broad assertion that it is fighting a war of liberation."

The Cedar Rapids Times also speaks with sympathy of the aspirations of the Bohemians, and hopes that America will support the intention of the Allies to free Bohemia. Occasionally foreign correspondents emphasize the European importance of the Bohemian question. Norman Haggood in a cablegram, published in the Chicago Tribune, Jan. 28, says that next to the problem of Constantinople "only one other question of geography in Europe has a pressing and unavoidable bearing upon the main plan. That is Bohemia." Haggood, however, suggests that certain liberals in England disagree with the program of the Allies for Czecho-Slovak independence and hope to see the Bohemian question solved as a question of home rule.

The best answer to this suggestion is found in an article, published in the London New Statesman, December 9, a month before the Allies came out with their terms. The editor calls special attention to the article on Bohemia and says among other things: "In the earlier stages of the war the national movement of the Czechs was practically unheard of in this country, and to support it was no part of the programme of the Allies. The developments of the past few months, however, have made it a question of crucial importance on which the whole future of "Mittel-Europa" depends. And "Mittel-Europa" means more than most of us have yet realized. There is more than a measure of truth, we believe, in our contributor's dictum that the international position of Bohemia after the war will be the test of victory."

NEW BOOKS.

Leadership of the New America, Racial and Religious By ARCHIBALD MCCLURE. Geo H. Doran Co. \$1.25.

This book is a study of some sixteen racial groups of immigrants, giving an account in broad terms of their organization, leadership and the prevailing movements of the day. The author is a young minister who spent a year after graduating from the seminary in a study of the newer immigration in various sections of the United States. He gathered a tremendous amount of fresh material and shows unusual insight into the inner life of so many races

differing from each other in language, degree of education, religion, mental and moral characteristics. Perhaps the chief reason for Mr. McClure's success in describing the varied currents of life among the immigrants is his sympathetic treatment of them, lacking altogether the calm assumption of superiority exhibited by the average American toward the "Hunkies" and "Ginnies". He does not hide the immigrant's faults and vices, but gives him also credit for his good qualities; he emphasizes the undoubted fact that immigrants appreciate better than the native born the ideals and principles of America.

The chapter on Bohemians, the first race treated in this book, gives a very careful account of the location of Czech immigrants in the United States, their religious divisions, their fraternal and athletic organizations, the Bohemian press and the powerful movement organized since the outbreak of the war for the attainment of independence for Bohemia. The chapter dealing with the Slovaks is also written in a sympathetic spirit and with great accuracy as to facts and figures. Here and there one finds little errors of geography and history; Bukovina is not a Hungarian province, Slovakland does not border on Bohemia, for the whole width of Moravia separates them; Bohemia has been under the Hapsburgs since 1526 and not since 1630, although the real loss of its independence is dated 1620, when Czechs were defeated in the battle of White Mountain.

Mr. McClure's book is to be commended to all Americans who want to know something of the special interests and the separate, racial sentiments of the thirteen million immigrants in the United States.

AMERICA FIRST.

As we go to press, the break with Germany seems imminent and every one talks of war. If the United States is forced to take a part in the European war, Bohemian speaking citizens and residents of this country will be found in the front ranks of those ready to fight for their country. Bohemian soldiers fought in the Civil War, Bohemians volunteered in thousands for the Spanish War, and Bohemians will not be behind Americans of whatever racial stock in their devotion to the land in which they found liberty and prosperity. We are fortunate in that there is no conflict between the affection we feel for our native country and the loyalty we owe to our adopted country. But regardless of any ties still binding them to Europe Bohemians are for America first and are ready to offer every sacrifice of life and property to prove themselves good American citizens.

The Bohemian Review,
10 cents a copy, one dollar a year.

Contributions for the publication fund of the
Bohemian Review will be gratefully received.

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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

March, 1917

*Bohemia and
the European
Crisis.*

*Another Scrap
of Paper.*

*Where We
Stand To-day.*

*Condemnation
of Kramar.*

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**



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Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.
J. J. Fekl, Business Manager, 2816 S. St. Louis Ave., Chicago.

Vol. I., No. 2.

MARCH, 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Bohemia And The European Crisis

BY THOMAS G. MASARYK.

The Allies' political programme formulated in the note to President Wilson demands the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks from foreign domination, as well as that of the Italians, Southern Slavs and Roumanians. Italy, Serbia, Roumania are fighting as parts of the great alliance against the Central Powers. Can the Czechs and Slovaks, as parts of Austria-Hungary, be treated on the same terms? It is just the inclusion of this point in their political programme which proves that the Allies have grasped the European situation; that they perfectly understand the part which Pangermanism plays in the war, and that they are aware of the significance of Austria-Hungary for Germany, and, therefore, for Bohemia and Slovakia.

Bohemia is a part of Austria-Hungary, but, nevertheless, the Czecho-Slovaks are working and even fighting for and with the Allies. The peculiar passive revolution of Bohemia is now known to the whole world, though the Austro-Hungarian and German censors for a long time succeeded in suppressing the facts and in spreading false news about the unity and loyalty of all the Austro-Hungarian nations. Europe now knows what it means when all the leading politicians and writers of Bohemia, and thousands of men and women of all classes, are imprisoned, and many even sentenced to death; when all independent newspapers are suppressed, when the property of thousands is confiscated, when the Czech regiments refuse to fight, and surrender whenever opportunity offers. And Europe, I hope, also realizes the awful moral situation of a nation which wholly sympathizes with the Allies, but whose sons, by the mere mechanical organization of militarism, are forced to fight against those whom they consider as Allies, and whom they love as brethren!

In my article on "Pangermanism" (New Europe, No. 1), I have shown that the Pangerman politicians are the bitterest enemies of the Czechs. From Lagarde to Winterstetten and Tannenberg they all demand the subjugation of Bohemia, and in this aim they simply follow the lead of Bismarck, who showed that he realized the significance of Bohemia when he said that her master was the master of Europe. Bismarck having, by his policy after 1866 and 1870, secured close alliance with Austria-Hungary, became the master of Vienna, and in that way would really have become the master of Bohemia and Europe if Bohemia had accepted this mastery. But she did not, and she never will!

Bohemia, as a Slav country, has a peculiar geographical and ethnological position in the midst of Europe. Lying farther west than the rest of the Slavs, it forms a barrier against Germany and a wedge between German lands. Since the seventh century the Bohemian nation has been able to resist Germany's push towards the east and south; and, thanks to its inherent qualities, it has not merely proved equal to this great historical task, but has even grown in political wisdom and ability to resist.

1. The first Bohemian State, founded by Samo (627-652), stretched as far as Carinthia, and comprised part of the South Slavs. Samo defeated the Avars and held his own against Frankish aggression. It must be remembered that at that time the Slavs inhabited almost half the Germany of to-day; on the Elbe the Slavs were neighbors of the Angles and Saxons, near Lübeck and Kiel; even parts of Hanover were Slav. South of Magdeburg the whole of the territory bounded by the Saale and the north of Bavaria, as far as Regensburg, was Slav. All these vast regions, during a struggle that lasted for centuries, have been Germanized. The last remains of the Elbe Slavs disap-

peared as lately as the eighteenth century; to-day, all that remains of the Slavs in Prussia and Saxony are the Lusatians or Sorbs.

This Germanizing tendency was checked by Bohemia, which was able to resist the Holy Roman Empire — a continuation, in Teutonic garb, of the Roman Empire. Charles the Great joined hands with the Church, thus forming the strong organization of the mediæval theocracy; and Pangerman writers are full of praise for Rome and its Church, in that it helped the Emperors to Germanize the Slavs.

The revived empire organized its eastern outposts as Marches, notable those of the East (Ostmark, Oesterreich), and later Brandenburg — the foundations of Austria and Prussia. The Slavs of Bohemia and the other Bohemian countries (Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia) organized their State in a region where there were no effective remains of the Roman Empire; and even Christianity was brought to them from Constantinople. The Great Moravian Empire (830-894), comprising the Bohemian countries and extending south of the Danube in Hungary to the river Drave, was Christianized by the Slav apostles Cyril and Methodius. But the German Church, penetrating into Bohemia from Regensburg, succeeded in ousting the Slav Church of Moravia, while the Magyars, having settled in the wide plains of Hungary, made an end of the Moravian Empire. Slovakia was incorporated in Hungary early in the tenth century.

The invasion and settlement of the Magyars, a people of Mongolian origin, had, and has, a fatal significance for the Bohemians and Slovaks; it interrupted the unity of the Slav peoples, being a wedge driven between the northern and southern groups. The Magyars ceased to be nomads and accepted Christianity, but they have always remained antagonistic to the Slovaks and Southern Slavs.

After the fall of the Great Moravian Empire Bohemia soon became a strong State under native princes, and, in 1068, was acknowledged as a kingdom. The Kings of Bohemia even became Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Luxemburg dynasty (Charles IV. and his son, Wenceslaus), succeeded in being elected Emperors. In the thirteenth century Bohemia began to push southwards, and Premysl Otokar II. (1253-78) incorporated the Austrian duchies into his kingdom. Rudolf of Habsburg defeated

Ottokar, strengthened Austria, and not only became Emperor himself, but laid the foundations of the Habsburg dynasty. Yet Bohemian imperialism was not checked by Rudolf; under the Luxemburg dynasty Lusatia and Silesia were acquired, and even the Margravate of Brandenburg was, for a time, joined to Bohemia.

Bohemia was quite independent, though German historians often treat it as part of Germany. The king was sovereign in his State, but received investiture from the Emperor. In earlier times the princes of Bohemia paid a small tribute to the Emperor, and the church of Bohemia was dependent upon the Archbishop of Regensburg, until, in 973, the Bishopric of Prague (1344 Archbishopric) was founded. Though much smaller than Germany, Bohemia, having her power centralized and being well administered, succeeded in maintaining complete independence against the temporal pretensions of the Empire.

Though the mediæval Empire did not rest upon a national principle, it nevertheless oppressed the non-German peoples and Germanized them, ruler and State being alike German. The Church supported and aided Germanization, though Latin, her own peculiar language, was also the language of the administration and diplomacy. The Kings of Bohemia acquired German lands and imported German colonists whose devotion they secured by the grant of special privileges. Germany was dangerous by reason of her numbers, and sometimes her culture; but Bohemia was able to resist because she knew how to use her forces, and because she had a culture of her own, which was not inferior to the German. Yet it must be conceded that the Bohemian court and aristocracy adopted German customs and even the German language.

2. From the fourteenth century Bohemia has really played a decisive rôle in European history; from her came the great reforming movement which has stirred up the world. The period during which the new Luxemburg dynasty linked Bohemia to the Empire and the French West coincided with a Czech literary revival which repudiated the influx of unwonted luxury and refinement, and was brought home to the masses of the nation by able preachers. The University of Prague, founded by Charles IV. in 1349, became the center of culture for Bohemia and her neighbors. John Hus and his noble friend, Jerome of Prague, became

the great torchbearers of the Reformation. Their death inflamed the whole Bohemian nation against Rome and the treacherous Emperor Sigismund.

The Hussite Reformation of Bohemia was the inauguration of modern spiritual life. Hus opposed the individual conscience and the Bible to the authority of the Church and of Rome, and thus became the forerunner of the Reformation; but his true significance lies in his moral teaching and death. There were many heretics before Hus: but Hus involved the whole Bohemian nation in his heresy, and as Rome, making use of Germany, tried to crush Bohemia by means of crusades, the Hussite war is a landmark in European thought. Bohemia held not only Germany but the whole of Europe at bay, and Žižka, the leader of the victorious Hussites, became the inventor of modern strategy.

The Hussite Reformation was essentially one of life and of morals. The Hussites became anti-clerical; and even to-day clericalism in Bohemia is considered the enemy of true religion. Being conservative in its theological teaching and radical in its moral endeavor, Hussitism soon became radical in its teaching also. The Taborites had already rejected all Roman teaching and ceremonial; they even accepted women as preachers, and in their zeal for Christian equality they adopted communism as practiced in the Apostolic Church. Hussitism reached its height in the *Unitas Fratrum* — the Church of Bohemian (Moravian) Brethren, the remnants of which are the English and Austrian churches of the Brethren, and the German *Herrenhut* Church. Their founder was Peter Chelčický, who interpreted Christian love in its radical form of non-resistance, and thus fully anticipated Tolstoy's famous doctrine. Chelčický respected both "whales" — the Pope and the Emperor — Church and State alike, the whole theocracy and its clerical and official organization. His followers in the next generation were obliged to modify his teaching; amid the horrors of the war against Bohemia they doubtless confounded legitimate defence with force and aggression, forgetting that Christ brought not only peace but also a sword to defend truth and justice against aggression. But humanitarian endeavor remained the lasting foundation of this Church, which historians praise as the truest realization of Christ's teaching. Amos Comenius, the great humanitarian teacher

of the nations, became its last bishop, before it was crushed by the Austrian Counter-Reformation.

The Bohemian Reformation, as Palacky rightly observes, contains the germ of all modern teaching and institutions; it was an anticipation of the future, an ideal to be reached by future ages. But Europe did not understand Bohemia, and united, under the leadership of Pope and Emperor, to crush the nation which had dared to follow its own path.

Historians differ as to the origin and development of the Hussite Reformation. Some Russian and Czech writers see in it a revival of the Slav Church of Cyril and Methodius; others point to the great influence of Wycliffe and the West; while the Germans treat it as a national anti-German movement. This last explanation is quite wrong. Hus himself declared more than once that he preferred a German who was right to a Bohemian who was wrong. Hussitism is the practical, political and social embodiment of John Hus's command: "Seek the truth, hear the truth, learn the truth, love the truth, speak the truth, hold to the truth, defend the truth even to death."

This deep moral reformation brought the Bohemians to love their nation, and to defend it against German aggression led by the Church; it thus became a barrier to the German *Drang nach Osten*, though it was not so much national as moral and religious.

Hussitism, chiefly in the form of the Brethren's movement, spread to Slovakia and to Poland, and had a great moral influence even on the Germans. Luther himself, as is well known, confessed: "We are all Hussites." On the other hand, the later Reformation of Switzerland, France and Germany exercised a great influence over the Hussites, who to a great extent accepted Protestantism. Only about one-tenth of the nation remained in the Roman Catholic Church—principally the higher aristocracy.

3. The Hussite wars in the end weakened Bohemia. At the same time the Turkish menace against Central Europe induced Hungary, Austria and Bohemia to unite in a free federation (1526). At first, all three States remained entirely independent, linked only by personal or rather dynastic ties. Nevertheless their common King had behind him the power of the Empire and the resources of Spain, and thus gradually succeeded in his centralising and Germanising designs. At first there was only a com-

mon imperial committee for foreign affairs, but the army also promoted unification, and the common finances worked in the same direction.

Bohemia was from the very beginning the economic backbone of this strange confederation; almost the whole of Hungary fell under Turkish dominion, and thus remained economically weak and undeveloped. Austria proper was barely self-supporting, while Trieste and the Adriatic at that time were hardly utilised at all.

The centralising absolutism of the Habsburgs and their Counter-Reformation caused the Revolution of 1618, which ended two years later in the disastrous battle of the White Mountain. Ferdinand II. avenged himself by ordering the execution of the leaders, whose heads for years frowned upon the population of Prague from the tower of the famous bridge of Charles IV. Ferdinand, acting on Jesuit advice, made use of the occasion to persecute the Protestants, and especially the Bohemian Union of Brethren; about 30,000 families had to leave the country, amongst them Comenius! Not only were the Bohemian countries depopulated, but the Habsburgs carried through one of the greatest economic revolutions in history. Four-fifths of the soil were taken from the legitimate owners to fill the treasury of the greedy Emperor and his tools, drawn from the dregs of every aristocracy in Europe. The country was brought back to Catholicism by fire and sword—her best men were exiled, her literature burned, her lands plundered.

In 1627, Ferdinand II. curtailed the legislative and administrative rights of the aristocracy—at that time the only representatives of the nation—but he did not dare to deprive Bohemia of her independence. In the same year he issued a new charter confirming the privileges of Bohemia, and expressly rejecting the theory, preached by his advisers and upheld in modern times by Austrian and German historians, that the Bohemian nation had forfeited its rights to independence. Ferdinand himself and his successors were only too glad to remain kings of Bohemia.

The power of the Habsburgs was strengthened by their success in reimposing Catholicism. The Reformation, while destroying the mediæval theocracy, strengthened the State, and, in Catholic countries, the State gained by its alliance with the Counter-Reformation.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Habsburgs continued the unification and centralisation of Austria proper, Bohemia and Hungary, and this aim seemed to have been attained under Maria Theresä and Joseph II: But the latter's radical and Germanising methods provoked opposition alike in Bohemia, Hungary and all the non-German provinces, and since his days history tells of the revival of the Austrian nations.

4. The opposition of the Bohemian aristocracy to Joseph II. was only the political side of a national revival. The whole of Europe awakened in the eighteenth century; it was the period of humanitarianism in philosophy and literature, the age of reason and freethought, the age of Rousseau, Kant and Paine. Absolutism could not oppose such a movement indefinitely, and even the absolutist monarchs of Austria, Prussia and Russia—Joseph, Frederick and Catherine II.—paid their tribute to the age, and became "enlightened" despots. It was this European movement which worked for the revival of the Bohemian nation; for the principles of humanitarian philosophy and of the French Revolution, the principles of "Liberté — Egalité — Fraternité" were the natural outcome and continuation of the Bohemian Reformation and Chelöický's religion of Fraternity. The suppression of the Jesuits sanctioned by the Pope himself, clearly showed the character of the general upheaval of thinking Europe.

Joseph II.'s Toleration Edict (1781) did not extend to the Hussites and the Brethren, who, therefore, had to join either the Lutheran or Calvinist Churches; but even this restricted freedom strengthened Hussite memories and promoted the national revival. Everywhere the masses were acquiring political rights, the courts and aristocracies were no longer able to keep the peoples in political and spiritual serfdom; democracy was born, and with it nationality became a political factor. It was the great humanitarian Herder who proclaimed the nations, in opposition to the artificial State, as the natural organs of humanity.

The French Revolution put an end to "enlightened" despotism, and in every country an unenlightened reaction set in. In Austria Francis I. was led by Metternich, whose system is, for Western Europe, the very embodiment of reaction—the continuation of the Habsburg and Jesuit Counter-Reformation with all its spiritual horrors. "Spirit

murderer" it has been called by the greatest German poet of Austria.

The Emperor Francis, absolutist and legitimist to the core, was convinced that the time was ripe for transforming Austria, Bohemia and Hungary into a united and centralised State. In 1804 the Austrian Empire was proclaimed; in 1806 the new Austrian Emperor resigned the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Yet this resignation was only formal, and when, at the Vienna Congress the German Confederation was created, the Emperor of Austria was proclaimed its head. Indeed, the Pope and England urged him to resume the abandoned dignity.

5. The Metternich regime was not able to suppress that literary revival of the Bohemian nation which was the forerunner of the political revival of 1848. Dobrovsky, the founder of Slavistic studies—the science and philosophy of the Slavs—threw a bridge from the Golden Age of the Reformation across the dark epoch of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation to the Age of Reason and Humanity; he was the first among the Czech "awakeners" who guided his nation towards Russia, and rekindled those Slav sentiments which have characterised Bohemia ever since. Patriot and Slav—that was the general national programme.

After Dobrovsky, Kollar, the true disciple of Herder, conceived a fascinating philosophy of history; the Teutonic and Latin nations, he argued, having accomplished their historical task, will be followed by the Slavs. To strengthen the Slavs not only geographically but culturally, he demanded that every Slav, in the cause of "reciprocity", should learn at least one Slav language besides his own. Meanwhile Safarik, the well-known archaeologist, revived Slav antiquity and history, Palacky wrote the first scientific universal meaning of the Bohemian Reformation.

The remarkable character of the Czech national revival is shown by the philosophic and religious attitude of its leaders. Dobrovsky, the follower of Josephinism, though a Catholic priest and even a Jesuit, became a freethinker; Kollar and Palacky were both Protestants—the first a follower of Herder, the latter of Kant; Jungmann, the great philologist, was a Voltairian. Kollar and Safarik were Slovaks; Slovakia, having received the Hussite emigrants and adopted the Hussite Reformation, became

the natural supporter of the Bohemian revival.

In sympathy with the general European movement the Bohemian nation passed in 1848 from national literature to national politics. The revolution of Paris broke out on 21 February. On the 29th the news reached Prague; and on 11 March the first popular meeting was held, after two centuries of political extinction, and formulated the national demands.

As early as 1812 the Bohemian Diet, then a close aristocratic body, demanded the restitution of the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia, though of course in vain. But the rising in 1848 had the desired effect. On 8 April the Emperor, as King of Bohemia, issued the "Bohemian Charter," according national rights and promising future political independence. But the constitutional innovations of 1848 proved but a very brief interlude; the revolution was suppressed alike in Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Absolutism, Centralism and Germanisation resumed their sway. Meanwhile Ferdinand was superseded by Francis Joseph, whose long and sinister regime has already been outlined in *THE NEW EUROPE* (No. 7). The only lasting result of the revolution was the liberation of the peasants; otherwise Francis Joseph returned to the old system. Only the name of Bach replaced the name of Metternich. The true spirit of this reaction was revealed in the Concordat with Rome. Austria was and is the land of the Counter-Reformation.

But defeat on the battlefields of Italy in 1859 taught Francis Joseph at last that absolutism, even on a military basis, was impotent and dangerous. The following year (1860) an advisory state council was summoned, and on 20 October the new constitution—the so-called "October Diploma"—was proclaimed as the "permanent and irrevocable constitutional fundamental law of the Empire." But already, in February 1861, this "permanent and irrevocable" law was superseded by a new centralist constitution and as this was firmly opposed by the Czechs and all the non-German nations of Austria, absolutism was restored in 1865, this time in a slightly veiled form. At last, in 1867, yet another constitution was established in Austria, but both it and Parliament have, by their inherent conditions, proved to be far rather the helpmate of absolutism than a democratic check upon it. Austria up to the present day has really been ruled

by the mediaeval theocracy. For a brief moment in 1848 the Parliament of Kressier laid down the fundamental law, "All power proceeds from the people," and the Czech leader Dr. Rieger expounded this theme in one of his best speeches. But ever since this short-lived child of the revolution was dismissed and its home occupied by Austrian soldiers, each successive constitution in Austria has been not a democratic achievement, but the personal gift of Francis Joseph, designed as a cloak for theocratic monarchism, which claims to possess superhuman and divine rights.

6. The year 1866 wrought a great change; the Habsburgs were turned out of Germany. The national craving of all Germans for unity now became a practical reality; Prussia, who had prepared for it by her military and economic policy, finally achieved it in 1871 through the defeat of France. It would have been natural that Austria, after 1866, should have sought and found her strength in the development and unity of her various nations; but the Habsburgs were unable to give up their absolutist and imperialist leanings.

In 1866 the Prussian invaders of Bohemia published a proclamation acknowledging her right to full national independence, just as they recognised the same right to Hungary. But the Czechs turned a deaf ear and continued in their democratic and national endeavours of 1848; their politicians worked in the common Parliament and in the Diets for the federalization of the Empire, and in this they were supported by the non-German nations, the Germans being the protectors of centralism. But the dynasty came to an agreement with the Magyars, and the Dual system was designed to assure the hegemony of the Germans in Austria and of the Magyars in Hungary.

The Czech leaders, with Palacky, the "Father of the Nation," at their head, answered the illogical transformation of Austria-Hungary" by paying an official visit to the ethnographic exhibition in Moscow in 1867, and thus proclaiming a radical national and Slav policy. Next year at the Diet the Czech deputies issued their famous Declaration, re-stating the historic rights of Bohemia.

Vienna answered by a fierce persecution. The common law was suspended and martial law introduced and administered by a General specially selected by Francis

Joseph himself. But all the ferocity and cruelty employed did not crush the resistance of the leaders and the people. The Emperor had to yield, and he did so by appointing a new ministry presided over by Count Hohenwart, to conclude an agreement with the Bohemian nation. In a solemn rescript to the Bohemian Diet (12 September, 1871) Francis Joseph acknowledged the rights of Bohemia and promised to be crowned as its King.

"We are aware of the position of the Bohemian Crown founded on her constitutional law, and of the splendour and the power which it has brought to Us and Our predecessors. Remembering, also, the unshakeable loyalty with which the people of Bohemia have always supported Our Throne, We are happy to acknowledge the rights of this kingdom, and We are ready to renew this acknowledgment with Our Coronation Oath."

Promises have ever been cheap with Francis Joseph. The Czechs formulated their wishes in a draft constitution—the Fundamental Articles of 10 October, 1871—but in less than a month the influence of Berlin and Budapest succeeded in getting rid of Count Hohenwart and his ministry, and in replacing it by one selected for the special purpose of breaking Bohemian opposition. Never in the nineteenth century, in any civilised and constitutional country save Hungary, has a government, acting for the sovereign himself, behaved so shamelessly. An electoral caucus was organised to control the elections to the Diet and the Central Parliament; votes were openly bought and sold; meetings were suppressed by force; and the Czech papers and their editors persecuted. The gendarmerie and troops did not shrink from bloodshed. Corruption was rampant everywhere. In all departments of the administration the national law was checked and Germanisation openly proclaimed. Vexations of all kinds, even in trifling matters, were the rule. I remember how the national songs were forbidden and the national emblems prohibited. Czech telegrams were not accepted, and we composed French words giving a meaning in our language. Vienna succeeded so far that a group of Moravian deputies gave up their policy of passive resistance, which had culminated in abstention from the Central Parliament and even from the Diets, and in refusal to pay the taxes. Finally the Premier, Count Taaffe, the descend-

ant of an Irish family, agreed in 1879 to make some concessions if all the Czech deputies would take their seats in the Central Parliament. At the beginning of his speech from the Throne the Emperor acknowledged their "full right of constitutional conviction." Certain administrative rights were granted, and the long-fought-for Czech University was established; on the whole a practical *modus vivendi* was introduced, the achievement of our political rights being hoped for by the new method of compromises.

7. The establishment of the Hohenzollern Empire and the growth of national chauvinism in Germany led the Germans of Austria to make common cause with their kinsmen in Germany, and Francis Joseph yielded to their pressure. Pangermanism became a popular programme among the Austrian Germans, and their Radical wing demanded the union of Austria and even Hungary with Germany. The "Los von Rom" movement of the new century was nothing else than "Los von Oesterreich" or "Los von Habsburg." Bismarck, strong in his authority as the founder of united Germany, resisted the Pangerman extremists. His plan was to leave Austria-Hungary independent, but to use her for Germany and her programme. In reality, he heartily despised Austria, for he saw through her.

But Bismarck's plans were not original. They were merely the continuation of older ideas and aims; it is only half true to say that he pushed Austria-Hungary towards the Balkans and the East. Austria was from the first the eastern kingdom (Ostreich, Oesterreich) and has forced plans of conquest ever since the days of Prince Eugene. The weakening of Turkey suggested this to the neighboring victorious Empire. It was not only Bismarck who induced Austria-Hungary to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina; Radetzky and Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna formulated this programme long before Bismarck. In the same way, when in 1848, at Frankfurt, the German nationalists were offering the German crown to the Hohenzollerns, Austria answered by the imperialistic programme of Prince Schwarzenberg and of Baron Bruck, who, following Friedrich List, devised the programme of Central Europe as it is now preached in Germany and Austria.

Bismarck, it is true, gained Andrassy and the Magyars for his plans; but it was Dual-

ism which unchained Magyar imperialism. Bismarck was clever enough to use it as a means of putting pressure on Vienna, which could not easily forget 1866. But long before Bismarck List had preached in Germany a very practical Pangerman Magyarophilism.

The occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina led Austria into a fatal antagonism against not only the Southern Slavs but also Russia. Germany joined her in this direction. Bismarck hoped, in spite of the Berlin Congress, not to lose the friendship of Russia, and even the creation of the Triple Alliance did not prevent him from the effort to secure the re-insurance of Russia, or rather, of Petrograd. But the new generation in Germany conceived Pangermanism in the sense of "Berlin-Bagdad," and the road to Bagdad led to an inevitable dispute with Russia about Constantinople. William II., accepting Lagarde's teaching and the designs of world-power which it involved, dismissed Bismarck and placed himself at the head of the new generation. Austria-Hungary and Prussia-Germany inaugurated a very decided anti-Slav policy with the double object of crushing the Czechs in the North, and the Jugoslavs, and above all the Serbs, in the South.

The Germans used the unjust privileges conferred by an artificial constitution to maintain a majority in the Parliament and Diets; the bureaucracy and army also served their aims. The so-called Linz programme and still more, the motion brought forward by the Pangerman leader Schönerer, in 1901, aimed at granting a kind of autonomy to Galicia, Bukovina and even to Dalmatia, with the object of securing to the Germans a strong and unshakable majority. Count Badeni induced the Emperor to restore to Bohemia a part of her national right, but again the Emperor gave in to German terrorism and Badeni's decree was step by step abolished.

The Poles were partly satisfied (Galician Resolution 1868), but Vienna temporarily favored the Ruthenes not only against Russia but also against the Poles; the Southern Slavs were utterly neglected, and though in Dalmatia the Croat language was introduced into the administration, this was done not to satisfy the Slav majority, but simply to annoy the Italian minority. Trieste was invaded by Viennese and Berlin capital—Trieste, which not less than Prague, is coveted by the Pangermans as the starting-

point for Suez and the East. The anti-Slav policy of the Magyars is too notorious to require special treatment here. King Milan's policy is an illustration of how the Austrians are willing to extend toleration to the Balkan Slavs, when they accept thralldom.

This anti-Slav policy culminated, after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in unreasoning hostility to Serbia, and the present war is its logical outcome—the continuation of the policy inaugurated by the mediaeval Empire.

Though essentially anti-Slav, the Pangermanism of Germany and Austria-Hungary threatens the Western nations in Africa and Asia, and has welded together Slavs, Latins and British. In this vast struggle the place of the Czecho-Slovaks can only be on the side of the Slavs and of the Western nations; not their geographical position, but their whole historical development and national programme forces them to join those who have proclaimed as their aim the respect for nationalities and liberation of all nations, great and small, the crushing of Prussian militarism, and consequently the inner regeneration of Europe as a whole. The national ideals of Bohemia and her Reformation are unrealizable in Austria-Hungary, where the organization of Brute Force secures to the minority the means of exploiting the majority. Bohemia can never accept the ideal of Prussia and Germany, which would enslave the world by military drill and Machiavellian mixture of science and culture. The German is a strange mixture of the schoolmaster and the bully; he first knocks his opponent down and then gives him a lecture and a sermon.

8. The fight for Right has been waged by the Czechs ever since they settled in Central Europe. For centuries they had to hold their own against Germany, Habsburg Austria and the Magyars; and, since Dualism was established, they have had to face Austria and Hungary united with Prussia-Germany. Bohemia has not been conquered by Austria—she joined Austria and Hungary as *par inter pares*; she is legally just as independent a State as Hungary, and by the same right. This right has been violated by the dynasty; the personal union has been changed *viâfacti* into a real union. But law and justice cannot be affected by material force or so-called historical necessities. Bohemia has been struggling against

Austria-Hungary since 1867, and with the same right she continues her fight in this war. The Habsburgs have forfeited their rights in regard to Bohemia by their repeated and almost continuous treachery. Not the Czechs alone, but no nation can trust or accept Austro-Hungarian policy, for it is the policy of a single family, and only the advocates of mediaeval theocracy and absolutism can prefer the rights of one family to the rights of ten royal nations. The Prussian Germans, the Turks and Austria's royal agent in Bulgaria accept the Habsburgs, because they pursue the same antiquated dynastic aims; but if Europe is to be regenerated this immoral and obsolete tradition must be finally overcome. The Allies, if we may judge from their answer to President Wilson, understand this. The great question is how their aims can be realized. There is only one way: victory on the battlefield can alone secure the victory of truth and humanity. Truth and humanity in the abstract are not victorious, if men and nations do not defend and protect them.

ANOTHER GERMAN "SCRAP OF PAPER"

Prussia's Proclamation to Bohemia in 1866

At the moment when the Allies have solemnly committed themselves to the liberation of the Czecho-Slovaks as one of their war aims, it is worth recalling the words of the proclamation issued by the Prussian High Command on 8. July 1866, the day of their entry into Prague during the Seven Weeks' War against Austria. It will be seen from this document that the Germans were ready enough to recognize Bohemia's right to national independence when it suited their own ends to do so:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE GLORIOUS KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA!

As the result of the war unchained despite us by Austria we set foot on the soil of your country, **not as enemies, but with full respect for your historical and national rights.**

We come to offer to all the inhabitants without distinction of rank, religion or nationality, not war with its ravages, but a considerate friendship. Do not allow yourselves to be persuaded by our enemies and calumniators, that we have produced the present war by our desires of conquest. It is Austria who forced us to accept the combat, for she wished to attack us unexpectedly, in concert with the other German Governments. But **we, on the contrary, will do nothing to oppose your just desire for independence and free national expansion.** . . .

We leave the rest in full confidence in God the Omnipotent. If our just cause is victorious, the moment will perhaps come again, when the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia can freely dispose of their fate. A happier star will illumine this war and will establish your happiness forever.

Where We Stand To-day

By CHARLES PERGLER.

Events are following fast one upon another. Things that three years ago would have been sensational or would have caused unusual agitation, today are accepted quietly and calmly, if not with indifference.

When Secretary Lansing a while ago declared that this country is being brought to the very verge of war, he was severely criticised. Yet today we are standing on the very brink. On the docket of the recording angel of history a new case has been registered, that of the United States of America vs. The German Empire. While our movement originated in the hope of contributing to freeing the land of our ancestors from foreign yoke, yet our first duty now is to declare unequivocally where we stand in this latest of world controversies.

It is indeed strange what a superficial view people occasionally take of matters of supreme importance. Not a few voices have arisen in this country that President Wilson erred in severing diplomatic relations with the German Empire because of the ruthless German methods of submarine warfare. People taking this position do not seem to realize that beneath the questions of violation of international law and of the laws of humanity lie matters of even deeper import. Very likely the violation of international law of itself would be justification enough for the step the president has taken. Even in times of war there are certain things that should be observed. The tendency has been at least to attempt to mitigate the very barbarities of war, and any government or nation reverting to primitive methods of warfare is guilty of a crime against civilization which cannot be condoned. But Germany by its last decree arrogates to itself sovereign powers over the nations of the earth. America and American citizens on the high seas have certain rights which cannot be invaded by any other power, and if another power attempts to abridge them, that power is invading the sovereignty of the United States of America, and attempting to make of it a vassal nation. When Germany attempts to dictate to this country that only one vessel a week shall pass between American and English ports, marked with certain stripes, she is invading American sovereignty, she is attempting to do a

thing which only a sovereign can attempt to dictate to a subject, and when the president takes measures to show that this nation has not become a subject nation of Germany, we are with him to the end.

I am willing to go even farther than that. We are all opposed to unjust wars of aggression. But the verdict of mankind is that during the last two and one-half years Germany has conducted a struggle for world dominion. I would be the last man to underestimate the influence of such factors as economic considerations in bringing on wars. Yet it requires a peculiar sort of narrow-mindedness to declare that this war has been brought on by munition makers and profit-seekers, and nothing else; that the United States have been brought to the very verge of war by munition makers and profit-seekers, and nothing else. This conflict is a good deal more than all that; it is also a clash of conflicting ideas and conflicting civilizations. Possibly the supreme question raised by this war is whether the Prussian drillmaster shall govern Europe with his rod and perhaps the major part of the world. The issue of such a conflict cannot be a matter of indifference to Americans.

Pacifists resent to be called peace at any price people; yet most of them are crying out against war under any circumstances, and under any conditions; they want war stopped, apparently regardless of terms. In the abstract they undoubtedly want justice done; in the abstract they undoubtedly want right to prevail, but they have only themselves to blame if those of us who do not agree with them in all respects hear at the present time only their cry of peace, peace and peace, when there is no peace, and there can be no peace until all the questions which led to the present conflict are solved, solved right and solved permanently.

Our pacifists would do well to recall the words of Wendell Phillips at the outbreak of the Civil War: "In my view, the bloodiest war ever waged is infinitely better than the happiest slavery which ever fattened men into obedience. And yet I love peace. But it is real peace; not peace such as we have had, not peace that meant lynch-law in the Carolinas, and mob-law in New York; not

peace that meant chains around Boston courthouse, a gag on the lips of statesmen, and the slave sobbing himself to sleep in curses. No more such peace for me; no peace that is not born of justice, and does not recognize the rights of every race and every man."

We of Czech and Slovak origin are peculiarly happy at this juncture that American interests and those of our kinsmen in Europe coincide. We are demanding today independence for Bohemians and Slovaks. In effect, as far as they are concerned, the Czechs and Slovaks are endeavoring to abolish the Austro-Hungarian government and to institute a new government. In this they are acting consistently with the Declaration of Independence, which maintains that governments are instituted among men to secure the right to life, liberty and happiness, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government. The Austro-Hungarian government has never been anything else but destructive of such ends; it has attempted to denationalize the Czechs and Slovaks; it has attempted to rob them of their native tongue; it has exploited them economically, and during the last two years it has sent thousands of them to the gallows, or forced them to face the Austrian firing squads, and it has imprisoned their spokesmen on trumped-up charges. The Czechs and Slovaks therefore have the perfect right to attempt to abolish this government and to institute a new one. Indeed, the center of gravity of the world's reaction has shifted to Vienna. Austria-Hungary is a land of unlimited and unbridled absolutism, and in struggling for independence the Czechs and Slovaks are also fighting for democracy in the best sense of the term.

The American people and the American government have never hesitated to express their sympathy with peoples struggling against alien domination and for independence. It is well to remember that the famous message of President James Monroe, dated December 2nd, 1823, formulating the doctrine now bearing his name, also sympathetically speaks of the Greek war for independence in the following words: "A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their

contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. — From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes."

The right conceded to the Greeks is the right Czechs and Slovaks claim for themselves, and they believe that they are entitled to the same sympathetic attitude the Greeks enjoyed.

When the American government made a move which looked like an attempt to recognize the Hungarian Republic by America, Daniel Webster did not hesitate to declare: "Certainly the United States may be pardoned even by those who profess adherence to the principles of absolute governments, if they entertain an ardent affection for its popular forms of political organization which have so rapidly advanced their own prosperity, their happiness, and enabled them in so short a period to bring their country, and the hemisphere to which it belongs, to the notice and respectful regard, not to say the admiration, of the civilized world."

And on another occasion he was bold enough to express himself in favor of Hungarian independence, Hungarian control of her own destinies, and Hungary as a distinct nationality among the nations of Europe. What a pity that the Magyars themselves have turned oppressors of others since they regained independence! But may we not with propriety expect that as regards Bohemian and Slovak independence the American attitude should be summed up in these words: "Bohemian independence, Bohemian control of her own destinies, and Bohemia as a distinct nationality among the nations of Europe"?

President Wilson several times has declared that there can be no peace without justice to all nations, be they big or small, weak or strong. Indeed this he declares to be one of the conditions of permanent peace. Our whole movement therefore is in accord with American traditions as represented by official, as well as unofficial, expressions, beginning with the Declaration of Independence, and ending with the latest of state papers by Woodrow Wilson. .

Condemnation of Kramar.

If there was ever any doubt as to the sentiment of the Bohemian people and their sympathies in the present war, it has been removed in an authoritative way by an official communique of the Austrian government, dated January 5, 1917, which announces the commutation of the death sentences of Dr. Karel Kramar and his three co-defendants, and summarizes the evidence of their guilt.

The judgment of the highest military court of Vienna is a curiosity in this twentieth century. Since the days of the inquisition men have not been condemned for their beliefs or thoughts, but only for their acts. Kramar was found guilty of high treason because of what the court took to be his beliefs; and he was held responsible for the sentiments of the Czech people. You may not indict a nation, but you can indict and punish the nation through her leaders; that seems to be the standpoint of the men who dictated the judgment.

The judgment of the court and the official statement accompanying the judgment are of such intrinsic interest and shed so much light on conditions in Bohemia during the war that the full text of it deserves to be translated into English. It reads as follows:

"As has been announced before, Dr. Karel Kramar and Dr. Alois Rasin have been sentenced to death by the divisional military court for the crime of high treason, par. 58 of the Criminal Code, and for crime against the war power of the state, par. 32 of the Military Code. Vincenc Cervinka, secretary of the "Národní Listy" daily newspaper and Joseph Zamazal, clerk, have been sentenced to death for the crime of espionage. Kramar and Rasin have also been deprived of the degree of doctor of laws. The defendants applied for a writ of error. The supreme military court held a public hearing lasting eight days and refused the writ on Nov. 20, 1916, whereby the judgment went into effect.

But now His Majesty most graciously commuted the death sentences, and in place of them the following terms in the penitentiary at heavy labor were substituted: Karel Kramar 15 years, Alois Rasin 10 years, Vincenc Cervinka and Joseph Zamazal each 6 years.

The court in a lengthy opinion says:

Judgment of the lower court decided that Dr. Kramar as leader of the PanSlav propaganda in Bohemia and of the Czech movement in favor of Russia acted against the interests of the state both prior and subsequent to the outbreak of the war, by deliberate cooperation with plots aiming at the dismemberment of the monarchy. Not only in enemy countries, but also in neutral lands there was created a well organized and wide spread revolutionary propaganda which had for its purpose the partition of our monarchy by taking away from it Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Hungarian Slavland, as well as other districts inhabited by Slavs. It also aimed to increase internal peril for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, to organize rebellion and civil war and to employ all means for the erection of a Bohemian State, independent of Austria-Hungary. This propaganda was carried on partly by Bohemians who were settled in foreign lands or who fled after the opening of the war, such as Deputies Masaryk and Duerich, and Pavlu, a former editor of "Národní Listy", who deserted as an ensign from the front, partly by foreigners who had interested themselves before the war in the so-called Bohemian question in a sense hostile to the monarchy, and after the war broke out manifested decided enmity against the empire, such as Denis, Leger, Cheradame, Count Bobrinski, Lieutenant-General Volodimirov and others.

Means used by this propaganda were these: publishing of newspapers serving the idea of dismemberment (La Nation Tchèque, L'Indépendance Tchecoslovaque, Čechoslovan, Čechoslovak), publication of expressions, declarations, programs and newspaper articles in other foreign periodicals, creating of societies and political committees working toward the above mentioned aims; meetings and conferences were held (in Prague 1908 and 1912, in Petrograd 1909 etc.), and finally Czech volunteer legions were organized and armed in Russia, France and England which fought in enemy armies.

In addition to that there appeared in certain districts among parts of the Czech people at home a series of demonstrations that not merely gave expression to sentiments

hostile to the state, but actually tended to interfere with successful conduct of the war in a military and economic sense.

The judgment further declares that it has been proved that long before the war individual Bohemian statesmen, especially Kramar, under the guise of NeoSlavism used Slavic congresses and similar occasions to create and keep alive a movement that discussed Slavic reciprocity and cultural and racial aims, but actually developed treasonable designs, the true aim being the

events and the accused can be traced especially from the following circumstances:

1. As far as revolutionary propaganda in foreign lands is concerned, it has been proved that the defendant Kramar maintained relations with editors, propagators and publishers of the treasonable periodicals abroad, especially with Brancianinov, Bobrinsky, Denis, Masaryk, Pavlu, Propper and others; that he was contributor to the "Novoje Zveno" newspaper which before the war and after the war openly de-



DR. KAREL KRAMÁŘ.

separation of Czechoslovak lands from the monarchy. The military court is convinced that this movement in which the defendant Kramar participated as one of the originators, organizers and leaders and in which the defendant Rasin participated only distantly, must be considered the principal cause and the real root of all the military and treasonable events at home and abroad, in the interior and at the front.

This causal connection which even the war did not interrupt between the aforesaid

mandated the destruction of the monarchy and specifically stated so on the title page. It is to be noticed that there exists remarkable agreement between the ideas, aims and phrases of the accused, of these treasonable publications and of the "Národní Listy."

2. Dr. Kramar used the "Národní Listy" as the herald of his politics and controlled its tendencies. Rasin also took part in this as contributing editor, although his activity was exerted in the economic and financial field and remained far behind Kramar's ac-

tivity. Proof of Kramar's influence in the "Národní Listy" are above all three articles, dated August 4, 1914, January 1, 1915 and April 6, 1915. In them Kramar is full of enthusiasm over the liberation of small nations which victory of the entente is expected to bring, whereby the nation will awake out of darkness and humiliation toward new life. The Bohemian nation will through its strength, unity and organization flourish anew after the catastrophe which this war will bring about.

The manner in which this newspaper was conducted for some time after the outbreak of the war was hostile to the monarchy in other ways also. Display of news favorable to our enemies, praise of their political and economic condition, pessimism over conditions in our monarchy, veiled admonitions to passive resistance with reference to war needs, especially the first two war loans, colored the contents of this newspaper.

3. An issue of "La Nation Tchèque", a periodical published in France, contains numerous articles which set forth at length in the most objectionable manner the ideas and aims of the treasonable propaganda. This newspaper, shedding a clear light on the program of Kramar and those who agree with him, was found in Kramar's pocket at the time of his arrest, and his excuse that the pages were not cut and that he did not know the contents was found to be false. The publisher of "La Nation Tchèque" is Professor Denis, a friend of Kramar, formerly a contributor to the "Národní Listy." Other foreign printed matter of similar contents was found among Kramar's effects, so especially Bohemian translation of two articles from the "London Times" of a similar tendency.

4. A serious indication that Kramar was guilty of criminal acts is his secret conversation with the Italian consul in a Prague hotel in April 1915 shortly before Italy declared war.

5. In the draft of a letter addressed to Governor Prince Thun found among Kramar's papers Kramar stated explicitly that faithful to his political principles he was bound to avoid everything that would look like approval of the present war, and that his own attitude and the attitude of the "Národní Listy" toward the war loans was governed by this view.

The court is convinced that this conduct of the defendants is responsible for unfortunate occurrences which were committed

by a part of the Bohemian people and placed serious obstacles in the way of successful prosecution of the war. In this respect we must mention the distribution of treasonable Russian proclamations in Bohemia and Moravia, expressions of sympathy for the enemy, frequent criminal prosecutions for political offences, failure of the plan to have the Bohemian deputies declare their loyalty at the beginning of the war, for which Kramar as leader of the representatives of the Bohemian people must be held primarily responsible; slight participation by population of the Czech race in the first two war loans, in the war collection of metals and collections for the Red Cross; organization of Czech volunteer legions in hostile lands; conduct of some Bohemian prisoners of war in enemy countries which ignored their duties and comradeship; unreliability of soldiers in certain parts of the army resulting in repeated voluntary surrenders to the enemy; insubordination of many Bohemian regiments both at the front and in garrison which were dangerous to the state and grossly violated all discipline, as a result of which military operations were seriously damaged and the enemy was enabled to gain successes. All this is in the opinion of the court the fruit of the agitation carried on for many years by Kramar and Rasin, and strengthens the case against them. The activities of the two defendants aimed at forcible territorial changes of the empire; they increased external danger and incited to insurrection in the interior (against par. 58c and 59b, Cr. Code); they tended to undermine our military power and caused serious losses, in violation of par. 32 of Military Code, constituting the crime against the war power of the state.

With reference to the defendants Zamazal and Cervinka the judgment found that Zamazal has been for years a Russophile and entertained ideas hostile to the state and that immediately after war broke out he undertook to spy out facts of military importance relating to the defense of the state and the plans of the army. For that purpose he collected with the help of sufficient expert knowledge reports and observations of military and strategical events and communicated them not only to individuals, but also to editors of papers, chiefly the "Národní Listy". With the same aim in view he undertook two trips into the zone of operations, until arrested on suspicion of espionage.

Zamazal carried on relations with the "Národní Listy" through editorial secretary Vincenc Cervinka. It has been proved that Cervinka corresponded with traitors in foreign lands, such as Pavlu and others, by writing to a certain address in Roumania. Experts in military science see good circumstantial evidence in the fact that Cervinka advised Zamazal to write carefully, because this activity was to serve the enemy against the fatherland.

These proofs quoted from the judgment trace the main outlines of this entire organization hostile to the state both in its origin and development. However unpleasant may be this picture, it has nevertheless been proved by the process that a comparatively small part of the Bohemian nation and its leaders succumbed to criminal agitation. It would be a mistake to place the blame for these pitiful conditions upon the patriotic part of the Bohemian nation which condemns sharply these errors. This is especially so, since the present leadership of the Bohemian nation seriously attempts to bring back all the people to the Austrian state idea.

It should also be stated that the great majority of the Bohemian regiments excelled as always in brave fighting; that is

proved by their bloody losses and many merited decorations.

Let the guilty ones suffer the proper penalty. But it is right that general suspicion and condemnation should not be indulged in."

The judgment pronounced upon Kramar and his fellow victims may be called a brief history of the movement for the Bohemian independence written from the point of view of the Hapsburg dynasty. The date of publication, January 5, is material. It was a few days after the rejection by the entente of the German peace feelers. Vienna saw that war must go on, that its outcome was extremely doubtful, that the work of Czech exiles was bearing fruit and that the active and passive resistance of Czechs at home seriously hampered the strength of Austria. The publication of the judgment, commutation of the death sentences and the commendation of the "patriotic" part of Bohemia and of the new Czech leadership represents a clumsy attempt on the part of the new premier, Count Clam-Martinić, to offer the olive branch to the rebellious Gzechs. So far Count Clam-Martinić has not met with success. He has not obtained an expression of loyalty from the Bohemian deputies and he is still afraid to call a meeting of the parliament.

Current Topics

A SYMPATHETIC EDITORIAL.

That the efforts of the Bohemians to call the attention of America to the cry of Bohemia for freedom are meeting with some response is evidenced, by a very cordial and well informed editorial article, published in the Chicago Journal, February 9, 1917, under the title of "The Unconsidered Martyr". It reads as follows:

"Much, though not a word too much, has been said of the sufferings of Belgium, Poland and Serbia; brave, unfortunate peoples bludgeoned by the warmakers of Berlin. But there is another heroic state whose martyrdom, as cruel as these, has passed almost unnoticed—Bohemia.

By this term is meant the Czecho-Slovak nation, including Bohemia proper, Moravia and a slice of northwestern Hungary. This nation numbers nearly 10,000,000 members, has a rich and ancient culture, a stirring history and an unbreakable love of liberty. It has resisted all the efforts of the Hapsburgs to Germanize it and remained a Slavic state; friendly to France and England as the liberal powers of Europe and to Russia as the protector of Slav peoples. For this, even before

the war, it was held down like a newly conquered and hostile province, and since the war broke, Bohemian sufferings have been incalculable.

By the end of, the first year of the conflict two-thirds of the Czech publications had been suppressed, and many of the editors imprisoned or executed. No musician is allowed to play the works of the great Bohemian composer, Smetana, and no Czech is allowed to circulate or read the writings of Tolstoi or Emerson. The athletic societies have been disbanded, Germans have been put in charge of the police administration of Bohemian cities, the national language is forbidden on the railways and may not even be used in sending telegrams. These measures are enforced with savage severity; according to a semiofficial paper of Vienna, up to December, 1915, there had been 1,045 civil executions in Bohemia and Moravia alone.

The Bohemians have resisted this tyranny in every way they could. Forced by their tyrants into a war against their friends, they have deserted at every opportunity. The Twenty-eighth regiment went over to the Russians in a body, and is now

fighting gallantly on the Russian side. The Eighth, Thirtieth, Eighty-eighth and 102nd regiments made the same move in a little less unanimous fashion. Thousands of recalcitrant Bohemian soldiers have been executed, and wholesale confiscations have been levied against the families of those who have been taken prisoners; yet still the desertions go on.

A people so devoted and resourceful can not be destroyed and should not be held in tutelage. When the war ends, there should be an independent republic of Bohemia."

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

Twenty eight delegates attended the conference of the Bohemian National Alliance, held in Cleveland on February 17 and 18. Two years ago a smaller conference was held in the same city, and from it dates the real growth of this remarkable organization created by war. The Alliance has today 147 branches in 25 states. It has collected considerable money which has been sent to Profesor Masaryk and his co-workers in Europe to enable them to conduct a campaign of publicity in the interest of Czecho-Slovak independence. That this money was well invested is proved by the Allies' note of January 10, 1917, which for the first time since the thirty years war made the liberation of Bohemia an international problem. Without the effective work of the Bohemian exiles the probabilities are that Bohemia would have been forgotten.

At the Cleveland conference the subjects of discussion included methods of organization to the end that all those of Czech descent in the United States should take part in the work of the Alliance; means were considered of gaining the sympathy of America for, or rather America's attention to, the just demands of the Czech and Slovak race for freedom. Closer co-operation between Bohemians and Slovaks was urged as being in the interest of both these kindred races. Recommendations of the conference submitted to the local branches for approval include the retention of the central office of the Alliance in Chicago for a further period of two years, and an amendment to the constitution intended to facilitate the creation of more branches.

The delegates present at this conference represented Bohemian settlements from Boston in the east to San Francisco in the west and were of various professions and callings. Businessmen, workmen, doctors, lawyers, ministers, publishers, university professors and three ladies mingled together on terms of perfect equality in a way that would have convinced any observer that democratic manners are deeply rooted in the hearts of the Bohemian people.

Sunday night, February 18, after the conference adjourned, a mass meeting of Cleveland Slavs was held at Grey's Armory, attended by some three thousand people. The chairman was V. Svarc, a Cleveland attorney. The English speaker was Charles Pergler of Cresco, Ia., who in a scholarly and effective speech argued that Americans, if they are true to the principles of the American Revolu-

tion, must approve of the struggles of Bohemians and Slovaks for freedom; in support of his thesis he quoted various state papers in which our presidents and secretaries of state expressed the sympathy of America for oppressed nations fighting for liberation. From the Bohemian point of view this Cleveland meeting will be memorable, because on that occasion representatives of all religious and political persuasions spoke from the same platform. Democrats, Republicans and Socialists, Catholic priest, Presbyterian minister and leader of free-thinkers, all urged with equal enthusiasm the duty of all the children of Bohemia to help the land of their fathers in this critical period of its history.

The conference sent a telegram to President Wilson, and the mass meeting adopted a resolution, both to the effect that Slavs of Austria-Hungary will support the president in any steps he may find necessary in defense of American rights.

BOHEMIANS IN CANADA

If war comes between the United States and the Central Powers, Bohemians in the Republic will be very much in the same position in which Bohemians in the Dominion found themselves in 1914. Those that were not naturalized were considered alien enemies, being subjects of the Austrian Emperor. At that time the Canadian government had no time or inclination to pay attention to the impassioned protests of the Czechs that their hearts were on the side of the Allies. Bohemians in Canada are few, some four thousand all told, scattered from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, mostly laborers and farmers, lacking leaders whose voice would be heard in Ottawa. Many were interned, others had to report themselves regularly to the police, and all suffered much from the suspicion with which Canadians looked upon all foreigners coming from Austria.

When the government of the Dominion found time to study the problem of the interned aliens, it followed the example of the imperial government and declared the Czechs or Bohemians, as well as the Slovaks, a friendly race. The Bohemian National Alliance of America, to which at first the Canadian Czechs attached themselves, was recognized in Ottawa as the spokesman of this people, and two representatives of this organization visited Canada in 1915 to procure the release of their interned countrymen and to inform the Canadian people of the sentiments of Bohemians. But the most powerful agent in convincing Canada of the friendly feelings of this "Austrian" race was the action of the Canadian residents of Czech birth by volunteering for army service. In Michel, B. C., all the physically fit members of the local Bohemian National Alliance joined the army and are now in England. In Portage la Prairie, Man., seventy Bohemian volunteers are training with the 223rd Battalion, and they expect to grow into a full company before they are sent across the ocean. In every province of the Dominion there were Bohemian volunteers, and the Bohemian National Alliance of Canada, an or-

ganization independent of a similar body in the United States, is centering its efforts on the enlistment of the remaining eligible members of this race.

The lesson of Canada for Bohemians in the United States and above all for those who are not naturalized, is evident. If war comes, it will not do to talk about the hate of Czechs for Austrian tyranny. When the President calls for volunteers, those of the Czech race, citizens or aliens, must respond promptly.

FROM FAR-OFF RUSSIA

During the retreat of the Russian army from the Carpathians in the spring of 1915 Lieutenant-General Kornilov, commanding the rear guard, was captured and interned in Bohemia. In the summer of 1916 he managed to escape with the help of a Bohemian soldier, Frank Mrnak. For several weeks the two fugitives were making their way stealthily toward the Roumanian frontier, hiding by day and traveling at night. But one day in August they were surprised by gendarmes; the general got away and finally reached Russia, where he now commands an army corps. Mrnak was hit and captured, and later sentenced by the court martial in Pressburg to be shot.

It had been the Bohemian soldiers' intention to enter as a volunteer into the ranks of the Czecho-Slovak brigade which has by this time grown into two divisions. That his name and his heroic deed should not be forgotten, the commander of the brigade issued an order to have Mrnak's name inscribed first on the roll of Company A of the first regiment of the Czecho-Slovak brigade of sharpshooters. At every roll-call, when Mrnak's name is called, the sergeant of the first squad shall answer: "Shot by Hungarian court martial in Pressburg for saving General Kornilov."

SOKOLS TO FIGHT FOR AMERICA

The newly organized Sokol Union of America, numbering nearly twelve thousand athletes, has issued a call to its entire membership urging them to volunteer for service in the army in case of war with Germany. The call is signed by John Siman, national president of the organization, and by a military committee of five members, of which Jarka Kosar is chairman. It says: "We stand behind our president and offer him our bodies in defense of the noble principles and rights of the United States. The Bohemian people have poured out much blood in days past in the interests of humanity and liberty. In French, English and Russian legions Bohemians, principally Sokols, fight today for the rights of oppressed nations and in defense of their adopted countries. We, Czechs of America, have foresworn subjection to the unjust and tyrannical government of Austria and proudly received the boon of citizenship in this great, free republic. To this country we are bound by holy ties of civic duties, and for it we are ready to sacrifice our fortunes and our lives.

"All true brothers of our great Sokol Union are called upon to fill out the enclosed enrollment cards

as volunteers for the 'Sokol Legion'. Local societies are asked to forward the enrollments to the nearest district office in one of the following cities: New York, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, Cedar Rapids, Ia., Omaha, St. Louis, Dallas, San Francisco, Portland, Ore. These stations again are directed to report promptly to the military committee at Chicago."

This call of the national officers has been sent together with enrollment blanks to 110 local organizations. It has also been published in all the Bohemian papers in this country, since it is the intention of the organizers to accept physically fit men other than members of the Sokol Union. Bohemian physicians have been provided to subject each volunteer to a strict examination. The age limit for the present has been made 18 to 35 years. A large proportion of the Bohemian Sokols (falcons) have served in European armies, and the Sokol Legion would be ready for service in less time than other volunteer formations.

JOHN SIMAN DEAD.

A few days after issuing the above call to the Bohemian Sokols John Siman, president of the Sokol Union of America and Clerk of the City of Chicago, died of pneumonia February 28, 1917. The day before, while he was unconscious, Republican voters of Chicago made him again their candidate for City Clerk.

John Siman was born in Chicago of Bohemian parents in 1870. He was as good an American as any descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers and in his public life he fought consistently for good government. As City Clerk in Chicago, to which position he was elected by the biggest majority ever given to any candidate, he made an enviable record in economy and efficiency. At the same time he always took a lively interest in the life of his people on the West Side of Chicago, and his character and ability secured him the highest honors in the gift of his country-men. Although he had never seen the land of his ancestors, he heartily approved the movement carried on since the war began for the liberation of Bohemia from the Hapsburg yoke.

Siman's life exemplifies clearly the fact that a sturdy American patriotism need not conflict with a warm affection for the ancestral land in Europe.

Bohemians in Chicago have suffered a real loss in the death of John Siman.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Emperor Karl says that Austria and Germany are one. It is easy to guess, which one.

If you have subscribed, the wrapper will read Jan. '18.

Bohemian soldiers fight on the side of the Allies in France, Russia, Roumania and Macedonia.

6771
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April, 1917

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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 3.

APRIL, 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Future Status of Bohemia.

By THOMAS G. MASARYK*

In a previous article, "Bohemia and the European Crisis", an attempt was made to show by a succinct historical sketch the political meaning of the Bohemian question. Until the war broke out Western public opinion displayed little interest in the constitutional and political problems of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its constituent countries, and even during the war attention has been mainly directed to Germany to the exclusion of Austria-Hungary. It was but natural that many political amateurs should fight against a recognition of the fact that Austria-Hungary was no less an enemy of Great Britain than Germany herself. Fortunately the leading statesmen of Britain and her Allies grasped the true situation, as has been clearly shown by their programme proclaiming the liberation of the non-German and non-Magyar nations of Austria-Hungary—in other words, the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy. One of the nations to be liberated is the Czecho-Slovak, which, as I have tried to show, has the full right to independence. Bohemia is, indeed, in point of law, an independent state whose ancient rights are disputed and violated by the Germans and Magyars. The Bohemian question is not a mere question of nationality, and cannot be solved by granting a greater or less degree of home rule and autonomy; there are political considerations as well. Bohemia is struggling for independence, and the achievement of that independence is in the interests of the Allies—nay more, it is a necessity for them.

The present article deals with the proposed independent Bohemian State and its administrative and constitutional organization.

1. Area and Population. — The Bohemian State would be composed of the lands

of the Crown of St. Wenceslas, namely, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia; and to these would be added the Slovak districts of North Hungary. The frontiers of the three former would, in the main, follow the lines laid down by history and tradition, but the southern and eastern frontiers of Slovakia could not be fixed without opposition from the Magyars, in spite of their being mainly ethnographical, and including as little of the Magyar population as possible. The new State would thus have about 12,000,000 inhabitants, and would extend to about 50,000 English square miles (Belgium = 11,373).

2. The Name. — The Note to President Wilson proposes the liberation of "the Czechs and Slovaks" (des Tchèques et des Slovaques), whereas the English translation speaks of "Czecho-Slovaks". It is necessary to settle the question of terminology first. This is not a mere matter of philology; behind the name there lies a certain political and legal conception and an attempt at definitions. It is well known that this question of terminology caused great difficulties between Austria and Hungary at the time when the Dual system was established, and similar difficulties might arise in our case.

Bohemia, strictly speaking, designates Bohemia proper, the chief Bohemian country, exclusive of Moravia and Silesia; but the "Bohemian" Crown designates all these countries as a constitutional unit. In that sense the name might designate the whole future State. Its origin appears to be Celtic; the Boii were a Celtic people who inhabited part of the land, and were succeeded by the German tribe of Marcomanni, who, in their turn, were supplanted by the Slav Czechs. Čech is the Slav name for the Slav people and language in Bohemia and its provinces, and as there is a

*Reprinted from "The New Europe", Feb. 22, 1917.

German and Polish minority in these provinces, the terms used to designate the whole country, the State, are "Bohemia" and "Bohemian". The Czechs themselves do not adopt this distinction but use the word "Czech" in both senses. When writing German or Latin, however, they do use the words "Böhme", "Bohemus", but the French have adopted the Slav designation, and this is also used by the Germans.

The Slovaks extend from the southeast corner of Moravia far into Hungary. They are part of the Czech nation. Incorporated in Hungary as early as the tenth century, and being thereby separated from the Czechs, they have formed a national unit against the Magyars. In the eighteenth century they adopted their own dialect as their literary language; but the language question does not play a prominent rôle, inasmuch as every Czech understands Slovak quite well, and vice versa.

There has always been a party among the Slovaks who, though adhering to their own dialect, are in favor of the union of these two branches of the same nation. The word "Czecho-Slovak" or "Czechoslovak" (the latter form being intended to designate a closer union) is very widely used, although it is not accepted by the radical Slovaks, who claim an absolutely distinct nationality. The political relationship between Bohemia and Slovakia can be variously formulated in terms of the nomenclature. The same questions may arise as those which are discussed in fixing the relationship of Austria to Hungary. It will depend, for instance, how close the union is as to whether the name "Czechoslovak", "Czecho-Slovak", or "Czech and Slovak", will be decided upon. There is no doubt that the union of the two branches will grow. So far, the political spokesmen of the Czechs and Slovaks in the European and American colonies (in Bohemia and Slovakia the people cannot publicly express their opinion) have agreed to claim one common, united State, and it is taken as a matter of course by both parties that the Slovaks of Slovakia will freely use their language as they choose. There will, indeed, be no language question; the political interest of the problem is concerned only with the financial organization of Slovakia and her economic and educational development. And, in that respect, the interests of Slovakia are best served by the closest possible union, because the Magyars have pur-

posely neglected her, and have tried as far as possible, to keep her, economically, at the old primitive stage of development.

It will therefore be generally agreed that the best designation for the State, which is to be composed of the Czechs and Slovaks, and of the non-Slav minorities, will be Bohemia. This will almost certainly be the name adopted for international use, for, in this case, terminology need take no account of internal qualifications, and will inevitably choose the simple term, especially as it happens to be the one by which the country is generally known.

3. Constitution and Government. — Bohemia is projected as a monarchical state, though the more radical politicians advocate a Bohemian Republic. It must be admitted that the experience of foreign dynasties in the Balkans induces even the more conservative politicians to admit the expediency of the republican constitution.

The dynastic question is left to the Allies, who might perhaps give one of their own princes. There might be a personal union between Serbia and Bohemia, if the Serbs and Bohemians were to be neighboring countries. A personal union with Russia or with Poland, if the latter were to be quite independent has also been suggested. (German and Austrian princes must eo ipso be excluded.) The Bohemian people are thoroughly Slavophil. The Russian dynasty, in whatever form, would be most popular; and, in any case, Bohemian politicians desire the establishment of the kingdom of Bohemia in complete accord with Russia. The greatest of the Slav States could then assume the initiative in the solution of any Slavonic question.

Bohemian politicians, though alive to the difficulties of reconstituting Bohemia, do not shrink from the responsibility of the work to be done. If they wish for complete independence, it is because they desire to use all the political forces of the nation to build a strong State. Russia and all the Allies will be best served by strong Slav States and nations, and this aim can be best attained if these nations themselves bear the full responsibility for their policy.

Bohemia will of course be constitutional and democratic. The regeneration of Europe will be achieved, not only by the reform of foreign policy, but, above all, by the active furtherance of liberty and progress in the inner life of the European na-

tions; for this task the Allies and Europe can fully rely on the Bohemian nation.

4. Economic and Financial Problems. — Economically and financially Bohemia is acknowledged to be the "pearl of Austria," and she will in the future be as rich as she is now; she will, in fact, be richer, because she will not have to support the economically weaker provinces of Austria.

Bohemia was, from the beginning of the union with Hungary and Austria, the political backbone of Austria; the Alpine countries were poor, Trieste and the sea were of little importance, Hungary had no economic significance at all. Bohemia exported grain and manufactured goods; it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that Hungary became the granary of Austria and partly of Bohemia, which then, like the rest of Austria, imported the grain and flour she required from America.

At present the population of the Bohemian countries is, in round numbers, half agricultural, half industrial. In Bohemia proper, 35 per cent are employed in agriculture, the rest in industry, commerce, and the so-called liberal occupations. In Moravia and Silesia, 50 per cent live on agriculture; in Slovakia a much higher percentage still.

The following facts will suffice to indicate the economic strength of the Bohemian countries:

In the year 1906-1914 the average production of grain was (in round figures), in Bohemia 54½ mill. cwt., in Moravia 24 mill., in Silesia 4 mill.

After making due allowance for grain used for sowing purposes, and for grain wasted, this works out at an average of over 810 lbs. a year per head in Bohemia, and in Moravia the average is 890 lbs. per head. The Bohemian lands altogether give an average of 815 lbs. per head for a population of little less than 10 millions, while, in the rest of Austria, it is hardly 511 lbs. per head. It should be remarked that half of this grain can be used for milling, and gives flour and foodstuffs of excellent quality, which, together with the yearly produce in potatoes, peas, lentils, vegetables and excellent fruit, is more than sufficient for general consumption. In 1914 the harvest was so good that it gave an average of 839 lbs. per head. It should be remembered that cultivation in Bohemia has not reached the same stage of development as that of Denmark or Belgium. There are

great possibilities ahead if the rate of development evinced during the last ten years is maintained. The great number of large estates in the south and west are an important asset, particularly in regard to cattle-breeding.

During the years 1906-1910 Bohemia and Moravia contributed almost 46 per cent of the total grain produced in Austria, 41 per cent of the potatoes, 44 per cent of the clover and fodder, and 93 (!) per cent of beet sugar. The Austrian sugar industry is almost entirely confined to the Bohemian lands. The statistics of the production of fruit, vegetables, cereals, etc., are equally indicative of Bohemia's importance. And this, in spite of the fact that these lands represent only 26.4 per cent of the soil of Austria and hardly 35½ per cent of her inhabitants.

To the total amount of brown coal produced in Austria (26½ mill. tons) Bohemia alone contributes 83 per cent, and to the 15.8 mill. tons of black coal, 86.66 per cent. These results place Bohemia among the richest States in the world, along with England, the United States and Germany, for she produces about 26½ per cent of black and also 51 cwt. of brown coal for every one of her 10 million inhabitants.

Of the iron ore turned out by Austria (27 mill. cwt.), about a third is produced in Bohemia. Though the country itself is not very rich in iron ore, yet, in consequence of the great production of coal, the iron works in Bohemia are very extensive, forming over 60 per cent of the entire industry in Austria. As these two branches of natural wealth and industry are the most important of all, the Bohemian lands are invaluable to Austria.

In the other industries as well, the importance of Bohemia is equally paramount. She monopolises 93% of the entire sugar industry and about 46% of the breweries. Hops are grown only in the Bohemian lands, whence they are exported. The engineering industry also has its seat chiefly in Bohemia, as do the textile (cotton and wool), glass, paper and leather industries, stone-cutting and grinding, graphite quarrying, chemistry and electro-technology.

In consequence of this industrial activity, Bohemia returns the highest profits for railways, posts and telegraphs. Her network of railways is the thickest, and she alone, out of the whole of Austria, can boast of private railways run for the benefit of par-

ticular factories. This feature is especially characteristic of the north of Bohemia. The Bohemian postal system yields 52% of the total profits.

In banking and exchange the Bohemian lands used to be dependent on Vienna, but they have been emancipated since 1895, and, during these 20 years, the capital of the Bohemian banks has increased sevenfold, having risen from 48 mill. to 336 mill. crowns. And it must be remembered that the chief source of the banking capital of Vienna is the trade with the Bohemian lands. The development of Bohemian trade has, during the last few years, been exceedingly rapid.

The Slovak territory in the north of Hungary is very different. It is mostly agricultural, as yet comparatively undeveloped, and as the country is very hilly and the methods of cultivation obsolete, it is much poorer than the other Bohemian lands. The southern part, being less hilly, is fertile enough, producing, indeed, very good wine; and as the hilly north has much natural wealth in the form of iron ore, great forests, etc., which is as yet unexploited, the country could be industrialised to great advantage. It could supply the other Bohemian lands with the commodities of which they are short, such as iron ore, copper and tin; and finally, the country is good for sheep and cattle raising. This territory is very similar to Silesia, the larger part of which is now industrial, and could be turned to the same use.

Nor must we forget the wealth of the compounds of uranium and radium, mined at Joachimsthal, nor the baths at Karlsbad, Franzensbad and Marienbad, Teplitz, Poděbrady, Mšene, Luhačovice and Pistany. Bohemian territory is, in this respect, one of the richest countries in the world. In short, except for salt, mercury and naphtha, the Bohemian lands have an abundance of everything necessary for cultural development, so that, as an independent country, they would be quite self-sufficing, and would, moreover, be able to export not only their agricultural, but a great part of their industrial products as well.

From the point of view of modern political economy, Bohemia may be said to be an ideal country, being in possession of all the necessary conditions for putting into practice the modern theories of free trade and protectionism. It has great possibilities of realising that harmony between agricult-

ure and industry, that economic self-sufficiency which, by many theorists, is put forward as a postulate for forming even the smallest autonomous State cf. the chapter on free trade in Gide's "Political Economy."

In emergencies such as war the Bohemian lands would also be thoroughly competent to hold their own, both agriculturally as well as industrially.

The natural and industrial riches of the Bohemian lands, making possible as they do a very heavy system of taxation, have always formed the financial foundation of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. The population of the Bohemian lands is much denser, and the whole standard of life is much higher than that of the other lands of Austria.

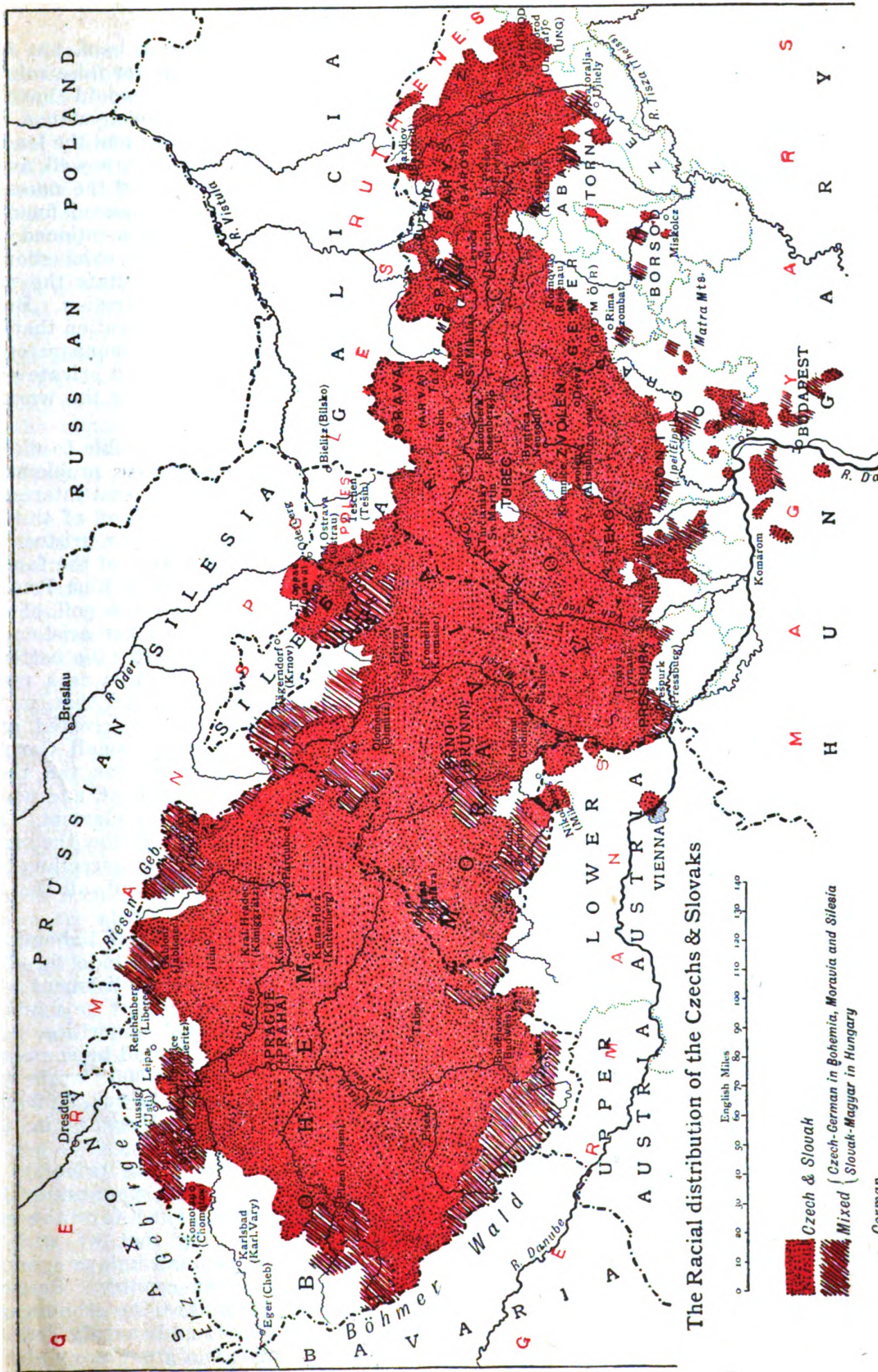
The following table illustrates the Bohemian contribution on the basis of direct taxation to the Austrian finances:—

	The Bohemian lands pay—	Other provinces (except Lower Austria) pay—
House property taxes.....	49½ %	50½ %
Tax on earnings.....	61½ %	38½ %
Income tax	56.7%	41.3%
The total of all direct taxes..	57%	43%

The Bohemian lands and the other Austrian lands (not counting Lower Austria and Vienna) have 25.04 million inhabitants, in the proportion of 40.5% and 59.5% respectively. Lower Austria is placed separately, because the position of Vienna, as the capital, is a privileged one; it is the real centre of Bohemian industry and export trade. Many Czech undertakings have their central offices and rights of domicile there because the scale of taxation and the municipal rates of Vienna are lower than in Bohemia.

That explains why the rateability of Bohemia tends to drop, while that of Vienna and Lower Austria tends to rise. If we could include those figures in the statistics, and if we entered the precise rateability of those Bohemian undertakings that are domiciled in Vienna, in the archives of the Bohemian lands, the difference would be still more in our favor. But even as it is, the rateability of the Bohemian lands is 11.90 crowns per head, whereas in the rest of the Austrian lands it is only six crowns.

Still more significant are the statistics of indirect taxation in Austria (taxes on beer, sugar, spirits, salt, paraffin, tobacco, and excise taxes, etc.). With the exception of



spirits, the consumption of all those articles is far greater in the Bohemian lands.

The Bohemian lands are, indeed, the "pearl of Austria," not only from the point of view of agricultural and industrial production, but also, and as the inevitable result thereof, from the financial standpoint. In the other lands of the Monarchy the State expenses are greater than the income received from them in return, and this deficit is made good by the Bohemian countries. In view of the foregoing facts few people will entertain any doubts as to Bohemia's chances of being self-supporting and progressive.

Bohemia has, unfortunately, no seaboard (except in one of Shakespeare's plays), and that, no doubt, is a great drawback as compared, for instance, with little Denmark and the other sea-bordered countries. But Bohemia does not stand alone in that respect; she is no worse off than Serbia, Hungary, Switzerland. The example of Switzerland shows that not only political independence can be preserved, but also that modern means of communication enable even a landlocked country to maintain a flourishing industry. Switzerland has not even any coal, and yet she has succeeded in becoming an industrial country. Bohemia, on the other hand, is very rich in coal, and will therefore be able to run the necessary railways. But she will have at her disposal Trieste, which, it may be presumed, will be a free port; and she will also have the Serbo-Croatian ports and Polish Danzig, should her relations with Germany prevent the use of Hamburg. The distance from Prague to Hamburg is the same as that to Trieste; Danzig is a little further, as is also Fiume. There is the possibility of creating a cheap waterway by a Moravia-Oder-Vistula channel, of which there already exists the beginning.

Although the sea undoubtedly furnishes comparatively strong strategical frontiers, yet the development of modern navies easily counterbalances that advantage, as has been experienced in this war. Belgium, Denmark, Norway, for instance, can make little use of the sea.

Bohemia would, of course, take her share of the Austrian public debt contracted before the war; but she will decline to participate in the debt resulting from the war. The financial situation of Austria-Hungary is very precarious; the war has cost the country an enormous amount of money,

and the Austro-Hungarian bank has been degraded into an institute for false coining.

Independent Bohemia would have to begin her own administration with a considerable financial burden; and the leading political men of Bohemia are well aware of their serious task, and of the necessity for a solid, thoroughly balanced financial administration. It may be mentioned that after the war the financial exhaustion of all the nations will necessitate the most stringent financial administration. But it may be said without exaggeration that Bohemia will have excellent administrators in all departments of public and private service, who will be quite fit for the work of remodelling the new State.

In this outline it is impossible to discuss all the social and economic problems of Bohemia. But it is of general interest to point out the peculiar position of the Bohemian landed proprietors or aristocracy, which is very similar to that of the famous East Elbian Junkers. As in East Prussia, the Germans confiscated the soil of the Slavs, so did Austria and her aristocratic accomplices in Bohemia after the battle of the White Mountain. It was as a result of these and former robberies that, in Bohemia, landed estates were created of a size equal to some of the small German States. These proprietors, for the most part, are Austrian in sentiment, and would perhaps form a dangerous element. Bohemia might, in that case, follow the methods of land purchase and parcelling out adopted in Ireland; as indeed, all the liberal parties demand.

5. The National Minorities in Bohemia.—As it is not my intention to hide the difficulties which face the establishment of a free Bohemia, reference must be made to the question of national minorities.

The Bohemian State would be composed in round figures, of 9,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 230,000 Poles in Silesia, 3,000,000 Germans, and 150,000 Magyars in Slovakia.

Though we advocate the principle of nationality we wish to retain our minorities. That seems a paradox, but it is on the very principle of nationality that we wish to retain them. Bohemia is a unique example of a nationally mixed country. Between the Italians and Germans, the ethnographical frontier is simple and sharply defined. Not so in Bohemia; in a great many places, and in all the cities, there are consider-

able German or Czech minorities. The Germans object that the Czech minorities in North Bohemia, etc., are "only" working men—people who live on German bread; but this antisocial argument is obviously false, and it is inconsistent with the process of the industrialisation of Bohemia, which, of course, needs factory "hands"; moreover, it was the Germans themselves who invited the Czechs to immigrate.

The question of national minorities is of capital significance not only in Bohemia, but in almost all countries, almost all States being nationally mixed. Even if the new Europe cannot be remodelled on a strictly nationalist basis, the national rights of the minorities must be assured. This will be done in Bohemia. The Bohemians have always claimed equal, not superior, rights. Owing to her central position it will be to Bohemia's interest to grant full rights to the Germans and the two smaller minorities. Common sense will demand it. Nor would it be contrary to the spirit of the proposal that the rights of national minorities should be granted and secured by an International Court.

So far as the German minority is concerned, I should not be opposed to a rectification of the political frontier; parts of Bohemia and Moravia, where there are only a few Czechs might be ceded to German Austria. In that way the German minority could be perhaps reduced by one million. But it must be remembered that there are large Czech minorities in Lower Austria and Vienna ($\frac{1}{2}$ million), and there are also Czechs in Prussian Silesia, in the territories of Glatz and Ratibor and a large Sorb minority in Lusatia. Pangermans cannot, therefore, justly complain of the fate of the minority in Bohemia. The just rule for national redistribution in Europe consists in the fair application of the principle of the majority. Which is the more just—that nine million Czechs should be under German rule or that three million Germans should be under Czech rule?

If the Germans insist on the argument that their culture invests them with the right of ruling the less cultured nations, the fact must be emphasised that the Czechs are not less cultured than the Germans. Even Austrian statistics show a smaller number of illiterates in Bohemia than in German Austria.

There is one means, of a more financial nature, which might help to rearrange na-

tional minorities. The German and Austrian politicians, especially the Pangermans, have very often proposed that the various States should undertake a systematic intermigration of national minorities. I see that in England Mr. Buxton recommends this means for the Balkans. It may be doubted whether this expedient would be very effective, if equal national rights were granted. The Magyars tried some years ago to repatriate the small Magyar minority of the Bukovina; the undertaking was a complete failure, for the repatriated colonists soon left Hungary and went back. But after the war, many countries will need men—farmers, artisans and members of the professional classes, and, therefore, a systematic transplanting of minorities might be attempted.

6. The International Position of Bohemia in regenerated Europe. — The re-establishment of independent Bohemia is only one part of the Allied programme of reconstruction. In close connection with the Bohemian are the Polish and Southern Slav questions. The Poles, Czech-Slovaks, and Southern Slavs, form a natural barrier against the Germans, Magyars and Turks, and their Pangerman plans in the East. The liberation and reunion of Poland and Bohemia aim directly at Prussia: to crush Prussian militarism means, in effect to liberate the two nations which are its primary object. The reunion of the Poles means, of course, the liberation of Posnania and Prussian Silesia from Prussian rule, and the liberation of Galicia and Bukovina from Austrian rule. This Slav barrier is not to be understood in the sense of the so-called Buffer-States. A buffer-State presupposes continuous antagonism between two neighbours; whereas the Allies' programme aims at the reconstruction and regeneration of the whole of Europe.

The liberation of the Roumanians and Italians, as demanded by the Allies, requires a further dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, with which indeed the programme of the Allies is synonymous. "Lasting Peace!" means the break-up of this a-national, mediaeval State.

The Magyars will also have their own State, being, of course, reduced to the bounds of their own nationality, and German Austria will remain under the Habsburgs.

The plan of the Allies implies the creation of only one or at most two new States—

Bohemia and Poland; the other changes will either extend or reduce States already existing. Austria and Hungary will be reduced; Roumania, Serbia, Italy will be enlarged. Nations will be liberated; the oppressive dynasty—the Habsburgs—and the oppressive nations—the Germans and Magyars—will be forced to rely on their own forces.

Mr. Balfour is right when he emphasises the facts that the programme of the Allies will weaken the German lust of domination, and secure freedom and independence for the oppressed races; for Austria in its present form is not less German than Prussia.

Its geographical position in the centre of Europe, and its historical antagonism to oppressive Germanism and Pangermanism secures to Bohemia that great political significance expressed in the Allies' Note to President Wilson, which demanded the liberation of the Czecho-Slovaks. And it is in the interest of the Allies to liberate Bohe-

mia, if Prussian militarism and German lust of dominion are to be crushed, and the Pangerman plan of Berlin-Cairo and Berlin-Bagdad frustrated. The Allies' plan, like that of the enemy, is a far-reaching programme of creative politics. The war and its consequences is the greatest event in human history. The Napoleonic wars, the Thirty Years' War, the Crusades—all these were child's play compared with this war. Realist politicians and statesmen must grasp the inner meaning of German and European history: they must comprehend the direction in which history is pointing, and what Europe's aims and objects can and must be.

I do not maintain that the liberation of Bohemia is the most vital question of the war; but I can say without exaggeration that the aims proclaimed by the Allies cannot be attained without the liberation of Bohemia. Her future fate will be the touchstone of the Allies' strength, earnestness and statesmanship.

Will the Immigrants Be Loyal?

Among the many problems which the United States will face upon declaring the state of war not the least will be the problem of the foreign-born population. It has proved to be an embarrassing one in all the belligerent countries, but in America it is one of unusual dimensions. According to the census of 1910 out of 92 million inhabitants 13,345,545 were foreign born. Their children born in this country were still more numerous, the total being 18,897,837. It may be taken for granted that speaking generally those who were born in the United States and have never known any other homeland will not be troubled by conflicting claims of a divided allegiance. But what about the thirteen, at this time more than fourteen million men and women born under other flags? Will they not disturb the public order, interrupt communications, interfere with military operations, spy out our navy secrets? Which of these millions should be suspected and watched?

To start with, we may leave out of consideration people born in countries that are at war with Germany and people born in neutral countries. There may be traitors among them, but then there may be traitors among Americans of the oldest stock. The danger, whatever it may be, is to be found

among the subjects and former subjects of Germany and its Allies. Now in 1910 there lived in the United States 2,501,333 people born in Germany, 1,670,582 born in Austria-Hungary, 11,498 born in Bulgaria and 61,959 born in Turkey. The potential enemies should be found among these classes of the American population.

The index of the country of birth, however, gives little real indication of the sympathies of the individual thus indexed. Frenchmen from Alsace-Lorraine or Italians from the Trentino are not likely to favor the country which had oppressed them and from which they fled to the free country beyond the ocean. Or take the Poles; they come from three states, two of them on the Teuton side, one with the entente. Shall we look upon the Austrian Pole as a suspected person and on the Russian Pole as a friend? The real criterion is not former political citizenship, but rather racial affiliation. Those that appreciate the real significance of the European struggle realize that it is due to the imperialistic tendencies of the German race. Germans look upon themselves as a race of lords—Herrenfolk—a chosen people destined to rule the world and incidentally to confer upon the weaker races the benefits of German

kultur. Their only real ally is the Magyar race, which actuated by a similar megalomania, has linked its fortunes to the Hohenzollern chariot in order to crush the Slavs of Hungary and Serbia. Bulgaria found itself on the German side partly from hate of its neighbor and cousin, Serbia, partly through the crooked politics of its German king, and Turkey hardly knows at all, how it came to deliver itself to Germany. Among the numberless races of newcomers in the United States, two only need be considered as possible enemies, the Germans and the Magyars.

The census of 1910 undertook for the first time to classify immigrants and their children according to their mother tongue. There were at that time 2,910,857 immigrants, naturalized and aliens, whose mother tongue was German, and 229,094 whose mother tongue was Magyar. Of the Germans the largest part was born in Germany, a considerable minority in Austria-Hungary and several hundred thousands in Russia. Most of the immigrants from the Dual Empire belong to races that not only do not sympathize with the Teuton cause, but are far more anxious to defeat Germany with its domineering ambitions and ruthless methods than the average American citizen whose patience has only recently been roused to the point of war.

Among the races of Austria-Hungary who are hostile to the Central Powers Bo-

hemians and Slovaks occupy the place of honor. Bohemians have fought the Germans for fifteen centuries and Slovaks were held down by Magyar overlords for a thousand years. Bohemian and Slovak regiments in the Austrian army mutinied, surrendered and went over to the Russians on many occasions. The Vienna parliament has not been called together since April, 1914, because of the known opposition of the Czech deputies to the war. In every Allied army there are volunteer formations of Czechs and Slovaks who feel that they fight for their own country by fighting against Germany. Bohemian and Slovak immigrants in this country have collected large sums of money for the support of a movement aiming at the liberation of their brothers from the German and Magyar yoke.

No one doubts that in case of war with Germany the overwhelming majority of immigrants of all races, German included, will be found absolutely loyal to this great land which has the faculty to gain the love of strangers within its gates. But there will be found many among the German and Magyar elements of the foreign-born population who will commit treason by adhering to the enemy of the United States. There will be none such among the Bohemian-speaking citizens and residents of this country.

J. F. S.

Legal Phases of An Austrian Treason Trial.

By CHARLES PERGLER

The pronouncement of the Austrian court, condemning to death Dr. Karel Kramář for treason to the Austrian state, is one of the most remarkable documents in the history of jurisprudence, and as such should not escape further scrutiny.

The court's statement, which was published in full in the last number of the Bohemian Review, is not a legal opinion at all. But to save its face, and to furnish the world at least a semblance of justification for the judgment and sentence, the court made an exceedingly labored effort to present to the world certain alleged evidential facts upon which it pretends to base its findings.

If we seek for these evidential facts we find them to be exceedingly few in number, and they may be enumerated as follows:

1. A certain number of editors, propagandists and publishers, with whom Kramář prior to the war maintained relations, after the war broke out demand the destruction of the monarchy and become its enemies.

2. In his own organ, the *Národní Listy*, after the commencement of hostilities, Kramář published three articles which expressed hope for the liberation of small nations.

3. At the time of his arrest, in the defendant's pocket was found a French publication inimical to the Austrian state, and among his effects there were also found Bohemian translations of two articles from the London "Times" of a similar tendency.

4. While Italy was still at peace with Austria, the defendant had a conversation with the Italian consul in Prague (April, 1915).

5. Among the defendant's effects was found a draft of a letter to Prince Thun, declaring that, faithful to his political principles, Kramář was

bound to avoid everything that would look like approval of the present war.

The above may fairly be called all the evidence in the case as far as Kramář is concerned, and upon this evidence he was found guilty of treason and condemned to death. It is true that the opinion at some length discusses the general opposition of the Czech people to the war and the wholesale surrender of Czech troops, but from a purely legal point of view all this is idle speculation so long as no causal connection between the acts of the defendant and these occasions has been established. Otherwise the opinion is merely a discussion of the political ideas defended by Kramář prior to the war, and of acts which prior to the war were perfectly legal, and were not declared illegal even by *ex post facto* legislation.

The very first consideration that strikes a lawyer is that the Austrian court threw to the winds the most elementary principle of criminal law, that is to say, that every crime consists of two elements, first a physical element usually called the overt act, and second, a mental element known as the "mens rea" (evil intent). 3 M. A. L., 8. It will be seen at a glance that the act in this instance is wholly wanting. Arguendo it might be conceded that the facts recited could be construed as indicating a treasonable intent against the Austrian state, but by no stretch of the imagination can we find in the foregoing recital anything even remotely resembling a criminal overt act. In an American or English court, the case never could have gone to a jury; there would have been a directed verdict for failure of the prosecution to sustain the indictment with the necessary evidence.

In taking this position I do not lose sight of the fact that the Austrian constitution does not define what constitutes treason, and that under the Austrian political and penal system what shall or shall not constitute treason is wholly a matter of statutory provision. Under these statutes many things, which in this country would not even constitute an offense, are declared to be treason. Yet, bearing all this in mind, we still must come to the conclusion that no overt act having been established, the judgment lacks the sanction even of Austrian law and is consequently a judicial crime of the worst sort, an act that would make even a Jeffreys blush with shame.

It is a well-known fact that the political endeavor of Kramář was aimed at transforming Austria into a federal state, which would mete out justice to all the nationalities living under Hapsburg sovereignty. This was the only possible way of saving Austria from the fate of Turkey. Loyalty to Austria, as at present constituted, would of course be treason to the Bohemian nation and indeed to the highest ideals of modern man. This phase of the matter is not within the scope of the present article. But it can be argued with more than a reasonable degree of plausibility that legally no Bohemian can be guilty of treason to the Austrian state. Austria still has the power to declare what shall constitute treason; whether or not she has the right, legally or otherwise, is an entirely different question. Austria came into existence as a confederation of several states, and the Hapsburg dynasty by solemn oaths and pledges obligated itself to maintain Bohemian independence. By a series of wanton and brutal acts the Hapsburgs violated their oaths and *de facto* destroyed Bohemian independence. These changes, brought about illegally and unconstitutionally, were never acquiesced in by the Bohemian nation, or its accredited representatives. For that matter, the ancient rights of Bohemia were repeatedly acknowledged on paper by the late Francis Joseph. It follows that *de jure* the Bohemian state is still in existence, and that the Austria state, as we now know it, legally is non-existent. From this again it logically follows that one cannot be guilty of treason against a state whose legal existence has no legal sanction. Indeed, ever since the battle of White Mountain in 1620, the Hapsburg monarchs were guilty of treason against the *de jure* Bohemian state, and those of them who were never crowned kings of Bohemia as, for instance, the late Francis Joseph and the present emperor, with justice may be called usurpers. Maximilian of Mexico was also a Hapsburg, and he was also a usurper.

Progress of mankind is frequently written in its laws and constitutional provisions more than anywhere else. We do not often realize the importance of such constitutional provisions as the enactment that one shall not be subject to be twice put in jeopardy upon the same charge; that treason shall consist only in levying war against the state, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort, and that for trea-

son there can be no conviction unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. The same is true as to due process of law and ex post facto laws. These constitutional provisions are now so firmly imbedded in the scheme of Anglo-American jurisprudence that we do not think much about them and accept them and their results as a matter of course. It is true that as to due process of law under our constitution this provision has probably been

rather unduly extended to apply to matters that originally were not within its purview; but it is equally true that this clause, as well as the others referred to, to a large degree mark the difference between the milepost on the highway to real democracy reached by English-speaking peoples and the progress made by some continental countries. In fact, the difference between English-speaking countries and Austria is one between democracy and an Oriental despotism.

Germany's Partner in Crime.

On the very day when Germany proclaimed its intention of destroying every ship found by its submarines in certain areas of the open ocean, the new Austro-Hungarian ambassador, Count Adam Tarnowski, arrived in New York. Through the successive stages of the growing enmity between Germany and the United States — break of relations, blowing up of English ships with loss of American lives, destruction of American ships with warning and without warning, ships with contraband and legitimate merchandise and in ballast, while America announced armed neutrality and waited for another overt act — the nobleman from Austria was cooling his heels in Washington, an ambassador to the United States and yet not an ambassador, properly accredited to our government, but unable to obtain presentation to the President and formal recognition by the State Department. The newspapers and the public forgot him, just as they forgot Austria and ignored the fact that Austria-Hungary is a partner in Germany's iniquity as well as in its military and naval campaigns.

America is divided from Europe by three thousand miles of water, and what happens in Europe is seen here as from a distance, the most prominent features only and not the details, however important. Not that America lacked the means to obtain a true and accurate view of the right and wrong of the struggle or how the blame should be apportioned and what the relations were between Germany and its partners. But the might of Germany, its military and economic efficiency, its unprecedented frightfulness and barbarism so dominated the American horizon that few people here appreciated the share of the Haps-

burg Empire in all the schemes and plans and crimes of Germany.

The attitude of the American people toward Austria-Hungary was one of good-natured contempt. Contempt, because of the defeats of Austrian armies by both Russia and Serbia, because it was known that German receivership saved the bankrupt empire from complete defeat. But contemptible as Austria proved itself in more ways than one, it is still Germany's chief support. For it must not be forgotten that the monarchy on the Danube covers an area considerably larger than that of Germany and that it has fifty-two million people as against Germany's seventy. It possesses important industrial provinces which produce a large share of the immense stores of ammunition used by the Teuton armies, and the Skoda guns have earned a reputation superior even to that of the Krupps. Nor should one forget that Austria-Hungary is more of an agricultural state than Germany and that the produce of the weaker empire has been used to supplement the rations of Germany's industrial population. Without Austria's resources in men and supplies Kaiser William could not sustain a war on two fronts for three years.

The contempt for Austria was rather good-natured. Poor old Francis Joseph was dragged into the war unwillingly; Austria is merely a tool of Germany and should not be held to strict responsibility for the sins of its domineering partner. Such views do not agree with the facts of the case. After all the general war was brought on by Austria's aggression against Serbia. The murder of Francis Ferdinand by Austrian subjects of the Serbian race, a murder welcome to the ruling clique of Vienna, was

made a pretext for the wholesale slaughter of Europe's manhood. The responsibility for the horrors of the past three years belongs to Austria-Hungary fully as much as to Germany. Nor is the frightfulness confined to German military methods. In Serbia Magyar soldiers committed atrocities no less horrible and fully as well authenticated as the worst German excesses in Belgium. And while within the German Empire we have no record of executions of German subjects, in the Hapsburg monarchy in the first eighteen months of the war four thousand gallows have been erected.

The good-natured tolerance of Austria by the American people is less easy to understand, when one recalls the conduct of the diplomatic and consular representatives of that decrepit monarchy in this republic. Just as over there across the ocean Austrian ministers and generals took their orders from the German general staff, so in Washington the Austrian Embassy was employed to do the dirty work of Germany. Count Bernstorff took care not to become implicated personally in plots violating American neutrality and passed on this delicate work to his colleague, Dr. Dumba. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States subsidized editors of foreign language newspapers to keep alive sentiments of loyalty to Francis Joseph among their readers as against loyalty to their adopted country; he stirred up strikes in munition works and became implicated in acts of violence, until the long suffering President Wilson sent him home. It should not be forgotten in this connection that credit for uncovering the machinations of Austrian diplomatic representatives in this country belongs to that enterprising newspaper, The Providence Journal. In publishing confidential correspondence of the Austrian Embassy The Journal has done a great service to America and earned the gratitude of Bohemian and other immigrants from Austria-Hungary who were thereby put on their guard against intrigues financed by money supplied by the consuls.

But the American people forgot the Dumba incident, forgot that they had good cause to distrust Austria. Baron Zwiedinek took up Dumba's work and carried it on with more circumspection. And in course of time Count Tarnowski landed here, a far more clever and dangerous man than the run of noblemen employed by the Vienna Foreign Office, the man who outplayed the

Entente diplomats in Sophia and dragged Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Teutons.

Count Tarnowski comes of a well-known Polish family. He is a Slav by birth, and that was one of the main reasons why he was selected for the Washington post at this time. The fact is that Emperor Charles realizes the insecurity of his throne. Not that he fears much the chances of a revolution like the one which has just taken place in Russia. A revolution by the people is impossible without the co-operation of the army. The Hapsburg motto "Divide et impera", setting soldiers of one race to watch the people of another race, works well in practice. Bohemians for instance cannot revolt, as long as their cities are garrisoned by German and Magyar soldiers. But the voice of ill-treated majority of the races of the monarchy has reached the councils of the Allies, and their peace terms note demands the disruption of the Hapsburg Empire; for in that step lies both the recognition of the rights of small nations, and the best safeguard against future aggression on the part of Germany.

This fear that the Allies will win and that their victory will put an end to the Hapsburg Empire dictates the new policy applied by Austria, of course with the full approval of Germany. The policy is this: to make it appear that a new regime has been installed in Austria by the new emperor, a regime of justice to all, recognition of the rights of subject races, a reconstruction of the Dual Empire on a federalistic basis. For that reason men with Slav names, Counts Czernin and Clam-Martinic, have been placed in the highest posts of the empire, and a Pole was selected to represent the monarchy in Washington. In addition to that a news bureau was organized in Vienna, copied after the Berlin Overseas News Agency, with the purpose of creating the impression that all is well on the Danube and everybody is satisfied with the existing Austrian rule. A branch bureau was opened in New York under the auspices of certain Jewish financiers whose sympathies are on the German side.

Deathbed repentance is proverbially suspicious. In this case the real facts contradict absolutely the claim that a rule of justice and equal rights for all has been inaugurated in Austria-Hungary under Emperor Charles. Political executions continue, parliamentary leaders of the Slavs are in jail;

German language is forced upon all in Austria, and in Hungary the Magyars do not even pretend to make any concessions to Slavs and Roumanians who have no political rights. Bohemian deputies, deprived of most of their old time leaders, cast aside all their former differences, and all parties, liberals and conservatives, agrarians and national socialists, Catholics and social democrats, present a united opposition to the Vienna government and make the calling of parliament impossible. They do not trust the new policy which with the exception of a few Slav names is absolutely German.

America should study more closely that anachronism known as Austria-Hungary. It should receive no sympathy from the people of a republican country. It is not a

nation, it is the empire of the Hapsburg family. Today it is entirely under the control of Germany and is just as much an enemy of the United States as its dominating partner. Sixty-seven years ago, when this republic was not yet one of the great powers of the world, Daniel Webster dared to speak boldly to Austria. In a diplomatic note he told the representative of Francis Joseph that "all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg were but as patch on the earth's surface compared to the United States."

The democratic countries of Europe—England, France, Italy and Russia—are agreed in this: that the empire of the Hapsburgs forfeited all rights to existence. Let the great American republic make it unanimous.

Stories of War Prisoners.

Gut' Morhen, meinen Herren . . .

We were returning from patrol work in no man's land. The morning mist was thinning out, a warning to us to get back into the trenches. We walk quietly, each man tired and melancholy.

Ahead of us the sun rises and its rosy light penetrates the white, heavy mists through which we can now perceive indistinctly the gray outlines of Old Sambor.

About a hundred more feet to the trenches; suddenly a dull, heavy noise is heard from our left side. We fall down immediately ready to defend our lives. I strain my eyes trying to make out anything moving, but the mist rolls over the ground and nothing can be distinguished twenty feet away.

"Boys," I whisper to the rear, "we have to wait, until the mist gets thinner." "The devil take them," somebody answers.

We lie flat for fifteen minutes and then we hear another sound, this time nearer.

"Halt, wer da?" I yell and rattle the rifle. "Guter Freund", says a feeble, scared voice from the mist. "What friend?", I ask the unseen person. No answer for a while, and then the sound becomes more distinct, as the unknown approaches.

"Look out, boys," I command, and the next moment we make out a crawling figure. A Russian soldier, unarmed, pressed to the ground, making progress like a snake. We jump up and order him to rise and come nearer.

He gets up slowly and fawns at us. "Gut' Morhen, meinen Herren", he greets us humbly with a foreign accent. It was plain that he was not of the Russian race.

I look at my comrades and they could read my feelings; what I wanted most to do was to send a bullet right between those two Judas eyes. But two among us were Germans and we had to be careful.

We "captured" the deserter and hurried back to the trenches.

* * *

Up to that time the general opinion on our side was that the Russians opposite us were intrenched in force. We were greatly surprised to receive the order "umhengen", while our artillery was thundering its very loudest. We attacked and captured easily the enemy intrenchments which were only weakly held and defended.

We knew well who furnished the necessary information to our commander—a Judas for thirty pieces of silver.

Mind Your Own Business

When we were departing for the front, our wives and our sweethearts marched with us to the depot with roses in their arms and hot tears in their eyes.

Our hearts were stirred to their depths at the thought of leaving those who were dearest to us. Soon they will be stretching out their arms after us in vain. It was a tragedy for every one.

We came to the depot. The band played a sentimental march, handkerchiefs fluttered in the wind to bid us good-by, the crowd looked at us with sympathy, as we were to leave them to go to an uncertain fate.

Bent under the weight of his equipment Corporal L. . . marched ahead of me. In his rifle was stuck a small red and white flag. We entered the spacious station vestibule. At the entrance stood the commander of our battallion, Captain Brandt, to give us the last, hasty inspection. As soon as he noticed Corporal L. with his red and white flag, he stepped forward, his face flushed with anger, his eyes glittered, and snatching his sabre he swung it at the flag. "Bohemian cattle", bellowed the captain at the offender.

Corporal L. hit on the head by the sabre dragged himself to the train, and once in the car gave way to silent tears. We gathered around him as if to shield him. We knew he did not cry because of the pain, but because of fury at the indignity put upon all Bohemians in a public place.

No one said a word, but we knew that a sentence was pronounced upon the captain.

* * *

After the first skirmish in which our battallion took part Captain Brandt was missing. When the ambulance men found him, he had four mortal wounds, all in the back, caused by Austrian rifles.

He only got, what he deserved.

Artur Kurt.

Current Topics

DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS

For the last three years we have had a steady stream of sensational events, until it seemed that nothing could stir up in us more than a passing interest. But the Russian revolution is an event of such startling proportions, pregnant with such high hopes for the welfare of mankind that even the most jaded mind grasps its tremendous significance.

The eastern half of Europe and the northern half of Asia, one hundred and seventy million human beings, have been emancipated almost over night at the cost of the comparatively trifling sacrifice of a few hundred lives. The chief value of the revolution no doubt will manifest itself gradually in the improved condition of the Russian people, more education, greater freedom of spirit, higher material prosperity. But at the present time, and looking at the event from a great distance, the observer sees mainly the bearing of this great change upon the fortunes of the world conflict, now nearly three years in duration.

Everyone agrees that the abolishment of autocracy in Russia means a tremendous defeat to Germany. The Kaiser's hopes of depriving his enemies of the help of Russia have been irretrievably shattered. The Russian people look upon the war with the Germans as upon a holy undertaking, and the new government will give the Allies no reason to fear that it might desert them. In addition to that we may expect to see greater successes on the part of the Russian armies. The awful inefficiency which has hampered the good work of the Russian soldier and which was due partly to the notorious incompetency of the bureaucracy and partly to treasonable interference by ministers and other high officials and court favorites with the proper conduct of the war, will be replaced by the same energy which the new premier Prince Lvoff displayed as

president of the Zemstva Union. But above all the democratization of Russia is a blow to Germany, because it makes clear and undoubted what was marred before by czarism, namely, that the war is one between liberty and despotism.

America, faithful to its traditions of welcoming liberty in all lands, was the first Power to recognize officially the new Russian regime. Among the Bohemians in America the delight over the upheaval in Russia was unbounded. There is a close racial and linguistic relationship between the Czech and Russian races. Bohemians have firmly believed in the great genius of the Russian people, in its essential democratic and pacific spirit; they believed that whatever had been objectionable and repulsive in the internal economy of the Russian Empire was due principally to German influences. Russia, ruled by its own people, will be no more a menace to the peace of the world, will be no more aggressive or contemptuous of the rights of others, than the United States.

Looking at the revolution from the point of view of Bohemian independence, we must register it as a powerful factor in the realization of this demand. It makes the victory of the Entente more certain, and it ranges Russia definitely with the firm supporters of the claims of Bohemia. It is well known that the former Czar was forced into the war in 1914, because the Russian people would not suffer Austria to gobble up Serbia, a Slav nation. If the new Russian government will truly interpret the will of the people, it will insist unconditionally on the liberation of Slavs of Austria-Hungary from the oppression of Germans and Magyars; it will consider the erection of free Poland, Bohemia and Jugoslavia of greater importance than the acquisition of Constantinople. In the present foreign minister, Paul N. Miljukov, the Czech race will have a warm friend.

Both Professor Masaryk, leader of the movement for Bohemian independence, and the officers of the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago sent long cablegrams to the members of the provisional Russian government, expressing the joy felt by Bohemians over the good fortune of the Russian people.

A cordial acknowledgment has been received from Minister Miljukov.

ALLIED BAZAAR IN BALTIMORE.

In the series of Allied Bazaars, held in several of the large cities of the United States, Bohemians together with the Slovaks have participated with much enthusiasm. They were eager to enroll the Czechoslovak people on the side of the Entente and at the same time get money to be sent to Bohemian volunteers in the Allied armies and to their dependents. Incidentally the bazaars indirectly advised the people of Bohemia as to the work carried on by their kin across the seas. No direct news of the "treasonable" propaganda aimed against the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire can be printed anywhere within the monarchy. But the "Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten" published in its correspondence from America a statement that Czechs in the United States are absolutely on the side of the Entente, and for proof it cited among other things their official participation in the Chicago Allied Bazaar. Bohemian newspapers were permitted to quote this news item, and the Czech people were made aware once more of the work done in their interest by exiles.

The latest of these bazaars was held in Baltimore, in the middle of March. In that city there are some ten thousand people born in Bohemia or born in America of Bohemian parents. Together with the Slovaks they were allotted a booth at the bazaar and the honor of a special day. They went to work with a will, and they succeeded in making an impression on Baltimore. "České koláče" or Bohemian cakes were extremely popular throughout the bazaar and greatly impressed the reporter who described wittily the Bohemian day in the Baltimore "Sun".

Chairman of the Bohemian booth at the Baltimore Allied Bazaar was Dr. J. J. Toula, an energetic worker in the ranks of the Bohemian National Alliance.

ENTHUSIASM GROWS.

Before the war no one acquainted with the Bohemian people in this country would have believed the assertion that a hundred thousand dollars could be collected by them in a few months for any purpose, however worthy. Constant complaints were made by Bohemian journalists, public speakers, preachers and others that the Bohemian immigrant in America adopted for his working philosophy materialism pure and simple, that all he is interested in is to make money, buy a house, put away a few mortgages, that nothing can move him except self-interest. Seven years ago a campaign was undertaken to collect a million pennies as a gift of Czechs in America for the support of Bohemian common schools in Bohemian and Moravian towns controlled by the Germans. Although most of the Bohemian

publications in this country supported this campaign, it took more than a year to collect ten thousand dollars from half a million people.

What a contrast is presented by the record of the past three months. Bazaars in three cities alone netted about ninety thousand dollars. Reference was made in a previous issue to the fair of the Czechs in New York, held before Christmas, the proceeds of which amounted to \$23,000. Chicago, jealous of its primacy among the Bohemian settlements in America, made a determined effort to beat that figure, and in an eight-day bazaar held in the first days of March earned a sum which is at present estimated at \$40,000. Of course, Chicago should have done still better compared to New York, because nearly three times as many Bohemians live in Chicago as in New York. Chicago workers urge several good reasons, why they did not make at least seventy thousand, the chief reason being that they could not get a hall large enough to admit all who came to spend money.

But after all Cleveland is entitled to the place of honor among the rival "Bohemian" cities of the United States. Its Bohemian speaking population is about as large as that of New York, but is more scattered and the hall they had to use for their fair, which was held in the middle of March, was very unsatisfactory. Yet they beat New York by a fair margin, the net proceeds being according to the latest figures over thirty thousand.

This does not express the full measure of cheerful giving which has been such a remarkable feature in the life of Bohemian immigrants in America during the last two years. The few hundred Czechs in San Francisco with their three thousand dollar bazaar still hold the record for generosity among the many similar undertakings of the past winter. And the little Czech colony in Boston, numbering about fifty families and having to its credit gifts exceeding five thousand dollars, demonstrates clearly the new discovery that the Bohemian immigrant in his chase after the dollar has not lost all ideals and that he is still capable of self-sacrifice.

A VALUED FRIEND

In England and France, in Russia and Italy, leaders of public opinion have arrived at much more definite conclusions with reference to the coming reconstruction of Europe, than have their colleagues in the United States. Metropolitan journals of the Allied countries realize that Austria, which has for centuries taken up so much space on the maps of Europe, is doomed, and they pay much attention to the new states which will appear on the future map of Europe, chief of them being Bohemia. In America the big dailies moulding the public opinion of the nation have not looked so far ahead; at most they accept Poland as a coming state, but Bohemia and Jugoslavia have not yet entered within the range of their vision.

Now that the United States is about to join the Allies and consequently will have a voice at the peace conference, it ought to make up its mind as to what concrete changes it will favor in the reor-

ganization of the present boundaries of Europe. Presumably all Americans will endorse the principles announced by President Wilson in his address to the senate, Jan. 22, 1917: "Every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own developments, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful. I am proposing government by the consent of the governed."

The Bohemian Review would like to accomplish this much: to impress upon American public opinion the fact that principles embodied in the history of this republic, if applied to Europe, make necessary the creation of an independent Bohemia. And it welcomes with undisguised pleasure any voice showing that the Review does fulfill its function of informing the American press on this point.

One of Chicago's daily papers, The Evening Post, printed the following editorial article in its issue of March 20, 1917, entitled "The Voice of Bohemia":

"The national aspirations of Bohemia have found an appealing voice in the Bohemian Review, a new monthly publication that we welcome because of its informative value and its intelligent discussion of problems in which all the world is interested.

"The Review is issued from Chicago under the editorial charge of Jaroslav F. Smetanka, whose recognized leadership among Bohemian-Americans qualifies him for this important educational work. Among articles of much interest and value in the current number is one by Thomas G. Masaryk, the Bohemian patriot, on 'Bohemia and the European Crisis'. Mr. Masaryk gives the historical background for the national aspirations of the Bohemians and presents a case that must win the sympathy of all lovers of freedom.

"In Europe there is no more heroic people and none who have better deserved the liberty they seek. Those of them who have adopted America as their land are among the most loyal of our citizens and display by their response to republican institutions the spirit and capacity of a race inherently qualified for democracy.

"The Review will quicken the interest of Americans in the cause of Bohemia and will cultivate a sentiment that may yet find opportunity to express itself in behalf of Bohemian liberation."

FIVE THOUSAND FROM ONE MAN.

That American citizens of Czech descent should contribute generously for the liberation of their kinsmen is a matter of course. When an American of the old colonial stock makes a large donation for the same purpose, it is an event deserving of notice.

The largest individual donation made so far to the cause of Bohemia's independence was made by a stranger in blood to the Czech race. Mr. J. V. Frothingham of New York gave five thousand dollars to the fund employed by Masaryk and his fellow exiles to bring the claims of Bohemia to the attention of the world. It was not Mr. Frothingham's first philanthropy. Shortly after the war began, he organized and supported at his expense a Red Cross

unit composed of Bohemian and Slovak physicians and nurses for service in Serbia, before that unfortunate country was overwhelmed by Germans and Bulgars. A second expedition he sent out was torpedoed in the Adriatic by an Austrian submarine.

The Bohemian race has few active friends among the big men of America. Poles, Serbians, Armenians, even Albanians, find many sympathizers among generous men and women of this country who feel that they are doing something worth while by extending a helping hand to a weak or oppressed people. But if friends of Bohemians are rare, they are so much more valued by the people which they help. The long list of men from America who made the campaign for Bohemia's independence victorious will be headed by the Anglo-Saxon name of Frothingham.

INFORMATION ABOUT BOHEMIA.

The Bohemian National Alliance will mail upon request without charge the following pamphlets setting forth the aims and aspirations of the Bohemian (Czech) and Slovak peoples:

Thomas G. Masaryk:

Austrian Terrorism in Bohemia.

The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis.

The Slavs Among the Nations.

The Czecho-Slovak State.

Charles Pergler:

Bohemians in the Present Crisis.

The Heart of Europe.

Those who desire to read a more detailed study of the Bohemian problem are advised to get Thomas Čapek's book: Bohemia under the Hapsburg Misrule, which will be sent postpaid upon receipt of One Dollar.

The same organization has recently received from England a number of copies of the following pamphlets: Philip Gibbs, The Germans on the Somme, and Britain Transformed. These will be sent free upon request.

Address all communications with reference to the above: Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West 26th St., Chicago, Ill.

Have you sent in your subscription to the Bohemian Review?

If you have friends that might be interested in the Bohemian Review, please send us their addresses, and we shall mail them sample copies.

Emperor Charles does not feel very secure on his throne. Since he succeeded his granduncle, Charles and various archdukes have sent out one hundred and fifty million crowns into Switzerland and Holland, so that they might have something to fall back on, when the Hapsburg dynasty shall no longer be wanted.

MAY 21 1917

The BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

May, 1917

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Bohemians in Texas

New Light on the Sarajevo Murders.

Bohemian Contingent in the Canadian Forces.

The Bohemian Question.

Singing Austria's Swan-Song.



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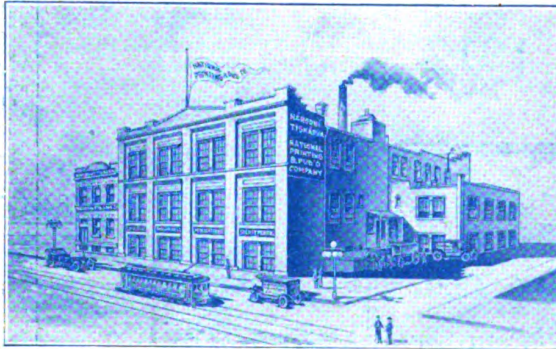
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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

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Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 4.

MAY 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Offer of Coronation Spurned.

Since Charles I. succeeded his grand-uncle, Francis Joseph, in November, 1916, stories of a contradictory character have been coming from Vienna. Ministries have been dismissed and new servants of the emperor appointed to have charge of the Austrian affairs and of the affairs common to both halves of the monarchy. Only the all powerful Count Tisza, friend of the German Kaiser, has not been disturbed in his position of dictator of Hungary and arbiter of the foreign policies of the entire dual empire. A month after his accession to the throne, Charles went through the solemn ceremonial of being crowned king of Hungary and, at that time, took the oaths which bind him to maintain the rights of Hungary as a self-governing kingdom.

The medieval ceremony of coronation means to the Americans merely a gorgeous pageant which it is worth while to witness, even if one has to pay a stiff admission fee. To the subjects of European monarchies, and particularly to the inhabitants of those parts of the Hapsburg empire that were formerly independent states, coronation still means much the same thing that it signified for their ancestors five hundred years ago. It is the solemn ratification of a pact between the king and his people, wherein the people accept the king for their true lord, and promise him loyalty and allegiance, while he swears in the cathedral church of his capital and in the presence of the highest church dignitaries that he will maintain and faithfully observe all the ancient liberties and privileges of the kingdom and its people.

During the long reign of Francis Joseph Austrian politics turned mainly on the question of his two fold coronation. Although primarily known as the Emperor of Austria, he is not crowned as such. The title of Emperor of Austria was assumed by Francis II. in 1806, when changes introduced by Napoleon compelled him to give

up the nominal headship of the medieval German Empire. Since the upstart Napoleon gave himself the style of an emperor, Francis, the scion of some fifteen generations of emperors, would not be content with the title of King of Bohemia and Hungary and therefore created an Austrian empire out of the possessions of the House of Hapsburg.

The dominions of the Hapsburg dynasty were composed in the main of three political and historical groups. There were the Austrian lands proper, provinces on the Danube and in the Alps, which Emperor Rudolph, the founder of the Hapsburg fortunes, took away from the Bohemian king Ottokar. They had always been a part of the German empire, their ruler a vassal of the emperor, bearing the title of duke or archduke and having the right to a ducal coronet only, not to a royal crown. More important than the Austrian duchies were the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary to which Ferdinand I. was elected in 1526. In course of time, through changes more or less constitutional, these kingdoms became hereditary in the House of Hapsburg, and each ruler, upon his accession, was styled King of Bohemia and Hungary, while waiting to be elected emperor by the secular and ecclesiastical electors of Germany.

Francis, the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the first Emperor of Austria, had been crowned king of Bohemia and Hungary shortly after his father's death in 1792. Ferdinand, who succeeded him in 1835 and whom Austrian historians call Benevolent — he was really dull-witted — allowed himself also to be crowned king of the two ancient kingdoms and swore to maintain their historical rights. But Francis Joseph, who came to power shortly after insurrection in Bohemia had been quelled and while the Magyars in Hungary were fighting to establish their independence, determined to be em-

peror of Austria only. Acceptance of the two crowns would profit him nothing, since his Bohemian and Hungarian subjects obeyed him because he could enforce obedience, not because he was the rightful sovereign, while he, on his side, would have to promise in the presence of God and the Church to uphold complete home rule in the two kingdoms. Autonomy to Bohemia and Hungary would spell defeat to his ambition of making German territory of all his hereditary possessions and securing an unquestioned predominance in the German Bund over the rival Hohenzollern house.

The war of 1866 put an end definitely to the dreams of the Hapsburgs to rule Germany. They were thrust out of it and faced now the problem of reorganizing their possessions on a new basis. All the ten races of the monarchy clamored for national liberty. The Magyars were the loudest and most to be feared, and Francis Joseph gave in to their demands. The compromise of 1867 transformed the Austrian empire into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and made Magyars absolute masters of the Hungarian half of it. This political act was confirmed by Francis Joseph in the most solemn way through his coronation as king of Hungary.

The rights of the Bohemian kingdom, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, were as undoubted as the rights of Hungary, and Francis Joseph on several occasions recognized the justice of the claims of Bohemia to separate government and promised by imperial rescripts to confirm them anew by assuming the crown of St. Václav in the cathedral of Prague. The Bohemian question which has been the burning problem of internal Austrian politics ever since the division of the empire into two parts, centered principally around the struggles of the Czechs to secure for their lands the same semi-independent position under the rule of the Hapsburgs which had been granted to Hungary. The emperor's coronation in Prague was looked upon as the outward symbol of the political aims of the Czech nation during the last half century. But when the war broke out, the accomplishment of these aims seemed further off than ever.

It is not to be wondered at that a sensation was created among the Bohemian speaking people of the United States, when a cablegram reached the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago from the cen-

tral Bohemian committee in Paris in the latter half of April stating that Emperor Charles made to the representatives of the Bohemian people the offer that he would be crowned king of Bohemia and make Prague his residence for part of the year, thus making it equal to Vienna or Budapest. This surprising concession was due to three things. The fundamental reason was the conduct of the Bohemian people during the war; it is an old story by this time: insubordination of reservists, surrender of Czech regiments, unreliability of any military unit composed of soldiers from Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, the well known attitude of the Bohemian deputies which made the convocation of parliament inadvisable, refusal to subscribe to the war loans, treason trials of the leaders of the people, thousands of hangings in districts inhabited by Czechs. It proved impossible to suppress eight million determined people who set their faces dead against the unjust war. The second reason which had a great weight with the new emperor arose directly out of the attitude of the Czech race toward the war and the German plans of conquest. When the Allies announced to the world that their conditions of peace involved the disruption of the Hapsburg empire, the statesmen of Vienna could close their eyes no longer to the fact that policy of repression was dangerous. The voice of Bohemians, Slovaks, Roumanians, Italians, Serbians and Croats has been heard and heeded by Allies who claimed to fight for the rights of small nations. And while Germany, a real nation, cannot be destroyed even when completely defeated, Austria which is only a government and not a nation, will not be spared by the Allies, if its various races do not ask to have it preserved. Since January of this year those that followed closely all items of news coming from the capital city on the Danube perceived plainly a labored effort to convince the neutral and hostile world that the talk of discontent and disloyalty among the faithful subjects of the Hapsburgs was greatly exaggerated and that the Bohemians especially were satisfied with the course of action adopted by their young ruler.

Undoubtedly, though, the final impetus which induced Charles to go so far down the road of concessions to the Bohemians was the same motive which induced Kaiser William to promise electoral reforms in

Prussia after the war. The greatest autocrat of them all, the Czar, had fallen, and even the Hapsburgs who, like the Bourbons, can learn nothing new, could read the warning.

It was the expectation of Charles that such a liberal offer on his part would bring promptly expressions of gratitude and loyalty from the richest parts of his dominions—the lands of the Bohemian crown. It should be kept in mind that attempts had been made previously by threats and promises to extort from the Czechs some public, authoritative pronouncement which could be used to stultify the campaign for Bohemian independence carried on beyond the boundaries of Mittel Europa. But even the promise of coronation did not bring the Czechs over to the side of Kaiser Karl.

The promise had been conveyed unofficially from the emperor himself to the two bodies which today have the right to speak for the Czechs—the Bohemian Club, comprising all deputies of Czech race to the Parliament of Vienna, with the exception of one social democrat and, of course, with the exception of the most prominent deputies who are in prison; and the National Council which consists of the big men of Bohemia and Moravia under the chairmanship of the veteran political leader Dr. Charles Matuš. The offer was unanimously refused, or rather the message was received and no answer returned to it. It came too late.

War has made a chasm between the Bohemian nation and its rulers which cannot be bridged. The flower of Bohemian manhood, hundreds of thousands of them, have been sacrificed to the insane pride and lust of conquest of the degenerate family of Hapsburgs, thousands of cripples, of men maimed and blind, walk the streets of Prague: children are dying of want, and the leaders of the nation are in jail or on the gallows. Every Bohemian, be he rich or poor, professor or peasant, is convinced that all these horrors were foolishly and recklessly caused by the alien emperor and the archdukes and courtiers that surround him. To kiss the hand that smote them, when it offers alms? Never!

In all probability it matters little that the Bohemian nation spurned the rich bribe tendered them by the young emperor. He could not have carried out his word, even if we take it for granted that he would want to do so. Kaiser Karl is not a free

agent; he is a dependent of Kaiser Wilhelm. Austria dances as Germany plays. There is no doubt, for instance, that Charles was anxious to avoid a break with the United States, but Germany needed a proof to convince the world that it can still dispose of the resources of Austria-Hungary, and Emperor Charles sent Penfield home. It is quite unlikely that Germany would have permitted Charles to establish a self-governing Bohemia on the road between Berlin and Vienna, and those who have lived in Vienna feel quite certain that the populace of the gay city would storm the imperial castle and overthrow the monarchy before it would allow the "Czechische Hunde" to become masters in their own land. In fact, the latest cablegrams from Vienna state that pro-German ministers threatened to resign because they considered the German character of the monarchy endangered, but later they received guarantees that induced them to stay at their posts.

How long will it take America to realize the hopelessness of expecting any good to come out of the rotten empire of the Hapsburgs? The best intentions of the best ruler will not save him his heritage. The United States have much to learn from the experience of the Allies. Not the least is to acquire from them their view of the future of Austria-Hungary. It must pass away, in order that of its many races each may live under a government of its own choice.

J. F. S.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

Since the United States entered into the war, American editors pay somewhat more attention to the problem of reconstruction of Europe. Articles and editorials dealing with the changes which will have to take place in the international boundaries of Central and Eastern Europe are no longer rare events.

Looking at it from the Bohemian point of view we wish to record here several articles favorable to our cause. The Chicago Journal, a friend of Bohemia, has given again considerable space to news of the Czechs and their doings. The Dallas Evening Journal wrote editorially about the aspirations of Bohemians to independence, taking as its text Masaryk's article in the Bohemian Review, and a really well informed and scholarly editorial appeared in the Detroit Journal, expressing sympathy in the aspirations of Czechs to independence.

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Bohemians in Texas.

By Rev. Kenneth D. Miller, Jan Hus Bohemian Church, New York City.

Not since my trip to Bohemia have I had such a delightful experience as was afforded me during my recent visit to the Bohemian sections of the State of Texas. Having previously visited all sections of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovak-land, and having already acquainted myself with the conditions prevailing amongst the Bohemians in such American centres as New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and the farming regions of the central west, it was intensely interesting by way of comparison and of completion of my knowledge of the Bohemian people, to observe the conditions of life prevailing amongst the Bohemian population of 100,000 in our great Lone-Star state.

The first impression that I bring away with me is that in Texas more than in any other part of the United States, the conditions of life, the habits of mind and thought of the Czechs resemble those prevailing in the old country. The mere fact that the vast majority of the people are engaged in farming is sufficient to give this impression. For, somehow, when one conjures to one's mind a picture of a typical Bohemian, there comes before his mind's eye the picture of the tiller of the soil. Certainly it is true that out on the farms, under God's open sky, surrounded by fields and meadows, forests and hills, the Bohemian seems to be in his proper element. Even the Bohemian national anthem "Kde Domov Můj" describes the homeland in the following words:

Streams are rushing through thy meadows,
Mid thy rocks sigh fragrant pine groves,
Orchards decked in spring's array
Scenes of Paradise portray.
And this land of wondrous beauty
Is the Čech land, Homeland mine.

The Bohemians of Texas have not as much cause for sighs of longing as they sing this anthem as have those living in New York or Chicago where the sight of a bit of green is a rare treat.

And as in the old country, the Bohemians of Texas are good farmers. Never will I forget the sight of the peasants up in the hill country of Bohemia and Moravia making use of every available inch of land, and producing good crops from soil which an American would despise as good for

nothing. In Texas, the Bohemian farmers have not had to contend against those natural disadvantages. They are settled, for the most part, in the most fertile regions of the state. The great black belt, famous for its productiveness, is largely taken up by Bohemians. But, even here, they have not found life a bed of roses. The Bohemian farmers are prosperous today because they faced and overcame obstacles that frightened away the natives. They found there unbroken prairies used only as grazing ground by the Texas ranchers, who were too lazy or timorous to undertake the cultivation of it. They were not afraid to undertake the cultivation of bad lands, and many a hundred acres which are now bearing good crops were once wild forests, which were cleared only by diet of persevering and painstaking toil. I know of no more heroic work than that performed by the pioneer farmers of Texas. All honor to them! It is largely due to their efforts that Texas is now one of the richest states in the Union.

And the Bohemians are held in very wholesome respect by their American neighbors. I took advantage of every opportunity to learn how the natives regarded their new neighbors, and was gratified, though not surprised, to hear such expressions of opinion as the following: "The Bohemians are the best farmers in all Texas"; "They make the very best American citizens"; "I have never lost a cent of money through bad debts of Bohemians"; "I am proud to have them as my neighbors and friends."

And this good opinion has been won in spite of conditions which might well have aroused in the natives a feeling of jealousy and resentment. One of the besetting sins of native-born Americans is the tendency to regard all foreigners as inferior to themselves. And when these "foreigners" come into a community and proceed to demonstrate their superiority as workmen and as farmers, a feeling of jealous resentment might easily be provoked. The Bohemians, however, have gone about their work in such a quiet, unassuming manner, with such an entire absence of domineering braggadocio, and have withal been so kindly and neighborly in their relations

with the natives, that all prejudice against them as foreigners has been broken down, and they have been gladly welcomed into the farming community of the state.

Bohemians have now been in Texas since the fifties, so that we have now a third generation growing up. It is interesting to observe the process of Americanization amongst them. In spite of several tendencies which would seem to work in the other direction, the Bohemians of Texas are better Americans than those who have made their homes in our large cities. The Bohemians have kept by themselves a good deal, even out on the farms. It is seldom that you will find a Bohemian farmer settled in the midst of Americans. Generally they settle in the Bohemian regions of Texas, and there, through their churches and societies and in some cases through their schools, they foster their own language and their own racial consciousness. Furthermore, owing to the fact that it is only a year since Texas secured a compulsory education law, and to the further fact that the children are put to work at an early age in the cotton fields, a great many, though born in this country, have grown up with a very meagre knowledge of the English language. But, in spite of this fact, they are good Americans. That is to say, they seem to have grasped the spirit of America, of her ideals, traditions and institutions even better than some of their country men who have learned the English language and American ways so fast that they have forgotten their mother tongue and the ideals and traditions of their forefathers. All this goes to deepen in my mind the conviction that it is a great mistake to hasten unduly the process of

Americanization, and the belief that the more loyal these foreigners are to the traditions of their old country, the more loyal will they be to this, their adopted country. Of course, the Bohemian language is doomed to a slow death. I venture to predict that it will endure longer in Texas than elsewhere, and yet it is there that the process of Americanization has borne the greatest fruits.

In Texas, as elsewhere, I have found it to be true that it is those who are the most ardent Bohemian patriots who are the most loyal in their allegiance to America. A Bohemian who will not support the Bohemian National Alliance in its effort to liberate Bohemia from the hand of the oppressor, is not likely to support the American government in its fight for freedom and democracy. Whereas those who are most active in the propaganda for the independence of Bohemia, are encouraged in their activity by the very keen appreciation which they have of the liberty and democracy afforded to them under the American flag.

My visit to Texas has done much to deepen my affection for the Bohemian people. They are amongst the most progressive of our new citizens. They are making great contributions to our economic, political and cultural life. They have an intense love of liberty which makes them most appreciative of all that America stands for. It seems to me that the least we Americans can do is to give them a hearty welcome into our community of liberty-loving citizens, and lend to them our sympathy and support in the noble effort they are making to secure political independence for Bohemia.

New Light on the Sarajevo Murders.

By Dr. B. Novotný.

The immediate occasion of the European war was the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, Princess Hohenberg, in the capital of Bosnia, June 28th, 1914. The Austrian government saw in the double murder a complete justification for making war on Serbia, regardless of the strong probability that invasion of Serbia would bring on general war. The ruling persons of Vienna have defiantly

proclaimed to the world that it was fitting to have millions of the common people die rather than leave the murder of the two august personages unpunished. This is a terrible doctrine from the point of view of American democracy, even when sincerely believed in. But the fact is that the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the few people around Francis Joseph who decided to use the Sarajevo murders as an

excuse for crushing Serbia, were in reality accomplices in the death of the heir whom they cordially hated.

Francis Joseph whose long reign of sixty eight years came recently to a close has always been subject to female influences. In his declining years the strongest person around him was archduchess Marie Valerie, his daughter; together with archduchesses Isabella and Marie Josephine she was the real power behind the throne. To obtain the consent of the emperor to any important matter it was necessary to work through his all-powerful daughter. Marie Valerie was swayed by one ruling passion, a deep and all pervading hate of Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the empire, and a still more intensive hate of his morgatic wife, Princess of Hohenberg, former Countess Sophia Chotek. It is difficult to account for this passionate hate; perhaps it was intense personal dislike, perhaps jealousy fed by the thought that on some future day that could not be far distant the Countess Chotek would become the emperor's wife and take precedence of the emperor's daughter. It was well known that Francis Ferdinand was completely devoted to his wife and would upon accession to the throne overturn the barriers by which his wife and children were excluded from the throne. Possibly Marie Valerie was swayed by medieval prejudice against persons raised above their rank. Who can sound the depths of a woman's soul, especially if she be a Hapsburg princess?

No doubt exists on the point that Francis Ferdinand was constantly pursued by the enmity of the archduchess and hated by all her court. It was well known in Vienna that the heir's mental condition was to say the least abnormal. Both in his castle of Konopiste and in Vienna stories were told of fits resembling insanity to which His Imperial Highness was subject. In his living room all the portraits had eyes shot out, for they were the target at which the future emperor exhibited his skill with revolver. His bodyservants, coachmen and gardeners told other stories. One morning three years ago the castle of Konopiste was astounded by an unusual spectacle. The steward of the estate presented himself before the archduke for reports and orders. The heir to the throne exchanged a few words with his servant, and suddenly without any reason picked up his sword and commenced to beat the steward with the flat side of the

weapon, careless of where the blows fell. The man turned and ran from the rooms; the archduke ran after him and pursued him with the sword all over the castle grounds to the village below. The attendants were struck with fear and dared not interfere. This was but one instance of the frequent fits of the Archduke who losing all control of himself with his own hand whipped lackeys, coachmen and laborers.

The entourage of Marie Valerie looked upon Francis Ferdinand as insane. Generals, ministers and high officials spoke of him among themselves as "the idiot". That there was a physical derangement of some sort, producing these violent acts, was proved by autopsy performed after his assassination. The physicians reported that his physical and mental condition had been such that he could not have lived longer than one year.

Sophia, too, exhibited peculiar traits of temperament. She beat her maids and servants, even the governess of her children, but her outbursts of temper were accounted for generally by avarice. The story is told of her youngest child, who said, after Princess Hohenberg was buried: "Now I can keep the money that people give me."

The courtiers of Marie Valerie made these traits of the royal pair the butt of their witticisms, and it was well known that the surest way to the favor of the powerful archduchess was to poke fun at and exhibit contempt for the heir to the throne and his family. There was little real mourning in Vienna, when Francis Ferdinand and Sophia were killed, and the scandals connected with their funeral proved that the hate of the archduchess pursued them into the grave.

Both sides, the heir presumptive and the people who had the ear of the reigning emperor, shared the guilt of causing the war. Ferdinand, spurred on by his ambitious wife, lent himself to the far-reaching plans of Kaiser Wilhelm, hoping to make his children's succession to the Hapsburg throne easier by adding territory to the inherited empire. For some years he had represented the old emperor in foreign and military affairs. He realized that his personality was popular neither with the ministers and generals, nor with the many races of Austria-Hungary. The majority of his future subjects were afraid of his centralizing and germanizing tendencies. The archduke realized that the foundations of

the Hapsburg monarchy were tottering and that war on the eastern frontiers was bound to arise, unless a total change in the internal policy of the dual-empire was effected. He decided to give his support to the imperialistic plans of William, hoping to make the future of the monarchy and of his own family secure by a successful war.

But Berlin knew perfectly well that as long as the old emperor lived, Marie Valerie and her friends had the final word in Vienna. Much care was therefore taken to dispose them favorably to the German designs. Stress was laid on the danger which Serbian national aspirations constituted to the integrity of the empire, and promises were made of complete backing in case of Balkan complications. The Kaiser encouraged the fire-eaters of Vienna and Budapest who constantly talked about smashing the despised nation of swineherds and made preparations for a war with Italy; he was on very friendly terms with Generals Conrad Hoetzendorf and Von Auffenberg, who for a time were most influential about the Vienna court. William's diplomacy toward his ally was very simple; to be on good terms with whatever faction might be in power in Vienna at the moment he might need Austria's help. It was all the same to him, whether his ally would be Francis Ferdinand and Sophia Chotek, or Marie Valerie and her generals.

The events of Sarajevo settled that question. In Bohemia, where the heir was well known having resided there long, it was known the day after the double murder that Master of Ordnance Potiorek, governor of Bosnia, had not taken the proper precaution to have his distinguished guests safeguarded. A few days later documents were published in the newspapers which proved that the Vienna police had been expressly warned that an attempt on the archduke's life would be made during his stay in Bosnia's capital. On the fatal day of June 28, after the first attempt miscarried and when it was plain that a conspiracy existed including a number of reckless men, General Potiorek, who was responsible for the archduke's safety, deliberately advised him to carry out the original arrangements and expose his own and his wife's persons in the public streets once more. It may be that Potiorek's advice was given in good faith, but the fact is that when war broke out, Hoetzendorf, Auffenberg and Potiorek were given commands of principal Aus-

trian armies, and their promotion coupled with their well-known enmity to the heir casts a sinister light upon Potiorek's blunder on the day of the assassination.

The promotion of these three generals was due to the influence of archduchess Marie Valerie. Hoetzendorf and Auffenberg were leaders in the military clique that had long been preparing for war with Serbia on the one side and Italy on the other. To that end they cultivated diligently the good will of the emperor's all-powerful daughter.

Two years prior to the war Auffenberg became involved in an ugly affair and was saved only through the interposition of Marie Valerie. As the Austro-Hungarian minister of war he sold one million rifles to Roumania, and it became known that he personally benefited by the transaction to the extent of a million crowns. But proof of graft could not seriously hurt an Austrian minister enjoying the favor of the high personage who swayed the emperor's will. Shortly afterward a more serious scandal was talked about in Vienna. Auffenberg's wife, it was well known, was greatly interested in politics. During the Balkan wars, when it seemed very likely that Austria would attack Serbia, Frau Von Auffenberg called on her broker after each session of the ministerial council and made great sums speculating in the rise and fall of the state rentes. The indignation of the Vienna public became so great that Auffenberg had to resign.

But even after these scandals Auffenberg retained his army command and cultivated constantly the favor of Marie Valerie. He was playing for the position of commander-in-chief in the war which he knew to be coming. To that end he staged a comedy that proved to be the sensation of the year in Vienna. It both humiliated the family of Ferdinand D'Este and pleased the powerful archduchess.

(To be concluded)

BOHEMIA AND THE CZECHS.

Under this title Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum, the great authority on the American Indian, writes an excellent account of the Bohemian people and their land for the February issue of the National Geographic Magazine. It is splendidly illustrated. You can order a copy from the National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., for 25 cents.

Bohemian Contingent in

Since the Bohemians could not have an army of their own, they have determined to furnish a contingent of their emigrants for every Allied army. They have two divisions in Russia, composed mainly of Austrian soldiers who allowed themselves to be captured and then volunteered for service against the German armies; they have smaller detachments with the Serbians around Monastir, in the famous French foreign legion, in the English army, and now a company of Bohemian boys is on

cially in the Sokol gymnastic societies, and young fellows in the pink of physical condition and with limbs like acrobats streamed across the line in twos and threes until nearly the full complement of one company was secured just before orders came to entrain for England.

A delegation of the Bohemian National Alliance went to Portage to bid farewell to the boys from the United States, most of them from Chicago. They presented Company C with the white and red



the way to England with the 223rd Battalion of the Canadian forces to fight the common foe.

At the time relations were broken off with Germany, Bohemian immigrants in Canada were trying to make up a company of their men in the 223rd battalion which was being organized at Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. But there were not enough of them in Western Canada, and appeal was made through Bohemian newspapers in Chicago for volunteers from the States. It was given heed spe-

cially in the Sokol gymnastic societies, and young fellows in the pink of physical condition and with limbs like acrobats streamed across the line in twos and threes until nearly the full complement of one company was secured just before orders came to entrain for England. A delegation of the Bohemian National Alliance went to Portage to bid farewell to the boys from the United States, most of them from Chicago. They presented Company C with the white and red

“Friends, in the name of half a million Czech

he Canadian Forces.

people in America I send you greetings upon the occasion of your departure for active service. We are proud of you. You have realized that the greatest service you can render at this time to the cause of humanity and of our dear native land is to put on the uniform and fight German militarism with gun and grenade. We who give some of our time and money to the cause dear to us all admire you and look up to you as men who offer the highest service—your own lives.

fight as men, not as German barbarians, and you will be bravest among the brave. The Bohemian company in the Canadian forces will be a worthy associate of Bohemian volunteers in the other Allied armies.

For humanity and civilization, and for liberation of Bohemia.

Fight the good fight and return victorious."

Joseph Tvrzický, Bohemian secretary of the Alliance, addressed the volunteers in their own



We know that you will render a good account of yourselves in the difficult days ahead of you. Perhaps you will fight somewhere near Arras or in Champagne, where two years ago the first Bohemian volunteers covered with glory the white and red flag with the silver lion of Bohemia.

The Bohemian National Alliance sends you a flag of the country in which we were born. Our great Havlíček said: My colors are red and white, my ideal are bravery and purity. You will

tongue, and had the whole assemblage, including those who did not understand Bohemian, wiping away tears.

General Sir Sam Hughes, who inspected the recruits, stated that of all the foreign volunteers in the armies of the Allies, Bohemians were first.

The Bohemian company entrained April 22, and their last message to the Bohemian National Alliance stated that they would carry the flag until they planted it on the Hradčany castle in Prague.

The Bohemian Question.

An Address Delivered by Charles Pergler at the 21st Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in Philadelphia, April 20-21, 1917.

The exit of Turkey from Europe is now a question of short time. Russia is no more an autocracy, and henceforth will be a democratically governed country. Thus remains unsolved only one major international problem involving the rights of small nations, speaking of nations in the ethnical sense and as distinguished from states.

The Allied note to President Wilson demands the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Roumanians and Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination. The Czechs and Slovaks ask for the reconstruction of an independent Bohemian-Slovak state. All this postulates the dissolution, or at least a very serious diminution, of Austria-Hungary.

The federalization of the Austro-Hungarian empire has become impracticable, if not wholly impossible. The case of Switzerland is hardly in point. Mr. Toynbee defines nationality as a will to co-operate, and a nation as a group of men bound together by the immanence of this impulse in each individual. The Swiss have developed this will to co-operate, while in Austria it always has been unknown, and conditions are such that to hope even for its inception would be wholly utopian. Nor can we point to the United States of America as an example, because we are after all a nation formed by the free will of immigrants of various origins, and with an underlying basis of language and uniformity of outlook, uniformity of culture, furnished by the original settlers in this country, who came from England.

Nationality is the modern state-forming force. To disregard it is to stand in the path of an ultimately irresistible force. The historical process of unification of various nationalities, which began with the German and Italian aspirations for a national state, ultimately will be consummated. If it is not completed now, the world is due for another convulsion within a relatively short time. When this consummation takes place, that Austrian territory inhabited by Italians will be joined to Italy, the Roumanians will be gathered in one state, there will come into being a Jugo-Slav (South-Slav) state, and Poland will be independent or autonomous. If Austria then remains in existence, the only nations left within it

will be the Germans, the Magyars and the Czecho-Slovaks.

In this "small Austria" the Czechs and Slovaks would constitute a minority; the Germans and Magyars would again combine to dominate and oppress the Czecho-Slovaks. Austria even so mutilated would continue to be a source of strength to Germany, and would form a basis for another attempt to realize Pan-German plans of Middle Europe, and the consequent conquest of the world. The internal conditions of such a state would necessarily be volcanic, and Austria would continue to be a menace to European peace. We should thus be confronted with a situation which President Wilson in his address to the Senate described as the ferment of spirit of whole populations fighting subtly and constantly for an opportunity to freely develop. To paraphrase another of his statements, the world could not be at peace because its life would not be stable, because the will would be in rebellion, because there would not be tranquility of spirit, because there would not be a sense of justice, of freedom and of right.

The Austrian question is the Turkish problem in another form. Austria can be no more federated than European Turkey. To permit Austria to exist in any form when this war is concluded, is merely to delay the solution of a problem that will never down; and in the life of nations, as well as individuals, delay and procrastination, the tendency to postpone a final decision, is a crime for which penalties are sure to follow. We have seen what this penalty is: A war devastating civilized countries.

The suggestions made in certain quarters that a federal constitution in Austria be one of the conditions of peace show the futility of the hopes to federalize Austria. Those knowing Austro-Hungarian conditions are convinced that the empire's ruling classes would never carry out such conditions in spirit, and perhaps not even in letter; the world would not go to war immediately to force Austria to comply with such a condition of peace, and thus the germs of a future war, brought about by

our failure to see clearly now, would be permitted to exist.

A liberal Russia will be what Russia always claimed to have been: a protector of the small Slav nationalities. With Russia liberalized, the spirit of nationalism, which must not be confounded with chauvinism, will be intensified, and Russia will never again look with equanimity upon the Asiatic oppression of Slovaks by the Magyars, to cite a single illustration. This again shows the necessity of a final solution, and the danger of compromise and temporizing.

The Czechs have proven the possibility of independence by their economic and cultural development. Economically and financially the Czech countries are the richest of the present Austrian "provinces", and when freed of oppressive taxation, discriminating in favor of financially "passive" Austrian lands, the independent Bohemian-Slovak state would be even richer. At the present time 62.7 per cent. of the burden of Austrian taxation is borne by the Czech countries, while the rest of Austria carries only 37.3 per cent.

It should be emphasized that the economic strength of the new state would be reinforced by the undeveloped resources of Slovakia, the inhabitants of which form a part of the same ethnic group as the Bohemians, and desire to be joined with the Bohemians in one state. This presents no difficulty, since the Slovaks live in one part of the Hungarian kingdom, and are not scattered in isolated groups. For that matter, the world has about realized that in provoking the Great War the Magyar oligarchy was *particeps criminis*; this war was not only a German war, but it was a Magyar war as well.

The Bohemian-Slovak state would thus consist of the lands of the crown of St. Wenceslaus: viz, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, so that it would have a population of over twelve million inhabitants and a territorial extent of fifty thousand English square miles, while Belgium has only eleven thousand three hundred seventy-three square miles. Therefore, it would not be a small state, being in fact eighth among twenty-two European states.

After all, the belief in the necessity of large states is largely a product of German mechanistic political philosophy and political economy. Already voices have arisen that certain states have become too large to manage. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis

has shown that even under modern conditions certain business units can become so large as to be physically incapable of successful administration. May this not be equally true of states, especially polyethnic states?

If it be said that it is hard to reconstruct a state, or organize a new one, permit me to answer that it was not easy to organize the United States of America, and the period of experimentation under the Articles of Confederation was full of trials and tribulations. For a long time it was a question whether in America we should have an aggregation of loose-jointed states, or whether a foundation for a real nation will be laid. Yet those architects of human society, to borrow an expression of Walter Lippman relative to Alexander Hamilton, who after our revolution held in their hands the destiny of this nation, did not shrink from undertaking the task.

It is objected occasionally that the new state would have no direct access to the sea. Access to the sea is important, but with modern methods of communication not as important as it was in the past. The sea after all is a means of communication; whether these means be the ocean, or the railroad, it makes little difference if the country is confronted by high tariffs. Again, the solution of this problem has been suggested by a number of writers, and by President Wilson in his address to the Senate, wherein he advocates the granting of economic rights of way to landlocked states in the following language:

"So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce".

It should also be remembered that a direct connection could be established with the new Yugoslav state with its harbors on the Adriatic.

It is also true that the future Bohemian-Slovak state will have a German minority; but in central and eastern Europe hardly any state can be constructed without certain national minorities. In the present instance the minority is not as large as would seem on the basis of the false Austrian and Magyar statistics. But it will certainly be

easier to safeguard the interests of a German and Magyar minority in a Bohemian-Slovak state than it would be to protect the rights of Bohemians and Slovaks in a deformed Austria, or to force Austria to become a federal state.

This question of national minorities will, of course, have to be worked out in detail, but judging from the way Bohemian cities and communes have handled the problem of German minority schools, it may be safely predicted that there will be no oppression of German minorities, no more than there was during the centuries that Bohemia was an independent state.

A leading advocate of permanent peace recently suggested that the question of national minorities might be solved to a large degree by a system of judicious exchange of such minorities, or of various members thereof. This gentleman had in mind the situation in Macedonia, but the suggestion is worth considering in other connections. For instance, Vienna has a large number of Bohemians, and the question of the Bohemian minority in this city has always been quite acute. A large number of these people might be repatriated and their places taken by Germans living in Bohemia, who originally were colonists in any event. It goes without saying that such repatriation would have to be voluntary, but if once undertaken should be facilitated by the respective governments.

One cannot help remarking that prior to this war those now worrying over the possible oppression of a German minority by majority of Czecho-Slovaks were little concerned about the oppression of the majority by the minority, which has been going on for centuries. It should also be noted that a policy of denationalization of other peoples is one peculiar almost wholly to the Germans. After all, there is such a thing as psychology of nations, and the Slavs have never been noted for attempts to impose their language upon other nationalities. Russia is not an exception to the rule, for her reactionary policies were largely due to the Junkers from Russian Baltic provinces and to the German bureaucracy.

The factors thus enumerated, the right of any nation to independence once its possibility is demonstrated, the necessity of dissolving Austria in the interests of permanent peace, I believe to be decisive of the Bohemian case.

I would not even fear the joining of purely German parts of Austria to the German Empire. This would carry the principle of nationality to its logical conclusion. It would perhaps strengthen Germany absolutely, but very seriously weaken her relatively. To the German Empire would be added a few million Germans, but it would be deprived of the support of a much larger number of Slavs, who are now being made use of to fight the battles of their bitterest enemy.

When we consider the Bohemian question in relation to the whole European problem of small nationalities, it is easily seen that it is simplicity itself, for a reconstruction of Europe in accordance with the principle of nationality means also the freeing of the French and Danes in Germany, the creation of a Yougo-Slav state and emancipation of Poland. All these questions, whether difficult or easy, must be faced unflinchingly.

Let us not forget that the Czech question is also one of restoration. The Hapsburgs were called to the Bohemian throne by the free will of the representatives of the Bohemian state, and they undertook by solemn oaths and pledges to protect and safeguard the independence of this state. The violation of such pledges, and the deprivation of the Czechs of independence by force does not do away with their legal rights, so that the Bohemian case has the strongest possible sanction.

The fact that the Czechs at one time had a strong and powerful state, well organized, is also a sufficient proof of inherent political capacity.

Bismarck maintained that the power ruling Bohemia rules Europe. This best illustrates the importance of the Bohemian question as an international problem. Without an independent Bohemian-Slovak state permanent peace cannot be realized.

THE HEART OF EUROPE.

If you want to acquaint your American friends with the justice of Bohemia's claim to independence, you will do well, if you give them a copy of the new booklet of Charles Pergler, entitled, "The Heart of Europe." It is an exceedingly well presented case and it is published in a very attractive manner. The typographical appearance of the booklet was designed by the well-known Bohemian artist, Vojtěch Preissig, and there are drawings by Fred T. Chapman and J. C. Vondrous. Send 25 cents for a copy to the Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 W. 26th Street, Chicago.

Singing Austria's Swan-Song.)*

After thirty months of bloody war with the Central Powers the situation in regard to Germany's strength and weakness is being cleared up. During the first two years, the country was preoccupied with Germany only, always speaking of "Prussian militarism" as the chief enemy which must be destroyed before peace and liberty could reign in Europe. All the attention was focussed on Germany, and Austria-Hungary was treated with complete indifference as if she were not at war with Great Britain at all. But the cold facts of war have demonstrated that Germany's strength lies in the fact that she has at her disposal the absolute obedience of the Germans who dominate Austria and of the Magyars who have Hungary in their grip, making up a population of fifty-one million people. Convincing arguments have not seemed sufficiently strong to induce the public to believe that the war is a conspiracy between the Germans, Austrians and Magyars to dominate Europe and eventually Asia and Africa. Those to whom the great menace became inconvenient tried to dispose of it in an easy-going way by pointing out that jealousy between Vienna and Berlin made the plan impracticable, and that Magyar hostility towards Vienna and Berlin made its realization impossible. All that only proved that those who sought consolation in such political presumptions were not in sufficiently close touch with the latest political developments of the Dual Monarchy.

It was not known to them—or if known it was under-estimated—that before the war the ruling races of the Dual Monarchy, the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, were in a life-and-death struggle with the subject races, and were making a final effort to preserve their supremacy. They did not observe that the Magyars felt they could no longer stand on their own feet if they were to keep Hungary in their hands, but must seek support beyond Hungary's boundaries. They could not lean on Austria, as the Austrian Germans were in a similar plight; and as a result both sought their salvation under the wings of the German eagle.

The Allied Powers' reply to President Wilson cleared up the political atmosphere considerably. But even though the Allied

Powers solemnly declared in effect that Austria-Hungary was the menace of European peace, there are still in this country a few politicians and publicists who champion the cause of Austria-Hungary. The main argument advanced by them is that the Dual Monarchy is striving to free herself from the grip of Germany and to transform herself into a federal state. An awakening from this dream will reveal the cold fact that German-Austria herself has not wished nor desired to lead an existence separate from the German Empire. The war has rallied the last remnants of old German Austria to the banner of Berlin's political ideals. Today it is not only the ultra-nationalistic German political parties of Austria—as the German National-Verband and the Christian Socialists who have on numerous occasions formulated and manifested their determination to hold on to Prussian Pan-Germanism—but also the Social-Democrats who are longing for Austria's unification with the German Empire. We should at least have expected of the Social-Democrats that they would have some understanding for Austrian federalism and for a policy hostile to Prussian militarism; but we see that even they do not want to hear anything about independent Austria.

Their leader, and the Editor-in-Chief of their organ, the Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung, Deputy Engelbert Pernerstorfer, who months ago was bitterly attacked by the German Nationalists for his supposed lack of German national feeling, came out recently strongly in favor of a union with Austria with Germany. In an article published on Jan. 25th in "Bohemia," the organ of the Germans of Prague, Pernerstorfer writes:

For us Germans of Austria it is of the utmost importance that we should remain in every respect in the closest union with all the Germanism in the German Empire. We mean by that not only the cultural and economic relations, but also the political unity of both empires, which should become stronger and more inseparable. Even today it is maintained here and there that from certain esthetic considerations a spirit of discord should be fostered between the Germanism of Austria and that of the German Empire; a spirit of discord which does not exist at all, as there

* Reprinted from Everyman, March 9, 1917.

is no Germanism in Austria that could be considered as a unit as against the Germanism of the German Empire. On the contrary, entire Germanism with its fragments in Switzerland or Poland, yea, even with such small fragments as, for instance, the Transylvania Saxons, all certainly form a real synthesis of various races and provinces."

Then Deputy Pernerstorfer speaks about the Germans of Vienna, admonishing them to cultivate their national pride and patriotism: "The Germans of Austria in future must never remain neutral when the fate of Germanism is in the balance. Therefore it is necessary to fight with the greatest possible ardor every endeavor to create a particular Germanism which would seek to accomplish its destiny, even if only in theory, independently of the German Empire. Similarly it is necessary to fight the endeavor to advocate a universal new Austrianism which is being born today in mystic ecstasies, and in which all the nations of the Empire are supposed to melt away without leaving a trace." At the end of his article Pernerstorfer defines the position of Germans in Austria as follows: "In solving the problems of Austria in the future we Germans will play an important rôle. We shall only have a lasting success if we never lose our internal coherence with the rest of the German nation, and if we do not fall into a de-national fantasy, which

would only make us an object of ridicule to the other nationally conscious nations of the Empire. But we must also see to it that our external alliance with the German Empire should be knit more firmly together, this alliance which in this war has become a partnership for life and death."

In subjecting Deputy Pernerstorfer's article to a close scrutiny one finds that he speaks surprisingly little about the Slavs of Austria. He cannot have overlooked them, as he has been engaged with them for years in a struggle to preserve German supremacy in Austria. It is true that at the beginning of his article he speaks about the bonds of unity "between these two great Empires," but it cannot be supposed that he means to include the Slavs also, of whom it cannot be said that they desire fusion with the German Empire, as, according to his assertion, is the case with the Austrian Germans. That this is so evident from the fact that subsequently, in several places, he speaks exclusively of the Austrian Germans who, he asserts, must in future throw in their lot with the Germans of the German Empire. From this would not the inference that Pernerstorfer prefers a unification of all the Germans to a federalistic Austria be justified?

Would it be far from the truth to say that the leader of the German Social-Democrats is singing Austria's swan-song?

Current Topics

WHAT THE ALLIANCE IS DOING.

It is very fortunate for people of Bohemian race in this country that the entrance of the United States into the European war finds them so well organized. For theirs is a difficult position. Coming from Austria, as they do, they might be suspected of attachment to the German cause, if they were not in a position to make their real sentiments known to the American people in unmistakable terms. The work performed by the Bohemian National Alliance since its organization shortly after the outbreak of the war has made the public authorities and intelligent citizens of this country well acquainted with the point of view of men who came from Bohemia. The officers of the Alliance, however, realized the need of still greater activity on their part now that the United States under the leadership of President Wilson decided to take a hand in the fight for humanity and democracy.

From every city where there is any considerable number of Bohemian people telegrams poured upon the president commending his vigorous stand and as-

sureing him of absolute loyalty of citizens of Bohemian birth. And what goes for more, officers of the Alliance appealed to their membership to prove their patriotism by enlisting their young men in the army. What has been done in Chicago in this respect, is told elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Vojta Beneš, organizer of the Alliance, proceeded on a circular tour through Bohemian settlements in the western states, and in his addresses emphasized the fact that now the cause of the United States and the cause of Bohemia are one and the same and that fighting for America is fighting for the liberation of Bohemia. He lectured in the following cities and towns: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Omaha and Aberdeen, S. D. Mr. Joseph Tvrzický, the Bohemian secretary of the Alliance, made shorter trips from Chicago to deliver stirring appeals in favor of enlisting promptly, so as to get to the trenches before the war was over. He spoke in St. Louis, Detroit, Minneapolis and St. Paul. Fráňa Klepal, before joining his batallion in Canada, gave several talks in Cleveland, Chicago

and St. Paul, calling especially on the members of the Sokol societies to enlist. Bohemian newspapers in every city publish lists of recruits of their race who have put on the uniform.

Considerable interest has been aroused among the Bohemian-speaking people of this country by the introduction of a resolution in the House of Representatives calling upon the parliamentary bodies of the Allied Powers to make a declaration in favor of re-establishment of Belgium and Serbia, and of freedom for Poland and Ireland. This resolution was introduced by Congressman Medill McCormick from Illinois and is known as House Resolution No. 41. Those who ardently desire freedom for Bohemia are sorely disappointed by the indifference of America to this just demand, the more so as the United States has in the past been the foremost champion of nations struggling for freedom. Representative McCormick and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs before whom the resolution is pending have been deluged with telegrams and petitions asking the inclusion of Bohemia within the scope of the resolution. As no action has as yet been taken on this resolution, it is not too late to address to Congressman McCormick additional appeals in behalf of Bohemia.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Cleveland conference the local branches voted unanimously to have the Central Committee of the Alliance in Chicago for a further term of two years. The committee organized itself on April 4 by the election of the following officers: Dr. L. J. Fisher, president; Dr. Joseph P. Pecival, Mrs. Anna Stolfa and Charles Pergler, vice-presidents; Joseph Tvrzický, Bohemian secretary; Dr. J. F. Smetanka, English secretary; Vojta Beneš, organizer; Jas. F. Štěpina, treasurer; Adolph Lonek, financial secretary, and J. V. Votava, assistant financial secretary.

The eastern branches of the Alliance had a very successful, enthusiastic and harmonious conference in New York, April 14 and 15. Over three hundred delegates were present and the spirit of the meeting is best expressed in the motto adopted by it: One million dollars before the end of the year.

BRING BACK THE KAISER'S MUSTACHES.

This was the parting message which Bohemian boys of Chicago took away with them, when they left for Jefferson barracks.

The response of Chicago people to the patriotic call for volunteers was remarkable. The Bohemian Alliance and the Sokol Union of America appointed a joint recruiting committee with the idea of enlisting enough men to form at least one regiment. A delegation went to see Captain Franklin R. Kenney in charge of recruiting in the Chicago district, and were informed by him that it would be feasible to have men of Bohemian race kept together, of course under officers assigned to the regiment by the War Department. A mass meeting was immediately arranged by the committee, and after an address by Captain Kenney over forty young men came forward to offer their lives in defense of their

country. The Pilsen Sokols turned over rooms in their hall without charge for the purpose of establishing a regular recruiting station, and Captain Kenney assigned the first Bohemian volunteer, John Vosatka, to be the recruiting sergeant in charge. In two days one hundred and twenty young men were enrolled, passed by the physicians and accepted for service in the U. S. army. Only about half a dozen were rejected for physical defects, and the appearance of the Bohemian boys, most of them trained gymnasts, elicited flattering remarks from the army doctors. The first batch were sent away Monday, April 16th. It was a great occasion for the Chicago Southwest Side.

The recruits gathered in the Sokol Havlíček Tyrš Hall, and after impassioned speeches by the Sokol leaders and spokesmen for the boys, the flag of the Society, stars and stripes on one side, Bohemian lion on the other, was presented to the detachment which was looked upon as the nucleus of a Bohemian unit in Uncle Sam's army. Led by a military band and followed by thousands of friends the recruits marched from the hall to the army office on South State Street and from there to the depot, a distance of seven miles. At the depot American and Bohemian hymns were sung by the crowd that overflowed the platforms, and the train pulled out amid thunderous cheers of "Na zdar" and "Na shledanou".

A second smaller detachment left Wednesday and another, numbering over one hundred and fifty, the following Monday. The week which witnessed this outburst of patriotism on the part of the Bohemian people of Chicago was the very same week in which crowds of young fellows overran the county building in quest of marriage licenses intending to avoid military service by getting married. Many of our boys also visited the county building, but with a totally different purpose. They went there to make their declaration of intention to become American citizens, in order that they might have the privilege of fighting against Germany.

It is a pity that the policy of the War Department does not permit the formation of special regiments. Adjutant General Robert C. Davis, wrote in reply to a petition of the joint recruiting committee for the assignment of men of Bohemian race to the same regiment as follows: "It is not the policy of the Department to localize regiments or to have any particular regiments composed of men of any particular class or nationality. . . . It is impracticable therefore to authorize the formation of any regiment or regiments composed entirely of Bohemians, nor is it practicable to promise assignments to or continued service of any men or group of men in the same regiment."

This order will make it impossible to keep track of men of Bohemian birth and descent who enlist in the army without waiting for conscription. It is, however, already certain that the percentage of recruits of Czech race will exceed the percentage of Americans of other stock.

Captain Kenney, to whose efforts is due the record of Illinois as the state furnishing most recruits to the regular army, had this to say in a letter ad-

dressed to Dr. Jaroslav F. Smetanka, secretary of the joint recruiting committee: "Will you express the thanks of the War Department to the Bohemian National Alliance, Bohemian Sokols and all American citizens of Bohemian birth for the remarkable effort you have made to have your young men join the colors. The response your people have made to my appeal for fighting men has been extremely gratifying. I gladly bear witness to the fact that no class of Americans has come forward to defend their country in time of war with better spirit than Americans of Bohemian birth and descent."

NEW YORK PAPERS SPEAK PLAINLY.

Amid the scruples of officials and editors who fear to hurt Austria's sensibilities lest it should declare war upon the United States, it is refreshing to come across the following editorial in the New York Tribune, one of the greatest dailies of America. The latter part of this article which appeared on April 22, is quoted here:

"The question of Austria is the question of the war which must appeal strongly to Americans. It is the question of the right of small peoples and of weaker races to follow their own will, to live under that system of law and to use that language which they desire. The liberation of the subject races of Austria will be one of the greatest of the contributions to permanent peace that is imaginable, because it is inconceivable that there can be a permanent peace as long as twenty-three millions of Austrians and Hungarians are permitted to enslave twenty-seven millions of Slavs and Latins. Now that Germany has conquered Austria, the peril becomes greater, because this vast population organized by Germany and dominated by the German military caste, would be an enduring menace to the liberties of the world.

It is a hopeful sign that Austria should seek peace. It is a hopeful sign that in seeking peace she renounces all projects of annexation. But no such program can enlist the support of an American audience, which must recognize that the war itself will be without any benefit to mankind if it perpetuates a system of human slavery and fortifies a Hapsburg-Hohenzollern tyranny along the Danube. We are marching toward peace. There are signs that are unmistakable, but the long agony of the world war should not blind people to the only method by which a repetition can be escaped. The Serb, the Italian, the Rumanian and the Pole should gain their liberty, and no just peace can be had which does not insure this."

We are sorry that the Editor in his excellent analysis of the Austrian problem omitted to include expressly the Bohemian people among the races entitled to liberty.

The New York Times again has this to say of the dynasty which alone keeps the provinces and races of Austria-Hungary together, in an article entitled "The Patient Hapsburg" in the issue of April 20th.

"In St. Stephen's Cathedral Sunday the Emperor Charles, 'in a loud voice,' read a prayer which contained this curious religious-historical medley:

Almighty God, who hast promised us that the patient shall taste abundant peace, Thou knowest what patience we observed toward our enemies until righteous self-defense compelled us to draw the sword. In the midst of this war thus forced upon us we recognize the blessings of peace.

In 1909 the patient Hapsburg, by means of documents forged by an employee of the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade, invented a "conspiracy" of Serbo-Croatians, aided by the Serbian Government, against Austria-Hungary. The truth was exposed in the famous Friedjung trial. It never would have been exposed, divers Croats and Serbs would have been shot, Serbia would have been invaded and gobbled up, if Russia had not yielded to the German ultimatum, which forced Russia to accept the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria and to leave Serbia in the lurch.

In 1913, the patient Hapsburg proposed to make war on Serbia, as was officially stated in the Italian Parliament in 1915.

The patience of the Hapsburg toward Serbia, his long-awaited prey, in 1914 is known to the world.

Even to the Almighty, who knows the truth, the Hapsburg cannot tell it."

INFORMATION ABOUT BOHEMIA.

The Bohemian National Alliance will mail upon request without charge the following pamphlets setting forth the aims and aspirations of the Bohemian (Czech) and Slovak peoples:

Thomas G. Masaryk:

Austrian Terrorism in Bohemia.
The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis.
The Slavs Among the Nations.
The Czecho-Slovak State.

Charles Pergler:

Bohemians in the Present Crisis.
The Heart of Europe.

Those who desire to read a more detailed study of the Bohemian problem are advised to get Thomas Čapek's book: *Bohemia under the Hapsburg Misrule*, which will be sent postpaid upon receipt of One Dollar.

The same organization has recently received from England a number of copies of the following pamphlets: Philip Gibbs, *The Germans on the Somme*, and *Britain Transformed*. These will be sent free upon request.

Address all communications with reference to the above: Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West 26th St., Chicago, Ill.

If you have friends that might be interested in the Bohemian Review, please send us their addresses, and we shall mail them sample copies.

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June, 1917

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Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 5.

JUNE 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

What the Sokols Stand For.

By Dr. Ludvík J. Fisher

President, Bohemian National Alliance of America.

As soon as the United States broke off relations with Germany, Sokols in America realized that the time had come to prove that the ideals of their great organization were realities and that they demanded sacrifice from every member. Although opposition to militarism has ever been one of the cardinal principles of the great Slav movement which calls itself the Falcons, yet the noble call of President Wilson to arms in defense of democracy and rights of small nations found an echo in the Bohemian Sokol societies in the United States. Hundreds of them in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Omaha and other Bohemian centers joined the American army, and for the first time almost the great newspapers of this country had occasion to refer frequently, and in terms very complimentary, to the Bohemian gymnasts rushing to do their bit.

Among the many powerful fraternal organizations that flourish in this country, none occupies such a pre-eminent place in the affections of the American people as do the Sokols among the Bohemians. Over in Bohemia the Sokols have been the favorite child and the pride of the nation, comprising the flower of the Czech youth—the peaceful army of a people that had no army of its own. To understand them, their principles and their success, it is necessary to speak of their founder, Dr. Miroslav Tyrš, and, in fact, to go back of him to the days of Bohemian revival.

The enlightened absolutism of the latter part of the eighteenth century stirred up the Czech people, who had been lying in a death-like torpor ever since the Hapsburgs crushed out their unsuccessful rebellion in 1620. Joseph II., by his toleration edict and by abolishing the worst evils of serfdom, put a new life into the peasants who, at that period, composed all that was left of the nation. But at the same time Joseph tried to make of his hereditary possessions a unified empire that would be German in language and sentiment. He threatened to take away from the Czechs their only re-

maining national possession, and the one dearest to them, their mother's tongue. The result was that the vitality of the Bohemian people, a race looked upon by their German masters as a race of aborigines doomed to speedy disappearance, asserted itself once more. Men arose who lovingly took up the neglected and despised Slav language, resurrected its priceless literary treasures, defined the laws governing it and laid a foundation for its intensive cultivation in the field of modern literature. Joseph Dobrovský is the greatest name among the linguists and authors of this period.

The literary revival was accompanied by the rediscovery of Bohemian history. For five generations the story of Bohemia's glorious fight for civil and religious liberty had been suppressed. But now Palacký gave his people a stirring narrative of the days of Czech independence and of the Hussite victories and taught the educated classes and the residents of the cities to be proud of being born of Bohemian blood. And so after the literary and historical revival came finally the new political life inaugurated by the martyred Karel Havlíček.

At this time, when the Bohemian nation was once more fully alive, but after its first ardent hopes had been disappointed by the return of absolutism under Bach, comes Miroslav Tyrš, a sober philosopher, who submits to a critical examination the essence of national organism, weighs its right to existence and defines its tasks and duties. "All history and all nature is an eternal struggle where everything succumbs that does not establish its right to live." From this starting point Tyrš takes up the solution of the Bohemian problem.

All that lives is subject to this inexorable law of nature: either increase and flourish, or disappear and make room for other forms of life. Individuals and nations that cannot keep step with others are doomed to defeat. How does that apply to the Bohemian nation? Here is a small people, recently awakened from death-like sleep, a nation that had claimed from its rulers the

right to govern itself, but was silenced by force, a race that could point to a splendid past and not much else. Tyrš believed that a nation manifesting so much vitality after centuries of oppression had a right to live; but their right must be defended and enforced, and for that more was needed than pride of the past. "Not the most glorious history," says Tyrš, "but active and energetic present is a guarantee of the nation's future."

In order to maintain the individuality of the Bohemian nation, situated as it is in the heart of Europe, almost surrounded by the German flood storming successfully the frontier mountains in Bohemia, it was necessary that every individual member of the Czech people should labor intensively for the upbuilding of national wealth and culture. "The smaller the nation, the greater



activity it must develop to make up for the paucity of numbers." In other words, what Tyrš desired to teach his people, is analogous to the doctrine that in modern years America dignified into the science of efficiency, and which in the industrial and military realm at least Germany practiced so successfully as to enable it to withstand attacks of greatly superior numbers. Not that Tyrš had in mind anything like the German apotheosis of the state and its crowned ruler through the complete submergence of the individual. On the contrary, he taught that every true, patriotic Bohemian must build up his own individuality so that his life work might be of high quality.

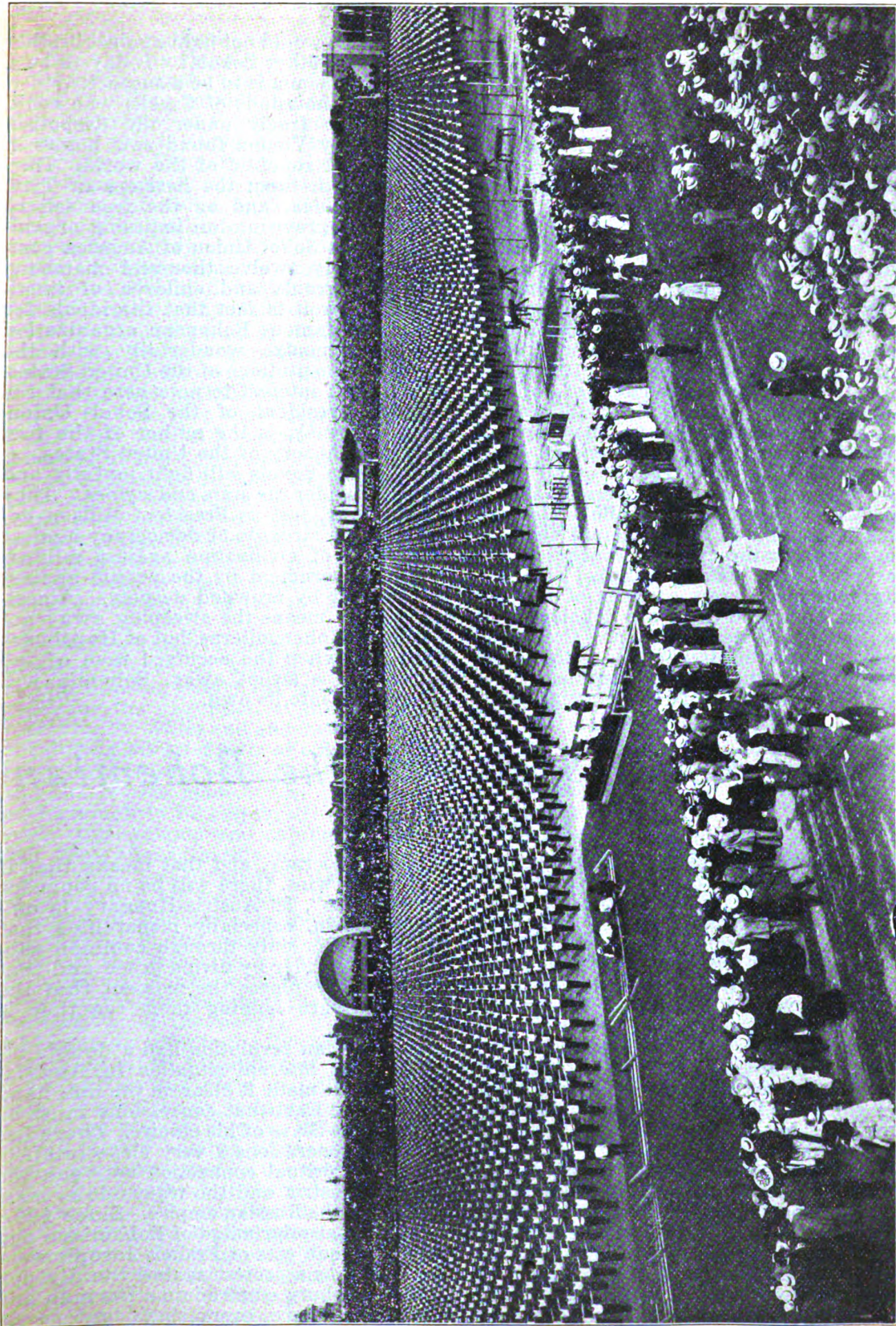
But the distinguishing characteristic of Tyrš and the Sokol organization founded by him is the emphasis put on the physical development of man as the primary postulate for the survival both of the individual and the nation. His inspiration Tyrš

found in ancient Greece. He saw vividly the classical Hellas in its greatest days, its gymnasia for the boys and its national games for the athletes, through which the Greek man gained physical well-being and beauty of form and which had close connection with his unequalled appreciation of beauty in nature and its reproduction in art and literature. Tyrš was convinced, too, that it was this strenuous training of body which enabled Greek soldiers to conquer barbarian hosts and maintain the freedom of Hellas against overwhelming odds.

These were the views that Dr. Miroslav Tyrš embodied in the Sokol organization. In an incredibly short time the Sokols became the favorites of the Bohemian nation. Their society was by universal consent made the principal institution of the nation; their red shirts and brown uniforms graced every popular fete and ceremonial function; their halls became the centers of social life in the cities and towns of Bohemia, and their picked teams brought home prizes from athletic meets in all parts of Europe. Too much prosperity is dangerous; and Tyrš, who for many years guided the course of the Sokols, took steps to prevent the degeneration of the national army into a uniformed corps good only for ornamental purposes. Due to his wisdom and energy the Sokol movement was identified definitely and irrevocably with the well-equipped gymnasium, and the physical well-being and the discipline acquired there made of Sokols leaders in the great fight which Bohemia has had to wage without ceasing for freedom and self-preservation.

Originally the Sokol membership consisted principally of young men who were best qualified to take part in the strenuous discipline of body required by the organization. But since the Sokols stood from the very beginning for unselfish labor in behalf of the nation, they soon broadened out the scope of their activities. Boys, particularly at the age when they were leaving school, trade apprentices and factory youths, who had heretofore been left entirely without proper recreation and attractive meeting places, were adopted by the first organization of the nation. Today every Sokol Union, in America as well as in Bohemia, considers it a part of its duty to conduct classes in physical training for boys and youths and instill in them during their most plastic period the ideals of manliness, self-reliance, discipline and patriotism.

Women, too, have been taken into the ranks of the Sokols. If a sound body is necessary to the man, so that he might enjoy a wholesome life and be of value to his



Twelve Thousand Sokols Engaged in Calisthenic Drill, Prague, 1912.

nation, the entire future of the nation depends on the physical soundness and mental enlightenment of its women. For the girls who look so attractive in their uniforms and march with so much verve at the Bohemian national festivals will be the mothers of the future generation. The Sokol training which they undergo will bear fruit in the sound bodies and the sound minds of their children.

It would not do to leave the impression that the entire activity of the great Sokol organization is exhausted by enumeration of its physical training classes or description of its wonderful public exhibitions, such as those which took place in Prague at the Sixth All Sokol Meet in 1912. Sokols are active workers in the cause of popular education, they combat vicious literature and coarse entertainments, they oppose everywhere reactionary tendencies, fight for equal rights and freedom of all men; they are champions of democracy, ardent patriots in the cause of free Bohemia, and their institution is the principal tie that binds together the various branches of the Slav race. For today the Sokol idea has outgrown the narrow confines of the Bohemian lands, and there are Sokols among the Slovaks, Poles, Russians, Croatians, Serbians and even Bulgarians. Is there any wonder that when Austria recklessly declared war upon Serbia and Russia, Bohe-

mian Sokols would not fight against brother Slavs and brother Sokols? Today to be a Sokol in Bohemia is to be a suspect.

Tens of thousands of Czechs who could not breathe freely under the despotism practiced by Vienna found new homes in the greatest republic of the world. They brought with them the heritage of Tyrš, the Sokol idea, and on the free soil of America it grew into an imposing organization. The Sokol Union of America comprises nearly twelve thousand members, both immigrants and children of immigrants. For it is fact that the ideals for which the famous Bohemian organization stands harmonize wonderfully with the ideals and institutions of the United States. And it is of interest to note here that the national president of the Sokol Union, Joseph Čermák, is the author of the first Bohemian history of the United States.

Bohemian Sokols will fight joyfully and manfully under the stars and stripes. They see the war, just as President Wilson defined it — a struggle of democracy against autocracy, of civilization against militarism, of government by the people against government by crowned despots. American victory means the sweeping away not merely of Hohenzollerns, but of Hapsburgs also; and when the accursed race of the Hapsburgs is swept away, Bohemia will again come into its own.

The Present Status of the Bohemian Question.

For Austria the chief problem throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century and the years that have passed by of our new century has been the Bohemian problem. For Europe this question might be said not to have existed until January 10 of this year, when the Allies in their famous answer to President Wilson declared that among the changes that will have to be made upon the conclusion of war must be the liberation of Czechs and their nearest kin, the Slovaks. For the first time since the thirty years' war the fate of Bohemia came to be discussed on the international forum.

In the five months that have elapsed since the Allies' note several events of the highest importance have occurred which necessarily have a bearing on the question of Bohemian independence. The Russian revolution and the entry of America into the war aside from their world significance affect closely the fate of Austria. The war has become definitely one of democracy

against autocracy, and that means that if democracy wins, there will be no room for "monarchies", as Austria-Hungary is officially known, especially monarchies that hang together only through common subjection to a ruler by divine grace and that would fall to pieces the moment that the force majeure holding them together is overthrown.

The Russian revolution had a double effect on the internal situation in Austria-Hungary. It made it clear on the one hand to Emperor Karl that concessions must be made to the Slavs of his empire. There has been for generations a very close intellectual and spiritual connection between the Slavs of Austria and the tremendous mass of Slavs of the Russian empire. Since 1867, when a great pilgrimage of Bohemians and other Slav subjects of Francis Joseph went to Moscow as a protest against the division of the Hapsburg empire into a German and a Magyar sphere, every significant movement in Russia found an echo in the mon-

archy to the southwest, and every injury to the Slavs of the Danube realm aroused resentment among the people of Holy Russia. It was therefore unthinkable that the complete overthrow of the old order of things in Russia should leave Austria untouched. Especially in Hungary and Galicia, where the comparatively low degree of popular education interfered with the growth of racial patriotism and favored blind obedience to hereditary monarch, the revolution among the kindred race of Russians aroused dangerous discontent which made concessions advisable. That is the principal reason why the strong man of Hungary, Count Tisza, the greatest exponent of Magyar chauvinism, had to resign, and that is why in Austria the parliament was called together for the first time since the beginning of the war, although the preliminary demands of the Germans for the introduction of German as the only language of the state and for administrative division of Bohemia were not yet fully carried out. For even the organs of Germany urged the Austrian emperor to gain the good will of his Slav subjects by timely concessions; otherwise Austria would be lost to Germany.

Of still greater importance to the continued existence of Austria-Hungary was to create the impression abroad that the demand for the disruption of the monarchy voiced by the Allies and endorsed by Miljukoff during his brief term of office was contrary to the wishes of the peoples in whose interests it was made. Any means were good enough to be employed for this purpose. Intimidation and cajoling, jail and high decorations, threats of instant service at the front and promises of fat contracts for the army, all were used to obtain expressions of confidence in the government and loyalty to the reigning house. And when all this was in vain, the government of Emperor Charles went even further; it forged public statements of the elected representatives of the people. The Club of Bohemian deputies to the Reichsrat issued a protest on April 14 addressed to deputies of all parties and races as follows: "We protest very strongly, because the decisions of our last plenary meeting held March 16 and 17 aimed against octroyed measures have been suppressed by the censor in their entirety and instead of them different text, prepared by the correspondence bureau, has been sent out to the press. Since the minister-president expressly approved this act of the censor, it is necessary to look upon it as a measure of the government. For the present the Bohemian Club can only communicate this fact to the other deputies.

Our real opinion will be expressed, when we have free speech in parliament."

A few days later, April 25, the Union of Czech Journalists in Prague made this public announcement: "The manner in which the censor performs his work in Prague must be characterized as one opposed to the ideals and spirit of intelligent journalism. Newspapers are compelled to publish articles and are not allowed to mention the source from which they come. This is not only opposed to the fundamental principles of journalism, but it is humiliating in that the periodical is not really the organ of the editor and publisher, but of the state."

The Austrian parliament is in session now; but what is really happening there cannot be ascertained from the meager reports which are allowed to reach America from Vienna. The speech from the throne breathes with good will toward the once "minderwertig" (inferior) races of Austria, and emperor Charles now speaks of free national and cultural development of equally privileged peoples. Beautiful words, but the Hapsburg subjects have heard many such, and do not trust them any more. At the very time, when Karl was pronouncing his irenic speech to the deputies at Vienna, the report reached this country that another great treason trial was commenced in Bohemia. Five of the most prominent bankers of Bohemia are in jail, their property was confiscated as a preliminary to their trial, while the leaders of the Bohemian deputies are still confined in custody. And the forceful Germanization of the country continues.

The eyes of Bohemians are now turned toward America with hope and toward Russia with fear. The new program of the provisional Russian government — no annexations and no indemnities — sounds beautifully, but it is too hazy and too much liable to misinterpretation. It forgets Belgium and Serbia and it does not say what shall be done with the Hapsburg empire. One must emphasize over and over again that Austria-Hungary and the Hapsburg dynasty cannot be separated; the existence of the empire depends absolutely on the maintenance of the dynasty. The dynasty is German and has found its support in the past in the German minority. The Hapsburg empire represents the rule of majority by minority, and as long as it continues, Europe will be in a state of unstable equilibrium.

America has not yet announced its views on the European reconstruction. But signs multiply that when it does, it will be found to be in complete accord with the program stated by the Allies in their peace terms

note. On May 21 the Associated Press sent out from Washington "by authority" a long statement published in all the leading dailies of the country, stating the real war aims of Germany and approving by implication the peace terms of the Allies. About Austria the article has this to say: "Austria-Hungary's submission now is declared to be complete, both in a military and economic sense. The German officers commanding her armies, abetted by political and industrial agents scattered throughout the country by Germany, evidently are holding the Austrian and Hungarian populations in a union which the hardships of war, the death of the Emperor and the inspiration of outside influences such as the Russian revolution cannot break." After summing up the program of the Allies, which consists principally in the disruption of the Hapsburg and Turkish empires, this authoritative Washington statement goes on to say in conclusion: "American officials have made it clear that in co-operating with the Allies the United States was not entering into a binding alliance to accomplish definite and detailed territorial aims, but there is every evidence that the government

understands in concrete form the crucial southeastern element of the situation and realizes the enormousness of the struggle that must be won before the world is made safe for democracy."

To create a barrier of independent Slav republics from the Baltic to the Adriatic—free Poland, free Bohemia, free Yugoslavia—out of the ruins of the present tyrannic, medieval Hapsburg empire, is the peace program of the Allies. The United States is trying to avoid the mistakes made by the Allies in the early days of the war; the benevolent attitude toward Austria is one of those mistakes which should not be repeated by this country. It seems that as a result of the visit of the French and English missions our leaders now understand "the crucial southeastern element of the situation", in others words the necessity of doing away with Austria-Hungary. What is needed now is that the American people as a whole should realize that war will be won and the high aims in pursuit of which the United States entered the war will be attained only, when races now subject to the sceptre of the Hapsburgs are set free.

J. F. S.

The Real Enemy.

(From a lecture delivered by Charles Pergler at the University of Texas, May 10th, 1917)

The methods by which Bohemia was subjugated during the Thirty Year War characterize well the utter unscrupulousness and even the barbarity of the Hapsburgs. Prior to that war, Bohemia was a prosperous country, with more than three millions of inhabitants. The ruthless policy of extermination of the best element in Bohemian national life is best indicated by the fact that when the peace of Westphalia was concluded, the prosperous kingdom was little better than a desert, with about eight hundred thousand impoverished inhabitants. Indeed, at one time, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it seemed that Bohemian national life had come to its end. The policy of Germanization seemed to be successful. And this is not an isolated example of the methods adopted by the Hapsburgs against small nationalities.

Austria-Hungary not only always opposed the legitimate ambitions of its own peoples, but its whole foreign policy was ever dictated by a desire to smother the tendencies aiming at the liberation of various nationalities and their unity in national states.

When in the third decade of the nineteenth century the Greeks rose against the

Turks, they found one of their worst enemies in the Austrian government, and Greek independence was recognized only as a result of the insistence of the Allies of today: Russia, France and England. It is an interesting fact that President Monroe, in his historic message formulating the doctrine which now bears his name, also advocated the recognition of Greek independence, so that when we speak of the Allies of today we can properly add the United States of America.

When, in the thirties of the nineteenth century, the Belgians rose against Dutch domination, it was again Austria, assisted by Prussia, which was ready to put down their movement with the sword, and the freedom of Belgium then, as now, was defended by the Allies of today: England and France. The whole history of the movement for the liberation and unity of Italy is a history of wars against Austria. Italy owes its liberation not only to the heroism of its own sons, but to armed support of France, and the diplomatic assistance of England. It is an interesting fact that for a long time Austria was the enemy of German unity, which was made possible only after the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866.

But the continuous opposition of Austria to the principle of nationality may perhaps best be seen in her attitude towards the Balkan nationalities, and especially the Serbs. The Hapsburgs, when the Turks were forced to give up their conquests, did not liberate the Roumanians and Serbs, but simply annexed a large part of the lands inhabited by them to their own empire in the hope of extending their dominion as far as Salonica and Aegean Sea. The erection of new independent national states in the Balkans was not in accord with their plans and imperialistic aspirations, and Austria-Hungary developed into as dangerous an enemy of freedom for the Balkan nations as Turkey ever was.

The main reason why Austria was unsuccessful in her policy of penetration in the Balkan peninsula is to be sought in the rivalry of Russia which, related to the Balkan nations both by blood and religion, pursued a policy directly opposed to that of Austria. While Austria was the enemy of independence for the Balkan nations, Russia favored the erection of independent states in the peninsula, and, as a matter of fact, every Russian victory over the Turks was followed by the creation of such an independent state. It would, of course, be naive to claim that Russia did not have in mind the extension of her own influence,

but it cannot be gainsaid that the Russian understanding of Russian interests was consistent with freedom for oppressed Slav nations, while Austria saw her interests only in opposition to their liberation.

The crimes of Austria against the principle of nationality culminated in the infamous attack upon Serbia. This little country, strengthened by the two victorious Balkan wars, formed a strong barrier against the Austro-German Drang nach Osten. The rise of the Serbian state, of course, created a desire on the part of Austrian Southern Slavs for national unity; Serbia became the Piedmont of the Balkans. For this reason, and this reason alone, Austria sought to destroy independent Serbia and pounced upon the unfortunate land like a vulture.

Does not this recital furnish sufficient proof that the very existence of Austria is a negation of the principle of nationality? If there is to be permanent peace, if, to paraphrase one of President Wilson's statements to the senate, the world's life is to be stable, if the will is not to be in rebellion, if there is to be tranquillity of spirit, and a sense of justice, of freedom and of right, the Austro-Hungarian state must go, even as the Turks must be driven from Europe.

*Countries with Ideals.**

By Rev. Joseph Křenek, Silver Lake, Minn.

Being a minister, I cannot begin my talk without a biblical allusion, one which it seems to me, brings out splendidly the character of the American participation in the great war. It was on Good Friday that the Son of Man, the greatest liberator of mankind, fought in the darkness of Calvary for the freedom of humanity. And on Good Friday of this year of our Lord 1917, our beloved country reached the Calvary of this gigantic world anguish. Our decision, born in pain and free from all the thought of national selfishness, carries us into the footsteps of the Great Redeemer. We are persuaded that our share in the terrible tragedy will prove to be an honest service and magnanimous sacrifice upon the altar of humanity's freedom.

The entrance of America into the war will be put down by future historians as the real turning point in the course of this seemingly endless slaughter. We have given the war a new significance; or, at

least, we have made its real object clear. For now the whole world sees that the great war is fundamentally a struggle of democracy against autocracy. The lofty sentiments and noble diction of our President have swept away from the minds of neutrals all German-made sophistry. And when the character of the fight has thus been revealed, it becomes also plain that the peace for which we must fight can be secured and guaranteed only, when all nations, great and small, are made free.

In his proclamation of April 15, the President calls us to a single-minded service to our country. He says: "We must all speak, act and serve together." Now I want to suggest to you that one of the things upon which we must all get together is the liberation of the small nations and races of Europe from bondage to German kings and emperors. Make the small nations free, and despotism will be abolished, for usually it thrives on small, helpless nations. And the one nation which must be the very cornerstone of the future Euro-

* Address delivered in Omaha, April 30, 1917.

pean structure and which lies closest to my heart, is that brave, beautiful, but tragical land of Bohemia.

Free Bohemia is essential to the realization of the great liberative purposes of this war. We shudder today at the very thought of barbarism and ruthlessness through which the conquering ambitions of Germany and Austria are sought to be realized. But we do not acknowledge the great service which the small nations of Central Europe, and of Austria in particular, have rendered to the cause of humanity in the past. Politically, they were enslaved, but national consciousness was alive in them, and they never ceased to hope for their liberation. Their steady, determined opposition militated against the imperialistic designs of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The Bohemian nation, since the dawn of its history, stood as a rock in the stormy sea upon which the waves of Teutonism broke in vain. Small in number, yet with an immortal national soul, Bohemia always stood in opposition to that damnable despotism which is at the bottom of the present catastrophe.

Now imagine the war ended and Bohemia left under the Hapsburgs. The German rulers of the Czechs know full well that the heart of Bohemia has been unconditionally, and from the very beginning, on the side which has now been joined by the United States. The vengeance of Austria would be terrible. What was done in Belgium and Serbia would be exceeded in Bohemia. The whole nation would be exterminated, and the destruction of this last dam to German aggression in the center of Europe would make the dream of a militaristic, domineering Mittel Europa a reality.

Free Bohemia is not merely an essential postulate of a lasting peace. It ought to be free, because it deserves freedom. Bohemia was an independent kingdom until 1526, when the pressure of the Turks induced the estates to elect a Hapsburg prince for their king. Under this dynasty the Czechs lost their independence. And do you know why? Because the Bohemian nation was the first among the nations of Continental Europe that lifted up the torch of liberty, both of body and soul. Bohemians were the people that championed true democracy since the dawn of the fifteenth century. These ideals of freedom came into collision with the German government of the Hapsburgs, for this sinister dynasty has always been characterized by a blind hatred of every symptom of freedom and democracy. One of the Bohemian literary men put recently this question:

What is the big difference between the Germans and the Bohemians? And his answer was this: The Germans lost their religion for the sake of their nation: the Bohemians lost their nation for the sake of their religion. In other words, Bohemia lost its independence because it valued above all else, ideals. And today America is staking its all in the dangerous game of war because it, too, believes in ideals.

Is there any wonder that the eyes of all those to whom Bohemia is dear look up to America as the country which ought to be the chief champion of Bohemian independence?

CZECH SOLDIERS IN FRENCH ARMY

Bohemians in France are few, compared to the hundreds of thousands that migrated to the United States, but their military record in the great European war is enviable.

At the outbreak of the war six hundred Czechs, subjects of Austria, volunteered for service in the French army for the duration of the war. Of these about four hundred came from Paris, one hundred and fifty from the provinces and some fifty came from London, where at that time they were not wanted in the English army.

They saw some real fighting. As far as the Bohemian National Alliance in Paris can ascertain, two fell at Charleroi, two in the battles of Champagne and two at Frise. In Artois, March 9, 1915, Czech soldiers covered themselves with glory. The Bohemian company of the first regiment of the Foreign Legion attacked the German trenches and forty-two boys fell around the red standard with the silver lion of Bohemia. The next losses occurred at Souchez, June 15, where eight more gave up their lives for France and Bohemia. The September fights in Champagne cost five more lives, and fourteen fell in Picardy. In addition to that four Czech volunteers of the French army were killed with the Saloniki expedition near Monastir, and one fell in Morocco.

The total losses are 80 dead, 30 permanently invalidated and over 100 recovering from wounds. Decorations bestowed upon Czech volunteers are as follows: Military cross 50, military medal 11, St. George medal 20, St. George cross 3. The status today of the men who volunteered two and a half years ago is of some interest. On the French front 126, in the hospitals 31, aeroplane pilots 6, in Saloniki 26, in Morocco 75 with the first regiment and 77 with the second regiment of the Foreign Legion, interpreters with the French army 26, total 370. In addition to that 11 of the original volunteers were sent to munition factories.

The Czech volunteers form a very small fraction of the great French army, but what counts is that they make up fully forty percent of the Bohemian immigrants in France.

New Light on the Sarajevo Murders.

By Dr. B. Novotný. (Concluded)

In the fall of 1913 extensive manœuvres took place in Southern Bohemia. Conrad of Hoetzendorf was chief of staff, General Auffenberg was commander of the southern army and archduke Francis Ferdinand commanded the northern army. As usual the war play was settled in advance and it was arranged that the archduke's army was to win. Both generals who enjoyed the favor of the archduchess looked with contempt on the heir to the throne as a man without ability or intelligence in matters political and military. In order to please their patroness they made up their minds to watch for an opportunity at the manœuvres to make the heir ridiculous. The opportunity came. The archduke wished to show to his wife and children what the clash of armies on a great scale looked like. He went to the scene of mimic battle with his entire family in an automobile, and to show them something dramatic and exciting he ordered his cavalry to attack Auffenberg's entire army. That was Auffenberg's chance. While the archduke was explaining the brilliant scene to his family, Auffenberg broke the cavalry, surrounded the larger part of the northern army and ended the manœuvres by capturing the archduke himself with his family and automobile.

Ferdinand, deeply humiliated, hid himself in Konopiste, while Auffenberg was received by Marie Valerie as a hero. The big army officers could talk of nothing else and waited expectantly what the archduke would do. But nothing happened, except that the prestige of Francis Ferdinand sank still lower and the courtiers had new material for their jokes. Auffenberg and Hoetzendorf waited for their reward.

After Sarajevo the Vienna press demanded an investigation which would fix the responsibility upon the persons who advised the imperial heir to visit the South Slav provinces at a time, when the antidynastic sentiment in Bosnia and Herzegovina was at its highest, when Governor Potiorek must have known that his capital seethed with conspiracies. No action was taken by the government upon this demand. Only once it seemed that the mystery would be cleared up, but the man who knew what took place behind the scenes was suppressed in time. It was this way:

Marie Valerie did not forget Auffenberg's glorious exploit at the expense of Francis Ferdinand. When war broke out, the discredited war minister was made commander of Austria's largest army, the one that was to capture Lublin. The military clique of Vienna who had hurried the dual empire into the war were very confident as to the great rôle to be played by Austria's brave army. They assured the Kaiser that Austria was perfectly competent to take care of Russia, while he turned his attention to the West. Even in case the soldiers of Francis Joseph failed to smash the Russian armies, they could hold them back on Russian territory, until the victorious German armies could be shifted to the East and overthrow the Russian colossus. Auffenberg expected to gain triumphs, and he threw his armies without hesitation into the Lublin morasses. A few weeks later he saw his command defeated, routed, captured.

When he returned to Vienna, he was faced with the charge of absolute incompetence, and although Marie Valerie was still his friend she could not uphold him in view of his discreditable record in the field. Auffenberg was sent to his villa in Styria as a superannuated general. In the meantime the campaign against Serbia was equally unlucky. General Frank was defeated, Bohemian regiments mutinied and surrendered. At that stage of the Serbian campaign Marie Valerie took a hand in the game. General Potiorek was called to the old emperor at the suggestion of the emperor's daughter, and promised his sovereign than if placed in charge of the southern army he would present to him the capital of Serbia not later than December 2, 1914, the anniversary of the emperor's accession to the throne.

Potiorek kept his word. On December 2 he actually was in Belgrade with an Austrian army. But a few days later his army was in flight, his artillery and munitions captured, and the Serbian campaign ended more disgracefully than even the Austrian invasion of Russia.

It was a catastrophe. Heinold, the minister of the interior, and Krobotin, minister of war, admitted that much frankly in the state council. Once more a favorite of the archduchess, one who had exhibited so

much ability of the intriguing kind in times of peace, brought the monarchy into discredit and worse. Military exigencies required the displacement of the incompetent general. He was placed on the reserve list with the understanding that his services would not be called for any more. But unfortunately the military code provided that a commander who failed should render an account before the court martial. Marie Valerie would not let her protege be punished or officially disgraced. She made use of a scheme frequently employed in the noble families of Austria to avoid responsibility for criminal or disgraceful actions. At her suggestion the blame of the general's failure was put on his physician. He was found guilty for not reporting promptly that Potiorek suffered frequently from severe mental aberrations. The doctor was punished for the great man's incompetence.

In February 1915, when the Russians menaced Cracow and the Carpathians, Auffenberg became tired of his enforced rest. Suddenly he appeared before minister Krobotin and asked for the command of another army. General Krobotin was dumfounded by the impudence of the discredited general and curtly refused even to consider the request, feeling that officers would object to service under a leader who left his last army in the marshes of Russian Poland. Auffenberg, however, imagined that he was not treated fairly. He knew that men who held responsible military posts were no better qualified than he, and not one of them had such claim to the gratitude of the Court for services rendered against the dead archduke. His challenge to Krobotin became known in Vienna and created consternation among the courtiers and even among the archduchesses: "If I do not get command at once, I shall expose publicly how Vienna selects generals for the armies of the emperor."

The threat was not taken lightly by those to whom it was addressed. Auffenberg had taken chief part in the intrigues against Francis Ferdinand; he knew how ministries and laws and political history were made in Austria; he knew why Potiorek was placed in command of the southern army. If this man should reveal what was done behind the scenes, what a tremendous scandal would arise. Why, persons of the very highest rank would find their reputations tarnished. Ministers who were on the inside, the courtiers around Marie Valerie,

General Krobotin himself urged that Auffenberg be suppressed. There was no lack of pretexts. Why not make use of the old charge of graft in connection with the sale of rifles to Roumania? It did not matter that this charge had been made a long time ago and did not prevent Auffenberg's promotion to the command of Austria's biggest army. Auffenberg was hauled before a court martial, placed in custody, his papers and effects were searched several times, he was examined and cross-examined, until his arrogance was properly reduced, and then he was offered terms. If he would keep quiet until the end of the war, he would be reinstated in his old command as soon as fighting was over; he might again become minister with opportunities to acquire a fortune. But he must efface himself for the present, for the army would have none of him. Should he refuse these terms, the court martial will be ordered to proceed with the utmost strictness, he will be found guilty of defrauding the state, his property will be confiscated and he himself sentenced to a term in the fortress prison. Marie Valerie approved these terms and used her influence to convince the general that he had better accept them.

Auffenberg realized that his adversaries were too strong for him and gave up the fight. The court martial announced publicly that investigation into Auffenberg's conduct as war minister established his complete integrity. The world lost a chance of finding out how history was made in the Court of Vienna. But enough got out to cause the historian to doubt the sincerity of Austrian rulers, when they proclaimed war on Serbia to avenge the death of the imperial heir.

There will hardly be another chance during the war to uncover the truth. Today German generals dispose of the armies of the new Austrian emperor, and German officials sit on the lid in Vienna. But when the war is over and the empire of the Hapsburgs is a thing of the past, then we may expect the full truth to come out. And the truth will utterly condemn all those who were responsible for the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.

One of the most horrible news items recently brought here by an immigrant woman from Bohemia is the instruction given by the Austrian government to physicians that they need not attend children under 8 years or old people over 60. The government claims that this measure is made necessary by lack of physicians.

Teaching of Bohemian in High Schools and Colleges.

By Jaroslav Victor Nigrin, Harrison Technical High School

In 1912 Mayor Carter H. Harrison adopted the wise step in introducing the teaching of several modern languages into the Chicago high schools, whenever a sufficient number of pupils applied for instruction in any one of them. By this step the study of Bohemian, Norwegian, Swedish and Italian was introduced into the curriculum of Chicago secondary schools. There were many at the time, teachers, principals and those interested in the management of schools, who criticised this step, and occasional opposition is met with even now. The main argument of those opposed to this innovation is this: that each of the above mentioned languages is studied almost exclusively by children of Bohemian, Norwegian, Swedish, etc., parents, and that study of the father's language stands in the way of the thorough Americanization of the child. I wish to refute this assertion and point out benefits derived from such study by our new generation.

The strongest argument against the fear of backward Americanization is the experience of the past five years. Right now we live in the most crucial time testing the genuineness of the American spirit of our generation. Children of German parents have almost without exception been taking up the study of German in the secondary schools; yet how few are the cases in which these young people have proved disloyal to the American flag in these days that for them are so difficult. In practically every case of disloyalty or treason the guilty people were born and raised in Germany, not in America.

That proves beyond all doubt that our American school system performs very efficiently its function of making good citizens of the children of immigrants. People of other nationalities were not subjected to this severe test, but no one can doubt that their offspring would stand such a trial at least as well.

There are many who imagine that the process of Americanization, the process of the melting pot as it has been called, consists in discarding and throwing away all the traditions, customs and national traits of character which the immigrant people have brought over with them from all parts of the world, in order to become here something that it not yet defined or crystallized. Every one realizes that the American is not Englishman in spite of the fact that our na-

tional and political life is so greatly derived from the English national and political life. It is not Scotch, neither is it Irish, although these two peoples also use the English language. Language alone does not create national life. The Irish are using the English language now, yet it is needless to point out that they have by no means become English. When I say that the American national life is not yet fully crystallized, as is for instance the French and Spanish national life, I do not wish to depreciate the value of American traditions. National life and feeling is the result of a long process and it is impossible to develop it, where there has been so much influx and change as in America. Endless streams of new blood were flowing in, each of a different type, often mutually antagonistic, and it is really one of the modern miracles of the power of democracy that these different peoples have mingled here so well. The fact, however, remains that the greatest factor working for the Americanization of the newcomers has not been the tradition of Bunker Hill, but liberty, opportunity and happiness which the immigrant has come here to seek and which generally he has found here. The people coming in our days to develop the endless tracts of prairie in the Middle West, to work in mines and factories, to build our cities and towns must be accorded the same rights as the settlers who came over on the Mayflower and tilled the narrow strip of land along the Atlantic. They have the same rights as citizens and workers, and one of these rights is the right to contribute whatever treasure they possess toward the upbuilding of the American ideals of the present and the future. If the American nation will be the result of the blending of different nationalities, each contributing its share to the formation of national character, the result will be a stronger race. We know that the English national traits derived their strength from the mixture of the Celt, the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman, the French from the Gaul, the Roman and the Frank; history is full of similar examples.

The timber from which is fashioned national character is furnished only by the second and later generations. The immigrant himself is only a guest, whereas his children are here at home. Now these succeeding generations will be unable to contribute anything of their own to the build-

ing of the nation, if they are not allowed to acquaint themselves with the rich heritage of their ancestors. That can be done only by thorough study of their mother tongue. Now this tongue is also a connecting link between the fathers and the children, a link in which there is mutual understanding and which is the strongest family tie. The complaint is frequently uttered that children of immigrants furnish too many of our petty criminals, and the principal reason for this is the lack of understanding between parents and children. Many parents on account of their age or adverse circumstances cannot learn English, while their children do not pick up the language of their parents. In that way there can be no real family life, parents and children are strangers to each other, and the young people are crowded out from their homes to the street, the poolroom and perdition. On the other hand, where children learn the language of their parents and thus realize that their fathers come of a good stock and of a race that one may be proud of, family life develops healthily and normally and its influence leads the younger generation to a good and decent life. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the teaching of the minor European languages not only does not retard the Americanization of the younger element, but it helps to develop a new, individual and characteristic American type, and that it is a powerful moral factor in the bringing up of the second generation.

There are other benefits derived from the study of the so-called minor languages, benefits partly commercial and partly cultural. It was Germany that demonstrated the value of the knowledge of languages in commerce. Their unprecedented expansion of foreign commerce was due in a very large measure to their linguistic ability. With their Turkish customers they spoke or corresponded in Turkish, with the Chinese in Chinese. When we recently wanted to expand our South American trade, we discovered how few Americans knew Spanish and Portuguese and we tried to make it up in a hurry. The commerce of the world consists in trading with the entire world, and when the American trade develops, as we expect it to develop, we shall need people who will speak and write not only Spanish and Portuguese, but also Bohemian, Norwegian, Russian and so on. It is not easy to learn a foreign language well. Why not help young Americans to perfect themselves in the language of their parents which they have picked up at home to some extent? Why not make use of them as a powerful commercial army which would develop business relations between the

United States and the lands of their ancestors? Let us not forget, too, that commercial relations are not the only ones that enrich our lives, that knowledge of languages implies knowledge of arts, literature and scientific progress! Up to the present time some of the European nationalities could not develop their sciences and arts as fully as the more fortunate nations did, but we hope that after the present war, when nations hitherto oppressed will be liberated, a new impetus will be given to their spiritual life. Five hundred years ago the University of Prague was as famous as the University of Paris. What will happen when this university will again become the seat of learning of a free nation of ten millions? The scientists of today needed only to know what went on at the Academies of France, Germany, England, Italy and the United States; the scholars of tomorrow will have to keep track also of the proceedings at the learned institutions of Christiania, Belgrade, Warsaw and Prague. Let us remember that twenty-five years ago the Russian and Norwegian literatures were practically unknown to us. How much have we gained since then by acquainting ourselves with the works of such men as Ibsen and Tolstoy?

Here the Americans have an opportunity to equip themselves at less cost than other peoples with the knowledge of languages. If we follow the precedent established by Mayor Harrison in Chicago, we shall be destined to be the international exchange of ideas and of the brotherhood of mankind. We are the heirs of the culture of the entire world and we shall be the fathers of a noble future.

I wish to sum up briefly the points discussed in this article. I endeavored to show that the knowledge and the study of the languages of the various peoples of Europe who sent us their emigrants is in no way an obstacle to a thorough Americanization of the new elements. In bringing and preserving the various individual national characteristics it helps the formation of a new and stronger nation. Knowledge of the language of their fathers aids the harmony between parents and children, strengthens the family ties between them and so becomes a powerful moral and educational factor. I mentioned the direct benefits that will result to America, if it children know the languages of the world. These benefits will be commercial first of all, and they will also be cultural; they will enable us to follow the scientific, artistic and literary development of the whole world and benefit thereby.

Let us open the doors of our high schools and universities to new learning.

A Little Bit of History.

The campaign for Bohemian independence is now in its third year and the end is not yet in sight. But signs multiply, like the entrance of the United States into the war and the victorious offensive in the West, which indicate that Germany and its partners will soon be defeated and the unwilling subjects of the Hapsburgs liberated. And so it is not perhaps out of place to begin to gather material from which will be constructed some day the story of the movement which resulted in the establishment of the Bohemian Republic.

In the "Československá Samostatnost" (Bohemian Slovak Independence), published by the Bohemian National Council in Paris, under date of March 10, there is a feuilleton written by Dr. Leo Sychrava, editor of the paper, which will be of interest to all friends of Bohemia. It is given here in English version:

A few days ago there occurred in Geneva the death of the managing editor of the "Journal de Geneve," Albert Bonnard, a great journalist and publicist, strong enemy of Germany and Austria, devoted friend of France and a valued patron of the cause of Bohemia.

We would be ungrateful if we did not pay a tribute to his memory and omitted to record his name which ought to be mentioned always in connection with the very beginnings of our foreign political work during this war. Albert Bonnard it was who first gave space in his journal to a lengthy and truthful report of the situation in Bohemia, the attitude of the Bohemian people toward the war, the sentiments of the Bohemian soldiers, their riots, the terrorism of the Austrian government, the deep, irreconcilable hate of our people toward Vienna, their sympathies for Russia and the Allies and their longing for independence.

In the latter part of October, 1914, the Journal de Geneve published two long articles under the title "Le Recit d'un Tchèque" (The Story of a Bohemian), filled with carefully collected facts and details of the events in Prague at the outbreak of the war, when soldiers went to the front and when news came of the first Russian victories. As Albert Bonnard himself stated, it was the first reliable report that came out of Bohemia since the war, for

other reports came only from the imperial royal correspondence bureau and expatiated on the enthusiasm of everybody for war and loyalty of all Austrian nations toward the empire and the dynasty.

The story from the Journal de Geneve was copied by French and English papers and new opinions began to be entertained of the situation in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy which before the war had many friends in the West and even when war broke out, in the first months of battles, was looked upon as a minor enemy, a less guilty accomplice, one entitled to consideration from the Allies.

Since that time Albert Bonnard remained our friend and associate. He always gave space to news from Bohemia, wrote himself leading articles dealing with our struggle and our hopes, and aroused a great deal of attention, not merely in the Allied countries and Switzerland, but even in Germany. Of course the Austrian government took hand in this at once. The very first report from Prague called out a long dementi from the Austrian legation which aimed to prove that Bohemian soldiers were fighting bravely for Austria. The minister naturally was unable to contradict a first hand account of a witness who described what happened at the Prague depots, when Bohemian regiments were departing, but he copied from the army journal names of soldiers attached to regiments from Bohemian districts who received decorations for bravery.

That, of course, was no proof that the Prague account was incorrect. The denial made a poor impression and gave occasion to much laughter. Albert Bonnard merely added a paragraph that the official Austrian communication did not affect the story of the Bohemian correspondent. The Austrian legation put Bonnard on its blacklist and watched minutely the neutrality of the Geneva publication which had become a thorn in its eye. As the Central Powers enjoyed great influence with the Swiss Federal Government and particularly with the all-powerful general staff which was in charge of political censoring, the enmity of Herr Gagern affected even this important Geneva paper. In Bern, Bonnard was classified as a dangerous red radical who supported revolutionary propaganda

against Austria. When Austrian authorities succeeded in driving out of Switzerland the editor of the Bohemian Slovak Independence, Albert Bonnard said that they would drive him out too, if they could.

Even the Bern general staff could not touch Bonnard, though his own associates counselled greater circumspection and stricter neutrality. Bonnard upheld his attitude to the day of his death. He was one of those who looked upon neutrality between crime and right as absurdity and as participation in crime. He was not a man of hate or an enemy of the German nation. Though brought up on French civilization, he was a Swiss. But not one of those whose narrow horizon corresponds to the narrow boundaries of the Helvetian republic and who are interested solely in their own small country. To Bonnard, the peaceful Swiss oasis amid the universal war tumult was a watch tower from which he studied the death struggle raging on all sides. He had a truly European standpoint, and from it he viewed the Slav and Bohemian question.

* * * * *

I shall never forget the day, when I knocked for the first time upon the door of his cozy study. He received me in a friendly way and told me to sit down in a wide armchair, while he looked me over with a searching look. I told him about the situation in Bohemia, how I got out and

what plans I had. "Interesting, very interesting," he repeated. "Write it out and we will publish it. Now, not too much politics: we want facts. We really know nothing of Austria, and less of Bohemia." Bonnard, of course, knew of Bohemia, of our parliamentary struggles, of Kramář and Masaryk. But what happened in Bohemia since mobilization was all news to him. I wrote out my story and it was accepted.

To an exiled journalist it was a great event and wonderful encouragement. Up to that time all efforts to get the simplest facts published had been vain. Confidence was lacking and so was interest. Some would not believe, others would give the excuse that the reports were too extravagant and colored. It was a difficult beginning, no personal connections, no preparations, no appreciation of the seriousness of our problem and the tragedy of our struggle, while Austria still seemed to be a mighty country with a future.

Today, when we have come so much nearer to our goal, we have confidence. We know that we shall get, if not all, at least far more than we looked for in the days of uncertainty. Then we shall gather recollections and say much that cannot be said today. The story of our movement will be interesting and instructive. Several men will have a place in it whom free Bohemia will delight to honor. Albert Bonnard will be among them.

Current Topics

WITH THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

The month of May opened with the visit of the French Commission to Chicago. When Mayor Thompson made his unfortunate statement that he would not issue an invitation to the French guests of the nation, because it might not please the various immigrant groups of Chicago, naming Bohemians among other races, the Alliance made a strong protest to the mayor and took steps to have the real attitude of the people of Bohemian birth on this point made clear in the public press. Officers of the Alliance were members of the Chicago Invitation Committee and at the dinner in the Congress Hotel presented Minister Viviani with an elaborate address of thanks, referring to the part played by France to have the peace terms of the Allies expressly include a declaration in favor of Bohemian independence.

In the protests made by foreign born citizens of Chicago against the so-called Kaiser spelling-book, the Bohemian National Alliance took a leading

part. Thousands of torn out leaves containing the objectionable article laudatory of the Kaiser were brought by school children to the headquarters of the Alliance.

In New York a large mass meeting of all Slavs was held in the Carnegie Hall early in May, due mainly to the efforts of the local Bohemian Alliance. Prof. J. Dyneley Prince of Columbia University was chairman, and among the speakers were Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port; Count Tolstoy, Minister Charles B. Vopicka and Dr. B. E. Shatzky, representative of the new Russian government.

Bohemians of Nebraska, Kansas and the Dakotas held a very successful convention in Omaha at the end of April. Pledges of loyalty were given to the President, universal national service was endorsed, and the sympathy of America was asked for the just claim of Bohemia to independence.

The situation in Russia caused much anxiety to the leaders of the Alliance. When at first the talk was heard of separate peace, several lengthy cablegrams were sent to the big men of New Russia be-

seeing them not to consider such a move for a moment; later on, when changes in the provisional government disposed for the time being of any likelihood of a separate peace, but when the new program of no annexations and no indemnities was proclaimed, appeals were made again to Russia on behalf of Bohemians and other subject Slav races to the effect that the break up of the Hapsburg empire and the liberation of all Slavs should not be confused with annexation. There has always been a strong feeling in Russia that the Russians, as the most numerous of Slav races, should play the part of big brother to the smaller Slav nations, and the appeals of the Bohemian National Alliance were addressed to this well known sentiment.

Organizer Vojta Beneš returned from his circular tour of the Western states. Several new branches of the Alliance were founded as a result of his work. The total number of the branch societies at the present time is 178. Direct members, paying one dollar and upwards a year, number fifty thousand; counting in members of societies which joined the alliance in a body, the total membership of the Bohemian National Alliance exceeds one hundred and twenty thousand.

Charles Pergler, vice-president of the Alliance, had the honor of addressing the joint session of the Texas legislature on May 10, his subject being "Bohemians in the Present Crisis." The same night he spoke to a large gathering at the University of Texas. From Austin, Mr. Pergler proceeded to New York to take charge of the Slav Press Bureau, founded by the Alliance in co-operation with other Slav organizations.

In the latter half of May, Prof. Ferdinand Pišecký arrived in the United States from Petrograd, having left the capital of Russia a few days after the victory of the revolution, of which he was an interested spectator. Pišecký, who had been a professor of languages at the Jičín Normal College, was mobilized as a reserve officer in the Austrian Army, allowed himself to be captured by the Russians in November, 1914, and after some more or less unpleasant experiences as a prisoner of war, organized a large volunteer body from among the captured Bohemians, some of whom fought in a special Bohemian division, and others in the Serbian division of the Russian army. Lieut. Pišecký was then attached to the Serbian legation in Petrograd and was sent to America to inform the workers in the cause of Bohemian independence of the progress of the movement in Russia, and to take back a report on the work done in the United States. Under the auspices of the Bohemian National Alliance, Prof. Pišecký is giving a series of some fifteen lectures in the larger Bohemian settlements, his subject being the Russian revolution: its causes, its progress and its future, and the burden of his talk is the duty of Bohemians in America to fight in the cause of liberty, as Bohemians in Russia and France have so nobly done. Prof. Pišecký feels very hopeful about the outcome of the present turmoil in Russia.

AMERICA TAKING NOTICE OF THE BOHEMIANS

Formerly it was a very rare occurrence to have American newspapers mention either Bohemia or citizens of Bohemian birth. Lately the word Bohemian is found very frequently by readers of our newspaper columns.

The successful campaign for recruiting undertaken by the Alliance together with the Sokols has been noticed and favorably commented upon by scores of daily papers, ranging from Baltimore to Seattle. Dr. Hrdlička's excellent article on "Bohemia and the Czechs," published originally in the National Geographic Magazine, was sent out as a war bulletin by the National Geographic Society and reprinted in hundreds of smaller newspapers in this country. That article alone has done a very great service to the Bohemian cause by bringing a sympathetic discussion of the problem of Bohemia to the attention of millions of American citizens.

There is evidence, too, that the Bohemian Review is read by men who mould public opinion in this country. Reprints from the Review and editorial articles based upon material found in the Bohemian Review, have been published, as far as we could ascertain, in the following newspapers: Providence Journal, Chicago Post, Austin, (Tex.) Statesman, Cedar Rapids, (Iowa) Times, Evening Gazette and Republican of the same city, Boise, (Idaho), Statesman, Houston, (Tex.), Post and Houston Chronicle, Galveston News, Oelwein, (Ia.) Register.

Newspapers in cities containing larger groups of Bohemian born citizens refer frequently to the patriotic meetings, enlistment and Red Cross campaigns held by men and women from Bohemia. Some of the local branches of the Alliance are very successful in informing the American people through the public press of the sentiments of Bohemians and the cry of Bohemia for freedom. The Hudson County, N. J. branch, with its able secretary, Jeremiah L. Trnka, is the best example of this persevering work through which the sympathies of America are gained for Bohemia.

RESOLUTIONS FOR BOHEMIAN INDEPENDENCE

Two resolutions have been introduced in Congress with the purpose of committing the legislative branch of our government to the cause of Bohemian independence. The author of one is Congressman A. J. Sabath, of the Fifth district of Illinois, while in the Senate a similar resolution was introduced by Senator William S. Kenyon of Iowa. Both were referred to the respective Committee on Foreign Affairs, where they are held pending a definite expression of opinion on the part of executive officers and also of the American people.

Under these circumstances it is natural that people of Bohemian birth are making strenuous efforts to obtain favorable declarations from public bodies, assemblies and conventions. So far the

Chicago city council passed a resolution calling on the President and Congress to make the independence of Bohemian-Slovak lands one of the conditions of peace. Bohemian Protestants who have been very active in the cause championed by the Bohemian National Alliance from the very beginning, are engaged at the present time in securing endorsements of Bohemian freedom from their various denominational bodies. During the month of May the State Congregational Council of Illinois, the Northern Baptist Convention held at Cleveland and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church held at Dallas, made favorable pronouncements on this point. Various appeals and memorials have been presented to these church bodies by Bohemian pastors participating therein. Below is given the one submitted to the Presbyterian General Assembly, of which church, by the way, President Wilson is a member.

APPEAL OF BOHEMIAN PASTORS

Fathers and Brethren:

Through the Providence of God our nation has been called to sit in council and put its spirit and heritage to weigh in the formation of the future tendencies of humanity. Our President, almost in prophetic uplift, expressed the aspirations of the humble of the world: "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world; the right of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and obedience."

This land of ours, consecrated before God to freedom of body, mind and soul, has been to these lowly men the beacon light of a new day in their lives and destinies. Here they came, breathed in the spirit of the free. Some have returned and brought back new strength and new visions. The others have said, "Your God, my God, your people, my people, your country, my country."

Of the last are your petitioners. **We know only one country, the country over which wave the Stars and Stripes.**

However, our cradles stood in the land of John Hus, in Bohemia. Still all our own is united in this common wealth of the ideals of America. Only a short prayer we carry, that looks back to the place of our cradles, a prayer, that we learned from the lips of our mothers, the prayer of the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, John Amos Comenius: "I trust in God, that when the storm of wrath has passed, which our sins have called upon our heads, that the rule of thy things shall return again unto thee, O Czech people."

Fathers and Brethren, in this time when God through fire unites the hearts of men, we would not offend against our brother. But it must be said. When the spiritual and church autocracy was supreme, God through John Hus gathered around the "Book and the Cup" and around the liberty of the sons of God — the whole Bohemian nation. In the defense of this privilege the Bohemian Nation almost bled to death. In 1648 when, after

the Thirty Years War, the destinies of Europe were established in the treaty of Westphalia, the sacrificial service of Bohemia was forgotten by the mighty and of all countries Bohemia alone was left to the mercies of the Hapsburg and the Jesuit.

God in His great mercy, however, did not forget. In the resurrection of nations at the beginning of last century, He called Bohemia to stand for justice of small nations. That was ever the program and the struggle of Czech in Austria. In religious matters the Czechs and the Slovaks are the only Slavic nations south of Russia that have any large Protestant body to speak of.

In view of the above facts the undersigned respectfully petition through the General Assembly the Presbyterian Church, that in the prayers for freedom of nations the Czechs and Slovaks be included and that in the councils, in which representatives of the United States shall sit, the Czechs and Slovaks be not forgotten, as they were in the year 1648.

In the free world, that under God's Providence is to come, let the CZECHS and the SLOVAKS be free also.

A REAL CZECH ARMY

On of the good results of the Russian revolution, as seen from the standpoint of Bohemian independence, is the disappearance of all obstacles that were placed under the old regime in the way of forming a Bohemian army. Since 1916 there were in the Russian army two divisions of Czech soldiers, composed principally of prisoners of war who volunteered to fight against their nominal ruler. But they did not form the nucleus of a national Bohemian army; they were merely units of the Russian hosts. Even this concession, namely to fight in the ranks of the Russians against the Germans and Austrians, was granted by the old government grudgingly, and local officials put many obstacles in the way of recruiting.

The new government adopted a friendly, almost brotherly attitude toward the aims of Bohemian emigrants and prisoners of war in Russia for the attainment of free Bohemia. Two divisions and smaller units of Czechs and Slovaks in Russia were made into a Bohemian army which took the oath of fidelity to Bohemia. The text of the oath, just received from Petrograd, is as follows: "I declare my allegiance to the independent Czecho-Slovak state, to Professor Masaryk as its provisional dictator and to the Czecho-Slovak National Council in Paris as the provisional government. I solemnly swear that I will faithfully serve our free state, its dictator and government."

A nation that has an army of its own must be reckoned with in the councils of the diplomats. Free Bohemia will grow out of the camp in which is gathered the Bohemian army.

TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

If you so desire, you can get the Bohemian Review from beginning, with the exception of the April issue, which is all gone.

Jan. 18
R. Novak
2229 College Ave.
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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

July, 1917



*The Ramshackle
Empire.*

*Address of Bohe-
mian Authors.*

Parallel.

*The Czecho-
Slovaks.*

*Rare Letter from
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*Bohemians in Neb-
raska.*

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Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 6.

JULY 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Ramshackle Empire.

By Joseph Tvrzický

Secretary, Bohemian National Alliance of America.

Recent news from Vienna proved once more the truth of the famous definition of Austria: "It is a government but not a nation". The "Fortwurschtlungspolitik" of the Hapsburgs, the policy of pottering along any old way and ignoring disagreeable problems, apparently will not work any longer, for the diseased condition of the Austrian body politic has broken out into dangerous open sores that cannot be hidden before the eyes of the world.

The Empire of the Hapsburgs has existed so long and has overcome so many dangers that the inherent conservatism of mankind can only with difficulty realize that the end of this ancient, but far from honorable, monarchy is now in sight. It is foolish to count with it as a possible rival of Germany. Napoleon III. went to war with Germany confidently, because he figured that Austria, defeated by Prussia four short years ago, would back him. France fell and lost Alsace-Lorraine because of this miscalculation. And today there are men who imagine that after three years of close partnership, or rather of entire subordination, Austria under the Hapsburgs is capable of playing a part against Germany, which three times saved it from defeat, which controls its armies and enjoys the devotion of the ruling elements of the Dual Monarchy. In France some of the old royalists, in England a few diplomats of the old aristocratic school, even in America ill-informed publicists raise their voices in favor of saving for the Hapsburgs their inheritance.

There are many currents of influence and intrigue that work for the preservation of Austria. Empress Zita is a Bourbon, of the family that never learns anything new and never forgets the old. She has relatives and admirers in the aristocratic circles of France, Italy and Spain. Again, informa-

tion of the real state of affairs inside the black and yellow boundary posts is very scanty. Items that come out are in most cases such as the Vienna government permits to come out. And above all the Magyar oligarchy which controls Hungary is working feverishly to make friends in the Entente circles and in America. Hungarian noblemen with English and American wives and Jewish bankers of Budapest with connections all over the world talk of the knightly Magyar nation, of Kossuth and his revolt against the Hapsburgs, of the Hungarian democratic constitution that is supposed to be modeled on English lines. And all this time the cry of the oppressed races of Austria-Hungary declares that no compromise is possible with the ramshackle empire of the Hapsburgs.

What is the actual situation today in the Dual monarchy? Is a separate peace possible? And how would it affect the Allies?

The Austrian parliament has recently approved the budget submitted by the government. It would seem at first sight that the representatives of the races of Austria voted confidence in the government. But when the situation is analyzed, a different conclusion follows.

Out of 510 deputies to the Vienna Reichsrat fifty, all of them of the opposition, have not taken a part in the sitting. Ten of these are Czechs. Leader of the independent Czech deputies, Prof. Masaryk, is in exile, condemned to death in his absence. Kramář, Rašín, Klofáč, the latter being chairman of the United Bohemian Club, all three leaders of the Czech delegation, are in jail charged with high treason. Other deputies under arrest or sentence are Soukup, Netolický, Choc, Buřival, Vojna. One, deputy Fresl, committed suicide in jail. Out of 105 Bohemian representatives only 95

could be present. For the budget were cast the votes of 230 Germans. Poles, with their 80 deputies, abstained from voting. Against the budget voted the Czechs, Jugoslavs (Serbians, Croatians and Slovenians), Roumanians and Italians. The total opposition vote was 150, representing a numerically larger population than that voting for the government.

The fact is that the Austrian government is supported solely by the German minority of the Hapsburg subjects, and even this element will stand back of Emperor Charles only in so far as he stands back of Germany. The attitude of the rest of the people is best expressed in certain public pronouncements of the Czech people which are given herewith.

Bohemian deputies of all parties, combining in the United Czech Club, addressed the Reichsrat upon its opening in these words: "Relying in this historical moment upon the natural right of each nation to self-determination and free development, fortified further by irrevocable historical rights and state papers of undoubted validity, we shall demand at the head of our people the union of all branches of the Czecho-Slovak people into one democratic Bohemian State, which shall include the Slovak branch connected geographically with the historical Bohemian fatherland". In addition to this general and common demand a separate declaration was made on behalf of the independent Czech deputies. Their leader before the war was Professor Masaryk, who is at present at the head of the movement laboring in the Allied countries for the independence of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakland. This declaration states: "The elected representatives of the Bohemian people reject emphatically all responsibility for this war. . . . The government calls together only now, after three years, that parliament which the Bohemians never recognized as legal and against which, as well as against the so-called constitution, they once more enter a protest. The splendid Russian revolution compels the government and the men in power to create an appearance of constitutional life. The Bohemian people welcome with boundless admiration and enthusiasm the liberation of the entire Eastern Europe which has been accomplished by victory of the Russian nation. The leading principles of this ever memorable revolution are closely akin to our own ancient traditions,

namely the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity of all nations. Bohemia is a free country. In the days of its liberty it did not accept laws from foreigners or its neighbors, however powerful they might have been. Liberty of men, liberty of nations, is again our rallying cry, the same cry that the Hussites victoriously sounded over all Europe. At the historical moment, when from the blood of battlefields new Europe arises and the idea of sovereignty of all nations and nationalities marches triumphantly through the world, the Bohemian nation declares solemnly before all world its determination to have the liberty and independence enjoyed by the ancient Bohemian crown. While demanding political independence, the Bohemian nation in accordance with the new democracy postulates for the entire Czecho-Slovak race the right of self-determination."

Not only on the floor of the parliament, but in the cities of Bohemia revolutionary declarations were issued. The national socialist party, the party whose leader Klofáč is in jail and most of whose deputies are charged with treason, published a statement on May 29th which defies the terrorism of the Austrian government. It says: "We greet with joy the liberation of the Russian nation which together with the great democracy of the United States and the democracies of the whole world desires the end of this terrible war and wants to construct universal peace on the basis of liberty and free self-development of all nations. The Bohemian National Socialist party expects of its deputies that in accordance with the principles of the party they will faithfully interpret the indestructible hopes of our suffering nation. It expects of the whole people, and of its deputies especially, that they realize that the honor of the Bohemian name and of the Bohemian flag is concerned and that by the convocation of parliament the time for passivity has gone by, that to be silent now would mean sharing the guilt."

All these declarations have been correctly classed by the Austrian government, by Germans and Magyars as demands for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. The Frankfurter-Zeitung called on the German population of Vienna to silence Bohemian deputies by mob attacks and urged the Austrian government to treat all Czech deputies as traitors. In the Hungarian parliament the Czech attitude provoked a

storm of hatred, and Prof. Kemety stated that by demanding the union of Czechoslovaks the Bohemians declared war upon Hungary.

Other Slavs of Austria made similar demands. The Yugoslavs declared their program to be the formation of a united Yugoslav state, the Poles urged their national program of an independent Poland with

possible. In Bohemia 90 per cent of men between the ages of 17 and 55 are in the army. Bohemian workingmen, like Belgians, have been deported in thousands to work in other Austrian lands, and the women, the children and the old men, without arms, cannot make an armed rebellion. If notwithstanding all this there have been great riots in Bohemian and Moravian cit-



VÁCLAV KLOFÁČ

leader of the Czech national socialist deputies.

Klofáč was arrested shortly after the outbreak of the war and has been kept in prison ever since, although no court passed judgment on him and no charges against him were ever published. He was not released from custody even when the Austrian Parliament met on May 30. As the strongest protest against his unlawful imprisonment the Bohemian deputies chose Klofáč for their president. The picture shown here was taken in Chicago in 1913, when Klofáč was travelling in the United States. It was taken by Mally & Co.

access to the Baltic, while the Little Russians also demanded their own state. Roumanians and Italians could say nothing, but every one knows, even Emperor Charles, that they hope to be joined to their free brothers of Roumania and Italy.

Such is the present state of affairs in Austria. It really amounts to a revolution, even if a bloodless one. No other kind is

ies, it is the final proof of the firm will of the Czechs to break away from Austria forever.

Is there anyone in Austria capable of making separate peace with the Allies? The present government is the so-called bureau-chiefs cabinet, because Charles was unable to form a real ministry acceptable to parliament. If the Allies should make

peace with the emperor on conditions acceptable to him, sixty-five per cent of the population would feel that they were betrayed, and the thirty-five per cent of the Austrian Germans would approve of it only if separate peace would Austria would fall in with the plans of Germany.

But what sort of peace would that be? It is impossible to deny the Polish people the reunion of their three fragments. The Italian provinces of Austria with Trieste must go to Italy. Eastern Galicia and Bukovina with their Little Russian and Roumanian population is definitely lost to the Hapsburgs. That would leave only the Germans and Magyars who would gravi-

tate toward Germany, and against them the irreconcilable enemies of the Pangerman Central Europe plan, the Czechoslovaks and the Jugoslavs. Is it likely that tens of thousands of these men who fight today in every Allied army would peacefully submit once more to the yoke of Germans and Magyars? Bohemians and Slovaks, Serbians, Croats and Slovenians will never rest, will keep Europe eternally in turmoil, until they also are free.

The empire of the Hapsburgs must go. Out of its ruins will be erected free democratic states, and then only will Europe and the world be in a state of stable equilibrium.

Address of Bohemian Authors

to the Parliamentary Representatives of the Bohemian People*

We address you, gentlemen, at a great period of our national life, at a time for which we shall all be held responsible to future centuries. We address you, the delegates of the Czech people, well knowing that we, the literary men of Bohemia, known and active in our public life, have not the right only, but the duty also to speak for the overwhelming majority of the cultural and spiritual world of Bohemia, nay for the nation itself, unable to speak directly.

The Reichsrat is to meet shortly, and the political representatives of the Czech nation for the first time since the war began will have the opportunity to express from the parliamentary tribune all that could not be expressed through the print or any other public manner. We regret, of course, that this parliamentary tribune will not be the ancient diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and we declare expressly that the diet is the only rightful place in which the wishes and needs of our nation should be discussed. But at present, alas, there is no Bohemian diet; the only free forum of Bohemian representatives at this time can be the parliament in Vienna. There at least, gentlemen, be the true spokesmen of your nation, there at least tell the state and the world what your nation wants and what it insists upon. There at least do your sacred duty and in a spirit of determination and

self-sacrifice defend Bohemian rights and Bohemian claims in this most fateful time of the world's history, for now the fortunes of the Bohemian nation are being moulded for centuries to come.

But you can do your duty fully only when all constitutional conditions which parliamentary life presupposes in every case are fully satisfied in advance. That means not only actual freedom of assembly before the parliamentary session, so that the people's delegates might hear the wishes and complaints of their constituents, not only the abolishing of press censoring in all non-military matters, but also complete freedom and inviolability of all parliamentary speeches in the Reichsrat and in the print, and above all complete inviolability of the representatives of the people. Many Czech and Yugoslav deputies were deprived of this privilege, this exemption, many were sentenced to jail and even to death, others were interned, and it is not known yet of what they were guilty. Political persecution has grown enormously during the war, and if a new civic life is to begin, the necessary foundation of all parliamentary proceedings, it is surely imperative that you first obtain general amnesty for all who have been condemned by military courts for political and non-military reasons. The Bohemian nation cannot concede to its present delegation the right to speak and act in its name in the Reichsrat, until complete civic freedom of our public life is first secured. And further we are opposed to the

*The Austrian parliament met May 30, 1917. Bohemian representatives broke off definitely with Austria and announced their program to be the creation of a democratic Czech-Slovak State.

plan to have the parliament extend its mandate, for more than forty delegates will not be present, one-half of them still living and entitled to sit. Only the people can give and renew the mandate, and the Bohemian man can accept from the hands of people only political representation of the people's rights and desires.

These desires and these rights of the Czecho-Slovak nation get new strength and new emphasis through the progress to date of the world war, for the future of Europe is coming to have a new, democratic appearance. All our political aims likewise must be looked at from a standpoint equally elevated and freedom loving, combined with the old Bohemian honesty, unselfishness and devotion, with the ancient noble consideration for the honor of the Bohemian nation and for the verdict of the future. These great qualities the Bohemian nation manifested through the self-confident calm which it managed to preserve during the war in spite of all provocation, not needing instruction by its delegates or other political counsels. This self-confident calm, this instinct of self-preservation, were the healthiest expression of our national life. This eloquent national silence, unbroken through the severest oppression, was to continue till the end of the world struggle. But now the doors of the Austrian parliament are about to open and the political spokesmen of the peoples for the first time are given the opportunity to act and speak freely, should they so desire. What they may say and what they may do will be heard not only at home, but through all Europe and even beyond the seas. Both the present and the future will look upon you as spokesmen of the Czecho-Slovak nation; nor is there any doubt as to what is expected of you.

The program of our nation is given by its history and by its racial individuality, by its modern political life and by its rights and by all that which gave rise to these rights and solemnly guaranteed them. The present day approves this program to its ultimate corollaries; if it ever appeared that it may be postponed or cut down, the present time compels you to demand its fulfillment without any reservations, to unfold it before the forum of all Europe and then defend it to the very end. For the Bohemian people never gave it up; the Czecho-Slovak hearts never lost faith in its solemn future realization.

A democratic Europe; a Europe composed of equal and free nations, is the Europe of tomorrow and the future. The people demand of you that you be equal to these great historical times, that you sacrifice all other considerations, that you offer your utmost abilities, that you act at this time as men who are independent, who have no personal ties and obligations, men of supreme moral and national consciousness. If you cannot comply with everything the nation demands of you and lays upon you, then give up your mandates before you enter the parliament, and appeal to your final authority, to your nation.

In Bohemia and Moravia, May 1917.

Signed by 183 Bohemian literary men:

Dr. Ed. Babák, Bohumil Bauše, Václav Beneš-Šumavský, B. Benešova, R. Bojko, J. Borovička, A. Borovský, Bohumil Brodský, Otakar Březina, Josef Čapek, Karel Čapek, K. M. Čapek-Chod, Em. Cenkov, Adolf Cerný, Jak. Deml, Fr. Drtina, Viktor Dyk, Otokar Fischer, V. Flajšhans, Břetislav Foustka, Emil Franke, Bedřich Frida, Marie Gebaurova, J. Guth, Karel Guth, Jaroslav Haasz, Josef Hanuš, Zdenka Háskova, Prokop Haškovec, Jan Havlasa, Jan Heidler, F. K. Hejda, Vladimír Helfert, Jan Herben, Frant. Herites, Ignát Herrmann, Adolf Heyduk, Karel Híkl, K. H. Hilar, Jaroslav Hilbert, Jos. Hloucha, Karel Hoch, Jos. Holeček, Josef Holý, Jan Hudec, Em. Chalupný, Karel Chodounský, Frant. Chudoba, Metoděj Jahn, Jan Jakubec, Gustav Jaroš, Hanuš Jelínek, Růžena Jensenká, Alois Jirásek, Karel Jonáš, V. A. Jung, J. Kabelík, E. Kálal, M. Kalašová, Josef Kalus, Bohdan Kaminský, Frant. Khol, Ant. Klášterský, Jan Klecanda, Karel Klosterman, Bohuslav Knosl, Jaroslav Kolman, Karel Koloušek, Jan Koloušek, Josef D. Konrád, Josef Kořenský, Jan Koula, Eliška Krásnohorská, Fr. Krejčí, F. V. Krejčí, Kamil Krofta, Petr Kříčka, Josef Kubín, Josef Kuchař, Frant. Kvapil, Vlastimil Kybal, Josef Laichter, Eduard Lederer-Leda, Karel Leger, Em. z Lešehradu, Jan Leir, Stanislav Lom, Ludvík Lošťák, Ant. Macek, Karel B. Madl, Jiří Mahen, Jan Machal, J. S. Machar, Marie Majerová, Helena Malířová, Frant. Mareš, Jaroslav Maria, Miloš Marjen, Karel Mašek, Pavla Maternová, Vilém Mathesius, Karel Mečtír, Jindřich Metelka, Alois Mrštík, Zděnek Nejedlý, Boh. Němec, Lubor Niederle, Ladislav Novák, Arne Novák, Václav Novotný, František Obrtel, Ivan Olbrecht, Hanuš Opočenský, Jan Opolský, Jan Osten, Gustav Pallas, Jan Patrný, Josef Pešek, Karel Pippich, Jiří Polívka, Gabriela Preisová, Arnošt Procházka, F. S. Procházka, Em. Radl, Karel Rais, Miloslav Rutte, August Sedláček, František Sekanina, Karel Sezima, Primus Sobotka, Karel Scheinpflug, Antonín Schulz, E. Sokol, Antonín Sova, Adolf Srb, Otokar Srdénko, Antal Stašek, Ferdinand Strojček, Lothar Suchý, Jiří Sumín, Tereza Svátova, Emil Svoboda, F. X. Svoboda, Růžena Svobodová, Ladislav Sallaha, F. X. Šalda, Josef V. Šimánek, Otokar Šimek, Karel Šípek, Ant. Schneidauf, Ervin Špindler, Václav Štech, Josef Štolba, František Táborský, Josef Teige, Felix Tevér, Otokar Thér, Josef Thomayer, Jan Thon, Anna Marie Týšova, Karel Toman, Emil Tréval, Renáta Tyršova, Ant. Uhlíř, Rudolf Urbánek, Jindřich Vančura, Božena Viková-Kunětická, Jaroslav Vlček, Jan Voborník, Jindřich Vodák, Václav Vojtíšek, Fr. Votruba, Jan Vrba, Q. M. Vyskočil, F. Wald, Richard Weiner, Adolf Wenig, Jan z Wojkowicz, Zděnek Záhoř, Josef Zubatý, Franta Župan.

Jiří Mařín:

Parallel.

Dedicated to Thos. G. Masaryk.

After the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 when the revolt of the Czech nation was brutally suppressed by Ferdinand the Habsburg and which date marks the end of Bohemia's independence, a terrible period of repression and agony ensued: executions, confiscations of property, expatriation and conversion to Catholicism by brutal force were numerous. The best Bohemians went into exile, amongst them also the great pedagogue, bishop of the Unity of Bohemian (Moravian) Brethren, John Amos Komensky (Comenius) who visited also England and entreated especially Axel of Oxenstjerna to include among the conditions of the peace of Westphalia the permission for Bohemian exiles to return home, but in vain. Komensky himself died in exile. The present fate of the Bohemian nation who with great difficulties awoke

from a state of deadly agony to a new life, resembles the fateful period after the Battle of the White Mountain. For the Czechs and Slovaks it is again a question of extirpation by the Habsburgs and the Germans. And again a great Bohemian fled abroad, Thomas G. Masaryk, who is working for the salvation of his nation in exile. The poet wrote these verses while prisoner of war in Russia during the great Russian retreat. They are a clear proof of the indomitable faith of the Czecho-Slovaks in the victory of right and justice.

The poet's real name is Ferdinand Pi-secký. He has just left this country to return to Russia, after delivering a course of lectures in the principal Bohemian settlements in the United States on the Russian revolution of which he was a witness.

It is one and the same,
 Even as then,—three centuries ago:
 Scattered the flock, in thousand decaying
 On mountains, broad fields, fallen in alien service
 Amid the fountain of life, already grown turbid,
 Oozed loathsome, corroding venom
 With heady current, set astir by white hands
 Of adept and wily hangmen.
 Hangmen with smoothly shorn faces,
 White-gloved hangmen
 In a dazzling glaze of white linen,
 From which glitters challengingly, white lustre, golden lustre;
 Hangmen in gay-colored tunics,
 With haughty clanking of spurs,
 Hiding with gold their innermost emptiness;
 Hangmen in black, brown, violet-hued raiment,
 With shaven pates, with pampered bellies,
 Even, even as three centuries ago.
 Then was there gloom and never a star of salvation,
 On all sides dead stillness, full of horror and dread.

And from this place of horror and of dying,
 Fittingly called a seeming paradise,
 There then went forth a good and peaceful shepherd,
 Bearing at heart a flame of mighty love,
 Bearing in spirit tears of all the flock,
 And searching out for it another life.
 Even as Moses craved to split the rock,
 To find a spring amid the desert heat,
 Wherein the wretched flock, unaided, dies
 O goest thou, good shepherd thou of souls,
 Prophet severe, who scourgest from the temple
 Base traffickers

Letting a runnel of uncomely slime
Taint our life's fountain, grown already turbid,
Thou rangest the wide world like a mighty Amos,
Thou bearest in thy heart our whole distress.
Thy gaze is tired with peering forth afar,
But thy strong spirit, still unscathed by fear,
Urges thee on, that thou may split the rock,
Wherein fresh fountains of a fairer life
Gurgle and seethe . . .

Thy mighty faith, gushing from out thy soul,
Wan with the blazing of the direst forges,
Thy mighty faith enters my heart as well.
And this I know, beloved Master,
Full well I know this my beloved Teacher,
That this, my parrallel is incomplete;
One point there is, wherein shall be a change,
A joyous change, like to the spring-tide sun,
Like to the blackbird's first exulting song
Within our gardens when the spring draws near:

For surely thou shalt find salvation's rock,
From which a fresh and boisterous fountain bursts,
To quicken once again the half-dead flock,
With strength to brace it for a new-born life.

Thou surely shalt return, beloved Master,
That thou mayst rest thy head amid thy flock,
And gently e'en as only thou canst speak,
Say in thy heart: "This toil of mine was good".

September, 1915.

(Translated by Paul Selver.)

The Czecho-Slovaks.*

On every front to which Czech soldiers are sent the Austrian generals fully understand what it means when a nation desires to break down the walls of its jail. From the very first day of the war it was clear that the Czech soldiers would not fight for the cause of the Germans and the Magyars against their friends — the nations of the Entente. They were therefore put at once under careful "observation" at the front as well as behind the lines. The watch increased in severity with every month of the war. "This is not a war secret", said Prince Ludwig Windischgrätz in the Hungarian Parliament on August 28th, 1916, "and the whole world sees it, how the service battalions are composed—that in every Czech service battalion at least 40 per cent of

Magyar and German troops are included."

Yet all these measures could not prevent the Czech soldiers from carrying out their purpose. Though carefully watched by their German and Magyar hangmen they continued individually and in groups, and even in regiments, to pass over to the side which, in the Austrian terminology, is that of the enemy, but to the Czechs is that of their liberators. In September, 1914, the 8th Regiment of the Czech Landwehr when ordered to march to the Russian front, refused obedience, and attacked its German officers. Thereupon the 75th German Regiment was sent against it, and the Czechs had to pay the penalty of their revolt. The 36th Regiment, recruited from the district of Mlada Boleslav, also mutinied whilst still in Bohemia, and was decimated by the Germans and Magyars. More effective was, however, the action of the Czechs at the front. The fact that several Czech regi-

*This article is a part of the pamphlet by Lewis B. Namier, bearing the above title. It is particularly interesting in view of the recent admission of Czech revolt by the Austrian minister of war.

ments crossed over to the Serbian side contributed much to the ignominious Austrian defeat in Serbia in the closing months of 1914. Thus, e. g., the 102nd Regiment, recruited from Benešov, crossed over in a body to the Serbians and entered Nish with its band playing the Serbian national hymn. Similar incidents occurred also at the Russian front. Some regiments, as for instance, the 88th, from Brno, were found out when attempting to surrender to their friends, and were massacred by the German and Magyar troops; others, however, like the 35th Regiment from the town of Pilsen and the 28th Regiment from Prague succeeded in crossing over to the Russian side. Similarly, of the 11th Regiment, from Pisek, all but two companies joined the Russians.

The Czechs who surrendered to the Serbs, Russians, or Italians were soon found fighting again—but this time on the side of their friends. The services rendered by them, especially to Serbia during the two Austrian invasions, and to Russia during the Galician campaign of 1916, can hardly be exaggerated. With their thorough knowledge of the Austrian army, and in view of the very high level of their education, they form everywhere a most valuable element in the intelligence service. For obvious reasons the full story of their deeds cannot be told as yet, especially no cases of individual bravery or achievements can be mentioned. But the mere fact of men going through all the dangers of desertion at the front and then entering the ranks of the “enemy” army, with the knowledge that, if taken prisoners, they would be shot out of hand, is a sufficient test of the ardour with which the Czechs desire their liberation and fight for it. It is not the case of soi-disant aristocrats knocking about the capitals of Europe and America with big phrases on their lips about the greatness of their nation and the claims which it has on the world. Less has been heard about the Czechs during the war than their cause deserves. For big talking does not suit their nature. It was not by political intrigues or by boundless self-advertising, but by war-work performed in every allied country in which they found themselves, and by true heroism shown on every front to which they were led, that the Czechs have been working for the future of their nation.

Of the Czechs who at the outbreak of the war found themselves on neutral ground or in the States of the Entente, or

who were able to escape from Austria afterwards, almost every man of military age is doing his duty. There are Czechs fighting in the French army—they have specially distinguished themselves on the Somme in the Foreign Legion. There are Czechs serving in the British army—some of them have been put into the artillery, which in itself is the greatest sign of confidence that can be shown to men who nominally are “alien enemies.” All over the world the Czechs have, by all means at their disposal, fought and counteracted the plots and rancours of their Magyar and German enemies. If at the end of this war the Czecho-Slovak nation attains its liberty and an open road to a new greatness and glory, no one will be able to say that this comes to them as a gift and that they had not done enough to deserve it. They are working and fighting in the best spirit of a modern democracy, without narrow calculation of sacrifice and immediate reward. This must be said about the Czechs, that they take always and everywhere the widest view of the interests of the Entente, and, living in the very centre of “Mittel-Europa,” in the very depths of the German-Magyar jail, they do not mind on which front they fight and in conjunction with which Power. They know that the battle-front is one and that victory and defeat will be common to all. Nor does any other nation bear a more signal testimony to the belief in the power and final victory of the Entente. Of all the nations to be liberated the Czechs are the most distant, the most deeply engulfed in “Mittel-Europa,” and yet they do not doubt that for them also the hour of liberation will come in this war. They firmly believe, as the Austrian officials put it in their indictment of Dr. Kramarzh, that theirs will be a glorious lot when the nation “rises out of darkness and humiliation to new life,” and that “after the catastrophe to which this war must lead, the Czech nation will be able to develop its strength, unity, and organization.”

Churches in Austria lost their bells, which were taken over by the government and used for making of cannon. Now a report comes from Vienna to the effect that churches having steam heating plants were instructed to call the worshippers to services by blowing the whistle.

If you so desire, you can get the Bohemian Review from beginning, with the exception of the April issue, which is all gone.

Rare Letter from Bohemia.

The Paris "Nation Tchèque" publishes a letter, dated Prague April 29, 1917, written by a visitor to Bohemia and describing Bohemian life to today, not the life of the carefree, irresponsible art student, but the stern, terrible burden sustained by the Czech people under the Austrian yoke after nearly three years of war. The letter reads as follows:

"Klofáč and the other deputies, just as all the political prisoners of Bohemia, Galicia and Serbia, are tortured in their prisons by hunger and cold. Kramář and Rašín are somewhat better off. But Klofáč, Choc and all the national socialist deputies are treated abominably. Klofáč, it seems, is in an awful state. He is supposed to get a small piece of meat once a week, but the soldier who guards him frequently keeps it, being himself hungry.

"Soldiers on duty in the interior are very badly fed. They get in the morning a coffee substitute, unsweetened, and a quarter of military loaf of bread which is supposed to last them the whole day, but which they generally proceed to eat at once. This bread, just like the bread consumed by the civil population, is made of black flour composed of rye, barley and corn and full of dirt and rubbish. At that there is only about 60 per cent of this flour in the bread; the other 40 per cent consists of artificial flour, that is to say very fine saw dust. At noontime the soldier gets regularly carrots, sauerkraut and turnip cooked in greasy water, though these vegetables are somewhat changed. Only twice a week he gets a piece of meat. And for supper he gets nothing at all. The position of the prisoners of war is still more painful; those who are allotted to the peasants of Bohemia as agricultural help are somewhat better off; peasants and prisoners share their misery.

"After the note of the Allies to Mr. Wilson (stating among their peace terms the liberation of Czecho-Slovaks) Emperor Charles made an offer to the Bohemians that he would assume the crown in Prague, if they would condemn Bohemian agitation in foreign lands and the aims of the Entente, if they would forever abandon their Slav program, declare themselves for the preservation of Austria and accept the new organization of Austria and the necessary preliminaries. The Bohemian deputies

turned down this offer; they claimed that they had been elected to work for the accomplishment of a national program which they had not the right to modify. Every one speaks openly of their rejection of the emperor's offer.

"As to the other political prisoners, I have not learned anything. As soon as I perceived that I was suspected, I became very circumspect and on my guard, in fact ceased to have any contact with political personages. Dr. I. told me that I was the first visitor from Allied countries he has seen since the war began. I visited also Prof. P. at P. He advised me to be very careful, because many persons from abroad had already been imprisoned. He told me of Mrs. Linhart and three students of divinity who coming back from Switzerland committed the imprudence of bringing notes with them. They were all sentenced to long terms. One of them, Mr. R., got eighteen years.

"I also visited M. D. and M. L., my intimate friend and school mate. I told them of what was going on in foreign lands and said that I had seen Masaryk. M. D. shook my hand long and said: 'God bless Masaryk and all those who work with him.' He added that both he himself and his friends were heart and soul with their countrymen who conducted a campaign abroad and that they prayed that Masaryk and his co-workers might succeed in their aims.

"At the Citizen's Club at Kr. my arrival created a sensation. All the notables of the town turned up in my honor. At the principal table were seated the prior, local officials and citizens. All spoke out plainly without caring a bit that their words sounded of high treason.

"The same thing at Z. Officials of the district prefecture, even the gendarme, gathered at the Beseda and told me to speak frankly, for, as they said, 'we were among ourselves.' All listened with avidity to what I told them of the Bohemian agitation in foreign lands and of the friendship for Czecho-Slovaks entertained by the peoples of the Entente.

"Now about a city in Central Bohemia. The fall requisitions were carried out so brutally that the district prefect himself was opposed to them. All was transported to Germany on boats. Certain districts

were required to furnish larger quantities than their entire production amounted to, others had to furnish so much that there was practically nothing left for their own consumption. The prefect of that city after several protests that were ignored resigned. The official who is now in charge of the district prefecture said this: "I know that we are going to "win". Everything is already cracking. If only it would crack first in Germany, for otherwise the Germans will break us in pieces." All this I consider characteristic and expressive of the real spirit of the people.

"The schools are in a pitiable state. Hunger makes the children stupid. Everywhere I heard lamentations and saw tears, and nowhere did I see any proficiency. Even the best pupils are indolent. But one has almost to laugh upon seeing all that is excluded from any mention in instruction; so for example, in geography one does not learn anything about Russia, Serbia or England, but the teachers have orders to emphasize Germany, Austria and Turkey.

"An interesting detail. Germany has mobilized more than a hundred authors

under the ministry of war with orders to write pangerman novels, dealing with events of the present war, to write articles for newspapers, to gather and edit documents that might be used to prove what a good thing the war has been for William, his dynasty and for all the Germans. This bureau is administered by Rudolf Herzog, formerly chief editor of the *Hamburger Neueste Nachrichten* and of the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, and by Dr. Rod. Presber. The members of this bureau are not very pleased with their task. They try to give of their best, but look upon it as a favor, when they are sent out on a mission to influence public opinion of a neutral country. One of these propagandists was recently sent from Switzerland to Austria to gather observations and then write a novel on the topic of *Mitteuropa* and the close union of Austria with Germany." "

The letter needs no commentary, says *La Nation Tchèque*. It describes admirably the spirit of the people in Bohemia, the terrible distress prevailing in Austria, the general despair and the great hopes of the Czecho-Slovak people.

Bohemians in Nebraska.

By Prof. Šárka B. Hrbkova, University of Nebraska

In this mixing bowl of nations it will require the most skillful alchemy to preserve the pure gold not alone of the native stock, but of the stranger within our gates. It is only fair and logical to know well the character of the constituents cast daily into the American melting pot.

In 1910 the total population of Nebraska was 1,192,214. In the same year, the population of foreign birth and foreign parentage amounted to 539,015, or almost one-half the total population.

Of this foreign population 62,810 or 13 per cent came directly from Austria or were born of parents coming from Austria. The question is, are all or nearly all of these "Austrians" from Bohemia? Of the 539,392 Bohemians enumerated in the United States census in 1910, it is probably safe to say that one-eighth reside in the State of Nebraska. This deduction is based on a process of elimination, according to the claims of each of the other more important Bohemian communities in this country. The complete census, when issued, will give this

in detail. Every year from 300 to 500 Bohemian emigrants arriving at the various ports give Nebraska as their destination. The immigration figures since 1900 entitle us to regard 69,000 as a fair estimate of Nebraska's foreign-born Bohemian population.

Every one of the counties of Nebraska have Bohemian inhabitants, the heaviest percentages of Bohemians being in Douglas, Colfax, Saline, Saunders and Butler counties. Cities and towns which have a generous percentage of Bohemian population are Omaha, especially the south side, Wilber, Crete, Clarkson, Milligan, Schuyler and Prague. In the main, however, Bohemians are settled on farms rather than in towns, and in the eastern portion of Nebraska, rather than in the western.

The great majority of the Bohemians of the state are engaged in agricultural pursuits and as farmers are the real backbone of the great West. It may be said that the Bohemian farmers of the state represent the mainstay of the Czechs in Nebraska

despite the fact that business and the professions each year win more adherents among them.

The first Bohemian who came to Nebraska, so far as can be learned, was Libor Alois Šlesinger, who was born October 28, 1806, in Ústí above the Orlice River in Bohemia. It is noteworthy that this first Bohemian immigrant to this state came to America to seek political liberty which in his own country was downed by absolutism prevailing in Austria after the unsuccessful revolution of 1848. Šlesinger left Bohemia in November, 1856, and in January of the following year arrived in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, which city was a sort of stopping place for most of the Bohemian immigrants en route for the great, attractive, booming West beyond the Missouri. The trip from Cedar Rapids to Omaha Šlesinger made by wagon, a little later settling near the Winnebago Reservation. His experiences were as picturesque and adventurous, if not more so, than those of other early comers.

Joseph Horský, who arrived in 1857 and also came by the Cedar Rapids route, was the second, and the now famous Edward Rosewater, who founded the Omaha Bee, was the third Czech to settle in the Cornhusker State.

The homestead laws, which went in effect in 1863, attracted to the West hundreds of Bohemians who had already become citizens or were about to swear allegiance to the starry flag. Saline County was the first to draw settlers of the Bohemian nationality, most of the first comers emigrating from the neighborhood of Manitowoc and Kewaunee, Wisconsin. Counties which were settled very soon after the coming of the Czechs to Saline County were Butler, Colfax and Knox counties. The settlement of Knox county by Bohemians was arranged in Chicago and Cleveland in 1868, when 800 families joined a prearranged scheme and moved from these two cities en masse to the shores of the Niobrara and Missouri. The following communities gave themselves Bohemian names: Prague and Praha in Saunders county, named after the capital city of Bohemia, Shestak in Saline county, Jelen in Knox county and Tabor in Colfax county.

After the first wave of Bohemian immigration to Nebraska, which consisted of men seeking political and religious freedom, other waves came, representing men who were escaping enforced military serv-

ice in the Austrian army or seeking economical betterment. Despite the fact that large numbers came in 1865 and 1866 to avoid serving in the army, nevertheless, when the call came for volunteers to help preserve the Union these same Bohemians, fleeing enforced militarism, of their own will enlisted with Lincoln's troops. This was true of Bohemians in Cleveland, Chicago, Cedar Rapids and other large centers of that nationality. The Czechs carried off many scars from the Civil War and you will find them in the G. A. R. rolls of honor in loyal percentages just as in the Spanish-American war, when whole companies of Bohemian volunteers left Nebraska for the Philippines and Cuba. One can well say with Walt Whitman:

"Lands of the wild ravine, the dusky Sioux,
the lonesome stretch, the silence,
Haply today a mournful wail, haply a
trumpet note for heroes."

From the domain of Roman Catholic Austria to unpledged Nebraska is a step of many thousands of miles. The difference in the religious attitude of many Czechs who have taken that long step is as great and is likewise analogous.

The Bohemians of the state may be roughly classified into three general groups—Roman Catholics, Protestants and Liberal Thinkers. There are forty-four towns and villages in Nebraska in which Bohemian Catholic churches and priests are located. Parochial schools are maintained in connection with some of the churches as, for instance, the building in Dodge where 140 children attend the instruction of Sisters of Our Lady.

There are some twenty Bohemian Protestant churches in the state, being mainly Methodist and Presbyterian.

The Liberal Thinkers are more recently organized, there being but five societies in Nebraska.

The Bohemian people in the United States are unusually strong on organization. Judging alone by Nebraska's Bohemian lodge membership one might easily believe that they were inveterate "joiners". It is a well-known fact that as members of labor unions they are "stickers" and believe thoroughly in the adhesive value of organization to gain a point. It is, however, as organizers of social and fraternal protective societies that the Bohemians excel. Practically every man of Bohemian birth or parentage belongs to one or more associa-

tions which have for their object insurance, protection in sickness and death, as well as the development of social life. There are also a number of organizations offering no insurance, but instead opportunities for education along gymnastic, musical, literary or related lines.

The lodges of the former or fraternal class afford cheap insurance to the Bohemian, the assessments being, in practically every instance, much lower than those exacted in other orders. Of the fraternal orders among the Bohemians the best known and most widely supported are: the Č. S. P. S., Česko-Slovanské Podporující Spolky or Bohemian Slavonian Protective Association, the oldest Bohemian organization in the United States, established in St. Louis in 1854. It has now a total of 25,000 members, 513 of them in eleven lodges in Nebraska; the Z. Č. B. J., Západní Česko Bratrská Jednota or Western Bohemian Fraternal Order with 20,000 members, of whom 1,189 in 67 lodges are in Nebraska; the J. Č. D., Jednota Českých Dam or Federation of Bohemian Ladies, having over 20,000 members with fifteen lodges in Nebraska; the S. P. J., Sesterská Podporující Jednota or Sisterly Protective Association, with five lodges in Nebraska. There are several thousands of Bohemians represented in Catholic Fraternal Orders in this state. In addition there are many minor organizations each with several lodges in Nebraska.

Among the social institutions which do not have any insurance features, but devote themselves directly to the betterment of social and educational conditions are the Sokol societies and the Komensky clubs. The first Komensky Educational Club, the purpose of which is the cultural development of Bohemian communities, was organized at the State University of Nebraska by Bohemian students in 1906. Since then twenty-six similar clubs have been established in six states, thirteen of the clubs being located in Nebraska. They have established libraries and reading rooms, organized evening schools and provided good clean entertainment for the community.

The Sokol societies are chapters of a central association with headquarters in Chicago. They provide physical training, wholesome sports and the use of libraries for members. The high ideals which characterized the organization of the original Sokol or "Falcon" societies in the old coun-

try actuated all the early enthusiasts who plunged into the rough pioneer conditions after life in Bohemia where they had had all the accessories of the highest civilization. The first Sokol society in Nebraska was organized in Wilber in 1875. Another very popular and typical Bohemian amusement reached a high state of development in the Nebraska settlements, namely, the amateur performance of theatrical plays.

Music, either vocal or instrumental, always had to be present in any gathering of Bohemians whether it were a coming together of neighbors or a formal session of a lodge. The Czechs are not unwarrantedly called "the nation of musicians", as the Smetanas, Dvořáks, Kubeliks, Kociáns, Ondříčeks and Destinns fully attest. If a wager were to be made that every Bohemian community in Nebraska today has its own band or orchestra, it is safe to say that the bettor would win. The first musical organization west of Omaha was composed of Bohemians. It was the famous Crete orchestra which used to drive to Lincoln in Governor Butler's day and play for dancing at the Capitol.

From the earliest times Bohemians have evinced an earnest interest in local, state and national politics. As a rule, they were to be found in the democratic ranks, but very early in Nebraska's history a representative group of Bohemian Republicans became active, particularly so since the establishment by Edward Rosewater of a Bohemian weekly urging the principles of Republicanism. In the more recent days partisanship is no longer typical of the Bohemian people, their vote going to men rather than for party measures.

Since 1871 there have been forty-eight Americans of Bohemian birth or parentage in the State Legislature of Nebraska. The first representative of that nationality in the legislative body was Edward Rosewater of Douglas county, who also held other offices of honor, representing the United States at the Universal Postal Congress in Washington in 1897, promoted the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha in 1898 and was a member of the International Arbitration Conference in 1904.

The Bohemians, like all pioneers of western states, had the problem of preservation of existence for themselves and families to solve before the question of higher education could be wrestled with. But that the Czech could not long remain content with-

out some intellectual pabulum in addition to the simple necessities is amply proven by the fact that barely had a handful of them settled in the state when they clamored for a newspaper published in their own language, that intelligence of the world and its progress might be purveyed among them. To be sure, long before this, Bohemian newspapers from eastern states had been circulated here, the first paper in the Bohemian language having been issued January 1, 1860, from Racine, Wisconsin, with the name "Slovan Americký" (The American Slav).

The first number of the first Bohemian paper in Nebraska—the "Pokrok Západu" or "Progress of the West" was issued August 1, 1871, when Nebraska had been a state scarcely four years. Edward Rosewater, popularly known as Rozvařil, who was born in Bukovany, Bohemia, in 1841 and had come to the United States in 1854, a green Bohemian youth, had after a number of experiences, settled in Omaha where he founded "The Omaha Bee" and his Bohemian weekly paper, the "Pokrok", in the same year.

The Pokrok Západu had as its motto: "Pilně sloužíc zájmu národnímu, hledět chci vždy k vzdělání obecnému" (While ever serving national interests, let me give heed always to public education). In the initial issue the first editorial insists that Austria must become a Slavonic state, that it stands and falls in correspondence with the success or failure of the Bohemian people.

The Pokrok Západu in November, 1872, combined with the "Amerikán". It passed into the possession of John Rosický in 1877, who sold it twelve years later to a Printers' Company under the direction of the present publisher, Mr. Václav Bureš, under whose management it has since remained. Many excellent journalists have sat in the editorial chair of the Pokrok, among them Václav Šnajdr, Fr. B. Zdrůbek, V. A. Jung, Thos. Čapek, Jan. A. Oliverius, F. J. Kuták, O. Charvát, etc.

John Rosický, who had left Bohemia in 1860 to escape military service, has been an important figure in the history of Bohemian journalism and the social life of the nationality, not only in Nebraska, but throughout the middle West. After selling the Pokrok Západu he established other papers among them the Obzor, the Americké Květy, the Osvěta, etc., which finally were combined in the weekly, "Osvěta

Americká" or "Enlightenment of America", which for a time published local editions in various communities of the state. In 1916 it became a literary weekly with the name "Květy Americké".

Although Nebraska is situated on the far end of a spoke of the Hub of the Universe, as our Massachusetts Athens is dubbed, her foreign-born citizens have nevertheless courted the Muses with successful results. Václav A. Jung, a former Nebraskan, has written a number of fine poems and translated Byron's "Don Juan" and Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin" into Bohemian. Mr. Jung's novel, "On the Threshold of a New World" or "The Family of Peter Bel" (Na Prahu Nového Světa aneb Rodina Petra Běla), depicts Nebraska life and actual characters. He has recently completed a monumental English-Bohemian Dictionary in his capacity of instructor in English in Pilsen Academy in Bohemia. Thos. Čapek, who also served in the State Legislature, has written a number of books showing extensive and valuable research, among them "Early Bohemian Immigration" (Památky Českých Emigrantů), "Fifty Years of Bohemian Journalism in America" (Padesát Let Českého Tisku v Americe). In the English language he has written "The Slovaks of Hungary" and "Austria-Hungary and the Slavonians".

Rev. John Vránek of Omaha has published a book of Bohemian poems entitled "Na Půdě Americké" (On American Soil).

A. Z. Donato of Wahoo, published the story of his trip around the world under the title of "Kolem Světa o Jedné Noze".

Rev. A. Klein of Brainard, at present Vicar General of the Diocese of Lincoln, has contributed valuable articles to the Otto Encyclopedia of Prague, Bohemia.

Rev. Father J. S. Brož, formerly of Dodge, now of Schuyler, Nebraska, in addition to frequent poetic and prose contributions to the Bohemian Catholic press of this country, is at work upon a superior history of Nebraska in the Bohemian language. He has published "Z Prárie" (From the Prairies), a book of Nebraska lyrics.

Prof. Jeffrey D. Hrbek, first instructor in Bohemian at the State University, wrote a large number of English poems which were collected and published after his death under the title "Linden Blossoms".

John Habenicht, now of Chicago, has collected and published in the Bohemian some historical data of Nebraska, largely con-

cerned with the history of Catholic communities.

Among English books and articles by Americans dealing with the subject of the Bohemians of Nebraska, especially notable are "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" by Emily Greene Balch (Charities Pub. Co. 1908), and "O Pioneers!" by Willa Sibert Cather (Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1913), also "The Bohemian Girl" in McClure's, August, 1912 by the same author.

Practically every Bohemian lodge or fraternal society in the state has some sort of library, ranging from a few works of fiction to several hundred volumes embracing valuable works of reference.

The Komenský Club of South Omaha presented the public library of that city with a goodly number of valuable Bohemian books which are in constant circulation. The State University's Slavonic Department also has a growing collection of well-selected reference books. Other collections are owned by societies or private individuals in the state.

Ever since the great Bohemian educator, John Amos Komenský (Comenius) advocated universal education as well as scores of other reforms and progressive pedagogical ideas in his wonderful work "The Great Didactic", written almost three hundred years ago, the Bohemian people have been firm advocates of education. The little country has had compulsory education laws for over half a century and has always held a high place in the annals of cultural races. It is, therefore, justly proud of the fact that it established in 1348 the first University in Central Europe, the University of Prague, antedating the first German University by over fifty years.

An examination of the records of the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration will show that immigrants from Bohemia have a far higher rate of literacy than the Germans, French, Irish and other nations, which are erroneously often credited with a much better record than they actually have in this respect. For instance, in the fiscal year 1912, of 65,343 German immigrants who arrived in the U. S., 2,736 could not read or write; of 18,382 French, 1,083 were illiterate; of 33,922 Irish, 390 could not read or write; whereas of 8,439 Bohemians, only 75, or less than 1 per cent were illiterates.

As a rule, the Bohemians of this state have upheld this record, giving their children the advantages of public school educa-

tion, though, to be precise, it is only within late years that they have found themselves in a position to send their children on through the high school and then to the college or university.

It is interesting to note that over one hundred of the alumni of the University of Nebraska are either of Bohemian birth or of Bohemian parentage. Of this number about 40 per cent won honors of some sort. There are now seventy-four Bohemian-American students enrolled in the highest institution of learning in this state.

In 1907 a department of Bohemian was established in the State University, Jeffrey D. Hrbek being called from the State University of Iowa to the first chair of Bohemian founded in any state university, advanced Bohemian instruction heretofore having been given only in sectarian colleges. Since the establishment of the department in Lincoln the State University of Iowa in Iowa City, Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Georgetown University at Austin, Texas, and the State University at Columbus, Ohio, have put in Bohemian departments. The Bohemian language has also been put into the High School curriculum in Chicago, and in Nebraska the high schools in Wilber, Prague, Crete, Clarkson, Brainard, Verdigre and Milligan have instruction in the Bohemian language. A number of schools in the state below the high school give thorough instruction in the rudiments of this Slavonic tongue, chief among them being St. Paul, Abie, Bruno, Loma, etc.

In that finest army in the world — the public school teachers — the Bohemians of the state are doing their share to train American youth to the democratic and progressive ideals which only thorough education can bring about. There are 290 teachers of Bohemian birth or parentage in the public schools of some forty of Nebraska's northern and eastern counties. Two of these are county superintendents, L. Bouchal of Saline county and F. J. Vogltanc of Colfax county.

There is no need to sound any other but the note of richest hope and warmest encouragement to nations like these sturdy, persevering, accomplishing sons and daughters of Bohemia who come to pour the gold and firm metal of their character into that mixing bowl whence shall emerge the transfused, transmuted being which we are pleased to call "the ideal American".

Current Topics.

THE WORK OF THE ALLIANCE.

During the last month three things claimed the attention of America — registration, liberty loan and the Red Cross. The Central Committee of the Alliance, as well as the subordinate societies, pulled hard for all these three patriotic objects. Appeals, signed by the National President of the Alliance, and published in all the Bohemian newspapers, were issued calling on all citizens and residents of Bohemian blood to do their full duty to America and the cause of liberty. There were very few slackers, if there were any at all, among the Bohemians, for the uppermost thought in the mind of every true Czech is the firm belief that the United States is fighting for justice and freedom and that victory will result in the liberation of Bohemia.

Registration again brought home to the Bohemians their awkward position as members of a race whose homeland is subject to Austria. Young men born in Bohemia were urged through Bohemian newspapers to insist at registration that their native country was not Austria, but Bohemia. In some cases the registrars accepted this statement, but in many cases they deliberately enrolled Bohemians as Austrians. In Omaha two young men, Stanley Šerpán and Anton Benda, refused to accept as final this wrongful classification and sued out a writ of mandamus against the election commissioner, claiming that they were incorrectly registered. It is to be hoped that the court will disregard technicalities and decide what every well-informed man knows to be true that Bohemians are not and never will be Austrians.

The Slav Press Bureau of New York, supported jointly by the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League of America, is extending its activity and supplying to the American press information about the Slavs. Among other things it has issued a series of five excellent recruiting posters, designed by Vojtěch Pressig. Its director, Chas. Pergler, is greatly in demand as lecturer on topics dealing with the reconstruction of Europe.

The last of this season's bazaars in the interest of the movement for Bohemian independence was held in Minneapolis at the end of May and the beginning of June. Bohemians of Minneapolis, St. Paul and the important suburb of Hopkins took part. The net proceeds amounted to \$4000.

Professor Ferdinand Pišecký of Petrograd stimulated greatly the interest of the members of the Alliance by his exceedingly well-informed talks on the situation in Russia and on the progress in Europe of the campaign for freedom of Bohemia. He delivered some twenty lectures in cities as far distant as Boston and Houston and is about to return to his work in Russia.

Toward the end of June Dr. Milan Štefanik arrived in America. Dr. Štefanik was a noted astronomer before the war. In the war he distinguished himself as a daring flyer and holds now

the rank of flight commander in the French army. More recently he was employed by the French Government on diplomatic service in Russia. He comes to Washington in his official capacity. In the movement for the liberation of the Czecho-Slovaks he occupies a place second only to that of Prof. T. G. Masaryk. He is vice-president of the Paris National Council for the Czecho-Slovak Lands, being the principal representative of the Slovaks in the joint labor for the liberation and union of Bohemians and Slovaks.

From the standpoint of organization the Bohemian National Alliance is enjoying a healthy growth. New branches during June number 17. The Canadian headquarters of the Alliance in Winnipeg reports 15 local branches with the influence of the organization reaching into the most remote settlements of Bohemian farmers in Western Canada. A new affiliated organization of the Bohemian National Alliance of America is reported from Buenos Ayres; so far five branches have been formed in Argentina and Brazil.

The report of the unanimous stand of Bohemian deputies against all compromise with Austria was celebrated in Chicago on June 12 by a large mass meeting at which representatives of all sections of Bohemians, from socialists to Catholics, promised their cordial cooperation in the interest of the freedom of the motherland.

Resolutions introduced in Congress in favor of Bohemian independence are still reposing in committees, though on the other hand a large number of public bodies throughout the country endorsed them. What is, however, more encouraging to the workers of the Alliance is President Wilson's changing attitude. While the president has not specifically endorsed the Bohemian demands, his late speeches show a thorough comprehension of the vitality of Central European and Near Eastern problem. His declaration in the note to Russia that "no people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live" implies not merely self-government, but complete independence for Slav subjects of Austria. And in his flag day speech Mr. Wilson states explicitly that Bohemians—together with several other nations—would be satisfied only by indisputed independence.

BOHEMIA IN THE AMERICAN PRESS.

The cablegram from Paris, telling of the anti-Austrian stand of the Bohemian deputies in the Vienna parliament and of riots in Bohemian and Moravian cities was published in practically all the daily papers of the United States. Scrapbook in the offices of the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago has some 75 different clippings of this cable. A large number of editorials, endorsing Bohemia's demand for independence, appeared in the American press during the month of June. Many of them were apparently called out by the above

telegram. As far as we could ascertain, following daily papers commented editorially on Bohemia: New York Globe, St. Paul Pioneer Press, Minneapolis Journal, Detroit News, St. Paul Dispatch, Indianapolis News, Omaha Bee, Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, Grand Rapids News, Cedar Rapids Republican, Portland (Ore.) Journal, Omaha World Herald, Chicago Journal.

The Literary Digest of June 23 had a one page article, entitled "Our Bohemian Fighters", giving credit to the Bohemians for the zeal with which they come forward to fight against Germany. The article is illustrated by the picture of Czech volunteers in Canada.

The same group of Bohemian boys, photographed in London, appear in the Chicago Journal, June 22, under the title "Czech Volunteers from U. S. A."

RUSSIAN SAILORS ENTERTAINED.

Officers and sailors of the Russian warship "Variag" which recently called at the harbor of New York were guests of the Bohemian and Slovak organizations of New York City on June 26.

Between the Russians and the Bohemians there has been close touch and warm sympathy for the last hundred years. Both nations are branches of the great Slavic race, their languages are nearly related and the consciousness of blood relationship is very strong. The Russian people, being by far the most numerous of the Slav nations, is looked upon as the big brother of the Slav family, the champion of the oppressed Slavs of Turkey and Austria-Hungary.

As such, and as representatives of the great Russian democracy, the sailors of the "Variag" found a cordial welcome in the Bohemian Sokol Hall on 71st St. Officers and delegates of the crew were seated on the platform alongside of the representatives of the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League. Gustav Košík who recently returned from Russia where he had spent a year on behalf of the Slovak League welcomed the guests in the Russian language. Response was made by Captain Kolzevnikov who pledged the assistance of Russia toward the liberation of Austrian Slavs. In a similar tone spoke the Russian naval attache Capt. Piotrowsky and the military attache Capt. Buckoy who talked warmly of his visit to Prague and of his Bohemian teachers in Russian schools. Very remarkable was the address of the spokesman of the crew Kalinsky who brought out excellently the character of the Russian revolution and its significance for the democratization of the world.

JOHN HUS ANNIVERSARY.

July 6 means to the Bohemians almost as much as July 4 to the Americans. On that day in the year 1415 John Hus, national hero of Bohemia, was burned at the stake in the City of Constance on the Rhine after he had been condemned as heretic by the Council of Constance. To the world at large Hus is known as a religious reformer, but

by Bohemians of every belief he is admired and honored principally as the champion of the Czech people against the onslaughts of German Kultur. Not that Hus was a chauvinist. But when he was accused at the Council among other charges of having instigated the Czechs to hatred against the Germans he answered: "I have affirmed and yet affirm that Bohemians should by right have the chief place in the offices of the Kingdom of Bohemia, even as they that are Frenchborn in the Kingdom of France and the Germans in their own countries, so that Bohemians should rule their people, and Germans rule over Germans."

After five hundred years that is still the political program of the nation of John Hus. Let Germans rule in Germany, but let Bohemians rule in Bohemia.

In Chicago the memory of John Hus will be honored at a meeting to be held on his anniversary day in the Carter H. Harrison High School. The speaker will be Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, President of the University of Chicago.

FIRST CZECH SOLDIERS FROM U. S. IN EUROPE

In the May issue of the Bohemian Review a picture was shown of Bohemian volunteers in the Canadian army; majority of them were from the United States. They landed in England in the latter part of May and took part in an enormous manifestation in honor of the United States held at the Hyde Park in London, May 27. Our boys carried a sign inscribed "Czech Volunteers from U. S. A." and received a boisterous welcome. When the procession passed the French Embassy, in front of which were grouped ministers of the Allied Powers, the Bohemian soldiers were ordered to step out of the ranks and two of them were introduced to Ambassador Page, who expressed his pleasure at their arrival in Europe.

NEW ENGLISH PAMPHLETS.

The Bohemian National Alliance has just received from England a number of copies of the following pamphlets:

Lewis B. Namier: The Czecho-Slovaks, An Oppressed Nationality.

Douglas W. Johnson: Plain Words From America. A Letter to a German Professor.

T. W. Rolleston: Ireland and Poland. A comparison.

Sir Julian Corbett: The League of Peace and a Free Sea.

The New German Empire. A Study of German War Aims from German Sources.

You can obtain copies of any of the above pamphlets by writing to the Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 W. 26th St., Chicago, Ill. Please send two cents postage for each pamphlet.

The Bohemian Review,
10 cents a copy, one dollar a year.

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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

August, 1917

The Iron Brigade

*Can Austria be
Saved?*

*From the Journal
of the Reichsrat*

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emian Independence*



**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

*"No lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to recon-
cile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."*

Woodrow Wilson.

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Entered as second class matter April 30, 1917, at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.



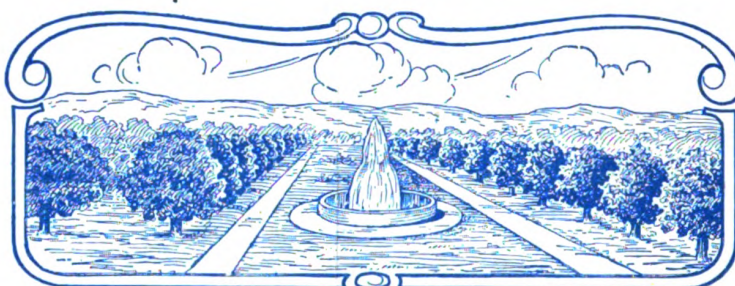
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CHICAGO, ILL.



THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

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Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 7.

AUGUST 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Iron Brigade.

Short was the career of the Czecho-Slovak brigade, the first unit of the new Bohemian army in Russia. July witnessed its splendid success in the brief Russian offensive, and the same month saw its total annihilation.

Cable reports give but a brief skeleton of facts, but from it the stirring tragedy of a body of nine thousand patriotic rebels can be constructed.

July 3rd, when all America was heartened by the unexpected news of the powerful Russian offensive near Zborov, the Russian official report stated: "Yesterday afternoon after a severe stubborn battle the Zorafsky regiment occupied the village of Presovce, while the gallant troops of the fourth Finnish division and the Cheshsko-Slovatsky brigade occupied the strongly fortified enemy positions on the heights west and southwest of the village of Zboroff and the fortified village of Korshiduv. Three lines of enemy trenches were penetrated. . . . The Cheshsko-Slovatsky brigade captured 62 officers and 3,150 soldiers, fifteen guns and many machine guns. Many of the captured guns were turned against the enemy."

Very little came from Russia after that about the Czech heroes of the Russian offensive. Complimentary mention was made a few days later of the work of a Czech regiment of cavalry and the news came that Minister Kerensky publicly acknowledged the great debt owed by Russia to the brave men of the Czecho-Slovak army.

And then the bright outlook changed; Job's news came from Galicia day after day. No longer was Lemberg threatened, but Tarnopol, which had been in Russian hands for nearly three years, was lost and the last foothold of the Slavs on Galician soil was slowly abandoned. A time of much disappointment and great anxiety to all Americans, to Bohemians in the United States it was a time of dread, of waiting for

horrible news. For all who knew aught of fighters of the Czecho-Slovak brigade were certain that surrender they could not and flee with the others they would not.

The expected blow fell Saturday night, July 28th. A few lines, almost hidden in the columns of war stuff and speculations about the opening of the fourth year of the war; but what a tragedy they portrayed to some half a million people in the United States. This is the brief message: "The *Vecherne Vremya* reports that in the fighting at Tarnopol, Galicia, three regiments of Czech volunteers, abandoned by Russian troops and fearing execution for treason, resisted until the last, the officers blowing out their brains and the soldiers rushing where shells were bursting the thickest. The enemy, the newspapers say, captured three Czechs and hanged them summarily. Later, Czech soldiers took three German prisoners and after forcing them to cut down the bodies hanged the Teutons with the same rope."

One is reminded of Waterloo and Napoleon's guard that dies, but does not surrender. The Czechs have not the keen sense of the dramatic that a Frenchman possesses even at the threshold of death, but they died like the old guard.

The great war has been so crowded with slaughter and heroism for three years that perhaps the brief history of the Iron Brigade of Czecho-Slovaks will receive but a bare mention. But by Bohemians and Slovaks, wherever they may live, regardless even of the fact, whether the dream of free Bohemia for which these men fought will be realized, the men who died at Tarnopol in July, 1917, will be honored forever as patriots and heroes. To the Bohemian knights who fell at Crecy in 1348 defending their blind King John, to the democratic peasants who fought the nobility to the last man at Lipany in 1434, to the Moravian heroes who were cut to pieces on the

White Mountain in 1620, when the Hungarian mercenaries had deserted them, will now be added the Iron Brigade of the first Bohemian army since 1620.

The three regiments were annihilated, because some of the Russians did not do their duty. Bohemians bear no ill will to Russia for this. No other race has followed the rapid changes of the Russian kaleidoscope since March of this year with greater sympathy or with clearer comprehension of the enormous difficulties that Russia has

to overcome in its effort to become a real democracy. It is certain that the fate of the first brigade will not dampen the ardor of the remaining units of the Czecho-Slovak army in Russia nor the enthusiasm of tens of thousands of others who are volunteering for service against the common enemy of mankind. "They shall not have died in vain," will be the firm resolution of everyone who has Czech blood in his veins. Liberty of Bohemia shall be bought by the lifeblood of her sons.

Can Austria Be Saved?

The Allies are to meet in August at the invitation of the provisional Russian government to take up the discussion of their war aims and their possible revision. Germany and its partners have never stated specifically the concrete aims for which they were fighting. The Allies did so in their answer to President Wilson's inquiry as to their peace terms.

It is well known that the aims of the Allies, stated in the note of January 10, 1917, involve the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Not that the Allies demand it in so many words, not that they have vindictive feelings toward Vienna rather than toward Berlin, not that they consider the Hapsburgs more dangerous than the Hohenzollerns; but because the very existence of the hybrid Dual Empire is the negation of the principle upon which the Allies plan to reconstruct Europe — the principle of nationalities. For that reason the Powers of the Entente in January of this year declared "the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Roumanians, Czechs and Slovaks from foreign domination" to be one of the aims which they set for themselves. And the liberation of those races is equivalent to the disruption of the Hapsburg Empire.

This fact is fully appreciated in Austria and Germany. Peace on terms announced by the Allies in January is plainly impossible, until the Central Powers are decisively defeated or until exhaustion compels them to surrender unconditionally. At the opening of the fourth year of the war the defeat of Germany is still far away. Russia is in the throes of reconstruction and its military strength is seriously affected; western offensive seems to be at a standstill and America's might has not yet made itself

felt. What wonder that people who are appalled by the constant slaughter, by the terrifying growth of the expense bill, by the tremendous difficulties that must be faced before complete victory can be gained, suggest a compromise that might be acceptable to the two Central Empires—federalization of Austria-Hungary on a basis of equality of the races subject to the Hapsburg sceptre.

The basis for this suggested compromise is found in some of the acts of Emperor Charles. He called together the Austrian parliament for its first session since March, 1914; he moderated the barbarities of the military regime which took thousands of victims during two and a half years of the war; he granted pardon to the condemned Czech leaders and approached the Czech people with offers of concessions. His efforts have achieved one small bit of success; the Vienna parliament by a majority of three-fifths voted the budget. But as against that the stormy sessions of the Reichsrat have furnished one more proof that Austria cannot be saved.

The fundamental trouble with Austria is that it is an artificial creation held together only by the dynasty. Without the Hapsburgs and their army the races composing the empire will fly apart. Americans and all true democrats must view with suspicion and regret the continued existence of a political formation that is based on armed force. But granting the desirability of a compromise on Austria can the Hapsburgs be trusted to give their subjects of various races equal rights and to grant to each people full opportunity to develop their national individuality? Few people are aware of the fact that the present constitution of the Austrian half of the empire guarantees to all races equality before the



Workers in the cause of Czecho-Slovak Independence.
From left to right: Prof. Aleš Hrdlička, F. Bielek, Alb. Mamatey, Chas. Pergler, Dr. Milan Štefanik, E. V. Voska, Dr. L. J. Fisher, Ivan Daxner,
Prof. Ferd. Pišecký.

law; Bohemians and Poles and Slovenians and Ruthenians have the same rights in the empire as the Germans, according to the nineteenth article of the fundamental laws. What people everywhere know to be the fact is that in Austria Germans rule and the other races obey; yes, that the Slavs and Latins are sent to the battlefields to die in order that the lordly German race might conquer the world.

Francis Joseph did not keep his word to the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovaks. His great nephew Charles gives promise of following in the footsteps of his predecessor. He has already given to the world one proof of the faith of the Hapsburgs, his attitude toward the Russian program of no annexations and no indemnities. April 14th the official correspondence bureau made this statement: "The government of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been informed of the declaration of the provisional Russian government, published April 11th. It has ascertained from it that Russia does not intend to conquer other nations, to take away from them their national heritage, to occupy by force foreign territory; that on the contrary it desires to bring about permanent peace on the basis of the rights of nations to determine for themselves their allegiance. The Austro-Hungarian government learned from this that the aims of the Russian provisional government are analogous to the aim which the imperial and royal minister of foreign affairs declared in his interview of March 31st to be the war aim of the monarchy". Compare with this pronouncement the statement of Premier Seidler in the Vienna parliament, June 27th: "After conference with the minister for foreign affairs I have the honor to inform the house that the supposition contained in deputy Daszynski's interpellation, to the effect that the imperial and royal government has recognized the right of nations to self-determination to be the basis of permanent peace is false. The imperial and royal government takes its stand on article five of the fundamental laws of December 21, 1867, giving the exclusive right to conclude peace to His Majesty. By that the defense of the interests and the aims of the nations of Austria at that decisive time is entrusted solely to the emperor. With this special reservation of the prerogatives of the crown the imperial and royal government is ready, in union with its allies, to take up negotiations with the enemy for an

honorable peace. But it emphatically rejects any other basis for peace conference."

Is there any wonder that the subjects of the Hapsburgs will not trust the royal word? When German deputy Redlich moved to go into secret session to take up the question of changes in the constitution made necessary by the war, deputy Stránský answered for the Bohemians that the Reichsrat was not the forum to determine that; the peace conference alone would settle the fate of Austria.

Amateur statesmen who have never lived in Austria imagine that federalization of this empire and its rapprochement to the Catholic states of South Germany would be the best counterpoise to the evil Prussian influence over the German empire. What a misconception of the realities. Austria is the vanguard of Germany toward the southeast. The Hapsburgs and their German subjects have ever looked upon themselves as the instrument for the Germanization of the inferior races bordering on the territory of the German people. They have not accomplished much, because the German element formed less than one-third of the population of Austria. But when Galicia is subtracted from the sum total of the Austrian provinces, as it will upon the restoration of Poland, Germans will have nearly half of the people and far more than a half of the deputies in what remains of the Austrian half of the empire. In such a case more than ever the issue in Austria would be the struggle of Czechs and Jugoslavs again Germanization, and the German dynasty with the German subjects would look for support to the German empire. Let it also be stated that no constitutional life would be possible in Austria, after Galicia became a part of the Polish state. The Czech deputies declared solemnly that they would never enter a parliament in which deputies from Galicia would not sit in their full number, for then the Bohemians would be altogether at the mercy of the Germans.

Finally, there is one obstacle over which all attempts to reconstruct the Hapsburg empire on a just basis will surely be wrecked, and that is the Slovak question. There are nearly three million of them in northwestern Hungary. They are one branch of the race of which the Czechs and Bohemians are the more numerous part, and their territories form a geographical unit, divided artificially by the frontier of

Hungary. In that memorable declaration of Czech deputies, made in parliament on May 30th, the most significant part is the demand for "union of all branches of the Czecho-Slovak people into one democratic Bohemian state." That is absolutely irreconcilable with the pretensions of the Magyars, and nothing less than cannon can settle that dispute. For it is certain that the Magyar government of Hungary will hold out to the last, will throw over the Hapsburgs in favor of Kaiser William, will resort to any means, before it will consent to surrender its barbarous rule over the Slovaks of Hungary. The Budapest Hirlap says: "The Bohemian manifesto is a declaration of war to the Magyars, and every

Magyar stands petrified at this insolence." And Az Est, also of Budapest, wonders how it is possible that Czechs could speak so in the Austrian parliament. "With that plan," says this journal, "the Bohemians have gone over bodily into the camp of our enemies, for they too, like our enemies, want to dismember us."

The Chicago Journal summed up the Austrian muddle in these words: "They (Germans and Magyars) will remain in Austria only if they can run it; the Slavs will remain only if they can have fair play and equal rights. The young emperor is between the devil and the dark blue sea. However, he needn't trouble to make a decision. The allies will do that for him."

From the Journal of the Reichsrat.

It is an old witticism in America that the zero in interesting reading is represented by the Congressional Record. Not so in Austria. There the parliament is allowed to meet so seldom, and when it does meet, so much explosive material has been accumulated that a fascinating pyrotechnic exhibition is on the program almost every day during the rare sessions of the representatives of the peoples subject to the Hapsburgs. And when in addition to that one remembers that even in ordinary times the only chance for a serious criticism of the government to see the light of day is to make it in parliament and that since 1914 the censor has been all-powerful in Austria, one is sure to come across interesting reading in the record of the Vienna House of Representatives.

We shall translate here for the benefit of American readers a number of speeches and ministerial interpellations, as they were given to the newspapers by the "praesidium", or speaker's office of the parliament. They were not censored by the government censor, but Dr. Gustav A. Gross, the German president of the Reichsrat, undertook to strike out the most objectionable passages of the radical speeches before according them parliamentary immunity. It is, therefore, well to bear in mind that what is given below, has been touched up by a man in sympathy with the methods and aims of the Austrian regime.

June 15 Bohemian deputy Stríbrný spoke about the treatment of political suspects in internment camps. "Dělnické Listy"

(Workingman's Gazette) states that the most serious charges contained in the speech were suppressed during the revision of the speech by Dr. Gross' censors. Mr. Stríbrný said:

"The suspension of civil rights had for its result political classification of citizens and the branding of many as suspected and unreliable. Unsigned denunciations were sufficient to cause arrest and the arrested never knew who was the accuser and what was the charge. . . . Among the interned citizens were women children and old men, who were carried away in fetters. (Hear, hear, from Czech deputies.) Prisoners were tortured as a matter of course. Their food was quite insufficient; they were tied together in groups and thrown into dirty freight cars. One transport of forty-three Austrian citizens was killed on the high road by a detachment of Hungarian Landwehr. (Cries of anger from the Czechs.)

"Most of the early suspects were interned in a camp at Talerhof near Gratz in Styria. The first shipment was taken over by soldiers from Gratz whose captain spoke in an indecent manner about the victims. Some of them upon leaving the cars were beaten and kicked, until blood streamed from their bodies. The first three days all had to camp in the open. Absolutely no preparations had been made to receive them. A small piece of land was assigned to them, four posts were stuck into the ground to designate the limits of the camp, and no one was permitted to stray beyond them. Women, men, children, all slept to-

gether. The fourth day everyone was ordered to move to the hangars, but again had to sleep on bare ground. Even at that sleeping space was at a premium. Prisoners could not change their clothing, and none of them had money. The guards delighted in giving the most refined people the dirtiest tasks. Women and clergymen were flogged to make them work more zealously. When the number of interned kept on growing, there was no room for them in the hangars, and many had to sleep outside, while the temperature hovered around zero. The death rate among the younger girls and among the old people, due to this treatment and to insanitary conditions, was awful. At the end of November 1914, upon the urgent representations of a staff medical officer construction of barracks was undertaken. When the prisoners were moved into the barracks, their clothing was disinfected; the interned, many of them women and young girls, had to undress in front of all and wait for an hour or more, before receiving their clothing back again. In December, 1914, the number of interned reached five thousand. It was natural that in the absence of strict sanitary measures epidemic diseases, principally the spotted typhus, got many victims. Not till February, 1915, were the sick separated from the well. In Talerhof the number of those who died of epidemic was 1,200, while the total number of suspect citizens buried at the local cemetery exceeds 2,000. All these statements can be substantiated by the testimony of seventy witnesses", said Deputy Stříbrný.

Most of these victims, subjects of the Austrian emperor, whose only crime was to become suspect of disloyalty, were from Galicia; the next highest number came from Bohemia and Moravia. During Mr. Stříbrný's speech Bohemian, Polish, Yugoslav and Little Russian deputies gave vent to their anger and shouted stormy protests against the government.

Interpellation of deputies Prokoš, Jaroš, and Charvát, addressed to the minister of defense, dealt with a similar subject, the sufferings of three hundred Czech teachers from Moravia. It is as follows:

"In the summer of 1915 secret instructions were issued by the military command in Vienna by which Czech school teachers from Moravia were designated as unreliable from the political viewpoint. Those who had been classified by the army draft-

ing board as unfit for service under arms and should have been permitted to carry on their teaching work were interned. They were sent first to Krapfenwald near Vienna, and later, when their number increased, were interned at Hameau near Neuwaldeg. In rough barracks, used shortly before for Russian prisoners, three hundred educated men lived a life of convicts, although they were neither condemned, nor even accused by either civil or military authorities. Their only crime was that they were Bohemian schoolteachers. Soldiers of the 59th regiment, fully armed, watched them behind barbed wire fences; no one was allowed to approach the barracks, all access to the world was cut off, and the interned men had to perform the hardest kind of manual work. Some crushed rocks, others hauled the rock in wheelbarrows, others mended roads, others felled and cut firewood and timber for themselves and for soldiers, others peeled potatoes or carried water from a spring at the bottom of a steep hill. Letters and packages were strictly censored and visits by relatives were not allowed. Even when the school authorities asked for the prisoners' services, they were not released, and when their relatives died, they could not attend the funeral. One man who was about to be married, when he was imprisoned, received permission to go to Vienna for a few hours one afternoon; under guard of a soldier he marched to the altar like a criminal. In the evening he came back, threw himself on his wooden couch and cried.

"After four months at Hameau, one-half of the prisoners were sent to Presburg, the rest to Komarno. Here in Hungary they found different commanders and their life was more bearable. But the health of many was seriously affected; some died, some are still in hospitals. Who will compensate them for their mental sufferings, who will return them peace of mind, who will make up to them for the tortured nights?

"Some of these three hundred were later taken upon recommendation of military commanders out of the suspect class and were permitted to qualify for officers in the army, but the majority are still undergoing unmerited punishment.

"Most of these teachers will some day return to the practice of their profession. Can these men be expected to train children to love Austria? Therefore, in the name of these afflicted schoolteachers and in the

name of humanity we demand full satisfaction."

More light on the barbarous conditions prevailing in Austria during the war was thrown by the interpellation of deputies Binovec, Filipinský and Stejskal in regard to the torture of political prisoners. These deputies say:

"We face today the pitiable fact that in all the military prisons awful undernourishment is the rule. In all of them prisoners, both condemned and under investigation, die in great numbers of one of the most terrible sicknesses, hunger typhoid, in other words of empty stomach. In proof of that we point to the garrison prison of Vienna in which more than fifty death sentences have been pronounced for political crimes. To be imprisoned for two years, while the government is supposed to be looking for proof of guilt, is not unusual. All decrees regulating the treatment of political prisoners are suspended; everything depends on the absolute discretion of some noncommissioned officer, and men of the highest professional and social standing are quartered with known thieves, burglars and murderers. Then for months at a time they won't get paper or pencil — something that makes these educated men desperate.

"But the most terrible feature of this regime is the constant hunger prevailing in the prison. Lately the condition has been aggravated shockingly. Those without

means to order food from restaurants, and those who are not allowed to send for food outside the prison, though able to pay for it, are virtually condemned to that most horrible of all deaths, death by slow starvation. This desperate state of affairs is aggravated by the fact that the commander of the Vienna garrison will not permit families of men under investigation to send them even the plainest of food. When a package is received at the prison for some poor inmate whose family fears that he may be hungry, it is returned, but only after long delay, so that by the time it gets back to the sender the food is spoiled. This refinement of cruelty goes so far that even medicines cannot be sent to the prisoners.

"If there is not enough food to supply persons detained in military prisons, then the government should do one of the two things: either shorten the detention of such men in every possible manner, or permit their families to send them food. In no case should it be possible that men imprisoned by the government should die of hunger.

"In conclusion the undersigned ask: 1. Are these horrible conditions known to the minister? 2. What will the minister do to have the whole situation investigated in the most impartial and strict manner and to have such regimen introduced in all these institutions as will comply with the law and with the most elementary demands of humanity?"

Two Memorable Speeches.

Dr. Adolf Stránský, deputy for Moravia in the Vienna parliament, delivered a bold speech on June 12th immediately after a wordy and empty declaration of program by Premier Clam-Martinić. It is, in part, as follows:

"If I arise to set forth the attitude of Czech deputies, I do so with feelings of regret and pain. For I think of the man who in political debates used to reply first for the Bohemians — Dr. Kramář. (Stormy applause and shouts from Czech benches.) Others of his colleagues, Dr. Rašín and leaders of the national socialists, Klofáč, Choc, Buřival, Vojna, Netolický, are not here today. (Shouts.) They were branded traitors, and their place is in various penitentiaries, instead of in parliament.

"But since the absolutist government set aside the competent judge and put in his

place a so-called court with orders not to judge, but to condemn, and since the condemnation was effected in an illegal manner, through barefaced violation of the constitution, by means of the most infamous political crime that Europe has ever seen (stormy applause on the part of Czechs), we need not pay any regard to such judgment and may confidently acclaim the condemned as friends and colleagues, the more so, since we knew very well that their crime consisted in faithfulness to their nation and to their country.

"I firmly believe that not only will these representatives of the people come out free from their jails, but that the time will come when the Austrian Petro-Pavlovsk prison will open its doors wide and the places of the political prisoners will be taken by their present enemies.

"We want to be a free and happy nation, free of every foreign domination. We want our children to be brought up in our own national culture. We want to rule ourselves, our officials must speak with our own tongue. We alone must determine our international alliances and we will not allow such alliances to be made without us and regardless of us. Above all we demand our own state. We want to see a society of free states created. This empire and this dynasty have in recent years dishonored and trodden under foot all rights and guarantees of our nation.

"The cold attitude of the Bohemians toward the Reichsrat may be explained chiefly by this that in reality we have no constitution and that this assemblage is only a fictitious and fragmentary parliament. Not only are the imprisoned deputies missing, but the places of the deceased members have not been filled. By-elections for the vacant seats have not been ordered, because the government does not want any elections. As to parliamentary immunity, the degree of its observance can best be judged by the fact that bills and interpellations are confiscated. As for personal immunity, we have no assurance that upon the adjournment of parliament we shall not be called to answer for speeches that were delivered in this place long before the war, for that is what happened to the condemned deputies. When we go away from here, the proper parting salutation will be: Goodby, fellow-representative, don't land in jail. (Laughter, applause.)

"All these arguments persuade us that in this assembly none of the great problems shall be decided that are now agitating Europe and the entire world. What is anyway the Reichsrat with its debates and controversies compared to the bloody argument that is being settled on the battlefields? Not even our reservation of the historical rights of Bohemia will solve anything; that we know. But the rights of Bohemia are not out of date, as deputy Pacher thinks; they cannot be the object of a war of words. We live in a great time, when realities cannot be held back, while appearances and lies are uncovered.

"Even the speech from the throne had its source in a bureaucratic inkwell and not in the blood of present serious realities. The speech is at fault when it seeks to set mere words against the spirit of the times which is creating a new world out of blood

and iron. At a time when all forms of constitutional life are challenged, responsibility of the crown is not limited to the responsibility of the chief of cabinet. The premier should cover the crown and not expose it to attacks and hide behind it his own political and moral weakness. We are persuaded that the day is coming when no one will come between our nation and our king when the nation and its king will face each other. The future may be obscure, but the world labors to the end that the interests of rulers should bow to the interests of the nations and that crowns should depend on the will of peoples.

"In the address from the throne the only thing of interest for the Czechs is the declaration that the emperor will not swear fidelity to the existing constitution. That means the bankruptcy of this constitution its complete eclipse. For the matter of the constitution long ago became empty and meaningless, because the fundamental laws of the state were systematically violated, jury trials were abolished and provincial diets not allowed to meet. Bohemians have for many years fought the constitution in order to win independence, democracy and freedom; they suffered innumerable persecutions that culminated in the sentences of Dr. Kramář and others. But now we say: The interests of the state do not come first. When the interests of the state and of the people are not identical then the people will not recognize the right of the state to existence.

Deputy Waldner cries: "Aha, now we know it."

"The whole world is now convinced that this view is right. But in the address from the throne we find the same old principle from the days of Joseph II., namely that the state comes first and the people follow while in the declaration of the premier we heard today the same ideas. Modern democracy stands on a very different basis. The people are first and the state second. The State is only a means for the attainment of the aims of the individual nations. Therefore we see the world ready to conclude only such a peace as will rest on the sure foundation of satisfied peoples. For such peace only will be lasting.

"As far as the Polish problem is concerned, we will not examine into the question how far today when the political resurrection of Poland is in the air can the autonomy of Galicia be squared with th

right of nations to self-determination. It is of course possible that Galicia will be granted this larger share of self-government. But if Count Clam imagines that we would ever sit in a parliament in which Polish deputies would not participate in their full number, he is greatly mistaken. We will not submit to force. Should the Poles attain independence — and we hope from the bottom of our hearts that they will — and we should be left here at the mercy of greater numbers, it would be the end of this Reichsrat.

“We demanded in our formal reservation that when new political forms are created, regard should be had to the closely related Slovak branch of our nation, living across the boundaries of our historical fatherland. We have done that upon the supposition that here also the final word lies with the free and untrammelled decision of three million of Slovaks and not with our own ardent desires and interests.

“We should be faithless to the moral foundation of our program, if we thought of its realization upon any other basis than the complete, unambiguous, and secured guarantees that full racial freedom and autonomy of Germans in our country shall be safe and their national honor unimpaired.

“What we ask for the Slovaks, applies to Poles, Little Russians, Roumanians, Jugoslavs and Italians. There is only one political program for them all — the free determination of these nations.”

Newspapers in this country have displayed prominently what to them must have been a startling pronouncement of a former Austrian minister, namely quotations from a speech by Karel Prášek, Czech agrarian deputy and formerly the Czech representative in the Austrian cabinet. He said, as quoted in American papers: “How can we obtain peace, if we continue to cling to Germany? The hatred of the entire world is directed not against Austria, but against Germany. Shall we continue to sacrifice our interests for German expansion? Shall we continue to support German militarism which drew us into this war? Czech deputies are still in prison for struggling for an alliance of Austria with France and Russia. Their viewpoint is at present ours. If you call them traitors, you should call us too traitors. We are all traitors.”

These were bold words to be uttered even in parliament, when that parliament is dependent on German bayonets. But lest it should be thought that Prášek cared for the interests of Austria, rather than of Bohemia, when he advocated a separation from Germany, let us quote the remainder of his speech, as given in the *Echo de Paris*. Speaking of the Seidler cabinet, deputy Prášek said:

“This ministry admits that it is provisional and transitory. It is in effect a pitiable makeshift, an eloquent expression of the difficulties in which the Austrian bureaucracy finds itself. But when the cabinet calls itself the national ministry, we have to declare that a majority of the people are not represented therein. The Bohemian nation takes good care not to ask for a place in the cabinet. It has definitely given up all thought of sending one or two of its deputies to play the role of fools in a German centralist ministry. The Bohemian nation is grown up and it holds together all its forces in order to conquer independence. For that task she needs every one of her children. It will support no Austrian government that will not declare for the destruction of dualism and the complete autonomy of all its oppressed nations, in Austria and Hungary alike. We shall fight to final victory to bring down a regime by which two minorities, the Germans and the Magyars, oppress all other nations. God be thanked; those two nations will not stop the progress of the world.”

A short quotation from the speech of a priest deputy may be of some interest. Father Zahradník, a Czech agrarian deputy and member of the Order of Premonstratensians, related in parliament a conversation he had with Premier Stuergh three weeks before his assassination by Dr. Adler. “I reproached him for all the evil he had done to the Czech people and to the whole monarchy. Your Excellency, I asked, do you believe in God? Do you believe in His justice? I call you before his tribunal, you and the other members of the government. God whom I serve will punish the guilty; He will defend and protect my people and will give them final victory and deliverance.”

This speech called forth applause and enthusiasm from all the Slav benches and violent protests from the ranks of the Germans.

*Police Rule in Bohemia.**

By D. Thomas Curtin

In his speech to the Senate President Wilson said: "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . No nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

The realization of these admirable sentiments presents infinite problems in various sections of Europe, but nowhere, perhaps, more than in Austria-Hungary. In his heterogeneous collection of peoples, the old Emperor had to make a choice between two courses in order to hold his thirteen distinct races together in one Empire. He could have tried to make them politically contented through freedom to manage their own affairs while owing allegiance to the Empire as a whole, or he could suppress the individual people to such an extent that he would have unity by force.

He chose the second course. With the Germans dominant in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, other nations have been scientifically subjugated. As in the case of the procedure of "Preventive Arrest" in Germany, the authorities seek to work smoothly and silently, with the result that only an occasional echo reaches the outside world.

The description of the relations of the various peoples and the "Unity-Machine" employed would fill a large book. Control of public opinion has been the first action of the rulers of the Dual Monarchy. In peace time, not only were the suppressed nations, such as the Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Poles, Slovenes, Italians, but all the citizens of Austria-Hungary, denied the right of free speech and freedom of the Press. Some of the regulations by which the Government held absolute sway over its subjects are:

(1) No newspaper or other printing business could be established until a heavy de-

posit was made with the police for the payment of fines, such fines to be arbitrarily imposed by the police—in whom is vested extraordinary power—when anything political was written which did not please them. They are difficult to please, I may add.

(2) A complete copy of each edition must be sent to the police before it was put on sale. "Good" editors whose inspiration was of a nature to enable them to interpret the wishes of the Government, sometimes received a dispensation from this formality.

(3) No club might hold a private meeting. A representative of the police must be present. This rule was often extended even to friendly gatherings in private homes in such places as Bohemia.

(4) No political meeting might be held without a permit, and a representative of the police must be present. Often he sat on the platform. It is amusing for the visitor from a free country to attend a political meeting where the chairman, speaker and policeman file up on the stage to occupy the three chairs reserved for them. The policeman may be heard by those in the front rows continually cautioning the speaker. If he thinks the speaker is talking too freely he either intervenes through the chairman and asks him to be moderate or dismisses the meeting.

These regulations, I again remind the reader, were in force in peace time. It is easy to see how an extension of them effectually checks attempts of the Czechs (Bohemians) and other peoples to legislate themselves into a little freedom.

When I came to England early in the war from Austria-Hungary and Germany I heard many expressions of hope that the discontented races in the Empire of Francis Joseph would rebel, and later expressions of surprise that they did not. Englishmen held the opinion that such races would be decidedly averse from fighting for the Hapsburgs. The opinion was correct, and nobody knew this better than the Hapsburgs themselves.

Like the German Government in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, the Austrian Government has endeavored to mislead public

*Reprinted from Mr. Curtin's book "The Land of Deepening Shadow", by permission of Geo. H. Doran Co.

opinion in foreign countries as to the state of mind of the Czechs by false information and to conceal the true military and political situation from the population at home. Austria's first problem at the outbreak of war — a problem which has been worked out to the last detail — was rapidly to move the soldiers of the subjugated races from their native lands. Since the Bosnians, for example, are of the Serbian race, they were mobilized secretly in the middle of July and sent out of Bosnia. I saw 30,000 moved through Trieste several days before war was declared on Serbia. A German acquaintance, with great shipping interests, enthusiastically indiscreet at sight of them, exclaimed to the little group of which I was one: "A wonderful system — a wonderful system! The Bosnians could not be trusted to fight the Serbs. But we Germans can use them if they prove troublesome to Austria," he continued excitedly. "We can send them against the French. We will tell them that if they do not shoot the French, we will shoot them." I thought this a rather curious conversation for July 25th, 1914.

Less than a fortnight later I saw two Bohemian regiments arrive at Brasso, Transylvania, the province farthest removed from their homes, to be garrisoned in a region, the population of which is Rumanian, Hungarian and Saxon. I was told later that the Rumanians who had left the garrisons at Brasso had gone to Bohemia. As I observed these initial steps in the great smooth-running Austro-Hungarian military machine, I was impressed with the impossibility of revolution. With the soldier element scientifically broken up and scattered all over the country, who could revolt — the women and children?

The Slav soldiers of Austria-Hungary desert to Russia at every opportunity. The fact that she now has upwards of 1,200,000 Austro-Hungarian prisoners is sufficient refutation of the sugar-coated propaganda describing how all the peoples who make up Austria-Hungary rushed loyally and enthusiastically to arms to the defence of their Emperor and common country. This is perfectly true of the politically dominant races, the Germans and the Magyars, but the "enthusiasm" I witnessed among the subjugated races consisted chiefly of sad-faced soldiers and weeping women.

The Bohemians have given most trouble. One German officer told me that he didn't worry over the desertion of Bohemians sin-

gly and in small groups. He expected that. But he did take serious exception to the increasingly popular custom of whole battalions with their officers and equipment passing over to the Russian lines intact.

The story of the Bohemian regiment trapped in the Army of Leopold of Bavaria is generally known in Austria. When the staff learned that this regiment planned to cross to the Russians on a certain night, three Bavarian regiments, well equipped with machine-guns, were set to trap it. Contrary to usual procedure, the Bohemians were induced by the men impersonating the Russians to lay down their arms as an evidence of good faith before crossing. The whole regiment was then rounded up and marched to the rear, where a public example was made of it. The officers were shot. Then every tenth man was shot. The Government, in order to circumvent any unfavorable impression which this act might make in Bohemia, caused to be read each day for three days in the schools a decree of the Emperor, condemning the treachery of this regiment, the number of which was ordered forever to be struck from the military rolls of the Empire.

During the terrific fighting at Baranowitchi in the great Russian offensive last summer, at a time when the Russians repeatedly but unsuccessfully stormed that important railway junction, some Prussian units found their right flank unsupported one morning at dawn, because two Bohemian battalions had changed flags during the night. The next Russian attack caused the Prussians to lose 48 per cent of their men.

This was the final straw for the Staff of Leopold's Army. An Order was issued explaining to the troops that henceforth no more Czechs would have the honor of doing first line duty, since their courage was not of as high a degree as that of the others. I found that the Prussians, despite their depleted state, actually believed this explanation, which filled them with pride in themselves and contempt for the Czechs.

But the German officers in charge of reorganizing the Austro-Hungarian Army were not content to let Bohemians perform safe duties in the rear. Consequently, they diluted them until no regiment contained more than 20 per cent.

The authorities have been no less thorough with the civilian population. From the day of mobilization all political life was suspended. The three parties of the Oppo-

sition, the Radicals, the National-Socialists, and the Progressives, were annihilated and their newspapers suppressed. Their leaders, such men as Kramarzh, Rasin, Klofatch, Scheiner, Mazaryk, Durich, the men who served as guides to the nation, were imprisoned or exiled. This is surely a violation of the principle that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, for all these men were true representatives of the people. The fact that the Government was obliged to get rid of the leaders of the nation shows what the real situation in Bohemia is.

The Czech deputies who were considered dangerous, numbering forty, were mobilized. They were not all sent to the front; some were allowed temporary exemption; but the Government gave them to understand that the slightest act of hostility towards the Monarchy on their part would result in their being called up immediately and sent to the front.

The fetters of the Press were drawn more tightly. Even the German papers were not allowed into Bohemia. For some months, two or three enterprising editors used to send a representative to Dresden to read the German and English papers there. At present three-quarters of the Czech papers and all the Slovak newspapers have been suppressed. The columns of those which are still allowed to appear in Bohemia and Moravia are congested by mandates of the police and the military authorities, which the editors are compelled to insert. Recently the Government censorship has been particularly active against books, collections of national songs, and post-cards. It has even gone so far as to confiscate scientific works dealing with Slav questions, Dostoyevski's novels, the books of Tolstoi and Millioukoff, and collections of purely scientific Slav study and histories.

The Government, however, have had to proceed to far greater lengths. By May, 1916, the death sentences of civilians pronounced in Austria since the beginning of the war exceeded 4,000. Of these, 965 were Czechs. A large proportion of the condemned were women. The total of soldiers executed amounts to several thousands.

Is it not peculiar that among people which the Viennese propaganda represents as loyal, hostages are taken in Bohemia, and condemned to death, under the threat of execution if a popular movement takes place? The people are told of this and

are given to understand that the hostages have hopes for mercy if all is quiet.

Not only have the authorities confiscated the property of all persons convicted of political offenses and of all Czechs who have fled from Austria-Hungary, but a system has been established by which the property of Czech soldiers who are prisoners in Russia is confiscated. The State profits doubly by this measure, for it further suppresses the allowances made to the families of these soldiers. In order to terrorize its adversaries through such measures, the Government instructs the Austrian newspapers to publish long lists of confiscations and other penalties.

After a time, however, the Austrian Government practically abdicated in favor of the Prussians and now undertake to carry out the measures of Germanization dictated by Berlin. The rights in connection with the use of the Czech language in administration, in the Law Courts and on the railways, rights which were won by the desperate efforts of two generations of Czech politicians, have been abrogated. The management of the railways has been placed in the hands of Prussian military officials; the use of the Czech language has been suppressed in the administration, where it had formerly been lawful. The Czechs have been denied access to the Magistrature and to public offices where they had occasionally succeeded in directing the affairs in their own country.

"No life is safe, no happiness is safe, there is no chance of bettering life until we have made an end to all that causes war . . .

"We have to put an end to the folly and vanity of kings, and to any people ruling any people but themselves. There is no convenience, there is no justice in any people ruling any people but themselves; the ruling of men by others who have not their creeds and their languages and their ignorances and prejudices, that is the fundamental folly that has killed Teddy and Hugh—and these millions.

"To end that folly is as much our duty and business as telling the truth and earning a living..."

H. G. Wells: Mr. Britling Sees It Through.

The Sioux City Journal in telling about the share of the Middle West and its many immigrants in the sacrifices required by the war has this to say about the Czechs: "Bohemians have not been satisfied to do even the things that were expected of them as adopted children of America; they have gone farther with schemes of their own to show a spirit of sacrifice greater than that."

Declaration of Bohemian Independence.

We place ourselves before the political public at a moment when the retreat of the victorious Russian army is being used by opponents politically against Russia and her Allies. We take the side of the fighting Slav nations and their Allies, without regard to victory or defeat, because right is on their side. The problem which side is right in this fatal war is a question of principle and of political morals, a question which at present no honest and sincere statesman, no conscientious and thinking nation can evade. Yet we are prompted to come forward by warm feelings of Slav union. We wish to express hearty sympathy to our Serbian and Russian brothers and to brother Poles, who are so cruelly afflicted by this war. We believe in the final victory of Slavs and their Allies. We are convinced that this victory will be for the benefit of all Europe and all humanity. This victory will not be checked by anti-Slav treachery of the Bulgarian king and his government.

We shall not discuss the whole situation, created by the war. We shall only explain briefly the position of the Bohemian people, the Czechs, as they call themselves.

The Bohemian nation having by its free choice called to the throne a king of the Hapsburg family, entered into a union with Hungary and German Austria; but the dynasty through gradual centralization and germanization aimed at the construction of a single state with arbitrary government, thus violating its agreement to maintain the internal and external independence of the Bohemian state. The Bohemian people exhausted by the European and Hapsburg counter-reformation were for a long time unable to withstand the oppression, until the great revival came at the end of the eighteenth century, culminating in the revolution of 1848. The revolution was suppressed, rights conceded to the people of Austria, and principally to the Bohemians, were taken back and absolutism reigned once more, until the disastrous war of 1859 compelled the granting of an imperfect constitutional regime. Magyars obtained from Vienna what they demanded, but all that the Bohemians got were solemn promises, never fulfilled. The Bohemian people,

Published originally in November, 1915, and reprinted because of its present-day significance.

through their representatives, preserved for a long time the attitude of passive opposition, later entered the new parliament, but both in the central parliament and in the diets, demanded their historical rights and a reconstitution of the monarchy on a federalistic basis as against the German-Magyar dualism. All attempts to reach an agreement with the empire were frustrated by the rapacity and intolerance of Germans and Magyars.

The present war has intensified the antagonism between the people of Bohemia and the Austro-Hungarian empire. War was declared without the approval of the parliament; every other country participating in the war, has laid the momentous decision before the representatives of the nation, but Vienna government was afraid to listen to the voice of the Austrian peoples, because the majority would have been against the war. The Bohemian representatives would have protested most vigorously; therefore the government did not consult a single Bohemian deputy or leader before taking the momentous step.

The recent history of the Bohemian People shows plainly the great stress, laid by the Bohemians upon the Slav idea. And so in this war, which found the Czechs totally unprepared, just as it did every other peace loving nation, from the very beginning in spite of the incredible terrorism with which every manifestation of the real sentiments of the people was suppressed, sympathy for Russians, Serbians and their Allies was universal. Declarations in favor of Austria were engineered and extorted by the government. Today Bohemian leaders are in jail; an imbecile government enforces obedience by hangings, and Bohemian regiments are decimated, because they spontaneously acted in accordance with the unanimous sentiment of the Bohemian people. The rights of the Bohemian language are ruthlessly violated and curtailed, as the war is going on. Military power overrides all laws and treats the Bohemian lands, and all non-German and non-Magyar districts, as conquered provinces. Bohemian publications are confiscated and suppressed for expressing their opinion, whereas our national enemies are allowed to inveigh against the Bohemian people, and Vienna and Budapest encourage pan-Germanic excesses in

the spirit of La Garde, von Hartmann, Mommsen, Treitschke.

In this extremity the Bohemian people can no longer keep silence.

A foreign committee has been formed of Bohemians living beyond the boundaries of their native country, aiming to inform the world of the real facts, to interpret to the statesmen, political leaders and journalists of the Allies and the neutral states the desire of the Bohemian people, and to champion the Bohemian program. All Bohemian political parties have up to this time been fighting for a qualified independence within the limits of Austria-Hungary. But the events of this terrible war and the reckless violence of Vienna constrain us to claim independence without regard to Austria-Hungary.

We ask for an independent Czecho-Slovak State.

The Bohemian people are now convinced that they must strike out for themselves. Austria was defeated not only by Russia, but by the little, despised Serbia, and is now a dependency of Germany. Today Berlin has galvanized this corpse, but it is the last effort. Austria-Hungary has abdicated. We have lost all confidence in its vitality; it has no longer any reason for existence. By its incapacity, by its voluntary subordination to Germany it has convinced the whole world that the former belief in the mission of Austria is out of date, forever overthrown by the European war. Those who defended the usefulness, even the necessity of Austria-Hungary, and at one time the great Bohemian historian and Statesman Palacký was one of them, thought of Austria as a federal system of nations and lands with equal rights. But Austria-Hungary as a dualistic monster became the oppressor of all who were not Germans or Magyars. It is a standing threat to the peace of Europe, a mere tool of Germany seeking conquest in the East, a state having no destiny of its own, unable to construct an organic state composed of a number of equal, free, progressive races. The dynasty, living in its traditions of absolutism, manages to maintain the semblance of the former world power through the undemocratic co-operation of a sterile nobility, a bureaucracy that belongs to no race and a body of army officers that is against every race.

No one doubts any longer that Austria-Hungary had no justification in the Sara-

jevo murders for its attack on Serbia; Vienna and Budapest merely carried out their anti-Slavic plans, which came out so shamelessly in the political trials of a number of Serbians. In these trials of Southern Slavs Vienna and Budapest were not ashamed to use documents forged by the Austro-Hungarian legation. War is merely the culmination of this lying policy of Vienna and Budapest. Falsehood is now followed by vindictiveness and cruelty almost barbarous toward all non-German and non-Magyar peoples.

Germany shares the guilt of Austria-Hungary. It had the power and it was its duty to civilization and humanity to prevent the war, but it chose to profit by the imperialistic frivolities of the Viennese adventurers.

Austro-Hungary and Germany, with their Turkish ally, are fighting for a cause that is evil and already lost.

Bohemian (Czech) Foreign Committee:

Prof. Dr. T. G. Masaryk, deputy, former member of the delegations, chairman of the Independent Czech Deputies Club from Bohemia and Moravia in Austrian Parliament.

Jos. Durich, deputy, president of the "Komenský" Society for the support of Czech schools in Vienna.

B. Čermák, president Union of Czecho-Slovak Societies in Russia, Petrograd.

Bohdan Pavlů, editor Czechoslovak, Petrograd, Russia.

Francois Kupka, president Czech National Alliance in France, Paris.

Dr. Leo Sychrava, editor Československá Samostatnost, Geneva, Switzerland.

J. Sýkora, president Czech National Alliance in Great Britain, London.

Executive of the Czechs and Slovaks in United States and Canada:

Bohemian National Alliance of America: (National Office, Chicago) Dr. L. J. Fisher, president.

Joseph Tvrzický-Kramer, secretary.

Vojta Beneš, organizer.

Charles Pergler, LLB., author and lawyer, Cresco, Ia.

Slovak League in America: National Office, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Albert Mamatey, pres.

Ivan Daxner, secretary.

PARIS, LONDON, PETROGRAD, CHICAGO, NEW YORK.

Nov. 14, 1915.

Current Topics.

BOHEMIAN CATHOLICS CO-OPERATE

A great event in the history of the Bohemian National Alliance of America was the manifesto of July 4th by which the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics became a part of the movement aiming at the liberation of Bohemia.

Since the very foundation of the Bohemian National Alliance in August, 1914, this organization gladly accepted into its membership all people of Czech descent, whatever their political and religious convictions may have been. A number of Catholics and even some priests became earnest supporters of the Alliance, but on the whole the Catholics stood apart, limiting their efforts to the collection of a large fund to be used for the relief of misery caused by the war in Bohemia.

Early in 1917, after the Allies had made the independence of Bohemia part of their program, Bohemian Catholics at a large mass-meeting in Chicago determined to take an active part in the great work that still remained to be done, before the ardent desire of all Czechs could be realized. In addition to their Cyril-Methodius Relief Fund Committee they organized the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics with the purpose of helping to liberate Bohemia. After the entrance of the United States into the European war the relief work was necessarily put aside and all emphasis placed on obtaining political independence for the old home beyond the seas. Officers of the Catholic Alliance, which grew very rapidly, entered into negotiations with the Central Committee of the older organization, and agreement was reached which after proper ratification was made public on Independence Day.

The separate existence of the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics is not affected by the pact; in fact there will be a friendly rivalry between the older organization and the Catholic body as to the number of branches created and the amount of money collected. But for all practical purposes they combine to carry on under the name of the Bohemian National Alliance to successful completion the difficult task of gaining freedom for their kin in Europe.

The publication of the agreement was received with great enthusiasm by all Bohemian-speaking people in the United States. For not only does it strengthen the movement for independence of Bohemia, but it helps to cast down the wall that has for decades separated Czech Catholics and non-Catholics in America.

In chronicling further the activities of the Bohemian National Alliance we have to record here several important national fetes arranged by various branches. In Cedar Rapids, on the Fourth of July a celebration was held to manifest the devotion of the Bohemian-born citizens to the United States in which Catholics took a prominent part, as the first fruits of their earnest co-operation. On the same day the Czechs in Baltimore paraded in large

numbers through the business section of the city in honor of the "Day We Celebrate".

A tremendous outpouring of people of Bohemian descent was witnessed in Cleveland at the Bohemian Day on July 15, when 12,000 persons paid admission fee to the grounds where amid scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm resolutions were adopted assuring the President of the loyalty and devotion of the Bohemian people. The speaker of the day was Professor Šárka Hrbkova, a member of the State Council of Defense of Nebraska. On that day also the Hudson County (N. J.) branch of the Alliance held a national fete at which the chief attraction was Arthur G. Empey, author of "Over the Gap", and bomber and machine gunner of the British army, in addition to speakers from New York, among them Chas. Pergler, general director of the Slav Press Bureau. Full reports of the events of the day were furnished to the local papers by the corresponding secretary of the branch, J. L. Trnka.

The anniversary day of the greatest son of Bohemia, John Hus, was remembered in Chicago by a memorial meeting, held in the Carter H. Harrison High School, July 6th. Dean Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago and Vojta Beneš were the speakers.

The recruiting posters, drawn by Vojtěch Pressig and published by the Slav Press Bureau, were honored by being included among a traveling exhibit of the best recruiting posters issued in America since the outbreak of the war.

Resolutions for Bohemian independence, which had been previously adopted in a number of large cities were approved during July in Baltimore, Detroit, Cedar Rapids and Schenectady.

The event which aroused the greatest interest among the Bohemian-speaking people of America was the distinguished part taken in the brief Russian offensive by the Czecho-Slovak brigade. In the name of Czechs and Slovaks of America five thousand dollars were at once sent to Minister Kerensky with a cablegram requesting him to use the sum for the relief of the wounded of the brigade.

PRESIDENT JUDSON'S MESSAGE

At the John Hus memorial meeting, held in Chicago on July 6th, President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago was to be the principal speaker. At the last moment his duties as member of the Council of National Defense called him to Washington. He sent a telegram which was read at the meeting and was received with genuine enthusiasm. It is given herewith:

Cordial greetings to my American fellow citizens of Bohemian descent!

Americanism is not determined by race or place of birth, but by loyalty to the constitution of the United States and by willingness to give all that one has, even his life, in the defense of his land.

By that test there are no better Americans than those who trace their parentage to Bohemia.

We are engaged in war against a far reaching plot to dominate the world by Prussianism. The forces are the same which have crushed freedom in Bohemia and Moravia. There can be no secure peace until these forces are utterly defeated and secure guarantees are had which will prevent a renewal of the attack.

It must be made impossible for Prussian power to hold the road to Constantiople and Bagdad. One of the most effective bars would be a Czecho-Slovak state and that free state, I confidently hope, will emerge from the contest.

The ancient glories of the Bohemian people will flower anew in a free democracy which will always be found in close ties of friendship with our Republic on this side of the Ocean.

Hail to that day!

Harry Pratt Judson.

BOHEMIA IN THE AMERICAN PRESS.

A few months ago, when the Bohemian Review was born, an editorial on Bohemia in an American daily paper was an event; today it is an every day occurrence. Before the war is over, probably every one of the hundred and ten million Americans will know what the Czechs demand and why the United States should support that one of the war aims of the Allies which is stated in their historical peace terms note to be "the liberation of Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination."

It will probably be of some interest to our readers to catalogue here such of the editorial articles as came under the notice of the editor of the Review during the month of July. They are as follows:

Brooklyn Eagle: Why the Czechs Desert from Austrian Army.

Flint (Mich.) Journal: Bohemia.

Cedar Rapids (Ia.) Times: In Slavic Austria.

Pasadena (Cal.) Star: Bohemia.

Long Beach (Cal.) Press: Woes and Hopes of Bohemia.

El Centro (Cal.) Press: Bohemia.

Monrovia (Cal.) News: Bohemia and Ireland.

Grand Rapids Press: Oppressed Bohemia.

New Bedford Standard: The Czecho-Slovaks.

Norfolk (Neb.) News: Czechs and Austrians.

Detroit News: Austria's Dilemma.

Syracuse Standard: The Czech Revolt.

Hays (Kans) Press: The Czechs.

Leavenworth (Kans.) Post: Tschekhoslovatski.

Chicago Journal: The Austrian Muddle.

Providence Journal: Czechs Fighting for Russia.

Indianapolis Star: Czechs and Slavs at the Front.

Madison (Wis.) Democrat: Czech Revolt Bearing Fruit.

Hutchinson (Kans.) News: The Slovaks.

Schenectady Gazette: Applies to the Present.
Seattle Post Intelligencer: Czecho-Slovak Liberty, and Death Troops.

Cedar Rapids Republican: Bohemians in Russia's Drive.

Boston Herald: The Peace Cry in Austria.

Helena Independent: A Wrong that needs Righting.

Albany Argus: Czechs and Slovaks.

It is impossible to indicate the number of news items of Bohemia of the Czech struggles that appeared in the papers during the last months. There were hundreds of them. But one cannot omit mentioning a feature article by Isaac Don Levine in the New York Tribune, entitled: The Birth of New Nations — Bohemian, and published also in the Milwaukee Journal; further a lengthy article in the Detroit News Tribune by Geo. B. Catlin: Germans Persecute Slavs and Czechs in Dual Empire. Also a long cable in the St. Louis Republic by Norman Hapgood in which he gives credit for his detailed information on conditions in Austria to the "excellent Bohemian organizations in Paris and London."

This list does not include editorial articles dealing with the Austrian situation and discussing as a part of it the Bohemian problem.

NEW BOOKS

The Battle of the Somme. By JOHN BUCHAN. Geo. H. Doran Co., New York.

John Buchan has been known to hundreds of thousands as a novelist; here he appears in the role of a strategist. The battle of the Somme, the bloodiest struggle so far in all history, has in him an excellent chronicler. He brings to the description of the minute and highly technical details of the long drawn-out contest his skill of an accomplished master of English and the professional knowledge of a staff officer. The book is copiously illustrated by photographs and maps.

It will interest every one who is interested in the outcome of the great war. The story is an eloquent testimonial to the gigantic energy of the British general staff.

The Land of Deepening Shadow. By D. THOMAS CURTIN. Geo. H. Doran Co., New York.

Experiences of an American reporter in Germany from 1915 to end of 1916. An extremely fascinating book describing the gradual exhaustion of Germany under the strain of war. A reader who has lived in Germany and Austria and knows the working of the two governments feels convinced that Mr. Curtin has indeed caught the very spirit of the Teutonic regime. To readers of Bohemian descent the most interesting chapter will be the one on Police Rule in Bohemia, which is reprinted in this issue of the Review by permission of the publishers. But the whole book is based on first hand information and reveals the growing weakness of German militarism.

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GMT
OCT 15 1917

The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

October, 1917

*Permanent Peace
and Austria-
Hungary.*

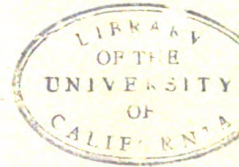
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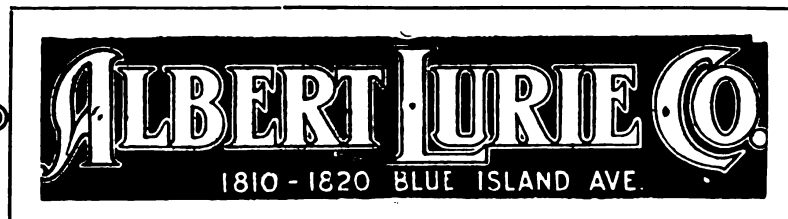
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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 9.

OCTOBER 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Permanent Peace and Austria-Hungary.

(From an address delivered by Charles Pergler on September 6th at the Minneapolis Conference on Labor and Democracy).

Austria-Hungary is organized violence. There is no common bond between the various elements forming this empire except the person of the sovereign and the bureaucracy, and in modern times this is not sufficient to justify the existence of any state. Indeed, the Austrian problem is the crucial problem of the war, and without its solution the war will have been fought in vain. The fact that it has become somewhat obscured, that the world, in its abhorrence of Prussian militarism, is forgetting that older than the despotism of the Hohenzollerns is the autocracy of the Hapsburgs, does not do away with the correctness of this contention. It calls simply for more stress upon the Austrian phase of the various questions fronting the world. It would be height of inconsistency to smash Hohenzollern rule and to permit the even worse Hapsburg government to continue.

"Until Germany is made either powerless or free, I do not think the peace of Europe can be secured," declared recently Lord Balfour. Until Austria is dismembered, until the Hapsburgs are sent to oblivion, just so long the peace of the world is not secure.

Before the Hohenzollerns came to real power, the Hapsburgs had been engaged in their trade of murder and robbery for centuries. Their attempted Germanization of Bohemia in the seventeenth century and suppression of the last semblance of freedom of thought in Central Europe at the same time, prepared the ground for the modern German schemes of Middle Europe and world dominion.

The Hapsburgs not only permitted, but actually encouraged a division of the Austro-Hungarian empire into two parts, in one of which the non-German nationalities were turned over to the untender mercies of the German minority, while in the other,

the Magyars reigned supreme, Magyarizing the Slavs and Roumanians, and endeavoring to make veritable slaves and helots of them. It is a partnership in crime on a tremendous scale. This partnership in crime will not be voluntarily dissolved, for Germans and Magyars will never surrender the position of privileged and ruling nations in Austria-Hungary. Even if they should give way partially and concede a measure of autonomy to the non-German and non Magyar nationalities, this would be merely temporary. As soon as the Allied armies disband, what is there to prevent the Germans and Magyars in resuming their old methods with the support of Berlin? If there is to be permanent peace, the Hapsburgs must go, and Austria must vanish from the roll of existing states.

In some ways, the Hapsburg dynasty is much more conservative than the House of Hohenzollern. The latter at least endeavored to aid the economic and social development of the German nation by means of social amelioration and economic improvement. But the Hapsburg policy was ever dictated by empty dynastic ambitions, resulting in all sorts of intrigues with the military and court camarilla, this in turn again resulting in the disruption of the economic life of the monarchy and impoverishment of the various Austrian nationalities.

If the Hohenzollerns are uncompromisingly opposed to modern democratic ideas, it cannot be maintained directly or indirectly that the Hapsburgs even remotely favor anything savoring of democracy.

The Hapsburgs are adepts in juggling with constitutions and in making promises, but they are still more expert in violating their pledges and oaths. The short-lived relatively democratic constitution of 1848

of all these high treason prosecutions. For that right all our great men fought up to this day. Death had no terrors for them. The Bohemian people fight in this war for the right to dispose of themselves and for the liberty of Slavs. For that ideal we have fought and suffered, and for it we shall go on fighting until the end."

How proud are the descendants of Bohemia in these United States of the noble

courage of their kinsmen in the old country. The same love of liberty that actuated the heroes of the American Revolution is at the bottom of the boldness and the sacrifices of the Czechs. They are the leaders in revolt of the other oppressed Slavs of Austria. The sympathy of every liberty-loving American should be extended to the rebels of Bohemia.

Italy, the Friend of Bohemia.

The nation whose exploits have aroused so much admiration in the last two years, the nation of mountain-climbing soldiers, the nation of great engineers, the cradle of western culture, is passing through her hour of trial. Austria alone she was able to defeat, but a combined Austro-German attack overwhelmed her for the moment. The whole world, outside of the German alliance, watches with bated breath the great struggle now going on in the plains of Venetia and prays that once more the descendants of the Romans, aided by their western allies, may stop the descent of the northern barbarians, the modern Huns. But no people watches the struggle more anxiously and with such intense sympathy as the Czechs, whether those living in their native land or those scattered throughout Europe and America.

There are many ties that bind the people of Bohemia to the sons of Italy, but none so strong at this time as the consciousness that they both have the same deadly enemy — the empire of the Hapsburgs. For three centuries the Czechs have suffered under the yoke of the foreigner; for nearly two centuries the same haughty, cruel foreigner held down Italy, a mere geographical expression, as he called it, and laughed at her aspirations to lead her own, free, national life. The great epic of modern Italy is its successful fight to throw off the domination of the hated Tedescos; the heroes Italy worships are the men who were leaders in the long drawn out fight against Austria. And still the obstacle to Italy's complete unification is the same dynastic, monstrous survival from the Middle Ages, the Austro-Hungarian empire. The present situation in Venetia is a demonstration of the constant danger which Austria constitutes to the very existence of a strong Italy. Others, France, England, United States, look upon

Germany as their dangerous antagonist; Italy knows that her inveterate enemy is Austria.

One would expect that a rapprochement would have occurred long ago between the great people of Italy and the smaller Czech nation. But before the war, and even for a time after Italy joined the Allies, there was little contact between the two peoples. Of course, Bohemia owes much to the genius of Italy. Bohemian art, her learning, her literature, received its inspiration from beyond the Alps. And even in politics the influence of the greater nation made itself felt in the affairs of the far-off Slavs. In 1848 young Rieger, who was destined to be the leader of the Czechs for many decades, rushed to Vienna from Rome inspired by the ideals of Young Italy to direct the struggles of his newly awakened nation on the same lines. Garibaldi has been a name to swear by in Bohemia, and the Sokols, the great national institution of the Czech nation adopted the red shirts of the Garibaldians for their uniforms. But as international relations came to shape themselves after 1878, Bohemia necessarily ceased to look to Italy as a possible ally; the French and Russians became the hope of the Slavs in their never-ending fight against German violence.

This unfortunate state of affairs made its influence felt even after the war had shaken up all Europe and created an entirely new situation. The wonderful campaign conducted abroad by escaped Czech leaders, supported by emigrants in Europe and America, for the purpose of breaking for good the Austrian fetters was directed principally at the gaining of the good will of France, England, and Russia. Italy did not at first receive the attention due to her, and not being sufficiently informed of the

sentiments of the Czechs did not champion their claims. It is due principally to the labors of Dr. Edward Beneš, general secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris, who made several trips to Rome and indefatigably wrote, interviewed, beseeched the officials and the leaders of public opinion, that today Bohemia's claim to independence has no warmer friend and champion than the Italian nation.

During the year just past Italian journals and reviews have paid much attention to the situation in Bohemia; through their enterprise much came out that the Austrian censor would have liked to keep to himself, and the opinions they expressed editorially were very favorable to the aspirations of the Czechoslovaks. It was the Italian minister Bissolati who first of the responsible statesmen of the Allied countries demanded in October 1916 the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the liberation of its subject races, among whom he named the Czechs. Even today, when Bohemia has so many warm sympathizers in France, England, Russia and the United States, Italy is the only country in which friends of Bohemia have created their own organization for the express purpose of aiding the fight for Czechoslovak liberation. The recent culmination of these flourishing Italo-Bohemian relations was a dinner tendered to Dr. Beneš in Rome, September 30, by the Italian friends of Bohemia.

It was a weighty assemblage that gathered on that day in the halls of the "Unione Economica Nazionale per le Nuove Provincie d'Italia." The government was represented by minister U. Comandini, a statesman who had on many occasions manifested his friendly sentiments for the Czech people and who is an outright champion of free Bohemia. Parliament had several of its prominent members there: senators Esterle and Wollemborg, deputies Torre, di Cesaro, Federzoni, Murri, Zanella, Ghilianovic; there was the vice-president of the Italian Committee for Bohemian Independence, Counsellor Scodnik, with the secretaries of the Committee, Dr. Scarpa and Dr. Russo; there was Col. Marchetti of the General Staff, Franzetti of the Rome City Council, counsellors Della Vida, Segre, Rosmini, Palmeri, Scalabrini, Bruno, Ravasini, Bellini, Sella, professors Palin, Valentini, Grassi and Tolomei, attorneys Callegari, Marcocchia, Persico and Riccaboni, eng. Frazia and Lanino, Count San Miniato, captains Mas-

tellove. Dirilio and Orlando, lieutenants Cappeletti, Galvan, Scampicchio and Dandone, doctors Ricci, Mazzoleni, Megozzi, Scala, Bellen, Muratti, chevalier Liebman and chev. Rubliani, eng. Luzzatti, eng. Fogolin, prof. Bonfante. Newspapers were represented by Berganini for the *Giornale d'Italia*, Pascazio for the *Fronte Interno*, Petrai for the *Messaggero*, Tato for the *Agenzia Stefani*, Ravasini for the *Agenzia Volta*, Chiarapa for the *Agenzia Nazionale della Stampa*, Poloni for the *Popolo d'Italia*. Among authors present were Mantica, Hodnig, Premuti, Maria Rygier, etc. Telegrams of greeting were sent by Baron Sonnino, minister of foreign affairs, and by ministers and under-secretaries Orlando, Carcano, Foscari, Pasqualino, Mentaneri, Morpurgo, former minister Barzilai, deputies Arca, Sandrini, Salv. Orlando, Somaini, prof. Costa and others.

The first speaker at the dinner, deputy Andrea Torre, said in part: "The Czechs wrought a real miracle, when they established outside of the Bohemian territory a well-governed organization that brings together all Czechoslovaks, escaped, emigrated and captured in war. Here are two millions following of their own will their leaders. Through this organization they actually erected a kind of a Czechoslovak state beyond the boundaries of their fatherland. The Allies recognize the authority of this wonderful institution. It is an admirable demonstration of national consciousness and political energy, compelling the respect of all the world."

Ugo Danone, on behalf of the Italian Committee for Bohemian Independence, enumerated in his speech Czech regiments that rose against the tyrant: 2nd, smashed at Valjevo by Magyar artillery; 36th, shot up in the barracks of Mladá Boleslav, and 88th, in the Carpathians; 28th, 13th, 72nd from Pressburg, 35th, 11th, 8th and 72nd from Prague surrendered, unwilling to fight for their oppressors.

The last speaker, Duke Colonna di Cesaro, emphasized Italy's special interest in Bohemia. "In England and France there still are people who dream about Austria, as it used to be before 1866, an Austria that would be a rival of Germany and might be attached to the anti-German alliance. And so they would preserve Austria and would not hesitate to sacrifice to it the sacred national rights of subject races. In Italy there are no such illusions. Italy knows Austria,

as the Czechs know it. Italy knows, how much hope one may place in the reformation of a dynasty and a ruling class that do not know what liberty, independence and democracy mean."

Members of the Bohemian National Alliance of America, like all Bohemians in every land, are profoundly grateful to the

people of Italy for the sentiments of friendship expressed by these great sons of Italy. They impatiently await the moment, when the Czechoslovak army of the west, which is now being formed, will be thrown into the fight on the same side on which the Italian soldiers struggle so valiantly.

J. F. S.

America and Germany's Allies.

The splendid success of the Second Liberty Loan furnishes abundant proof, if any more were needed, that the people of the United States support with enthusiasm and earnestness their government in its determination to make war on Germany with all the great resources of the country, so as to bring it as speedily as possible to a victorious conclusion. No compromise with the kaiser, no peace except peace with victory — such is now the universal sentiment all over the United States. A million and a half men are under arms and seventeen billion dollars have been appropriated for the first year of the war. America has staked everything on complete victory.

There is, however, one phase of the great struggle as to which the United States has taken an ambiguous, illogical stand. That is our relation to Germany's partners in iniquity. It is seven months since we declared war on Germany, and we are yet at peace with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey. In fact Stephen Panaretoff, minister of the German czar of Bulgaria, remains in Washington accredited to our government as the representative of a friendly state. We loan France and England hundreds of millions of dollars, some part of which no doubt is used to keep in the field the Saloniki army fighting the Bulgarians; and we furnish Italy money and supplies with which to carry on the fight against Italy's principal enemy, the Dual Monarchy, while all the time the United States is at peace with Emperor Charles. We are told emphatically over and over again that this is a fight of democracy against autocracy, of justice against tyranny, of humanity against barbarity. But the allies of Germany are tainted with autocracy, tyranny and barbarity fully as much as their dominant partner. They are as guilty as Germany; they only happen to be smaller and less efficient, and therefore less dangerous.

If this country is in earnest in its declaration that it fights for principles and not for expediency, it ought to make war upon Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey with the same fiery spirit as upon Germany. The realm of the kaiser is held constantly before us as the stronghold of autocracy, the last bastion of medieval principles, diametrically opposed to the political ideals of which this country is the foremost champion. But what about Austria-Hungary? In Hungary, it is true, King Charles is a constitutional monarch; that is to say, he is obliged to comply to a great extent with the wishes of the Magyar feudal aristocracy which controls elections to the Budapest parliament. Autocracy in Hungary is carried on in the name of the king by a small minority of the Magyar people, who in their turn are a minority of the people of Hungary. The people of Hungary have far less to say about the way they are governed than the people of Germany. In the Austrian half of his dominions Emperor Charles is a far more despotic ruler than Emperor William. The German kaiser governs in accordance with the wishes of the majority of his subjects; up to the present time, at least, the German people have willingly followed their emperor in his mad policy of conquest and bloodshed. But Charles, like his predecessor, Francis Joseph, drives his unwilling subjects by force to fight for a cause which they detest, for a monarch whom they hate. And what about Turkey? The sultan himself may not be much of an autocrat, but the clique of adventurers who are in control of the government at Constantinople have surely nothing in common with democracy, as that word is understood in the United States of America.

We have heard much of the unspeakably barbarous, cruel, murderous deeds committed by Germany since the invasion of Belgium. Earnest, eloquent men who have visited Europe go from city to city telling of

the crimes of Germany and submitting positive proofs of horrible atrocities committed in the name of the Kultur. Fresh evidence reaches us every day of the Teuton black heart — ships sunk without warning, and sailors and passengers shelled in the life-boats, bombs placed on neutral ships, while other neutral ships are sunk without trace. America swears solemnly that such horrible crimes shall not remain unavenged. And yet nothing that the Germans have done has exceeded in horror the massacres of Armenia, committed by the good friends and allies of the kaiser, the Young Turks. The closest approach to this wholesale extermination of an entire nation is the policy adopted by the Bulgarians toward the unfortunate Serbs who did not die in battle. Macedonia and the Nish valley have been almost completely cleared of the Serbs and given a Bulgarian appearance by the simple expedient of provoking the remnants of the people into revolt and then shooting the old men and the little children, and deporting the women into Asia Minor, where the Turks will take of them. The charges made by the Serbian government are as fully substantiated by evidence as the reports of the commission on Belgian atrocities. Of the Teutonic allies Austria-Hungary has attracted least notice in so far as charges of inhumanity are concerned. It is because its victims have been largely its own subjects who have no government of their own and no allies to take their part before the world. Up to the end of 1916 four thousand persons have been hanged in Austria because of "crimes against the state", this according to Austrian official statistics, and no one can say how many more thousands have died in Austrian and Hungarian prisons of hunger. All the Central Powers are guilty of the blackest crimes against humanity.

Practical considerations also strongly urge the wisdom of declaring a state of war to exist between America and the allies of Germany. Last April, as soon as we have become enemies of the kaiser, all the enemies of our enemy became our friends. We spoke of them as our allies, we welcomed their war missions, and knowing that their soldiers are fighting our battles we gave them money and allowed them to recruit in this country. But we did not go far enough. The enemies of Germany became our allies, but the allies of Germany did not become our enemies; they did in reality, of course, but not officially. We

know that the struggle is one, and it little matters where Germany is defeated, whether on the west front or the eastern front, in the Carso or Mesopotamia. And yet we act as if there were several distinct wars, as if our own particular quarrel were with Germany only. It is illogical, it is wrong, it is foolish. When the Italians were winning victories against the Austrians, we rejoiced, even though Austria was not at war with us. Germany had far less reason to fight Italy than we have to fight Austria. But when Austria needed help, the kaiser promptly sent his soldiers against the Italians and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. We may not assist Italy with soldiers or guns, for we are not at war with her chief enemy. All we can do is to lend her a little more money or ship her some coal, and should submarines sink our ships in the Mediterranean, we will charge it to Germany's account, even though the submarines have been outfitted in an Austrian base. It is all so illogical, and it complicates uselessly the clear issue of why we fight. Take the Trading with the Enemy Act; there Congress puts the enemy and the enemy's allies on the same plane. But somehow our government lacks the spirit — or is it merely the occasion — to declare plainly that all the Central Powers are enemies of the United States.

A conference of all the states fighting Germany will be held in Paris in the middle of this month. After some hesitation the government of this country has decided to be represented there, instead of standing aside and taking an attitude of aloofness in common concerns. No doubt one of the great questions will be the co-ordination of the resources of the allies, so as to make them count to the last ounce, as Germany makes her comparatively small resources count, and in particular the necessity of furnishing aid to the brave Italian army whose costly successes are now endangered by a joint Austro-German attack. Will the United States say at this conference that it cannot help Italy, because that would be making war on Austria? Is it not a fact that if Austria and Germany succeed in defeating Italy so seriously that internal discontent and socialist agitation would compel King Victor Emmanuel to conclude peace, then the burden carried by the United States would become so much heavier? For every Italian soldier put out of action by an Austrian gun America must

furnish one of her own sons, if she is to win the war in which she is engaged against Germany.

Col. Roosevelt who possesses a clear vision and the courage of his convictions sums up in the Kansas City Star the arguments for war on all the Central Powers in these words: "The world will not and cannot be made safe for democracy until the Armenians, the Syrian Christians and the Arabs are freed from Turkish tyranny, and until the Poles, Bohemians and southern Slavs, now under the Austrian yoke, are made into separate, independent nations, and until the Italians of southwest Austria are restored to Italy and the Roumanians of eastern Hungary to Roumania.

"Unless we propose in good faith to carry out this program, we have been guilty of a rhetorical sham when we pledged ourselves to make the world safe for democracy. The United States must not make promises which it has no intention of performing; we are breaking this promise and incidentally are acting absurdly every day that we continue a nominal peace with Germany's fellow tyrants and subject allies, Austria, and Turkey."

We have hope that when the representatives of the United States return from the Paris conference, President Wilson will go before Congress with the request that a state of war be declared to exist between this country and the allies of Germany.

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

(Continued)

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan.

After the battle of the White Mountain the Czech artists became dispersed throughout Europe, just as had happened to the precious art collections of Prague. There is one name among them which enjoys world-wide fame. It is Hollar, whose engravings are the pride of all great museums and art collections. The Prague Rudolfinum has a cabinet of Hollar's works, and this "Hollareum" has now 1,500 numbers, that is to say over a half of his engravings. Before the war the executive commission of the Bohemian Diet appropriated each year a certain sum for the completion of this collection.

Václav Hollar (Holár) of Prácheň, was born in Prague in 1607. A memorial tablet on house No. 1192 in Soukenická Ulice (Clothmakers' Street) identifies the place of his birth. Although he was a sincere Czech and left his native land for the sake of religion, the Germans do not hesitate to claim him for their compatriot. German monographs on the copper engraver's art make him a German. See for instance "Der Kupferstich" by Prof. Dr. Hans W. Singer (Leipzig, Velhagen & Klasing, 1904), where on page 56 we read: "Hollar was the only German graphic artist of the seventeenth century of any importance. His work will hold its own next to the work of the Holland and French artists of that day." Hollar's life is one of great tragedy.

The son of wealthy parents, he was intended for the profession of lawyer. But when after the emperor's victory his family lost everything, drawing, which had heretofore been young Hollar's recreation, became the means whereby he earned his living. But his rich talent did not make him rich. He migrated from one country to another, first to Frankfurt in Germany, then to London; when the English Revolution broke out, he fled to Flanders, then returned to England. Every time his fortunes began to mend, some catastrophe laid him low again; the plague took all his relatives, the great fire of 1668 consumed all his possessions. He worked with a feverish zeal, but the English printsellers took advantage of him, and he died in London in 1677 in the presence of persecuting creditors. The hardships and sufferings cast heavy shadows on all of Hollar's work. How splendidly would his talent have shined under better circumstances. But though privations kept down the flight of his imagination and gave many of his plates the impression of a struggle for bread, they also increased his industry and fed his determination not to give in to evil fortune or deteriorate from an artist into an artisan. He is one of the great masters of his period with a complete control of the technique of his difficult art. His etchings number about 2,740. Among them are drawings of simple beauty, such as his

views of Bohemia, Rhineland, Holland and England; again perfect representations of muffs, shells, butterflies, the acme of the engraver's technique. His etchings have also a considerable value for the history of culture; under this heading belong some of his famous views of cities, especially the beautiful view of Prague with the touching inscription: "Wenceslaus Hollar a Lewengruen et Bareyt hanc Regni Bohemiae Metropolim, Patriam suam, ex monte Sti. Laurentij A. 1636 exactissime delineavit et aqua forti in hac forma aeri insculpsit Antwerpiae A. 1649", in English: "Václav Hollar of Loewengruen and Bareyt depicted most exactly this metropolis of the Bohemian kingdom, his native land, from the mount of St. Lawrence in 1636, and in this form etched into copper at Antwerp in 1649". One can feel how love shook his hand, when he wrote the words *Patriam Meam*. Another engraving of great interest is his *Aula Veneris*, published in London in 1644, showing one hundred women's costumes. The title page states "Wenceslaus Hollar Bohemus", the best proof of his nationality, for if Hollar had considered himself to be a German, he would not have used such a designation of himself on the title page.

Artists that remained in Bohemia had to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church that won the land together with the Emperor at the White Mountain. Of these men the greatest was Karel Škréta Sotnovský of Zázvořice. He was born in Prague in 1604 and died there in 1674. His mother who would not deny her faith left the country in 1627 to go into exile. Her son who studied painting remained in Prague and conformed to the Catholic Church. His artistic training was obtained in Italy, whence he came back as an artist of great merit. In Bohemia he introduced a new era in painting, and his numerous pictures include the best that was done at that period anywhere in Europe outside of Italy. Many of his altar pieces are in the Prague churches; in the Týn church is the Annunciation of Virgin Mary, possibly his best work; in the same church is his St. Luke, who according to tradition bears the painter's likeness, while the Virgin Mary here preserves the features of Škréta's wife. Four of his paintings are in the church of St. Thomas; one, Christ on the Cross, in the church of St. Nicholas; another famous one, Mary Magdalen, in St. Peter's church, while many

smaller towns of Bohemia, like Bechyně, Louny, Mělník, Strakonice, etc., as well as picture galleries, have examples of Škréta's genius.

It is true, though, that Škréta introduced an important change into the art of Bohemia, namely, a departure from the Slav foundation and the imitation of the Bolognese and Neapolitan schools, while the work of his successors marks the period of southern barocco in Bohemia.

The first half of the eighteenth century brought forward a number of great names, men who made Bohemian barocco famous. A great change had come over the country. At this period, sketched in such a masterly manner by Jirásek in his "Temno" (Darkness), the nobility and clergy were the nation; the lower classes did not count, their taste approved everything that the upper classes favored, and so the luxury and pomp of the barocco were in style. The power of the sovereign, of the church and of the nobility was at its highest. A revolution was inevitable and forces preparing it were already busy, but did not yet manifest themselves. The nobility of Bohemia was foreign nobility, German, Walloon, Spanish, Italian; their ancestors were military adventurers to whom Emperor Ferdinand granted confiscated estates of the Czech rebels. The men who owned the soil of Bohemia in the first part of the eighteenth century were eager to satisfy their vanity and impress with their lordly magnificence their peasant subjects. The Catholic Church was closely allied to the feudal nobles. The influence of the Church was wielded principally by the Jesuits, and barocco was commonly known as the "Jesuit style". The Jesuits looked upon the bigness and pomp of their ecclesiastical structures as eloquent evidence of their victory over the heretics; besides, barocco agreed with the easy regimen extended to all who were obedient sons of the Church. The outside alone mattered; self-denial was not demanded, and the Church put the stamp of approval upon the pleasures of life. This attitude manifests itself in painting and statuary by the noble female figures that are found in so many over-decorated churches. A great period of al fresco paintings had come upon Bohemia; wide-spread ceilings and walls of the churches are covered with religious scenes. The greatest of the painters in this line was Rainer who was related to Tiepoli's school.

Václav Vavřinec Rainer was born in Prague in 1686, and from 1720 he devoted his gifts entirely to fresco painting. In Prague his best work can be seen in the copula of the church of the Order of the Cross, on the vaults of the Dominican church (The War of the Catholic Church against the Infidels), in the Czernin palace (The Battle of the Titans), etc. These splendid paintings, high above the visitor's head, still compel our admiration. Rainer has also done many altar paintings, in St. Havel's church, in the Dominican church—where the artist was buried in 1743—in St. James', which has Rainer's last work, a tremendous painting behind the altar in a wide barocco frame, for which Rainer received 1,200 gulden.

Peter Jan Brandl (1668-1735) is the second painter of the period. His pictures are also scattered through the Prague churches and in many churches and convents in the country towns. He revenged himself upon the citizens of Kolín, when they refused to pay the agreed price for a painting of St. Bartholomew. Brandl gave the saint his own likeness, while the cruel men who tortured the saint were made to look like the councilmen of Kolín.

The great masters among the sculptors were John Ferdinand Prokoff (Brokov, Brokoff), and Matthew Braun. The Brokoff family hailed from Slovakland; the father, himself a sculptor, came to Prague in 1675. He was of Lutheran religion, but in Bohemia he conformed to the Catholic Church. Brokoff (1688-1731), created several groups on the Charles bridge, such as St. Kajetán, founder of the Theatine Order, further a group ordered for the bridge by Count Fr. Jos Thun in memory of the passing of the plague and the conclusion of peace after the wars of the Spanish succession. In this group is St. John of Matha and St. Felix of the Trinitarian Order; as this order was founded for the purpose of buying Christians from Turkish slavery, the lower part of the group represents a jail guarded by a dog and a Turk, which Turk is popularly known in Prague as the Turk from the Bridge. Other statues of saints, made by Brokoff for the bridge, are St. Ivan, St. Vincent and St. Procopius, and St. Francis Xaverius. This last statue of the apostle of India was swept away by the flood of September 4, 1890. Braun's most splendid memorial on the Charles bridge is the "Dream of St. Luitgard", a wonderful

group of statuary carrying out a painting by Brandl, further a figure of St. Ivo, patron saint of lawyers, and in this case the gift of the law faculty of the Prague University. We must not forget to mention here also Brokoff's gorgeous caryatids supporting the balcony of the Morzin palace in Prague, a bust of Day and Night and the Four Parts of the World, on the same palace, and the sarcophagus of Count Vratislav of Mitrovice in the St. James church.

In architecture the Prague barocco is connected with the immortal name of Kilián Jan Dienzenhofer, who built the St. Nicholas church on the Small Side of Prague, the principal monument of the barocco style in all Austria. The ornamental steeple of this church, of flowing virginal lines, and the majestically beautiful cupola are the pride of Prague. Our present-day graphic artists, Šimon, Stretti, Vondrouš, and others, in their etchings find ever new poetical beauty in the lines of this wonderful structure.

Dienzenhofer's death in 1752 closes the period of Bohemian barocco, and a decay in art sets in lasting for nearly one hundred years.

(To be continued.)

BEING A MEMBER OF A SMALL NATION

Among the newspaper clippings received by the Bohemian National Alliance there was one from a small town in the State of New York; it possesses considerable human interest. Two Bohemian musicians who came originally from Prague, had been making a living in this up state town for about two years by giving music lessons. A Bohemian in this neighborhood was a sight more rare than a hippopotamus. When war broke out, suspicion was turned against the poor musicians who were known to have come from Austria and therefore were presumably German emissaries. What were the Bohemians to do, if they did not want to lose their pupils and their only means of livelihood? They called on three of the most prominent local celebrities, submitted to them copies of the Bohemian Review and pamphlets published by the Bohemian National Alliance and convinced them that they were far less likely to favor Germany than the most patriotic Yankee. And then the three great men published a certificate of loyalty to the Bohemian musicians in the local paper, and thus the story in due course through the medium of a clipping bureau reached the offices of the Bohemian National Alliance.

If you have friends who might be interested in the Bohemian Review, please send us their addresses, so that we may mail them sample copies.

The Diary of a Reporter.

By Jan Neruda

Translation and introduction by Guido Bruno

Every nation has had its unfortunate, misunderstood men of letters, men who had to starve while alive and giving their best to their own nation, who had to fly to foreign countries and earn among foreigners the bread denied them at home.

And after they died — too often a tragic death — streets were named after them. Their works have been incorporated in the school curriculum and monuments erected to their everlasting memories.

Poor short sighted posterity stones its contemporaries and endeavors with stones to atone for the sins of its fathers.

Every artist created his own monument in his own work.

According to the greatness of his own work will his greatness be eternal.

Jan Neruda was born in Prague at the time that Bohemia's national spirit had just been reborn.

A Palacký had written its history, demonstrating the glorious past of the Czech nation. The language that had been lost for so long had come back to life in all its beauty. Schools were erected everywhere. People were no longer ashamed to speak their own language in their own country. They realized that Bohemians had their own national characteristics, their own private lives, their comic and tragic figures on the streets and in their homes.

Neruda loved his country with all the ardor of the youthful artist. He knew that once you showed Bohemians their own lives mirrored from streets and houses, they too, will realize that they are a people, and not dependent, even in literature, upon other nations.

Neruda was a poet, who sang his beloved "Zlatá matička Praha" — "Golden little mother Prague", into the hearts, not only of every Bohemian but also of every Slav in the Universe.

He originated the feuilleton in the Bohemian language. But his stories, full of color and temperament, were more appreciated at Paris, than in his own country.

Years have passed since his tragic death. Today he is the idol of the Bohemian enthusiast and the lifelong friend of every Bohemian inhabitant of the city of Prague.

Most of his books are translated into French, Russian, German, Polish and Serbian.

This is the first translation of Neruda into the English language.—The Translator.

Evening, August 1st.

At last I am home again after a tedious, tiresome day of work; home in my new quarters. Quite a nice bachelor apartment! Of course it is in the sixth story and in reality, a garret, but such a habitation is

extremely healthy. Not very spacious, but sufficient for my furniture. Bed, table, trunk, a chair, and a box for the books I steal from the editorial room, don't need much space. I never receive visitors, but if one should come, he is welcome to the chair and I could have my choice between the trunk and the table. I think I'll be quite happy here. I shall made a few dashes now and take off my shoes — — — Ha! How free I am! In taking off my boots I feel that I am shaking off the reporter; as long as I keep them on my feet I am obsessed by a secret fear that I may have to run somewhere to interview somebody. Oh what a dreadful running about it has been today! But even at that, the life of a reporter is most beautiful and luring. Today, for instance, I already know the news of tomorrow. In such a manner I am always ahead of time of my fellow citizens. Quite funny, the kind of thing that is fit for a news item! People may do whatever they please but a news item will be the final result! The most bitterly opposed political parties will unite in the reporter's pocket and he will think that party right which gives him the most material to write the most lines — "at a penny the line". I have to think of Heine: Heine was a born reporter. It's too bad that he didn't try his luck at reporting. He would have earned heaps of money. And then again think of the fun, if we get hold of somebody and drag him into the limelight of publicity where he finds a place as suitable as perhaps Pilate could find in the Credo. Then he gets mad and curses newspaper writers! We don't bother about it. The respect of our readers? Do we wish the asses upon whose backs we are riding to bray?

Jan! Jan! I am afraid you are plagiarizing Bulwer. But what of it? Plagiarized stories are the main nourishment of a reporter. As such I am undoubtedly an authority: people read me more and laud me less. I am yawning! It is time to get to bed. And "nihil humani a me alienum puto".

Morning, 2nd August.

So then, I passed my first night in my new quarters; it was anything but quiet. Some-

thing seemed to be wrong; I awoke very often and only now I see what has been the cause of my restlessness. I forgot to make friends of the night watchman of my district and therefore, for the first time in years, I had not placed a string around my wrist whose other end would hang out of the window to the street, so that the night watchman could wake me easily if anything of importance should happen somewhere after midnight. And without this string I cannot pass a quiet night.

Early in the morning are my hours of concentration; usually I do not think at all. I just rest. But after I have once obtained my first news item a kind of fever takes hold of me. I am anxious to get more and more news. I am hunting for a news item continually. Something seems to grind in my head like a millwheel and I am unable to rest until in the evening I lay down with the string around my wrist. But now to the window! How about the view? I couldn't have selected better situated quarters. The city fire-alarm is plainly visible and if ever fire should break out during the night, I must be the first on the scene. My street is rather narrow but always busy with people; possibly accidents will happen here and though they may not, I'll make a few fat news items out of my narrow street. At first I shall draw public attention to this street and lengthily describe how narrow it is; a few days later I'll bring a report that the city fathers are thinking of enlarging the street and I will mention the plans of some contractor that were submitted to a special commission; and still later I'll write a rather short notice that the project has been abandoned. I can repeat this every year. — Well! Well! There is a singing bird in the house, too. It must be on the third floor if I am not mistaken. By Jove, she sang those scales all out of tune! Now I see it was only a charmingly wrong transition. An awkwardly shrill soprano singing the trite "When the swallows homeward fly". Oh Lord, please save me from this annoying singing. I wonder who my neighbor across the street is. She is in a garret right beneath the roof, like my own, with drawn window shades, flowers on the window sill. Down below in the street there is boisterous life, and here high above, a peaceful domesticity.

But now let me consult my diary book to see what work is ahead of me. This month is fairly well filled with graduation

exercises and school reports; the dedication ceremony of a new high school building. Then there is the new American mill which will be completed, and — well, somebody is liable to die. Somebody will commit murder, accidents will happen, there will be political plots, weddings, and somebody may invent something — fate will be kind to a poor reporter.

Good-bye, my dear little garret! I must start out on my daily grind. Hang that singer! How she must love her eternal "When the swallows homeward fly"—now she's at it again — for the third time.

August 2nd, Evening.

All my work is done! I made a hurried trip to the theatre for some possible news. I learned that Miss D. will give a final farewell performance before she leaves for Berlin. Of course that will make an interesting story — what a horrible voice! There she goes again, "When the swallows homeward fly". I wonder whether she has stopped singing that since morning; I think I'll make it a sad scene — the farewell of Miss D.! After the last act, frantic applause, curtain call after curtain call; flowers showered upon the stage, a laurel wreath, two wreaths, three wreaths—then finally she appears. She wishes to thank the audience for these unexpected manifestations of appreciation and love, but she cannot find adequate words — tears glisten in her eyes —. And in six months she is forgotten. No one even remembers her name! Shallow and fleeting is the fame of actors. Unless one of them should be a Garrick or an Irving, or a Devrien, his fame vanishes a few weeks after the high tide of his career. Hallo there, my little neighbor seems to be curious! While writing, I chanced to glance across to the garret window, and noticed that someone, almost hidden by the white curtains, is watching me. I see the shadow of a female form against the window shades. A woman is moving about in the room.

The profile is very attractive. Why do you hide yourself, you bashful little creature? It is really unnecessary, I could very well look in another direction.

A few minutes ago, when I came home, she had the light burning, with curtains and shades drawn back. I lighted my candle, and down went the shades! I am not envious! *Nihil Humani*—The string around my wrist, and I'll turn in.

August 3rd, Morning.

No assignments for today in my diary; no work and next month one more hungry day. I expect I won't be able to acquire anything else new for my wardrobe next month but a few more holes in my shoes. I shall remain at home today. But what shall I do with myself? I don't feel like working on my novel; I don't seem to be able to concentrate on any one subject. My thoughts are traveling.

Reading? Yes, but what? Let me see, the new review books which I brought home with me from the office. Poems? Bah! these are not in season. A history of the city of Prague? Too dry! A novel by K.? I'll wait until I'm married and blasé before reading it. Here is a cookery book. How the dickens did that get among the bunch? Look, who is here! The window across the street is open and I can explore the mysteries of my little neighbor's abode.

"You are not very polite, Miss, to turn your back on me." She stands near the tiny stove; she cooks something — it must be mush. Now she pours it into a dish of the kind used for feeding babies. She turns her face, and I see her plainly.

A beautiful girl!

Her face is pale and oval; her eyes are blue. Wonderful eyes! Why don't they look over to me?

My sister, who died as a young girl, had such eyes, and people tell me that my mother, whom I never knew, had beautiful blue eyes. How often have I kissed her picture and yearned for the sound of her voice!

That prosaic mush over there for the baby! Why do such insignificant things recall memories of days long past by? The love of my dear sister and her care for me — her little, orphaned brother!

These same blue eyes bring memories of the past, of the time when she watched me with sisterly love while her small beautiful hands kept the needle busy and earned a living for both of us.

How I must have annoyed her with my dreams and my constant questions? Oh, yes, I too once was young in thought. Now I am only young in years.

Youth! Youth! Your memories rest upon us heavily like a leaden burden, or they warm us like the sunshine of an early August noon. Youth brings the saddest and the loveliest memories at the same time. A lovely memory for the happy man; a sad

one for him who prefers to walk the straight path rather than the crooked. If one did not realize the dreams of youth, the early years of life would seem paradise lost.

The dreams of youth! Are they not like the birds that escape from their cages and are now singing in the branches of some tree beyond a yawning abyss; happily and mockingly?

And my own dreams? What were they? Ah, Yes! Immortality! They were rather commonplace. But the end is rather commonplace too.

If I am not mistaken, I am beginning to feel sentimental. This is ridiculous, and — as they say, misfortune is ridiculous too.

Only Youth and Love are the proper subjects for sentimentalities. Love!

Must every blue eye charm love for me?

I have discussed love for so long and from so many angles that there remains nothing for love in me.

August 3rd, Afternoon.

I must have slept for hours. My poor feet, how well they have rested! Head and heart do not suffer from work — they have little or nothing to do with it. It is half past four! I have missed lunch. Hungry? No! I shall stay home; back to the bed and . . . Oh! Dear. What a voice! But why this fine old song now, which I knew so well many years ago? I know you, melancholy melody. So sweet and so sad. How often have I listened to you until my eyes filled with tears! It is "The Rose of Zion", the touching melody of the Hebrews.

My blue-eyed neighbor is the singer. She fondles the little child and rocks it to sleep with a lullaby that was composed for a whole nation.

I can see her distinctly in her little garment. Her features certainly remind one of the Orient. And the song of Zion! I must make inquiries tomorrow. Yes! Go on! A thousand thanks, neighborly stranger, for beginning over again. I shall close my eyes and . . . Damn the swallows. There she goes again. Only why did the dear Lord create swallows? All the pleasure is over! Do I feel hungry? Yes, very hungry. Quick! my boots, and out of the house!

August 3rd, Evening.

Dame Fortune was very kindly inclined as she made me choose my new rooms. In

a barn right across the street, a small fire broke out just as I was leaving the house. Of course they put it out in a jiffy; old rags and bundles of paper were the sole prey of the flames. But I made a long story out of it and they used it too. I had a man burn his right hand and I described the panic among the families in nearby houses. Hurrah! Nine-six lines, Ninety-six pennies.

August 4th, Morning.

Good morning, blue-eyed neighbor! Are you blue-eyed? What does it matter if you are not? I got up very early in the morning, opened the window and dressed as if I wanted to leave the house. Then I closed it, drew the curtain and took my seat next to the window sill. Soon her window was thrown open and I could observe her undisturbed. I am wondering why there is no older woman with her. Perhaps they are two orphans. She is kneeling in front of the crib and she must have been successful in rocking the baby to sleep. Maybe the pale infant has not slept at all during the night and his nurse has been watching at his side. She must be praying for her little brother or sister or why should she remain on her knees for so long? She turns her face! Goodness! She cries, tears stream down her cheeks and she looks unceasingly up at the clouds . . . Does she know that she is crying? She dries her eyes. She looks down into the street. She must be waiting for somebody. I open the window carefully. She does not notice it, yet must have heard the creaking of the old worn window sash. Paper is in front of me on the window sill, the pencil is in my hand. If I could only draw other things beside my old horrid caricatures! The letter carrier turns into our street — well, he has nothing for me. It is tragic how anxiously she watches him emerging from one house and disappearing into another. Poor little girl, he has passed your house already. So for him she had been waiting.

She espied me leaning out of my window; she flushed. I did too, if I remember right. She closed her window, and, I feel she weeps again.

I hadn't noticed that I have not been alone in my room. The milkwoman delivers my daily breakfast, a penny's worth of milk — milk that strongly resembles the beauty of southern skies — aren't they famous for their delicate blue hues? Her strange carrying-on today astonishes me.

At first she makes elaborate excuses for disturbing me. She says that she knocked twice on the door but that I did not answer (she had never knocked previously). She mentions that she thought I might like cream for breakfast, just for a change and finally she confesses that she would like to ask a favor of me, not for herself, but for someone in the neighborhood. I thought with horror of her asking me to write a petition for someone. But nothing of the kind. "The cobbler's daughter on the third floor" she said "knows that you are on "a paper". She is studying to become a "prima donna". No, she hasn't a teacher yet, but is practicing hard all by herself."

"They are very nice, good people, and the girl's mother would like to know if she could pay you a visit tonight. I am sure you are just the person to tell them how to go about making their daughter a famous singer."

I hesitated a minute and then graciously gave my consent. But I took occasion to inquire about my neighbor in her garret.

"Ah! That woman" was the answer I received. "The Jewess? The poor thing is an unhappy fallen girl, but otherwise she is a good woman; she pays very regularly. She has wealthy parents, and I also believe . . ."

I did not listen any farther. "A Jewess — a fallen woman?" The milkwoman seemed to be impatient over my sudden silence and she repeated her question several times: "May I tell the cobbler's daughter she will be welcome tonight?"

"I shall be glad if you will," I answered, absentmindedly.

"Good-bye, and thank you."

"I have not paid you yet."

"Please don't mention it", and out she went, more quickly than I had ever seen a woman of her age move.

A bottle of cream — a tip, my first graft. It is at least a nickel's worth. But I don't touch it. I have no appetite this morning.

August 4th, Evening.

I wish I was a real artist, able to draw with a few lines human weaknesses with all their psychological variations!

I lean against the window. The cobbler's daughter is seated at the chair and is so bashful, as if she did not know how to be at ease; her mother, a fat little woman with red cheeks and an imitation lace shawl around her shoulders, sits on my trunk. We

are all waiting until the daughter shall have overcome her bashfulness and sing for us to show her talent. "If you desire to enter upon a stage career, you must overcome your bashfulness."

"That's what I am continually telling her."

"But I can't . . . if I . . ." Her eyes are downcast; she is plump, with big heavy feet and enormously large red hands.

"Now, go to it, Magda, and quickly . . . don't make me angry. At home she hollows the whole day long. And now, when her future is at stake, she is bashful and dumb. Why don't you sing that nice song you have been practicing lately?"

"I too, implore you, please?"

And "Magda" starts in. At first pianissimo, and after she feels sure that I shall not laugh at her, she screams with her terribly shrill voice — well, I wrote about it all in my diary on the second of August.

She has finished and I compliment her on her voice. She blushes and is bashful.

I promise to take care of her future. Her mother is overjoyed and happy. I bow them out of the room.

If you only know how little and insignificant the man is whom you have chosen for your sponsor? What fun I'll have tomorrow in the office! I must prepare myself to narrate it properly. A story for the office and another version for the cafe. In a week's time the reporter of our opposition paper will say that he, in reality, was the hero of my story, or he will insinuate that the mother gives me my meals and that the daughter is my sweetheart.

The windows across the street remain closed. Several times I have seen her shadow outlined on the window shade. Now again she covers her face. Does she dry her

eyes? She blows out the light! Why so early?

Good night, little girl, God bless you!

August 5th, Evening.

Much work today and many hundreds of lines! I am dead tired. I have not seen my neighbor at all. The windows were closed in the morning and now they are still closed and the curtain is drawn.

August 6th, Morning.

The riddle is solved. As I got up in the morning and looked across, the windows stood wide open and the room was filled with people. I notice a policeman whom I know and a city physician in the street. Both disappear into the house. Something must have happened. I dress quickly and hurry across. All are requested to leave the room.

"You are in luck", motions the policeman to me, after locking the door securely. "This is a fine story." The physician stands near the bed and now he speaks to us: "Suicide. The mother poisoned herself and her child."

I was thunderstruck.

"Here is a letter", says the policeman.

I read:

"Dear Madame: I fail to understand why you persist in annoying me. In order to end it all, I must tell you that my marriage will take place tomorrow."

No signature.

She looked ghastly with the death pallor on her cheeks. Shall I write the story? I must — and our paper will have the best story of "The Tragedy in the Garret."

But I'll give notice immediately and move out on the fifteenth.

Current Topics.

SITUATION IN BOHEMIA.

The Austrian Reichsrat met again on September 25 after an adjournment of several months. The government in the meantime had been engaged in finding a solution for the sharp constitutional crisis which developed owing to the determined opposition of the Slavs and principally of the Bohemians. Herr von Seydler reconstructed his cabinet and included therein a number of bureaucrats of Slav race, but he was unable to secure the acceptance of places in his ministry by any parliamentary leaders.

It is the Czech problem which worries the minis-

ters of Emperor Charles the most. The people of Bohemia are becoming bolder and are talking and acting more radically every day. Bohemia's political developments in the last few months revolved around the interpretation of the memorable declaration which had been made in common by all the Czech deputies at the opening of the Reichsrat on May 30. It became necessary to define further the demand for "the union of all the branches of the Czechoslovak people into one democratic Bohemian state." The words used were susceptible of being interpreted in the sense of a national state like Hungary under the sceptre of the Hapsburgs.

It appears that in the executive sessions of Czech Deputies' Club a fight went on for a straight out demand for complete independence. The division in the Club, as one may guess at it, was along the lines of temperament, rather than along former partisan allegiance. Thus some Catholic deputies made the strongest demand for an absolute break with the Hapsburgs, while certain Socialist leaders were in favor of a pro-Austrian construction. The radical spirit won the day, as was inevitable in view of the bitter hate of the people of Bohemia for the German-Austrian cause, and the first fruits of it was the refusal of the Bohemians to have any part in the deliberations of the commission for constitutional revision. The Czechs declared that they denied the competency of the Vienna Parliament to decide how Bohemia should be ruled, and that the affairs of Bohemia would be thrashed out at the peace conference.

Another sign of the growing boldness of the Czech leaders is a resolution drafted by Deputy Prášek and approved at a meeting of his constituents at Lysá on the Elbe September 2. The resolution reads: "It cannot be denied that the politico-legal declaration of May 30 must be amended so as to cast out every ambiguity. The Czech nation will not be satisfied with any sort of autonomy, or with the so-called self-determination; it will keep up its fight for a completely independent Czechoslovak state."

An interesting light is shed on the attitude of the Czech deputies by the scene in the Reichsrat on October 29. The president of the chamber announced the startling victories of the Austro-German offensive on the Italian front and called for cheers for the emperor and the "brave" army. Cheers were given with a will by the German and Polish deputies, while the Czechs remained ostentatiously silent. One can well imagine their feelings. Not only must they have been downcast by the delay of their ardent hopes for the speedy downfall of the Central Powers, but they also realized at once that the police regime in Bohemia would be again made severe and that new prosecutions for treason were likely to come.

And while the elected representatives of the Czech people opposed the Austrian government in parliament, the unwilling Czech soldiers continued to manifest their hostility to the German cause in the field. For the second time the minister of public defense had to admit in parliament that in the brief July offensive of the Russians three regiments, composed principally of Bohemians, failed to offer the resistance expected of them, or as the Russians had it, three Czech regiments surrendered without a shot. On the Italian front several regiments of Czech recruits were guilty of rebellion and as a punishment were sent to the Palestine. On the other hand all reports from the Bohemian centers in Russia tell of successful recruiting among the captured Czech and Slovak soldiers for the creation of a big Czechoslovak army in Russia, while prisoners in France and Italy and immigrants

in the United States hasten into the new Czechoslovak army which will fight the Germans on the western front.

Bohemians want liberty, and they want it badly enough to fight for it.

DOINGS OF THE BOHEMIAN ALLIANCE.

... The subject of the greatest interest to the Czechs in America is just now the definite news of the formation of a Czechoslovak army in France. A memorable meeting was held in Chicago in the Sokol Havlíček Tyrš Hall on October 14 at which Colonel Comte DeMontal, attached to the French Embassy, and Commandant Štefanik gave some account of the organization of this, the second Bohemian army taking up arms against the Teutons. The first Czechoslovak army has already gained glory for itself on the Russian front. This much is assured now that Czechs and Slovaks from the United States will be fully represented in the offensive of 1918.

In other respects the work of the Alliance has been of the same general character as in the past. Two Texas branches followed the example of the larger towns and held bazaars for the benefit of the political fund of the organization. The bazaar at Rosenberg, managed by Mrs. C. H. Chernovsky and Mr. J. R. Vilt, cleared over \$700, a large amount for the small number of the local people; the one at Ennis, Tex., doubled the thousand-dollar mark aimed at.

The great bazaar of Cedar Rapids, Ia., was held the last week in October. While detailed account of its success was lacking at the time of this writing, it was already apparent that the people of the city known as "Bohemian Athens" lead the residents of larger cities in the sacrifices they bring in the cause of freedom.

The lecture trip of the organizer through Minnesota and the Dakotas has resulted in the addition of half a dozen new branches. The latest recruit is the branch society at Tabor, Minn., in the fertile Red River valley, organized October 21.

A convention of the Chicago district of the Alliance was held at Chicago, October 13 and 14. Delegates were present from branches in the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. The business transacted was concerned principally with matters of better organization and financing of the work for Bohemian independence. The most notable recommendation adopted was the motion that the Bohemian National Alliance request all the fraternal Bohemian societies to impose upon their entire membership a small monthly payment in the nature of a contribution for the freedom of Bohemia. The precedent for it is found in the small tax paid by Chicago members of such societies for the maintenance of instruction in the Bohemian language after school hours.

The work of gaining the sympathy of the people of America for the demands of the Bohemians is making headway in all parts of the land. At the annual conference of the Methodist ministers of the

State of Nebraska the 550 members present, representing some 200,000 church adherents, sent a telegram to President Wilson asking him to support at the peace congress the threefold programme of free Poland, free Bohemia and free Yugoslavia. Three Czech members of the conference, Dr. K. J. Sládek, Rev. F. K. Šedý and Rev. Jos Tuma, gave the initiative for this act.

On the Pacific coast Mrs. Clara V. Winlow of Berkeley, Cal., has given a number of lectures on the Bohemian fight for independence, while through the interest created by members of the San Francisco branch an excellent article on the Liberation of Bohemia has been written for the San Francisco Bulletin by Mr. James Landfield. Much remains to be done in this field of informing America of the justice and sound policy of creating a Bohemian state on the ruins of Austria.

LEAGUE OF SMALL NATIONALITIES.

Organizations are constantly springing up in the United States with high sounding names and very praiseworthy objects. But experience and Secretary Lansing's revelations have shown that such Leagues and Alliances in many cases serve consciously or unconsciously the German cause.

Bohemians have from the very beginning of the war set their hopes of liberation partly on their own efforts and sacrifices, partly on the sympathies of the Allies, of whom the United States is now one. Guided by such considerations, Charles Pergler, vice-president of the Bohemian National Alliance, and director-general of the Slav Press Bureau in New York, refused to take part in the coming Congress of the League of Small and Subject Nationalities. The matter is of sufficient importance to call for the publication of his letter. Mr. Pergler says:

New York papers have lately published an announcement of the First Congress of the League of Small and Subject Nationalities, reporting that I shall address the Congress on behalf of the Czechoslovaks. I am sorry this has occurred. The Czechoslovaks cannot participate in this Congress for the following reasons:

1. — The aims of the League and of the Congress do not appear to be formulated with a sufficient clearness. In these times nothing is more necessary than definiteness and clearness.

2. — It is evident that elements will take part in whose participation we see not so much an accentuation of the principles of nationality as a symptom of an endeavor to cause disintegration of States whose unity and power can substantially accelerate the Allied victory, and thereby also the victory and real liberation of nations that have a moral right to such liberation.

3. — The Czechoslovaks in America will not do anything that might even remotely embarrass the United States Government.

Since I have already been announced as a speaker I trust you will make this letter a part of your record so as to show the reasons for my decision.

Truly yours,

(Signed) Charles Pergler.

HUNGER IS GENERAL IN AUSTRIA.

It seems inconceivable that Austria can get through the winter without starvation. Items that one gathers at random from the German and Bohemian papers of Austria make it appear that the privations of the people must be near the limit of human endurance.

There is Hungary, for instance, jealously guarding every bit of food for its own consumption. Only a very small part of the harvest of the rich Hungarian plains has been allowed to go into Austria and Germany. Budapest is not far from Vienna, and since the Hungarian capital enjoyed comparative plenty, rich people of Vienna moved over there or sent their families to Pest. This suited the Magyars at first, as it meant an influx of money. But now the Hungarian government seems to think that the country has no food to spare for aliens, even though they be subjects of Charles like themselves. The crops this year being especially disappointing, an order has been issued by the Hungarian minister of the interior that all aliens who have not a permanent occupation in Budapest should leave the city in fourteen days, while all residents of Galicia and Bukovina, that is Jews, must leave even if they have steady work. Another symptom of Hungarian shortage is the prohibition of export of vegetables which up to now could be sold freely to Austria. If Bohemia could dispose of its food-stuffs as Hungary does, no one in Bohemia and Moravia would go hungry, while Vienna would starve.

In Brno, the capital of Moravia, potatoes were again to be had in September after a period of several months. But more as curiosity than food, for no one could get more than 1 kg. (2.4 lbs.) for two weeks. In Prague women stand in front of bakery shops from 10 o'clock at night to make sure that their tickets and money would get them some bread in the morning. In Pardubice, the chief city of Eastern Bohemia, people get only half the food that their cards call for.

As a result of insufficient nutrition the death rate is rising constantly. In Prague it was 13.90 in 1914; two years later it was 15.29, and in the last year it has grown much more rapidly. Statistics up to the end of August, 1917, give the number of deaths for the eight months as 2706, while in the corresponding period of the preceding year the number was only 2240, when the population was greater. The death rate from consumption has increased from 18.21% of the total deaths to 24.48%. The greatest danger of today is the increasing epidemic of the "hunger typhus". People die, because they are too weak to fight disease.

NEW YORK WORLD INTERVIEWS ŠTEFANIK

The first democratic newspaper of the United States, the New York World, gave a full page to the discussion of the issues of the war by Commandant Milan R. Štefanik. The interviewer, Mr. Rowland Thomas, arranged the article excellently and added Štefanik's picture and two maps, one showing Cen-

tral Europe, as the Germans plan it, the other drawing the boundaries as they will be after the Allies' victory. Mr. Thomas says:

A day or two before that I had been talking with a youngish-looking, calm-eyed quiet-spoken man who wore the horizon-blue tunic of the French uniform. The end of the war was the topic, and this is what he had to say about it:

"If you want this war to be the last war, you must make it come to a perfectly definite end. Otherwise it is but a matter of time before the old questions will raise their heads and cause a new and probably a worse war.

"And the only way to reach that perfectly definite end, as President Wilson has said, is to establish the right of men of every nationality, great or small in numbers, to choose their rulers and their form of government."

The speaker was emphatic about it, in a dispassionate way. Wings embroidered on his collar marked him as of the Aviation Service; golden bars and chevrons on his sleeves, denoted the high grade of Commandant. And the decorations on his breast—Cross of the Legion of Honor, Military Cross with Palm, Serbian Gold Medal and Cross of St. Vladimir with swords—showed that he had rendered particularly distinguished service on more than one front.

He seemed a good deal of a personage as he said it, this aviator-commandant, who before the war was Dr. Milan Štefanik of Paris, distinguished in quite another field, recognized as a leader among the younger astronomers of the world and crowned as a "laureate" by the French Academy for his work in science.

"And," he added, "it will be stopped. The Polish people, the Bohemians, Slovaks, the Serbians and Roumanians will not be laid down as pawns on a peace-council chessboard. Neither justice nor common sense will permit any such farce."

About the reconstruction of Central Europe Štefanik has this to say:

"To my mind the future of the whole world depends in no small degree on the peace dispositions which shall be made of the nations of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Look at these two maps which I give you. One shows the Pan-German scheme—a Teutonic, imperialistic wedge driven straight through the center of the continent, cutting it into three sharply separated sections, providing a purely German trade route from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, and constantly suggesting and favoring further encroachments on the non-Teutonic neighbors to the east and west. The other shows the anti-German scheme—a solution which would end Pan-Germanism once for all, and at the same time satisfy the historic rights and present-day desires of the smaller nations. A unified, organized and liberated Poland, a restored Bohemia or Czecho-Slovak State, another state erected out of the Serbs and other Jugoslavs who live there, the annexation of the Roumanians and Italians of Austria-Hungary to their ethnographic wholes—think what that would mean.

"It would mean the end of the Balkan question. It would mean a Germany, a Bulgaria and a Magyar state quite free to be as German, as Magyar, as Bulgarian as they chose within their natural and ethical boundaries. It would mean an Austria reduced to its proper dimensions as a Grand Duchy. It would mean, by a railway link from Trieste through Pressburg and Bohemia to Petrograd, free and unobstructed intercourse between the eastern and western non-Germans. It would build a permanent anti-German barrier across Europe, outside which small states could develop safely and freely.

"To my mind, those two maps show the only two possible solutions of the war. There can be no effective compromise between them. These are the days when the rest of the world must decide whether it can safely tolerate Pan-Germanism any longer. If it cannot, there is but one way to end it. That is by the carrying out of the project I have outlined to you, the project for which we Czecho-Slovaks have done and will continue to do our utmost. Fortunate it is that the project is not only impeccably logical and historically just, but that it also corresponds with the moral principles proclaimed by the Allies for which millions of men have already fallen—principles never put more tersely and clearly than by your own President. Shall this world be a safe place for democracy? Has a small nation as much rights as a large one to live a national life? This war must settle those two questions. And the place where it must settle them is in Central Europe."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24TH, 1912.

Of The Bohemian Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill. for October 1, 1917.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared J. F. Smetanka, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Bohemian Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The Bohemian Review Company, 2627 S. Ridgeway avenue, Chicago; editor, J. F. Smetanka, 2324 S. Central Park avenue, Chicago; managing editor, none; business manager, J. J. Fekl, 2627 S. Ridgeway avenue, Chicago.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.): J. F. Smetanka, J. J. Fekl, Joseph Tvrzicky.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

J. F. SMETANKA, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1917.

Joseph J. Langer, Notary Public.

(Seal)

My commission expires May 3d, 1921.

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GIFT
DEC 17 1917

The BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

December, 1917

*Bohemians Wel-
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American Interests
and Bohemian
Question.
F. L. Rieger.
Czechoslovak Bri-
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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2827 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. I., No. 11—12.

DECEMBER 1917.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Bohemians Welcome War on Austria.

It had to come. The President was sincerely anxious to avoid war on Austria-Hungary, as he had earnestly tried for two years to avoid war with Germany. All in vain. The rulers of Germany by their defiance of the conscience of the world and by their insidious attacks on America itself compelled Wilson to act. And now the rulers of Austria who in spite of the President's forbearance, in spite of his implied invitation to break away from Germany, have sold their very souls to the German devil, these militarists and jingoes of Vienna and Budapest with their puppet emperor have finally convinced Woodrow Wilson that Austria-Hungary will be good only after it has been soundly licked.

Citizens of Bohemian birth welcome with boundless enthusiasm the decision of the President and its speedy ratification by congress. Possibly there is in their joy an admixture of the feeling of satisfaction, the "I told you so" feeling. President Wilson is an optimist in so far as his faith in human nature is concerned; he hopes against hope that the wicked will turn from their evil ways. We, who were brought up in Austria and know the Bourbons of Vienna who never change and never learn anything, we who know the pigheadedness and the overwhelming conceit of the big generals and of the Magyar oligarchs, the real rulers of the empire, we could not share the President's evident hope that Austria-Hungary might yet break away from Germany. Now we rejoice that the last chance of the present rulers to save their power is gone. The government of Austria-Hungary is now our

enemy, and America will negotiate only with the representatives of the peoples of this empire.

It is worthy of notice that President Wilson speaks of the *people* of Germany, but of the *peoples* of Austria-Hungary. This slight grammatical distinction and a careful consideration of the whole tenor of his memorable message give comfort to the Bohemians who might otherwise be discouraged at the President's words: "we do not wish in any way to impair or to re-arrange the Austro-Hungarian empire". President Wilson does not say that he favors the preservation of the anomalous dynastic state; he merely refutes the idea that America fights for its dismemberment or for any other purpose except the freedom of every nation, large and small, to settle its own affairs. The President no doubt knows that with the pressure from above removed the peoples now subject to the Hapsburgs will choose to live under sovereignties far different from the present dual monarchy. When the Bohemians have a free choice, they will set up a Bohemian republic.

Declaration of war against Austria has, however, this effect on the lives of Bohemians in this country: those not naturalized will become technically alien enemies. In France, England, Canada, special measures have been taken by the authorities to except Bohemians (Czechs) from the restrictions applied to alien enemies. All the Allies have recognized the Bohemian people to be a friendly people. Let the United States government do likewise.

Vain Dreams of Federalized Austria.

The military aim of the Allies is the destruction of the armies of Germany. When once the western front is broken through and the German hordes are driven across the Rhine, not only Germany, but Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey will have to accept whatever terms the democracies of the west may lay down. To gain such a complete military triumph Britain, France and Italy are straining all their strength, and the United States is organizing its tremendous resources of men and material to give Germany the finishing blow.

But the defeat of German armies is not in itself the end for which the world is making all these sacrifices. It is but the means to an end, an end which might be expressed in various formulas, but of which the best definition is that given by President Wilson — to make the world safe for democracy. A new Europe, a new world, must arise out of the blood-soaked ruins of the old order of things; no emperor shall ever again throw millions of obedient subjects at unoffending neighbors to commit murder and destruction; no nation shall in the future set itself up as a lordly race to impose its kultur and its dominion over other nations. Democracy within the state and democracy between states is to be the ruling principle of the new order which will be set up after Germany is defeated.

The exact manner in which the democratic reconstruction shall be maintained and guaranteed is not within the scope of this article. But everyone realizes that the death of millions of brave men would be in vain, if Germany, having suffered a total defeat in the present war should still have the strength or the inclination to challenge civilization once more, after a shorter or longer breathing spell. It is, indeed, very likely that a decisive defeat will bring the German people to their senses, that they will give up the idolatrous worship of the state and of the emperor, that they will be cured by the blood letting of their colossal conceit and their dreams of conquest. But the issues are too tremendous to be trusted entirely to the probability of a change of heart of the German people. Peace based upon Germany's complete defeat must leave the aggressor in such a condition that he will not be powerful enough to make another throw at world domination.

This is not a plea for the destruction or dismemberment of the German nation. No sane man suggests anything of the sort. However great may be the hatred which Germany's cruelties, barbarities and treacheries have aroused against her, all thinking men in the great coalition of nations know that the very principles for which they fight demand the survival of Germany substantially within her present boundaries and with her present population. Small slices will be cut off from her territory in the east and in the west: Poland will be reunited and France will regain her lost provinces, but the Germany of the Germans will remain.

How then shall Germany be weakened so as to be impotent for aggression? Not by garrisoning her cities permanently by foreign soldiers, not by extorting from her a crushing indemnity, but by taking away from her the allies whose resources have enabled her to keep up the fight against the greater part of the world. Do the people in this country realize clearly that the kaiser controls in addition to sixty-eight millions of his own subjects also the subjects of his so-called allies numbering eighty millions? Germany has grown tremendously in area since the declaration of war. Disregarding for the present her great conquests she has increased in size from a country occupying 208,000 square miles into an empire of 1,200,000 square miles. André Cheradame, a great authority on the subject of Central Europe, describes the relations of Germany and her allies in this manner:

"In the Allied nations people continue to speak of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, as though these states remained just as they were before the war. Now these terms have no longer any relation to reality. The Quadruple Alliance of Central Europe is simply a great illusion, studiously fostered by William II, for by its means his plans are vastly facilitated. As a matter of fact, Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are not the allies, but the vassals of Berlin, and their influence with her is less than that of Saxony or Bavaria. The rulers at Constantinople, Sofia, Vienna and Budapest are simply marionettes moved by threads which are pulled by Berlin according to her strategic needs."

Of the vassals of Germany by far the most important one is the empire of the Hapsburgs. The fate of Turkey is sealed. There is no difference of opinion in the councils of the Allies as to the necessity of driving the Turk from Europe and giving freedom to the Christian and Arab subjects of the Osmanli. Bulgaria is important only as a link connecting the Central Empires with Constantinople. When Germany loses control of the Austrian territories, Bulgaria loses its value as a pawn in German plans of expansion. The crux of the problem of making Germany incapable of further aggression is the disposition to be made of the fifty million unwilling subjects of the Hapsburg throne.

The obvious solution is to dissolve Austria-Hungary into its component elements. It cannot be repeated too often that the Dual Monarchy is not a national state, like France or Italy or England or Germany, but a conglomeration of nations and fragments of nations, bound together solely by common subjection to a dynasty. Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary would not be a crime; it would be a logical execution of the principle for which the Allies are fighting — the right of each adult nation, great and small, to self-determination. That was the solution adopted by the Allies, when they made known their peace terms in January of this year. And that, no doubt, will be the solution favored by America, when this country is ready to state in concrete form its own peace terms. When the President declared in favor of an independent Poland, when he stated over and over again that no nation shall live under a sovereignty under which it does not want to live, he added his weighty judgment to the decisions of the statesmen of the Entente that Austria-Hungary shall not survive this war.

The disappearance of the Hapsburg empire from the roll of Great Powers will be the biggest change, at any rate as far as maps are concerned, worked by the cataclysm of the great war. It is not strange, therefore, that men of a conservative turn of mind, men who do not realize the tremendous changes bound to come as the result of the war, as well as men who have axes to grind, hesitate to approve such a radical transformation of political boundaries. They minimize the evils and the dangers of the present situation; they are afraid of the unknown quantities, the national states which would take the place of

the Dual Monarchy. And they suggest a less startling alternative, a plan which in their opinion will effect all that the dismemberment of Austria would accomplish. They want Austria federalized; they want the races of Austria now clamoring for independence to be constituted into self-governing units of a federal empire would not be under the thumb of Berlin.

The defenders of Austrian integrity are many and their motives are most diverse. Says Henry Wickham Steed in the *Edinburgh Review*: "The cry 'no dismemberment of Austria' has been echoed in the strangest quarters. Roman Catholic 'Clericals' and the Russian Soviet, the Italian 'official' (or Germanophile) Socialists and British and French Conservatives have vied with British Pacifists, sundry Radicals and the organs of international finance in repeating it." The objections and obstacles to their alternative of a federal Austria are most weighty. The sole reliance of the champions of Austria in the feasibility of the plan is the new emperor. There was reason to believe that Charles would look with favor upon a remodelling of the constitutional frame of his dual monarchy. Although he took the oath to observe the constitution of Hungary, in Austria he postponed taking the oath so as to leave himself some freedom of action. And he did make overtures to his discontented and disloyal Slav and Latin subjects, holding out the hope that they would be placed on an equality with the privileged German and Magyar minorities and that concessions would be made to their national aspirations. But his offers were spurned by the Bohemians and Slovaks, by the Jugoslavs, by the Poles, and the only result of his efforts at conciliating the desires of the oppressed majority was a great outcry by the two ruling races, Germans in Austria and Magyars in Hungary.

On November 22d the Associated Press had this dispatch from Amsterdam: "Replying to an interpellation in the Hungarian lower house regarding the Czech attacks on Hungary in the Austrian Reichsrat, Dr. Wekerle, the premier, is quoted in a Budapest message as saying he was authorized to announce that the king would frustrate all efforts directed against the lawful independence or territorial integrity of the Hungarian state. Hungary, said Dr. Wekerle, could never consent to a division of the country into separate nationality areas." There does not seem to have

been much editorial comment in American papers on this important announcement. It is virtually the end of all dreams of a federalized Austria-Hungary. The young emperor who was expected to emancipate his realm from William's control by giving a share in the government to elements hostile to Germany has publicly abandoned all plans for a thorough reform. He pledged himself not to permit interference with the dualistic structure of his inheritance, not to tolerate efforts to give equal rights to the majority of the people of Hungary. Federalization of Austria alone, even if it were not vetoed by the Germans of Austria, would be a farce, if the process cannot be applied to Hungary. The artificial splitting of the Slavs to enable Germans and Magyars to rule would continue. The Czechs in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia would remain separated from the Slovaks of northwestern Hungary; the Slovenians, Croatians and Serbians would be still divided between Austria, Hungary and the annexed provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not to speak of the Serbians of Serbia. The Little Russians of northeastern Hungary would still be cut off from their brothers in Galicia, as they in their turn would be kept separated from the people of Ukraine, and the Roumanian subjects of Charles would be still Germanized in Bukovina and Magyarized in Transylvania. The plan of a federalized Austria was nothing but a dream from the very beginning; the authoritative pronouncement just made in the parliament of Budapest should make that much plain to all who do not defend Austria from ulterior motives.

It is too late in the day to save the empire of Charles and Zita. It is not worth saving. Americans, especially, who are democrats and believe in the rights of peoples, not in the inherited rights of monarchs, have no reason to lift a finger to prolong the life in an artificial state, the very existence of which violates the principles of the founders of the American nation. A Frenchman, Louis Eisenmann, whose standard work "Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois", entitles him to speak with authority on the subject of the Hapsburg monarchy, wrote recently in *La Nation Tchèque*:

"The Austria-Hungary which people want to save is the dynastic Austria-Hungary. It is a question of preserving an empire for the House of Hapsburg. It is to the interest of a reigning family that people would sacrifice — unwittingly and cer-

tainly without wishing it — thirty million souls whose ardent sympathy goes to the Entente; and would sacrifice with them the whole fruit of this terrible war, the future of Europe and of the world. . . .

"There is a young couple, without great intelligence, without merit, who have not made great mistakes or committed great crimes, but who are overwhelmed by a heavy inheritance of crime and error. Around them stand twenty, fifty or a hundred families without nationality, without a real fatherland, cosmopolitan as people were two or three centuries ago, a last refuge of a tradition which elsewhere has yielded to the new spirit of the modern world. It is this group, this group alone, dynasty and aristocracy, that makes up Austria-Hungary. And we are asked to make peace with that, and for its sake to give up our ideals, sacrifice our friends and prepare our own undoing."

You cannot reform the empire of the Hapsburgs. As long as Austria-Hungary continues to exist, it will stand for the rule of a dynasty based on the privileged position of two minority races, and Germany will command the resources of another empire larger in area and almost as populous as the Hohenzollern empire. If you want to draw Germany's fangs and smash her Central Europe schemes, replace the dynastic state on the Danube with national states and erect instead of the present government by bayonets governments based on consent of the governed.

Several regiments on the Italian front have refused to obey orders and by way of punishment have been sent to Palestine. So the Czechs that once fought to win the Holy Land from the infidels are expected to fight now to save Jerusalem for the Turks.

There is one sure way of definitely limiting the power for ill of Germany, and that is the destruction of Austria-Hungary and thereby of the Central European bloc; if we wish to strike Germany for our purposes in a vital spot, we must strike at Austria-Hungary.

A. H. E. Taylor in the Oct.

Contemporary Review.

Although Kramář and his colleagues have been pardoned, they have not been forgiven. The Austrian Treasury is suing Karel Kramář and Dr. Alois Rašín for six and a half million crowns damage which, it is claimed, the state has suffered through their treasonable acts.

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

(Continued)

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan.

The Bohemian, or rather the Prague barocco period closes in the middle of the eighteenth century. Of the great artists who created this epoch Brandl died in 1738, Rainer 1743, Brokof 1731, Braun 1737, Dienzenhofer 1752; after that fine arts in Bohemia rapidly declined. The causes were political. The two principal supporters of art were the church and the nobility. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II the state greatly increased its power at the expense of the other two elements. The great territorial nobles became less important than the bureaucrats. Secularization of many churches and convents, carried out by Joseph, deprived the painters and sculptors of regular and wealthy patrons, while the nobles gravitated more and more to Vienna to be in attendance at the imperial court, the center of all fashion and power. The less important country gentlemen, scared by the aggressive accents of the French revolution and the increase of democratic tendencies, vegetated upon their estates and abandoned all inclination to patronize art. Then came the dark days of Napoleonic wars. First the ragged armies of revolutionary France, inspired by the Marseillaise, smashed the reputations of the most famous Austrian generals, and then appeared the scarlet star of Bonaparte. The laughing days of rococo were over; guitars played by great nobles and songs of high-born shepherdesses were silenced, as every day brought evil reports from the battlefields.

As these great events were taking place, Prague lost its bustling life, squares and streets were empty, the old world was in death throes, and the new world had not yet taken shape. The third new estate, the estate of citizens, was in the process of creation, but some decades elapsed before it was able to undertake the nurture of art.

We come here to an unexpected event. At the very end of the century, in 1796, there was founded the "Society of Patriotic Friends of Art in Prague." Eight noblemen united to "elevate the decadent artistic taste, to stop further export of works of art still remaining in the country and to es-

tablish a picture gallery and school of art." These men, were not, of course, interested in the liberation of Czech art from slavery to foreign schools, a state of affairs existing since the days of barocco, nor did they intend to cultivate the fertile home soil so that it might give growth to a vigorous, genuinely Bohemian art. Their motives were altogether educational, humanitarian and in the general interest of higher civilization. The founders desired to give a tone to the taste of the burgher classes and to raise new generations of competent artists. At the head of the society was Count František Šternberk. A public art gallery was organized out of works donated and loaned, and in 1800 a school of art was founded under the pretentious name of the Painters' Academy. Both institutions are still in existence. The gallery is now in the Rudolfinum, a beautiful home of art erected between the years 1876 and 1886 by the Bohemian Savings Bank at a cost of \$800,000 in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary. The Painters' Academy, made a state institution in 1885, has been housed in a splendid building above the Stromovka Park in 1902.

The first directors of the Academy were not Bohemian and they did not lead their pupils to Bohemian art. The gifted scholars were sent to Rome to study, and so their paintings had an international character. The school produced paintings, but true enthusiasm, the sacred fire, were lacking. Those early days can show no great painter. The first director, and at first the only profesor, was a protégé of the prince-bishops of Passau, Josef Bergler; twenty-nine years of his life spent in Bohemia brought no lasting results for true art, but his contemporaries showered praise upon him.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century František Mánes, a journeyman miller, came to Prague from Radnice near Rokycany. His biblical name gave rise later to a legend that his family was of Holland origin, but no proofs of this have been found. Two sons of František Mánes and his wife Dorothy became painters: Antonín made a name for himself as a painter of

landscapes, Václav as a painter of historical scenes. Both impressed their individuality on the Academy. Václav was for a time director, after Waldherr, Bergler's successor. Antonín was professor of landscape painting. The latter had a son, named Joseph, born May 12, 1820, whom fate selected for the founder of modern Bohemian painting.

Little Joseph grew up in an atmosphere of art. He saw father and uncle busy drawing, painting, engraving and lithographing: the talk at home turned on art, and friends who called at the Mánes home were all artists. As early as 1835 Joseph was enrolled in the Academy. His education was carried on in German, for at that time everything in Prague was German and in the homes of better class Czech conversation was an exception up to the year 1848. This fact alone proves what a gigantic work was done by the patriots who awakened the Czech nation to a new life. And yet the citizens of Prague were in a sense patriotic Bohemians, for all of them, Czechs and Germans, looked upon Bohemia as their fatherland and were proud of its noble history. Of course all work tending to strengthen the national consciousness had to be done under an innocent guise. Metternich's absolutism suppressed with a heavy hand anything savoring of freedom. Upon Metternich's fall in 1848 the new Bohemian patriotism took Prague as if by storm, but at the same time the Germans ceased to look upon themselves as citizens of Bohemia and took up a hostile attitude toward everything Czech. But let us return for a moment to the thirties.

In 1837 occurred the first significant event in Mánes' life. Countess Leopoldina Silva-Tarouca, daughter of Count František Sternberk, came to Prague to live with her son Bedřich. The young man inherited from his grandfather the love of art, was fond of drawing since his childhood and now in Prague he got for his drawing master the father of Mánes. The count was 21 years old. Joseph Mánes was 17, both possessed of a soft, sensitive temperament, and they became fast friends for life. When Bedřich later became a priest in Moravia, the Moravian seat of the Silva-Tarouca family, the castle of Čechy, was Mánes' haven of refuge. Count Bedřich Tarouca was an enthusiastic Bohemian patriot and soon made the young artist acquainted with the aims of the national movement.

It was a strange whim of chance that a young nobleman should have shown the Prague student of art the road to his people.

Around the year 1844 the new life in Prague gave many signs of soon bursting into bloom. The youngest artistic generation, headed by Karel Svoboda, began to lay stress on nationality as well as art, and Mánes would surely have become one of the leading spirits of his school, if he had not gone to Munich after his father's death. It is evident that the "patriots" hoped for much from Mánes, for we find in the "Česká Včela" (Bohemian Bee) a remark that "removal to Munich surely will not prevent Mánes from keeping up his relations with the younger artists and countrymen from we expect a new epoch in Bohemian art that was once so glorious."

In Munich Mánes' genius matured. He came back strong, virile, selfconfident, all within the space of three years spent in the city on the Iser which at that time cultivated art feverishly under the passionate patronage of King Louis. In the Bavarian city, too, Mánes became a conscious Czech patriot; he insisted on writing his name with a dash over the second letter and in conversation always defended earnestly his Bohemian country. Ferd. J. Náprstek tells us that in a company of artists which he once attended in the city of Munich, the famous Schwanthaler speaking of Mánes said that Mánes always was fighting in defense of the Czechs by word and deed. Early in 1847 Mánes returned to Prague, and when on April 30, 1848, "Slovanská Lípa" (Slav Lindentree) came to be organized to be the center of the political and democratic regeneration in Bohemia, he became at once a member. It will be remembered that Palacký, Rieger, Erben and other great men sat on the executive committee. When in November, 1848, the Union of Decorative Artists of Bohemia was established, a society at first including in its membership Germans, but soon purely Czech and still in existence, Mánes was commissioned to carry out the first work undertaken by the society, namely the publication of portraits of the chief Bohemian statesmen. The leaders of the nation were at that time in Kroměříž in attendance upon the first Austrian parliament. Mánes came there in the first part of January to make the portraits of Dr. A. M. Pinkas. Dr. Ant. Strobach and Dr. F. L. Rieger. These three pencil drawings are the first fruits of Mánes' genius. The best

of them is Rieger's portrait. The young, fiery statesman, bold, clever, uncompromising, who had just ignited the enthusiasm of his people and drew the attention of all Europe by his speech of January 6, 1849, on the first paragraph of the proposed constitution "All authority in the state proceeds from the people", this man lives before us in Mánes' drawing as a veritable tribune of the people. A noble, high forehead, large, glowing eye, the whole body with the closed first reveals a great orator. February 8, a month before the parliament

was dissolved, Mánes was through with his work. With his first portraits he excelled all that had been done before him in that line and reached a height of accomplishment not exceeded for decades to come. Only in Max Švabinský have the Czechs a portrait painter equal to the great Mánes.

Thus we have reached the threshold of the most modern period of the Bohemian Fine Arts. A separate sketch of this epoch will appear in the new volume of the Bohemian Review.

(To be continued.)

American Interests and Bohemian Question.

By Robert Joseph Kerner, Ph.D.

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American policy in this war may be defined as the preservation and the extension of democracy, the formation of some sort of world government, and the destruction of Pan-Germanism. It is a policy which adequately protects the interests of the United States, defends her institutions and offers aid to the nations of the world to free themselves from autocracy. By the second, she guarantees the freedom of the seas for all nations and hopes to do away with the fear of sudden attack and of overarmament by land and sea. By the third, she hopes to make an end of a military autocracy which through national selfishness arms nations and consolidates empires with the single aim of world dominion.

The United States will be — if she is not now — one of the greatest workshops of industry in the world. In fact, she is another England on a grander scale, and in the future will be just as dependent for the transportation over the seas of raw products for her population and for her factories. Soon her soil, like England's will be unable to support her population, as indeed her soil can now no longer yield forth sufficient raw products to supply her factories. A billion dollars' worth of raw products for manufacturers was imported into the United States in the course of the last year. American exports are now preponderantly manufactured goods, and this preponderance will increase steadily with time. Therefore the freedom of the seas and open markets for manufactured goods—not markets closed by economic leagues—are a vital necessity to the United States. What-

ever endangers these interests endangers American democracy and American industrial life; the first is political and social, the latter is economic.

When the autocracy and militarism of Germany and her offspring, Pan-Germanism, endangered these interests, the United States became involved in the Great War. It is at this point that the Bohemian Question comes within the scope of American interests. The independence of Bohemia has been urged as the first step in the destruction of Pan-Germanism; it would be the first barrier to the expansion of German militarism and economic selfishness. A restored Serbia or a South Slavic state would be the second obstacle; the Dardanelles, neutralized under international control or Russian, the third; the partitioning of Asia Minor, the fourth.

The power of Modern Germany is the result of organization and method drilled into the modern German by autocracy and militarism. In this way, the Prussian army was created and Prussia's population made submissive. In this way, the German empire was brought under the rule of the Prussian junker. In this way, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were bound to Prussian Germany. In this way, the Pan-German plan has almost been realized.

What is the aim of the German government, which officially denies Pan-German aspirations, but actually carries them out at each opportunity? It is certain, from German utterances, official and unofficial, that the least which the German government aims to do is to make the balance of

power in the world favorable to herself. At most, she hopes to dominate the world. This can only be accomplished by the realization of the plans of the Pan-Germans.

Pan-Germanism comprehends the incorporation or close alliance of the peoples of Germanic stock—the Germans, the Austrian Germans, the Dutch, and the Flemings of Belgium at least, if not also the Scandinavians. It looks forward evidently to two definite economic auxiliaries — a northern union, the Scandinavian states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden before which the Pan-Germans parade the menace of the two giants, Great Britain and Russia; and a southern union in the Balkans and the Turkish Empire. This important land complex which stretches from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf is not connected—and perhaps never will be by the most brutal methods of denationalization — by a common language or common institutions, but by railroads and waterways. Its chief artery is the Hamburg to Bagdad Railroad with its possible African and Asiatic connections. It possesses access to all the important seas of the world and through its grasp upon the Dardanelles it spans one of the greatest of trade routes. With its unrivaled waterways — the Rhine and the Danube — it surpasses any other area its size in the world. It presupposes the economic vassalage of Russia, now almost wholly dependent on the passage of the Dardanelles and the vassalage of France, whose future on the continent would be forever blighted.

Russia has endeavored to reach the ice-free shores of the Pacific, but was checked by Japan in the Russo-Japanese war. England blocked the way through Persia. Germany, England and the Scandinavian states block the way through the Baltic and the Sound. Now Pan-Germanism stands on guard and offers vassalage through the Dardanelles. It may safely be asserted that as long as Pan-Germanism is not crushed or a world state is not established and the Dardanelles are neither internationalized nor Russian, so long will Russia have a good reason for disturbing the status quo, in other words, for war. Russian expansion or yearning for an ice-free port is nothing else than a clear manifestation that Russia is organically incomplete.

The British Empire, whose spinal cord is the trade route from England to India by way of the Mediterranean Sea, would be vitally menaced. Egypt and India would lie

in the path of Pan-Germanism in its African or Asiatic extensions.

Lost in such a vast empire, the Czechs would be Germanized and the capital of the colossus perhaps moved to Prague as a compromise between Berlin and Vienna and because of its central geographical position. The Czechs are, therefore, conscious of the ultimate significance which Pan-Germanism has in store for them. Would an independent Bohemia fighting for her liberty, even though she succumbed, be worse off than one which was gradually to await absorption of the type intended for Prussian Poland?

Economic jealousies have beclouded the issue of the Bagdad Railroad. Too much has been said and written about the great commercial trade-route revolution that it would bring about; how the oversea route for fast express and light traffic would be diverted from the seas through Pan-Germany and that the railroad should be checked for that reason. Alas, its completion can only be retarded; it can not be prevented permanently. It is in the order of things. Nor is it worthy of the opponents of Germany to bewail her possession of the route or her favorable location with reference to it. In the defense of their interests they can advance the strongest argument in their opposition to the expansion of militarism and autocracy as exemplified by Germany. A democratic Germany interested in the building of such a road cannot be a menace. Some sort of world government and a democratized Germany would put an end to the danger. What the Allies are fighting is not the normal economic evolution — for they cannot prevent that any more than they can prevent the change of the seasons — but rather the political aspects, militarism and autocracy, which give this attempt on the part of Germany to wrest the economic leadership of the world its dangerous and destructive character.

American interests and policy demand the destruction of Pan-Germanism because it propagates Prussianism, the subjection of nations and races, the extension of exclusive economic understandings, and exalts German nationalism above the common interests of mankind. If Pan-Germanism were victorious, there would be only the seas to check it from being transferred in the course of time to the American hemisphere. How long would the seas be free then? Hence the destruction of Pan-Germanism is the first step, the creation of a

league of nations or a world state the second step in American policy so far as Europe is concerned. The remaining questions and unrighted wrongs, as President Wilson has so rightly pointed out can only be solved after these two items in the programme of American and Allied policy are attained. It is clear, therefore, that America is at one on the essentials of the big task before the democratic world. And that is sufficient so far as Bohemia is concerned.

But how may Pan-Germanism be destroyed? Evidently its accomplishment has already been outlined by the powers. It presupposes the defeat of Germany and her allies on the battlefield and the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. By the former, the belief in the invincibility of German arms and the leadership of the caste of war lords will be destroyed, by the latter, the most docile vassal of Germany will be taken away from her.

Why cannot a chastened and democratized Austria-Hungary answer the purpose? Why must she be dismembered? The simple answer is that in her present make-up, she can only be a tool of Germany; an independent policy is out of the question. The constitutions which govern the Dual Kingdom of Austria-Hungary give the real power to three elements, the German dynasty of the Hapsburgs, and the German minority in Austria and the Magyar minority in Hungary. This arrangement is as much a farce as is the German constitution which places the power in the hands of the Hohenzollerns, the junkers of Prussia and the captains of industry under the leadership of the princes of the Bundesrat. The German Reichstag, the Austrian Reichsrat, and the Hungarian Lower House are debating societies, where things are sometimes said, but where anything is rarely done.

Many plans have been drawn up and attempts have been made to remedy this intolerable condition which is a standing menace to peace as long as it lasts, because it is founded on injustice. The dynasty, German by nationality, tenaciously holds to the property conception of the state — the state belongs to it. And the state is a medley of nations and races of which at least six are of vital importance in any attempted solution of the problem: the Czechs and the Slovaks, the Germans, the Poles, the Magyars, the Serbo-Croats, and the Roumanians — neither of which has a numerical majority in the whole state or in either of the two component parts, but whose total pop-

ulation is preponderantly Slavic. In the past, only militarism has held this mosaic realm together under the domination of the Germans. On the whole, four solutions have been tried or advanced thus far. They are, Centralism (or a united consolidated state), Dualism (the present form), Trialism or Quadrupleism (by the inclusion of a new state like Bohemia or a reconstructed Poland or a new South Slavic state), and Federalism.

Centralism under absolutism has been tried and failed. It was carried out to its logical completeness by Joseph II (1780-1790). In its absolutist form, it must now be considered obsolete. But there are hopes among some Germans that centralism may be combined with federalism in which the essentials of unity and federalism may be maintained. For this another Bismarck is necessary, for it cannot be accomplished except by blood and iron. Above all, the Magyars will oppose this solution unless the dominant share, which the Austrian Germans wish, be handed to them. Not only would it mean the subjection of the other nations of the empire, but internationally the empire would be the tool of Germany as it is now.

Dualism has been tried and found wanting. It is founded on the injustice of the rule of the minority. The domination of the minority of Germans in Austria over the majority of Slavs and of the minority of Magyars in Hungary over a majority of Slavs, Roumanians, and Germans is not a foundation on which a durable peace may be built. How can the present Dual Kingdom be democratized, as some of her publicists now proclaim is becoming the state, and the domination of majorities still be retained? No careful student of Austro-Hungarian politics can believe that the present dominant minorities will commit suicide. It is easier to give them independence than to ask them to accept an equal place among six or seven where formerly two held sway.

Before the war, Trialism is said to have been the dream of the murdered Archduke. At times, it was rumored that Bohemia would be the new state added to give counterpoise to the arrogant Magyar state. Later, a new South Slavic state, which meant the incorporation of Serbia, was mentioned as the third state in this trialism. Naturally enough any attempts to trialize Austria-Hungary will meet with the stern opposition of Hungary. It would

not be a peaceful solution. A new Poland might be substituted for Bohemia or the South Slavic state or Trialism might be changed to a combination of four states — Quadrupleism — but the main objection would still hold good. The Germans of Austria would endeavor to increase the membership of the combination as long as they could control it against the Magyars, and the latter would resist by force, if necessary. It is evident that Trialism or Quadrupleism is doomed to failure at the hands of the Magyars and such other elements in Austria-Hungary as would be injured by the new combination. At best, it would be a temporary makeshift.

Federalism presupposes equality or a measure of equality on the part of the nations which make up the Hapsburg empire. If the principle of federalism be honestly carried out, it will mean the end of German and Magyar domination. The Hapsburg dynasty fears the federal government would either slip out of its grasp or that the empire might easily dissolve and it be unable to find the force necessary to hold the state together. A federation is in principle opposed, therefore, by these three elements, thus far the lords of the empire's destiny. It is certain that federal Austria-Hungary would be much weaker from a military point of view and hence would not be to Germany's liking, which would employ all possible means to prevent a just federalism. The Slavs might at some crucial moment at least prevent a German alliance or assistance to Germany, even if they might not be able to have positive control of foreign policy. In short, the obstacles to the formation of a state like a federal Austria which could encourage a durable peace would be insurmountable. They would be immense if each nationality were gladly willing to enter such a federation, but to form one against the interests of the vested elements in power would spell failure.

Since Centralism, Dualism, Trialism, and Federalism have either been failures or are impracticable, make unstable the peace of Europe, and offer no permanent obstacle to Pan-Germanism, they are unacceptable from the American point of view. A just federation could alone give the nations of Austria-Hungary their chance to live, but the statesman who can mould the Danubian Monarchy into a federation has not yet appeared. In fact, the solution of the whole problem seems far more simple when it is

preceded by dismemberment. The old order retains too many vivid memories of the power which must vanish when democracy makes its home where the Austrian Monarchy formerly held sway.

Hence dismemberment seems to be the only permanent solution. Its main outlines have often been traced. Bohemia with Moravia and Slovakia would form one unit; the Poles of Austria would be joined to a restored Poland, the Ruthenians to an autonomous Little Russia in the new federal Russian Republic, the Roumanians of Transylvania to a restored Roumania, the Magyars, shorn of their subjects, might form a state of their own. The Slovenians, Serbians and Croatsians, might form the much talked of South Slavic state. The Germans of Austria might be incorporated with Germany in part or as a whole. If in part, then a small eastern strip would be handed over to Bohemia and the new South Slavic state to form a bridge for purposes of economic intercourse. This would be necessary as a precaution and only if a world state were not formed. In such a case, an alliance with the new South Slavic state and alliances with France, Poland and Russia would be advisable. On the other hand, with the existence of a sufficient guarantee in world government, neither the Austrian connecting strip nor the alliances would be in order.

It is clear then that Austria-Hungary should be dismembered and that a league of nations will better guarantee the peace of mid-Europe against the encroachments of Pan-Germanism. American interests and policy oppose a balance of power which at best can only be temporary and which periodically brings those participating in it into crises or wars. We may, therefore, say that American interests coincide with the best solution of the difficulties confronting that part of the world and incidentally they come wholly within the desires of the Czechs.

It has been argued that the economic life of Bohemia will be stifled by the establishment of her independence, because now she is protected by the Austrian tariff and in the future would share in the tariff of Pan-Germany, if that were created. Those who argue in that way ignore the comparative wealth of the various parts of the empire. They do not know that Bohemia's taxes have paid for most of the wars of the Hapsburg empire from the sixteenth century down into our own; that she possesses

the bulk of industry of the empire; that her growth has been retarded by the capitalistic intrigues or high finance of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, from whose directorship Czechs, though owning one-third of the shares, have been excluded. It is a known fact that the aggressive expansionist policy of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans during the ten years preceding the war destroyed Bohemia's greatest market, the Balkans. The Balkan peoples and the Turks boycotted Austrian goods, that is Bohemian goods, while the Czechs protested in vain against a foreign policy which could lead only to war. It is doubtful whether as an independent state Czecho-Slovakia would fare any worse than she has in the past. She has fought the wars of a German dynasty, which since 1879 has been the vassal of Germany, she has paid far out of proportion for all the costly wars of the empire,

she has suffered economically worse than if she were surrounded wholly by German territory.

The solution of the Bohemian Question has become a vital American interest and should find a definite place in American policy. Once more may America stand up for democracy and the rights of small nations and, at the same time, help to destroy the ugliest dream of the ages — Pan-Germanism—and help to build a just federation for all the nations of the world. In the words of President Wilson, "These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

F. L. Rieger.

In these days, when the question of Bohemian independence is to the fore, the minds of all true sons of Bohemia often revert to the former fights made for the restoration of ancient Bohemian glory. The most recent of them was the great struggle carried on fifty years ago for the recognition of the historical rights of the Bohemian lands under the leadership of František Ladislav Rieger.

Rieger's long life spans the days of Czech "resurrection" with the most recent times. When he was born in 1818, Bohemia had the appearance of a thoroughly Germanized country. The government was German, the privileged classes were German, the capital and most of the country towns were, superficially at least, German. When Rieger was a young man, it was rare indeed to hear a well-dressed man speak in Czech on the streets of Prague. What a contrast with the closing years of Rieger's life! In 1903, the year of his death, Prague was a city of half a million, Czech to the core, center of a brilliant Slav culture, with a great university, a splendid literature and a strong political life.

Rieger was born in northeastern Bohemia in the small town of Semily. His father was a miller, and so had been his ancestors before him since the seventeenth century. In spite of his German name Rieger came of good Czech stock, of that peasant class which saved the whole race and reconquered the cities of Bohemia. It was the custom in those days, and for many years later, to send young children to board with acquaintances in German districts so as to learn German early. Little František was only eight years old, when he was sent by his parents to Schumburg for this purpose, and at the age of ten was admitted into the Jičín gymnasium, in which the instruction was German, as was the

case with all the higher schools in Bohemia at that period. Later he went to the academic gymnasium of Prague, the rector of which was Joseph Jungmann, the man who more than any other single man brought about the revival of Bohemian literature. At the early age of seventeen Rieger composed patriotic poems for the "Květy", and coming into contact with the enthusiastic men who were full of devotion to the despised Czech race and language he determined to put all his strength into the service of his people and to do some notable deed to bring the Czech nation into something more like equality with the great nations of the west.

It was the father's intention to give his son a sound liberal education and then have him take up the family trade of miller. But young Rieger persuaded his parents to allow him to take up the study of law. That profession was indicated for him by his extraordinary oratorical ability. He had a splendid, resonant baritone voice, a complete command of the choice, pure, undefiled Czech language, and a poetic temper, which, based upon a solid foundation of culture and wide reading made his speeches brilliant, fiery and convincing. He was a true tribune of the people, but he never became a demagogue. It is noteworthy also that he possessed the command of more than half a dozen languages. He was as mighty an orator in German as in Bohemian, and he spoke fluently French, Italian, Polish and Russian, in addition to a fair knowledge of English and Serbian.

Before the year 1848 the talents of Rieger found little expression. There was no political life in Austria under Metternich. In 1847 Rieger received the degree of doctor of law and took a lengthy trip into the south Slav lands and Italy. He was in

Rome, when the French revolution of February 1848 sent him post-haste back into his own country. When he got to Vienna, he found there a delegation of the St. Václav committee of Prague, the first political organ of the Bohemian people in more than two centuries. They came to Vienna to negotiate with the new cabinet for the recognition of the historical rights of the Bohemian crown and the granting of constitutional government. Right here began the great task to which Rieger dedicated all the remaining years of his life, the task of obtaining such concessions from the emperor as would make of Bohemia a national state under the constitutional rule of the Hapsburgs. Rieger failed, but not because he was not a leader big enough; he failed, because the word of the Hapsburgs could not be trusted, and because the problem could be solved only by a gen-



Fr. Lad. Rieger.

eral European reconstruction in which the Austrian empire would disappear.

In those great days of 1848, when all things seemed possible, and when the hitherto little-noticed literary revival of Bohemia burst out suddenly into a full national and political life, Rieger joined Palacký, the historian of Bohemia, in opposing the Frankfurt parliament. The German Bund, the loose federation of the princes, had gone to pieces, and a parliamentary government was to be created for all the German territories, including the possessions of Prussia and Austria. In the German lands of the Hapsburgs elections were actually carried out for representatives to the Frankfurt parliament, but when the emissaries from Frankfurt came to Bohemia, as one of the German lands, they received the answer that Bohemia would have nothing to

do with the affairs of Germany. In the meantime great concessions were secured from Emperor Ferdinand. There was to be a separate Bohemian executive and a Bohemian parliament. But riots broke out in Prague, and Prince Windischgraetz, the military commander, took advantage of them to bombard the city and hold up the execution of the imperial concessions. The scene of the political fight moved from Prague to Vienna to the new Austrian parliament, and later to Kroměříž in Moravia, where the parliament had to flee before the violence of the Vienna mobs. Rieger was elected by seven districts to the imperial parliament. There his remarkable gift of oratory and debate made him at once a prominent figure. The most famous of his speeches was the one pronounced on January 8, 1849, in justification of Section One of the proposed fundamental laws: "All power proceeds from the people." But while the deputies were debating, the armies of the new emperor Francis Joseph gained first a great victory in Italy, then with the help of Czar Nicholas I. crushed the Hungarian rebellion, and the first Austrian parliament was sent home. Again for more than ten years the old absolutist regime returned, and Rieger became a political suspect who was not allowed to lecture at the university or publish a newspaper.

During these days of political reaction Rieger married. His wife Marie was the daughter of that still greater figure in modern Bohemia, František Palacký, who had taught the people to love their history, and to be proud of the name Czech. Palacký is the only man to whom the Bohemians give the title of "father of his nation", while his son-in-law Rieger bears the proud title, also alone of all the Czech statesmen, of "leader of his nation." During the days of 1848 Rieger was only one of the leaders, Palacký and Havlíček taking precedence of him. But in the new constitutional era which opened with the defeat of Austria in 1859 he was for thirty years the one great leader of his people in their political fight for selfdetermination.

In October 1860 Francis Joseph published a so-called "diploma" by which he bound himself irrevocably to share the government with the representatives of the people. The principal legislative power was to be vested in the diets of the several kingdoms and lands subject to his sceptre, while certain specified affairs common to the empire were to be handled in an imperial council (Reichsrat) to which the diets sent their representatives. This was a constitutional program which coincided to a large extent with the desires of the Czech people.

But one of the many somersaults for which the politics of Francis Joseph came to be famous, occurred only a few months afterward. In the following February the emperor issued a patent which was declared to be supplementary to the constitutional principles of the diploma, but which in reality changed the whole foundation of the Austrian constitutional structure. There was to be a twofold imperial parliament, wider and narrower, one to legislate in affairs common to all of the

monarchy, including Hungary, the other to legislate for the non-Hungarian lands of the emperor. At the same time the competence of the diets was summarily abbreviated and the Vienna parliament was made the real legislative body in all matters of importance. In other words, while the October diploma contemplated a federalistic Austria, the February patent decreed a centralized Austria with many indications of the coming dualism, the division of power between the Germans and the Magyars at the expense of the Slavs.

Rieger was elected to the Bohemian diet, and the diet sent him to the Vienna parliament. There he became the leader of the right, a party aiming at the federalization of Austria and the recognition of the separate place of the lands of the Bohemian crown within the Hapsburg monarchy. He had reached an agreement with the Bohemian nobility, and as long as he remained the leader of the Czech people, he adhered to this alliance with the great landholders who according to the conservative election laws held the balance of power in the Bohemian diet and occasionally in the parliament.

The first Austrian parliament under the present constitution had a centralistic majority. What was more important, the emperor listened to the advice of Schmerling, a German liberal whose ideal was to make Austria a German state ruled by commercial and industrial magnates of the cities. The Bohemian deputies could accomplish nothing under those conditions, and by remaining in the parliament would have recognized its legality. In March 1863 Czech deputies left the Reichsrath not to return for 16 years. The attention of Rieger during the first year of the famous passive opposition was directed to educational work at home. The National Theatre of Prague around which has grown up so much of the literary and musical art of Bohemia is primarily the result of the work of Rieger. Even before the revolutionary days of 1848, when the Czechs were ignored in their own capital, Rieger was the moving spirit in organizing a society for the building of a Czech National Theatre. In the sixties, when the Czechs and their allies, the historical Bohemian nobility, controlled the diet, Rieger secured an appropriation of 300,000 gulden for the building of a theatre worthy of the nation. His plans were not fully carried out until 1881, and the noble theatre now standing on the banks of the Vltava dates from 1883, after the first great theatre had been burned down. But a provisional building was erected by Rieger in November 1862, and since then drama and opera have been offered in Bohemian guise to the inhabitants of Prague without an interruption.

In 1865 a change occurred in Vienna. The centralizing ministry of Schmerling was dismissed, and the new premier, Count Richard Belcredi, was more favorable to the aspirations of the Czechs. Rieger organized a conference of Bohemian and Moravian leaders and submitted in their name a memorandum to Belcredi, stating the demands of the Bohemian

people. In the diet also he supported in a powerful speech an address to the emperor, as a result of which Francis Joseph for the second time promised to come to Prague and in assuming the ancient royal crown confirm the liberties of the kingdom. Then the war came by which Austria was thrust out of Germany, and Prussia definitely took the leading place until then enjoyed by the Hapsburgs in the old German empire. One result of the complete defeat of Austria was the necessity of satisfying the demands of the Magyars who threatened to repeat their rebellion of 1849. Francis Joseph without consulting the representatives of any race, upon the advice of his German ministers conceded the demands of the Magyars and changed fundamentally the whole structure of his empire. In place of the Austrian monarchy arose now the Austro-Hungarian dual empire, in one part of which the Germans were to rule, while the other part was turned over to the Magyar aristocracy. Only after the deed was done, did the emperor consent to submit it to the ratification of the "narrower" parliament, now the only assembly in Vienna, and in order to gain majority there, he dissolved refractory diets, like the diet of Bohemia, and by using every kind of governmental and dynastic pressure brought the big landholders to his side and secured the election of enough Reichsrath representatives to have the Hungarian compromise ratified. In the Bohemian diet the Czech party found itself in a minority, and so in 1867 the Czech deputies led by Rieger turned their backs on the Prague diet, as they had done four years before in the Vienna parliament.

By way of protest against this arbitrary change of the status of the Bohemian lands Palacký and Rieger headed an important Bohemian delegation to Moscow, where in 1867 the first Russian exposition was held. Since that time the eyes of the Czechs were constantly turned toward Russia in the hope that through her great power the condition of the Austrian Slavs would be ameliorated. Two years later he submitted a memorandum to the representative of the French government, outlining such a reconstruction of the Hapsburg empire, as would make of Austria an ally of France. Had the just demands of the Bohemians been granted, Austrian foreign policy would not have come under the tutelage of Germany, and without Austria Germany would never have dared to defy the world.

In 1870 Francis Joseph experienced another change of mind. Count Potocki was called to the head of the government, and as a first sign of the changed regime the Bohemian diet was again dissolved. The new diet had a Czech majority, and Rieger prepared an address to the emperor in which the Czechs agreed to attend the delegations, representing the whole empire, but not the Reichsrath the legality of which they would not recognize. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out, and it was due to Rieger who like all the Bohemians sympathized deeply with the French that the diet of Bohemia, the only parliamentary body

in all Europe, issued a dignified protest against the Prussian robbery of Alsace-Lorraine. Much of the sympathy which France today extends to the Bohemian cause is due to the memory of the Bohemian sympathy for France in her hour of defeat.

The days of 1870-71 witnessed the last Austrian crisis which gave promise of satisfying the demands of the Bohemians for freedom within Austria. Potocki resigned in 1871, but his successor, Count Hohenwart, was ready to make a compromise with the Bohemians similar to the one that had been concluded with the Magyars. The ministry and the Czechs reached an agreement on the main point of the Bohemian program, and on September 12, 1871, Francis Joseph issued a solemn rescript in which he said: "I willingly recognize the rights of this kingdom and will ratify this recognition by the coronation oath." Rieger was made the general reporter of a committee of thirty to prepare the fundamental articles by which the relations of the rest of monarchy would be regulated, and it seemed that the Czechs had reached their goal. And then the influence of the new united Germany and of the Magyars caused a sudden reversal of policy. The emperor's solemn promise was withdrawn, and before the end of 1871 it became a crime to circulate his rescript in Bohemia. A German nationalist ministry was appointed and a period of persecution came upon Bohemia. It was not the fault of Rieger, and his people knew it. When he returned to Prague after the failure of his proposals in Vienna, he was welcomed like a triumphant general, and his carriage was drawn by enthusiastic men from the station to his residence.

It was inevitable though that some reaction would arise in the people against the failure of Rieger's alliance with the nobility to get results. It was at this time that the Young Czech party was formed, but for twenty years more they could make no headway against the popularity and prestige of the "leader of the nation". The Bohemian politics got into an impasse. To go to the Reichsrat and fight there for the rights of the Czechs seemed to imply the abandonment of the historical state rights program; to stay at home and take no part in public affairs was a policy that brought benefit only to the Germans. So it happened that in 1879 Count Taaffe, a nobleman of Irish origin and a close personal friend of the emperor, persuaded Rieger and his colleagues to re-enter the parliament and become one of the parties of the right, supporting the Taaffe government. In return for this the Czechs obtained important concessions, such as the erection of a Bohemian university in Prague and the recognition of the Czech language as the "external" language of governmental offices in their dealings with the people of Bohemian districts. Upon entering the Reichsrat after an absence of sixteen years the Bohemian delegation made a reservation of their rights, and the emperor in the speech from the throne expressly acknowledged this reservation.

For more than ten years Dr. Rieger fought constantly in the parliament at the head of the Czech

deputies from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia for laws which would put his people on an equality with the Germans in their own land. It was a modest program, considering that the Czechs had both valid historical rights, and a majority of the people, in fact more than two thirds. He did obtain valuable concessions and his policy contributed to the consolidation of the influence of the Czech people on governmental measures. But the results unfortunately were far short of the radical feeling of the people. And a sudden turn came about in 1890 which closed the long period of Rieger's leadership. Rieger, and with him the Old Czech party, as it now became known, comprising a great majority of the Czech deputies, consented at the request of Taaffe to enter into conferences with the German deputies from Bohemia in order to reach a compromise in local Bohemian affairs. The principal concession on the German side was consent to a change in the election laws by which the Bohemians would definitely obtain majority in the Prague diet, without being dependent on the votes of the feudal landholders. In return for that Rieger agreed to measures which would have led to a division of Bohemia into a Czech and German sphere. These so-called "punktače" found no approval with the Czech people, and in the elections of 1891 the Old Czech party was swept away, Rieger himself failing of re-election. That was the end of the long political life of the great Czech tribune of the people.

Rieger was honored in many ways both by his people and by governments. When his seventieth birthday was celebrated in Prague in 1888, the large amount of 113,000 gulden was collected by popular subscription as a birthday present. Rieger refused to use the money either for himself or for his family, and turned it over for the support of Bohemian literature. He was the honorary citizen of almost every city of Bohemia and Moravia, and he was also the first president of that great Bohemian institution, the Central School Fund (Ústřední Matice Školská). He received several Austrian and Russian decorations, and the last Austrian ministry, friendly to the Slavs, the cabinet of Badeni, made Rieger a baron. He died, full of years and honors, March 3, 1903, and the City of Prague gave him a royal funeral.

The motto of Rieger which has become the battle cry of all Bohemians was the brief "Don't give up" (Nedejme se).

The memory of the Czech leader of the nation is kept alive in America by the Rieger Club of Chicago. It is the principal social organization of Catholic Bohemians in Chicago and it exerts a wide influence on the life of the big Bohemian settlement in the Metropolis of the West. Its membership includes some of the biggest business and professional men of the South West Side of Chicago. Its monthly organ, the "Rieger", not only gives news of the happenings at the Club, but wields a great influence over all Bohemian people of Catholic

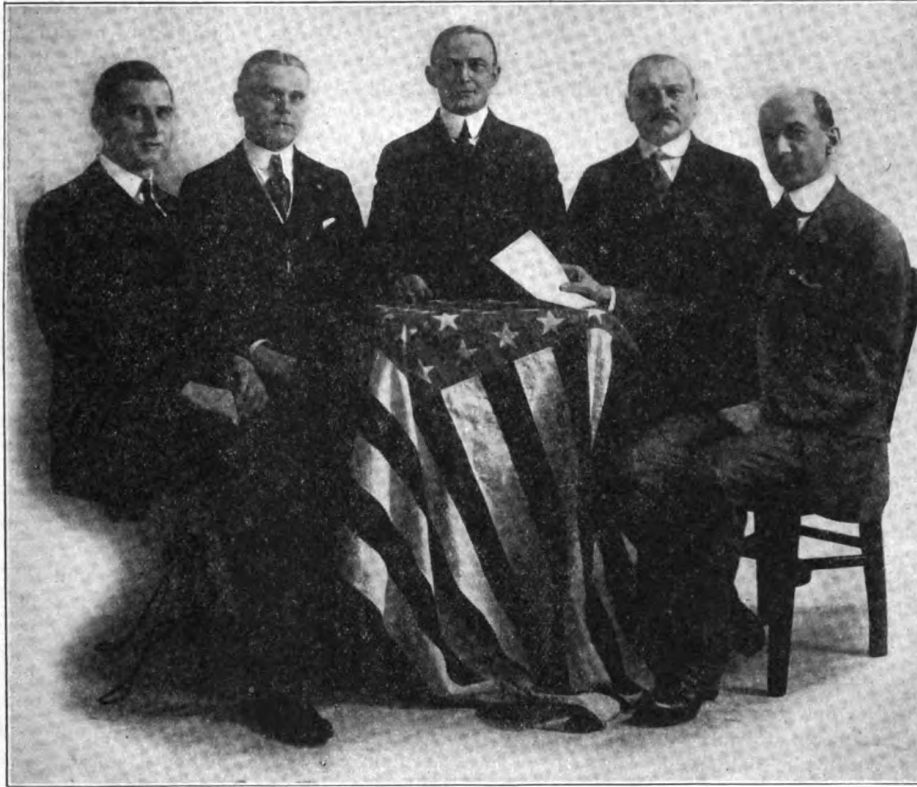
faith in this country. The Rieger Club Octet, under the direction of Joseph Pribyl, enjoys great popularity in a community used to good singing.

As might be expected from an organization bearing the name of Rieger, the Rieger Club has lent all its weight to the movement for Bohemian independence. Its members are largely men born or educated in America and to the enthusiasm of the Bohemian they add American energy and push. An example of their hustling was furnished by the

National Fete held in Chicago on Labor Day; out of a total of some fourteen thousand dollars taken in the share of this one club was over three thousands. Both the "father" of the club, John Straka, and the first president of it, Frank G. Hajicek, give freely of their time and money in the cause of Bohemian freedom.

The spirit of Rieger still inspires men of his blood to battle for the liberation of the land of their fathers.

Officers of the Rieger Club.



From right to left: Rud Lanka, secretary; Jos. Martinek, vice-president; Jos. J. Janda, president; Jos. Kopecky, treasurer; Chas. Roubik, financial secretary.

Reviews published in England cannot generally be noticed here. But the September "Nineteenth Century" gives the place of honor to such a powerful arraignment of Austria by Canon William Barry that some, at least, of the epigrammatic hits in the article "Break Austria" should be quoted. Here are a few of them: "On the disappearance of the Austrian Empire as it now exists the peaceful future of mankind depends." . . . "Austria forms the solid keystone of the mighty Pan-German arch, striding across Europe and planted firmly in Asia." . . . "We in the west, in England, France, Italy, and of course in the United States, have agreed that government should exist by consent of the gov-

erned. Apply this to Austria-Hungary, and it would burst in pieces like a bombshell." . . .

"Austria has entered into a partnership with Prussia which will endure to the end. It is her last marriage, and nothing but death will dissolve it." . . .

"Too long have we consented in thought and policy to the delusion that Europe outside the west was the natural inheritance of three autocratic royal houses, the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Romanoffs. One of these lies prostrate, flung down by the people's mere breath. It will be a happy day when the older dynasties of Austria and Brandenburg fall beside it."

Czechoslovak Brigade in Russian Retreat.

By Jaroslav Hašek.

I shall try to describe briefly the important part played by the Czech soldiers in the awful days of the great Russian debacle in Galicia, when our men maintained the semblance of a front, saving the adjoining Russian provinces and spoiling Mackensen's clever plans.

It is evident now that the first wabbling of the Russian front on July 5th was connected directly with the bloody bolsheviki demonstrations in Petrograd. An appeal was issued by these fanatics to the men at the front to go on strike and leave the trenches. The appeal resulted in something like sabotage applied to war conditions. The first stage of it was that thousands of the bolsheviki soldiers maimed themselves by shooting off a finger and then going home. This strike procedure was rather painful to the strikers, and so on July 5th a strike of violence was inaugurated on a large part of the Galician front. Regiments that had orders to attack were held back by other regiments kept in reserve; fanatic agitation was kept up among newly arrived battalions and finally the real purpose of it all was revealed, when positions were voluntarily abandoned.

It is not yet definitely known which regiment started the disgraceful rout of July. At any rate we saw revolutionary victories of June 18th and 19th thrown away. Where our heroic fellows fought to smash the militarism of Germany and Austria, there the Prussian now sings "Wacht am Rhein" and the Austrian his "Oesterreich, du edles Haus". It is painful to think that the little cemetery of Cecova, the resting place of the boys who fell in the day of victory at Zborov and the Krasna Lipa has no doubt been carefully gone over by a sergeant and a file and that the names of our dead heroes have been copied from the crosses for use against their families in Bohemia.

We don't grow sentimental, when we think of it. We are full of anger, terrible anger at the great loss due to traitors who work for German gold. German money is the explanation of the events of July 5th, when Austrians and Germans swept over our lines and captured the sacred ground of Cecova.

Today, when I have thought much of what happened, I do not know what to call that event which the Russians call retreat. Was it retreat or was it flight? Neither the one nor the other. It was the act of a man who abandons a place of responsibility and goes home, leaving carelessly a burning candle in a pile of straw. The phenomenon is sometimes called moral insanity.

Perhaps some day a student of psychology will be able to explain the mental processes of guards-

Translated from the *Čechoslovian*, Kieff, September 3, 1917.

men who left the trenches, threw away their rifles into rye fields, plundered the depots at the base of clothing, sugar and chocolate, emptied loaded trucks of munitions so that they might load them with tinned food. Think of soldiers who abandoned their stations and nonchalantly walked back in streams regardless of the fact that comrades who did not go would be soon overwhelmed by waves of Germans and Austrians, that in a few hours there would be but little islands of hopelessly outnumbered fighters, where there had been the strong Russian front.

Such islands were the regiments of the first Czechoslovak brigade. They stood firm in a mighty dam and alone held back the German flood. From July 5th to July 15th Czechoslovak regiments threw back unaided the German attacks. From Ostasovce to Velke Boriky, from Slachtince to Grabovka and Teklovka Bohemian bayonets held up the realization of the hastily conceived German plan to make full use of the situation and push the military lines forward into the Russian territory and at the same time get in the rear of the army holding the line between Stanislavov and the Carpathians. The whole Tarnopol front was to be stricken by panic.

"How lucky that the Bohemians were there," said a certain newspaper. It is dangerous to rely on luck in battle, but it was more dangerous to rely on the Russian army on that awful July 5th, when a number of companies of our first regiment were sent forward for a stretch of duty in the fire trenches with a detachment of machine guns. We reached the position just as the sun was rising; there was not a muzhik in the first line, as far as our eyes could reach. I don't know yet what became of them; probably they are included in the 42,000 prisoners that German papers brag about.

The trenches were empty, and in half an hour German artillery commenced shelling positions far back of us. We could do nothing. So a few companies of the first regiment fell back to the village Bohdanuvka with the machine guns, and when we got there we came under the fire of German machine guns. From the front trenches to Bohdanuvka is five versts. In all that space we did not see a soldier, except a few muzhiks who were asleep in the rye waiting until the Germans picked them up. And there should have been two divisions there. It was a sample of what took place on that day. On this sector the defenders went over to the enemy, soldiers of other sectors marched back in groups all night without their guns, refusing to be stopped and giving the stereotyped answer that they were going home to rest. When such news reached Russia, it was not strange that stories were told that the Czechoslovaks were surrounded and that we were cut to pieces. When the Germans had reached Zborozh, we were still near Jezerna; when the Germans were bombarding Tarnopol, our boys were

counter-attacking near Slachtince; Tarnopol was burning, and we still fought at Grabovka.

Those are names that will be inscribed with golden letters into the history of the Czechoslovak army, especially of the glorious first regiment that had to hold back the strongest units of the second German army. But the names of these little villages will be written in black letters in the records of those German regiments that came into contact with the bayonets of the first Czechoslovak brigade. Our first regiment alone broke several guard regiments brought over from the French front.

Mackensen's plan to strike quickly, to create a panic, to surround the Carpathian army and to push the Galician front into Russia was frustrated by our bayonets. Officers who witnessed our counter-attacks regretted that there was not at least a full army corps of us. The Germans would have been sent flying. At Grabovka, so the captured Germans told us, four attacking battalions refused to go forward, when some one called out: "Die rotweissen kommen". (The red-whites are coming). That is why you read in Russian papers: How lucky that the Czechoslovaks were there. A tribute to our determination to fight to the death.

It is difficult to say just where our first brigade accomplished its most wonderful deeds, for all its units along the entire broken front held back the pressure of the gigantic German-Austrian might with such sang-froid that the equipment of the Russian units could be saved and artillery had a chance to pull out in time. Wherever our boys were stationed, not a single gun was lost. The first regiment by its fierce defense of the heights at Ostasevce made possible the destruction of the great army depots at Jezerna so that the Germans captured very little booty there; and the same regiment successfully covered the retreat of the entire supply train of a full army corps, while the second and third regiments prevented a panic on the wabbling front of Zborozh.

The Germans now claim that theirs was an unexpected offensive. But when one considers the remarkable coincidence of the arrival of fresh troops from the French front with the strike of the Russian forces near Tarnopol, where the bolsheviki controlled the regimental committees, the conclusion is inevitable that the "unexpected offensive" was in reality a well-planned campaign of the German-Austrian general staff and the followers of Lenine. That our part in this campaign did not result in the complete destruction of our brigade is very creditable to the ability of our commander, the regimental officers and the bravery of the men. Every member of the Czechoslovak Brigade realized how much depended on our resistance and how the entire Russian army would be encouraged by a demonstration that the Germans could be held up. We made it possible that the masses of deceived soldiers got over their hypnotic state and stopped running away, after they perceived that some regiments were still facing the enemy and keeping him out of Russian territory.

We talked with a man who ran away with the disorganized masses. "See," we told him, "we fought for your land and your liberty, while you marched back and abandoned us to be overwhelmed by the Germans, each of our regiments fighting two divisions". He had blue, good-natured eyes and tears welled up, as we talked to him. "We did not think", he explained with a red face: "we were told that if we left Galicia, they would make peace and we could go home to our women."

From July 5th to July 15th lasted the splendid struggle of our brigade against an enemy many times stronger. It was necessary to defend a number of crossings over small Galician rivers, and for ten days and nights we were on guard without a rest, throwing back many attacks every day. We could get no relief, for we covered the retreat of an army. After every German attack we counter-attacked, but when the Germans fell back, our orders were to retreat, because on both sides of us Russian guard regiments continued to march backwards. At any rate we did our duty. Not only did we cut a way through, but we confounded the plans of our friend Mackensen.

Today we are resting, full of memories of those awful days. The regimental headquarters are in a fine country house in the midst of a noble park. And as we rest, we plan future battles. All the Czechs and Slovaks blown by the whirlwind of war into Russia are mobilizing. Masaryk, the leader of the nation, surely leaves Russia satisfied with us. He saw the foundations of the Czechoslovak army now increasing in size like an avalanche. Soon we will pay back to Germany and Austria for all the sufferings of the Bohemian nation. Masaryk saw the creation of an army of irreconcilables.

Will Austria-Hungary leave Germany before the end of the fight? It would be certain political and economic suicide for her to do so. Hence she cannot. Will Austria be subservient to Germany after the war? Austria-Hungary cannot help herself in the matter. Her dependence is not voluntary. . . Austria is firmly convinced that without Germany's strong arm to support her she is doomed as a political entity.

Wolf von Schierbrand.

A limited liability war in which we fight Germany ourselves and pay money to Italy and Russia to enable them to fight Austria and Turks with whom we are at peace, savors of sharp practice and not of statesmanship. It is a good rule either to stay out of the war or to go into it, but not to try to do both these things at once.

Theo. Roosevelt.

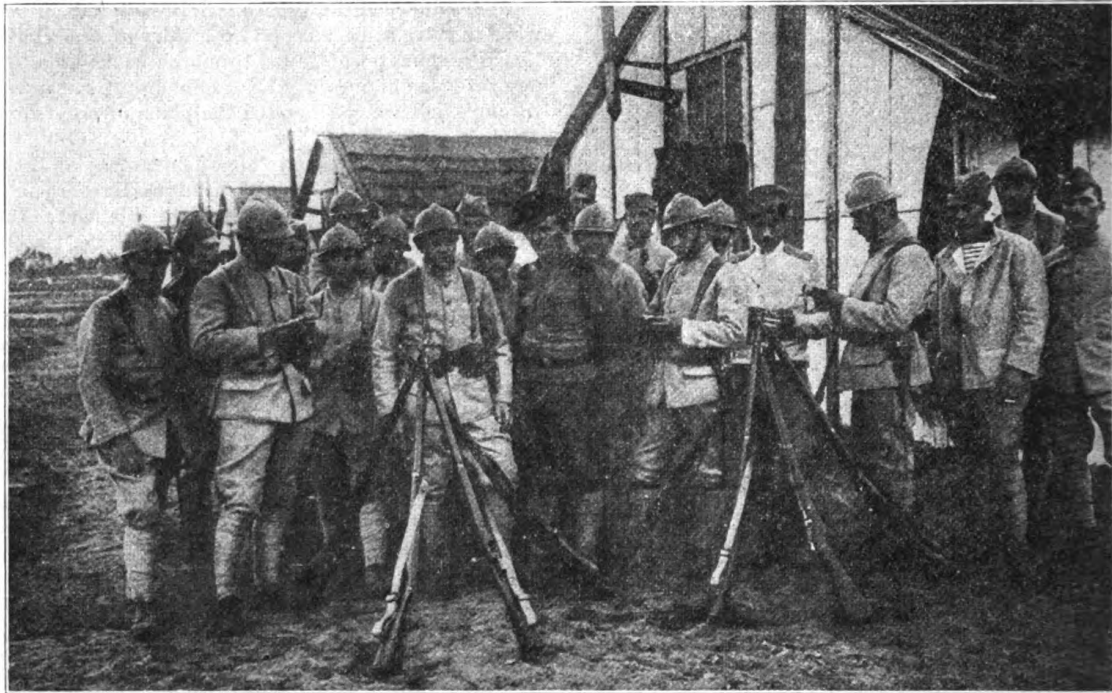
Among the many races of Austria the best showing in education is made by the Bohemians. The Austrian "Statistisches Handbuch" of 1914 states that among people of Czech race the percentage of illiterates was 2.4, while the Germans came next with a percentage of 3.1. The other races followed far behind.

Current Topics.

THE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The evil turn of affairs in Russia has affected the cause of Bohemia even more unfavorably than it has hurt the general cause of the Allies. Separate peace by Russia would leave the Czechoslovak army at the mercy of the Germans, just as it would spell the ruin of the Roumanian army. The Bolsheviki revolt came at the very time when the Bohemians and Slovaks in Russia had achieved a splendid organization which would have made its influence felt on the eastern front. Six months of work by Masaryk in Russia smoothed out all differences among the Bohemian settlers in Russia and the 300,000

working in munition factories and supporting by their voluntary tax the Bohemian army and government depends on the outcome of the Russian muddle. Bohemians are thankful that their great leader, at least, is safe and well and that his personality will surely make itself felt in the difficult Russian situation. It appears from a cablegram recently received by the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago that Professor Masaryk was for a number of days in great danger of life in Moscow. He arrived there on November 10th from Petrograd and reached with difficulty the Hotel Metropole. As it happened, this hotel became the headquarters of the



Czechoslovak Soldiers, Former Prisoners of War, Training in France.

Czechoslovak prisoners of war. The army has grown to 40,000 men in the field with hundreds volunteering every day and with the highest income tax in the world paid monthly by every member of the Czechoslovak nation in Russia. Due to the great work of Masaryk and his coadjutors in the Czechoslovak National Council Bohemia secured a position analogous to that of Belgium or Serbia — the home country under the heel of the oppressor, but a temporary government with its own army and independent finances in existence on the territory of an allied country, helping to defeat the common enemy and establish the independence of Bohemia.

What will become of the great work accomplished in Russia, of the fighters, of the other prisoners

cadets in their fight for the control of Moscow. The bolsheviki troops occupied the great theatre on the other side of the square on which the hotel is located. For four days the cadet headquarters were under fire of machine guns and rifles and had to surrender on the fifth day, when the bolsheviki brought up heavy guns. There were five hundred guests in the hotel and during Thursday and Friday negotiations were carried on by them with the victors for their release. Masaryk was made the spokesman of fifty foreigners, including British airmen and three Americans, and on Friday all were released.

During the earlier disorders in Russia previous to the bolsheviki revolution Masaryk observed

strictly the principle that the Czechs and their army were only guests on Russian soil and could not take part in the internal quarrels of Russia. Whether any subsequent developments would make him change this attitude we are unable to say. The possibility, however, must be kept in mind that if the rule of the fanatics now in control remains unshaken and they succeed in making peace with Germany, then the Czechoslovak army will have to cut their way through to freedom. In the eyes of Austria all the prisoners who enlisted in this army or supported the anti-Austrian movement are traitors subject to capital punishment. None of them will surrender to the Austrians without a fight. The developments in Russia are watched with extreme anxiety by Bohemians and Slovaks in this country. They are thankful that Masaryk is there to guide the people who look up to him for guidance.

The formation of a Czechoslovak army in France is proceeding at a satisfactory pace. There is great enthusiasm for it in the camps of Bohemian prisoners of war in Italy and France, who are eager to strike a blow for the liberation of their motherland. The picture shown here is one of Bohemian prisoners of war who surrendered to the Roumanians and were subsequently transported to France, where they volunteered for service against Germany. More than a thousand volunteers from the United States have by this time joined the war prisoner volunteers in the training camps in France, and more are coming in continually.

The Czechoslovak army in France claims naturally the largest share of interest among the workers in the cause of Bohemian independence in the United States. The regular work of keeping up enthusiasm for war among people of Czech blood, collecting subscriptions for the support of the movement and bringing home to America the danger of Pan-German Central Europe is kept up by the Bohemian National Alliance. A number of largely attended mass meetings were held in November under the auspices of the Alliance, to hear M. Marcel Knecht, assistant editor of the Paris *Matin*, who hails from Lorraine, and in his public addresses in this country couples the redemption of Alsace-Lorraine with the redemption of Bohemia.

BOHEMIANS ARE KNOWN IN CANADA

An interesting little story from Canada has just reached the editor. It shows that the Bohemian people and their principal organization, the Bohemian National Alliance, enjoy the confidence of the Canadian authorities.

Soon after the outbreak of the war all alien enemies in Canada were compelled to register and report at regular intervals to the police. A Bohemian in a city in Ontario, ignorant of the English language and reading only Bohemian papers from the United States, did not learn of this requirement, until nearly three years later. He was very much perturbed about it, not knowing whether he should come forward and submit to a severe pen-

alty for violating the law, or say nothing in the hope that the authorities had overlooked his case and would not trouble him. His doubts were resolved suddenly, when a police officer called at his home in his absence and left him a notice to show up at the police headquarters next morning. He obeyed, full of apprehension, because technically he was an Austrian subject. When asked for his nationality, he stated boldly that he was Bohemian and produced his membership card from the Winnipeg office of the Alliance with his photo, identifying him as a good Bohemian. The officer looked at it uncertainly, took it inside to the chief and came out saying: "You are all right. Keep this card; you need not register."

PRAISE FROM BRUSILOFF

A somewhat belated testimonial of the bravery of our boys in Russia has recently reached this country. It will be remembered that in the brief Russian offensive, undertaken in July of this year by General Brusiloff in Galicia, the first Czechoslovak Brigade, the original unit of the Czechoslovak army in Russia, distinguished itself near Tarnopol and that a few weeks later this brigade covered for two weeks the disorderly retreat of the Russians.

Brusiloff, in an interview given on the day before he was deprived of the chief command, had this to say about the Russian rout and about the deeds of the Czechs and Slovaks:

"I was prepared for the catastrophe: it could not be otherwise. It is the necessary, logical outcome of the systematic undermining of the army which has gone on during the last five months. Whatever a man soweth, that he shall reap. In a few days the enemy captured, or rather leisurely occupied all that large area which I took away from the Germans a year ago at a great cost by employing my splendid army of half a million. If a mere particle of blame attached to me personally, I would blow off my head this minute. But my conscience is clear. I did all in my power and shall continue to labor for the salvation and restoration of the army. But a disease attacks suddenly and is expelled very gradually. Just one order, No. 1 (referring to Kerensky's famous order abolishing death penalty at the front) sufficed to transform an army of many millions into a mob. To effect a cure, to transform camp orators into fighters will take many months. If I am given full power, if they will let me introduce iron discipline, we will smash the Germans in spring. The civilians bragged: 'Now we have an army that has no equal, a free army.' Oh yes, there is no other army like it; we got ahead of them all. The army was not only dragged into politics, but it was made a partisan army. And you have seen the consequences. Regiments, divisions, whole army corps, ran away for thirty-five versts, when they saw three German companies. There were a few noble exceptions — cavalry, artillery, storming troops and the Czechoslovak Brigade.

"These Czechoslovaks, shamefully abandoned by our infantry at Tarnopol, fought so that we should all fall on our knees before them. One brigade held up several divisions. The best men of the Bohemian nation fell there. Teachers, lawyers, engineers, authors, public men, fought and died there. The wounded begged their comrades to kill them so that they might not fall into the hands of the Germans, who are known to torture helpless Czechoslovaks who get into their hands alive."

Russia needs generals like Brusiloff and fighters like the Czechoslovaks, if she is to work out her own salvation. Brusiloff will be heard from again, and so will the Czechoslovaks, former Austrian conscripts, now eager fighters in the cause of freedom and real democracy. Two full divisions of them are now under arms in Russia, and patriotic Russians know that they they count on them.

NATURALIZATION DURING THE WAR

The naturalization law, as it now stands, forbids the conferring of citizenship upon alien enemies. Different courts have interpreted differently this provision. All apply it to German subjects, some few apply it also to subjects of Germany's allies with whom we are still nominally at peace. Thus in Chicago Bohemian applicants for citizenship who made their application in the state courts were naturalized, if otherwise qualified, while those who happened to file their application in the federal court were held to be alien enemies and their cases were continued until the end of the war.

War upon Germany's allies cannot be delayed much longer, and then all the Bohemian applicants, as well as many Poles, Italians, Roumanians and other races of immigrants hostile to the German cause and anxious to assume the duties and burdens, as well as the privileges, of American citizenship, will be ineligible for it during the war. Now it is true that naturalization should not be conferred lightly, particularly in time of war, and that the government examiner, as well as the judge, should have clear proof of the candidate's loyalty to the United States, before conferring upon him the rights of a citizen and exempting him from the restrictions placed upon aliens, especially enemy aliens. But former political subjection is not a fair test of a resident alien's attitude toward America's political institutions and ideals, and it is no test at all of his sympathies in this war. A French Alsatian or a Pole from Prussia is probably far more determined on complete defeat of Germany than the average native-born American. And of immigrants from Austria-Hungary by far the larger part hate the Germans and are thoroughly loyal in their sentiments to this country.

Repeal the provision prohibiting the naturalization of alien enemies and give every alien, eager to become an American, a chance to prove that his heart is with this country. Should war be declared on Austria, as seems most likely at the time of this writing, a provision of this sort will be necessary

in order to make hundreds of thousands of Austrian and Hungarian subjects available for service in the field. There are many thousands of Bohemian, Polish, Slovak and other soldiers in the first select army who will be placed by the declaration of war upon Austria in the category of alien enemies without an opportunity to become citizens. Do not take away from them their chance to become American citizens.

BOHEMIA'S CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Under this title, Dr. Edward Beneš, general secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris, has just published a book setting forth the demands of the Bohemians and Slovaks. It is an excellent presentation of arguments with which readers of this Review are familiar. After a brief account of the Bohemian history, with a special chapter devoted to the wrongs of the Slovaks, the author describes the Pan-German plans which included the crushing of the Czechoslovaks as the first great obstacle to the German dreams of Central Europe. The chapter on Czechoslovaks and the War gathers together the most startling instances of oppression to which Bohemia has been subject since the war began. As the book was published in London and was intended primarily for English readers, a chapter has been added on the relations of England and Bohemia. A very full bibliography is a valuable feature of this little book of 132 pages.

Henry Wickham Steed, for many years correspondent of the London Times in Vienna, author of the "Hapsburg Monarchy", writes the Introduction. He makes a strong argument for the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and quotes an old parody from Macmillan's Magazine of 1866:

Who is Austria? What is she?
That all our swells commend her?
Dogged, proud and dull is she;
The heavens such gifts did lend her
That she might destroyed be.

But what is Austria? Is it fair
To name among the nations
Some Germans who have clutched the hair
Of divers populations,
And having clutched, keep tugging there?

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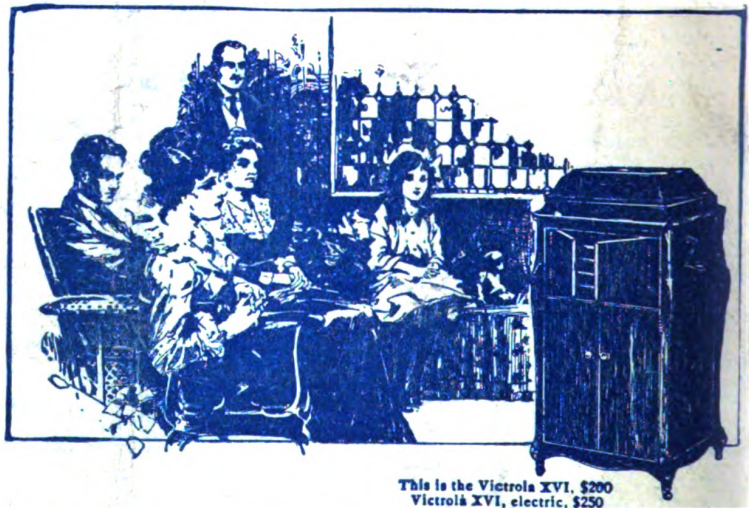
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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

January, 1918

Bohemians and Allied Peace Terms.

America and the Slav Immigrants.

Bohemian Needlework and Costumes.

Cannon Barry on the Austrian Problem

A New Ally: The Bohemian Army.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 1.

JANUARY, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Bohemians and the Allied Peace Terms.

Amid the universal chorus of approval raised in the lands of the Allies over the memorable peace terms announcements of Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson the small voice of scattered Bohemians will hardly be heard. They are few in number, feeble in influence, and they speak for a small and subject nation. But they cannot keep silence, when their friends have forsaken them.

Just one year ago the Allies, of whom America was not yet one, announced for the first time their war aims. These included "the liberation of Slavs, Italians, Roumanians and Czechoslovaks from foreign domination". That implied the disruption of the Dual Empire. Today President Wilson in dealing with this part of his peace program promises distinctly less:

The peoples of Austria-Hungary whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

The words may be susceptible of two interpretations, but their natural meaning is that Austria-Hungary shall continue to exist as a Great Power, after concessions have been made to its oppressed nationalities. Still more unmistakable is the tenor of the English premier's references to this point:

Although we agree with President Wilson that the breaking up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on true democratic principles is granted those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which so long have threatened its genuine peace. The right of self-government should apply to enemy as well as friend. On the same ground we regard with vital satisfaction the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Roumanian blood and speech to their legitimate aspirations. If these conditions were fulfilled, Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace

and freedom of Europe instead of being an instrument of the pernicious Prussian military autocracy.

So Austria-Hungary will continue to disfigure the map of Europe. An Austria, which the spokesmen of the Allies fondly hope will be a reformed Austria. They plan to detach from it five million Poles, nearly a million Italians, possibly also four million Roumanians as Lloyd George seems to hint, and leave the rest under the Hapsburgs. But this would also mean that close to four million Ruthenians or Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina would be geographically altogether detached from Austria of which they are now a part and would be sure to gravitate toward the Ukraine and be lost to the Hapsburgs. And the result? Instead of thirty-two million Slavs and Latins as against twenty million Germans and Magyars there would be less than twenty million Slavs against a somewhat larger number of their enemies. Germans and Magyars ruled and oppressed when they were in the minority; can any reasonable man believe that with numerical majority on their side they will give up their ambition to make all Austrian provinces German and all Hungary Magyar? The new peace program of the Allies involves not merely the preservation of Austria-Hungary, but also the weakening of those elements in it that are friendly to the Allies. It would turn over the Dual Empire definitely to the German-Magyar partnership.

The Bohemians are deeply disappointed. But they are not discouraged; neither will they give up the fight for an independent Czechoslovak state. They accept this blow as one of the fortunes of war. The military and diplomatic situation seems to demand that the Allies show the utmost moderation in their demands. But the peace conference is still far away and the fate of Bohemia is not yet settled. Before it is decided, the Bohemian nation and the Czechoslovak army will be heard from.

America and the Slav Immigrants.

Our declaration of war against Austria-Hungary aroused a brief ripple of interest and comment, but no excitement. We were already pledged to the vigorous prosecution of the war for liberty with all our resources, and the formal recognition of the Hapsburg Empire as an enemy did not double our task nor make our individual burdens heavier.

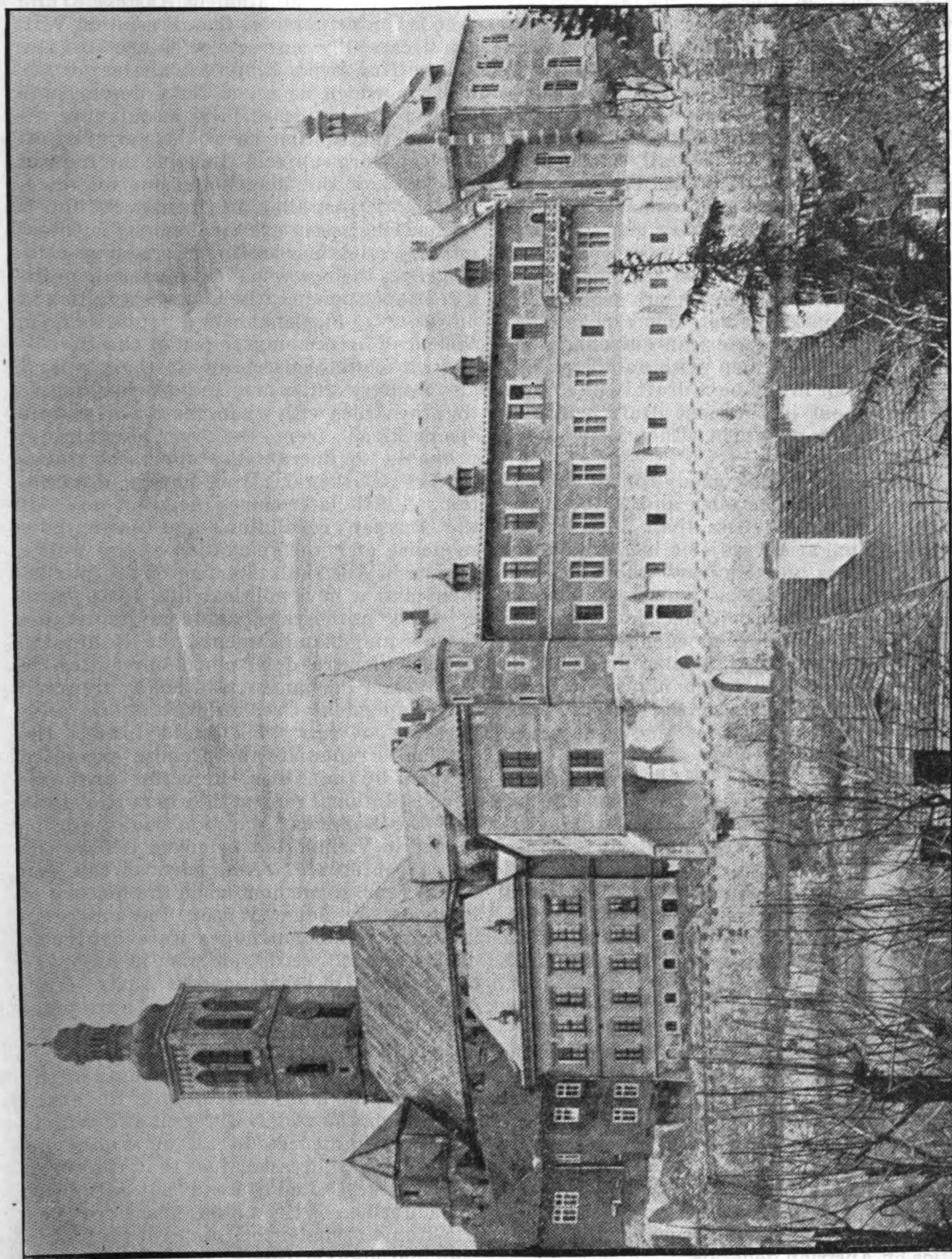
But it brought America face to face with a puzzling problem. What about the immigrants from Austria-Hungary? Emperor Charles has more subjects here than Emperor William. Although the natives of Germany outnumber the natives of the Dual Empire in the United States, the former are for the most part naturalized, while among the latter, comparatively recent arrivals as they are, a large majority are still aliens. Of the many races of Austria, Bohemians alone compare favorably with the Germans in naturalization percentages. On December 7th hundreds of thousands of Bohemians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians (Little Russians), Croats, Slovenians, Serbians, Roumanians and Italians became the enemies of America at the moment President Wilson signed the declaration of war. At least so runs the legal theory which in this case, as in so many others, cannot be squared with undeniable facts.

The truth is — and the authorities in Washington, as well as all intelligent Americans are aware of it — that the Slavs, Roumanians and Italians of Austria-Hungary hate the cause of Germany far more bitterly and passionately than native-born citizens to whom Europe is only a name. Our government has found it necessary at first to institute a campaign of education, because the people as a whole did not realize the great issues of the war. But to the Austrian Slav you do not have to explain what militarism is: he remembers the haughty lieutenants strutting around the streets of his native city, rattling their sabres, ogling the women and shoving aside the plain citizens like cattle. The Austrian immigrant knew what Kultur was long before Americans heard that there was such a word. And three years ago, when America looked on the outburst of the slaughter as something that could not concern her, the Czechs and Poles and Jugoslavs and all these other im-

migrants were full of rage, because their own near relatives over there were driven to death for the greater glory of the House of Hapsburg and of the chosen German race. When finally, alas, so late, this great republic took its share in the great fight for the preservation of democracy and civilization, the Slav and Latin immigrants rushed into the recruiting stations anxious to do not their bit, but their all. Attorney General Gregory stated at a dinner in Chicago on December 16th that in this matter of volunteers the best showing in comparison to their numbers was made by the Bohemians.

That President Wilson realized the injustice of treating the nominal subjects of Charles, resident here, as alien enemies is evident from his proclamation of December 12th. He places no ban upon the natives of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and avoids applying to them the term of alien enemy. Unlike the Germans, the Austrian subjects are free to travel anywhere within the United States and need not register, so long as they remain loyal. Bohemians and the other Slavs and Latins are grateful to the president for his confidence in them and for his generous treatment of them. But the proclamation applies to German and Magyar subjects of Austria-Hungary, just as much as to those whose sympathies are with the United States, and it does not solve the problems raised by our declaration of war against the ally of Germany.

Take the matter of naturalization. Even though the president does not call the unnaturalized Slavs alien enemies, they are so as a matter of law and are prevented from becoming citizens of the United States during the continuance of the war. That is rather hard on thousands of applicants who have properly filed their applications, paid their fees, passed the preliminary examination and investigation, but found themselves turned into enemies, as they awaited the passing of the necessary ninety days. But that is small matter. It is far harder, it is very unfair to tens of thousands of these unwilling subjects of the Hapsburg Empire who are serving in the American army. They came forward voluntarily, proud to fight under the flag of this great country, eager to do their share. Later on other tens of thousands were drafted



Italian Court (Vlašský Dvůr) in Kutná Hora.

into the national army. And now all these "Austrians" in Uncle Sam's uniform are transformed by the stroke of pen into enemies. Under the present law they cannot become citizens. What are you going to do with them? Then there are many more thousands of these "enemies" on the registration lists. In some districts in Chicago or Pennsylvania they actually make up a majority of the registrants. They will not claim exemption as alien enemies; no fear of that. But the provost marshal was obliged under the law to instruct the local boards not to send to the training camps any one who is an alien enemy, whether he claims exemption or not. That means that in many districts American citizens in the deferred classes, men with families, will be called out in the next draft, while other be called out in the next draft, while in other districts only men without dependents will be selected.

There is a simple remedy for all this unfairness both to the alien and to the American registrant. Less than 20% of the Austro-Hungarian subjects in this country are Germans and Magyars who alone deserve to be classed as enemies, because their kinsmen on the other side fight willingly on the side of our enemies. All the rest, the Bohemians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Jugoslavs, Roumanians, Italians, hope for the victory of the Allies. Take away from immigrants of these races the stigma of alien enemy.

Before the House of Representatives there is now pending a joint resolution introduced by Representative Sabath of Illinois, covering this very point. It provides in brief that the Slav and Latin races of Austria-Hungary, enumerating them, shall be expressly declared not to be enemies, and that men of these races resident here shall be eligible to serve in the army and shall be subject to the draft. Of course, the Austrian government will not admit the right of its subjects to expatriate themselves and swear allegiance to an enemy, and when the first Bohemian or Croatian or Roumanian soldier in the American army is captured somewhere on the Italian front, the Austrian authorities will be tempted to execute him. But the threat of reprisals on the part of the American government, as well as the danger of an outburst among the subject races, will prevent any barbarities by Austrian generals.

A law, such as the Sabath resolution, will more than remedy an unjust and awk-

ward situation. It will have a great effect on the internal situation in Austria. The fact is, unfortunately, that President Wilson's carefully correct reference to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the same address in which he asked for a declaration of war was bound to have an adverse effect on the sentiments of the majority of the Hapsburg subjects. Imagine the mental processes of the Bohemians, for instance, during the year that just passed. When it opened, they were ground down by ruthless military rule, their leaders in prison or exile or grave, their newspapers muzzled, political life suspended, their men slaughtered on far away battlefields in a hateful cause, their own bellies empty most of the time—and all of that misery due to their rulers. On January 10 comes the glorious news that the Allies with whom the Czech people sympathized from the very beginning, promised to liberate the oppressed races of Austria-Hungary from foreign domination. A little later comes the great news of the Russian revolution, and as a consequence of it the relaxation of the police regime in Austria, reopening of the parliament and a new political life. And now, rejecting promises of autonomy, spurning threats and blandishments, the Bohemian deputies lead a determined opposition in the Vienna Parliament and boldly demand an independent Czechoslovak state. No pressure of any kind could induce the Czechs to repudiate the promise extended to them by the Allies. Rejecting promises of constitutional reform they took the stand that the Bohemian question could not be settled in Vienna, but belonged before the peace conference. And now, at the end of the year, so momentous in the history of Bohemia, President Wilson, the one man in whom Bohemian hopes were centered, declares that "we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life either industrially or politically."

We who know the real sentiments of the President, the many difficulties of his exalted position, the widely different and widely scattered audiences to all of whom his speech was addressed, feel that the President of the United States is not callous to the sufferings of the subjects races of Austria-Hungary under the tyranny of their German and Magyar rulers. But over there on the Danube the people cannot know all that. Very naturally Count Czernin made

the most of the president's language, taunting the poor Slavs with their reliance upon foreign statesmen who only use the Austrian races as pawns in a game. If the Slavs and Latins of the Dual Empire become convinced that the Allies are indifferent to their fate, could we blame them, if they made terms with their German rulers?

Intimations are heard now that the Allies, probably through the mouth of President Wilson, will restate their war aims, in reply to the German-Bolsheviki peace terms. Surely it is not possible that they would say less than they did a year ago when they promised to liberate the Slavs, Italians, Roumanians and Czechoslovaks from foreign domination. But pending any such authoritative pronouncement, a reso-

lution passed in the Congress of the United States declaring the Slavs and Latins of Austria to be friends will encourage wonderfully the dejected spirits of the victims of German-Magyar oppression. It is time for America and her Allies to realize that they have little to hope from the ruling races and from the emperor of Austria, but that thirty-two million Austro-Hungarian subjects will use every means to further the cause of the Allies, if only they feel sure that the Allies will not abandon them in the end.

Let America declare that while it considers Germans and Magyars, the two nations of oppressors, to be her enemies, it looks upon the Slavs and Latins of Austria-Hungary as friends.

J. F. S.

Bohemian Needlework and Costumes.

By Renata Tyri

The Bohemian peasantry, whose chief occupation until the middle of the nineteenth century was agriculture, created for themselves on the basis of old traditions an original style of arranging their homes and their costumes, with their own poetry, music and dances, customs and ceremonies. All these may be considered to be the artistic side of the Czech peasant culture. They exhibit in a striking manner the national characteristics in art and industry.

The loss of Bohemia's independence and the determination of the government to make Germans of the people were the causes that alienated the great mass of the population from the cultured classes. These latter were educated in German schools and forgot their nationality, as well as lost their individuality. But the country people continued to live their own old national life. Even during the centuries of serfdom the peasants of Bohemia were owners of the soil they tilled. They possessed so much innate energy and creative powers as to make for themselves sufficiently cultured and artistic surroundings and thus raised themselves above the dreary monotony of daily drudgery and preserved their national character.

The state of civilization just described belongs to the past. The upper classes of the nation are once more in sympathy with the people and aid powerfully in raising the

intellectual standard of the country and in recruiting from the masses the best artists and men of letters. They now regard the traditional art of the peasants with pride as their own inheritance, and see in it as well many links that bind together the various branches of the great Slavonic race.

More than fifty years ago the peasants of Bohemia began to discard their pretty showy costumes, and only in the southern parts, far from the industrial centers and the high roads of commerce, have the forms of ancient life been preserved. Thus on the Bohemian border in the southwest, where the people are called the "Chodové" or marchers, because they had to patrol the borderland between Bohemia and Bavaria, the old-time customs and the wearing of national costumes continue to a considerable extent up to the present day.

From 1880 upwards memorials and relics of national art have been collected with great care. The Ethnographic and Historic Museums in Prague and in almost all the larger towns in Bohemia possess great collections of embroideries, suits of national dresses from various parts of Bohemia and Moravia, home pottery, furniture and other implements, painted Easter eggs, toys, manuscript prayer books adorned with miniatures and drawings, etc. Folklore, national art and culture are the objects of intense study of a considerable number of literary

men who publish special journals and beautifully illustrated books. To the stranger the art peculiar to the Bohemian people is of undoubted interest on account of its originality and great aesthetic worth.

Outside of the museums there is only one district in western Bohemia where it is possible by personal experience to learn how a special mode of life and the nature of the soil have together evolved the fashion of dress peculiar to this part of the country. During a holiday one can meet near Domažlice, in a mountainous and not very fertile country, lean old men wearing broadbrimmed black hats and longtailed white coats of homemade cloth. These are types of the old Chods. The women also appear in a dress of ancient cut and sedate in style—long skirts of red cloth in stiff rich folds, the short bodices embroidered with beads and trimmed with silver galloon; the collars of the chemises are sometimes embroidered in black to demonstrate the mourning of the wearer for the popular hero Kozina, a staunch defender of the Chod privileges, who was executed at Domažlice.

From Domažlice the tourist reaches Plzeň (Pilsen) by the express in one hour. But though the distance is short, the contrast in landscape is striking. Instead of mountains, deep forests and green meadows, a plain presents itself with undulating fields of golden grain, while other fields show the dark green leaf of the beetroot. Everywhere there is evidence of the fertility of the soil and signs to cheer the heart of the farmers with the prospect of a bounteous harvest.

Here only a few traces of the original dress of the country survive. But in former times the rich garments of the portly women from the extensive farms harmonized well with the signs of the land's fertility and the prosperity of the country generally. The people here are not so tall as their neighbors from Domažlice, but rather stout and not so sunburnt. The peasant women near Plzeň used to wear a dress made under the influence of the town's fashion of the eighteenth century. The light blue short skirts cover a considerable number of petticoats; the stockings in striking contrast are of a bright red hue and show to advantage by ending in a neat low black shoe. A pretty silk apron and gaily embroidered bodice completes the summer costume. The headdress is large, in proportion to the considerable width of the petticoats, and consists of a large cap adorned with long horizontal flaps in nice openwork, the cap

being sometimes tied with a fine white handkerchief beautifully embroidered.

The nearer we approach to Prague and to the north and northwest frontier, the signs of the present day increase, busy factories meet the eye, and just as the evidence of modern commercial life grows stronger, so traces of old customs and fashions become few, until in the busy towns it is to the museum we must go to learn the lessons of the past.

The characteristic feature of the various national costumes in Bohemia, more especially in the dress of the olden time, is the evident aim of producing a good effect not by the use of expensive material, but by the display of rich embroidery. In this respect the dress of the peasant class in Bohemia is akin to Moravia and other Slavonic countries. Wherever embroidery can be applied there it is sure to be found—on the borders of aprons, collars and tails of men's coats, women's bodices, collars, cuffs, chemises, caps and coifs. The scarf and kerchief for headwear generally show some especially fine examples of the embroidered work. Occasionally the latter is set off with artistically formed bow. Some caps, not larger than two palms, are absolutely covered with the finest needlework of knotted and flat stitches, forming a graceful pattern of a light gray shade and bordered with broad pillow lace, which matches fine old Valenciennes. The aprons are often of coarse blue linen, which is woven and dyed by the weavers in the hill districts. This material is studded with blossoms embroidered in homespun yarn and finished with a beautiful border which would be more than a whole week's task to an experienced worker.

In the different districts these ornamental trimmings vary as to the patterns and combination of colors, and often as to the manner of execution. But all agree in the common source of inspiration—nature. The flowers and graceful foliage of the native soil, the opening buds and lovely blossoms are full of suggestion to the embroiderer who requires no printed patterns, and while the marks of inherited tradition are always conspicuous, the designs are as a rule the outcome of the technical side of the work. The head kerchiefs differ in the style of ornamentation and color in each district, some showing embroidered corners of many colored silks, others snow-white with openwork embroidery contrasting with those worked with tinsel and glass beads, other

specimens are almost covered with close embroidery in black exhibiting an endless variety of patterns, but in every case showing a perfect harmony of color and design.

Still more characteristic and varied and even more interesting are the embroideries from Moravia and the Slovakland. It would be out of place to initiate a stranger un-

head-gear; hence the endless variety of caps and coifs, as well as of scarves and kerchiefs. The chemises of the women have either broad collars with rich embroidery, or a broad ornament in the middle of the sleeves. The aprons in some districts are blue with a garland of many colored blossoms as a border. In other parts



Bohemian Girl from the Plzeň (Pilsen) District.

acquainted with the geography of the Bohemian lands, into the characteristics distinguishing the ornaments of needle work and the dress of the several districts. Only general observations may be given here.

The innate liking for decorative display concentrates its aims principally on the

they wear black with blue embroidery or in some cases with an insertion of open work and a colored ornament. Even the men, especially the youthful swains, indulge in many bright ornaments on their dress, the breast of his shirt, waistcoat and breeches, and sometimes even the mantle thrown in graceful folds round the shoulder

is ornamented with a fine display of lacing and embroidery. The same fondness for ornamentation is exhibited in work in bed curtains of unbleached linen, and the white covering with yellow embroidery worn by women on the occasion of churching. In the south of Moravia everything is decorated with work of floral designs, not only the dress, but the walls of dwellings, the furniture, mugs, dishes and plates.

Whoever regards the specimens of Bohemian needlework, involuntarily asks himself: "Who made these nimble miracles of art and taste?" Those who wear them themselves make or made them. When the country people ceased to wear their national dress, some of the workers who formerly had supplied only the requirements of their neighbors began to work for a larger circle of customers. The people's art developed into an important home industry. This was the case of the lace workers; their laces are originally made for local use to adorn caps, coils, kerchiefs, etc., of the village people, but when times changed, peddlars trading amongst the people carried their work to the distant towns and villages. These home industries soon got beyond the peddler stage of its existence; in some districts they are now organized by diverse societies who bringing their trained experience and capital into the business have succeeded in largely increasing the trade. The art of lace making is the special object of certain industrial schools and the efforts of the teachers have been rewarded by a large measure of success.

In Bohemia and Moravia, earlier perhaps than in any other part of Central

Europe, much attention has been bestowed on the apparently vanishing innate inventive powers of the country people. Some forty years ago articles of dress, furniture, pottery and such like were collected in Museums, and a great number of exhibitions brought to light quantities of interesting objects of textile and ceramic industry, along with various small household utensils from all parts of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. All these proofs of genuine inventive spirit of the people and their peculiar aesthetic taste had so much artistic value that there was a general desire to save this art from utter extinction. This was aimed at in two ways. First by preserving the old customs and taking steps to encourage the genuine inventive spirits in the various districts where the old traditions still survived. This is hardly possible in Bohemia, but more so in Moravia and Slovakia. There the old art of embroidery still flourishes and is executed in the traditional manner and style. In certain districts potters are even now able to produce ware in the old original style and form of ornamentation.

Many things that had a high artistic value and the great charm of antiquity cannot, alas, be again revived; nevertheless, the examples found in national and municipal collections ought not to be consigned to museums and as it were buried. We are convinced of their worth, and all who are interested ought to study technical peculiarities, the designs and style of ornamentation, and endeavor to extract from the consideration of ancient art an inspiration for new artistic creations.

Cannon Barry on the Austrian Problem.

America's interest in foreign affairs is of recent date. That is the reason why our magazines, both those that sell for 15 cents and those costing 35 cents, seldom contain articles on international questions of such interest and authority as are found in every issue of noted London reviews as the Nineteenth Century, the Contemporary Review, the Fortnightly Review or the New Europe. Articles on foreign topics in our most serious monthlies are elementary in character and are generally written in a popular vein by men whose acquaintance with the subject is seldom of long standing. The English reviews have contributors who are experts

in their subject and who write for readers familiar with the general situation in the country under discussion.

The best analysis of the problem of Austria-Hungary from the point of view of England, and that means America as well, will be found in the November issue of the Nineteenth Century. The author is Cannon William Barry, and the article in question is his second essay on the same subject. His first discussion appeared in the September issue of the Nineteenth Century under the title "Break Austria." Great deal of interest and debate was stirred up by the first article, so that Cannon Barry decided

to supplement his original argument by a second contribution, entitled "How to Break Austria." Dr. Barry is a well-known Roman Catholic theologian, as well as an essayist and novelist. He lived in Rome for many years, knows the principal European languages and has been interested in foreign politics for nearly fifty years. When one remembers that the Austrian Empire has been looked upon by the Catholic Church as the only Great Power faithful to the Church, it is remarkable to find a Catholic scholar advocating the destruction of Austria.

Dr. Barry's arguments are put together with the skill of a gifted man of letters and the wisdom of an experienced man of affairs. We quote at length:

"If the defeat of Germany is the military problem, the dissolution of Austria remains the head and front of the political problem.

"There was a widespread anticipation, almost reaching the height of prophecy, that whenever the Emperor-King Francis Joseph should die, the Austrian Empire would be no more—like the baseless fabric for a vision it would vanish. The prophets, their gaze fixed on a lonely figure, the Fate of the Hofburg, so to speak, were oblivious as prophets often have been of that which lay beyond the stage and behind the scenes. Francis Joseph would never have kept this great bundle of hissing snakes together himself. He was no magician. The snake-charmer was, first of all, Bismark. I confine my view to the treaty of Nikolsburg in 1866 which is the fountainhead of European war and peace down to our own day. Bismarck, a political genius of the highest rank, had not only beaten Austria, he had subdued her. She lost at his bidding her very self. She was henceforth, in the strict sense of the word, hypnotized. And like the victim of that pernicious influence, she could do nothing except as she was bidden. The 'old and haughty nation, proud in arms,' disappeared, to leave room for a vassal most obedient to the word and command of Potsdam. This utter and complete transformation of a great European Power, always in time past friendly to England, has never yet made itself a palpable determining fact to our Foreign Office. Never, I say. The proof lies at hand, unfortunately too near, and with blood and tears and treasure we are paying its price. In those lamentable days of July 1914, to whom did Sir Edward Grey direct his letters of fate-

ful issue, on the supposition that there must be a decision sought? To the Chancery of Vienna. Since Vienna had flung its ultimatum to Belgrade, surely the party to be convinced was Austria. The Kaiser, I think, laughed. He knew where the thunder came from. The master-magician had thrown Austria-Hungary into a trance with taking dreams of supremacy in the Balkans. What he intended was the German idea realized—Middle-Europe, Berlin to Bagdad, the British Empire cut through at the centre. But Sir Edward Grey treated Austria-Hungary as though she were the principal and Germany a dispassionate neutral. There was no Austria; nothing but a spell-bound subject of commands which dictated as a foregone conclusion that now the hour had struck for war, unless by its mere shadow the spoils of war could be secured.

"Therefore let Francis Joseph die when he might, the Austrian Empire was clamped together with hoops of German steel. Did the Slavs, Italians of the Trentino, Roumanians of the Bukovina, break out in revolt, German forces would have smitten them back into servitude, if the Imperial, Royal and Apostolic troops had fled before them. The Dual Monarchy was, and is at this day, simply a province of the German Empire. If it is anything else, what is it? I cannot discover that it does more, than like a beaten hound, whimper and behave as the whipper-in tells it. With strong insistence, and surely as a British subject in duty bound, I put it to the English friends of Austria, that they are required to show in what sphere of diplomacy or war the Dual Empire has not been governed by its German master. Since the disasters of those early campaigns have not Teutonic generals swept aside the native, planned the marchings and fightings, handled Austrian battalions as their own? And was not Herr von Tchirsky the real author of the war by his action during the so-called negotiations with unlucky Serbia?"

There are still men in America, as well as in England, who urge a considerate treatment for the Austrian government on the ground that Austria-Hungary may yet be detached from Germany and conclude a separate peace with the Allies. They imagine that the transformation of Austria from a belligerent into a neutral would be a tremendous blow to Germany. The fact is that since Russia has ceased to be a danger to Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm would

find it to his advantage to permit Emperor Charles to make a peace that would leave the Dual Empire practically unimpaired. Dr. Barry's argument on this point is very striking and convincing and should be carefully read and pondered by the statesmen of America and England both. He says:

"But some among us are pleading that we should 'detach' the Dual Empire from Kaiserdom by offering it a separate peace. Do these well-intentioned persons, mostly of the class in which diplomatists are bred, consider what their proposals would bring about the moment that such a treaty was signed? War having languished into a long truce or its equivalent on the Russian front, it would cease altogether on the Roumanian, Serbian and Italian. Austria would send to the West all those German officers and divisions now employed in stiffening her own unsteady troops. As they retired, parks of Austrian artillery with ammunition corresponding would follow. Thanks to our touching memories of 'Auld Lang Syne' we should have liberated the Kaiser from a grave anxiety, increased his armies and doubled the risk to our own. That is not all, probably not the worst. We should have put in commission for the German benefit some fifty million of workers who would transform Austria making it the granary and the armory of the Fatherland—fields, mines, manufactures, transport service. And how could the Western Allies forbid that which they were unable to prevent? We have looked on helplessly while neutral Holland was feeding and arming the Teuton hosts, all in the way of trade. Imagine the relief to beleaguered Germany that a neutral Austria would afford. So timely, and soon so abundant, would it prove that we may perhaps be startled, ere many months are gone, by hearing from good sources of the Wilhemstrasse urging a 'separate peace' on its friends of the Ballplatz, just as under different circumstances it prescribed and insisted on the ultimatum to Serbia. No, 'detachment' is not the word for us when we are dealing with Mr. Facing-Both-Ways, treacherous at once and insidious, who would affect to be England's reconciled comrade while he was Prussia's tool. We cannot, I hope, have reached that degree of infatuation at which we would guarantee the vast resources of Austria-Hungary to von Hinderburg's use under the deluding name of 'neutrality'. We do not want any more neutrals."

Cannon Barry does not look with favor upon schemes of federalized Austria. The royal word of the Hapsburgs does not seem to him to be much of a guarantee; he prefers to trust the small nations that are to arise out of the ruins of the Hapsburg empire, their love of liberty, their fear of German aggression. "Quite conceivably the Emperor Karl would consent to be crowned in Prague with the crown of Saint Venceslas, and in Agram as king of the Croats and Slovenes; he would give them their several parliaments with ministers responsible to the majority. But that is all stage-play. When the curtain fell and the business of government was taken in hand, does any politician or diplomatist believe that such crowned Federalism would be aught else than organized hypocrisy? Let us clear our minds of cant, even when we hear it snuffling in pious tones its reminiscences of chivalrous Austrians and constitutional Magyars. We are fighting for our lives, nay, for the liberties and happiness of generations yet to be, for the British Empire and the true culture which we have inherited from classic antiquity, for the Christian Church of old, and emphatically, for the civilized West, which now embraces America. What lot or portion have the Hohenzollerns and their subject Hapsburgs in defending this our human estate? None; they are bent on laying it waste. Break them, I say, and bind them close by setting free, by making strong the peoples round about, on whose toil and serfdom they have thriven. Parchment is only sheepskin; but a valiant little nation, give it power to manage itself, will show what the spirit can do, be the odds ever so tremendous — and here let us recite, *honoris causa*, the names of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania. There are nations besides them, waiting till the day of deliverance dawns, in the front rank Bohemia and Poland. But the pioneer, from a past of well-nigh twenty-seven centuries, the mother of Latin and medieval civilization, is Italy. Have we made up our minds that we will save Austria, enslave Poland, leave Bohemia to be tortured without hope, and refuse to see in Italy her predestined mission as vanguard and herald of the Western Allies? For we too must choose, and our choice falls within a narrow field. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, there stretches a belt of captive and very unhappy nations or tribes whom we can release, make our devoted friends and bring into the West, far off as they seem to dwell.

These wait to become gladly our moral conquest, to learn of us the better things we know, and forever to set bounds that the German barbarians shall not pass over."

Magyars in the United States try to create the impression that theirs is one of the nations oppressed by Austria and that their sympathies are not on the German side. Cannon Barry knows that the facts are far different. "Do we realize how closely the small ruling nation of the Magyars depends on Germany for its paramount position in the midst of a great Slav ring of subject peoples? Yet so it is and must be, though Hungarians hate and look down upon the Prussians without whose backing their own supremacy would vanish. Again, if we turn to Austria proper, what do we find? I quote an authoritative statement to the following effect: In the beginning of February, 1917, two powerful parties which before the war had ruled this portion of the Empire alternately, the National Union who are Liberals, and the Christian Socialists came to an understanding. The Liberals were led by Jews and anti-Clericals, the Christian Socialists by Clericals and anti-Semites. But they now passed resolutions in favor of a customs union between Austria and Germany, they agreed that German should be the sole official language, and that all Germans resident in Austria, though not its subjects, should be reckoned as Austrian citizens. And these are the chief political forces in the western half of the Dual Empire. Thus our sum in addition is quickly done, like Portia's declaration of love in *The Merchant of Venice*, "one-half of me is yours, the other half yours". Not a legion of Counts Karolyi will persuade us that the Hungarians think of sacrificing their tyranny over Slavs and Rumanes to a platonic affection for Old England. If the Kaiser falls, the Magyar dominion collapses at the same instant. And when Jews agree with anti-Semites to Germanize what exists of Austria not owned by the Hungarians, we may well exclaim: 'These be wonders', '*Vidimus mirabilia hodie*'."

The author is well acquainted with the sufferings of the Bohemian people during the war and with the persecutions and massacres perpetrated upon them by Vienna. And of course he is a warm advocate of Bohemian independence. "The whole chapter of Bohemia during these melancholy years is like the prophet's scroll most lamentable, but yet it is glorious for a people who, cut off from help and sympathy, are struggling

in a silent martyrdom that the Allies may win. This cultivated, peace-loving and constantly heroic branch of the Western Slavs should be dear to England on many accounts. But as political inducements let me add Bismarck's saying: 'He that holds Bohemia is master of Europe', and the simple fact of geography that such a mountain land in the center of a continent, were it free and confederate with its kinsfolk to the East, would be like a wedge thrust into the heart of Pan-Germanism; it would split that entire system across, and thereby end the peril now threatening our Indian Empire."

It is not practicable to quote Cannon Barry at length on the disposition he proposes to make of the various countries ruled by the Hapsburgs. But his conclusion presents a powerful argument in favor of the radical treatment of the Austrian problem.

"Our policy is large and simple. The English-speaking west, the Latin nations, the Slavs of the center, have an interest in common. Its name is freedom; its enemy is Germanism. In the light of this commanding philosophy we cannot afford to be jealous or partisan or disunited. Our danger from the military menace of the Prussian Kaiser is not now formidable, in comparison of what it was even two years ago. We are conquering and to conquer. But we might win in the field and be worsted at the council board; we have to ask ourselves again and again: Is a German peace possible? Will her political victory follow her military collapse? It has been thought more than probable, since the Allies can prevent it only by setting about a total reconstruction of the Near East, in other words, by breaking Austria, settling the Balkan problem on a just foundation, reconciling the different, if not diverse claims of Poles, Letts, Ruthenes, Czechs, Slovaks and Jugoslavs with each other, and all under Western guidance of which the interpreter will, in the main, be a Greater Italy. To leave Austria-Hungary still paramount, under federal conditions, is apparently the line of least resistance, always favored by diplomacy. Perhaps it is, but without any perhaps it would make the Kaiser the lord of Europe.

"The better but surer way is to bridle the Hohenzollerns by a ring of independent nations around them; to combine Antwerp with Dantzic, Trieste with Saloniki, creating a naval quadrilateral, under the protec-

tion of which the new democratic states might live in security, and be at all times federated among themselves, with the Allies and with America. This treaty the sword alone can write; but its terms shall be dictated by the wisdom learnt in the suf-

fering of those down-trodden peoples who knew what Germanism has done in the past and who dread its dominion in the world which it has failed to subdue, but which it is yet capable of beguiling into a peace more inhuman than war itself. *Absit omen.*"

A New Ally: The Bohemian Army.

The following article, published by M. Rene Pichon in L'oeuvre of December 2d, is, we believe, the first detailed public reference to one of the most remarkable movements of the war, the creation and recognition of the Bohemian Army as an independent factor on the side of the Allies. The consequences of such a step may be far-reaching.

"Last July, in referring to the Czechs of the Foreign Legion, I pointed out that there were not many of them under our flag, but that soon many more would come. Today it is an accomplished fact. An impending Decree of the President of the Republic is to regulate the formation of the Czechoslovak Army, and we can now give details about what could then only be indicated in a veiled form.

"This organization comes after two years of effort—a delay due solely to the complexity of the problem. It comes, too, at a good moment, to console us for a disappointment and to preserve us from an injustice. In our bitterness at the defection of the Russians, some of us might be tempted to bear a grudge against all that is Slav. A false and unjust generalization. In Russia the Slav temperament has been depressed by centuries of servility, corrupted by a morbid mysticism and by Socialistic Utopias; in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia it survives firm and robust. Morally the Czechs are more like the Serbs than the Russians; this shows sufficiently how they can be relied upon.

"The new army will be composed partly of Czech and Slovak citizens living in Allied countries, partly of prisoners who surrendered to the Russians and Serbians, and who only ask to serve side by side with those against whom their oppressors had sent them. No pressure, no material or moral constraint, was needed to enroll them. In Russia, as soon as the enrollment of prisoners was authorized, over 20,000 Czechs offered themselves. The work of the Czech politicians consists in spreading, by persuasion, this patriotic enthusiasm, and to negotiate with the Allied Governments the ways and methods of execution. This was

Reprinted from The New Europe, London, December 13, 1917.

the task of the members of the National Czech Council—Professor Masaryk in Russia, Mr. Stefanik in Russia and America, Mr. Beneš in Paris, London and Rome.

"The Czechoslovak Army will number about 120,000 men. This is something even among the gigantic effectives of today. The valor of its fighting men is known. We have seen them in Artois and Champagne, and in the East Brusilov had done full justice to the Czechoslovak Brigade. In one of his communiques he quotes it among the exceptions which throw into relief the general collapse: "The Czechoslovaks, perfidiously abandoned at Tarnopol by our infantry, fought in such a way that the world ought to fall on its knees before them."

"These 120,000 men will be distributed on the various fighting fronts. An important section of them is to be included in the French Army; the highest cadres will be, for the time being, French, for a reason which is worth mentioning. There are very few higher officers among the Czechs. In the Austrian Army the highest posts were for the most part closed, in practice, to the Slavs, as in Germany to the Jews. Thus the Czech troops at present lack leaders; but good ones will soon be formed.

"In return for this collaboration in our defense the Czechs ask us nothing! There has been no bargain between them and the Allied Powers. They claim no pledge which might embarrass us. They only claim the right to shed their blood for the cause which they feel to be just and to coincide with their destinies as a people.

"This does not mean that we ought to forget, later on, what they do for us; but such an attitude on their part is at once the most generous and the most happily inspired. Like the philosopher who proved motion by walking, the Czech nation proves its existence by action and struggle.

"Thus we possess a new Ally — not a State, it is true, but a people, and what is better, a people personified in its heroic army. Let us welcome it, let us salute its Red-and-White banner, and re-echo its National Anthem:

"Were the world of devils full, for every man a devil,

God the Lord is on our side, and Death our foes shall vanquish.

O'er our heads may burst the storm, the rocks may reel and shudder,
Crashing oak and trembling earth shall not avail to daunt us.
Resolute we stand, unshaken as the mountain summits;
May the black earth yawn and swallow every shrinking traitor!
"France is with Bohemia, and Bohemia with France, for the greatest good of both alike."

An Appeal to the Russian Soviet.

[The following open letter sent by Professor Masaryk to the Committee of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates was published by *Russkoye Slovo*, October 30th. It deals with the instructions given by the C. S. W. D. to its representative at the Paris Conference.]

"In the instructions there were laid down the bases for the future constitution of the whole world and, indirectly, of our people also. Consequently, I have the right to speak about them; it is also my duty, as the instructions violate the principle of self-determination of peoples, as accepted by the Russian Revolution, and also are opposed to democracy. The instructions hold to the principle of the self-determination of peoples and even establish the autonomy of Dobrudja (where there are 250,000 Turks), but say nothing about the Czechs and Slovaks, who number ten millions. The people of Hus and Komensky, a people not less cultured than its oppressors, is forgotten. The Roumanians of Hungary, who number more than three millions, and almost six millions of Jugoslavs are forgotten, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are part of the Jugoslav people, are separated from their own people.

"The principle of self-determination pre-supposes not only the freedom, but also the union of peoples. Here the instructions are opposed to the interests of a whole number of peoples; the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Roumanians, the Jugoslavs, the Italians. Thus the instructions recognize in words the principle of self-determination of peoples, but in reality only propose its realization through existing States. Thus it accepts the superior importance of the State over that of nationality which is the fundamental view of German Imperialism, and is opposed even to the teachings of Socialism about the State, especially to the teachings of Engels and Marx. The instructions forget that nationality itself is social, as a people that is enslaved descends to the level of a cheap working class. For that reason, the Socialists of all countries recognize nationality; it is only the Scheidemanns and Bauers who incline towards the views of German Imperialism.

"The instructions which speak of self-determination of nations are opposed to the meaning of the principles proclaimed by the Russian Revolution. The instructions protect Austria-Hungary, forget-

ting that it is just this State which is the cause of the present terrible war, owing to its dishonorable Balkan policy. The authors of the instructions did not know that Austria-Hungary during the war has executed from thirty to sixty thousand people; they do not know that all the politicians and deputies from the Czecho-Slovak, Italian, and other peoples were imprisoned and condemned to death; they do not know that the Germans and the Magyars maintain their supremacy by open violence both at the elections and in the administration; they do not know that the peoples of Austria and Hungary have for centuries fought for freedom and independence. Austria-Hungary represents an open organization of violent rule by the minority over the majority, and the instructions defend even a mediæval and an artificial State, defend a dynasty which, with the help of the army and of militarism, in alliance with a greedy aristocracy together with the Germans and the Magyars, keeps seven peoples in a state of slavery.

Being in a position to choose between a degenerate dynasty and seven free peoples (containing a population of more than 30 millions) the instructions have taken the side of the dynasty. At the same time the instructions also defend Prussia and her militarism, to which the Poles and Danes have been sacrificed.

"Europe and mankind have been delivered from Russian Tearism, but the Tearisms of Prussia and Austria are to be preserved."

"The instructions wish to re-establish Belgium by means of an international fund, as though the Allies were guilty of the war just as much as Germany and Austria. The instructions make a quite incorrect distinction between an aggressive war and a war of defence. Without going into further criticisms I would contrast the instructions with the Note of the Allies to Wilson and the explanations of Wilson, Briand, Asquith, Lloyd George, and other politicians who have understood the meaning of the war, which was caused by German aggressiveness, and have quite openly proclaimed the democratic principle of equal rights for all peoples, not only for the great, but also for the small. A lasting peace cannot be realized until German and Austrian Impe-

rialism is crushed; the division of Austria-Hungary into its natural national parts is in itself a fundamental war aim. The danger of German Imperialism lies in the fact that it disposes of the Hapsburgs and their Empire.

"I hope that when I return to Petrograd the Executive Committee of the C. W. S. D. will enable me to explain more fully the views of the Czechoslovaks on the conditions of a really lasting, just and democratic peace."

Current Topics.

WITH THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

The most important event of the last month from the point of view of men of Bohemian descent was the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. It was received in every settlement of Bohemians in this country with a tremendous enthusiasm, and mass meetings were held everywhere at which resolutions were adopted praising the President for his action. The White House must have been swamped with telegrams from Bohemian societies and mass meetings. Incidentally one may tell from the attitude of the former Austrian subjects toward this latest declaration of war what their real sentiments are. The Slavs of Austria-Hungary welcomed the open hostilities, the Germans and Magyars regretted them, while protesting volubly their attachment to the United States.

Naturally President Wilson's reference to Austria-Hungary, implying a hands-off attitude on the part of America, caused some disappointment and much argument about his motives and his real sentiments. At all events, the workers in the cause of Bohemian independence recognize that the concrete fact of hostilities between the United States and the Dual Empire far outweighs in importance a few words in the presidential address. On the other hand a great step forward in the campaign for independence was the official recognition by the French Government of the Czechoslovak National Council and a detailed announcement by the French embassy in Washington of the plans for the Czechoslovak army in France, a nucleus of which already exists. One can say truly now that independent Bohemia already exists, just as independent Belgium and Serbia exist. Though the soil of Bohemia is still subject to the enemy, Bohemia has its own revolutionary government, recognized by foreign powers, as well as its own revolutionary army, both on the eastern and the western front.

Russia, the center of interest for all the allied nations, is also in a narrower sense the center of interest for the Bohemians. What will become of the 60,000 Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia, is a question of unflagging concern to all members of the Bohemian National Alliance. When the Bolsheviki and the Germans get so far as to talk about prompt exchange of prisoners, the question becomes acute. Just at this time two delegates of this army, Captain Zdeňko Firlinger and John Janček, arrived in this country to tell the men here of the work done in Russia and to arouse interest in the new army in France. Captain Firlinger has been through three years of the war and commanded a battalion at

Zborov in June, when the first Czechoslovak brigade gained so much glory. He has never been in America before, but it is of interest to his countrymen here that before the war he was in the employ of the International Harvester Company in Russia.

BOHEMIA IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

During the month of December the Bohemian cause received much attention in the newspapers of this country. The declaration of war against Austria-Hungary brought to the fore the question of immigrants from the Dual Empire. The results of the work done during the past three years by the Bohemian Alliance were apparent in that the press unanimously referred to the Bohemians as an element about whose loyalty to the cause of the Allies there could be no doubt. Bulletins of the Slav Press Bureau, published in influential dailies, help to inform America of the real situation in Austria-Hungary and of the revolutionary part played in Austrian politics by the Bohemian delegation to the Vienna Reichsrat. Resolutions and telegrams to the President, approving of the declaration of war on Austria, have received publicity in the newspapers of every city where there is a settlement of Bohemians, and have thus helped to make clear the sentiments of the Bohemians in the eyes of the American people. The leading article of the last issue of the Bohemian Review has been quoted with approval in some half a dozen daily papers.

One of the warmest and most influential friends of Bohemian independence is Col. Theodore Roosevelt. He has taken a stand absolutely opposed to any compromise with the Central Empires. In his program of reconstruction which he continues to urge upon the public opinion of this country by pen and speech he always includes the creation of a Greater Bohemia as one of the essential conditions of a just and permanent peace. Bohemians owe a vast debt of gratitude to Col. Roosevelt.

Another strong friend of Bohemia is the Chicago Evening Post. In its editorials it has advocated over and over again the justice of Bohemia's claims. In an editorial article on December 17th, entitled "The Importance of Bohemia", based on Andre Charadame's powerful discussion in the Atlantic Monthly, the Post says:

"M. Cheradame believes it possible to give both moral and material impulse to the spirit of revolt that has never been extinguished in Bohemia and its Slavic co-vassals. Assuredly it seems folly to refrain from the word that would quicken the flames. Justice to peoples who have suffered much, as well as

reasonable concern for our own cause and that of the Allies, argues for such effort as we can put forth to make the century-long struggle of these liberty-loving races at last victorious and a contribution no less to the freedom of the whole world."

This resume of the discussion of Bohemian questions in the American press would not be complete without a mention of two articles contributed to the learned journals of this country by two members of the Bohemian National Alliance. The January number of the Yale Review has a contribution from Charles Pergler, vice-president of the Alliance, summarizing in a telling manner the arguments against the preservation of Austria-Hungary. The Journal for Race Development has an article by the editor of this monthly on "The Demands of the Bohemian People".

A LETTER OF APPRECIATION

Letters come frequently to the editor commending the work done by the Bohemian National Alliance and the *Bohemian Review*. Some of these letters are from Americans of standing and influence. None of them have been published so far, because the small amount of space in this modest monthly can be filled with matter of more general interest, and because to publish complimentary letters would smack of self-advertising.

Exceptions, however, must be made to every rule. A letter is at hand from a physician in far-off Saskatchewan that deserves a place in this record of the work of the Bohemian National Alliance. It shows that the efforts to gain friends for Bohemia, whether done by the leaders in Chicago or by farmers on the prairies, do bring results. But let the letter speak for itself. This Canadian doctor says:

"Through the courtesy of Mr. Joseph Virgil, a Bohemian of this city, I have been privileged to read from time to time the current copies of the *Bohemian Review* and other papers containing data of interest concerning the aspirations of the Czechoslovak people. I have for some time had it in mind to write you a few lines expressing my sympathy with your people, for whom I have always had an admiration and also to compliment you on what I consider the cleverest propaganda on record. In a sense you people of the Bohemian National Alliance are demonstrating the truth of the old saying that 'the pen is mightier than the sword'. You could never have hoped by your own material powers to gain such a leverage of influence as you have apparently won through the influence of your Association and your Press Bureau. Prejudice has been removed, criticism disarmed, and approving interest awakened as a result of the spread of your organization. Great credit is also due to the many members of your society who have gone to much trouble to get acquainted with influential people and where misunderstanding existed to endeavor to remove it.

"In Canada our government has felt that safety demanded the disfranchisement of all citizens from enemy countries. I did not approve of this, but wiser men, perhaps, did. The average Canadian will

make no distinction between the various races of Austria. They are all enemies to him. But I can see how in our own district surrounding this city sentiment is being formed decidedly favorable to Bohemians. Mr. Joseph Virgil has gone to much trouble to help forward this. Indeed it was his enthusiasm which led me to write several newspaper articles on the Bohemian fight for independence and also to interview the editors and discuss the matter. *Your Bohemian Review is an ably managed paper and so well written that it is of interest to any thinking man.*

"This evening I visited with several of my Bohemian friends and then gave an article to the morning paper stating that every Bohemian in the city had bought from one to three Victory bonds this week. I also took the men over to our citizens' recruiting committee with whom we discussed your Alliance. These men, and indeed all Canadians, are glad to have a Bohemian representation in our Canadian army. My own young son is in the famous 'Princess Pats' and I have just received word of his being wounded. But we hope that our losses shall not be in vain, but that at the conclusion of the war human affairs may be straightened out and put on a more equitable basis."

ACQUAINTING AMERICA WITH BOHEMIA

We are so intent on convincing America of the justice of the political demands of the Bohemian people that we run into the error of using only political arguments. They are the strongest and the most obvious, but we have others that should not be neglected. We can make friends for Bohemia by telling our American fellow-citizens of the art, culture, music and literature of Bohemia.

Two such attempts have been made recently, with considerable success. On November 14th a Bohemian Day was held at the University of Chicago. It was preceded by a two-day exhibit of Bohemian art and books. The evening itself was made enjoyable by splendid rendering of Bohemian music by Bohemian vocal and instrumental artists. The second occasion was an exhibit of embroidery and needlework at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York on December 9th and during the following week. Representatives of the Museum and of the New York Czechs and Slovaks gave addresses on the art of the Slavs.

Upon the occasion of the Bohemian Day at the University of Chicago a booklet was issued presenting briefly in sixty pages Bohemia's contribution to civilization. It is got up in a very attractive manner with a colored title page and several beautiful illustrations. Prof. Zmrhal discusses Bohemia's Contribution to Literature. Dr. Vojan writes on Bohemian Music. Vojta Beneš tells of the Bohemian Art and Dr. Fisher sets forth the ideals of the Sokols. The booklet is particularly appropriate for presentation to American friends of Bohemia. Copies may be obtained from the Bohemian National Alliance, 5639 West Twenty-sixth street, Chicago. Price, 50 cents.

THE AUSTRIAN SLAVS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The German victory in Italy, followed by the betrayal of Russia and her Allies by the Bolshevik leaders, has freed the governments of Vienna and Budapest from all immediate military danger, and at once their spokesmen are beginning to revert from the fairspoken democratic phrases of the past nine months to the reactionary sentiments which come more naturally to them. Already the Joint Foreign Minister, Count Czernin, the Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seidler, and the Hungarian statesmen, Counts Tisza and Andrassy, have publicly repudiated the doctrine of self-determination as in any sense applicable to the Dual Monarchy. We shall have more to say when the full text of these speeches reaches us. In the meantime it is worth quoting the following communique issued as early as December 1st by the Czech, Southern Slav and Ukrainian Parliamentary Clubs at Vienna:

"The peace offer of the present Russian Government rests not only on the principle of 'No annexations or contributions', but also on the principle of the right of self-determination of all nations—a fact suppressed by our government. We therefore point out that the basis upon which the Austrian Government, according to the Premier's statement, is ready to enter into peace negotiations, stands on this essential point in direct conflict with the conditions of the peace manifesto of the present Russian Government to all belligerent peoples; for the offer pre-assumes guarantees for national self-determination, whereas the Austrian Premier's statement, made in agreement with the Foreign Minister, seems by its silence directly to exclude this self-determination. In view of this conflict on the most important point in the offer of armistice, we find that the negotiations already begun cannot lead to peace, and we should have to hold the government fully responsible for this. From our standpoint we repeat that, in accordance with our declarations of May 30, 1917, we still adhere unreservedly to the demand of self-determination."

BOHEMIAN REVIEW ENTERS UPON SECOND YEAR

Much has happened, since the first issue of the Bohemian Review came out. A year ago the United States was still neutral, and though thoughtful men foresaw the necessity of our active participation, few imagined that January, 1918, would see hundreds of thousands of American boys under arms in France. We are at war both with Germany and its vassal, Austria-Hungary. Peace it not yet in sight, in fact it seems to be as far away as it was a year ago; but this much is certain that the most powerful voice in the settlement of affairs, after the guns shall have been silenced, will be the voice of the United States.

If there were reasons a year ago to call into being this little review that it might advocate the

claims of Bohemia to freedom, there are many more reasons today to keep it alive and to widen its usefulness. We said in the first issue: "To earn the sympathy and good will of America for the struggles of Czechs and Slovaks toward freedom will be the main purpose of the Bohemian Review." How vastly more important to the Czechs and Slovaks is the sympathy and good will of America now that this premiere republic of the world has staked its all on the defeat of the Central Empires. And how difficult it is to gain over the United States. Not because the American people are indifferent to the struggles of a brave nation for freedom, but because this country is so big, because the causes which claim the attention of the people are so many, and because this little monthly has so far reached only a few of the influential citizens whose sympathies and active help we want to enlist.

You can help in this work. Renew your own subscription so that the necessary expenses of publication may be defrayed. And then subscribe the Review for someone who ought to read it. Your local newspaper editor ought to have it; very likely he will reprint occasionally some news item or argument which will inform thousands of his readers what the Bohemians are doing for the cause of the Allies and for their own liberation. The Bohemian Review ought to be in your public library and in the university library, where it would be seen by many. It ought to be sent to men of influence in your town that they may know who the Czechs and Slovaks are and learn to distinguish them from Austrians and Hungarians. At this time, when our unnaturalized people are classed as alien enemies, it is more than ever desirable that local authorities all over the United States should be informed of the absolute loyalty of Czechoslovaks to the cause of America.

Help to have the Bohemian Review read, and you will help both the people of Bohemia and the Bohemian and Slovak residents of the United States.

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The BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

February, 1918

Autonomy and Self-determination.
Bohemian Army in France.
Czechoslovaks Look to America.
Economic Strength of the Bohemian Lands.
Fine Arts in Bohemia.
Austria and Europe.
Deputy Klofac's Prison Memoirs.
Current Topics.



**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Autonomy and Self-determination.

Not so many years ago the people of Austria-Hungary would have hailed with joy a declaration of Great Powers demanding for them "the freest opportunity of autonomous development." Now the word autonomy leaves them cold, nay disappointed. They have seen the most improbable things happen in the course of a few short years—slaughter more awful than man ever imagined, barbarities exceeding all that history recorded, sufferings and misery beyond human endurance, as well as political transformations of which only wild enthusiasts dared to dream. Who before the war would have hazarded the guess that a few short years would find a general agreement of minds as to the necessity of an independent Poland? Who foretold the rise of an independent Ukrainian republic?

War has created certain psychological states whose influence exceeds the might of the mightiest armies. In Bohemia it has brought into being a state of mind which affects all alike—the rich and the poor, conservative and radical, young and old, men and women. It manifests itself in a fire of patriotism the intensity of which no American, patriotic though he be, can comprehend. It is the patriotism of a small nation in which each member counts, a nation that had once played a noble part in Europe, a nation with a history of which each Czech is passionately proud, a nation with a strong individuality jealously preserved, a nation determined to be once more independent. This exalted enthusiasm accounts for the boldness of the Czech deputies in Vienna who in the very den of lions dare to challenge their enemies by demanding a Bohemian state with all the attributes of sovereignty; this explains the conduct of the Czechoslovak people who by desertions, insubordination, strikes, riots seek to embarrass their oppressors and bring about their defeat. No promise of autonomy has the power to create such determination. Only freedom in its full sense,

freedom as a nation, political independence can and does inspire a nationally conscious people to unheard of heights of heroism.

Perhaps America will understand now, why the promise of freest autonomy from the Allies has been such a disappointment to the Bohemians. Not merely because Bohemians know that autonomy under the Hapsburgs, autonomy under the same roof with Germans and Magyars would be illusory. But because it is such an anticlimax to what they had aspired, what they had confidently and with good reason expected from the Allies, and from America above all.

Is it necessary in the interests of the world democracy that the Allies should abandon the Czechs and all the Austrian Slavs to the Hapsburgs? Is the cause of justice so weak that it must compromise with tyrants? It cannot be. There may be weighty reasons, why at this time the enemies of the Central Powers cannot speak of independent Bohemia as openly as they speak of independent Poland. But surely no diplomatic or military considerations require that the democratic nations of the world abandon their real friends in Central Europe for the sake of conciliating a dynasty.

Bohemians have no desire to embarrass their friends by asking too much at an inconvenient time. But it surely is not too much to ask that the Allies speak not of autonomy, but of self-determination, for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. All that the Bohemian nation asks is that it be allowed to determine for itself under what government it shall live.

The words of Woodrow Wilson, the scholar, written nearly thirty years ago, have been clothed with a new significance by the events of the last four years: "No lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, can reconcile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."

Czechoslovak Army in France

An important landmark in the history of the movement for the independence of Bohemia is the decree regulating the status of the Czechoslovak army in France. Its great significance consists in this, that France, if not all the Allies, has officially proclaimed the Czechoslovak people for her ally and has given recognition to the Czechoslovak National Council as the revolutionary government of Bohemia. The decree is known in Bohemia, as the Vienna Neue Freie Presse published in it full. Following is the text of the decree:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Upon the Recommendation of the Premier, the Minister of War and the
Minister of Foreign Affairs,

DECREES:

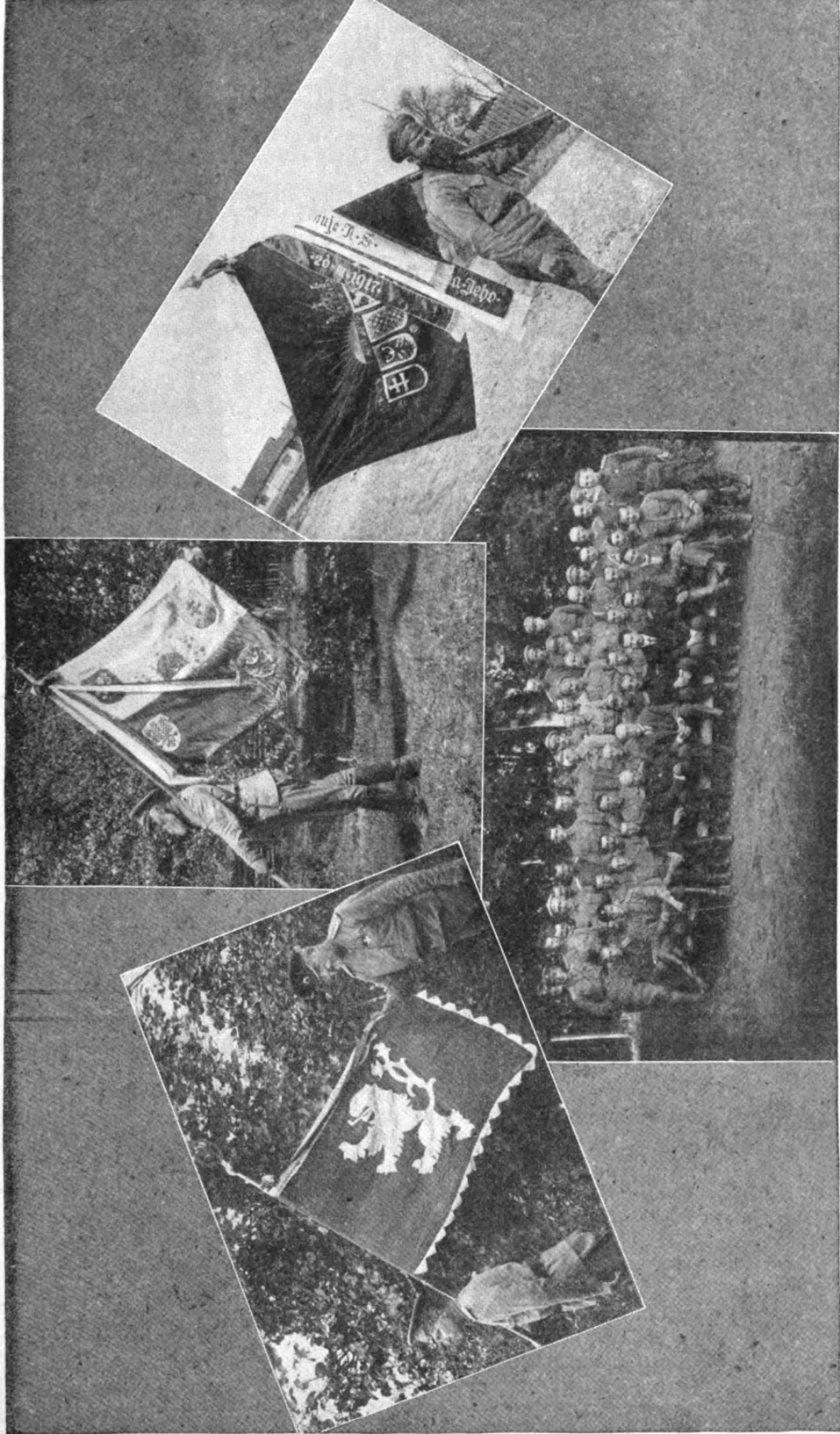
- Article I.** Czechoslovaks organized in an autonomous army and recognizing from the military standpoint the supreme authority of the French High Command will fight under their own flag against the Central Empires.
- Article II.** This national army is placed from the political standpoint under the direction of the National Council for Czech and Slovak Lands with headquarters in Paris.
- Article III.** The equipment of the Czechoslovak Army as well as its further maintenance is assured by the French Government.
- Article IV.** Provisions governing the French Army as regards organization, military ranks, administration and discipline are applicable to the Czechoslovak Army.
- Article V.** The autonomous Czechoslovak Army is recruited:
1. From Czechoslovaks actually serving in the French Army;
 2. From Czechoslovaks of other jurisdictions who may be permitted to transfer to the Czechoslovak Army or who may volunteer for service in this army for the duration of the war.
- Article VI.** Further ministerial instructions will govern the application of this decree.
- Article VII.** The premier, the minister of war and the minister of foreign affairs are charged, each in his own department, with the execution of this decree, which shall be published in the *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic and inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*.

Done at Paris, the 16th day of December, 1917.

By the President of the Republic,
POINCARÉ.

Premier and Minister of War,
CLEMENCEAU.

Minister of Foreign Affairs,
PICHON.



Flags of the three Regiments of the First Czechoslovak Brigade in Russia.
Below officers of the First Regiment with Prof. Masaryk.

Czechoslovak Look to America.

By Joseph Tvrzický.

There is one thing that every Bohemian is anxious to impress upon the consciousness of the world in general, and of America in particular. That is that the Czechoslovak people have ranged themselves as definitely on the side of the Allies and of democracy as have the nations which declared war formally on the Central Empires. Czechs and Slovaks at home fight the Austro-Hungarian government and dynasty, and Czechoslovak armies in Russia and France, as well as tens of thousands of volunteers of Bohemian blood in the American army, wager their lives and shed their blood in the cause of world freedom.

The fact is that Bohemia is actively carrying on a revolutionary movement within and against the Hapsburg monarchy. And Bohemia has the right to expect that the democracy of the United States will sympathize with her aims, that the leaders of America will support the peoples, rather than the dynasty of Austria-Hungary. Once before this country had occasion to tell the Austrian diplomats with whom were the sympathies of the United States in the internal struggles of the Austrian Empire. Daniel Webster told the Austrian charge d'affaires in 1851: "Certainly the United States may be pardoned even by those who profess adherence to the principle of absolute governments, if they entertain an ardent affection for its popular forms of political organization which have so rapidly advanced their own prosperity and their happiness and enabled them in so short a period to bring their country and the hemisphere to which it belongs to the notice and respectful regard, not to say admiration, of the civilized world."

America is once more presented with the opportunity of taking the side of the people as against the rulers of Austria-Hungary. A recent report in the papers says: "Austria makes new advances to Wilson. It is known positively that Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, through private intermediaries has sent message after message to President Wilson assuring him of the sincerity of the Austrian diplomacy." The well-known sincerity of Austrian diplomacy! As an American diplomat says in speaking about these very overtures: "Until the commencement of the

present war Austria figured in history as the most unreliable of powers in the matter of foreign relations. There was no dependence to be placed upon her good faith or upon her pledges. But since 1914 she has yielded her preeminence in this sorry particular to the Berlin government."

Let us examine the sincerity of Czernin's present diplomacy. He is never weary reiterating for the benefit of the Russian revolutionaries and of the famishing people at home that the Austro-Hungarian Government favors absolutely a peace without annexations. But at the same time wires have been laid quietly and all necessary steps taken to have Emperor Charles called to the throne of Poland, of course "by the free will of the Polish people", and in that manner get out of the war with credit and increase the possessions of the House of Hapsburg. To President Wilson Count Czernin sends messages couched in the friendliest tones, full of regret that enmity should have arisen between their respective countries, willing to meet America more than half way; and at the same time he tries to break down the rebellion of Czechs and Jugoslavs by telling their deputies that the whole Anglo-Saxon race is perfidious, that he is in possession of most authentic news providing that the Allies are only maneuvering for advantageous peace conditions for themselves and are quite ready to throw overboard their natural allies within the Dual Monarchy. Count Czernin approves the Russian declaration of the self-determination of nations, as long as it is applied only to Russia and tends to break up the once most dangerous enemy of his monarchy into powerless fragments. But when it is suggested that Russian principle be applied to Austro-Hungary, he shudders with horror at the very idea of it and declares that the emperor must remain the master in his own house.

What will America do with Czernin's overtures? Will it side with the Austrian dynasty or with the Austrian people? In Germany the dynasty and the people still seem to be at one, unless recent reports of strike disturbances turn out to be more serious than appears at this time. But in Austria-Hungary the majority of the subjects are definitely ranged against the

reigning house. Here is a sample of their bold speaking: "In the Czech nation there is no party that does not desire the formation of a Bohemian state and the union of Slovaks with Czechs. The whole nation is at one in this demand, workingmen and the bourgeois, socialists and agrarians. Threats will not scare us, and if Count Tisza believes that our demands should be branded as treason, we have no objection. Even should the government charge the whole nation with treason, we shall not be ashamed of it. If he who battles for justice and freedom is a traitor, then we shall look upon the name as an honor." So spoke Deputy Tuzar in the Vienna Reichsrat on behalf of all the deputies of Czech people. He continued: "The Russian revolutionaries demand a peace to be made by people with people. Count Czernin cannot negotiate with Russian socialists as the representative of the Austrian peoples." And referring to the haughty declaration of Czernin that the emperor must be master in his own house Tuzar says: "We too want to be masters in our own house. We too want peace, but only such a peace as will bring freedom and independence to all nations."

There is really nothing in Czernin's extended hand except glittering generalities. No doubt he would be glad to see, if America could bring about general peace now; Austria needs it. But there is no sign in his speech in the Austrian delegation that he has any intention of complying with the President's most liberal peace terms. As to any concessions to the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary, the very idea is preposterous. Says the foreign minister with reference to the tenth article of Wil-

son's peace program: "In the second place, I have to observe that I reject courteously, but resolutely, that advice as how we are to govern ourselves. We have in Austria a parliament elected by universal, equal and secret franchise. There is no more democratic parliament in the world, and this parliament, together with the other constitutionally authorized factors, alone has the right to decide upon the internal affairs of Austria. I speak only of Austria, because I should regard it as unconstitutional to speak in the Austrian delegation of the internal affairs of the Hungarian state." Yes; the Austrian and German parliaments are models of democratic parliaments. Representation in Vienna parliament is so gerrymandered that the Germans are always in the majority, although forming only a minority of the population. And above this elected parliament are "the other constitutionally authorized factors", namely the House of Peers, appointed by the Emperor, and finally the greatest factor of them all, the dynasty.

But in spite of the fact that the smooth approaches of Count Czernin are nothing but empty words, this country should answer them. And it should answer in terms that could not be misunderstood or misinterpreted. President Wilson should say to Austria: "You have had your chance. A month ago I invited you to break away from your evil associates and to reconstruct your own affairs on a just and democratic basis. But instead of repentance you have resorted to your old diplomatic game of foolery and deceit. You have pronounced your own doom. The dynastic empire of Austria-Hungary must disappear to make room for free and independent republics."

Economic Strength of the Bohemian Lands.

By Vojta Beneš.

The Bohemian nation has always held the right of self-determination to be the inalienable right of every adult people. In the early years of the modern period of Bohemian political life F. L. Rieger, then the leader of the nation, proclaimed: "As our foremost watchword we declare to be the right of each race to determine its allegiance." Thomas G. Masaryk, the leader of the present revolution against Austria-Hungary, gave expression to the same idea

in his great work "The Bohemian Problem" in 1889: "We are not fully our own, until we shall rule ourselves and be our own masters."

To emancipate itself from Austria has been the goal of our nation for many years, but latterly it proclaimed clearly that it demanded full national independence. To this end was tending all its political and cultural development, and for the sake of this consummation of its hopes the Czech

nation paid careful attention to its economic development. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period in which the Bohemian nation slowly gathered strength and riches after the exhausted condition into which it was cast by the blindly selfish policy of its Hapsburg rulers. Karel Havlíček and František Palacký, the two greatest men of the days of 1848, emphasized over and over again the necessity of economic development and strengthening. Two generations have gone by since then, and the Czech nation may justly take pride in the success it has achieved in this all-important field. When the Czechoslovak people make the claim that without them there can be no Austria, they do not exaggerate.

If it were not for its control of the riches of the Bohemian lands, Austria-Hungary would play a rôle in the world war far more contemptible than even its actual sorry performance. While the incorporation of the Czechoslovak conscripts did not increase the effectiveness of the Austrian armies, the crops of Bohemia fed the armies of both Austria and Germany, the mines of Bohemia gave forth most of the Austrian iron ore, Bohemian steel mills produced the all-important steel, Bohemian gun factories furnished the famous Austrian howitzers, cattle of Bohemia and Moravia was the principal source of meat for the army, and the textiles of Bohemia kept the Austro-Hungarian soldiers warm. Take away the Czechoslovak lands from the Dual Monarchy, and how much will be left? What help could such crippled Austria give to Germany in any future attack on the liberties of the world? Creation of a Bohemian republic will be the greatest blow struck at German plans of conquest.

After these general observations let me give a few figures regarding the agriculture, industry and commerce of the Bohemian lands. And first agriculture.

Whereas Norway has in fields only 0.7% of its area, Russia 15%, Austria 35.5%, and Hungary 41.4%, the lands of the ancient Bohemian crown, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, devote to field crops 51.6% of their area. Bohemia alone with its 5,194,809 hectares, has 50.47% of it in fields, 29.01% in forests, 17.14 in meadows, gardens and ponds, and only 3.38% of the total area is unproductive. That is the best evidence of great agricultural riches of Bohemia. The principal crops are grain crops. Rye was sown on 18.5% of the total area, and the

average harvest amounts of 9,500,000 quintals of one hundred kilograms each. (This standard metrical measure is equivalent to somewhat less than four bushels or 220.46 pounds). The area sown to oats was 19.25% of the total area, and the average crop is 8,400,000 quintals; barley gets about 16% of the area with a crop of 6,200,000 quintals, while wheat fields comprise 8.5% of the area and give an average crop of 4,100,000 quintals. This is a total of grain crops for Bohemia alone of more than 28,000,000 quintals of grain crops. The productivity of its soil will be best appreciated by the following comparison. The average yield to a hectare in the United States was in 1910 about 9.2 quintals, in Austria it was 13.2 quintals, and in Bohemia 18.2 quintals. The figure for Austria includes Bohemian lands; without them the yield of the other Austrian provinces would be only 9.68 quintals. What an eloquent figure! With the Bohemian lands the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy has sufficient grain for its own consumption, with a considerable amount left for export. Without the Bohemian lands Austria would have to buy half of its grain in foreign lands.

What is true of grain crops as a whole, is particularly true of wheat, the staff of life. The total wheat harvest in Austria, including the lands of the Bohemian crown, was in round numbers 7,200,000 quintals in 1912. Bohemia alone furnished 4,425,000 quintals. With less than a fourth of the population it furnished over three-fifths of this most important crop.

Let us take commercial crops. The total yield of hops in Austria-Hungary was 195,000 quintals; of that amount 145,000 quintals of the best quality hops was grown in Bohemia. It may be interesting to add that the United States raised a yearly average of 200,000 quintals of hops. Or let us take the highly valuable sugar beet crop. Of sugar exported from Austria 93% was produced in Bohemia.

The area of Austria without Hungary is 30,000,793 hectares; of that the Bohemian lands have only 7,650,086 hectares, that is to say 25.49%. But taking together all the crops raised, the Bohemian lands furnish 40.99%, instead of 25.49%, of the total value of agricultural products. The greater part of the balance was produced in the agricultural province of Galicia. Austrian lands proper, that is to say that part of the monarchy which is largely German, would make a very miserable showing in-

deed in this matter of agricultural prosperity.

Other products of the farm show a much higher yield in Bohemia than in the rest of Austria. Bohemia raises 1,301,626 quintals of cabbage, 60,000 quintals of flax fiber, 208,577 quintals of peas, 32,475,385 quintals of potatoes, etc. Bohemian fruit has been famous all over Europe ever since the 18th century; it is exported in enormous quantities into Germany, and in the present war especially Bohemia has been virtually deprived of its entire fruit crop for the benefit of Germany. Both the soil and the climate of Bohemia are unusually favorable to the culture of fruit trees of all species grown in the temperate climes. In 1910 14,686,223 fruit trees gave a crop of 2,744,820 quintals of excellent fruit. As early as the 16th century a chronicler says: "In the Bohemian lands there is much fruit and fine wine and other products of the soil, so that the Bohemian lands are known as the granary of Germania."

In cattle raising, as well as in field and fruit culture, the Bohemian lands take the first place among the provinces of Austria, although cattle raising is the principal industry of the Alpine (German) provinces. The last census gives the number of horses in Austria as 1,752,848; of that the Bohemian lands had 463,167 or just about their rightful proportion. In sheep raising the lands of the Bohemian crown fall slightly

below the quota which they should have for their area. Of 3,684,879 sheep in Austria they had 823,478, falling short by about one hundred thousand of their percentage. But then most of the sheep are raised on the poor land of southern Austria; Bohemian soil is too valuable for this industry. There were in Austria in 1910 6,423,080 pigs, and of that number the Bohemian lands had 1,790,020, about two hundred thousand more than their proportion. Still better showing is made by Bohemia in that most important branch of agriculture, cattle raising. Whereas the total of cattle for all Austria was 9,160,009 head the Czech lands had 3,188,291 head of the finest breeds, almost a million over the number which they should have in proportion to their area. In Denmark, the model cattle-raising country, there are 46 head of cattle to a square kilometer; Austria without the Bohemian lands has 27, and the Bohemian lands have 41.7, a remarkably good showing, when it is remembered that Denmark raises little grain, while Bohemia is both a grain growing and cattle raising country.

Without the agricultural riches of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia the Austrian monarchy would cease to be a Great Power, and without the food raised in Bohemia and confiscated by Austrian authorities Germany would have been compelled by hunger long ago to capitulate.

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

(Continued)

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan.

During the modern period the development of literature in Bohemia got a start far ahead of the other arts. After Kollar's "Slávy Dcera" (Slavia's Daughter) in 1824 and Čelakovský's "Ohlas Písni Ruských" (Echo of Russian Songs) in 1829 we get suddenly in 1836 the wonderful "Máj" of Mácha, by which the recently born Czech poetry came at a bound into contact with the most modern currents of the world poetry. As against that, the decorative arts and music had to wait a good many years longer. Bedřich Smetana, founder of modern Bohemian music, composed as early as 1847, upon the occasion of the marriage of his pupil, Countess Marie Thun, three "Wedding Pictures", of which the last is

identical with the opening part of the first scene of the "Bartered Bride"; but the last-named work, one of the most distinctively national products of Bohemian art, took shape only in the years 1863-1866. And in like manner, the lifework of Mánes, the first fruits of which was the portrait of Rieger in 1849 and the delightful "Honeymoon in Haná", was given forth in its full bloom only some years later. But fate was so far favorable to Bohemian art that it gave to all branches pioneers of genius who reached in their creations the very highest standards and brought the art of the Czech nation to a wonderfully elevated stage.

As Smetana reached by his study of the spirit of folk songs a type of Bohemian mu-

siv which combining modern music with racial characteristics became an example of a distinctive Czech musical art, so Mánes determined in that memorable year 1849 to produce out of Bohemian soil and its spirit artistic creations that would portray the charm of Bohemian soul. By painstakingly careful ethnological study Mánes slowly collated the distinctive characteristics of the people into an artistic type of the Czechoslovak race which for many years was supreme in all Bohemian decorative art. Having made his start in romanticism Mánes naturally created a type of a peasant youth and belle, an idealized type of the Czechoslovak nature. It is far indeed from modern naturalism, but just because this idealistic conception grew out of conscientious study of the purest folk surroundings and reached the very kernel of the Czechoslovak national soul, it became so dominant and so permanent that its influence is manifest in all the monumental works which emphasize the Czech national individuality. We meet with this type in Aleš' lunettes and wall pictures in the foyer of the National Theater in Prague, in Myslbek's statuary groups on Palacký's bridge, etc. It is a soft, pleasant, kind type, of a full form; the female type has a round face, fine straight nose, small, tempting lips, clear but slightly dreamy eye, rich hair, generous bust, full arms, round hips and oval legs with a firm calf and slender elegant ankles.

In October, 1849, Mánes paid a visit to the Castle Čechy in Moravia, where the Countess Silva-Taroucca with her son received him most cordially. There he spent an entire year. The Haná motif of his "Honeymoon" Mánes engraved in stone for the album of the Society of Decorative Artists; this album appeared in February, 1850 and contained also Hellich's "Vision in St. Vitus Church" and Havránek's "Karlštejn". This first work of Mánes dealing with a Czech folk theme was a great innovation in this respect also, because in comparison with the works of the Prague ateliers it had grown out of the bracing air of real country. Thence the strong, invigorating flavor which Mánes work will forever have. Models of both figures Mánes found in the village below the castle; the background is formed by the wide, fertile plains stretching between the castle and the city of Olomouc. The folk studies that Mánes commenced to make during his stay in the Čechy castle, he kept up continually, but

the richest harvest was the journey he undertook in the summer of 1854 into the southwestern corner of Moravia, the land that later became the domain of Józsa Úprka, and into the Hungarian Slovakland. Mánes is the first to undertake in painting what Božena Němec at the same time was doing in literature. He studies not merely the costume with detail and extreme care, that has not been surpassed so far by anyone, but like a true artist he studies the movement of bodies, he observes how men walk and stand, how they sit and make motions; and in all this his great pen finds rich material and happy reproduction. Many beautiful folk studies had their birth at this time; they were made use of later as illustrations to folk songs and in the cycle "Music".

This ideal type, so happily conceived, helps Mánes to find the true expression for the prehistoric Bohemian period. This he applied in his illustrations of the Manuscript of Králův Dvůr, a document supposed to have been composed in the pagan days of Bohemia. In these drawings the distinctive, characteristically Bohemian art of Mánes is brought out so perfectly that it has not yet been equalled by any more recent Czech artist. The drawings of Aleš illustrating the famous manuscript contain a number of excellent sheets and are closely related to the work of Mánes, but while a few may approach his excellence, there is none of higher merit.

One of the culminating works of Mánes is the "Horloge" for the Prague City Hall. The original is now in the City Museum, having been replaced by a copy by Liška. This work consists of twelve allegorical pictures of peasant life, being an idealistic representation of the relations of the tiller of the soil to Mother Earth. The several labors of country life, plowing, sowing, mowing, grain-cutting, cultivating, grape-gathering, etc., are represented in a manner little short of the epochal.

Delightful are his children's cartons and aquarelles describing "Life in a Manor House". They were made in the years 1855-1860. Mánes, who was familiar with the life of the nobility from his visits to the Castle Čechy, to which for twenty years he used to come just like to his old home, could readily compose these graceful works in which charming children play the rôle of their elders and bring home to us life in the castle in its most various and intimate forms. Children next to woman play an im-

portant part in the lifework of Mánes. But woman is the red strand in Mánes' creation.

Mánes is the first Bohemian painter of woman. The center of his art is the bewitching belle, of healthy charms and full lines. To her he dedicates ever new and fervent hymns. A little picture "Kiss" from 1851 will serve as an illustration. Young rococo love and two pairs of hungry lips met here in a kiss. But how ardently is painted this moment of burning passion, how splendidly are drawn the two heads whose intoxication we feel, though we do not see their eyes and faces.

The art of Mánes can be appreciated only now, when sufficient time has elapsed to see him in all his greatness. His contemporaries did not realize what Bohemia had in this man of genius, and this lack of understanding aggravated the melancholy the causes of which were to be found in family troubles. When Mánes took part in the pilgrimage to Moscow in 1867, signs were already manifest of a serious nervous disorder. The disease grew rapidly worse, a trip to Italy brought no improvement, and Mánes breathed his last in the darkness of mental disease on October 9, 1871.

In many respects the heir of Mánes was Aleš; and so we shall interrupt for the time being the historical current of our story and will discuss this artist, whose work, next to Mánes, was most characteristically Czech.

Mikoláš Aleš was born November 18, 1852 in Mirovice. When he came to Písek in 1862 to follow his two elder brothers to school, his uncle, Thomas Famfule, who had charge of the three little students, little thought that the youngest would learn the most from his uncle for his future career. Uncle Thomas was compelled in 1812 to put on the "white coat" and was placed among the chevau-legers (light cavalry) of Vincent's regiment. He saw service in France, Poland, Italy, and only in 1830 he came back to Mirovice. Famfule was the original of "Salakvarda Baltazar Uždán" in Jirásek's historical story "Skaláci". When the old soldier related his experiences to the boys about his white horse and his successor the black horse with whom the soldier parted so reluctantly that he almost decided to remain in the army, when uncle sang with them folk songs of Bohemia, the soul of young Aleš received indelible impressions, so that we do not wonder, why the drawings of Aleš abound with rearing horses, such as few artists can cre-

ate, and why Aleš became the incomparable illustrator of Czech folk song.

Aleš came to the painters' academy of Prague a born master of pen, as the director, John Swerts, a Belgian, found out very soon. He told him once: "You may become a great artist, for you possess in great measure the things that cannot be taught." Aleš remained in the academy until 1875. That he possessed a hard, South Bohemian head he proved at the riot caused by professor Alfred von Woltmann. This German historian of art came in 1874 to the Prague University, at that time still wholly German, and lectured also at the painters' academy. When he went so far as to declare that all decorative art in Bohemia was of German origin and that there were no monuments of art either in Prague or elsewhere in Bohemia that could not be traced to German sources, he caused great riots in the university, and in the academy he was thrown bodily out of his lecture room. Aleš took a prominent part in the proceedings and spent a few days in the cells of the Prague police headquarters.

The first drawings of Aleš were published in November, 1872, in the humorous weekly "Paleček", then edited by Dr. Josef Štolba. His first pay of two florins (about 80 cents) was a great event to Aleš. But the superstitious might say that it was but an omen of the beggarly rewards which the great artist was to reap for years, until at the age of fifty things became better.

The year 1879 was memorable in the life of Aleš. For the decoration of the National Theater in Prague Aleš offered sketches of twelve lunettes and four great wall pictures for the foyer. Among many competitors he won out. The lunette cycle "Vlast'" (Motherland) is one of the culminating points of the lifework of Aleš and together with Smetana's cycle of symphonic poems "Má Vlast'" (My Motherland) constitutes one of the most splendid expressions of Bohemian art of the 19th century. Truly says Jirásek: "It is an epic of deep feeling, a gripping song of our motherland; it holds in itself divine dreams and gives out the charm of mythical twilight like the song of Radovan in Smetana's "Libuše". A heroic young man brought up on the stories and tales of his people, rides through the Bohemian lands; in the Ore Mountains he has a sword forged, in the Trutnov country as Trut he fights the dragon of Teutonism, in the Krkonoše Mountains he is healed of his wound by herbs of strange virtue, in the

Tábor district he talks with the future Žižka's peasants, in the gold-bearing Otava he waters his horse, etc. The cycle ends with Žalov, the ancient Czech cemetery, where Morana points out to the young man the end of his road.

But the triumph was of short duration. Instead of further recognition a long series of years came full of knocks and hard struggles, pain and bitter search for a living. The things that Aleš had to draw just to support himself! But he never despaired. In 1883 he wrote to Jirásek: "After all I desire to do something for my country by my art, and so I must keep up the fight, in the commonplace current hold fast to the ideal, overlook offenses, ignore the worst blows." Aleš knew that it was the fate of the majority of men truly great to receive their reward only when they were dead. And when somewhat better time came, though not so good that he would not have to worry about his bread, frequently he sighed and gently complained among friends, and it was plain that what pained him most was the time he had lost. So in a letter which he wrote me in March, 1907, he says: "I am fairly well again and have much work; if only people did not ask me for various trifles that take up foolishly my time and are hard on the eyes during the winter fogs. You know, to be called 'the purest Czech master' implies a lot of disadvantages. If I could live in the country, I would avoid the obtrusive people and it would be healthier for body and soul. For my artist's roots lie in the woods and fields and meadows."

The young Bohemian artists fortunately were convinced that Aleš was a great master, and they finally compelled recognition for him. When in 1886 Wiesner undertook the serial publication of the famous "manuscripts" with Aleš' drawings, a violent attack against Aleš was started. Some declared his drawings childish, others imperfect, others faulty and incorrect. But the young fellows, who usually stone the idols and have no respect for the "old gentlemen", took up the cudgels for Aleš. The society of Bohemian artists in Munich, whose president was then Alfons M. V. Mucha, and secretary Artuš Scheiner, sent to Aleš on July 10, 1886, a diploma in which they said: "Full of bitterness over the inconsiderate attacks of your enemies, and full of admiration for your art, sympathizing most warmly with your artistic aims we hasten to carry out our previously enter-

tained plan to nominate you for the honorary member of our society." After ten years, in February, 1896, the "Mánes" society of young progressive artists wrote as foreword of the first of three volumes of the works of Aleš: "We do not publish this collection because Aleš has been the president of the society from its foundation, but because in view of the lack of understanding with which his work meets on many sides, we want to compel by this collection admiration to the spirit, art and labor deposited in his works. This admiration we do not intend to win by long introductions or fulsome praise; his soul and feeling will be appreciated by those who have soul and feeling."

This was the year after the Ethnographical Exposition which opened the eyes of the public. The riches of folklore collected at the exposition demonstrated clearly what was the real spirit, the pure Czechism of the people's art — and men saw that it was identical with the art of Aleš. And so his fiftieth birthday in November, 1902, was a veritable national fête day, and no one dared anymore to call himself an opponent of Aleš. Still greater honors were extended to him on his sixtieth birthday in 1912. On that occasion the Bohemian Artists' Club of Chicago upon my initiative sent the master a gift of one thousand crowns which, as he wrote, came in very handy. Only now the official circles seemed to realize that they ought to make Aleš' old age free of cares. The city of Prague appointed him inspector of drawing and the state granted him a subvention, but unfortunately Aleš was not destined to enjoy the ease very long. He died July 10, 1913.

His ill fortune compelled Aleš to produce an immense number of things. It is not to be expected that all of it would be great. But the hand of the master is evident in every little sketch. His daughter Maryna commenced the publication of a collective edition of the works of Aleš; we in America have not yet seen it, as the war has interrupted mail communications. How gigantic were his labors can be best seen from this fact that in February, 1896, seventeen years before his death, the "Mánes" society estimated the number of his drawings at 2,700. Among them are innumerable sgrafita and chiaroscuro for buildings, public and private — my former residence in Letná is one of these buildings—lunettes in various banks, cartons for mosaic lunettes in the Royal Bohemian Bank, deco-

ration of the vestibule ceiling in the Old Town City Hall, of the "bar" in the Guests' House of the City of Prague, etc.; also a number of oil paintings, aquarelles and cartons forming entire cycles, such as the "Five Senses" for Mr. Brandeis in Sukdol, the cycle "Elements" with Indian motifs, property of Countess Bianca Thun, the cycle "Prague", then a multitude of drawings for books, such as the illustrations to Čelakovský's "Echo of the Russian Songs", Quis' "Honza the Fool", further the two celebrated Manuscripts, Jirásek's *Psohlavci* (Dogsheads), covers for all of Rais' novels, etc., as well as illustrations for periodicals and occasional publications of all sorts.

For the "Květy" (Blossoms), edited for many years by Svatopluk Čech, Aleš drew his finest illustrations of the Czech folk songs which form one of the most important parts of his artistic legacy. They were republished by Otto in two small volumes. K. B. Madl says of them: "These drawings will bear comparison with the greatest mas-

ters that ever embodied their visions in pictures. And yet they resemble no others. First for their individuality, next for their distinctiveness of line and style, far different from the cold sharpness of Holbein's "Dance of Death", from the sentimental hardness of Durer's engravings, from the picturesque fantasm of Rembrandt, from wild passion of Goya, from impressionist intellectualism of Foraine, from playful wittiness of Gavarni, from Heine's impertinence, from sacred pathos of Jenewein, from the forked crustiness of Schwaiger, from smooth delightfulness of Mánes. Nothing of that is a part of Aleš; his pictures are his own, although in other ways by the synthesis of material with its artistic transformation he resembles all these great men who translated their fantasy, their passions and loves, their hatreds and dreams into the free realm of art. The pictorial art of Aleš has the simplicity and singlemindedness of our folk songs, their lack of ostentation and polish. His art is sincere."

Austria and Europe.

By Henry Wickham Steed.

I.

In all essentials the Hapsburg Monarchy is a dynastic estate. Its history is largely that of the Imperial House, a history not to be explained solely by chronology or by ethnology or in the light of the "Constitutional Rights" which figure so largely in the political demands of the Hapsburg peoples. If Austria-Hungary be regarded as a Sultanate and the Emperor as a Sultan much that seems obscure becomes intelligible. The singular, albeit baffling, charm and interest of Austrian affairs for a Western European, is that they constantly raise what he imagines to be fundamental issues of political and moral philosophy. Time and again a foreign observer in Austria is obliged to ask himself: Are my beliefs well based or are they merely prejudices and preconceptions? Are liberty, truth, justice, sincerity, and progress mere words, or do they correspond to essential realities? Is everything relative, does all depend on circumstances, or are there, after all, absolute principles in politics, morals and religion? At every turn, a man is driven back upon himself and forced to probe the reasons for whatever faith may be in him, if he would escape skepticism or save himself from being submerged by the light and lusty, thoughtless and sensuous current of life that swirls around him in Austria.

A lecture delivered at the University of London, King's College, to the London County Council teachers, on December 8, 1917. Reprinted from *The New Europe*, January 3, 1918.

Kürnberger, the ablest Austrian essayist of the 19th century, dealt with one aspect of the moral puzzle that Austria presents, when he wrote in 1871:

"What is incomprehensible to every non-Austrian, nay, the eternally unintelligible about Austria, is what is Asiatic in Austria. . . . Austria is not really unintelligible; it must be understood as a sort of Asia. 'Europe' and 'Asia' are very precise ideas. Europe means law; Asia means arbitrary rule and caprice. Europe means respect for facts; Asia means the purely personal. Europe is the man; Asia is at once the old man and the child. With this key you may solve all Austrian riddles. Above all Austria knows no 'must' and no 'shall'. In their place the Austrian will give you 'Asiatic' reasons for what he has done or left undone: 'It pleased me' or 'it bored me'.

"The way our people, lively, easy-going, variable, dance up to all things with verve and grace, is like a rosy children's ball. But note well that, in all this South German liveliness and Slavonic changeability, in all this rapid whirl of *persons*, the thing itself remains Asiatically stiff, inert, conservative, sphinx-dead and spectrally hoary, not having budged an inch for ages. That is why the most daring novelties come easier to us than to other States — because they are only new *names*. Freedom of the press and confiscations, Ministerial responsibility and violations of the constitution, the Concordat with the Pope and an anti-clerical middle-class government — we can stand them all! . . . Were we at once to establish atheism as the State religion, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna would celebrate an atheistic High Mass in the cathedral!"

The history of Austria, within the last 150 years at least, fully bears out Kürnberger's statement that

the most sweeping changes come easier to Austria than to other countries, because they are only "new names", which leave the substance of things untouched. The reforms of Maria Theresa and her radical son, Joseph II, were, indeed, serious changes; but they had this much in common with almost all the internal changes made in Austria — they were wrought with the object of strengthening the hands of the dynasty. Two principles may be distinguished as guiding the Hapsburgs up to and including the year 1870; first, that their "home lands" were always regarded and treated by them as a military and economic base for their operations abroad; and second, that the changes and reforms introduced in their home lands were never made or sanctioned with a single eye to the welfare of the people, but almost always under the influence of disaster and with an eye to the interests of the dynasty. When I say "dynasty", I mean not only the Emperor, but the Hapsburg family. It consists of some scores of archdukes and archduchesses, governed by the special laws of the Hapsburg House, and possessing, apart from their private fortunes, which may be large or small, a joint family fortune or family fund, of which the reigning Emperor is the warden. Its members enjoy many special privileges and exemptions, but are kept in order by a discipline of the most rigid, patriarchal type that entitles the reigning Emperor to banish, arrest, imprison, or even to inflict corporal punishment upon them.

This Hapsburg family, therefore, constitutes a close corporation that strives to "run" the State in the family interest. Around the Imperial family are grouped what are known as "the families" — two or three hundred families of courtiers, bureaucrats or adventurers, drawn from every race and nation, who have, within the last 300 years, been the agents and satellites of the reigning house. To quote one of the shrewdest contemporary Austrian writers:

"Rudolf II. was the first to see whence he could fetch those adaptable beings, devoid of will, out of whom the Hapsburg spirit could create its own men. He sought them among peoples for whom there was no room in the traditional orders and castes; people who were nothing in and by themselves; who could become something only under the Emperor's hand; people without a real life of their own and whom Imperial favour must first turn into men. They were people of the kind that have sometimes founded colonies and who, in Austria, formed a colony — the colony of the Imperial House. They formed a new race, the race of men whom the Emperor Francis was afterwards to call 'patriots for me'. Thus arose the 'nation of Court counsellors', a nation artificially begotten by order, at Court, in the Imperial service and in the chanceries — artificial in thought and feeling, nay, even in language, since the Austrian spoken even today in our Government offices and by Jews who desire not to be Jews, is an invention. These men, fashioned from above, have now been for 200 years the pillars of our State and Society. I have called them 'the nation of Court counsellors'. They are also called 'the Families'. They are not a nobility. There are nobles among them and burghers among them; one can gain admittance to them from all quarters — on one condition: those who would enter must break with their class, deny their race, denationalize themselves. They must be unloosed from every tie, torn up by

the roots and thus prepared for the mysterious Austrian transfiguration, which consists in taking on the form of the ruling spirit."

With a State thus organized it is easy to understand that apparently drastic changes may be in reality little more than changes of political fashion. After Maria Theresa, in the middle of the 18th century, had curbed the feudal rights of the nobles and had begun to centralize dynastic control over the church, the police, the administration of justice, taxation, and military service; after Joseph II. had continued the work of centralization, not, indeed, in a "liberal" spirit, but in a spirit of Germanizing unification based on "enlightened despotism"; after the reaction that set in against the excesses of the French Revolution under his successors, Leopold I., Francis II., and the half-witted Ferdinand; and after the temporary interruption caused by the Revolution of 1848 in Austria and in Hungary, the youthful Francis Joseph, who came to the throne at the age of 18 on December 2, 1848, found the same materials and methods of government lying ready to his hand as those of which his predecessors had disposed. The oppressive "System" of Metternich — who had been Francis Joseph's chief tutor — was revived and perfected by an ex-revolutionary plebeian, Alexander Bach, who brought the science of compressing the people with the help of the police, the church, the army, and the bureaucracy to a greater pitch of perfection than had ever before been attained, until the war of 1859 against France and Sardinia, and the defeats of Magenta and Solferino, reminded Francis Joseph, for a moment, that gallows and bayonets, crucifixes, and red tape, are poor materials with which to build a solid throne.

His education was long and painful, and was never really complete. Though not illiberally inclined when he came to the throne, the influence of the revolts in Vienna and Prague, and of the revolution in Hungary, rendered him more accessible to reactionary counsels than he might otherwise have been, and committed him to courses and to acts that weighed as a *damnosa hereditas* upon the rest of his life. Let us take the struggle with Hungary. His predecessor, Ferdinand, had conceded to the Hungarians practical independence, and had sanctioned laws to that effect voted by the Hungarian Diet. These concessions were then withdrawn, and the Hungarian leaders felt that the dynasty had broken faith with them. They rose in revolt, and war ensued — a bitter, pitiless war, in which little quarter was given on either side. Against the Hungarians, that is to say, the Magyars, were ranged, not only the Austrian army, but most of the non-Magyar peoples whom the Magyars had long oppressed. Kossuth and his associates dealt with these non-Magyar peoples as cruelly as the Austrians dealt with the Magyars themselves. The struggle lasted well in 1849, and was ended by the action of the Tsar of Russia, who sent an army into Hungary to succour the Emperor of Austria. The action of Russia was taken in a chivalrous spirit, but in homage to the idea of the solidarity between dynasties against revolutions. It was the last flicker

of the spirit of the "Holy Alliance" against what Metternich always termed "the Revolution"—(with a capital R) by which he meant the attempts of peoples to free themselves from despotism and to determine, in President Wilson's phrase, "their own way of life and obedience." However reprehensible and reactionary the Russian action in assisting Francis Joseph to crush his revolted Magyar subjects may seem to us, we must remember that, from the point of view of the Hapsburg dynasty, it must have seemed, and should have seemed, a knightly act worthy of gratitude and requital. General Gúrgei and the bulk of the Magyar forces surrendered to the Russians, who stipulated that the Magyar generals should be treated as prisoners of war. The Austrians broke that stipulation, and hanged thirteen of them at Arad. Thus they and their Emperor earned for a generation the fierce hatred of the Magyars. What gratitude did Francis Joseph show to Russia for her help? Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian statesman, declared in advance that Austrian ingratitude would astonish the world. He might have added, in the bitter but veracious words of another Austrian, that "the history of the House of Hapsburg is the history of ingratitude."

Why, indeed, should the Hapsburgs be grateful? Are their subjects not their personal property? Are they not divinely-appointed to hold sway over the earth? Whoever serves and helps them does but his plain duty and should rejoice in the consciousness of rightful service well done.

When, five years later, Russia became involved in the Crimean War, not only did Austria lend her no help but, after a period of vacillation, actually joined England, France, and Sardinia against Russia. Similarly, when in 1867 Francis Joseph finally came to terms with the Magyars after the defeat of Sadowa, he handed over to the tender mercies of the Magyars, the Roumanes, Slovaks and Croats who had stood by him in his hour of trouble. Thus the Magyars were able to fling at the non-Magyars and the Croats the taunt, "You have received for loyalty the same recompense as we received for revolt!"

But I am anticipating. When Magyar resistance had been broken in Hungary, order restored in Austria, and the Constitution granted in 1848 had been revoked, the forces of reaction carried everything before them. Under their influence the Emperor concluded an agreement or concordat with Rome, which was promulgated as a "constitutional" law on August 18, 1855, the Emperor's 25th birthday. It was hailed by the official press as "the true constitution of Austria, and much better than any other constitution." In fact, it was an abject capitulation of the State to the Church. In commenting upon it The Times wrote that "a crown worn under such conditions is not worth the metal of which it is made." Not only did it place education in all its forms under priestly control, but it abolished the *placetum Regium*, or the right of the Sovereign to give or withhold his assent to the appointment of

bishops — a right which even the fanatical Ferdinand had maintained and which his successors had frequently exercised. The practice of the Hapsburgs had always been to kick, cuff and trample upon the Church when it suited their purposes, and to fawn upon her when they needed help, but without sacrificing essential Hapsburg rights. In the eyes of the Emperor Francis Joseph the real object of the concordat was to turn the clergy into the spiritual constabulary of the state, a constabulary more effective and less discredited than the "religious police" of Joseph II., because it would work with apparent freedom in the interest of religion and of the Church. Yet though the Concordat was declared to be "perpetual", to be founded upon the "imprescriptible rights proceeding from the divine origin of the Church"; and though it was promulgated as a constitutional law, Francis Joseph discarded it, as he had discarded the various civil constitutions of 1848-49, as soon as he believed that dynastic interests required a change. Not even the "sacred and imprescriptible rights" of the Church, however solemnly and perpetually recognized, were proof against Hapsburg bad faith and ingratitude, or, if you prefer against the exalted opportunism of the "All-Highest Arch-House".

Thus in 1867, when it became necessary to grant another civil Constitution to Austria and to appoint a Liberal Ministry, Francis Joseph curtly sent a deputation of protesting bishops about their business, and in the next four years sanctioned a series of anti-Clerical laws that culminated in the abrogation of the Concordat itself on the specious pretext that — after the proclamation of the dogma of Papal infallibility by the Vatican Council in 1870 — an infallible Pope could no longer be bound by a contract, and must therefore be released from it! Thus in 1897, when the successors of these German Liberals, with the help of North-German Protestants and Pangermans, started the *Los von Rom* (Away from Rome) movement, which was, in its essence, anti-Hapsburg, Francis Joseph smiled again on the Church, and allowed his nephew and presumptive successor to become president of Clerical associations, of which the professed object was to work for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. Thus in 1903, on the death of Pope Leo XIII., Francis Joseph vetoed the election of Cardinal Rampolla to the Papacy, though the election of a Pope by the College of Cardinals in conclave is believed to be guided by Divine inspiration, and though the veto was exercised, not on spiritual grounds, but for the very mundane reason that Cardinal Rampolla had been hostile to the Triple Alliance, and was therefore obnoxious to Austria and Germany. The most singular feature of the veto was that the Austrian Cardinal Puzyna, who pronounced it in the name of the Emperor, was quite unconscious that he was sinning against the Holy Ghost.

In fact, the Austrian clergy is one of the least religious bodies of ecclesiastics in the world, just as the Austrian people, while outwardly very observ-

ant of religious form, is very void of religious feeling. Immorality is proverbial both among the home-bred clergy and the people. There are strongly Catholic provinces in Austria where the illegitimate birth-rate is 40 per cent of the total birth-rate; and the true history — as known to the Vatican — of some of the great monasteries in recent years would cause the salacious novels of the Middle Ages to appear bowdlerized. Yet no greater ecclesiastical festival has been held in recent years than the International Eucharistic Congress of Vienna in September 1912! It is characteristic that the occasion was made an apotheosis for the Emperor and the Imperial Family rather than for the Eucharist, and that the cost of organizing the Congress was largely born by Galician Jews in search of titles and Parliamentary honors.

But to return to the political developments that determined the character of Francis Joseph's reign and led up to the situation out of which the present war arose. The ten years of black reaction of which the Concordat of 1855 was the characteristic feature, ended in disaster on the Lombard Plain, when

French and Sardinian troops overthrew the Austrian armies, liberated Lombardy from the Austrian grip, and laid the foundations of Italian unity. Just as the ancient history of Austria cannot be dis severed from the history of the Holy Roman Empire, so the modern history of Austria is inseparable from the modern history of Europe. Had the House of Austria been able to read the signs of the times, had it possessed the faintest inkling that moral factors—the sense of justice, respect for truth and sincere care for the well-being of peoples—play a large part in politics, it might today stand higher than any dynasty in Europe, and be surrounded by the respect of a peace-loving world. Its unmorality, its greed, its lust of power and its shortsightedness are among the indirect causes of this terrible war. "Nowhere in the world has Austria ever done good," declared Gladstone, who, with all his faults, was a great seer. Were he alive today in the presence of this world-wide catastrophe he might cry with truth, "Everywhere in the world has Austria wrought evil!"

Deputy Klofac's Prison Memoirs.

Vaclav Klofac, leader of the Czech National Socialist party, was arrested shortly after the outbreak of the war and kept in military prison as a "preventive" measure until summer of 1917. He writes in the "Narodni Politika" of his experiences in prison. The part translated here deals with the rule of the sergeant in Austrian military prisons.

A civilian finds it difficult to get accustomed to military discipline. He finds it still more difficult to get used to the discipline of military prisons. For it is not always a matter of discipline, but sometimes of chicanery, torture, arbitrary acts of men with little intelligence and less conscience. In Prague a prison is a prison; the military regime impresses upon the inmates its evil sides, but at that the regime there is not altogether devoid of humaneness and justice. But it's very different in Vienna.

The entire world occupies itself with problems of the greatest importance. And we, the prisoners, were concerned all that time with trifles, with insignificant details which assume a tremendous importance for the man in jail. You outside talked about Lloyd George, Bethmann-Hollweg, Sazonov, Tisza, Wilson; while we thought continually about "adjunct" Papritz. A jail is a little world in itself, an island in the middle of an ocean, governed by regulations and principles peculiar to itself and terrible to untamed spirits. It is a society without contact with the outside world and consequently lacking any great thoughts. The daily life in the prison brings little change or novelty. What it does bring are matters purely personal and insignificant. They have to do with this or that "superior", with this prisoner or that "preventively" detained citizen. Under other circumstances, if we had our liberty, such matters would not claim our attention for a minute. But in our jail there was nothing else for the mind to get hold of. A man deprived of

liberty and the exercise of free will becomes very touchy. The least act of good will gives a hundred-fold pleasure; any humiliation or roughness increases our suffering.

The regulations, it is true, enjoin upon the administrative officials and the guards the duty of taking into account the individual character of each prisoner. In the new military penal code it is even ordered that "preventive" prisoners should enjoy all possible comfort and that their honor and their social position should be taken into consideration. But what good are regulations in these recent years? The Slav political prisoners detained in Vienna as possibly dangerous persons can tell at great length, how these regulations were being violated intentionally out of pure malevolence. It was the essence of the famous system of Papritz that these political prisoners against whom no charge was lodged should be picked out for special humiliation, should be convinced of their absolute unimportance, should be taught that any guard may with impunity make them suffer and poison their life.

Of course, there are exceptions; there are even honest and good men. We like to remember the good-hearted German Beschliesser or turnkeys. But in the end these men had to suffer for their honesty. The man who really ruled the prison was not the lieutenant-colonel nor even the chief inspector, Dal'Aiglio, a hardened and unfeeling man. In some strange fashion administrative "adjunct" Papritz gathered all power into his own hands. Whenever a guard or jailer showed any regard for our feel-

ings, the all-powerful influence of Papritz made itself felt at once. He was a lucky man who was not promptly sent away, for Mr. Papritz, who managed to keep away from the front, was able as a rule to have the good-natured guards ordered to join their depot and thence to the battlefields.

We, who spent a long time in the military prison of Vienna, can best appreciate the joke coupled with the name of Hindenburg. They say that when Hindenburg got all his orders and distinctions, he was asked whether he desired anything else. Yes, said Hindenburg, to be an Austrian sergeant. We know from our experience in the Vienna prison what *Feldwebelwirtschaft* (Sergeant regime) implies. Ordinances, recommendations, regulations, restrictions, even if they come from the ministry of war, have not a particle of validity. Adjunct Papritz does not permit this, or he requires that, and there you are. All that uncontrolled and arbitrary power of an adjunct has many times been experienced by me. In April I beseeched deputy Staněk to intervene for me with the commander of the prison, Lieutenant-Colonel Werner, against Papritz. The measure of his wrongs was full and overflowing. The colonel was furious. He promised to put an end to different matters, but that same night he had a stroke of apoplexy and fell dead. Mr. Papritz's rule went on. At the end of June I preferred charges against him in a most energetic manner. But the authorities apparently placed much more confidence in the protestations and gestures of Mr. Papritz.

An execrable name. It is written indelibly with pain into the records of Czech martyrdom in Vienna. Perhaps today, when the situation is different, Papritz would act differently; perhaps he may realize that it is a serious crime to outrage human dignity, which ought to survive the loss of liberty; perhaps he may realize that it would have been a noble thing to use his opportunity to do good even within

the prison walls. But it is too late. What is past, cannot be changed. It is impossible to bring back to life those whom the regime of Papritz drove to suicide.

The arbitrariness of that person knew no limits. A prisoner needed clothing or underwear. Mr. Papritz simply refused to bother about it. Men of a good social position who had been roughly and without warning torn away from their families were obliged to wear the same shirt for weeks. It was the same with additions to the meager prison fare. Prisoners from Vienna got theirs. But whatever came by mail, Mr. Papritz sent resolutely back. The relatives bought at great cost some meat, pastry, tobacco. But the men who looked for the present with so much hope, who needed this food badly, because they were continually hungry, never received it. Most of the eatables sent back were spoiled. But what did a man like Papritz care about it? He made the Czech political prisoners feel his power. If repeated protests brought a certain reform of abuses, in a few days the old order of things was back in full force. Papritz delighted in misery. His name will always be pronounced with disgust by those who have lived in the military prison of Vienna. It is what it deserves.

Cyril Dušek, editor of the "Čas", was seriously ill. It was difficult to get in prison the necessary medicines. His wife forwarded them therefore to the chief doctor of the prison, stating for whom they were intended. The doctor sent the medicines to our sick friend. Papritz had no business to concern himself in any way about this matter. Nevertheless he took it upon himself to send the medicines back. No appeal was possible. Mr. Papritz, a man without heart and without conscience, was the supreme authority for all the unfortunate men detained in the military prison of Vienna.

Current Topics.

COMMENT OF AMERICAN PERIODICALS.

The past month has been extremely encouraging to those who watch the newspapers of this country for expressions favorable to the aspirations of Bohemia. There is evident on the one side a growing appreciation of the Austro-Hungarian problem, of the fact that the fate of this medieval empire will be the measure of success of the Allies; and on the other hand there is more knowledge of Bohemia and consequently more sympathy with her claims.

The bold battle of the Czech deputies in the Vienna parliament and the riots in Bohemia have been the occasion for many a friendly editorial. To enumerate them all would not be easy. We can only mention the more significant discussions.

It is a sign of the growing influence of the Slav Press Bureau that the New York daily papers pay more attention both to Bohemia and to Bohemian

propaganda in this country. The Brooklyn Eagle and the New York Evening Mail have described at considerable length and with much friendliness the work that is being done in New York for the recruiting of the Czechoslovak army and for the winning of America's sympathies. The New York Journal of Commerce advocated editorially freedom for Bohemia. The noted war writer, Frank H. Simonds, in an article entitled "Enslaving the Slav—Germany's Ambition" which appeared in several important journals sets out the plans of Germany so as to make it plain that the best way to defeat them is to give the Austrian Slavs independence. Of more direct interest to the Bohemians is William Hard's narrative of an imagined inter-Allied conference in London, published in the February Metropolitan; it contains a fine appreciation of the greatness of Masaryk, the man who is worshipped by every Czech and Slovak.

Two Chicago dailies have again shown their interest in the fate of Bohemia. The Post in citing the leading article of the last issue of the Review used very kindly language. "With a dignity that expresses well one of the most splendid races of Central Europe, the Bohemian Review laments Bohemia's outlook as painted in President Wilson's war aims speech." The Journal which has for three years paid close attention to Bohemian matters has on two occasions within the last month encouraged Bohemians to go on with their fight for independence.

The old friends of Bohemia show a constantly greater friendliness and interest while every month brings new champions. It is not too extravagant to hope that before this long war shall come to a close, the entire public opinion of America will espouse the side of Bohemia.

VISIT OF THE SERBIAN MISSION.

Coming a long time after the visits of the French, English and Russian missions the official mission of little Serbia has received little attention outside of the governmental circles. America should feel honored by the presence of these men. They represent a nation, small in numbers but great in soul, a nation which has brought more sacrifices in the cause of patriotism and freedom than France, a nation that suffered from the barbarism of the Huns more terribly than even Belgium. The members of the mission are men distinguished in the diplomatic and military service of their country.

Bohemians and Slovaks in the cities visited by the Serbian mission have taken a prominent part in the welcome extended to it. They wanted the visitors to know that they looked upon them as heroes, as friends, as brothers. For from among the entire Slav family of nations the Serbs of Serbia and their Yugoslav brothers in Austria-Hungary have been for many years in closest contact with the Czechoslovaks. Hundreds of Serbs and Croats resorted to the University of Prague, a school upon which they looked as the greatest Slav seat of learning, while Bohemia on the other hand furnished Serbia with industrial and financial experts for the development of her rich resources. During the several crises forced by the jingoes of Vienna and Budapest over the Balkan question Bohemian statesmen fearlessly defended the justice of Serbia's position in parliament, courts and press, and as early as the annexation crisis of 1908 Czech reservists refused to be mobilized against Serbia.

The cordiality of greeting extended to the Serbian mission by Czechoslovaks in this country was intensified by the fact that in Serbia Bohemians see at least one allied state that will support unconditionally the demand for independent Bohemia. The fate of the Serbians and the Czechoslovaks is bound together. No one, of course, doubts that Serbia will be restored; but mere restoration would leave her in a situation as dangerous and unsatisfactory as before the war. Even more so. This

great war has obliterated entirely what small differences there existed formerly between Serbians, Croatians and Slovenians. There is now but one nation instead of three, the Yugoslav or South Slav nation. Any peace that would leave Austria-Hungary substantially intact, will mean that half the Yugoslavs would be free and half would remain under German-Magyar domination. The Serbian government as the spokesman of the entire Yugoslav nation must and will insist on a thorough solution of the problem of Austria; no half-way measures—such as satisfying the Poles and the Italians, possibly throwing a sop to Roumania and leaving the Yugoslavs and the Czechoslovaks in the lurch. If in the peace conference Bohemia should not have a representative of its own, Bohemians may feel assured that the Serbian representative will defend their interests.

At the New York reception Mr. Mika of the Slav Press Bureau welcomed the distinguished Serbians on behalf of Czechs and Slovaks, while Dr. Pisek and Mr. Woytisek presented the mission with a finely engraved address. In Chicago Mr. Vladimir Geringer aptly expressed the sentiments of the Czechoslovaks at a wonderfully enthusiastic meeting in the Auditorium.

WITH THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

The first feeling of discouragement at the apparent intention of the Allies to leave the Austrian Slavs under the Hapsburgs has been succeeded by a determination to work harder than ever for the attainment of Czechoslovak independence. The unfavorable diplomatic situation has emphasized the supreme importance of the Czechoslovak army. The decree of the French president published elsewhere in this issue and a ringing call to arms by Masaryk as head of the revolutionary government helped to increase the number of recruits for the army in France. If only volunteers from Russia can be brought soon to France, the Czechoslovak army will give a good account of itself in the campaign of 1918 and thus strengthen tremendously the claims of Bohemia.

Next to the army in importance is the necessity of urging the justice of Bohemian demands upon the hearts and consciences of America. Among the means to that end is the establishment of an office in Washington, increased press activity and greater efforts on the part of the entire membership of the Bohemian National Alliance so that the leaders in Europe may not suffer on account of lack of funds. For the purpose of carrying out plans for greater activity, removing causes of dissatisfaction and strengthening the whole movement in America a convention of the Bohemian National Alliance has been called to meet in Chicago for February 8th. There will be delegates from cities as far distant as New York and San Francisco, Winnipeg and Dallas.

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Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.
Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 3.

MARCH, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Constituent Assembly of Prague.

At the very time, when the plenipotentiaries of Germany and Austria at Brest Litovsk expressed their wholehearted endorsement of the principle of self-determination of nations, as applied to Russia, the elected representatives of the Czech nation assembled in Prague, one of the great cities of the Dual Monarchy, and applying the principle at home, declared that a nation of ten million which had been the chief source of strength of the Hapsburg realm, renounced allegiance to the Hapsburgs.

January 6, 1918, marks the culmination, up to this moment at any rate, of the revolt of Bohemia against German rule. On that day over 200 representatives of the Czech people met in Prague, the ancient capital of their race. All the Czech deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage to the Vienna parliament, all the living members of the last Diets of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, including one woman member who had been duly elected, but never allowed to take her seat, made up this assembly which was fully entitled to speak for the Bohemian people. The session was opened by Deputy Staněk, chairman of the United Czech Deputies' Club; the entire proceedings lasted only one hour. The gathering declared itself to be a Constituent Assembly and as such adopted a declaration, the text of which unfortunately is not yet known in America, as the Austrian Government took the most severe measures not merely to confiscate, but to suppress it altogether. But Premier Seydler himself gave out what was startling in the declaration. He stated in the Reichsrat that in the Declaration of Prague one cannot find the slightest trace of any connection between Bohemia and the Hapsburg dynasty or the Austrian Empire. In fact Seydler said, according to the Vienna papers, that the Bohemian chiefs must now be looked upon as enemies of the State and be treated as such.

That the elected leaders of the Czechoslovak people should finally throw aside all ambiguity and burn their bridges behind them will surprise no one who has followed with sympathy and understanding the part played by Bohemia in the Great War. The Czechs have not been trimmers. They have not hesitated between the Teutons and the Allies; they have not threatened rebellion for the purpose of gaining concessions from their rulers; they did not back down, when repression was applied to their people with the famous German thoroughness and brutality, neither could they be bought by the emperor's amnesty. And at the very time, when their tyrants seemed stronger than ever, when Austria drove out the invader both in the East and the South, when even the enemies of Austria flattered her and courted her, the Bohemian deputies defied their masters by declaring it to be the will of their people to have their own, completely independent Czechoslovak Republic.

The rage of the Germans of Austria, the fury of the emperor whose advances had been scorned, whose amnesty failed to win for him the condemned leaders, foretell another period of repressive measures. Von Seydler announced that the government would fight with all the means at their disposal the tendencies expressed in the Prague Declaration. What was even more striking and unusual was his statement that he had behind him in all this the highest factor in the State, the one who made the ministries come and go, the emperor himself. The easy-going Charles will not let the richest part of his inherited estate be lost to him without an effort to retain it by hangings and dragonnades.

It is a matter of regret that the text of the declaration has not yet been smuggled out of Austria. But the speech of Deputy Staněk who opened the convention has been published in the "Národní Listy". In

seven different places the censor cut out objectionable passages. But what remains gives some indication of the defiant attitude assumed by the convention. We quote a few of the significant passages from Staněk's speech:

"It has fallen to me to welcome you to this memorable gathering as the legitimate and freely chosen delegates of our entire nation. I welcome all my colleagues of the Imperial Parliament, and especially those who after a painful absence of many, many months are now taking for the first time a part in this plenary assembly and whose mandates conferred by the free choice of the people could not, in the eyes of the people, be taken away from them by commanded judgments of illegal courts. I welcome also the deputies of all three Diets of the lands of the Bohemian Crown, for neither dissolution nor expiration of the diets can deprive them of the right to speak in these fateful days of their nation. . . .

"It is our duty to declare to the nation and to the world that in our opinion one of the foundation stones of the future general peace must be the great idea of the self-determination of nations. And we can state with much satisfaction that our predecessors, delegates of the Czech people in 1870, in their protest against the proposed annexation of Alsace-Lorraine declared the right of free determination of nations to be the foundation of freedom and brotherhood, of general peace and true humanity, in these words: 'All nations, great and small, have equal right to rule themselves and to have their individuality safeguarded.'

"When we see today that the right of self-determination is demanded by peoples of Europe who are not independent and never have possessed political unity, how much more strongly and firmly shall we insist upon it, we, the Czech nation, who have earned a secure place in history and who are second to no other nation in popular enlightenment, but who were robbed of our political independence. . . .

"If there is then no hope that this right of self-determination may be had within Austria, there is even less reason to believe that there could be any guarantee of it in the Hungarian half of the empire. To speak of Hungary is to utter an accusation before the whole world. Hungary of today is the last survival of barbaric Asia in Europe. There is not in the world a more violent racial tyranny or more brutal political op-

pression than in that satrapy of the corrupt high-born Magyar oligarchy. A constitutional solution of the question of the self-determination of nations in Hungary would be a bloody perversion of the principles of justice, freedom and humanity before the face of the whole world. To leave the carrying out of this principle to the Hungarian parliament, which looks upon the rights of non-Magyar nationalities as nonexistent, would be burying it completely.

"Therefore the present situation is an impossible and intolerable one for us and we must declare with the greatest emphasis that in this way no permanent peace can be obtained. In this conviction we are at one with all the real democracies of the world (confiscated).

"Gentlemen of the Convention: Our Bohemian nation demands for herself nothing more but what every cultured and enlightened nation of the world demands and with her blood defends. Our demands are union with our Slovak brothers and independent political, economic and cultural life (confiscated). What is not deemed a crime, when others do it, shall not be a crime in our case. And if others who are sacrificing their lives and treasures for the freedom of their people get respect and recognition and appreciation, respect is due also to the men of our nation who, sacrificing all, follow after the same high ideal."

After the declaration had been unanimously adopted, Chairman Staněk added these words: "In 1848, at the first memorable Slav Congress in Prague, our great Paul Joseph Šafařík said: 'Dear brothers, there is no liberation from slavery except by fight; for us there shall be either victory, or noble death and immortal glory.' With these words let us depart and scatter through all the Czechoslovak lands to take up the work for a new future of our nation."

The discussion by Charles Pergler in the Yale Review of the question, "Shall Austria-Hungary Be Preserved" and the article by J. F. Smetanka in the Journal of Race Development on "The Demands of the Bohemian People" have been reprinted in attractive pamphlet form.

They may be obtained from the Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West 26th street, Chicago. Please send 5c in stamps. Both articles are very suitable for presentation to Americans who may be interested in Bohemia.

CZECHOSLOVAKS AT ZBOROV, JUNE 1917



First regiment marching to their positions.



Third line of captured Austrian trenches.



Wounded Czechoslovak fighters.



Counting Austrian Prisoners.



Captured Austrian Battery.

News from Austria.

The following comment on the internal situation in Austria has just been received by the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris through underground means of communication. It was written by a Bohemian public man who knew the inside facts and could estimate their value correctly. It may be accepted as an authentic and highly valuable analysis of the situation in Austria as it existed at the end of December.

1. Emperor Charles and His Friends.

Emperor Charles is a young man of pleasant personality, affable, possessing naturally that "Gemuetlichkeit" which is attributed to the Viennese. He has introduced into the imperial court a military simplicity. His temperament is not active, rather passive. He gives in completely to the influence of those that surround him, even though he is not aware of it. He is not fond of older people and particularly of the statesmen whose experience tends to bring out his own incompetence in political affairs. He is anxious to hide his lack of moral strength by rapidly taken decisions. That is why citizens of Vienna call him "Karl der Ploetzliche" (Charles the Sudden). The Czechs call him "Karel Novák" (the most commonly used Bohemian name, like the English Smith), receiver of Austria & Co., bankrupt."

Charles detests above all the entourage of the late emperor; on the other hand, he aims to surround himself with the confidants of Francis Ferdinand, the murdered heir to the throne. Since his accession he has dismissed Bolfras, chief of the emperor's military cabinet, Count Paar, and Prince Montenuovo, the grand court marshal, as well as the former chief of the general staff, Conrad von Hoetzendorf. His principal advisers are Prince Hohenlohe whose daughter was recently married to Archduke Max, Count Berchtold and Czernin. Of these three favorites Czernin possesses the greatest influence. He is a man of extraordinary energy, somewhat of an amateur in diplomacy, committing blunders now and then, but on the whole a strong intellect. Count Berchtold is an innocuous person fond of the chase and of sports. Prince Hohenlohe has greatly disappointed his admirers who had expected that he would exert great influence upon the course of Austrian domestic politics, especially in the matter of social reforms. He has shown himself to be very inconstant, and his influence is decreasing.

As Charles does not like men possessed of prestige, the former premiers Vladimir

Beck and Ernest von Koerber are in disgrace. Beck specially on account of his tiffs with the assassinated archduke. Bohemians need not be sorry for that, since Beck has been a strong partisan of Mitteleuropa and of the Austro-German alliance. Koerber openly resents his disgrace by criticising his successors, especially Clam-Martinić and Seydler. During the lively scenes which have been enacted recently in the Vienna Parliament he declared publicly: "Na, so was haett' ich auch getroffen, so zu regieren" (Oh well, I could have certainly managed to govern like that). All the same a return to power of Baron Koerber is not impossible; he may be asked to form a ministry, although he would probably refuse.

I have already said that Emperor Charles lacks absolutely the qualities of statesmanship. He is willing to receive information, but despite his good intentions, despite his desire to co-operate rather than command it is evident that the emperor is too feeble for the great problems the solution of which has been thrust upon him by the events.

2. Czernin and His Politics.

Since separate peace for Austria could not be thought of, and since the economic and political situation of the monarchy, and especially the food problem, could not well be worse, Czernin's diplomacy has moved heaven and earth to get a general peace. Its controlling tendency is to make up with Russia. About three months ago Hindenburg planned a stroke directed at Finland, but Czernin vetoed the enterprise, and similarly he stopped a campaign intended to overrun Moldavia.

Czernin is firmly convinced that all that is necessary is to hold out a few months longer, and peace will arrive. He counts above all on the effects on the Allies of the Russian disasters, and he counts definitely also on internal troubles in France and Italy. In the political and diplomatic circles everything possible is done to discourage the Slavs and put an end to their resistance. So, for example, men connected with the government make it the "Leitmotiv" of

their conversations with the Slavs to reiterate that the Entente gives no thought to the Czechoslovaks and the Austrian Slavs in general, and that England in particular has completely given up the plan of breaking up Austria. Czernin is known to have said many a time that Austria will get out of it safe, that some fortunate turn of the wheel will save her at the last moment. He counts, as stated, principally on Russia, and also on the disorder and demoralisation in Italy and France. He places very high hopes in Italian, French and neutral socialists. For that reason Czernin lends his countenance to every enterprise that tends to bring together socialists of both sides. Despite the opposition of official and military Germany Czernin has worked for the Stockholm meeting with all his power. During the weeks preceding the departure of Austrian delegates for Stockholm an unbelievably pacifist attitude was created in Vienna. The evening papers which do not pass out of Austria published sensational reports.

In short it is well to be prepared for new manoeuvres of Count Czernin, who will do his utmost to bring on the end of war before next spring, when the situation will be desperate.

As for the American intervention, Czernin and the members of the Austrian government pretend to regard it with such a height of indifference that it must be a disguise for very grave fears. Czernin says that peace will be made before the United States can develop their military power, but in reality America worries him.

3. Why Peace is Wanted. Famine.

Hunger will be a terrible reality by spring. The food dictator, General Hoefer, declared at the end of November before the Food Board (Ernaehrungsrat) that they must figure on a deficit of six million quintals (about 220 lbs. each) of flour; that is to say, with all the restrictions there will be that much lacking to carry the population to the next harvest. That is approximately one month's supplies. In reality, the situation is far more serious, and the deficiency will be, according to the calculations of agrarians, nearly three times as great. The truth is that the amount of provisions upon which Hoefer based his calculations has been estimated with too much optimism and cannot possibly be realized.

There is also an utter lack of brass and horses. And if it were not for Russian prisoners, the peasants could not cultivate their fields.

Whereas the average crop of bread-stuffs is about 130 million quintals, last year it amounted to some 70 or at most 80 million. The Hungarian harvest was quite poor, while Roumanian harvest was just fair. The amount of potatoes harvested is less than last year.

During the past year famine would have broken out in April, if it had not been for the Roumanian supplies. Austria's share was 50,000 carloads. In spite of that the distress was very great. The disorders in Bohemia (in Prague, Prostějov, Trutnov, Plzen, Brno, Moravska Ostrava) are well known.

The real prices of foods reached fabulous heights. In Vienna a kilogram of coffee costs 80 crowns; in Bohemia a kilogram of flour is from 16 to 30 crowns; a kilogram of potatoes 1, 2 and even 4 crowns.

In Prague the population has organized excursions of adventure into the country to hunt for potatoes which the purchaser must dig out himself. Of course the official maximum prices are not as high as those just mentioned. But the trouble is that you cannot buy anything at the official prices.

Money has lost all value. Banknotes are called in Prague "úplavice" (dysentery).

The coal crisis will also be extremely serious this winter. Figures given to the deputies by Homann, acting minister of public communications, are sufficiently depressing, and yet are still far from reality. In any case, while the transportation difficulties have been slightly improved by the construction of new cars, lack of railroad employees is as urgent as ever. Coal output has been decreased fully fifty per cent owing to the lack of miners.

To sum up, one may expect serious troubles and riots; but not a revolution, at least not until some great defeat occurs in the field.

Austria is now starting to apply a method that has worked excellently in Germany, namely to divide the population into two distinct groups—soldiers at the front and in the rear, as well as workmen of all trades producing supplies for the army on one hand, and all the rest of the civil population on the other hand. The first group

is well fed, at least relatively speaking; the second is hungry, but does not dare to revolt. It has fallen into a sort of lethargy, a physical and moral apathy. This different treatment explains why in Germany one can still see soldiers leaving for the front in good spirits, while the civilian population suffers severely. The morale of the German army is not yet shaken.

In Austria there is really great discontent, even at the front, but especially in the interior, where the soldiers are poorly fed. In the military hospitals the patients die oftener of emaciation than of their wounds. But now the authorities propose to follow the German example, and at the expense of the civilians add to the rations of the soldiers at the bases and of working-men employed in war industries.

One of the principal aims of the food administration is to keep the capital city contented. Above all things, peace and good order in Vienna must be preserved. It would be a mistake to judge the food difficulties of the monarchy by the conditions prevailing in Vienna.

Hungary suffers less and Croatia is comparatively well provisioned. My judgment is that the monarchy might last another year. After that it must surrender unconditionally. It is, however, quite possible that unexpected events may occur and the end will come quicker.

The situation of prisoners of war, especially of the Russians, is terrible. They die of hunger, except those employed on farms. Those that are concentrated in camps are slowly perishing. In the camp of Wegscheid in Lower Austria there are 40 deaths a day of hunger.

Russians are also employed on the Italian front working on fortifications, often under fire of the Italian guns. Many try to escape. It has also happened that a group of Russians, armed only with their shovels, arrested an Italian patrol that made its way through the Austrian lines on the Isonzo front.

The Financial Situation.

A statement of the commission for the control of the public debt has been published. It reports that sixteen billion crowns of paper money has been printed. The gold and silver reserve amounts to exactly 328 million crowns. Loans made in Germany for the purpose of improving

exchange rates exceed two billion. Foreign exchange worries the government considerably. The financial circles of Austria are pessimistic. Their opinion exerts considerable influence on Czernin's foreign politics.

One of the best known members of the Rothschild group, Gompers, declared to me: "England has won this war; Austria must obtain at the peace negotiations in exchange for great political concessions a foreign loan to take care of her sixteen billion of treasury notes. Without it she cannot live."

Meinl, one of the organizers of the famous conference of the "Oesterreichische Politische Gesellschaft", is telling everybody that Austria is lost without a foreign loan which it will be impossible to get. There is talk about confiscating ten per cent of all private property, real and personal, and to issue mortgage notes (Pfandbriefe) for that amount, with the idea of pledging the notes in England and America as security for a loan. The plan is being taken quite seriously.

To improve somewhat the adverse foreign exchange, sugar, wood, and petroleum is exported, and all kinds of schemes are considered. But the lack of food and raw material is only aggravated thereby. The fear of bankruptcy is one of the most powerful motives making for Austria's pacifist policy.

The Military Situation.

Owing to the Russian collapse, the breakdown of Austrian armies is for the time being postponed.

The dearth of horses is beyond description. There is no more cavalry. The horses have been turned over to the artillery. It was the lack of horses that arrested the counter offensive in Galicia. In consequence of heavy rains 50,000 horses perished in the mud of Eastern Galicia. The minister of war wants to requisition all the farm horses; the minister of agriculture is opposed to it. There will be some compromise that will satisfy no one. But this much is certain that the next harvest will be adversely affected in any case.

The system of scattering German troops among Austrian is well-known. Austrians are placed in the front ranks, Germans in reserve. So it happens that the German reserves claim the victories, because they attack after the first line at the cost of great

losses has broken the enemy's spirit. Even the Germans of Austria begin to murmur, but then the system has the advantage of keeping Slav soldiers always under guard.

For military works in the rear of the Italian front the army authorities employ not only the Russians, but also women, and there is consequently much disorder

and immorality. The gangs have up to 500 women each.

No one in Austria expects any longer to win the war by defeating the enemy. Every hope is based on the feebleness of Russia and on the detachment of Italy and France. Should those predictions turn out to be false, Austria will confess that it has been defeated.

Premier Seidler on the Declaration on Jan. 6, 1918.

From the proceedings in the Austrian Parliament, Jan. 22, as reported in the Prague daily "Národní Listy" of Jan. 23, 1918.

Premier Dr. Von Seidler, answering the interpellation of German deputies with regard to the declaration adopted January 6 in Prague by the convention of all Czech deputies, as well as in reply to the Czech interpellation about the confiscation of the declaration (Cries from the Czech benches: 'Read the declaration; contrary cries from the left: Shut up) says that he considers it absolutely necessary to state clearly and plainly, how the government looks upon the declaration. (Deputy Soukup: What is the text of the declaration? Why do you confiscate it? Contrary cries from the left: You will hear why. Cries from the Czechs, noise. Deputy Iro: Do not confiscate the answer.) Speaker rings and calls to order.

The premier: "I am sure that I am not guilty of racial partiality(!). I have declared that I honor every political conviction. But the condition must be that the adversary must have a regard for what must be most sacred to us all, the welfare of our common fatherland, our principal consideration. (Deputy Kalina: That is what the Czech deputies did! Loud denials and laugh from left.) The declaration of May 30 did indeed step outside the bounds of the actual constitutional facts and called for most severe censure for this special reason that it attacked the sovereign rights of the Holy Hungarian Crown. But it still contemplated a community of interest with the dynasty and the whole empire, it aimed at something within this state, although a much looser state, and as far as its foreign

aspects and tendencies were concerned, it could still be harmonized with the dynastic and patriotic bases of Austria. I need not emphasize that I do not approve of the ideas contained in it, but still I could, in spite of our fundamental difference and the necessity of emphasizing it, consider feasible the co-operation within the sphere of practical political problems between the government and the parties upholding the constitution on the one hand and the adherents of that declaration on the other.

But the Prague declaration has a different character. It originated of course from the same national tendencies as the declaration of May 30; but it would be vain to look in it for even the most distant echo of a connection with the dynasty and the empire. The political sentiment which it manifests seems to have been controlled by suggestions from that world of ideas which we combat so successfully in our struggle for existence. The declaration takes to a certain extent an international standpoint and follows its own particularistic aims between Austria and her enemies, ready to accept, at least during peace negotiations, international support to gain the recognition of foreign powers for its sovereignty which it treats as an actual fact. Our enemies can find in it encouragement to maintain principles aimed at the integrity of our state. (Loud approval. Deputy Dr. Soukup: Why don't you make order in Austria?) It tends to interfere with the success of our negotiations for peace now going on. It combats peace, (Deputy Soukup: That is a lie. The speaker calls Dr. Soukup to order) if peace does not bring with it the principle of the self-determination of nations, artificially twisted for the

benefit of its own special aims. For not only is this principle to be applied to the Sudeten (Bohemian) lands, namely to territories whose political connection cannot possibly be a war question or subject to peace negotiations; but this principle is to be applied so that against the equal right of the German people in the Sudeten lands they should secure complete independence and sovereignty regardless of the fact, whether they would still have any connection with Austria or not.

The declaration therefore contemplates eventualities, and methods to bring them about, that have nothing further in common with the Austrian idea. (Approval at the left.) It is plain that the declaration tends thereby to trespass on extremely dangerous ground and is based in a sense hostile to the state on a conception that every Austrian must angrily repudiate and that every government must fight with all the means at its disposal. (Loud approval and applause from the left, cries from the Czechs, noise.) That is assured by the firm attachment to the state idea of the masses of the people faithful to the emperor and the empire; that is assured—and this I state upon the all-highest authority — by the will of the highest *factor* in the state, one who places the government in their offices.

But politics aiming at these ends would not only deserve of condemnation! it would also be a blunder, for it would be playing the game that the whole world considers a lost one. (Very good, from the left.) It would be asking for help from a side where there is no help to be had, it would be a step into the void, a step that might have bitter results. Without any hope to achieve its own aims this political tendency could at most give the jingo elements in the enemy's camp new material for agitation, (loud approval from the left), it might interfere with our desires to gain a speedy peace and especially with the present negotiations at Brest Litovsk, and in that way it might have an effect on the war — not to decide it, but to protract it. (That is true, from the left.) We are trying to bring about peace, an honorable peace that would gain for us and our faithful allies a secure existence for all times. We are trying to bring about peace in a spirit of justice and conciliation, but also with a firmness and unitedness that will demonstrate to the enemies, how hopeless are their plans of spoliation.

It would be unbearable to have this horrible war prolonged merely in order that the program of the Prague declaration might be realized. (Loud approval and praise from the left. Cries from the Czechs.) That will not happen. Even such evil tendencies cannot prevent the indestructible life strength of Austria from defeating all the external enemies. Whatever she needs for her internal peace and the peaceful existence in common of her people she will do herself by constitutional means."

After several German protests against the Prague declaration Dr. Korošec spoke for the Yugoslavs, first in the Slovenian language and then in German. He discussed the right of nations to self-determination and spoke of the promises given by Count Czernin to the Ukrainians. He declared in the name of the Yugoslavs that the Yugoslavs stood firmly on their program which aims at the creation of an independent Yugoslav state.

Deputy Klofáč declares in Bohemian that the Czechs have no confidence in any *factor* in the empire. The declaration of January 6 may be suppressed, but the Bohemian nation cannot be silenced. The nation desires a real, general peace, but does not want to deceive the Russian democracy and transfer the war to the Western front. (Loud approval from the Czechs.) The speaker points to the efforts of the Czechs to have their own independent state, repudiates any responsibility for the Brest Litovsk negotiations, conducted not in a desire for general peace, but for a separate peace with Russia, and protests against the premier's charge that the Czechs are protracting the war. As against the statement of the government he declares for a new, free Europe, a free Czechoslovak nation and the right of nation to self-determination.

Every nation has the right to declare its cause for a matter of international concern.

Compromise with referenc to the Austro-Hungarian problem would be the most serious blunder American statesmanship could commit. This would be akin to the blunders of the European statesmanship which has permitted the Turk to remain in Europe for so long a time. For be it remembered that the Austro-Hungarian problem is the Turkish problem in another form.

—Chas. Pergler in the Yale Review.

Bohemian Socialists Demand Repeal of St. Louis Platform.

To the Socialist Party of America:

The Bohemian Federation of the Socialist Party of America considers it its socialist duty to raise its voice at this time to the Socialist Party of America in an urgent request that she change her attitude toward the present war in this trying hour of struggle for democratic principles, and that she take a stand, after the example of labor parties in the Allied Nations, on the side of her own country. The Bohemian Federation of the Socialist Party and the organized Bohemian Workers in America generally, felt from the very beginning of the war warm sympathies with the workers of the Allied countries and approved their attitude toward the war. The Bohemian Federation of the Socialist Party of America welcomed the grave voice of this country, when she, after the outbreak of the Russian revolution, as if conscious of the trying moments that were to overtake the Russian people, rose to stand by the side of the young Russian Democracy and thus to secure the victory of the Russian people.

The Bohemian Federation opposed, by a great majority of its votes, the well-known resolution of the St. Louis Convention and thus testified unmistakably to its fundamentally different view of the present war.

The Bohemian Federation of the Socialist Party of America demands that the standpoint taken in the above-referred to resolution be abandoned, for the development of affairs in Russia demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt its untenability and particularly those ideas expressed in the following declarations: "It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers," — "It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe," — "In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage."

We always stood by the statement of the English comrade Hyndman, who declared: "The victory of Germany is the defeat of German socialism," and we ever felt it our plain duty as socialists to help with all our might to defeat this German militarism. Just as, in his time, Carl Marx proclaimed: "Destroy czarist Russia!" — so we with increased justification proclaim today: "De-

stroy militaristic Germany, destroy that unfit state strangling her own peoples, that Austria-Hungary which constantly menaces democracy and socialism."

Bohemian proletariat learned, as no one else in the whole world, the character of German militarism, the nature of the German ruling classes. Have not millions of our people been suffering for centuries under this frightful regime? Hence, from the beginning of the Russian revolution it feared for its success. Its fears became terrible reality just now, when the Russian revolution is at the mercy of the military castes of Germany and — even though seemingly a peace is concluded — this revolution and with it the democracy of the world is threatened with the grave danger of total defeat. While the impotent inaction of the German Social Democracy lasts, the German imperialistic government will not stop until it will have re-established in Russia the old czarist reactionary regime.

We deined these painful ends, we who are bitterly familiar with the Austro-German reaction. This is the reason why the Bohemian Social Democracy in our old country took its place bravely, in spite of oppression and grave dangers, by the side of Russia. It was the Bohemian Social Democracy in the first place which organized a revolutionary army from the prisoners of war, the now famous Czechoslovak Army, not only to win the independence for its nation oppressed by Germans and Magyars, calling for an independent Czechoslovak Republic, but also for the defense of the Russian revolution for which it has shed and yet will shed its blood.

We consider it our duty, as socialists to urge most earnestly the socialist party in the United States to take, now at least, in the interest of Russia which is being strangled an attitude of utmost seriousness, fully appreciative of the demands of this critical moment of history. Shall the great revolution that is marching through the world pass by without the proletariat of this country entering it as an active progressive force?

We have been noting for some time that the standpoint of the St. Louis convention is being slowly but permanently abandoned

by the most influential men of our party. It is but a sort of reaction which is preventing our party from taking the new course. It will be an honorable act of courage if the Socialist Party of America will declare its new standpoint openly and in a way which will quite correspond to its interests, the interests of socialism, the interests of the democratic world in general.

We demand with the full weight of our socialist vote that the Socialist Party of America declare in favor of the war against the Central Powers; that it offer this Republic all its loyal assistance and support against the outer and inner enemy every-

where, where the social and democratic interests of this country suffer in any way whatsoever.

Bohemian socialist workers always did and always shall stand firmly upon this principle. In the war of nations which was transformed into the greatest revolution of the suffering masses of humanity, we march on with our American nation toward the great goal of a better future.

German militarism must be crushed because — "The world must be made safe for socialism and democracy."

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 25th, 1918.

(Signed)

JOS. MARTÍNEK.
CHAS. TERINGER.
CHAS. PINTNER.
F. BELÁC.
JOSEF NOVÁK.
CHAS. GLASER.
M. MARTÍNKOVÁ.
FR. HLAVAČEK.

VOJTA BENEŠ.
JOS. JENÍK.
L. CIMLER.
FR. V. STUCHAL.
K. SRETTR.
FR. H. GRUENER.
A. V. VESELÝ.
JAN JUPPA.

TONY NOVOTNÝ.
STEPHEN SKALA.
J. NOVOTNÁ.
ANT. SVOBODA.
E. HORÁK.
FR. HORN.
FR. BROŠTA.
FR. ŽIVNÝ.

Austria and Europe.

By Henry Wickham Steed.

II.

Francis Joseph found himself in the early decades of his reign in the midst of two Liberal movements—the movement for Italian unity and the movement for German unity. Had he and his counsellors been capable of understanding the significance of these movements, had they not be dominated by the Metternichian fear of "the Revolution" which was held to be identical with the principal of Nationality, they might have led and have drawn strength from both movements. An enlightened view of the Italian Risorgimento would have enabled Austria to secure, by the sacrifice of direct political domination, a strong backing in the Italian peninsula; while the leadership of the German unitary movement would have made of Austria the acknowledged leader of the German race, and would have kept Prussia in a relatively subordinate position. Instead, Francis Joseph followed a policy of brutal resistance and repression in Italy, while in Germany he struggled only to maintain his presidency of the German League of Princes. Consequently, when there arose in Prussia a statesman of strong character and keen, almost infernal intelligence, he found himself utterly worsted. Bismarck first defeated Francis Joseph's attempt to assert his leadership of German Princes at the Frankfurt Diet of Princes by preventing the King

of Prussia from attending it. Then he enticed Austria into the joint Austro-Prussian attack upon Denmark in 1864, tore from Denmark the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and established an Austro-Prussian condominium, or joint rule, in them, with the deliberate purpose of making that condominium a pretext for picking a quarrel with Austria at convenient season. The Liberal German movement for unity Bismarck had ridiculed and opposed, but he skilfully turned it into a Conservative and Chauvinistic movement against Austria, under Prussian guidance and for Prussian purposes. At the same time he allied himself with the anti-Austrian parties in Hungary and in Italy. The Italian Radical "Party of Action" was largely guided by Bismarck's clandestine agents. The Hungarian Independence Party was similarly guided. Thus when the moment came, in 1866, to pick his quarrel, Bismarck was able to make an alliance with Italy against Austria, so as to compel her to fight on two fronts and at the same time to sap her strength by fomenting Magyar discontent and opposition to her.

Thus, in a sudden campaign of six weeks' duration, the Austrian Army was overthrown at Sadowa and compelled to make peace. Prussia formed the North-German Confederation, suppressed Hanover and other German States, and dictated to Austria a peace which, while shrewdly sparing her susceptibilities in the matter of territory, left her in a position in which there could be no escape from Prussian tutelage.

*Reprinted from The New Europe, Jan. 10, 1918.

What was that position? Since the disastrous war of 1859 Francis Joseph had felt some kind of constitutional reform to be necessary, if only to appease Hungarian resentment. In October, 1860, he issued a Diploma, or Constitutional Decree, that provided for the reform of the Monarchy on a federal basis with approximately equal rights for the various Austrian peoples and large representation for the Hungarians. This Decree, if adhered to, might have proved to be one of the few wise acts of his reign. It would have promoted the development of Austria-Hungary into something like its true character, which has been accurately described as "a Slav house with a German facade". But the Germans of Austria, influenced doubtless by Prussia, clamored for its abrogation; and in February, 1861, Francis Joseph substituted for it a Centralist Patent or Decree calculated to establish German mastery over all the other Hapsburg races. Magyar, Bohemian and Polish opposition to this Decree was strong; and had the Hapsburg dynasty ever considered the welfare of its peoples, it would have seen in that opposition a warning and an admonition. The Bohemians, Poles and Magyars had no liking for the prospect of being eternally sacrificed to a hopeless attempt to place the crown of Charlemagne once more upon a Hapsburg brow. They were overruled, and the Germanizing constitution was introduced. It failed; but before it failed it had destroyed Francis Joseph's only hope of holding his own against Prussia. Thus he drifted towards Sadowa, only to find himself after defeat obliged to cede the province of Venetia to the Italians, whom his arms had defeated, and to negotiate in haste a settlement with the Magyars that made them and the Germans of Austria the masters of his destiny, while each and both exercised their control in accordance with Prussian dictation.

Thus came the compromise of 1867 between the Crown and Hungary, which is known as the Dual settlement. By it Austria-Hungary in its present dual form, that is to say, the Dual Monarchy, was created. Up to that moment Hungary, though technically and historically entitled to constitutional autonomy, had been practically a province of Austria, except during the Revolution of 1848-49. Into the history of Hungary and of her ancient constitution, her glories and her disasters, her struggle against the Turks and her final acceptance of the Hapsburg dynasty after her overthrow by the Turks at Mohács in 1526, it is not now my purpose to enter. Hungary really becomes an important factor in modern European history only after her settlement with her king, i. e., the Emperor of Austria, in 1867. It must not be supposed that in making this settlement Francis Joseph was actuated by love for Magyar liberties, or that he was thinking of organizing his "dynastic estate" on a modern or liberal basis. He was thinking chiefly of a renewal of the struggle against Prussia for mastery over Germany, and was striving at once to neutralize Magyar opposition and to remove the lukewarmness of the Austrian-German Liberals. He was working to

undo the consequences of the defeat of Sadowa by effecting a kind of moral mobilization of the most recalcitrant elements among his peoples.

III.

Like the other constitutional experiments undertaken by Francis Joseph, the Dual Settlement of 1867 was an improvisation hastily conceived for immediate dynastic ends and bearing no real relationship to the needs of his peoples. He doubtless imagined that, when he should have defeated Prussia, it would be subject to drastic revision or even to total abrogation. But he forgot Bismarck. He hastily gave to the Magyars a separate government in regard to all affairs of the "Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen", that is to say, Hungary proper, together with Transylvania and Croatia-Slavonia. He left the Croats, who in the past had been his most loyal supporters, to make what arrangements they could with the Magyars; and the Magyars proceeded to exploit and oppress them unscrupulously. Except in regard to military and foreign affairs, the Dual Settlement of 1867 made the Magyars supreme in Hungary, and, through Hungary, all but supreme in the Monarchy. The settlement created a joint Austro-Hungarian War Office, a joint Foreign Office and a department for the administration of joint revenues; and as the Magyars insisted that they could only enter into relations with a completely constitutional Austria, Francis Joseph, King of Hungary, in his capacity as Emperor of Austria, bedizened Austria with a constitutional robe cut to please the Austrian-German Liberals. This Austrian "Fundamental Law" of December, 1867, was, in fact, designed to assure the predominance of the German over the non-German elements in Austria, just as the parallel settlement between the Crown and Hungary was designed to assure the mastery of the Magyar over the non-Magyar elements in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy.

The point to be remembered is that while the Germans of Austria and the Magyars of Hungary are each the strongest race-nucleus in their respective halves of the Monarchy, they are each in a minority as compared with the non-German races of Austria, and the non-Magyar races of Hungary. In Austria the Germans now number some 10,000,000 out of a total population of more than 30,000,000; while in Hungary proper the Magyars number some 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 out of a total population of, roughly, 20,000,000. The Dual System thus consists of an arrangement under which a minority rules a majority in each half of the Monarchy, and is dependent for its privileged position nominally upon the support of the Crown, but really, as we shall see, upon the support of Prussia.

As soon as Francis Joseph had assented to this Dual Settlement, he seems to have seen that he had committed himself to an arrangement likely to curtail his dynastic freedom of action. He knew that both the Magyars and the Austrian-German Liberals were in sympathy with Berlin, and therefore he cast about for some other support for his dynastic

policy of revenge upon Prussia. This support could only be found in Bohemia, where the Czech nation, numbering at that time five millions, was eager for the restoration of the old State rights which had been taken from it when Ferdinand II. had overthrown Bohemia at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. In 1868-9 Francis Joseph therefore began to coquet with the Bohemian leaders, and in 1870 actually went as far as to promise them, in writing, to grant autonomy to Bohemia and to be crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, as he had been crowned King of Hungary at Budapest on the conclusion of the Dual settlement. At the same time, he allowed negotiations to be begun with France and Italy for an alliance against Prussia. His Chancellor, Count Beust, actually consented, in principle, to the occupation of the Papal States by Italy in return for her prospective support. But Bismarck, who was doubtless well-informed of these manoeuvres, played upon Russian resentment of Francis Joseph ingratitude during the Crimean War, and induced the Tsar to throw the weight of Russia against any anti-Prussian alliance. Sure of the support, or, at least, of the benevolent neutrality of Russia, Bismarck then picked, in 1870, his quarrel with France, and crushed her. At the same time, and in order to paralyze any desire on the part of Francis Joseph to come to the aid of France, he mobilized both the Hungarian Government and the Austrian Liberals to compel Francis Joseph to dismiss his anti-Prussian Austrian Premier, Count Hohenwart, to break his promises to the Bohemians, and to surrender himself for the rest of his reign to the joint control of the Magyar minority in Hungary and the German minority in Austria.

The history of the Hapsburgs since 1871 is mainly that of a fruitless attempt to escape from the toils in which their own foolishness and Bismarck's astuteness had entangled them. I know of no more confused and wearisome study in recent European history than that of the internal affairs of Austria and Hungary between 1870 and 1908. The first of those dates marks the firm establishment of the German grip on Austria, while the second marks the beginning of the process by which Austria became the active agent of Germany in provoking the present war.

From 1871 to 1879 Austria was ruled in semi-constitutional fashion by Liberal German Administrations. Those administrations were allowed to do much as they liked in home affairs on condition that they should supply unhesitatingly money and recruits for the army—the Emperor's Army. During the same period a Magyar, Count Andrassy, was Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. His tendencies, like those of the Austrian-German Liberal Administrations, were pro-German; and before he left office, in 1879, he concluded the Austro-German Alliance against Russia, which three years later was transformed into the Triple Alliance by the adhesion of Italy. In 1878 he secured at the Congress of Berlin (which made the peace settlement after the Russo-Turkish War

of 1877) a mandate for Austria-Hungary "to occupy and administer" the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, like the Hungarian Crown Lands of Croatia-Slavonia and the Austrian province of Dalmatia, are inhabited almost entirely by Serbo-Croatians or Southern Slavs. This concession Andrassy obtained with the help of Bismarck and, sad to say of England. He would have wished to obtain authority to annex the provinces outright, but Bismarck shrewdly limited it to an occupation, in order that the hope of an eventual annexation might be dangled by Germany before the eyes of Francis Joseph to keep him subservient to German aims. By the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina the Southern Slav question, that is to say, the question of the unity of the Serb, Croat and Slovene race, began to assume a practical form. It confronted the Habsburgs with another problem not unlike those of German and Italian unity which they had so signally failed to solve in their own interest—and failed for the lack of the moral sense that is inseparable from constructive insight in politics. The question was: Should the Southern Slavs be united with and for, or in spite of and against the Habsburgs? The territory they inhabit forms the main road from Central Europe to the Near East. By the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina all Southern Slav territory, except the Kingdom of Serbia, the Principality of Montenegro, and some districts then still held by the Turks, came under Habsburg control. Upon Habsburg policy it depended whether Serbia should play the part of a Piedmont in a Southern Slav *Risorgimento*, or whether she should be united—by force, fraud, or moral suasion—with the Habsburg dominions. Austria, as usual, chose the mean and shortsighted course. She sought to divide, oppress, and demoralize those whom in her own vital interest she should have encouraged, united and developed. The Austrian-German Liberals seemed dimly to have apprehended some danger that the addition of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Habsburg lands might encourage the dynasty to follow a policy of Slav development in order to prepare for its own liberation from the German yoke. They therefore opposed the Emperor, violated the condition on which they held office—that of supplying unquestionably money and recruits for the army—and were kicked from power within a few months and crushed at a general election in accordance with the Emperor's command. Bismarck, who knew how foolish were their fears of Habsburg wisdom, addressed to them many a bitter gibe. They were overthrown, and from the end of 1879 until 1896 Austria was governed by a combination of Slav and German-Clerical, that is to say, Habsburg Parties. The Bohemians, who after the Emperor's breach of faith with them in 1870 had abstained from political life, joined in the work of government and secured for themselves possibilities of development that would otherwise have been denied them. So indefatigable were they in their efforts that they decreased the percentage of illiterates

among them to a vanishing point. They secured also possibilities of higher education that qualified them to increase their share of bureaucratic appointments and thus secure a part—the only effectual part in Austria—of the actual everyday work of government and administration. From 1879 to 1893, Count Taaffe, a nobleman of Irish extraction and a personal friend of the Emperor, remained uninterruptedly Premier of Austria. His work, which was certainly done in accordance with Emperor's intentions, tended to give the Austrian Slavs—that is to say, the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, the Poles of Galicia, the Slovenes of Carinthia, Carniola, the Tristine Littoral and Istria, and the Serbo-Croats of Istria and Dalmatia — a larger share in the life of Austria, and thus to counterbalance to some extent the artificial predominance of the Germans. Taaffe fell in 1893. His successor, a Pole, Count Badeni, endeavored to continue his policy; but in 1896 the Germans of Austria revolted against a ministerial ordinance that placed the Czech and German languages officially on a footing of equality in Bohemia, and began a menacing Pangerman movement called *Los von Rom*, or, as I have explained, in reality, "Away from the Hapsburgs". Ten years of confusion followed, during which constitutional government was practically suspended. It ended in the sudden introduction of universal suffrage at the command of the Emperor — a reform which at the elections of 1907 was seen to have broken for the first time the artificial German predominance in the Austrian Parliament.

In Hungary the Emperor left, from 1875 to 1890, one statesman in charge of the government — Mr. Koloman Tisza, father of the late Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza. He held office on an understanding similar to that which had existed between the Emperor and the Austrian-German Liberals between '71 and '79 — that the Magyars should have a free hand in the oppression and Magyarization of the non-Magyars provided that they voted, without wincing, money and recruits for the army. This understanding Tisza and his successors observed until 1903, when the Hungarian Independence Party refused recruits and engaged in a conflict with the Crown. Then, after two years of crisis, the Crown turned against them and threatened to introduce universal suffrage, which would have broken the predominance of the Magyar minority over the non-Magyar majority in Hungary. Frightened, the Magyars yielded, and escaped the danger of universal suffrage, which, however, was taken up as a cry in Austria and was used by the Emperor in the hope of curtailing German predominance.

Now mark these dates. The Magyars began to fear for their mastery over the non-Magyars in 1905-6. In 1907 universal suffrage placed the German elements in a minority in the Austrian Parliament. Thus both the levers created in 1867 under Bismarckian influence to establish Prussian control of Austria-Hungary were seen to be weakening, and it became necessary to strengthen them. This could

only be done by an anti-Slav policy. Therefore, in 1907, the Magyar government began a series of persecutions of the Croatians and the Southern Slavs, accusing them with the help of false documents and perjured witnesses of treasonable relations with Serbia. In 1908 the Emperor Francis Joseph annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina at the suggestion of the German Emperor and made preparations for a war against Serbia, which was only averted by the withdrawal of Russian support from Serbia under a German ultimatum. In the autumn of 1909, a libel action brought by the Serbo-Croatian leaders against the Pangerman Austrian historian, Dr. Friedjung, revealed the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office had prepared a whole series of forgeries designed to justify both the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the invasion of Serbia. The exposure of these forgeries defeated Austro-German schemes for a while, but during and after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 other pretexts for an attack upon Montenegro and Serbia were sought, and only the combined efforts of European statesmen averted a catastrophe. In 1914, when Germany was ready for war, the Austro-Hungarian heir-presumptive, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, was sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina, was allowed to visit the capital (Sarajevo) without military or police protection, was shot down by assassins — one of whom was the son of an Austrian policeman. The Austro-Hungarian authorities promptly accused the Serbian government of complicity in the crime, and the long-sought pretext for this war was created.

No official was punished for dereliction of duty in connection with the murder of the Archduke; and the more the details of the crime are studied, the more it becomes evident that the murder was deliberately permitted, if not organized, by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The Archduke had long been suffering from the effects of an incurable disease. His mental stability had been affected, and there existed a danger that should he succeed to the throne of his more than octogenarian uncle, even for a few months, he might appropriate the Hapsburg Family Fund for hismorganatic children. His death removed the danger and, at the same time, provided a pretext for a war which, by enabling Germany and Austria-Hungary to crush forever Serbia and the Southern Slavs, should open the Germanic road to the Balkans, Constantinople and Asia Minor.

The question, the only question, that arises for us is: Are we, in seeking the future peace of Europe, to follow dynasties — degenerate, unscrupulous, incapable dynasties — or are we to support the peoples — the peoples who are struggling for liberty, who are our friends, and whose development will guarantee their security and ours? There can be but one answer: We must support the peoples with all our strength, and in supporting them, establish the freedom of Europe forever against any future menace of Hohenzollern or Hapsburg tyranny.

Current Topics.

CONVENTION OF THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

One would wish that meetings, like the convention held in Chicago on February 9 to 12, might take place oftener, for they invariably result in more intensive and efficient work.

It was expected by many that the Chicago convention would be a stormy one. It is inevitable that some complaints should arise in connection with running an organization which was called into existence by a great emergency and which grew up in three years from a small body of enthusiasts into a society with 250 branches and an income of hundreds of thousands. But as it turned out, there was surprisingly little criticism and no ill feeling shown during the four days of the sessions. Much of the credit for the smooth working of the convention should be given to the chairman, Method Pázdral of West, Tex., whose expert knowledge of parliamentary law and unfailing good humor and wit gained him the friendship of every delegate.

Every district branch of the Alliance, with the exception of the Canadian branch, was represented by one or two delegates, districts with more than fifteen branches having two delegates. The National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics, which forms an autonomous division of the Alliance, was represented by its Chicago officers and by delegates from Cleveland and St. Louis. It is no exaggeration to say that since the day when the first Czech immigrant landed in the United States, no Bohemian assemblage has been held in this country with such a high average of ability and actual achievement.

Reports were rendered by officers of the Central Committee, President Fisher, Secretary Tvrzický, Organizer Beneš and Director of the Press Bureau, Charles Pergler. Of special interest were reports of two delegates who had just returned from Russia, Em. Voska of New York and Joseph Martinek. Their addresses emphasized the point that at the very time when Russia became entirely disorganized, Czechs and Slovaks in Russia established an organization which made of the hundred thousand pre-war settlers and three hundred thousand captured soldiers a force which is making itself felt among the untold millions of quarreling Russians. Masaryk, who finds it necessary to stay in Russia, has at his disposal an army of 60,000 men, as well as the voluntary, but regularly paid taxes of several hundred thousand Czechoslovaks.

Organization changes were the subject of greatest interest to the delegates. In every other Allied state that is one common organization of Czechs and Slovaks. That is not feasible in this country, where the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League have become too firmly established in the hearts of their people to give place to a new body with a new name. But a union closer than the co-operation heretofore practiced was deemed necessary by all the delegates of the Bohemian Na-

tional Alliance, as well as by the accredited representatives of the Slovak League. A number of plans were proposed, and the result was the creation of an "American Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council," composed of eight representatives of the Alliance and the same number sent by the League. This new organ will have charge of all political, consular, informational, recruiting and relief activities, and offices will be established in Washington and New York. The eight Czech members of the Council were at once elected; they are: Charles Pergler, Dr. L. J. Fisher, Prof. B. Šimek, Rev. A. B. Koukol, Mrs. Caroline Moták, Father O. Zlámal, John Straka and Hynek Dostál.

The convention endorsed the pleas of Captain Firlinger and Mr. Kopecký for intensive recruiting work and recognized the authority of Captain Firlinger as the man sent by Masaryk to take charge of this work.

An auditing committee, consisting of Charles Bernreiter of Cleveland, J. J. Frnka of New Ulm, Tex., and C. B. Svoboda of Cedar Rapids, Ia., reported that they had examined all the accounts of the Central Committee very carefully and found them absolutely correct. As the convention in deference to the wishes of the Czechoslovak National Council voted not to publish for the present a financial statement, the auditing committee gave out only the following figures tending to show that the very greatest economy was practiced by the Central Committee: Of the total amount collected in 1917 1.23 per cent was spent by the Central Committee on salaries, 1.47 per cent on printing, 1.07 per cent on traveling expenses and 0.28 per cent on rent and office supplies.

A number of resolutions were adopted of which we reprint only the following telegram sent to President Wilson under the influence of his speech of February 9th:

"The Bohemian National Alliance, in convention assembled in Chicago, pledges anew to you and through you to America, the allegiance of all Czechoslovaks. The delegates assembled here received enthusiastically your last message to Congress declaring that all well-defined national aspirations must be satisfied, if permanent peace is to prevail. We realize this necessarily leads to an Independent Czechoslovak State. America through you has again given a noble message to the world."

SLOVAK LEAGUE CONGRESS.

Two weeks after the Chicago Convention some ninety representative Slovaks met at the Bohemian National Hall in New York in a Congress of the Slovak League of America. In one way the Slovak meeting was more significant than the Czech convention. For whereas Bohemian immigrants in America constitute considerably less than ten per cent of their race, one-fourth of the whole Slovak people live in America. The Bohemian National Alliance does not and cannot speak for the

Czech Nation, for the Czechs have in the old country their own accredited and regularly elected deputies. But the Slovaks of Hungary have no elected representatives, and those who emigrated to America must speak for the entire race.

The principal business before the Slovak Congress, outside of a number of organization matters, was the ratification of the Chicago resolution for the creation of a branch of the Czechoslovak National Council. It was approved unanimously and the following gentlemen were elected for the Slovak representatives: Albert Mamatey, President of the League; John Janček, an editor from Russia and newly elected secretary of the League; G. H. Mika of the Slav Press Bureau; Rev. J. Kubáček, Rev. Joseph Murgas, Andrew Shustek, John Pankuch and Milan Getting.

THE BOYS IN CAMP SHERMAN.

In only two of the cantonments are Czechoslovak soldiers of the National Army found in large numbers, and that is Camp Grant at Rockford, Ill., and Camp Sherman at Chillicothe, Ohio. The boys at Camp Grant are not far from Chicago, and so they drop in quite frequently and receive visits from friends at the camp. Their officers know who the Bohemians are and that their hearts are anything but Austrian.

It has been somewhat different at Camp Sherman. There the boys are too far from Cleveland to keep in close touch with it, and their officers did not seem to be able to differentiate the Czechs and Slovaks from Austrians or some other little known races of Eastern Europe. Nothing will make a Bohemian more mad than to be taken for an Austrian. The boys at Camp Sherman felt that it was up to them to do something. They wrote to the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago for books and pamphlets on Bohemia, and having received a sufficient supply distributed it with such good effect that few men now in that large cantonment are hazy about who the Bohemians are.

Recently an order came to the camp to send home all alien enemies. That seemed to include Bohemians and Slovaks, not naturalized, because they happened to be born in the domains of the late Francis Joseph. The more energetic spirits felt that it was not enough to say each for himself that he does not want to go home. Concerted action was necessary. Fortunately there happened to be at the camp Professor Adolph Miller of Oberlin College, an old friend of the Bohemians. He made arrangements for a meeting in the Y. M. C. A. hut, and had Father Oldřich Zlámal of Cleveland come down and address the Bohemian and Slovak boys. Nearly 1,500 soldiers were present. About 800 were not American citizens, and of that number less than fifty availed themselves of the chance to go home; but as Professor Miller testifies, even of them a majority really left, because they had dependents.

That seems to be a very creditable showing. If the soldiers in a New England or Southern canton-

ment were told that they were excused, would 94 per cent ask to be allowed to stay?

The boys in Camp Sherman organized a Czechoslovak Club for the purpose of spreading knowledge about their race among the soldiers, and each member pledges to contribute one dollar a year to the Bohemian National Alliance. The club will also arrange for meetings and Bohemian speakers. The first two speakers were Vojta Beneš of Chicago and Charles Bernreiter of Cleveland.

The whole thing is a very small incident in the great panorama of war. But it illustrates the lesson that Bohemians and Slovaks have a great deal of constructive and organizing ability. They are not one of the dumb, passive races. When you come across them, you will know them.

SOME QUIET WORKERS.

The main task of people of Bohemian descent in the United States, at least of all those who cherish tender memories for the land of their fathers, is to convince the people of the United States that the Czechoslovaks are entitled to freedom and that the weight of this country should back their demand for an independent Bohemia.

A few men, officers of the Bohemian National Alliance, give all their time to this work. But there are others who snatch what time they can from their regular duties to tell the citizens of their city and state about the Bohemians. Every Bohemian is proud of Aleš Hrdlička, curator of the Smithsonian Institute and the greatest living authority on the American Indian. Dr. Hrdlička, who by the way insists on having his name written with the diacritical marks of Czech spelling, writes learned articles and delivers lectures not merely about the Indian, but also about the Bohemian, and gains friends, wherever he goes, for the Bohemian cause. Thomas Čapek, president of the Bank of Europe of New York City, is one of the very few authors of Czech descent writing in the English language. All his leisure is devoted to presenting the Bohemian and Slovak cause to America in book form. Professor Bohumil Šimek of the University of Iowa, a man born in a mud cabin on the Iowa prairies, and with two sons in the American army, is as good an American as you can find anywhere among the state universities of this broad land. And yet he loves the land from which his parents came and is never weary of answering a call for a speech from social and business and learned organizations anywhere in the Mississippi Valley.

Another scholar of American birth, but Bohemian ancestry, is Miss Šárka Hrbková, professor of Slavic languages at the University of Nebraska. Miss Hrbková enjoys the distinction of being the state chairman of the Women's Committee of the Nebraska State Council of Defense. In her many addresses and newspaper interviews she never forgets to speak a good word for Bohemia.

There are others, too numerous to mention, sound Americans all, yet eager to do what little may lay in their power for the race whose blood

flows in their veins — men like Jeremiah L. Trnka of Hoboken, one of the original four-minute men, women like Miss Madeline Veverka, assistant superintendent of schools of Los Angeles. The Bohemian Review is proud of the fact that some of these little-known, quiet workers who have never seen the land whence their parents came, have been stirred up to do their little bit for old Bohemia through the columns of this paper.

THOUGHTLESS AND THOUGHTFUL EDITORIALS.

In tracing the comment of American newspapers on Bohemian events one is generally greatly encouraged by the growing appreciation of the noble stand of the Czechoslovak race and the righteousness of their demands. But occasionally a paragraph is found which arouses the ire of a Bohemian reader. Take, for instance, this short paragraph from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of February 6th:

"Bohemia now proposes self-determination, etc., etc. It Europe should really accept this formula, the continent would look like a patchwork quilt." It would be unwise to lay too much stress on the would-be jocularity of the writer, but the fact that such writing is still possible proves that Bohemia, her place in history, her high degree of popular education, her long fight against the Hapsburgs, and the great sacrifices made by her men during the present war, are not yet familiar to the real leaders of American public opinion, namely those who write the editorial page of our newspapers.

But as against one disagreeable clipping like the one above there are many others on the style of the following dispatch published in the newspapers of February 25th: "A Daily News dispatch from Berne says: A neutral who has arrived here from Austria states that he was greatly impressed by the wonderful courage with which the Czechs are confronting their rulers. Hundreds of instances of Bohemian soldiers having deliberately thrown down their rifles rather than fight the Italians were mentioned. These men often made their choice well knowing that the penalty would be — as it invariably was — that they would be shot then and there."

The Chicago Journal, always friendly to the cause of Bohemia, has written a splendid editorial on this text. After quoting the above cablegram, it says:

"In some ways, this is the finest chapter of war history that even Bohemia has written. She refused to fight the Russians at the very beginning of the war, but the Russians were fellow Slavs; and besides, the Bohemians then were together, and in part, at least, under their own officers. Thus the Twenty-eighth regiment, from Prague, went over to the Russian side en masse. But in the case just reported, the Bohemians were sent against a race with whom they have no ties of blood or language, and the organization which enabled them to act together in 1914 has been destroyed.

"There are no longer any Bohemian regiments. It is doubtful if there are any Bohemian battalions.

Czech and Slovak soldiers are scattered in small groups among the troops of other races, so that they form a minority in the battalions of Poles, Ruthenes, Roumanians, Croats, Serbs, Germans, Magyars and other races under the Hapsburg crown. The officers are almost invariably Germans and Magyars, and these two races have charge of all the artillery and machine guns. Each little bands of Czechs or Slovaks is watched by superior numbers of supposedly unfriendly fellow subjects, commanded by unsympathetic despots, and liable to extermination at any moment by weapons against which it is helpless. Yet even under such circumstances, these heroes defy their tyrants, and die!

"The Spartans at Thermopylae did no more.

"This magnificent heroism imposes a duty on the Allies, the United States included, which we must never forget. No settlement of the struggle which leaves the heroic Bohemian people subject to the vengeance of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns can be considered for a moment. It would be a betrayal, not only of the principles for which we are waging war, but of the liberties of the human race. Bohemia has earned her freedom. She must have it."

FROM THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY IN RUSSIA.

Petrograd Weekly "Čechoslovák" contains a declaration of this army, dated September 28, 1917, the anniversary day of St. Václav, patron saint of Bohemia. It is an interesting historical document, which reads as follows:

"The Czechoslovak army, composed of volunteers born in Austria-Hungary, celebrates on this St. Václav day the third anniversary of the armed rebellion of the Czechoslovak nation against Austria-Hungary and the Hapsburgs, and sends warm greetings to all Czechoslovaks at home.

"The Czechoslovak army hails with feelings of pride and happiness the manly fight of the deputies in the home lands for full independence of our nation. The declaration of Bohemian and Slovak political parties, their political tactics and our determination to shed our blood to the last drop for the liberation of the nation prove sufficiently that the Czechs and Slovaks will never accept a compromise with the Hapsburgs and with Austria-Hungary. It brands as a lie the statement that Austro-Hungarian peoples desire to live in that monarchy which never had any regard for their life interests. The Czechoslovak nation founded Austria-Hungary; they have a right to make an end to it. Czechoslovak volunteers who proved at Zborov on June 18th that they can conquer swear that they will not only liberate their fatherland, but that they will punish the tyrants.

"We beseech you who are over there at home to go ahead without fear and hesitation, united with us in a common will and a common aim. Be assured that resolute fighting side by side with the free nations united against the Central Empires will win for us that freedom which we have earned by our sacrifices and our labors."

GIFT
APR 25 1918

The BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

33
G. R. NORTON
Jan. 18
2919 Colma Ave
Berkeley, Cal.

April, 1918

Cause of Bohemia
is Gaining.
The Austrian Situation.
Solemn Declaration.
Economic Strength
of the Bohemian
Lands.
Fine Arts in Bohemia.
The Red and White
Flag.
Hungary's Internal
Policy.
Current Topics.



PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Woodrow Wilson.

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Entered as second class matter April 30, 1917, at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 4.

APRIL, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Cause of Bohemia is Gaining.

January 1918 marked the ebb tide in the movement for Bohemian independence. Many things came to a head about that time that greatly discouraged the Czechs and their friends. Russia, the gigantic Slav nation, the one Great Power upon which the Czechs had counted confidently, made peace with Germany without even mentioning Bohemia. Italians whose interests run parallel with the interests of Austrian Slavs had recently suffered a terrific disaster. Serbia and Roumania, the only other states that were enemies of Austria rather than of Germany, were crushed. France was still full of good will for her Bohemian friends, as she proved by her official recognition of the Czechoslovak army, but England and America courted Austria and seemed inclined to take Czernin's peace talk at its face value. The whole world seemed to take it for granted that Austria-Hungary would remain intact and would continue to be ruled by the Hapsburgs.

But by April the situation has undergone great changes. The effects of the shock caused by Russia's desertion passed away. The four Great Powers, remaining united against Germany, took stock of their resources and of the enemy's strength, and realized that they were not reduced to the necessity of accepting a compromise. Besides, whatever willingness there had been in England and America to compromise, was destroyed by Germany's faithlessness and greed in the East and by Austria's two-faced policy. While Czernin repeatedly declared in most solemn form that Austria wanted no annexations, he was negotiating with Berlin about the division of the Russian booty, trying to get for his master the crown of Poland and the control of Ukraine. After assuring the Austro-Hungarian delegations that the Dual Empire would not follow Germany in the new drive into Russia, he sent Austrian soldiers into the Ukraine in partnership with the Germans.

And so nothing more is heard in the West about separate negotiations with Vienna.

At the same time a great change of sentiment has occurred in Italy. Her original aims at expansion and especially her claims to control both shores of the Adriatic, conflicted with the racial claims of the Jugoslavs, and this conflict Austria knew how to use to her advantage. But the democratization of the Entente under President Wilson's leadership, and the searching of heart after the defeat of October brought about an abandonment of all imperialistic ambitions on the part of Italy. A complete understanding has been reached as to territorial adjustments in the Adriatic between Italy on the one hand, and Serbia and Austrian Jugoslavs on the other. And now Italy, which arose fifty years ago as the incarnation of the principle of nationality against the brute force of the dynastic principle undertook to be the leader of the oppressed races of Austria-Hungary. Under Italian auspices the Czechs, Jugoslavs, Poles and Roumanians are being brought together for the purpose of creating a free federation of national states in place of the medieval Hapsburg empire.

But the most encouraging feature of recent happenings for friends of Bohemia is the ever-growing revolt within Austria. At the very time, when the Entente listened to Czernin and flattered Austria, the Czech and Jugoslav deputies in the Austrian parliament defied the government, and incidentally angered the population of Vienna, by denouncing peace with the bolsheviks and the trick of separating Ukraine from Russia for easier exploitation. While Poland and America spoke about autonomy for the races of Austria, the Czechoslovak elected representatives voted unanimously for an independent Bohemia, and the Slavs of Southern Austria demanded openly united Jugoslavia. They cannot and will not fail in their brave struggle for freedom.

The Austrian Situation.

Austria of 1918 is a very different country from the self-confident, domineering, ruthless state that dispatched the Serbian ultimatum in 1914. If the Czechs had spoken three years ago as they are speaking today, Bohemia would have had more galls than trees. Today Premier Seydler is afraid to venture beyond threats. Bohemians continue their open revolt against the Austrian state, and the only step taken against them so far is a suspension for two weeks of the principal Czech newspaper, the "Národní Listy".

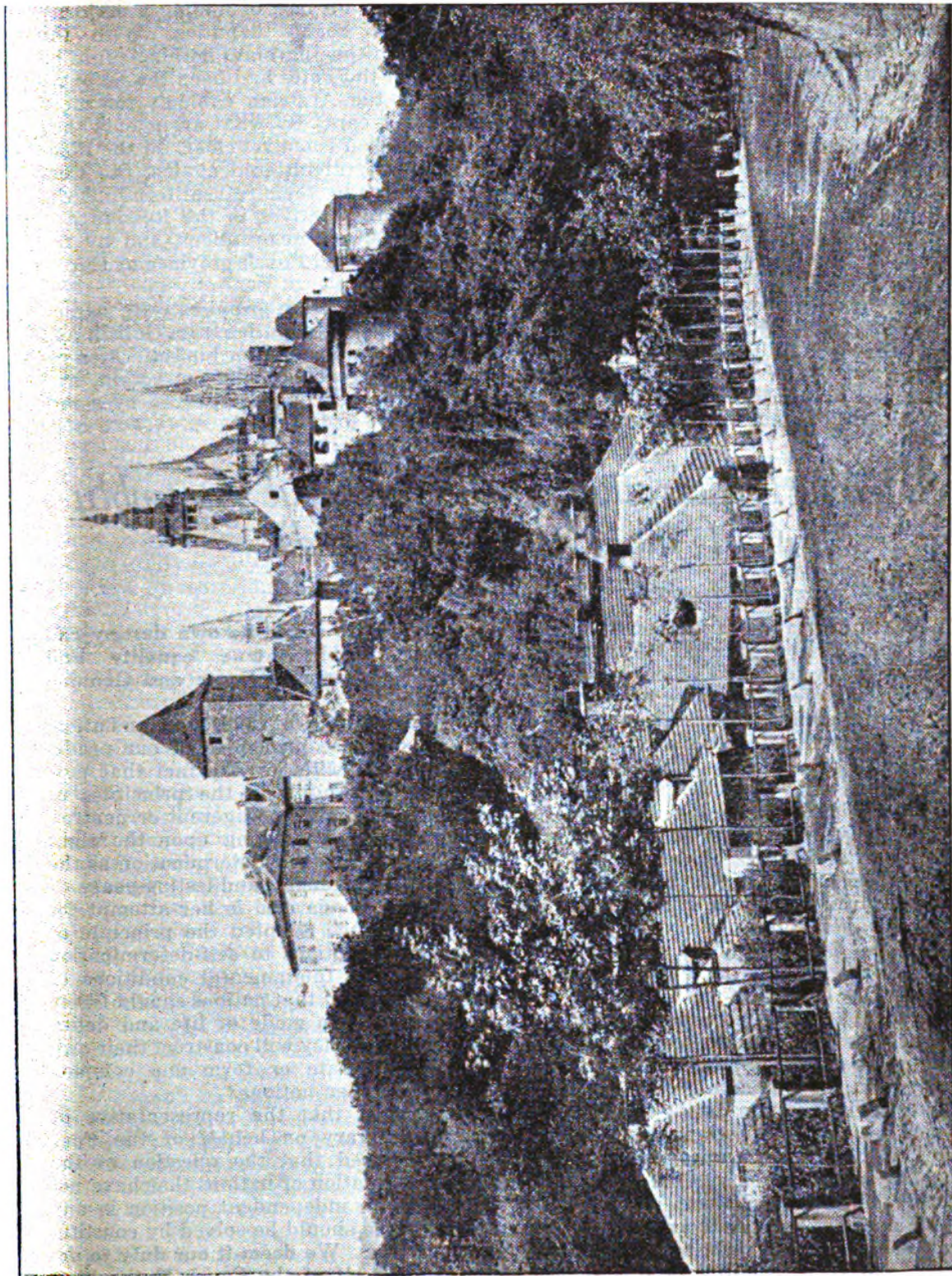
Probably the general strike of January 21 and 22 gave a warning to the government not to push matters to extremes. The proclamation of the socialist and labor organizations, placarded on the corners of Prague on January 21st, said: "Tomorrow, January 22d, all work shall be suspended; by means of a general strike and a manifestation in the streets of Prague we shall demand a general peace, the right of each nation freely to dispose of its future, and civil liberties". Not a wheel moved in Prague the following day, all stores were closed, and the city assumed a holiday aspect. Before the Town Hall, on the Old Town Square, where three hundred years ago 27 leaders of the last Bohemian revolt against the Hapsburgs had been executed, a tremendous crowd gathered, numbering some 150,000 persons. Speakers for the National Socialists and the Social Democrats protested against a separate peace and demanded a general peace and independence of Bohemia. On the same day demonstrations were held in other Bohemian and Moravian cities. In Pilsen, where the famous Škoda gun works are located, 50,000 workmen went on strike.

The Prague declaration of January 6th, the full text of which is published in this issue, has continued to be the storm center of debates in the Vienna Parliament. The Slav majority of the Reichsrat finally compelled the government to withdraw the prohibition against its publication, but the censor cut out the declaration from all copies of Austrian newspapers going beyond Austria. The furor of Austrian Germans continues against the unheard of insolence of the Czechs who dare to demand liberty and the ministers are constantly called upon by angry German deputies to curb the treason

of the Czechs. Only the socialists of Austria, alone among the nine million German subjects of the Hapsburgs, talk of the demands of the Czechs with some sympathy. Thus the Reichenberger Tagesbote, organ of German socialists of Bohemia, says: "All the democracies must meet on the road which leads to the independence of the peoples. Each people shall have the right to decide to what sovereignty it shall belong. Social democrats should recognize the right of the Bohemian nation to independence, as well as the right of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs to unite in one state, and the claim of the Poles and Ruthenians to what state they shall belong. Social democrats of the German empire should concede to the Alsations and the Poles the right to dispose of themselves." The fact is that in Austria socialists of the Slav races support the national program of their peoples, while the German socialists follow a tendency which brings them near to the principles of the minority socialists of Germany, rather than of the Scheidemann party.

The parliament began on February 5th to consider the regular budget for 1918. It is an eloquent commentary on the excellence of the parliamentary institutions of Austria that this was the first regular budget submitted to the deputies since 1909. Provisional budgets were the best that the government could obtain from the parliament even before the war. The total expenditures in this budget are nearly 24 billion crowns; receipts are estimated at less than 5 billion, therefore the deficiency amounts to 19 billion. Interest on state debt alone requires two and a half billion crowns. The levy with which even the German deputies view the approaching bankruptcy is illustrated by the reporter of the budget committee, Deputy Steinwender: "We were saved not by the banks, but by the banknote press."

During the debate on budget, the widest latitude is permitted to the speakers, and the Czechs used the opportunity to reiterate their opposition to Austria. Father Zahradník refuted the continued aspersions of traitor, thrown at the Czechs by their enemies. He said: "Who will dare to call it a crime, if the Czech nation proclaims to the world that it wants to live its own life and decide alone how its money and blood



Royal Castle of Hradčany, Prague.

shall be employed. . . . Only he is guilty of treason who sins against his own nation. But he who goes as his heart and conscience demand, as his nation's ideals guide him, he is no traitor. And if you call such people traitors, then I, too, am a traitor. For us there is no Austrian fatherland; we know only our Bohemian country, where we were born and where our nation lives."

Dr. Seydler attempted in vain to find a majority in the Reichsrat for his budget. All the Slavs, including the Poles, refused to vote for it. On February 7th Seydler therefore resigned with his entire cabinet. That, however, could not solve the crisis. No cabinet could be formed, willing to stick to the German alliance, that could find a majority in the Reichsrat. Seydler had to take up again the burdens of office

and the difficult task of finding a majority among the hostile deputies. With the Czechs and the Yugoslavs nothing could be done. But the Poles had been the main reliance of the Austrian cabinets for more than fifty years. By what arguments they were won over is not yet clear, for the Poles were greatly embittered against the Central Empires by their refusal to admit the Polish representatives to the Russian and Ukrainian peace negotiations, and by the cession of the old Polish province of Cholm to Ukraina.

At any rate, some promises were passed by Seydler to the deputies from Galicia and confirmed by the emperor himself. As a result the Poles abstained from voting, and Seydler got his budget approved by a majority of 203 to 165,

Solemn Declaration of the General Assembly of the Bohemian Lands

Held in Prague, January 6th, 1918.

In the fourth year of the terrible war which has already cost such immense sacrifices of the wealth and blood of nations the first tentative peace parleys are going on. We, Czech members of the parliament, that parliament which has been by judgments of illegal military courts deprived of many of its Slav deputies, further we, Czech deputies to the dissolved and not renewed Diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia, together with deputies of the Diet of the Margravate of Moravia which has not been convened during the war, and of last Diet of the Duchy of Silesia, ratify the declarations of the Czech deputies in the parliament and we deem it our duty to declare emphatically on behalf of the Czech nation and of her Slovak branch held down by Hungary our attitude toward the reconstruction of international relations.

When the Czech deputies of our then recently revived nation during the Franco-German war made a declaration with reference to the European international questions, they used in their resolutions of Dec. 8, 1870, the following solemn words:

"All nations, the small as well as the great, have an equal right to self-determination, and their equality in this regard should be respected. . . Only by recognizing this equality and respecting the right of

every nation to shape its own destiny can mankind establish true equality and brotherhood, General Peace and Genuine Humanity."

We, the deputies of the Bohemian nation, faithful to these principles of our predecessors, greet with joy the fact that now all the states built on the principles of democracy whether belligerent or neutral, agree with us in looking upon the right of nations to free self-determination as the guarantee of a general and lasting peace.

The new Russia also in her attempt for a general peace adopted the principle of the right of nations to self-determination as one of the fundamental conditions of peace; she urged that nations should freely choose their own mode of life and determine, whether they will construct their own independent state or form one common state with other nations.

As against that the representative of Austria-Hungary on behalf of the Four Allies declared that the question of the self-determination of nations that have not at present an independent position in any existing state should be solved by constitutional means. **We deem it our duty to declare on behalf of the Czech Nation that the attitude of the Austro-Hungarian representative is not our attitude. . . On the con-**

trary we have opposed it in all our declarations and motions, because from our innumerable bitter experiences we see in it the total negation of the principle of self-determination of nations. We charge indignantly that our nation was robbed of her own independent state and of the right to determine her destinies and was placed by artfully contrived electoral schemes at the mercy of the German minority and made subject to the rule of German Centralizing Bureaucracy.

Our Slovak branch became a victim of Magyar brutality and unspeakable violence in a state which in spite of its seemingly constitutional regime has remained the darkest corner of Europe and in which non-Magyar nations, forming a majority, are oppressed and exterminated by the ruling minority, robbed of their children, without public schols and deprived even of their private schools.

The constitution to which the Austro-Hungarian delegate appeals tampered even with the fairness of the universal manhood franchise by increasing artificially the representation of the German minority in parliament. Its absolute worthlessness, as far as the rights of the peoples are concerned, was demonstrated in an infamous manner by the brutal military absolutism during the war. Every reference to this constitution means in reality a denial of the right of self-determination to the non-German races of Austria, leaving them at the mercy of the Germans; and it means especially a coarse insult to the non-Magyar races of Hungary, where the constitution is merely the means by which the shameless oligarchy of a few high-born Magyar families maintain its rule, as has been once more proved by the last electoral reform bill.

Our nation, like every other democracy of the world desires a general and lasting peace, but is fully conscious that only that peace will be lasting which will put an end to ancient wrongs, brutal force and supremacy of cannon, as well as the rule of states and nations over other nations; that peace only will be lasting which will guarantee free development to nations great and small and which will especially liberate those nations that are still subject to foreign dominion. It is therefore necessary that the right to a free national existence and self-determination of nations, great and small, of whatever state they may now be a part, shall be the foundation of future in-

ternational law, the guarantee of peace and friendly relations of nations, as well as the great ideal possession which will free humanity from the horrors of general war.

We, the representatives of the Bohemian nation, declare that a peace which would not bring liberty to our nation could not and would not be for us a peace, but only the beginning of a new, mighty and thorough-going fight for political independence in which our nation would employ to the utmost all its material and moral strength; and in this relentless struggle it would not pause until it reached its goal. Our nation reclaims this independence relying upon its historical state right; it is pervaded by an ardent desire that it shall in its own Sovereign, Equal, Democratic and Socially just state, erected on the principle of equality of all the citizens and within the Historical limits of its Territories, together with its Slovak branch, contribute to the new growth of mankind in free competition with other free nations on the foundation of Liberty and Brotherhood, granting freely in this national state full and equal rights to racial minorities.

Guided by these principles we protest solemnly against the rejection of the right of nations to self-determination at the peace conference. We demand that in accordance with this principle all nations, including our own, shall be guaranteed participation at the peace conference and full liberty to defend their rights.

The Czechs laid down the principle of the right of small nations, as well as large, to self-determination half a century ago and they have always adhered to it. Reasserting that fundamental which has been accepted in principle by all the belligerent countries in this war, they make their demand to participate and defend their right in the peace conference. It is inconceivable that they can be denied, regardless of what becomes of the Dual Monarchy as a consequence of the decision. *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*, March 15.

Of the 13,238 Austrian subjects accepted in our first national draft approximately 30 percent are of Bohemian birth.

The Czech believes in his national destiny in Europe. He believes that this war is the certain means by which he shall escape that persecution and commence the independent working out of that destiny. With his battalions of police and his frantic courts-martial the Pan-German shows that he, too, believes it. Richard Wilmer Rowan in *World's Work*.

Economic Strength of the Bohemian Lands.

By Vojta Beneš.

(Continued.)

When Bismarck said: "The master of Bohemia is the master of Europe", he had in mind other than mere political considerations. The central location of the Bohemian lands has throughout history emphasized their economic importance. From the early Middle Ages the commercial roads between the West and East of Europe, as well as between the North and Southeast, led through Bohemia. And Bohemia is still an international crossroads. The direct road from Berlin to the Balkans and on to Bagdad leads through Prague and Brno to Vienna and Budapest. There lies the special significance of the fate of Bohemia for the victory or defeat of the Pangerman plans. A free Bohemia, and that means of course a Bohemia looking for support to the West, would block effectually the Berlin-Bagdad road right in its very first stages.

Taxes drawn from the Bohemian lands have been the principal support of the military strength of Austria-Hungary. Compare the following figures of the income of some of the smaller European states in 1912 (in millions of dollars):

Denmark	25.12	Holland	79.6
Bulgaria	33.8	Roumania	90.68
Sweden	67.7	Belgium	124.6

Now the Bohemian lands, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, paid in general taxes the sum of 138.6 million dollars: that does not include Slovakia for which the Hungarian statistics make no separate return. But if we allowed the Austro-Hungarian average of seven dollars per head in taxes, the share of the Slovaks would be twenty million, and the total tax burden of the Czechoslovak lands would amount to 158 million.

These figures, however, do not give a full account of the taxation burden borne by the Bohemian lands. The Austrian laws make it advantageous for big industrial concerns to have their central offices in Vienna. They pay their state taxes in Vienna, and since in Austria the provinces and municipalities support themselves principally by collecting a certain additional percentage of the direct state taxes, the result is that the City of Vienna and

the Province of Lower Austria have comparatively low taxes, because they are able to assess for their own local purposes the big industries carried on in the Bohemian lands. In Bohemia the small taxpayers have to bear an increased burden, because the big taxpayers pay in Vienna. Often the householder in a Bohemian city has to pay 300% of the direct state tax for the support of his municipality, 75% for the support of the provincial government and 60% for county purposes. The financial system that has prevailed in Austria before the war was aimed at lightening the burdens of the Germans at the expense of the Slavs.

What a tremendous financial relief would be experienced by the Bohemian provinces, if they were freed from supporting the Austrian empire with its gay capital. Free Bohemia would rival Belgium or Holland in economic power.

With freedom Bohemia would push ahead at a wonderful pace. The lands of the Czechs are well populated. The density of population for all Austria is 72 to a square kilometer; in the Bohemian lands it is 132. Of the six Austrian cities with a population exceeding 100,000 three are Bohemian, not counting Vienna itself, where there are 300,000 Czechs. Of nine cities with population between 50,000 and 100,000 five are Bohemian.

One of the factors exerting great influence upon the industrial and commercial welfare of the state is the intelligence of the population. In this respect the Bohemians make the very best showing. Fortunately we have statistics on this very point compiled by American authorities. In the fiscal year 1914 the United States Immigration Service found that the percentage of illiteracy among immigrants of Magyar race was 10.2, among Germans 5.5, and among Bohemians 1.3. It is true, though, that among the Slovaks the percentage of illiteracy was 17.3. But it is not the Slovak race that should be blamed for that; it is the barbarous Magyar oligarchy which took away from the Slovaks all their public and private schools and is intent on Magyarizing every Slovak child.

Fifty years ago the Bohemian lands were overwhelmingly of an agricultural charac-

ter. In 1869 54% of the population made their living in agriculture and only 31% in industry. But industry has been taking ever greater place in Bohemia, and the latest figures show that 42% of the people were employed in industry, 10.5% in commerce, and only 35.5% in agriculture. One of the conditions favoring industrial development is the fact that the Bohemian lands on account of the wealth and economic advancement of the people make an important home market for the industries which are not therefore mainly dependent upon the unstable export business.

Since the Bohemian lands are very fertile and excellently cultivated, one may expect to see a high development of those industries which get their material from the products of the farm. Beet sugar industry was early developed in Bohemia, and before the war the Bohemian and Moravian sugar mills supplied other Austrian lands, as well as the Balkan states and Great Britain with sugar. Bohemian hops and the barley of the famous Haná plain of Moravia laid the foundation for the justly merited fame of Bohemian beer. Of less importance, but still employing many people, is the wool industry based on Moravian sheep raising, the manufacture of alcohol from potatoes and the extraction of oil from rapeseed, linseed and poppyseed. Of much greater importance economically is the fact that all the Bohemian lands contain great wealth of coal; in fact without them Austria would have very little coal and even Central Germany which also lacks coal mines is supplied from Bohemia by way of the Elbe. Good iron ore in large quantities is also found in all the four Czechoslovak lands, so that the future independent Bohemia is well provided with the two indispensable elements of industrial strength.

Here are some figures on the mineral riches of Bohemia: Out of 27,658,147 tons of iron produced in all Austria, 9,322,588 were produced in the Bohemian lands. In the Middle Ages Bohemia had the richest silver mines of all the European countries, and even today silver and gold ores are mined in big quantities. Tin, uranium and wolfram ores are found of all the Austrian provinces only in Bohemia. Seventy-five per cent of the Austrian graphite is produced in Bohemia. But the figures on coal mining are of the greatest importance. The last available figures give the production of

brown coal for all Austria as 252,650,000 tons, and of that total 80%, or 210,500,000 tons were mined in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. As for hard coal the production of which amounted in 1911 to 143, 98,172 tons, 88% of that was mined in the three Bohemian lands.

In beet sugar production the lands of the Bohemian crown have practically no competitor among the other Austrian provinces. Over half a million acres is planted to beets every year and 166 sugar mills produce yearly 6.2 million quintals of sugar. Three-fourths of that is exported; over four million quintals to England alone. Some forty million hectolitres of alcohol are produced from potatoes in 261 distilleries, most of it for industrial uses.

Bohemian beer has long been famous. There are 563 breweries with an annual production of somewhat over ten million hectolitres of beer; the share of the Pilsen breweries is slightly over a million. The export to foreign countries amounts to a million and a quarter which means that the annual consumption of beer in Bohemia is about 100 litres per person, a rather high figure, although not as high as the German average of 125 litres per person. A part of the beer industry is the production of malt in Moravia; the Moravian barley malt enjoys an excellent reputation and the annual export amounts to 115 mill. crowns.

The textile and kindred industries flourish in the Bohemian lands. Of 400,000 garment workers employed in Austria 180,000, about 45% were employed in the Bohemian lands. Of 548,000 employees of the textile industries fully 420,000 work in Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian factories. The value of the annual product of these Bohemian factories is 150 mill. dollars.

In steel industry Bohemian lands far exceed the balance of the Hapsburg possessions. The Škoda gun works in Pilsen are known the world over; the machine factories of Prague and the big steel mills of Austrian Silesia and Moravia consume all of the Bohemian iron ore as well as great quantities of Styrian ore.

Among other important manufactories of Bohemia one must note the shoe factories of eastern Bohemia, the famous shops for the making of musical instruments, match factories and pottery and porcelain workshops. Lace making in Bohemia is an old

industry and has been brought to a high degree of perfection. Bohemian glass has been famous since the 17th century; this industry employs 25,000 men and three-fourths of the product is exported.

Among the natural riches of Bohemia one must mention the healing springs. Every one knows Karlsbad and Marienbad; not so well-known abroad are the radioactive springs of Joachimsthal, the wonderful springs of Pišt'any in Slovakland, Luhačovice in Moravia and a host of others locally famous.

Roads are excellent everywhere in the Bohemian lands. There are fifty thousand kilometres of high roads in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, as against a total of 120,000 km. in all Austria; that is to say while Austria as a whole has 40 km. of good roads to 100 sq. km., Bohemia has 63.

There are in Austria 22,874 km. of railroads, one kilometre to each 13 sq. km. But the Bohemian lands have 9506 km., or one kilometre to every 8.5 sq. km. The same proportion applies to telegraphs.

There are unfortunately no official figures to show what proportion of Austrian exports was produced in the Bohemian lands. In 1911 Austria exported in round figures 500 million dollars worth of goods. An analysis of the export figures indicates that at least 60% of it was exported from the Bohemian provinces. It will be interesting to mention in this connection that of 837,000 bales of cotton imported into Austria 626,000 came from the United States, and that 75% of it went to the Bohemian textile mills.

Financially Bohemia is stronger than any other part of Austria. The capital of Bohemian banks amounted in 1910 to 180 mill. crowns, and their assets totaled 3.5 billion, that is 35% of the total for all Austria. The Landbank of the Kingdom of Bohemia had in 1911 assets of 1,099,294,088 crowns, the Hypoteční (Mortgage) Bank 344,646,691 crowns. Of 669 savings banks of Austria 356 were located in the Bohemian lands and their deposits amounted to 42% of the Austrian total. The people of Bohemia average about twice as much in savings deposits as the inhabitants of the other Austrian provinces.

At that the Bohemians pay far more than their share of Austrian taxes. In 1914 the Bohemian lands paid in direct state taxes

44 mill. crowns, while all the rest of Austria paid only 26 mill. That is to say, a Bohemian pays 4.34 per head in direct taxes, while the average for the rest of Austria is 1.75. The main bulk of the state income is derived from indirect taxes, but here the injustice of the burden laid on Bohemia is just as glaring. Take the food tax. In 1911 it amounted for all Austria with 28,560,000 people to 445 mill. The Bohemian lands have 10,146,000 inhabitants, about 35% of the Austrian total. But they paid 60% of the food tax.

In 1900 the Bohemian lands paid to the Austrian state the great sum of 518,223,973 crowns. Of that amount only 78,000,000, or 15%, was spent in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. All the rest was applied for the benefit of Vienna and the German Alp provinces, and of course for the support of the army, so that Austria might play the role of a Great Power. On the other hand, the autonomous administration of Bohemian local affairs, as carried on by the Diet of Bohemia and its executive committee, was constantly struggling with a deficit and when the Vienna government abolished the last remnants of Bohemian self-government in 1913, the Bohemian diet had a debt of 114 mill. crowns. It was Bohemian money that supported the fine German universities, museums, and high technical schools of Austria, while Czech cultural institutions were starving.

Dr. Kusý has figured out, shortly before the war, that an independent Bohemia fulfilling all the duties of a modern progressive state, would need an income of 484 mill. Under the present regime the cost of the autonomous institutions, municipal, county and provincial, amounts to 175 mill. The Austrian tax collectors take an annual tribute of 518 mill., a total of 693 mill. An independent Bohemia would save annually 209 mill. in taxes. In other words freedom would pay big dividends in hard cash.

In their campaign for independence the Czechs have not put as much stress on the financial exploitation of their people by their German rulers, as they were fully entitled to. They merely demanded freedom, the right to shape their own destinies, to develop their own racial individuality, but it cannot be denied that on material grounds alone, especially the unjust burden of taxation, Bohemia can make out a very strong claim for liberation from the Austrian yoke.



Beseda J. V. Frič, Chicago.

WHAT A SMALL SOCIETY HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

The whole world knows by this time the story of the hundreds of thousands of Czech soldiers who would not fight for Austria and surrendered by companies and regiments to the Serbians and Russians. Out of them grew up the large Czechoslovak army in Russia, and they made possible the formation of the more recent Czechoslovak army in France.

No other nation at war has had such a large percentage of its manhood at one time in prisoner camps. From three to four hundred thousand Czechs alone, not counting the Slovaks, all former Austrian conscripts, could be found in the camps of Siberia, Serbia, the Greek islands, Italy, France, Japan and in the uttermost parts of the earth. If the same percentage were applied to America, it would mean five million men as prisoners.

From their friends at home these men received little news and no reading matter. The Austrian government did not permit Czech newspapers to be sent to the prisoners of war in Russia. Now every Bohemian can read and newspapers are as indispensable to him as they are to the American. Letters that came to this country in the early days of the war from Serbia and Siberia told of many privations which were the lot of the Slav prisoners on

account of Serbia's poverty and Russia's lack of system. But the constant plaint was: send us something to read.

While sporadic efforts were made in every Bohemian settlement in the United States to satisfy this spiritual hunger of masses more numerous than the entire Bohemian born population of this country, a small organization in Chicago undertook to reach every camp, from France and Italy all the way through Asia to Japan, with Bohemian newspapers and books. The organization is called the "Beseda J. V. Frič". The total membership is now 43, though most of the work fell upon the shoulders of a very few sacrificing men and women. The organization is a social club, composed of immigrants who in the old country were adherents of the National Socialist Party.

The work of supplying the prisoners with reading matter was taken in hand in March 1915. A report has just been published from which it appears that in three years these few workingmen mailed to prisoners of war over 900,000 copies of Bohemian newspapers, 40,000 books, almanacs and pamphlets, answered thousands of letters and located American relatives of 1600 Czech prisoners. From its limited means the Beseda Frič managed in addition to all this to forward to the prisoners 36 large boxes of clothing and underwear.

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan.

(Continued)

Toward the end of the forties, when Josef Mánes was laying the foundations for the modern Bohemian decorative arts, a man of talent appeared at the Prague Academy who, if not a pioneer, was at any rate a strong progressive spirit. His name was Jaroslav Čermák.

Čermák was born in Prague on August 7, 1831, and grew up in a strongly nationalistic atmosphere. His father was a physician, and Jaroslav's brother John followed the same profession. John became an assistant at the Prague University of the famous scholar Professor Purkyně, and later was himself professor of physiology at various universities earning fame by important scientific discoveries. His mother's maiden name was Veselá of Molitor's manor near Kouřim, where the Bohemian patriots of those days were frequently guests. Jaroslav showed a talent for painting very early and so was sent in 1847 to the Prague Academy. He did not stay there long, but proceeded to foreign countries. Instead of going to Italy, as every budding artist did, he went to Belgium, for there Louis Gallait and others brought once more into great repute the art of the Netherlands. Čermák became a student at the Antwerp Academy and made such an impression by his talent and especially by his zeal on the master that Gallait broke his rule and took him for personal pupil. Čermák rapidly acquired the characteristics of his master's art so completely that Gallait confided to him the execution of substantial parts of his paintings. But the student soon realized the weak points of the master, and when he settled permanently in Paris in 1852, he sought diligently to cure himself of various mannerisms of the Belgian school.

The young spark who had learned at home to move in society with assurance and grace made himself at home in Paris very soon. He had his box in the Grand Opera, went through a duel as champion of Richard Wagner, whose "Tannhauser" was then to be sung in Paris, dined with the author of "La Vie de Boheme", Henry Murger, smuggled Victor Hugo's writings from Jersey to Paris, shot gulls on the coast of Normandy, and painted now at Paris, now

among the rocks of Bretagne. He was a muscular young fellow of sparkling eyes and dark locks, slightly limping as a result of a painful disease with which he had been afflicted when he was sixteen. Naturally he was popular in Paris. But strange to say, his entire Paris period, 1852 to 1860, was devoted to painting scenes from the past of Bohemia. For the annual publication of the Union of Decorative Artists he painted "The Bohemian Mission in Basle", portraying the spiritual leaders of medieval Europe as they looked with mixed feelings at Procopius the Great, Rokycana and the other Hussites who had made all Europe tremble. He also engraved "Přemysl Otokar II. before the Battle on Moravian Field", "Žižka and Procopius reading the Scriptures on War Chariot", "The Taborites Defending Sunken Road", "Šimon of Lomnice begging on the Prague Bridge", and "Counter-Reformation", a painting that received the great golden medal in Brussels in 1854. But suddenly new interests, a new enthusiasm captured him, the Slavic South.

From the year 1860 on Čermák frequently made trips with Mrs. Gallait and her two little daughters into southern Dalmatia. In Ragusa Čermák had a friend, Meda Pučić, a Croatian author, and through him Čermák came into touch with the borderland of the heroic Montenegro. From Mandalina south of Ragusa, where Čermák established a home for the Gallaits and for himself, he made short trips into the mountains, causing himself to be suspected for a dangerous Pan-Slav agitator. What he saw there gave rise to a whole series of paintings, a veritable apotheosis of the Slavic South. But though Čermák was overflowing with enthusiasm, he had a strong feeling for truth and reality, and so his heroic visions do not lose contact with facts. As Mánes created an idealized Czech type, Čermák created his own South Slav ideal of beauty, and everyone who has seen his "Herzegovinian Girls with Horses at the Spring", "Montenegrin Girl", "War Booty" (six girls guarded by two Albanians), or "Blind Bard and Daughter", will never forget these wonderful beauties. Even though the girl from Herzegovina is not to be found

in all province, though the girl is a princess and her horse a wonderful Arabian, the like of which can only be seen in the Sultan's stables, the whole vision has such a charming Slav type and strong individuality that it makes a permanent impression. Others of Čermák's fine paintings are "Wounded Montenegrin" (now in the Zagreb Academy) and "Rape of Herzegovinian Woman", exhibited in Paris in 1861 and honored by the golden medal at Rouen, as well as other great paintings which brought to Čermák distinguished honors—in 1862 the Belgian cross of Leopold and in 1873 the French Legion of Honor. At home, too, his work began to be appreciated, and the Artists' Club published his works in fine reproductions. Then Čermák returned once more to Bohemian history and in 1875 he painted "Procopius the Great before Naumburg", but shortly after he died of a pulmonary complaint, April 23, 1872. His remains were transported to Prague and buried with great ceremony on the Olšany Cemetery under a splendid monument. The house on Bethlehem Square, where he was born, bears a memorial tablet by the sculptor Joseph Mauder: Genius holding laurels in the left hand and writing with the other hand Čermák's name.

Čermák by his removal to Paris tore up the bonds that had up to that time fettered the art of the Czechs. If it be true that up to the fifties the cultivation of arts in Bohemia was far from flourishing in originality, the explanation is found in this that at the beginning of the 19th century Bohemian art found itself under the tutelage of the contemporaneous German art, dry and tasteless, narrow-minded and doctrinaire. We may study the works of men, such as were the first directors of the Prague Academy, Bergler, Waldherr and Ruben, as we would study a historical curiosity, but we cannot admire them as works of art. The bourgeois art produced various historical disasters, battles, solemn entrances, flights, kidnappings, murders, etc., poorly painted and more than mediocre from the viewpoint of invention and composition. This dry desert was freshened up around the year 1840 by the French names of Delacroix, Gallait and others; they heralded freedom from stereotyped production of "pretty groups" and brought instead the assertion of artistic individuality and victory of color. Of course in those days Belgium was farther away from Prague than it is now from Russia. But now and then an artist had enough ini-

tiative to go as far as Paris. After Hellich, who made merely occasional brief trips to Paris, it was especially Karel Javůrek (1815-1908) who studied first at Antwerp and then spent a year in Paris under Couture and who, though later he did become a conservative, as he grew old, nevertheless is entitled to be called a pioneer, because his paintings really have color and are not mere colored drawings. Another pupil of Couture was Soběslav Pinkas (1827-1901) whose works were exhibited in the Paris salons in the sixties and many were purchased by Americans; some of his Fayence dishes were bought by the French government for the Limoges museum. When he returned home, he ceased creating, and Prague knew him principally as a professor of drawing and a publicist. In 1886 he founded the Prague Alliance Française for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of French language, literature and art.

Václav Brožík (1851-1901) spent quite a number of years in Paris, from 1876 to 1893. From Paris his fame spread throughout the world, and among Bohemian artists he alone enjoys the distinction of having his painting reproduced on American postage stamps, for the "Columbian issue" of 1893 of the five-cent stamp reproduces his "Columbus at the Court of Isabella", a painting now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art as gift of Morris K. Jessup. Brožík's most popular work is "Master Jan Hus before the Council of Constance", known to every Bohemian. The original was painted in 1883 and together with Brožík's "George of Poděbrady Elected King of Bohemia" now decorates the council room of the Prague Town Hall. In 1867 this great master was apprentice in a china-ware factory at Smíchov, a suburb of Prague. The following year the brewer Paul Vňouček or Mňouček, a zealous Bohemian patriot of the days of 1848, sent him to the Prague Painters' Academy. From there Brožík went to Dresden, then to Munich to Piloty and finally he settled in Paris. His first success was won in 1878, when he exhibited in the Paris salon a great historical painting "Embassy of King Ladislav asking French King Charles VII for His Daughter's Hand". Of his other principal works we must mention "Defenestration", the historical act of 1618, when the Bohemian estates by throwing the emperor's lieutenants out of the windows of the Prague castle gave the signal for the open-

ing of the thirty years' war; further "Tu Felix Austria Nube", a painting ordered by Francis Joseph in 1897 and for which he was ennobled. Outside of his historical groups noteworthy also are some of his country scenes from Normandy.

The chief excellence of Brožík's paintings consists in the richness and color. His pictures are brilliant, virile and powerfully carried out, and no critic will find fault with his judgment of the color scale. His weak points are partly technical; he always tried to have the light come from a single source, manipulating the scene accordingly, and violated the background perspective by crowding the figures close together, even where it was not necessary. A graver charge is that all his historical painting is too theatrical. Brožík, like Piloty, Munkacsy and others, handled his figures on

the same principle that makes second rate actors believe that they must always be facing the audience. Many figures, like the chorus or the mob of the stage, are there only to fill up the space, even though they may take no interest in the historical event. And finally the painting only succeeds to portray a picturesque event, but does not suggest at the same time the connection with the past and the future, in other words the causes and effects of the particular great moment. For that one must be more than a brilliant painter, one ought to be also a strong and deep psychologist. This is something that Mucha is attempting now in his gigantic historical pictures which will be twenty in number and are intended to bring out the great epochs in the evolution of the Slav race.

The Red and White Flag.

By Edmund Vance Cooke.

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The Czech and the Slovak have struck for their state
 And their flag is afloat on the red line of war.
 They have chosen their stand, they have fronted their fate,
 And committed their cause to the thunders of Thor.
 O, hasten the day when they come to their own
 And the Hapsburg usurper is hurled from his throne,
 And the joy of free peoples leaps out of their throats,
 Where the red and white flag of Bohemia floats.

These men of the race of the Slovak and Czech;
 Hats off in salute for the heroes they are!
 Each stands to his gun with a noose on his neck,
 More honored by that than by ribbon-and-star.
 They have sworn by the prowess of Ziska the brave
 That the land of a Huss shall not harbor a slave,
 That the people shall rule by the people's own votes
 Where the red and white flag of Bohemia floats.

O, Land of Bohemia, you shall arise
 From the night of distress you have suffered too long;
 The flag of your freedom shall brighten the skies
 And the laughter of children shall break into song.
 For the Czech and the Slovak, though widely they roam,
 Hear ever their melody, "Where Is My Home?"
 Where? How the heart leaps as it answers the notes:
 Where the red and white flag of Bohemia floats!

—The Cleveland Press, March 25, 1918.

Hungary's Internal Policy.*)

The Western democracies lay stress on the rights of the peoples and aspire to a new order in Europe, resting upon peace and reconciliation among the nations. Unhappily, there are grave obstacles to the realisation of this noble idea, and notably a misapprehension of certain cardinal facts which have determined in the past and must still determine in the future the relations between the European nations.

In their recent speeches Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson stated that the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary was not one of the war aims of the Entente. This statement implies that no radical change in the Dual Monarchy is necessary, and that some democratic reform would suffice to appease its oppressed peoples and thus lay the foundation of a durable peace. Recent events and tendencies in Austria-Hungary, however, reveal a very different prospect; and close observers cannot fail to see that the relations between the subject peoples and their masters have evoked such bitterness as to render a constitutional settlement altogether chimerical. The oppressed races have given repeated proof of their resolve to persist in the struggle for complete independence; and those of our readers who know something of the war of extermination and enslavement waged, in particular, by Hungary against her non-Magyar citizens, cannot fail to ask themselves whether a continuation of the struggle is likely to be conducive to future peace in Europe.

In his famous book on *Mittel-Europa*, Herr Naumann, whom no one could accuse of hostility to the Magyars, wrote as follows:—

"The Magyars are conscious that their State is based on an agglomeration of nationalities. They know that they are outnumbered, and form less than half the population, and that, under an equal and impartial law and a just distribution of electoral constituencies, they might be speedily driven from power by the union of the others. This situation imposes upon the Magyars, whose will to rule has created the State, the double duty of countering openly or secretly the equalising tendencies of democracy, and of increasing the numbers of the Magyar population." (P. 89.)

In point of fact, the Magyars have throughout this war striven, with feverish haste, to convert polyglot Hungary into a uniform State imbued with Magyar mentality. In this effort Magyar policy has shown two faces, one for home opinion and one for abroad. At home the policy of Magyarisation is pursued with open violence, while abroad lip service is paid to new ideas which serve as a convenient screen for ulterior ends. Thus since President Wilson's democratic programme, and the march of the Russian Revolution, the Magyars have assured the whole world, through their official agencies and their agent in every country, that the heritage of the reactionary Count Tisza has de-

scended to a democratic government which will act in the spirit of Western democracy. It is, however, only necessary to pass in review the various reforms introduced by Tisza's successors, in order to realise how little prospect there is of racial reconciliation. No sooner had Count Apponyi re-entered the Ministry of Education than he forbade the reopening of the Roumanian teachers' training colleges—the Serbian schools were closed during the crisis of July 1914—on the ground "that during the occupation of Transylvania by the Roumanian troops the attitude of the Roumanian teachers was unpatriotic." Apponyi himself, during a visit to Transylvania, explained his programme very clearly.

"I visited the frontier districts," he said, "in order to get a personal impression of the measures needed for the cultural defence of the country. I had conversations with the high sheriffs, school inspectors and schoolmasters. As regards the training schools, I shall not modify my point of view. My aim is to strengthen everywhere the national Magyar State. I have begun by multiplying the State schools in order to place a barrier along the frontier and ensure the safety of the Magyar racial islets by linking them up with one another. This whole policy follows a definite plan which, if not completed by myself, will, I hope, be adopted by all my successors in office." (*Az Ujság*, 12 December, 1917.)

He recently set up a special Cultural Committee, whose duties were defined by one of his subordinates in a recent interview—

"The duty of the Government Committee consists in establishing a so-called cultural zone—in other words, according to the Minister's far-reaching ideas, that in all the frontier counties instruction must be based on a Magyar education, beyond reproach from the point of view of loyalty to the State. The reorganised schools will be State schools, and their teachers appointed by the State. If we succeed in our programme, the frontier district will serve as an example to the rest of the country as to the manner in which public instruction should be organised in a modern State. It would be premature to give a fixed number, but I am free to reveal the fact that the Minister aims at 1,600 elementary schools and 800 creches." (*Pesti Hirlap*, 27 December, 1917.)

This vast programme, cynically presented as a model of modern education, will completely destroy the already feeble instruction of the non-Magyar peoples in their mother-tongue. The school question has always been one of the most burning in Hungarian internal policy, the non-Magyars seeing in their schools the last hope of preserving their race. While preparing the total suppression of non-Magyar education in Hungary, Count Apponyi seeks to promote Magyarisation by other means. As Minister of Public Instruction he is the supreme authority in certain ecclesiastical questions. Knowing that the nationalities of Hungary, excluded from all share in politics, rely upon their religious institutions as a last stronghold of national tradition, the Magyars have set themselves to gain control of the Churches and to Magyarise the faithful from the pulpit through the medium of Magyar

*) Reprinted from the *New Europe*, London, February 28, 1918.

priests. The first attempt in this direction was directed against the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, to which a large number of Roumanians and Ukrainians belong; their Orthodox ancestors having yielded to the pressure of Leopold I and Maria Theresa and recognized the Pope as head of their Church, while preserving the old Slavonic liturgy. The Magyars, in order to obtain control over the Ukrainian and Roumanian clergy, hit upon the idea of creating a Magyar Greek Catholic bishopric, which would compete with the Ruthene and Roumanian bishoprics, and, seconded by the authority of the State, would gradually Magyarise their flocks. In 1912 such a bishopric was created at Hajdudorog, with Magyar as its official language. This step evoked lively protests among the Roumanians, who saw in it a grave menace to their national existence. Subsequent events have amply justified their anxiety.

The following summary of the situation is from Count Károlyi's organ, *Magyarország*, of 26 August:—

"After the retreat of the hostile armies, when regular work was resumed in the villages with Wallach-speaking*) inhabitants, thousands of the latter, inspired by patriotic sentiments, and belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, begged to be admitted to the Greek Catholic Church. They no longer wish to be under the jurisdiction of Wallach priests and bishops, but, as loyal Hungarian subjects, seek to belong to the Greek Catholic See of Hajdudorog. These Wallach villages have no priests, for some of them proved disloyal to the Magyar State and withdrew with the enemy, while the stern hand of Magyar justice fell upon the other traitors. Thus all the villages of Wallach language and Orthodox religion whose priests became traitors have remained without spiritual leaders. It is both characteristic and encouraging for us that the members of these ecclesiastical communities, though speaking Wallach, did not apply for their new priests to the Wallach bishops, but to the Transylvanians Vicars of the Magyar bishopric of Hajdudorog. The transference of many thousands of Orthodox Wallachs to the Magyar Church is on such a scale that the Vicar and his priests can no longer cope with the situation."

A wide extension of the crude proselytism which this passage reveals is demanded by the reactionary press, which is in close touch with the present Government. Magyar Orthodox bishoprics are to be created even where the number of persons of Magyar nationality and Orthodox faith does not amount to 5,000. Backed by all forces of the State, they hope gradually to permeate the Churches with their own priests, who would preach the Word of God in Magyar, and thus Magyarise the Serbs, Ukrainians, and Roumanians, whose religion preserves the national tradition.

Among these "national reforms" is also included agrarian reform. Baron Ghillány, Minister of Agriculture in the Tisza Cabinet, foreshadowed a land reform in which the sale and transfer of property would be regulated according to national principles. His successor, Mr. Mezössy, tried to carry out this idea in a spirit worthy of the Magyar State.

*) "Wallach" is the common Magyar term for "Roumanian."

On 1 November, 1917, he issued a decree which he had already explained in Parliament on 23 October:—

"This decree will strengthen the Magyar land policy. During the first half of the war it was recognized with regret that, in the most fertile districts of south Hungary, the land was in the hands of a population which is by no means reliable. The soil of these threatened districts must be in the hands of those who deserve confidence. With this in view any transfer of land will be made subject to the consent of the authorities. Not only this but leases also will depend on the authorities. The length of a lease cannot exceed ten years. I can assure evryone that I shall employ this right exclusively and solely in the service of Magyar national land policy."

This decree is an open avowal that the Magyars are about to carry out forcible expropriation, and this is admitted in the Budapest press. When the Czechs protested in the Parliament of Vienna against Mezössy's decree, the *Pesti Hirlap*, in an editorial of 28 November, defined the Magyar attitude as follows:—

"This decree, which the Czechs attack, merely constitutes a partial experiment in a systematic Magyar land policy. It only deals with a small part of the land. The Magyar State has the right to decide what elements shall possess the soil. It has the right to assure its territory against suspect elements. Hence the Mezössy decree is both wise and necessary. The intervention of the Czechs only serves to remind us that this decree must be extended to the whole territory of Hungary.

"The state must have an unlimited right of expropriation in order to be able to parcel out and colonise the land. It must carry out a healthy distribution of land to the Magyar race, which alone is a support of the State. To the south it is the Serbs who hold the best land; in Transylvania it is the Roumanians. That is why the Mezössy decree is only a beginning. We demand that this policy should be continued on a large scale. The attacks from Vienna cannot shake the Hungarian Government, which must finally convince itself that it is useless to stop half-way. As long as the government remains in power it must employ that power to make the Magyars masters of Magyar land."

Parallel with this decree, the Magyars are preparing a regular plan of colonisation on a large scale, according to which the non-Magyar populations are to be removed *en masse* and replaced by Magyars. They propose to draw a continuous Magyar cordon right round Hungary, in the hope of thus destroying the geographical continuity between the non-Magyar races and their kinsmen beyond the Hungarian frontiers. On this subject the deputy Haller, a member of the People's Party (one of the groups supporting the present government), said in Parliament, on 22 February, 1917:—

"There must be colonisation on a grand scale in the districts inhabited by the nationalities, for it is inadmissible that the party of the State should have no say in questions of property in these frontier districts. Where the nationalities live we must create new, modern marches, and the representatives of these Magyar marches must be not only small, but medium holders of land."

Finally, a crown has been set upon Magyar policy by the Franchise Bill recently introduced in the Hungarian Parliament. Long before its details were made public the Magyars boasted loudly of their

"universal suffrage." To-day we see that this universal suffrage actually reduces the relative representation of the non-Magyar peoples in Parliament. The new Bill assures to the Magyars 62.6 per cent., to the Germans 12.5 per cent., and to the other nationalities together only 24.9 per cent. of the total electorate; while a skillful project of electoral "geometry" is in preparation. The best indication of the new Bill's tendency is the excuse by which the Suffrage Minister, Mr. Vázsonyi—leader of the "democratic" party—defended himself against the attacks of the jingoes (*Neue Freie Presse*, 16 September):—

"I can demonstrate that, even in the event of the vote being granted to all literates above the age of twenty-four, there would only be four out of the sixty-four constituencies of Transylvania where the Roumanian element would have a majority. In these four there are two where the majority is so insignificant as to make it impossible to speak of its Roumanian character. Surely it is grotesque to hear the opponents of electoral reform describing these four Roumanian mandates as a danger to Magyar-*dom*. Is Magyar-*dom* so feeble? My reform will prove the contrary. The basis of the franchise reform of the former Premier, Mr. Lukács, was to increase the number of constituencies by twenty-two—all pure Magyar free towns—as a counterpoise to dangers from the nationalities. I propose to augment still further the number of seats among the towns where the Magyar element predominates."

To this statement it must be added that in eight out of the fifteen counties of Transylvania the Roumanians are in an overwhelming majority. The total Roumanian population of Transylvania—according to Magyar statistics which favour the Magyar element—is 55 per cent. as against 34.3

Magyar and 8.7 per cent. German. Thus Magyar democracy proposes to allow to the 1,472,021 Roumanians of Transylvania a total of four seats, of which two are doubtful.

I have contented myself with a brief summary of the principal "reforms" contemplated by the Hungarian government. Our survey proves that the Magyars, feeling themselves free of immediate military danger, are trying to settle the racial question without regard for right or liberty. The only goal which they see is that of completely Magyarising Hungary and rendering it loyal to the idea of the Magyar State. But their victims are very numerous, and it is certain that they will not submit to being deprived of their national traditions and individuality. Persecution has already bred a desperate hatred which foreshadows new dangers for the future peace. To leave the oppressed peoples of Hungary in the clutches of their present masters would merely be to sow the seeds of fresh conflicts in the Dual Monarchy. Their situation is aggravated by the knowledge that while Western Europe and America are talking of the liberty of nations and their right to live as free members in the human commonwealth, they are deaf to the groans and sufferings of the non-Magyars. Have not, then, the Serbs, Croats, Roumanians, Ukrainians and Slovaks of Hungary the right to share in the free Society of Nations? Must they perforce submit to the brutal suppression of their mother-tongue, to the destruction of their national consciousness, to proselytism and expropriation, to exclusion from all political rights and from any influence upon the destiny of their native land?

Dr. P.

Current Topics.

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ORGANIZATION CHANGES.

Delegates elected in February by the conventions of the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League met at Cleveland on March 9 to carry into effect the vote for a closer co-operation of the Czechs and Slovaks in the United States. The work which is to be done in common was placed in charge of four committees. One committee of which Charles Pergler is the executive head will look after the political and consular interests of the Czechoslovaks. Headquarters have since been opened in Washington, 717 Fourteenth St., N. W. Publicity work which has been carried on heretofore by Mr. Pergler and Mr. G. H. Mika from the Slav Press Bureau in New York has also been transferred to Washington and will be under the charge of Mr. Mika. The remaining two branches of the work have necessarily been located in New York. One is the recruiting activity for the Czechoslovak Army in France, in charge of Captain Zdenko Fierlinger and other officers who are expected from France at any moment. Closely connected with it is the relief work on behalf of the soldiers and their families. This work is carried on under the direction of Mrs. Caroline Motak.

The concentration of the political and press work in Washington has made it advisable to move there also the press bureau of the Bohemian National Alliance which has kept the readers of the Bohemian papers in this country in close touch with events in Bohemia and the progress of the movement for independence in the Allied lands. Mr. Joseph Tvrzický who has been secretary of the Alliance almost from its foundation and has acted in addition as the director of the Bohemian Press Bureau has moved to the headquarters of the Czechoslovak National Council in Washington to continue his work from there.

LOYALTY OF BOHEMIANS TO AMERICA.

A few months ago we noted here a statement by Attorney-General Gregory that of all the diverse elements of the American population the Bohemians have made the best showing in the matter of volunteering for the army. The following quotation from a recent editorial in the Cedar Rapids Republican bears on the same point:

"It is somewhat significant that of the three men who were the first victims of German bullets or shells in France two are of Bohemian origin, Shultz and Vomachka. It shows how numerous and how

willingly the young men of that blood have enlisted in the great war in which they must feel a dual interest, first as American citizens and second as descendants of a race that in Europe has been so long ground down under the iron heel of the Hapsburgs."

Another proof of the devotion to American cause of men of Bohemian blood may be seen in the great work done by the Bohemian Branch of the Foreign Language Division of the Liberty Loan Campaign Committee. This committee, composed of Chicago business men of Bohemian birth or parentage, has been held up as an example to similar committees all over the United States, for in the first two campaigns it has reached every one of the thousand and more Bohemian lodges, building and loan associations, clubs and other organizations in Chicago. For the third campaign the work has been placed on an even more extensive basis, and through the cordial co-operation of the Bohemian National Alliance and its branches the Chicago Committee is extending its campaign to every city and hamlet where there may be as many as a dozen Bohemian families. We shall be proud to cite in the next issue of this periodical the total amount of subscriptions made to the third Liberty Loan through this committee. Of course, it should be noted that loyalty alone, unsupported by other qualities, would not suffice. Here, as in other instances, the Bohemians have demonstrated their great organizing talent and ability to co-operate, as well as the high quality of leadership which they possess. The Liberty Loan work is in charge of Anton J. Čermák as chairman of the committee and Joseph J. Salát as secretary.

To this ambitious program of collecting millions for the prosecution of the war should be added the following honorable mention from the Shreveport (La.) Times:

"The Kolin public school, a one-room school taught at the Bohemian colony, five miles north of Alexandria, has been awarded the fifty dollar cash prize, offered through the state board of education to the school selling thrift stamps and war savings stamps in the largest amount and to the largest number of pupils."

Whether it be in Chicago, with its 150,000 people of Bohemian blood, or the most remote little settlement of Bohemian farmers on the sandy pine clearings of Louisiana, everywhere you will find the same spirit: The war is a righteous war, and peace must be won by victory.

OUR CAUSE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Clippings referring to Bohemia are getting to be more numerous every month. During March several dispatches, reproduced in practically every American daily, dealt with the violent attacks made by the Czech deputies in the Vienna parliament upon the Austrian government. That, of course, was nothing startling to readers who follow the events in Central Europe, but it helps to impress upon the mind of the average newspaper reader the fact that the Czechs at the very heart of Mittel-Europa continue to struggle against our enemies. In addition to that the Prague Declaration, pub-

lished in full in this issue, has been given out to the press by the Slav Press Bureau and has been quoted at length in all of the important journals of the United States. Another means of giving publicity to the cause of Bohemia has been the lecture trip of Joseph Martinek who is visiting the larger centers of the Bohemian population to talk of his experiences in Russia, and who takes the opportunity in every case to tell the local papers something of the great accomplishments of Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia.

Among large dailies, approving editorially of the aims of the Bohemian people, are, besides old friends who may always be relied upon to say a good word, newspapers like the Washington Post, Pittsburgh Gazette-Times, N. Y. Evening Sun, Brooklyn Eagle, Grand Rapids Herald and others. In addition, some half a dozen clippings, containing quotations from the Bohemian Review, have come under the editor's notice during the past month. The March World's Work contains a very sympathetic discussion of "The Ferment in Bohemia" by Richard Wilmer Rowan.

TO OUR READERS.

Your attention is called to the change of address on the first page of this issue. All communications for the Bohemian Review, whether of business nature or intended for the editor, should be addressed to 2324 South Central Park avenue, Chicago. The reason for the change is that the present business manager, Mr. J. J. Fekl, has joined the Czechoslovak Army and is on the way to France. It will be up to the editor to take over this work in addition to the editorial work.

In this connection we may be permitted to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that so far only a small proportion of those whose subscription has expired have sent in a renewal. We do not like to complain or make appeals to the sympathy of our readers. But if this applies to you, please address an envelope at once to 2324 South Central Park avenue, Chicago, and enclose a dollar bill.

For those that like the Bohemian Review and want to see it grow we have two suggestions. Send us names and addresses of people who in your opinion would be interested in the Review, and we will mail them a sample copy. Or better still, send 25 cents in stamps for a three month's trial subscription for your friends.

The Omaha district of the Bohemian National Alliance has sent a powerful appeal in behalf of Bohemia to all the representatives in Congress of the plains states. The appeal closes in these words: "Justice demands the establishment of a Czechoslovak State, a free and independent Bohemia; world peace demands it; the interests of this country demand it. The honor of our country and that of our Allies and the ideals of liberty and democracy on which our government rests and which we entered the war to secure and defend, likewise demand that Bohemia again be free and independent."

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BOHEMIA REVIEW

Jan. 18.
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Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

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May, 1918

Masaryk in America.

Austria's Desperate Situation.

Russians of the Carpathian Range

Magyars on Slovak Sentiments.

Towards a New Central Europe.

Defenestration of Prague.

Current Topics.

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

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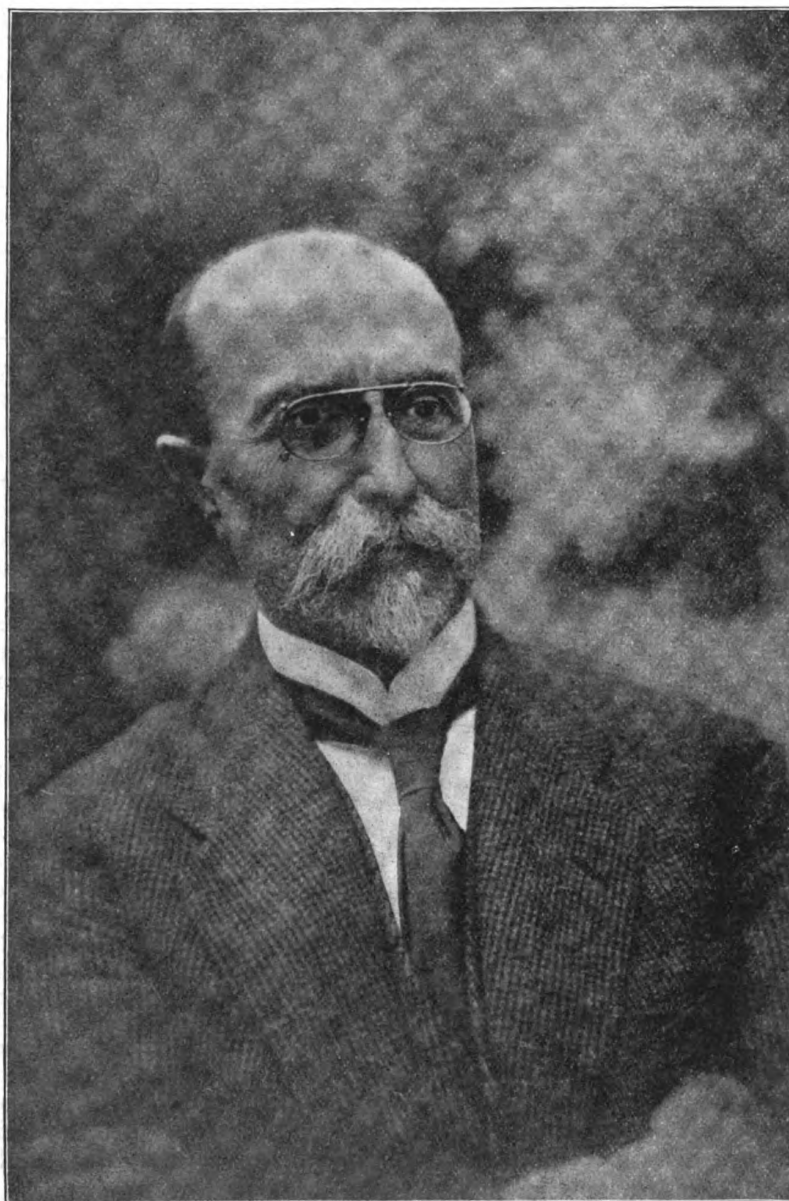
Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 5.

MAY, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year



Thomas Garigue Masaryk.

Masaryk in America.

Thomas Garigue Masaryk, the greatest living Bohemian, landed in Vancouver on April 29th and is now among us. To tell what his arrival means to Bohemians and Slovaks in this country one would need the pen of a poet. The man who had been deeply admired and respected by Bohemians for more years than most of us can count has now been for nearly four years the leader of the remarkable Czechoslovak revolution against Austria and the German plans of Mitteleuropa. He is now the head of the Czechoslovak revolutionary government and the civilian chief of three Czechoslovak armies, one in Russia, one in France and one in Italy. In him the intense yearning and consuming desire of Bohemians and Slovaks for freedom is personified. Masaryk will be received and honored by his countrymen in America as the father of his people.

But the great Czech leader should be welcomed by the entire American people. Two generations ago the United States gave a royal welcome to Louis Kossuth, because he had been the leader of his race against the tyranny of the Hapsburgs. This country, true to its democratic ideals, has ever sympathized with the struggles of the oppressed peoples for liberation. Much has happened since then. The Magyars as a result of Prussian victories in 1866 received their liberty, only to subject a majority of the inhabitants of Hungary to worse oppression than they had themselves suffered at the hands of the Hapsburgs. And today the two branches of the Czechoslovak race, Bohemians held down by the Germans, and Slovaks strangled by the Magyars, have risen against their foes and are fighting under Masaryk's noble and wise generalship on the same side as the United States.

We do not doubt for a moment that Masaryk will receive in America as cordial a welcome as he did in England, when he came to London nearly three years ago to lecture at King's College. Mr. Herbert H. Asquith, who was then Great Britain's premier, said on that occasion: "I congratulate King's College upon his appointment and I can assure him that we welcome his advent to London, both as a teacher — the influence of whose power and learning is felt throughout the Slav world — and as a man

to whose personal qualities of candor, courage and strength we are all glad to pay a tribute."

The enemy, as well as the friend, appreciates the great weight of Masaryk in the present world crisis. A year ago, when the first provisional government was at the helm in Russia, the German press charged that the policies of the Entente were shaped by three professors: Wilson, Miljukov and Masaryk. And more recently that diplomatic adventurer, Count Czernin, whose place knows him no more, in a rabid anti-Czech speech charged that the Allies rejected his peace overtures, because they placed their reliance in Masaryk's revolutionary propaganda, backed not only by the revolutionary Czechoslovak armies, but by all the political parties in Bohemia.

Professor Masaryk as the head of the revolution is placing the crown of great achievement on a life of much toil and striving. His whole work as scholar and statesman was governed by the principle: Through truth to justice. He opposed his own people, when misled by racial pride they accepted as genuine the celebrated manuscripts pretending to come down from the hoary antiquity of the Czech race. He fought valiantly the ugly superstition of ritual murder. He championed boldly and successfully Austrian Jugoslavs upon whom high treason was fastened by means of documents forged by the Austrian minister at Belgrade.

What wonder that Masaryk gave to the world the Bohemian Declaration of Independence at the very time, when the military situation of the Allies was most discouraging. He said in this document in November, 1915: "We take the side of the fighting Slav nations and their Allies without regard to victory or defeat, because right is on their side."

In Masaryk there is a wonderful blending of the Slav with the Anglo-Saxon. By birth a Slovak from Moravia he has spent much time in America and England. His wife, who is unfortunately detained in Prague by the Austrian government, is a New England lady, and both the professor and his children look upon America as their second fatherland.

There is no doubt that all the Slavs in America will join the Bohemians and Slovaks in honoring Thomas G. Masaryk. We believe that all in the United States, the people and the government will do likewise. For Masaryk is undoubtedly one of the greatest men of these great days. He has rendered extremely valuable services to the cause of democracy by his unparalleled

knowledge of the Austrian and German political, social and economic situation; and now, after a year's sojourn in Russia there is no man more competent to advise the Allies how to handle the difficult Russian situation.

Welcome to the chief of the Bohemian Revolution.

Joseph Turzický.

Austria's Desperate Situation.

No one need envy Emperor Charles his exalted position. Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown, especially when the crown shows an inclination to roll off. The simple fact is that poor Charles is between the devil and the deep sea. Unless he can manage to pull out of the war very shortly, his increasingly desperate subjects will overturn his throne and treat him, as the Russians treated the Czar. But when he tries to satisfy them, he gets at once into trouble with his great and good friend William who, as everybody knows, will stand for no nonsense. Poor Charles had to expel his Bourbon mother-in-law; he may soon be ordered to send away his wife.

Internal dissatisfaction and external dangers increase every day. Among the rebellious peoples of Austria-Hungary the Czechs according to their wont still play the principal part. The Vienna Reichsrat was prorogued early in March, as soon as Von Seidler got his budget approved. With the help of most of the Poles and of the German social democrats the premier succeeded in getting his money grants. But it was a sorry victory. The budget was approved by a vote which was 18 short of the majority of the full parliament, and the new loan squeezed through by a vote which was 55 short of a full majority. With the adjournment of the parliament the political struggle was transferred to the provinces.

March 10 a convention was held in Prague of all the Slav races of Austria. There were present, besides the Czechs, representatives of student organizations of Slovenes, Croats and Poles. There was even a delegate for Polish students from the former Russian Poland. The Czech Deputies' Club was officially represented. Resolutions were adopted amid stormy applause for Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Polish independence and for a united cam-

paign on behalf of all three branches of Western Slavs. About the same time the City Council of Prague approved the Declaration of the Prague Constituent Assembly of January 6, and other cities of Bohemia and Moravia, as well as district councils and meetings of village mayors endorsed the bold stand of Czech deputies for full right of self-determination.

The weakness of the Austrian government under these "treasonable" attacks has been almost incredible. Whereas during the first two years of the war wholesale executions were the order of the day and newspapers could print only what the censor was pleased to approve, in 1918 the ministers of Emperor Charles dared not go further than threats. Premier Seidler warned the Czechs most solemnly in January that the government would repress sternly their treason, but nothing happened. Then Count Czernin shortly before his fall made an inflammatory speech to the City Council of Vienna in which he placed the failure of his attempts to bring peace to the hungry peoples of the monarchy on the Czech rebels, especially Professor Masaryk. As a reply to Czernin a second general convention of all Czech deputies met in Prague on April 13. Deputy Staněk presided, and Alois Jirásek, the greatest living Bohemian novelist, was the principal orator. The convention repudiated the charge that the Czechs were responsible for the continuation of the war and laid the blame on the Germans and Magyars who would not concede to the Slav subjects of the Hapsburgs the right to determine their allegiance. For the Yugoslavs, Deputy Trešich Pavicich declared their absolute solidarity with Czechoslovaks in the fight for independence. Upon that occasion the people of Prague paraded the streets denouncing the Germans and cheering openly for

the Entente and in particular for President Wilson in whom the people of Bohemia see their spécial champion.

In the meantime at the other end of the monarchy grave disorders broke out. The Slovenes who inhabit the southern slopes of the Alps from Styria to Trieste followed the example of the Czechoslovaks and led by their deputies and priests demanded boldly the union of their people in one Yugoslav state, comprising Austro-Hungarian territories inhabited by the Slovenes, Croats and Serbians, to be joined to the Kingdom of Serbia. The conduct of the Slovenes has been a great blow to the Hapsburgs, for the emperor had confidently expected that the old enmity between Italians and Slovenes would keep the latter loyal to the cause of Austria. But throughout the past year Slovene deputies in Vienna supported the Czech rebellion in parliament, and according to recent news the people of Laibach, the Slovenian capital, have come out in violent demonstrations against the Germans, and like the people of Prague openly cheered the Allies.

The seriousness of the Slovene revolt is best illustrated by the fact that the Austrian government requested the Vatican to take disciplinary action against the prince-bishop of Laibach Jeglich who is accused of agitating for the creation of an independent Yugoslav state. This is indeed an unmistakable symptom that the days of Austria are numbered. When the official representatives of the Catholic church join the liberals and socialists whom they were bitterly fighting before the war, then the conclusion is inevitable that among the Austrian Slavs the determination to conquer independence is unanimous. Bishop Jeglich wrote in his journal, the *Slovenec*: "Never has our national idea been so strong—it is the principal motive in all public life. It has swept over our lands like a flood, reached the most remote village and fired the heart of every Yugoslav. It is so because we have realized that we do not fear the struggle. Every day we encourage our deputies in Vienna: Do not yield a step. We are with you to the last man."

Dr. Von Seidler found himself unable to cope with the open revolt in the North and the South, as well as with the hostile attitude of the Poles and the criticism of the German socialists. He had been trying to resign, but there is no one to take his place, for the crisis facing Austria is not parlia-

mentary or even constitutional, but a crisis that threatens to put and end to the ancient monarchy of the Hapsburgs.

Late reports state that Emperor Charles took the decisive step of suspending Austrian parliamentary life. It means that he has given up, either on his own initiative or by German pressure, whatever hopes he may have cherished of gaining over his Slav subjects. At the same time first steps were taken to punish the Czech rebels; the integrity of the Kingdom of Bohemia was violated by dividing it into Czech and German food administration districts. On top of that comes the significant report that northern Bohemia and northern Tyrol have been placed under Germany for food administration purposes. The break-up of Austria has begun.

To the internal difficulties of Austria we must add the disagreement with Hungary. It is very likely that the boldness of the Slav revolt and the weakness of the government is due to a large degree to the food situation. This is getting to be desperate. The supplies from the Ukraine have not materialized and Austria is faced with absolute starvation in May and June. On the other hand Hungary is comparatively well off in food supplies, and to the old causes of disagreement between Vienna and Budapest is added the bitterness on the part of the people of Vienna who see the Magyars well fed, while the Germans, to say nothing of the Slavs, go hungry. It is said that the rich people of Vienna make daily trips to Budapest to smuggle eatables under their high silk hats to their starving families. But the Magyars are masters of the situation. For many years, inferior in numbers and wealth as they are to the Austrian half of the empire, the rulers of Hungary were rulers of the dual empire. They determined the course of its foreign policies and have been the strongest supporters of close dependence on Germany. When Czernin fell, they came into their own again, and Baron Burian, a member of the Magyar oligarchy, once more administers the foreign affairs of the monarchy. The weakness of the emperor-king was proved recently upon the occasion of the resignation of the Wekerle ministry. Wekerle was entrusted by Charles with the task of making more democratic the extremely unfair franchise of Hungary. But the ruling Magyar clique objected to the curtailment of their power, and though the

workingmen of Budapest made demonstrations and inaugurated a strike of 100,000 men, the oligarchy won and Wekerle resigned, because Charles would not allow him to dissolve the parliament and appeal to the country.

And while everything in Austria is seething with discontent and is ready to boil over, Italy which six months ago suffered a serious blow through clever German-Austrian propaganda is paying back to Austria in an even more effectual manner. Delegates of the Austro-Hungarian oppressed nationalities were invited to Rome in the middle of April to sit together with Italian delegates and agree upon measures in their common interest. Detailed reports of the proceedings of the convention are not yet available, but it is known that the following resolutions were passed unanimously, setting forth the aims of the oppressed nationalities: 1. Every race maintains its right to constitute its own nationality and unity as a state and to achieve entire independence. 2. Every race recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy an instrument of Germanic domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its rights. 3. The Assembly recognizes the necessity for a combined struggle for complete liberation against common oppressors.

The fruit of all this is seen on the Italian front. Entire regiments of Slavs and Roumanians are going over to the enemy. And worse than that. The men who desert put on Italian uniforms and eagerly fight against their oppressors. As usual, Bohemians lead. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, has just cabled from the Italian Army Headquarters a sympathetic account of the important part played by Czechoslovak volunteers on the Italian front. We are proud to quote it here:

"Czechoslovak troops of the national army are now present behind the Italian front representing the independent Czechoslovak state recognized by Britain, France and Italy, which might, for the lack of a better name, be called Greater Bohemia. Thus the recent meeting of the Italian-Slav leaders in Rome is proved not to have been in vain and the apprehensions so clearly manifested by the Austro-Hungarian newspapers, with the exception of those representing the Slav element, are shown to have been thoroughly justified.

Soon there will be struck the first of those blows against the Austro-Hungarian national carcass which will eventually do away with its unity—struck by Slavs who hitherto have been a component and even an invaluable element of the dual monarchy.

When the history of the war is written not the least brilliant story will be that of the Czechslovak opposition to their oppressors, their dogged resistance, mostly passive but becoming active whenever circumstances permitted, finally constituting one of the decisive factors in the dissolving of the Hapsburg state. But for this history meanwhile we must thank our Italian allies, who showed calm generosity in thus collaborating with a portion of their enemies, for needless to say, the Czechoslovaks on the Italian front were, until their independence was proclaimed, enemy subjects.

To-day in certain parts of the front one may see tall, blond men passing, fine looking fellows, dressed in uniforms resembling those of the Italians. To assist them, the French and Italian officers are working with them. These, however, have been imposed not by any constraint of the allied governments, but have been freely chosen by the Czechoslovak leaders and after long consultation with their recognized heads, Benesh and Stefanik.

Soon we shall see them at work. They cannot but become a nucleus to which all Czechoslovaks, whatever their present position may be, will be drawn to strike a blow in defense of that Bohemia "which was before Austria and will be when Austria has ceased to be."

We have at last reached a situation where one of the two dominant races, the Germans of Austria, finding that the machine of state has broken down, and that the only alternatives to the present situation are federalism or disruption, is coming to the conclusion that even from its own selfish point of view the latter is preferable, since it would unite them to the German Empire and rescue them from the position of a minority in a mainly Slav State. The same calculation will weigh with the Magyars who, rather than submit to a definite collapse of the German hegemony in Austria, would, as no less eminent a statesman than Count Andrassy has publicly hinted, within the last few months, prefer complete severance between Austria and Hungary, in the calculation that in an independent Hungary the Magyars could still hold their own by means of a close alliance with the German Empire.

R. W. SETON WATSON, in *Contemporary Review*

Carpathian Russians and the Czechoslovaks.

In the latter part of April, 1918, representatives of Carpathian Russians appeared before Secretary Lansing to submit to him a memorandum expressing the political aspirations of their people. Before discussing the memorandum it will be well to say something about the little known race of the Carpathian Russians.

The war has taught America a good deal about European geography. It has made the average newspaper reader acquainted not merely with the Great Powers of Europe, but with the smaller independent states and even with some of the submerged races of Central and Eastern Europe. It has introduced new names, almost unknown four years ago, but today glibly, if not correctly, pronounced in the everlasting discussions of the war problems. How many of the educated Americans knew before the war that the Bohemians called themselves in their own language Czechs? There was no such term in existence as the Jugoslavs, and very few of the people who knew of the existence of the Little Russian race were aware of the fact that there was another name for them — the Ukrainians.

It is with this last race that we are now concerned. Everything about it is hazy, even its very existence as a separate race. The Russian government to which the great majority of this people were subject held to the view that there was no Little Russian or Ukrainian nationality, that the people of Southern Russia were Russians speaking a different dialect from that of the Northerners. The Austrian government, which ruled over the smaller portion of this race insisted that they were a distinct people and to make the distinction between them and the Russians wider gave them the name of Ruthenians.

There are some thirty or more million of this race within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire, inhabiting the most fertile parts of Russia. And it is this part of the Little Russian race of which we have heard so much recently, when the Germans by a trick set up the Kieff Rada for an independent government, in order to get into their grasp the granary of Russia without openly violating the principle of no annexations, and when they more recently overthrew the Rada, because it presumed to exercise some of the functions of sovereign-

ty and stood in the way of German-Austrian robbery.

The division of Poland in the 18th century, which took no account of ethnological boundaries brought under the rule of the Hapsburgs a considerable fraction of this race of many names. The eastern half of Galicia and half of the Bukovina had a population in 1910 of 3,608,844 Ruthenians, as the Austrian census called them. In Hungary their number in that year was found to be 472,587, though it was undoubtedly much larger. They live on both sides of the high Carpathian mountains; their western neighbors north of the mountains are the Poles, south of the mountains Slovaks. In fact the Slovak and the Hungarian-Russian speech is so similar and the transition between them so gradual that it is hard to fix the ethnological boundary between these two kindred races.

The Russian population of Austria-Hungary was divided before the war into two camps. One of them magnified the distinctions between Russians and Little Russians, adopted the name of Ukrainians for their people and hating Russia as the oppressor of their race placed themselves at the service of the Austrian government. The other party looked upon themselves as Russians and looked to Moscow as the capital of their race. The events of the war disappointed both the pro-Austrian and the pro-Russian parties. For one thing Austria has treated the population of Eastern Galicia barbarously. Thousands of Little Russians were executed summarily and tens of thousands were sent to the awful internment camp at Tellerhof where they died like flies under the brutal treatment of Magyar and German guards. And while upon the collapse of Russia the Central Empires met the separatist aspirations of the Ukrainians by promptly recognizing an Ukrainian republic, they had no thought of surrendering to the new republic Austro-Hungarian territories inhabited by the Ukrainians. On the contrary the course of events made it clear that the Ukraine under the guise of independence merely exchanged Russian masters for German.

But so were the Russophils disappointed in the expectations they had placed in Russia as their deliverer from German-Magyar tyranny. The big brother of the Slav fam-



Central Europe as Austrian Slavs Plan It.

ily, the powerful Russian people, failed most miserably in the hour of need. There was just one Slav race from which the Slavs of the Austrian northeast received sympathy and help. The Bohemian deputies in the Austrian parliament took the

part of the Russian helots of Galicia and attacked the government for the cruelties perpetrated upon the Russian subjects of Austria-Hungary.

There was no thought of self-seeking in the friendship of the Czechoslovaks for the

Russians of the Carpathian Mountains. And Bohemians in this country were surprised when they learned the political program of the Russians of Austria-Hungary, as embodied in the memorandum presented to Secretary Lansing. The delegation spoke in the name of the great national organizations of this people in the United States, numbering 150,000 members.

The program of the Russians of Austria-Hungary, or the Carpathian Russians, to distinguish them from their kinsmen of the great Russian plain, naturally contemplates as their first choice the erection of an independent Carpathian republic. But if the large considerations of European or world politics make that impossible, then their second choice is to be joined to the future Czechoslovak state as an autonomous province. They declared that they no longer looked to Moscow but to Prague as the spiritual capital of the Slav race.

The action of the delegation, representing the only free portion of the Carpathian Russians, was promptly communicated to the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris,

and perhaps by this time it is known in Prague. It is bound to cement more firmly the union of all Austrian Slavs against their German-Magyar lords. Among the Bohemians and Slovaks in America it has naturally raised tremendous enthusiasm. For one thing, this pronouncement of the Russian delegation, totally unsought as it was, is a flattering recognition of the wise, brave and manly course of the Czechoslovaks during the present war. What people would not be proud of receiving such a proof of confidence! And should the alternative choice of the Russians of Austria-Hungary be realized, what an important position in the new order of things in Europe would be held by the Czechoslovak-Carpathian state. Bohemia would be connected both with Roumania and Russia, and the barrier holding back the German *Drang nach Osten* would be immeasurably strengthened. Western Slavs would be in immediate contact with the Eastern Slavs and Bohemia would be better enabled to play the great role, for which it is so well fitted, in the construction of a New Russia.

Oath of Czechoslovak Soldiers.

Very little is known of the fortunes of the Czechoslovak Army in Russia since the conclusion of the Bolshevik-German peace. The April issue of La Nation Tchèque tells us of the resistance made by this army to the German invasion of Bessarabia. On that occasion a special oath was taken by these troops which throws an admirable light on their spirit and character. The oath is given herewith:

Throwing off for ever all ties that bound us to the Hapsburgs and to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and remembering all the wrongs that had for centuries been committed upon our people and remain unavenged, we, Czechoslovak soldiers of the first revolutionary army created beyond the frontiers of our country, take this solemn oath before our beloved Czechoslovak nation and before the chiefs of our revolutionary movement in foreign lands, the Czechoslovak National Council with Professor Masaryk at its head.

In the name of our national honor, in the name of all that is most dear to us as men and as Czechoslovaks, with full realization of this step, we swear to fight alongside of our allies to the last drop of our blood, against all our enemies, until we have obtained complete liberation of our Czechoslovak nation, until the Czech and Slovak

lands are reunited into a free and independent Czechoslovak state, until our nation is absolute mistress of her destinies.

We solemnly promise, whatever may be the danger and whatever may be the circumstances, without fear and hesitation, never to abandon the sacred goal of our fight.

As faithful and honorable soldiers, heirs of our noble history, cherishing the memory of the heroic deeds of our immortal chiefs and martyrs, Jan Hus and Jan Žižka of Trocnov, we promise to remain worthy of them, never to flee from battle, to shirk no danger, to obey the orders of our officers, to venerate our flags and standards, never and under no circumstances beg for our lives from our enemy and never to surrender with weapons in our hands, to love our companions as brothers and to give them aid in danger, to have no fear of death, to sacrifice all, even our lives, for the freedom of our fatherland.

So freely, without pressure of any sort, we pledge ourselves to act, and so shall we act. Such is the duty imposed upon us by honor and fidelity toward our people and our country.

Towards a New Central Europe).*

The Rome Conference marks a new period in the movement for the emancipation of the Slavs and Latins of Central Europe. The common action of the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Roumanians, Jugoslavs and Italians, is bound to be ultimately crowned with success, however great the obstacles and difficulties may at this moment appear. The agreement between the subject races of Central Europe means the death warrant to the Dual Monarchy, and the guarantee of a better Europe, assuring freedom and justice to all peoples, and safeguarding the rights of humanity.

The agreement arrived at in Rome is the more important because it is accompanied by a similar movement within Central Europe itself. On Sunday, 11 March, a great manifestation took place in Prague attended by several Czech deputies, and representatives of all Czech parties as well as of Poles and Jugoslavs. The subject of the Conference was the recent peace in the East and the necessity of all Slav nations obtaining independence. The spokesman of the Jugoslavs, Mr. Palavicini, declared that the Jugoslavs would in all circumstances go hand in hand with the Czechs. A declaration of the students at Cracow was then read by two Polish delegates, saying that the Czechs and Jugoslavs were the natural allies of the Poles against the Germans. Speaking in the name of the Czech Club, Deputy Viškovský declared that all the Western Slavs, numbering over 50 millions, desired national unity and independence. He expressed the hope that the manifestation would be the first step towards the formation of a united Slav block in the Reichstrat. The following resolution was then unanimously passed:—

“Relying upon the Czech declaration of 6 January in favour of Czecho-Slovak independence, we claim the right of self-determination for all the nations, including also the Western Slavs, because only thus can an honourable and lasting peace be established. Let this demand induce Czecho-Slovak, Jugoslav, and Polish nations to come to a common action.”

In the Austrian Reichstrat the Poles were for some time past contemplating common

*Reprinted from the *New Europe*, London, April 4, 1918.

action with the other parties. It is true that at the last moment the Polish leaders again let themselves be bribed by empty promises and abstained from voting against the Budget, which led to the split of the Polish Club. Some Conservative organs like the *Czas* and *Glas Narodu* still advocate the *Realpolitik* of neutrality. Yet there is no doubt that the bulk of Polish public opinion is against any farther compromise with either of the Central Powers and sincerely desires co-operation with the other Slavs. So, for instance, the *Lemberg Courier* wrote on 4 March:—

“There is an urgent need of a close union with Bohemia. This union with the Czechs must be concluded as soon as possible by our Parliamentary representatives at the price of our formal recognition of the Czecho-Slovak demand for sovereignty. By a common and solid action the Poles and Czechs will create a force which no Power will be able to crush.”

The greatest Czech journal, *Národní Listy*, discussed the necessity of co-operation among Slavs in its issue of 6 March as follows:—

“The Czecho-Slovak nation would greet with joy the victory of the Slav idea in Polish politics, and the united front of the three Western Slav nations. We would greet it as a guarantee of a better future if the ‘Union of the Western Slav Nations’ proposed by the Polish National Democrats were accepted by the Polish Club. For the Western Slavs, the Poles, Czechs, and Jugoslavs, the only real policy is to form a united opposition bloc against Vienna. All these three nations have the same ideals: national unity and independence on the basis of self-determination. And as we have a common aim, we ought to have a common way to it; all nations longing for liberty will obtain it if they will support each other.”

This movement towards co-operation among the subject peoples of the Germanic Alliance may prove a formidable menace to the Central Powers. It is clear that it has the same aim in view as the League of Subject Peoples of Austria-Hungary, which is being formed in the Western countries, namely, the replacement of Pangerman Central Europe by a new international order, based upon the complete freedom, national unity, and alliance of Poland,

Bohemia, Greater Roumania, Jugoslavia, and Italy, by which the Allied principles of justice and national self-determination would be vindicated and Germany prevented from repeating her present exploits.

The first condition of the proposed solution is the disappearance of the present Dual Monarchy. The realization of the national unity and independence of the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Roumanians, Jugoslavs and Italians, would reduce Austria and Hungary to their proper racial boundaries. Austria and Hungary would then be States of not more than about 8 million inhabitants each, and would be without any political, military, or economic value to Germany. A close alliance between united Poland and Bohemia would mean an economically and politically strong anti-German block of 40 million people. Incidentally it would provide Bohemia with a seaport (Dantzic). Germany would be barred from expansion in the Adriatic, in the Balkans, and in the Near East by an alliance

between the two Adriatic nations, the Italians and Jugoslavs. The encirclement of Germany would be completed by an establishment of a united Roumania which would border both on the Czecho-Slovak and the Jugoslav State. Roumania and Jugoslavia would together number some 25 millions, while the Polish-Czecho-Slovak-Roumanian combination would mean a solid block of over 50 millions which would definitely prevent Germany's expansion to the East and assure the nations of Russia a peaceful development. No third solution is possible: either Germany will succeed in preserving the Hapsburg Monarchy and creating the Pangerman **Mittel-Europa** or the Slavs and Latins of Central Europe will, with the help of the Allies, obtain national unity and independence. The growing courage and co-operation on the part of the subject peoples of Austria and the approaching Allied victory lead us to believe that the latter alternative will triumph.

V. Nosek.

Magyar Testimony to Slovak Sentiments.

Public and authoritative declarations by the Czechs in favor of Czechoslovak independence have been numerous and have left no doubt that the Czechs at any rate are absolutely united upon this demand and determined at all cost to realize it. Similar declarations by the Slovaks have been lacking, except on the part of Slovaks beyond the boundaries of Hungary, for the simple reason that under the Asiatic regime of the Magyars the Slovaks have had no means of making their sentiments known in an authoritative manner. The three million Slovaks have only two or three deputies in the Hungarian parliament who are howled down by the Magyar chauvinists, if they attempt to give expression to the aspirations of their people. The few Slovak newspapers still maintaining a precarious existence under the Magyar tyranny are not permitted to print anything opposed to the Magyar state idea, and a Slovak public meeting is something unheard of in Hungary. So the Czechs who made good their defiance of the German tyranny in the Austrian half of the monarchy have to speak both in their own name and in the name of their brothers in Upper Hungary.

That the union of the two branches of the Czechoslovak people in an independent

democratic state is ardently desired on the Hungarian side of the artificial dividing line is abundantly attested from Magyar sources. We have heard much about the proposed franchise reform in Hungary and the cabinet of Dr. Wekerle recently resigned, because its so-called democratic franchise reform included the concession of a few seats to the non-Magyar races of Hungary, a step that the majority of the Budapest Parliament violently disapproved of. From the debates on the government bill one gleans a few indications as to the true sentiments of the Slovaks.

Deputy Andrew Kuzma, speaking before the Commission on Electoral Reform on February 27, referred to the Slovaks in these words:

"Members supporting the government ought to realize that the objections urged by the majority against the government's proposal of electoral reform are not due to reactionary motives. They proceed from very grave apprehensions as to the future of the Magyars. These objections deserve closest attention and should not be slighted. I know from experience that the brave Slovak people are ready to yield to the seductions of the Czechs. Prominent Slovaks, men of influence and energy, sent to a

Czech newspaper the following statement favoring Czech plans: "The Czech Declaration (referring to the Declaration of Independence of the Prague Constituent Assembly) gives us joy and finds here sympathetic reception. We form one nation with the Czechs. The Czech Declaration is among other things a great blow at the Magyar Government which has remained deaf to all Slovak protests. We are indebted to our Czech brothers in that, through them, the whole Europe speaks today of the oppressed Slovak race."

"Whoever knows the situation in Slovakia cannot doubt that even the common Slovak people will be captured by Czech agitation, unless we take the proper steps in time. The intellectual class of the Slovaks has for a long time been Czech. With great boldness and remarkable courage they rouse hatred against Hungary in elections to the parliament and to the county and town councils. As a result it is not really the Slovak question, but the Czech question that threatens Upper Hungary, since the Czech language is supplanting the Slovak. Unless we take a firm stand in time, these Czechoslovak deputies will soon agitate the union of the thirteen Slovak counties to Bohemia not merely in the Austrian Parliament, but also in the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the provisions of the electoral reform bill both as to

the right to vote and as to qualifications of deputies should be revised in the interests of the Magyar nationality; and further, that the Magyar national army should become a reality, that administration be centralized, at least six years of schooling required of voters, and above all state police be introduced in all non-Magyar districts."

The following day Baron Louis Kurthy, former food controller, discussed the same subject. He said:

"Let us avoid an exaggerated and fatal optimism. If one were to judge from the speeches delivered here, it would seem that some of the speakers rely exclusively upon the inherent strength of the Magyar race and its intellectual superiority to solve the problem of nationalities in our interest. On the other hand, we heard here yesterday some sad facts about Slovakia and Transylvania. I know personally the Slovaks of Upper Hungary and I can state the deplorable fact that our power in Slovakia rests exclusively upon the force of our administration. The intellectual leadership has gotten away from us; it has passed into the hands of Slovak extremists and agitators."

That was a true saying. The rule of the Magyars over the races of Hungary is founded not on Magyar superiority of character and intellect, but solely on brute force. It will be forever broken by the defeat of Germany in the present war.

The Defenestration of Prague.

On May 23d of this year the Czechs will observe the three hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of their last rebellion against the Hapsburgs. It was an uprising that ended disastrously, mainly because it was the act of the three privileged classes, noblemen, knights and towns while the peasants, who had been the mainstay of Žižka's armies, remained untouched by it. The revolution carried on today by the Czech people against their Hapsburg tyrants is supported with just as much enthusiasm by the peasant and the workingman, as by the bourgeois, although of course it is true that the nobles of Bohemia are nearly all German. And because the whole nation is united against the foreign ruler, this rebellion of 1918 will have a different outcome than the rebellion of 1618.

We give here an account of the so-called "Defenestration of Prague", the opening act of the Bohemian rebellion and of the thirty years' war, as told by Count Lutzwow in his "Story of Prague".

During the brief reign of Matthias (1611-1619) the religious troubles in Bohemia continued and reached their climax in the famous defenestration of Prague. Matthias, like his brother, was childless, and the question of the succession to the Bohemian throne was therefore urgent. The Estates met at Prague in 1617, and through the influence of the Government officials, Archduke Ferdinand of Styria was accepted as heir to the throne. Only one of the officials Count Thurn, burgrave of the Karlstyn, opposed the acceptance, and was therefore deprived of his office. The decision which assured the Bohemian crown to Ferdinand, a determined persecutor of the Protestants, necessarily hastened the progress of events. The Protestants knew that war to the knife awaited them; the only question was when hostilities should begin. The initiative finally, however, came from the Catholics. In direct violation of the agreements of 1609 the Romanist Archbishop of Prague caused the Protestant church at

Hrob (or Klostergrab) to be destroyed, while the abbot of Broumov (Braunau) ordered the Protestant church in the town of that name, which was under his jurisdiction, to be closed.

The Protestant "defenders" took immediate action. They summoned their Protestant Estates to a consultation, which began on March 6, 1618, in the Carolinum. Though King Matthias had forbidden the meeting, a large number of nobles and knights and a few townsmen were present.

Count Thurn now became the leader of the Protestant Estates, and there is little doubt that he from the first considered war inevitable. He spoke eloquently of the grievances of the Protestants, alluding particularly to the recent occurrences at Hrob and Broumov, and suggested that a remonstrance should be addressed to the Government officials at Prague. The Protestants agreed to this, and also resolved, should this step prove ineffective, to address their complaints directly to King Matthias, who then resided in Vienna. As an answer could not be immediately expected, it was decided that the Protestants should meet again on May 21st. Before that date, however, the leaders of the movement issued a manifesto, that was read in all the Utraquist and Protestant churches of Prague, in which, though the Sovereign was not attacked, the Royal Councillors, particularly the chief judge Slavata, and Martinic, the new burgrave of the Karlstyn, who had replaced Thurn, were directly accused of using their influence over the Sovereign in a manner hostile to the Bohemian people. On May 21st, the Estates, as had been agreed, met again at the Carolinum. They were immediately summoned to the Hradcany Palace, where a Royal message prohibiting their meetings was read to them. They none the less met again on the 22nd, when Thurn suggested that the Estates should, on the following day, proceed to the Hradcany in a body and in full armor. He threw out dark hints that a small deputation would not be safe in the vast precincts of the Hradcany; if the gates were closed after their arrival, they would be separated from the town, and a general massacre of the envoys might ensue. A more secret meeting took place late in the evening, at the Smiricky Palace. Besides Thurn, a few other leaders, Colonna of Fels, Budova, Ruppá, two nobles of the Kinsky and two of the Rican family were present. Ulrich of Kinsky proposed that the Royal councillors should be poniarded in the council chamber, but Thurn's suggestion that they should be thrown from the windows of the Hradcany Palace prevailed. This was, in Bohemia, the traditional death penalty for traitors. As the Estates afterwards quaintly stated, "they followed the example of that which was done to Jezebel, the tormentor of the Israelite people, and also that of the Romans and other famed nations, who were in the habit of throwing from rocks and other elevated places those who disturbed the peace of the commonwealth."

Early in the morning of the memorable 23rd of May the representatives of Protestantism in Bohe-

mia proceeded to the Hradcany; all were in full armor, and most of them were followed by one or more retainers. They first proceeded to the hall, where the Estates usually met. The address to the King which the defenders had prepared was here read to them. All then entered the hall of the Royal councillors, where a very stormy discussion arose. Count Slik, Thurn, Kinsky and others violently accused Martinic and Slavata, the two principal councillors, of being traitors. Slik particularly accused Martinic of having deprived "that noble Bohemian hero, Count Thurn", of his office of burgrave of the Karlstyn. He added that, "as long as old men, honest and wise, had governed Bohemia the country had prospered, but since they (i. e., Martinic and Slavata), worthless disciples of the Jesuits, had pushed themselves forward, the ruin of the country had begun."

What now happened can be best given in the words of the contemporary historian, Skála ze Zhore — "No mercy was granted them, and first the Lord of Smecno (i. e., Martinic) was dragged to the window near which the secretaries generally worked; for Kinsky was quicker and had more aid than Count Thurn, who had seized Slavata. Then they were both thrown, dressed in their cloaks and with their rapiers and decorations, just as they had been found in the councillors' office, one after the other, head foremost out of the western window into a moat beneath the palace, which by a wall was separated from the other deeper moat. They loudly screamed, "Ach, ach, Ouvé!" and attempted to hold on to the window-frame, but were at last obliged to let go, as they were struck on their hands." It remains to add that neither of the nobles nor Fabricius, their secretary, who was also thrown from the window, perished; a circumstance that the Catholics afterwards attributed to a miracle.

Immediately after the defenestration the Estates elected thirty "directors" — chosen in equal number from the three Estates — who were to constitute a provisional Government. Ruppá, one of the most gifted of the Bohemian nobles, became head of this Government, while Thurn assumed command of the army which the Estates hurriedly raised. On March 20, 1619, Matthias died, and though the Estates had recognized Ferdinand as his successor, the throne became practically vacant; for it was very unlikely that the Protestants who had risen in arms against Matthias would now accept a far more intransigent Romanist as their ruler.

On July 8th a general Diet, that is to say one consisting of deputies of Moravia and Silesia as well as Bohemia, met at Prague. On August 3d this assembly pronounced the deposition of Ferdinand as King of the Bohemian lands, and on the 26th the crown was offered to Frederick, Count Palatine. There were other candidates, but an eloquent speech of Ruppá decided in Frederick's favor. He assured the Bohemians that they would obtain powerful allies if they elected Frederick, and specially referred to James I. of England, the father-in-law of their new Sovereign.

After some hesitation, Frederick accepted the crown and proceeded to Bohemia accompanied by his consort. They arrived at the "Star" Palace, immediately outside Prague early in the morning of October 31st, and on the same day made their solemn entry into the town. Many Bohemian nobles who had awaited their new Sovereign at the "Star" joined the procession to the Hradcany Cas-

tle. At the Strahov gate they were met by the guilds of Prague carrying their banners, and by numerous peasants "all clad in the old Bohemian dress and bearing arms that had been used during the Hussite Wars." On November 4th Frederick was crowned King of Bohemia in St. Vitus's Cathedral, and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth took place there three days later.

Current Topics.

MASARYK'S RECEPTION IN CHICAGO

Since we got into the war Chicago has witnessed a number of patriotic demonstrations that were truly impressive. But in point of number and enthusiasm only the reception accorded to Marshal Joffre and the French mission a year ago can compare with the wonderful manifestation which took place upon the arrival of Professor Masaryk in Chicago.

Masaryk arrived Sunday, May 5th, at 2:00 P. M. It is no exaggeration to say that all the Czechs and Slovaks of Chicago, including the children and the babies, turned out to welcome him. The Tribune states that 40,000 people were in the line of march: there were all the Sokol organizations, Bohemian and Slovak, freethinker and Catholic, including further other uniformed bodies and all the fraternal societies. Among other organizations were officers of the Slovak League, Bohemian members of exemption boards, the Bohemian Liberty Loan Committee, officeholders of Bohemian descent, Police Captain Ptáček and squads of policemen of Bohemian blood, visitors from Omaha, Cedar Rapids, Cleveland and other cities and various celebrities too numerous to mention. Masaryk was further welcomed by President Judson of the University of Chicago, H. H. Merrick of the National Security League, representatives of the various Slav races of Chicago and consuls of the Allied countries. The line of march from the Northwestern station to the Blackstone Hotel was jammed with members of the Czechoslovak societies, and when the mile-long procession arrived on the lake front at the hotel, there were 200,000 people packed around the professor's auto, filling up the wide Michigan avenue and overflowing into the side streets and into Grant Park.

A number of brief welcoming speeches were made in English and Bohemian, while moving picture cameras were grinding busily. Then Masaryk replied, also briefly. He spoke of the unshakeable determination of the Czechoslovak people to throw off the Hapsburg yoke and quoted the letter of a Bohemian mother to her son in a prison camp: "Your father is under ground, and your brother too; and you are not yet in the Czechoslovak army?" The Czech leader mentioned also that his principal task at present would be to hasten the transport of 50,000 fighters from Russia to France, stating that by the time these would be gone, there would be 50,000 more to go.

MESSAGE OF LOYALTY TO THE PRESIDENT

When the American newspapers brought the report that great crowds in Prague cheered the name of President Wilson, the Bohemian National Alliance, together with the representatives of all the principal Bohemian societies in this country, sent to the President a most eloquent expression of their loyalty to him and their confidence in him. Secretary Lansing in behalf of the President acknowledged the telegram in very cordial terms. The *Official Bulletin* published both the message of loyalty and the reply. We quote from it Mr. Lansing's reply:

Dr. L. J. Fisher,

Bohemian National Alliance, Chicago, Ill.

The President directs me to say that he is deeply touched by your message of the 18th in which you voice the appreciation of your fellow Czechoslovaks 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.

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State.

ALLIED LABOR IN FAVOR OF CZECH DEMANDS

The press of the United States has not paid as much attention to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference which met in London on February 2d, as its significance entitled it to. The conference adopted a platform containing the war aims of the Allied Labor, and thanks to the indefatigable labors of our workers in England, principally Miss Olga Masaryk, daughter of the Bohemian leader, and of Mr. V. Nosek, the Czech demands were specifically mentioned and substantially endorsed. The platform, as far as it relates to Austria-Hungary, reads:

"The Confereneec does not propose as a war aim the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand the Conference cannot admit that the claims to independence, made by the Czechs, Slovaks and the Jugoslavs, must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings

That, of course, is quite different from the London text. The Labor Conference, like President Wilson, does not say that Austria is not to be disrupted; it merely states that the dismemberment of Austria is not one of the war aims of the Allies.

The Correspondence Bureau lies directly and intentionally, when it attempts to convince the subject-peoples of Austria-Hungary that the Allies have left their fate in the hands of the Hapsburgs. The same thing was done with Wilson's speeches. Any expression favorable to the maintenance of the



Hawaiian Branch of the Bohemian National Alliance.

and federations, according to their affinities and their interests."

It is interesting to note what the Imperial-Royal Austrian Correspondence Bureau made of this paragraph in the version communicated by it to the newspapers of Austria. The text of the Austrian Bureau read: "As far as Austria-Hungary is concerned, it is declared that she is not to be dismembered or deprived of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the conference recognizes that the aspirations of Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs to independence should be satisfied, but that they must be treated as internal political matters."

present Dual Empire was made good use of by the Vienna tricksters, while every attempt was made at the same time to convince the Slavs that the Allied statesmen took no interest in their struggles for liberation.

It would be for the benefit of America and her Allies, and it would be more in harmony with their democratic principles, if they gave up definitely all attempts to gain over the Austrian Emperor and the small coterie around him, and instead of that supported with all means in their power the revolutionary movement of the majority of the Hapsburg subjects.

LIBERTY LOAN RECORD OF BOHEMIANS

The Third Liberty Loan was a wonderful success all over the United States, because an organization was built up that reached every person in the entire country. The most gratifying feature of the latest loan is the unexpectedly large number of subscribers. Among the Bohemian-speaking people of this country there is hardly one single family without a bond, and in thousands of them every member of the family, down to the babies, are the proud possessors of the Liberty Bonds.

Wherever there are Bohemian immigrants, in every state of the Union, there an organized effort was made to line up every one of them for the loan. The Bohemian newspapers were full of reports of Bohemian Liberty Loan meetings and Bohemian Liberty Loan organizations from Hoboken to Seattle. Every local branch of the Bohemian National Alliance resolved itself into a loan organization. But the greatest effort of all was made in Chicago. The Bohemian branch of the Foreign Language Division had its own press representative who filled the columns of the four local Bohemian dailies every day with the right appeal. One of the most effective means of lining up everybody was the publication from day to day of the "honor list", names of subscribers. The Bohemian papers deserve a great deal of credit for giving day by day eight and more columns to the boosting of the loan. The results were exceedingly gratifying. While the final figures will not be available for some time, Mr. Felix Streyckmans, director of the foreign language division, gave out the following figures on the last day of the campaign:

Germans	\$2,959,650	Bohemians	\$2,859,500
Italians	2,700,000	Poles	2,500,000
Jews	2,400,000	Swedes	2,000,000

The Bohemians seem to have landed in the second place, though it is likely that the final figures will show them to be first. But it should be remembered that there are more than three times as many Germans in Chicago as Bohemians, and that while there are many millionaires among the Germans, there are none among the Bohemians. One should also keep in mind that all the other four nationalities mentioned are more numerous in Chicago than the Bohemians. The record of the Bohemian branch reflects much credit on the excellence of its organization and on the patriotism of its people.

IGNORANCE IN SEATS OF LEARNING.

Bohemians are not easily offended at exhibitions of ignorance concerning their people and their homeland. That is the fate of all small nations, especially when they are subject to the rule of foreigner. But no excuse can be found for the wanton outrage upon their feelings and upon their loyalty to America and the cause of the Allies, committed recently by the College of the City of New York.

This college is presumably an institution of learning. It is, we believe, the largest municipal college in the world. One would imagine that its faculty and its trustees would know from elementary geography that Prague is the capital of Bohemia, that its university is the oldest in Central Europe and that it is a Czech school, though to be sure there is a small German university in Prague artificially kept alive by the Germanizing policy of the Austrian government. They might also be expected to know that Cracow is the ancient capital of Poland, and even though it has come under the Hapsburg rule, it is still a Polish city and its old university is a Polish university. One would think also that teachers and trustees of a great school would know more of the great war than the bare fact that Germany and Austria are enemies of the United States. They might have known, if they read the daily papers, that the Czechs of Bohemia are the bitterest enemies of German tyranny, that they have rendered extremely valuable services to the cause of the Allies, that they are entitled to the chief credit for the sorry role which Austria has played in the present war, that there is one Czechoslovak army in Russia and another in France fighting on the same side as the United States.

At any rate only ignorance can explain the action of the College of New York in ordering the removal of the banners of the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Prague and Cracow from the rafters of the great hall of the college. To couple Berlin and Prague, Heidelberg and Cracow as four of a kind! It would be as logical to remove the banner of Sorbonne as the standard of the Czech university, for surely not even the Paris professors desire more ardently the success of the Allied arms than the professors of Prague.

That so much ignorance about Bohemia should still prevail in this country, even among the teachers of America, is a great disappointment to all Bohemians. They believed that no intelligent American confounded them any longer with Austrians, that the noble fight of their people was known to all the world. And this is not the only incident of the kind. Joseph Stránský, director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra is a Bohemian and has never given himself out for anything else. But agitation was started, nevertheless, to force his resignation on the ground that he is a subject of an enemy country. Fortunately he had to be given an opportunity to defend himself and was able to confound the mischievous "patriots" whose zeal is only exceeded by their ignorance.

Perhaps the policy of our government is to some extent responsible for these glaring instances of injustice to the Bohemians. Other Allied countries took the stand that hostility may be looked for or suspected from the four ruling races of the German Alliance, the Germans, Magyars, Bulgars and the Turks, but that a member of one of the subject races of *Mitteleuropa* is no more likely to sympathize with Germany than an Englishman or a Frenchman. In Canada, for instance, to take the country

with which we have most in common, an Austrian subject is prima facie an enemy; but if he is of the Czech race, then the presumption is that he is a friendly alien and restrictions imposed on alien enemies do not apply to him. Our government has taken the position that German subjects are dangerous, while Austro-Hungarians are not. This simplifies the task of the Department of Justice, but it is not a logical stand. As the New York Tribune says:

"No sound distinction can be drawn between the enemy feeling of the German and the enemy feeling of the Austrian and the Hungarian, if members of the oppressed races in Austria and Hungary are left out of consideration. These disaffected Austrian and Hungarian subjects—the Czechs, Roumanians, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Italians and Slovenes—deserve special treatment. They ought to be segregated from the enemy alien class. But prudence requires that the same rule should be applied to all others of Emperor Karl's subjects as is applied to the subjects of the German Kaiser."

If our government will officially take the stand that the Bohemians are a friendly people, and President Wilson and his men know quite well that it is so, it will do no more than justice to her citizens and residents of the Bohemian blood. And what is more important such recognition will encourage and hearten the Czechoslovak people in their rebellion against German-Magyar rule.

A GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION BY A BOHEMIAN SCHOLAR

The Department of Commerce has just published a volume on "German Trade and the War" by Chauncey Depew Snow and Joseph J. Kral. The book presents a very exhaustive study of the commercial and industrial conditions in war-time Germany and of the outlook after the war. It is a rich mine of information on the various phases of German industrial life, covering the manufacturing industries, the supplies of raw materials, the development of substitute materials, labor, combination and syndication of industry, as well as discussing Germany's commercial aims in going to war, and aspirations and preparations for the period after the war. It is evident that the authors, who are statistical experts in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, have followed carefully current newspapers, periodicals and books published in Germany and other European countries.

While the book is intended primarily for American business men, it will have a double interest for our readers. Many of them knew personally Mr. Kral, who was editor of the "Bohemian Voice", the first periodical in English devoted to Bohemian affairs. Then again, the appendix contains in addition to statistical tables and various documents bearing on the subject-matter of the book two articles of special interest for Bohemians. One is a discussion of Pan-Germanism by Professor Thos. G. Masaryk, reprinted from the New Europe, and the other is a

translation of an article by Dr. Alois Rařín in the *Národní Listy*, expressing the opposition of the Austrian Slavs to German plans of *Mittel Europa* and their determination to obtain independence.

This important government publication of 236 pages may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, for twenty-five cents.

NOTICE TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS

There have been a good many requests for the first volume of the Bohemian Review. Unfortunately the April issue of 1917 is all gone and for that reason the editor is unable to supply a complete first volume. Should there be at least twenty-five new subscribers to order the first volume, then a reprint would be made of the April issue. The cost of the first volume unbound, including mailing, would be \$1.10, handsomely bound with gold lettering, \$1.60.

Subscribers are notified that no receipt will be mailed to them, unless expressly requested. Date of the wrapper shows in each case the expiration of subscription. Upon receipt of renewal the date on the wrapper will be changed. Please look at the wrapper of your own copy to make sure that your own subscription has not expired.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24TH, 1912.

Of The Bohemian Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill. for April 1, 1918.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared J. F. Smetanka, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Bohemian Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 448, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The Bohemian Review Company, 2627 S. Ridgeway avenue, Chicago; editor, J. F. Smetanka, 2324 S. Central Park avenue, Chicago; managing editor, none; business manager, J. J. Fekl, 2627 S. Ridgeway avenue, Chicago.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.): Owner: The Bohemian Review Company.

Stockholders: J. F. Smetanka, 2324 S. Central Park Ave. J. J. Fekl, 2627 S. Ridgeway Ave. Joseph Tvrzicky, 3639 W. 26th St.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

J. F. SMETANKA, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1918.

(Seal)

C. G. Foucek, Notary Public.
My commission expires Feb. 15, 1922.

GIFT
JUN 27 1918

The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

June, 1918

*The Outposts of
Liberty.*

*Progress of R
tion in Bohem.*

Congress of Rome.

*Bohemians in the
Third Liberty
Loan.*

*National Assembly
of Prague.*

Current Topics.

Jan. 18.
G. R. Noyes
2949 College Ave.
Berkeley, Cal.

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

*"No lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to recon-
cile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."
Woodrow Wilson.*

10 Cents a Copy.

One Dollar per Year.



Entered as second class matter April 30, 19 17, at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879.



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THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 6.

JUNE, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Outposts of Liberty

By George L. Knapp.

Six years ago, America began a series of mental voyages of discovery on the good ship Associated Press, voyages which have revealed the little nations of Europe to the eyes of the great nation of the western hemisphere.

These voyages began with the first Balkan war, and the first discovery made was that the little nations could fight. Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia "crushed" Turkey, whipped an army which its German trainer had just pronounced invincible, advanced almost to the gates of Constantinople, and liberated several millions of Christian subjects from Turkish tyranny. America read, chuckled and cheered. She gave Bulgaria far too much credit for the work, and Greece and Serbia too little, but that was a minor matter. States whose names were hardly known to the average citizen of this country at the beginning of 1912 had proved themselves the possessors of armies greater than those which marched under Napoleon, and of a soldierly genius equal to the best.

The second Balkan war muddled American public opinion somewhat, but brought out some more noteworthy facts. In that struggle, America learned that the oppressors of the little nations were not all Moslems, that Austria-Hungary and Russia were holding Serbs and Roumanians in a bondage which they hated as much as the Greeks of Smyrna hated the overlordship of the Turk, and that the first named of these great powers was actively stirring up trouble in the Balkans. In spite of the foolish pro-Bulgarism shown in the earlier combat, this country was quick to realize that Austria-Hungary had egged Bulgaria on, and rejoiced at the defeat of the lesser bully and the disappointment of his patron.

Then came the great war, the attempt to strangle Serbia in the east, the brutal

bludgeoning of Belgium in the west; and America gained a new understanding of the importance of the neglected lesser peoples. The Bohemian uprisings and mutinies gave us a new understanding of their extent. It became clear now that here was a little nation—little, yet three times as populous as America in 1776—no part of which was free, an entire people bound to a system and a dynasty which they loathed, and which repaid their loathing with wholesale massacre.

From this time on, the voyages of exploration of these new coasts have been unceasing; and with the aid of Thomas G. Masaryk, André Chéradame and President Wilson, the American people have succeeded in getting a pretty fair map of the newly discovered territory. They know now that down across the center of Europe, between Germany and Russia, stretches a zone of little nations—Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Bohemians, Magyars, Roumanians, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Greeks. At the beginning of this war, not one of these nations, save Bulgaria, was wholly independent. All the others had country men in bondage, like the Serbs, or were entirely submerged, like the Bohemians and Poles, or had traded liberty for the chance to play petty tyrant at the expense of still weaker neighbors, like the Magyars.

In a word, the zone of small nations was likewise the slave zone, the prison house of Europe; and the war has assumed the character of a crusade to knock off the fetters and let the oppressed go free. This much progress, at least, has been achieved, that the problem is now partly understood, and that the imprisoned peoples have only a single jailer—the Pan-German empire. But it is to be feared that in America, the factors which make this war of liberation

not only righteous but compulsory are still imperfectly grasped.

The liberty of the little nations is necessary to our own peace, freedom and safety. That is the last remaining discovery which the American people must make.

Long before the white men went there, the natives of India caught wild elephants in snares, trained them, and then used them to catch other wild elephants. That is precisely what the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs have been doing with the free peoples of Central Europe for almost as long a time. When the war broke, Germany commanded the services, the treasure and the blood of 6,000,000 non-Germans within her own borders and of 40,000,000 non-Germans in Austria-Hungary. Turkey and Bulgaria added 27,000,000 serfs and allies to the list of Pan-German subjects, the conquest of Poland, Finland, Lithuania and the Ukraine increased the number still

farther, till today, the kaiser's will is law to more than 200,000,000 people, only 73,000,000 of whom are Germans, and only 94,000,000 of whom are Germans, Magyars, Bulgars and Turks.

Give him time to organize this vast population, crush out their national cultures and school them to blind obedience, and the kaiser will rule the world. In sheer self defense, we must break his grip and free his slaves.

The little nations of Europe are the outposts of our own liberty. We must see that their own freedom is made secure. It will be the hardest task ever set for modern diplomacy, but it can be accomplished—because it must. Our own fate is bound up with the fate of the little nations whose very names were unfamiliar to us a few short years ago, and as we deal with them, so will the future deal with our own nation.

Progress of Rebellion in Bohemia

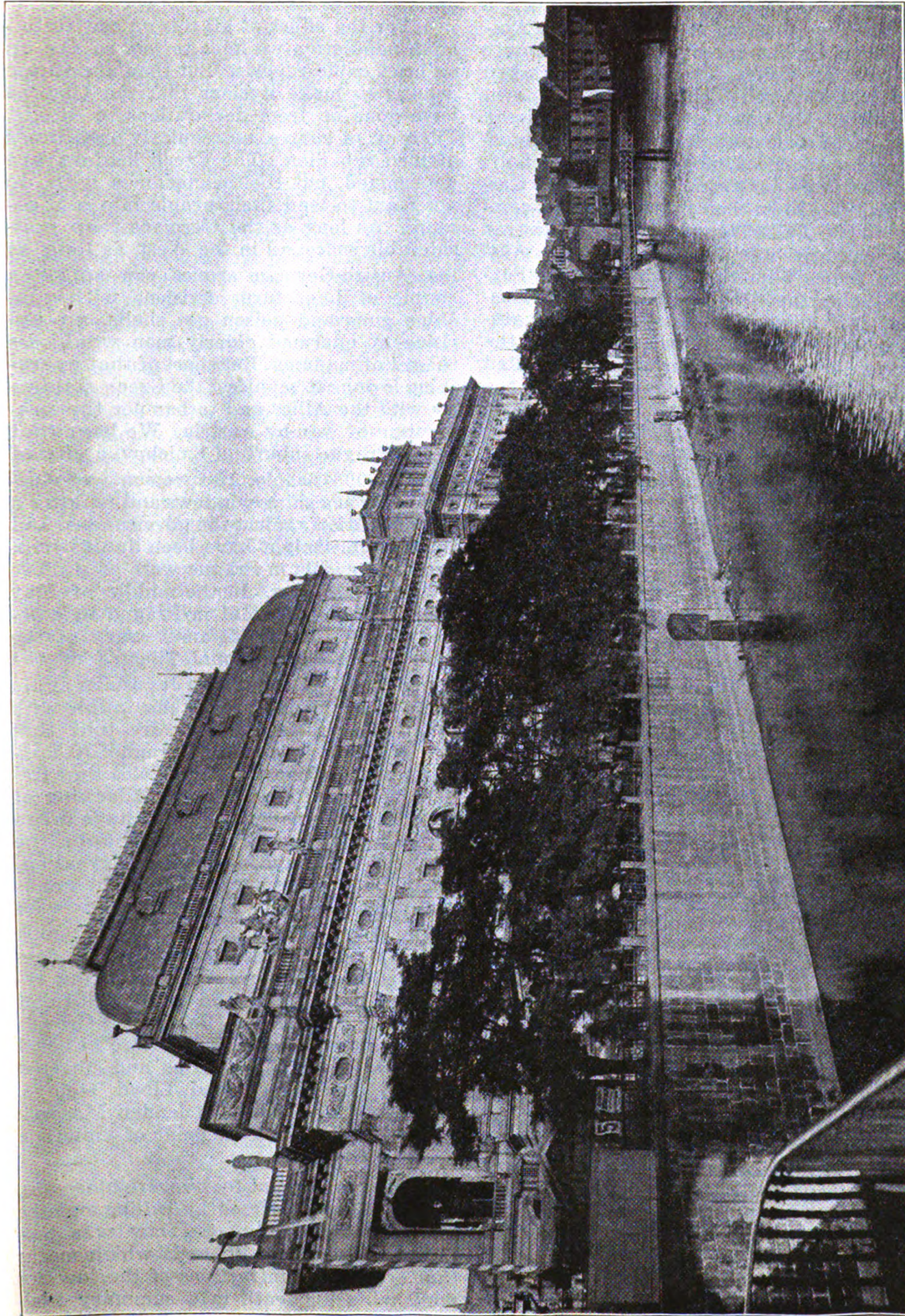
The situation in Bohemia has reached a stage where it may be best described as open rebellion against Austria. Martial law rules in Prague, conflicts between citizens and soldiers are frequent, and war has been declared by the Vienna government upon the Czech deputies and upon the entire Czechoslovak nation.

For a long time the astute Czernin, himself a descendant of an ancient Bohemian family, but a German renegade in sentiment, had hoped to divide the people from their leaders. His last attempt was made only a few days before his fall. Speaking before the City Council of Vienna he sought to blame the failure of his peace maneuvers on the attitude of the Czech deputies; according to Czernin, Masaryk in foreign lands and men of his stamp within Austria encouraged the Entente to keep up the struggle under the belief that Austria-Hungary would break down of internal difficulties. But, added Czernin, the Czech deputies do not represent the real sentiments of their people.

An answer was given to Czernin by the Czech nation on April 13. A wonderful gathering was held in the "Representation House" of the City of Prague, composed not only of the deputies, but of delegations from the Bohemian cities and of represent-

atives of every profession, class and interest. In all the addresses rang the lofty tone of firm determination to fight for freedom till death, and the culmination of the meeting was the swearing of a solemn oath to persevere to the end. The meeting afforded an opportunity for a remarkable manifestation of the solidarity of the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs. Not only the deputies of Austrian Jugoslavs, but a delegation from the diet of Croatia, representing the Jugoslavs of Hungary, pledged their firm alliance to the Czechoslovaks in the common fight for liberation from the Austrian yoke. For days and weeks after this meeting resolutions were showered upon the deputies from the city councils of Bohemia and Moravia, from county boards, from societies and corporations of all kinds, assuring them that they had the people back of them and urging them to go on with the fight. These resolutions ranged from that voted by the City Council of Prague to one adopted by the Bohemian colony in Berlin.

The fall of Czernin and these manifestations of absolute unanimity in Bohemia coincided in point of time with the German successes in Picardy and Flanders. They no doubt coincided also with the exertion of pressure from Berlin on Vienna. At any rate, since the middle of April, even



Bohemian National Theatre at Prague, Where the Wealth and Blood of Bohemia Were Pledged to Fight for Liberty.

prior to the meeting of the emperors, Austrian policy has been governed absolutely by German wishes. The decision was taken that the Slav rebellion must be put down by force. The new foreign minister, Baron Burian, is a member of the Magyar oligarchy; he has no sympathy with the half-hearted way in which the Austrian Germans keep down their Slavs. With his coming to the Ball-Platz some of the Magyar thoroughness was injected into the Austrian police administration. Premier Seydler, importuned by the Germans of Austria and having his backbone strengthened by influences proceeding from the foreign ministry and from Berlin, granted one of the German demands which the Czechs had been fighting furiously and successfully for three decades. By a ministerial decree the old Kingdom of Bohemia, a historical as well as a geographical unit, was split up into districts. The population of Bohemia is two-thirds Czech and one-third German. The German scheme of splitting the country into districts means that in a district with a German majority the Czech language will no longer have any rights, Czech schools will be closed and the Czech minority will be more easily Germanized; but in the districts where the Czechs are in the majority or where they form the whole of the population, the Germans will still have all the rights of the Czechs in addition to the privileges of the race that has a decisive influence in the affairs of the state and whose language is the language of the state administration.

It is noteworthy and illustrative of the lawless condition of Austria that this important measure, for more than a generation hotly contested in parliament, has been put into effect by a simple ministerial decree. Of course that is strictly illegal, even with the help of the famous paragraph 14 of the Austrian constitution, and it makes it certain that the Vienna parliament which is to meet in the middle of the present month will have to be sent home and a regime of absolutism, no longer masquerading under parliamentary forms, will be inaugurated in Austria. The Czechs are sure to have the support of the Yugoslav, Polish, Italian and Roumanian deputies in their attack upon the government, and with the majority of the people's representatives against him Seydler will be compelled to govern without the Reichsrat.

For the effect of all this on the Bohemian population we have to rely so far on on brief cable reports. But they announce enough to make it clear that the Czechs have gone on from declarations to deeds. There is, of course, no regularly organized armed rebellion. The Czech leaders are determined, but cool-headed men who do not want to lead their people into a massacre. As long as the Germans reap considerable successes in the West, as long as the Austro-German armies can spare a couple of Landsturm divisions with machine guns and poison gas shells, an uprising of unarmed elderly men would be the act of madmen. But short of that everything is done to manifest the Czech solidarity with the Allies and to hamper the prosecution of war by Austria. We hear that in the Prague suburb of Smichov, a city of some 80,000 people, 150 women were arrested for smashing windows and making a demonstration against the government. But that possibly might have been due to hunger. The events in Prague were of a more political character. In the middle of May a celebration was held in Prague in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National Theatre of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The Jugoslavs again came to Prague to prove their union with the brother Slavs, and we are told that there were delegations in Prague of Roumanians, Austrian Russians, Poles and Italians. Detailed reports are still lacking of the scenes of emotion that must have taken place in that beautiful building upon the banks of the Vltava, as Smetana's great opera "Libuše" was sung foretelling the greatness of free Bohemia and as speeches were made denouncing the Austrian tyranny. The cable dispatches tell that several deputies addressed the gathering urging resistance to the end and the sacrifice of wealth and blood for Bohemia. Crowds parading through the streets wore national colors of the entente states and cheered Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and above all their own leader Masaryk who from the Austrian point of view is a condemned traitor.

The government took severe measures. Crowds were dispersed by calling out the Magyar garrison; martial law was proclaimed throughout Bohemia which means that even slight infractions of the law are punishable by death in a summary trial.

The Yugoslav deputies were driven out of Prague, and the great Czech daily, the chief mouthpiece of the deputies, "Národní Listy", has been suppressed. The state of war exists in Bohemia between the Czech nation and the Austrian government.

While the Slavs are attacking Austria's integrity from one side, the Germans of Austria work for the same end from another direction and with very different motives. We read of meetings in Silesia, Styria and even in that pre-eminently Hapsburg province, the Tyrol, voting resolutions in favor of closer union with Germany. The tendency among the Germans of the Alp provinces, and of the Bohemian lands as well, is ever stronger for the incorporation of Austria into the German empire as one of the federal states, with certain special privileges, such as are reserved to Bavaria. And a long step toward the realization of these ambitions has been taken at the recent meeting of the two emperors. A treaty has been agreed upon providing in effect that for the next twenty five years the Austrian army shall be under the control of Germany. Can any sensible man still believe in the possibility of separating the Hapsburgs from the Hohenzollerns or setting up a strong Austria as a counterpoise to Germany? Whether the continued postponement of the Austrian offensive against Italy is due principally to the really desperate food situation of the empire, or to the fear of disaffection among the Slav and Latin troops, it is difficult to decide. It seems likely in any event that the Austrian command will not commit itself to a general offensive, until its own divisions are strengthened by reliable German troops. In the meantime not only the Czechoslovak and Italian conscripts, but Roumanians and Yugoslavs as well go over to the Italian side, whenever there is opportunity. The Czechoslovaks especially by their splendid soldierly qualities and by their matchless bravery and patriotism have won much praise from their Italian and other Allied friends.

On May 25 there took place at Rome the dedication of the flag of the Czechoslovak army. The flag has the Bohemian colors, white and red; on one side are the figures 1620 (the year of Bohemian downfall) and 1918 (the year of Bohemian rebirth), on the other side are the shields of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. The presentation of the flag to general

Graziani, commander of the Czechoslovak army in Italy, was an imposing military ceremony. Speeches praising the Czechs were made by the mayor of Rome and by premier Orlando on behalf of Italy, and by Col. Štefanik on behalf of the Czechoslovak revolutionary government. It is an indication of the attitude of the American government that Ambassador Page took part in the proceedings and ended his speech by saying: "God of freedom and justice grant you victory." Another great honor was conferred upon the Czechoslovak soldiers at the celebration of the third anniversary of Italy's entry into the war. A regiment of this army was brought to Rome to serve as the guard of honor to the King of Italy and the Prince of Wales.

When the offensive does come, whether it is started by the Austrians or by the Italians, the Czechoslovaks will give a good account of themselves, and so will other corps of former Austrian soldiers that are now being formed on the Italian front. The oppressed races of Austria-Hungary, fighting against tyranny from within and from without, are destined to give the decrepit old empire its deathblow and thus shatter the Pan-German dreams of Central Europe as the stepping stone to a world empire.

Charles lied. He wrote to his brother-in-law, Sixtus de Bourbon, asking him to tell President Poincaré that for the sake of making peace he was willing to support in the strongest manner possible the just claims of France to Alsace and Lorraine. Later he wrote William the Damned that he had never done any such thing, but had always been heart and hand with Germany in holding fast those provinces.

Why not? The Prussian princes, the Crown-Prince himself foremost, have been looting the plate and jewels and other treasures of French dwelling houses which their troops have sacked. If Hohenzollern princes of the blood royal may be thieves, may not a Hapsburg Emperor be a liar? The German emperor has again and again shown himself a liar. Has not an Austrian equal privileges? Surely a Hapsburg is not to be outdone by a parvenu Hohenzollern. Then there was Bismarck who falsified dispatches in order to provoke war and boasted of the deed; and who connived at an attempted assassination of the Russian Czar in Paris in order to make bad blood between Russia and France and boasted of that. Why, in the name of the infernal Father of Liars, should Charles not lie; and why should we expect anything but treachery from the Huns and their allies? When Prussians sing "Heil dir im Siegeskranz", surely Austrians must be permitted to respond with their national anthem "Gott erhalte Karl den Lugner."

The North American Review's War Weekly.

Congress of Rome

Secretary Lansing's announcement that the government of the United States had followed with great interest the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, held in Rome in April, has called the attention of the American people for the first time to an event of first class importance. Representatives of the Slavs and Latins of Austria-Hungary met in Rome on April 8 under the auspices of the Italian government and agreed upon a common program which has since received the endorsement of all the Great Powers opposed to the Central Empires.

The world has heard a great deal since the outbreak of the war of the aspirations of the Poles, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs for independence. It is well known that Italy and Roumania entered the war principally to liberate people of their race from German and Magyar oppression. Each of these peoples has carried on a propaganda within the Allied countries with the aim of gaining the support of the statesmen and the people of the West for their cause, and each of them has waged war against the common enemy in ways ranging from sabotage and parliamentary obstruction to desertion en masse and organization of deserters into complete armies. But up to recently each of these oppressed nations carried on its campaign independently of the others. They had a common enemy and a common aim, but it took nearly four years, before they got together and agreed upon a common campaign. The Congress of Rome, like the February meeting of the Allies at Versailles, marks an important step in co-ordinating the great forces opposed to Central Europe.

For more than a year before the realization of the Congress there have been occasional conferences in Paris between the representatives of the various oppressed nationalities and the inter-allied parliamentary commission. Steps were taken in common to combat the frequent Austro-Magyar intrigues, and the desirability of a league of nations oppressed by the Hapsburgs was assented to by every one. But there were many obstacles in the way. It has always been the ruling principle of the Hapsburg emperors to hold together their various peoples by sowing dissension

among them, and so these races were not used to co-operation. The Czechs and the Yugoslavs were ready for close alliance. But the Poles had a different viewpoint; their chief enemy was Germany, while Austria had treated their race rather well so that the Austrophil element among them had always been strong. The most serious obstacle to the union was the quarrel between the Italians and the Yugoslavs about the division of the Adriatic coast among these two races. Austrian influences were all the time at work to keep alive and increase the differences between Italy and the South Slavs.

The failure of the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary to unite was a serious obstacle to their separate campaigns. Their chiefs in Paris and London and Rome were met with the objection: "How can you claim the right of self-determination, when you are unable to agree among yourselves? We do not intend to break up Austria merely to have the liberated nations fall upon each other, as the Balkan nations did after their victory over Turkey."

Early this year the situation cleared up. The developments in the East—the total collapse of Russia with German occupation of all its western provinces, the loss of the Cholm province to Poland and the complete subordination of Austria to Germany—convinced the Poles that they must take a stand against Austria just as definitely as against Germany. In Italy the searching of hearts after the great defeat of November caused a great change in the tone of public opinion. The jingoes were silenced and a conciliatory attitude was manifested in the press and on the platform towards the claims of the Yugoslavs for the inclusion in their state of Adriatic territories which were mainly Slav in language and sentiment.

During the month of February, 1918, the Italian under-secretary of state Gallenga visited Paris, and the occasion was used by the French friends of the Austrian Slavs to call together a conference of the representatives of these nations at which the decision was taken to hold a congress at an early date either at Paris or Rome. In March Italian deputies returning from the Inter-Allied Labor Congress in London in-

vited in the name of the Italian people the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary to meet at Rome in order to agree upon common action there against the common oppressor.

The delegations that gathered at Rome on April 8 were composed of the leaders of the various Slav and Latin nationalities engaged in rebellion against the Hapsburgs. The Italians, of course, as one of the subjugated nationalities of Austria, had a strong delegation, composed of a number of senators and deputies. The Czechoslovaks were represented by Col. Štefanik, Dr. Beneš, Gabriš, Hlaváček, Osuský, Papirnik, Sychrava and Lieut. Seba. Professor Masaryk was at the time sailing across the Pacific on his way to the United States, but the vice-president and secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris spoke in the name of the revolutionary Bohemian government. The Yugoslav delegation included Mr. Trumbich, president of the Yugoslav Committee of London with several of his co-workers, and a large delegation from the Serbian Skupština (parliament). The Polish delegation spoke in the name of the Polish Council of Paris, which like the Czechoslovak National Council enjoys the recognition of the Allies and disposes of an army. The Roumanian delegation included a senator of the kingdom and several professors. In addition to these spokesmen of the oppressed nationalities there were present for France M. Franklin-Bouillon, former minister and chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the French chamber, M. Albert Thomas, former minister of munitions and the powerful labor leader, and MM. Fournol and de Quirelle. For England there were present Wickham Steed, foreign editor of the London Times, and R. W. Seton-Watson, whose writings on Austro-Hungarian problems carry great weight in America as well as in England. Senator Ruffini was selected for president of the Congress.

For a week Rome and all Italy centered their attention on the Congress. The majority of senators and deputies, authors and journalists innumerable and most public men attended the sessions. The labors of the gathering were directed at four points: the construction of a common platform, anti-Austrian propaganda, the question of prisoners of war and civil residents of Allied lands, who are members of the

oppressed races of Austro-Hungary, and finally a united organization of all these races and the preparation of the next Congress at Paris.

The platform approved unanimously by all the nationalities participating reads as follows:

"Representatives of nationalities subject completely or partly to the domination of Austria-Hungary, Italians, Poles, Roumanians, Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs, declare that they agree upon the following principles for their common action.

1. Each of these peoples proclaims its right to the establishment of its nationality and national unity or to its completion, and to the attainment of full political and economic independence.

2. Each of these peoples recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy an instrument of German domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its aspirations and its rights.

3. The Congress therefore recognizes the necessity of a common struggle against common oppressors in order that each people may attain its complete liberation and its complete national union in its own free state."

The second part of the resolutions consisted in a statement of principles on the basis of which an agreement was reached between the Italians and the Jugoslavs. Its substance is that both agree to settle their differences by application of the principle of nationality and the right of each nation to self-determination and that the rights of racial minorities shall be protected.

It may be added that of all the races represented at the Rome Congress the reception extended to the Czechoslovaks was most flattering. Premier Orlando in his speech referred in terms of highest praise to Col. Štefanik and the eagerness of the Czechoslovak prisoners of war to fight against Austria, and the speech of Dr. Beneš on behalf of the Bohemians was received with storms of applause.

The deliberations of the Congress of Oppressed Austro-Hungarian Nationalities made known the desires of the people most directly interested as to the disposition of the Hapsburg monarchy. The governments of the Allied countries gave their official sanction to the program reached in Rome. Premier Orlando in addressing the Congress assured the delegates of the sym-

pathy of the Italian Government and his hope that they would reach complete victory. M. Franklin-Bouillon expressed the full sympathy of the French Government with the aims of the Congress. Since then Lord Robert Cecil, the English minister of blockade, upon the occasion of the third

anniversary of the Italian entrance into war, declared that his government left the solution of the Austro-Hungarian problem to the nations and populations concerned. And now Secretary Lansing, speaking expressly for President Wilson, adds the approval of the American government.

Bohemians in the Third Liberty Loan

By Vojta Beneš

Secretary, Bohemian National Alliance.

Before the Third Liberty Loan campaign opened, committees were organized in Chicago and several other cities with a large Bohemian population to ensure that citizens of Bohemian birth did their share in furnishing the government with the money needed for the prosecution of the war. The Bohemian National Alliance, the principal organization of the Czechs in America, put forth its whole influence on behalf of the loan and in particular saw to it that the smaller scattered settlements of Bohemians did their duty. Speakers were sent out from the headquarters and from the district centers to urge upon every man of our race that he had a double motive to contribute liberally to war funds—as a loyal American and a son of Bohemia. It is possible now to give some idea of the participation of our people in the loan.

I have at hand reports from about 100 Bohemian settlements. I left purposely aside figures from the larger cities, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Omaha, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Detroit, Baltimore, Cedar Rapids, Pittsburgh, etc. The figures which are the basis of my calculation are from small mining centers and from remote farmer settlements.

One hundred of these communities of Bohemian immigrants reported 7701 subscriptions. It is necessary to keep in mind that in the very nature of things my statistics cannot include all the subscriptions made by our people even in these settlements, for the subscriptions of many did not pass through the hands of our committees. Bohemians did undoubtedly better than figures given here indicate. The total amount subscribed by these 7701 individuals was \$1,154,150, an average of approximately \$150 to a subscriber. There are many variations between different states.

Take Texas with some 100,000 people of Czech descent, mostly immigrated from Moravia. Some of our people there own their own farms, but more are renters. Last year was a year of poor crops in Texas—some of the counties inhabited by Bohemians had a poor crop of cotton, some had a total failure. Places like Bucholts, Cameron, Holland, Ennis, West and other Bohemian settlements, did not raise enough to support the farmer and his stock. But when the government issued its third loan and when the Bohemian National Alliance made its special appeal, these poor renters tried to do their share. I have a letter telling how our people who had a failure of crops last year went to the banks at Shiner and other places and borrowed money at six per cent, so that they might buy bonds paying 4½ per cent. Reports from 28 Texas communities give a total of 3103 subscribers buying \$320,000 worth of bonds. This covers hardly a sixth of the total number of settlements in Texas, so that a conservative estimate of what the Bohemians in Texas did for the third loan would be two million dollars.

Now from a farming state let us look at Pennsylvania, a mining state, as far as our people are concerned. The Bohemians there are largely socialists. They were coal miners in Bohemia, exploited victims of German capital. But while so many of them are socialists for economic reasons, they are anything but German socialists and they abhor the stand of the American Socialist party as to the war. They have been most zealous supporters of the Bohemian National Alliance in its work of liberating Bohemia from German domination and they proved their sentiments in the Liberty Loan campaign. I have figures for nine of these coal mining settlements; 4789 men subscribed \$54,000, an average

of about \$114 to a person. I know my people in Pennsylvania. I have been through all their settlements several times, and I am sure that not ten per cent failed to buy a bond.

In seven Bohemian colonies in Minnesota 430 farmers bought bonds to the extent of \$144,250. That is an average of \$335, showing that our people there are comparatively well off. In Nebraska our farmers from ten settlements for which I have figures subscribed \$121,500 which makes an average of \$309 to each of the 393 individuals. In South Dakota apparently the Bohemian farmers have the most money; in two districts 256 of them gave the government \$80,950, an average of \$460.—Everywhere the Bohemians did better than they were asked to do. In Wisconsin county committees invariably found that townships with population of Bohemian descent subscribed two hundred and three hundred per cent of their quota. And in Chicago they landed first after a hot contest among a large number of foreign races, several of which were both numerically and financially stronger.

To sum up my figures: If 100 settlements for which incomplete figures are available subscribed \$1,154,150, then the 600 settlements may be conservatively allowed a total of close to ten million. Add to it the few large Bohemian settlements in the cities — six million from Chicago alone—there would be at least ten million more. The share of our people in the Third Liberty Loan may be safely placed at twenty million dollars.

Now that is about half a per cent of the total amount subscribed, and Bohemians number just about half a per cent of the entire population. One would think that the Bohemians did just about their share and no more. But that would be a very superficial estimate. To size up properly the situation, one must have regard not merely to the population, but to the wealth. I do not know, how much of the total sum subscribed was bought by banks, industrial concerns and corporations in general, but it was a considerable proportion of the whole. No part of that vast sum, of course, goes to the credit of the Bohemians. And even when subscriptions by individuals are used as a basis of comparison, no one doubts that the average wealth of the Bohemian immigrant, if one may speak of wealth at all in connection with him, is

far below the share of the average citizen. We have no millionaires among us; the great majority are either ordinary workmen with a few prosperous business men, or small farmers and renters. I doubt, whether all that our people in this country possess amounts to one tenth of one per cent of the national wealth of the United States. The truth is that the Bohemian migrant in the United States gave the government not a part of his surplus wealth, but what he managed to save on his living expenses and perhaps on what he earned in excess of his former earnings by working harder. His heart is in this war and he is resolved to give everything and to do everything in order that our cause may win.

After such a record of loyalty it is a counterclimax to have the Governor of Iowa with its large Bohemian population issue a proclamation prohibiting the use of any foreign language in the state, except in the bosom of one's own family. Governor Harding would condemn the immigrants who come here to a mere animal existence. The majority of them on account of age and the imperative requirements of their arduous daily toil cannot acquire command of English. The Iowa statesman would not allow these people to read newspapers, would not let them use the telephone, go to church or to a meeting where they would hear an address in the only language they comprehend. That is not Americanization, that is Prussianism. America has no cause to worry about the loyalty of most of the races that come here, surely not of the loyalty of the Bohemians. Children that grow up here are Americans, and their parents could not, even if they wanted to, make anything else of them but Americans. And if the older people cannot forget the land in which they were born and where they spent the happy days of childhood, if they are unable to master a strange speech, is it in harmony with American ideals to repress them, to place fetters on men and women who by their acts have shown to be more loyal to the cause of America than the English-speaking Americans?

I cannot believe that Governor Harding represents the true spirit of America or that he will have imitators.

*Have you subscribed for the second volume of the Bohemian Review?
One Dollar per year.*

The National Assembly of Prague, April 13, 1918

The Journals which refer to this memorable meeting have not been allowed by the Austrian Government to be sent abroad. The Czechoslovak National Council has nevertheless succeeded in securing a copy of "Lidové Noviny" of April 14th, which throws some interesting light on and gives details about this meeting.

"Yesterday at 10:45 the 23 Yugoslav deputies arrived with some journalists and four ladies. They were welcomed by a large crowd outside the station. The Croatian deputies included all the deputies of the Starčević party and deputy Kresić as the official representative of the Serbo-Croatian Coalition in the Croatian Diet, which has not up to now endorsed the policy of the Yugoslav declaration. Deputies Pribicevic and Budusavijevic came also to Prague. The Slovenes were represented by Dr. Korošec, who arrived on the previous day with the president of the Czech Union, Staněk.

Some delegates to the Conference arrived at 8 o'clock and at 10 A. M. the large Smetana Hall of the Representation House in Prague was quite full: There were deputies to the Reichsrat and to the Diets of the Bohemian lands representing all parties. Only the Slovaks could not for obvious reasons attend. There were representatives of the Czech University, of both Czech High Technical Schools, of the Academy of Arts and Science, local governments, important educational and economic corporations so that all the parties and classes were as completely represented as never before. The galleries, too, were full up, and the space for the Orchestra was occupied by the Opera Choir. When the Yugoslavs entered, they were greeted with loud cheers.

At 11 o'clock the Choir opened the meeting with the Hussite hymn "Ye Who Are God's Warriors", while the whole Assembly rose from their seats. Deputy Staněk delivered the opening speech whereupon the Czech author Jirásek delivered the main address. A great storm of applause greeted the old master and was repeated when he sat down again. It was a historical speech, but there could not have been a more political speech than these calm, hearty and sincere words of this writer of historical novels. No historical review could be more timely and more inspiring for the future. The impression was

tremendous and both the speech and the appearance of the old master inspired the whole meeting. Unlike the professional politicians he delivered a speech of national prophecy, and his words bore the impression of wisdom and prophetic enthusiasm. And when he read the oath of fidelity and the whole Assembly rose to take the oath, such enthusiasm and exultation prevailed that every one felt that it was one of the most sacred moments in Bohemian history, and tears were standing in many eyes.

Immediately afterwards, under the impression of Jirásek's speech, the Assembly sang "Bývali Čechové" (The Czech Heroes of Yonder...), and a feeling of brotherhood overcame them. The Croatian Deputy Pavelić then delivered a Croatian speech which every one could easily understand and which was enthusiastically received. The enthusiasm grew still stronger when Dr. Korošec rose to speak and added a Yugoslav Oath to the Czech one, saying that the fate of the Czechs and Slovenes is the same, and that nothing could divide their brotherhood of race and suffering. Thereupon the Choir sang the Croatian Anthem "Ljepa Naše Domovina."

After Korošec spoke Dr. Kramář and Habermann, the President of the Czech Social Democratic Club, who declared in the name of his party that they would faithfully stand behind the nation in its struggle for a Czech-Slovak State. He paid a tribute to the Hungarian Slovaks, who could not be present owing to the Magyar terrorism, although they surely were present in spirit. The choir then sang the Slovak Anthem "Nad Tatru sa Blýská."

After deputy Klofáč had spoken about the Czech women and mothers whose name Count Czernin abused, deputy Staněk then closed the meeting. The Assembly then sang the Czech National Anthem "Kde domov můj?" and the delegates went home.

In the street they were received with ovations by the people, especially Jirásek and the Yugoslavs who were followed by the crowd to their Hotel "Zlatá Husa" on the Venceslas Square. From the balcony of this hotel the Croatian deputy Radič was obliged to speak to the people. The whole manifestation went off in absolute order, thanks to the efforts of the organizers, Švehla and Kvapil.



"Representation House" of the City of Prague
and the Powder Tower.

THE TEXT OF THE SPEECHES.

The president of the Czech Union, Deputy Staněk who opened the meeting, spoke as follows:

"We heartily welcome our dear Jugoslav brothers, our faithful comrades and fellow-combatants, Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. They came to Prague again to show their solidarity with us and to encourage us and themselves in the light of common enthusiasm for our common cause, common ideals and common aims. Be welcome in the name of the whole nation! The whole Jugoslav nation is our faithful ally and will remain so in all sufferings until we have attained our aim. While the mild winds are beginning to blow around the earth, you and I are surrounded by cold winds of disfavor. These frosts will not stop the circulation of the blood in our veins, on the contrary they will stir it up. We are no more intimidated by any threats. Dear friends! Tell your brothers in the south that today we are with them in spirit, and that we will always be with them in all suffering. Tell them that **we are fighting a common struggle for your liberty and ours,**

for your independence and ours, for your future and ours.

Gentlemen: We see here today assembled all the representatives of the Czech political, spiritual and economic life. We welcome also the women's representatives. **I welcome you all in the name of the Czech deputies as the legitimate and full representation of the whole nation.** Twice we declared our political aims and the will of our nation. Twice we declared what is the political gospel of our nation and they would not believe us. They tried to discredit the unanimous will of the nation before foreign public, **they tried to drive a wedge between the nation and its representatives in order to shake the confidence in the competence of the Czech deputies to speak and act in the name of the whole nation.** We have therefore assembled here today in order to reject once for all such attempts and to manifest solemnly that **the nation and its deputies are in complete agreement and that no power on earth will be able to shake this unity.**

Gentlemen: The man who attacked us was the official representative of Austria-Hungary, the German feudal baron Count Czernin, a man who shuns the delegations and parliamentary responsibility. He read a speech to some unknown members of the Vienna City Council which by its . . .

(Ten lines deleted by censor.)

Gentlemen: At a time when the old order is falling and nations who have hitherto been silent are rising to their independence, the official representative of Austria is still living under the impression of a fifty years old anachronism. **He knows in this empire only the Germans and Magyars, and looks on Slavs as on slaves who must be kept underfoot and whose political sentiments must be answered by a mailed fist, fetters and jail.** We turn over the dagger pointed at us and ask: "Who is prolonging this war?" Surely not the Czech deputies, but those nations in Austria-Hungary who refuse to grant the Austrian Slavs the same rights which they granted the nations in Russia. **If you give us independence you will have peace at once.** The war is prolonged by those who on the eve of great social upheavals in Europe kindle the torch of civil war by inciting the hate between the different nations of this empire and by . . .

(Five lines deleted by censor.)

The Czechs do not prolong this war. On the contrary, **we always opposed one-sided**

military alliances and advocated universal brotherhood, peace amongst nations and a league of free nations of the whole world. The war is prolonged by those who think of nothing else but how to pitch one nation against the other. Who is tearing pieces from the body of the Hungarian State? Not the Czech nation or its deputies, but the *oppressive system of Magyar oligarchy* who looked upon the non-Magyar nations as upon helots and made their life a hell. It is world humanity which is battering the fortress of Magyar oligarchy, opens the gates of Magyar prisons and invites the non-Magyar nations to enjoy the sunlight of humanity.

The responsibility for the prolongation of the war falls on Czernin and his friends, not on the Czechs, and we are proud to tell him that we are not afraid, for our conscience is clear. We did not provoke this war, we did not desire it, we did not rejoice at its outbreak, we tried to prevent it and warned against it.

(Five lines deleted by censor.)

It is 300 years ago that our tragedy began. They tried to extirpate us, they sent our best men into exile, they destroyed our literature and kept us in slavery, and yet after 200 years we woke up again and claim today our rights. *We obtained nothing without fighting for it.* We had to fight bitter struggles for every office, school and theatre. *All that we have, we have in spite of Vienna.* We therefore come before you as before the tribunal of the people. It is now for you to speak and demonstrate your will. We have no doubt about your verdict. The nation which does not despair in times of stress and stands like a single front with firmness, may march forward without fear for its future.

THE OATH.

After Deputy Staněk, the Czech author Jirásek said:

Gentlemen: We assembled in a memorable house on a memorable spot where the court of our kings used to stand. From here our great King George governed the kingdom, that "kind king" as he was called, during whose reign our kingdom became a European power again. To this court the powerful and proud Vratislav used to send Ambassadors to pay homage to him, as well as sundry German princes, seeking his favor. From this court went the famous embassy to the court of Louis XI. to gain him to the ideas of King George who, although himself an excellent warrior, hated the war

and worked for a closer co-operation of all the powers in order to bring peace to Christianity and an amicable settlement of all international disputes. Thus our Hussite politicians 400 years ago advocated the ideal of a permanent peace and disarmament which animates the world today.

A little while ago we heard a Hussite hymn, expressing the strength and courage of our forefathers when they struggled for a spiritual aim, for spiritual freedom, democracy and their country. Today we take up this legacy in our *fight for the restitution of the right of the Bohemian State and for the idea of self-determination for the whole Czechoslovak nation.* And we are proud to think that the whole nation without exception greeted with enthusiasm the declarations of our deputies of May 30th, 1917, and January 6th, 1918.

I am grateful to God that in this great, difficult moment we are all united in our faithfulness to our rights, that we are conscious of our duty towards past and present generations.

Dear friends: In you, as representatives of all classes and parties we greet the nation, resolved to a fight to the finish for its liberty and independence. The struggle is hard. We are in the midst of a terrible world war. Yet let us not despair, for we have many true Allies, in the first place our brothers, the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, whose representatives came to us today.

Fully accredited by the representatives of our nation, I ask you unanimously to swear to the following declaration:

TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION.

The terrible world war is approaching its culmination.

In awe and sorrow numberless Czechoslovak men and women are standing here.

The Czechoslovak blood has been and is still being shed in torrents.

(Ten lines suppressed.)

Unbroken, united in suffering, our nation believed and believes that the storm of the world war will ultimately result in a better future and that its humanitarian ideals will be sanctioned by a universal peace which will forever guard humanity against a repetition of the present catastrophe.

We never asked for anything but to be able to live a free life, to govern our own destinies freely from foreign domination, and to erect our own state such as every civilized nation all over the world is aspiring for. That is our sacred right. It is a national and international right of a na-

tion who has done great service to civilization and who can proudly range itself among the most civilized, economically developed and most democratic nations of Europe.

This is the firm and unanimous will of the nation:

(Ten lines suppressed).

We have assembled here today as the legitimate representatives of the Czechoslovak nation in order to manifest unmistakably that the whole nation is unanimous as it

fallen for the cause of liberty, and promise today and for all eternity:

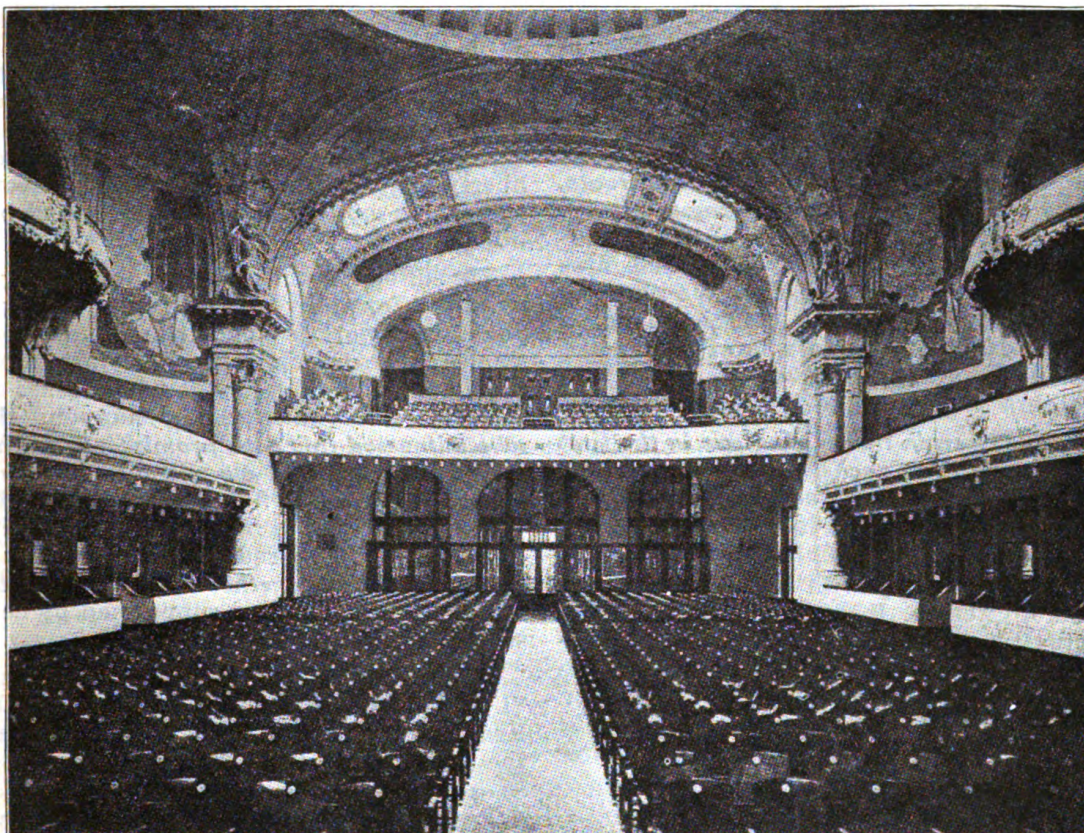
***We will hold on and will never give way!
Faithful in all our work, struggles and sufferings, faithful unto death!***

We will hold on until Victory!

We will hold on until our nation obtains independence.

Long live the Czechoslovak Nation!

Let our nation grow and flourish freely in all its lands and in the great family of nations, for the welfare of its own as well as



Smetana's Hall in the Prague "Representation House", Scene of the Great Assembly of April 13, 1918.

never was before, and that it stands like a rock behind the memorable and historic declarations of its deputies.

So we are standing here, firmly convinced of the ultimate victory of Justice, of the victory of Right over Might, of Liberty over Tyranny, of Democracy over Privilege, and of Truth over Falsehood and Deceit.

At the crossroads of History, we hereby swear on the glorious memory of our ancestors, before the eyes of the sorrow-stricken nation, and on the graves of those who have

for the welfare of the future liberated humanity!

THE JUGOSLAV DECLARATION.

After Jirásek's speech, the hymn "Bývali Čechové" was sung whereupon the President asked Dr. Ante Pavelić, deputy to the Croatian Diet, to speak in the name of the Yugoslav nation. He said:

"Ladies and gentlemen: As the representative of the united nation of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, I would like to thank you at this memorable meeting for your

hearty welcome. To thank also Mr. Staněk and Mr. Jirásek for their words of greeting.

In the first place let me declare *that I agree with everything that* was said in the previous declarations. We came to you to gain fresh strength from your solidarity for our struggle.

(Ten lines suppressed).

We Croats, Serbs and Slovenes have the same aims as you Czechs; we are faced by the same enemy who uses the same weapons against us and whom we must therefore fight also by joint force. I recall the great apostle of Italian liberty Mazzini who in 1862 addressed the Italian potentates as follows: "If you do not want or are not able to liberate and unite Italy, we will liberate and unite her without and against you." *Seventy years ago, in 1848, we Croats, Serbs and Slovenes came to Prague to save Austria, but today we have come to save ourselves.* (A storm of approval, the delegates are rising from their seats.) We came to this manifestation fully conscious that a first-rate political issue was at stake, and that it is our duty to give you as our true brothers a sincere and hearty handshake. *Minister Czernin threw his glove in the first instance to the Czechs, we declare that he threw it also to us.* We accept the challenge and would accept it, if it were addressed to you only.

I agree entirely with Mr. Staněk's criticism of Czernin. It was the height of intellectual impotence to declare the majority of the population as traitors before the world. Towards such official declaration *nothing is left to us except to close the ranks and to come forward as a single, indomitable Czecho-Yugoslav unit.*

(Ten lines suppressed.)

The Yugoslav question must not be solved partially as the question of Bosnia, Dalmatia, etc. In the same way the right of national self-determination must not be applied to Czechs and Slovenes separately, etc. On the contrary, it must be applied to all oppressed nations simultaneously and it must especially be realized for both the Czechoslovak and the Yugoslav nations simultaneously and firmly unite them indissolubly forever." (Storm of approval).

After Dr. Pavelič, Dr. Korošec, president of the Yugoslav Club, declared:

"The young and progressive nation of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs always looked with admiration upon the brotherly Czech

nation from whom we learned in the sphere of education and political economy. In politics also we often went together, and fate united us entirely, when we were oppressed as never before, when we were persecuted, imprisoned and murdered, and when our national life was in danger. We suffered together but now we also work together for the liberty of our people, of our nation. *Neither you nor we shall shirk before threats and accusations.* Both of us came to the conclusion that with the horrors of this war the moment has come for us in which we must show the world that we are worthy of liberty for which our ancestors have been in vain struggling. We felt that it was impossible that our tyrants should continue to quench our national life. We know that it was impossible for us not to obtain such liberty as would make it impossible for our enemies to exploit us economically and politically.

We suffer together, but we also struggle together for deliverance from a foreign yoke. Our work is difficult and full of obstacles. The Czech nation has just taken a solemn oath that it will never cease in this struggle whatever may happen. *We who witnessed this oath promise you in this solemn moment that we will also in future remain your faithful fellow combatants.* We want to prove that we are your faithful brothers. We suffered together, we struggle *together and together we shall also win.*

(The remaining part suppressed by censor.)

After Korošec's speech, the choir sang "Ljepa naše Domovina" whereupon Dr. Kramář amid general enthusiasm addressed the Yugoslavs as follows:

"Dear Brother Croats, Serbs and Slovenes: I was charged to thank you in the name of the Czechoslovak nation for coming to shake us by the hand at a moment when the representative of the Government spoke in pretended defence of our nation against its wicked leaders, and when the representatives of our nation reply to him by swearing that they will hold on to the end in their struggle for the independence of our nation. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for having come to us to show the whole world that we are fighting and suffering together, and that we shall also win together. We promise you fidelity for fidelity!"

After him deputy Klofáč spoke and thanked the Czech women and mothers for

their courageous and self-denying behavior.

Deputy Staněk closed the National Assembly with a speech in which he thanked the Yugoslav guests for coming, and turning to the Assembly he asked everyone to

relate about the enthusiasm of the meeting to his friends, and that the self-confidence of the people might be strengthened. And with the singing of the Czech national anthem, the meeting was dissolved.

Current Topics.

AMERICA AND HER ALLIES FOR FREE BOHEMIA.

On May 29th Secretary of State Lansing made the following important announcement of American policy.

"The Secretary of State desires to announce that the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government of the United States, and that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this Government."

On June 5th the following official announcement was made in London:

"At the Versailles conference the premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy agreed to the foreign declarations: The creation of a united independent Polish state, with free access to the sea, constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and the rule of right in Europe.

"The Allies have noted with satisfaction the declaration of the American Secretary of State, to which they adhere, expressing the greatest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czechs and Jugoslavs for freedom."

MASARYK AT WORK IN AMERICA.

Prof. Thomas G. Masaryk is still in the United States and finds so much to do here that he will stay here for some time longer. His headquarters are in Washington where he arrived on May 9. He was welcomed at the depot by a large number of senators and congressmen, chiefly members of the foreign affairs committees of the two houses, and by representatives of the French embassy, as well as by the local Bohemians. Of his conferences with the government officials, members of congress and Allied diplomats nothing has been given out to the public, but one may assume that Masaryk had something to do with the announced approval by the American government of the Congress of Rome.

After two weeks work at Washington, Prof. Masaryk went to Boston where he addressed the annual meeting of the American Unitarians, and from there proceeded to New York where his countrymen prepared for him a reception such as has never been known before in the history of the Czecho-Slovak colony in New York. Masaryk spoke to a tremendous audience that filled every corner of Carnegie Hall, and was introduced by Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Columbia University. From New York Professor Masaryk traveled

to Chicago, where in three days he had to deliver three addresses. On May 26 he spoke at the University of Chicago at the invitation of President Harry Pratt Judson; the following day he was to speak at an open air meeting to the Bohemians and Slovaks of Chicago, but bad weather compelled the transfer of the meeting to the auditorium of the Harrison High School where in a hall holding 2500 seats some 3500 people, pressed against the walls and standing in the doorways, listened until midnight to an intimate talk by Masaryk and to speeches by representatives of the Czechoslovak revolutionary organizations. The day after, May 29, Masaryk spoke on the problem of small nations before a distinguished audience in the Chicago Press Club.

On Decoration Day Masaryk was in Pittsburgh at the meeting of the American Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council. Among many invitations received by him is one by Governor Cox of Ohio to be the principal speaker at the Americanization Day in Columbus on June 14.

AMERICAN PRESS PRAISES THE BOHEMIANS.

So much has been written during the past month about Czechoslovaks and the cause of free Bohemia that we have not space enough to give a summary of it here. We shall quote briefly three editorial articles from influential publications as a sample of what the American press thinks about Bohemia.

The Saturday Evening Post is the most widely read periodical in America and probably in the world. Its issue of June 1 has the following article on the editorial page:

BOHEMIANS

The war has produced no greater paradox than this: Unnaturalized Bohemians in the United States are technically enemy aliens, because they are subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Bohemians are Slavs—not Teutons. Surrounded by conquering Teutons and Magyars, and brutally oppressed by both, their history for generations gives a record of the miseries and humiliations of a subjugated people. Their sympathy in this war is overwhelmingly with the Allies and against the Central Powers. Many Bohemian regiments, dragooned to war under the Hapsburg banner, have revolted and deserted. Other regiments have been decimated for mutiny. It is said that three hundred thousand Bohemian soldiers fought on the Russian side. Others went over to Serbia; and lately thousands of Bohemians have enrolled with Italy. Delegates who undoubtedly represented the will of a

great part of the Bohemian people declared their country independent of Austria-Hungary. The Bohemians have done about all a people so situated could do to express their hope of Teuton defeat.

It has happened, however, that many Bohemians and other sincere friends of our cause have been annoyed and humiliated merely because they bore names which were neither Anglo-Saxon nor Latin. The loyal people of the United States have plenty of real enemies to fight. Let them take care that they do not fight friends.

The Outlook, a famous American weekly, has not the circulation of the Saturday Evening Post, but it counts among its readers all the intellect of America. It says in its issue of May 15th:

"There never was more need for the expression of sympathy and for actual help for the oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary. Although, as subjects of Austria-Hungary, they are technically enemies of the Allies, these people are really the Allies' friends. By the thousands they are risking, not only their lives, but all they hold dear, for the cause for which the Allies are fighting. . . . Czechs, or Bohemians, as we would call them, have deserted in groups from the Austrian army in which they were impressed. They have sent messages across the lines to the Italians; and then the Italian guns have put down a barrage behind the Czechs, cutting them off from the Austrian rear, and then the Czechoslovaks have gone safely over to the other side and joined the Italians in fighting for liberty.

Men who do this know that if captured they will be hanged.

Such peoples deserve our sympathy and aid. They ought to be told that we are not going to stand for the preservation of the Austro-Hungarian empire, that we believe in their liberty as we believe in our own; that though they are technically enemy aliens when they are in this country, they are really our friends, and when they go to fight for our cause and theirs, they have our Godspeed."

Most of the great dailies of America have commented with admiration upon the brave stand of the Czechoslovaks. An editorial typical of many others appeared in that earliest friend of Bohemian freedom, the Chicago Journal of May 21. After referring to the riots in Prague, the editor goes on:

"The work of the Bohemians is magnificent; it is also war, and we in America must not forget our obligation to that heroic people. The reinforcements which they have drawn to Prague relieve the pressure on our boys at the front. But to give us that relief, the Czechs and Slovaks have put their head in the lion's mouth, and staked their all, not merely on an allied victory, but on the good faith and sound judgment of the allies when that victory is gained.

To leave the Bohemian people under Hapsburg or Hohenzollern rule is to hand them over, helpless, to the vengeance of tyrants who know neither mercy nor justice. No treaties bind either of these degenerate dynasties. No supervision can thwart

their hate in territories which they are allowed to control.....America must be the liberator or the slave-catcher. There is no middle ground—and of course there is no real doubt as to the role that our country means to take. But it would be well to announce our decision in terms that the dullest can understand."

CZECHOSLOVAK CAMP AT STAMFORD.

Mr. Joseph J. Fekl, who until recently acted as business manager for the Bohemian Review, sends a description of the army camp at Stamford, Conn., where he is at present stationed. He says:

The camp is located in a pleasant wooded country near Stamford. It is not intended for a training camp of recruits as are the great United States army cantonments. The volunteers get some drilling, while waiting for transportation to France, where their real military training will take place.

The Czechoslovak camp is distant about four miles from the city of Stamford and it is located on the property of the well-known sculptor, Gutzon Borglum. Near the entrance is a residential building which is now used for headquarters and reading room. Nearby is a garage. Below on the river are three barracks for the men and the kitchen. Between two of these buildings is the laundry and shower bath served by a gasoline pump. Across the river a large residence has been placed by Mr. Borglum at the disposal of the invalids of the Czechoslovak Army.

The camp is commanded by Václav Šolc with the cooperation of officers and drillmasters chosen from among the volunteers. Everything is kept spotlessly clean and the sanitary conditions, as well as the health of the soldiers, are excellent. While strictest discipline is maintained, the democratic spirit of the Czechoslovak army is evident here and all are addressed as "brother".

The men spend their days in drilling and in labor for the maintenance of the camp and the raising of vegetables. There is time for recreation. The camp library contains already several hundred volumes of good reading matter, and nearly all Bohemian and Slovak newspapers are received at the camp through the courtesy of the publishers. Men go in for singing and music, fishing, ball games, etc. Mrs. Borglum, who continually adds something appetizing to the fare of the camp, undertook to teach the men French and is pleased with the progress of her pupils.

Many prominent Americans and foreign guests visited the camp. To some of them the very names of Czechoslovaks had been unknown before: now we have in them warm friends.

Readers who have not yet sent in their subscription to the second volume of the Review are requested to do so during this month. The names of those who fail to renew will not go on the July mailing list.

If you have renewed your subscription, the wrapper will show the new date of expiration.

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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

July, 1918

*Recognition of Provisional
Government.*

The Czechoslovak Armies.

Will Austria Revolt?

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

*May Demonstrations
in Prague.*

*Cleanings from Czech
Papers.*

Current Topics.

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cile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."*

Woodrow Wilson.

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Central Europe as Austrian Slavs Plan It.

THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 7.

JULY, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

Recognition of the Provisional Government.

During the last few months the Czechoslovak cause has gained one success after another. Last winter, after the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, it was at its lowest ebb. It had been to Russia, the one great Slav State, that the Czechoslovaks looked principally in their aspirations for independence, and Russia failed them signally. The internationalistic dreamers who emerged on top out of the Russian chaos had no use for national aspirations of oppressed peoples, even though they were their kinsmen. The desertion of Russia had also this effect that the Western Allies, being greatly weakened, sought to even up the balance by alienating Austria from Germany, and as a result discouraged the radical solution of the Austrian problem and favored a patching up of the disharmony on the Danube by impracticable schemes of federation under the Hapsburgs.

And then a new champion arose for the Slavs and Latins of Austria in Italy. Rome was the place where an organization was created, opposed to the very existence of Austria-Hungary and working for a reconstruction of Central Europe on the principle that the zone of small nations extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic should be erected into a firm barrier against the German scheme of world conquest by the construction of completely independent states. The Congress of Rome was one of the means adopted for the realization of this plan, and the organization of the Czechoslovak Army in Italy, to be followed by the arming of Yugoslav and Roumanian volunteers, was another important step. Then came the adhesion of the United States to this programme, then the announcement of the Czechoslovak National Council, and Secretary Lansing's second statement clearing up beyond all doubt the attitude of the United States.

But what strengthened the Czechoslovak cause even more than these general considerations, which apply equally to all subject races of Austria-Hungary, was the splendid conduct of the Czechoslovak Army in Russia. The Allies saw that in this race they had an Ally who not merely asked for help from them, but who was able to add much strength to the cause of liberty. The statesmen of Rome, Paris, London and Washington realized that these people have made good their claim to be accepted as a bona fide ally. They possessed a body to which was given without compulsion the adherence of all the members of the race wherever scattered. The Czechoslovak National Council was recognized by the Bohemians and Slovaks living beyond the boundaries of the Central Empires as the one authoritative leader in the fight for independence. The people at home, through their elected representatives, acted consistently and unanimously in accordance with the programme laid down by the Paris Council; and while the Council does not yet control any part of the Czechoslovak territory, it disposes of armies in Russia, France and Italy, and it is composed of men whose character and political judgment is highly esteemed by the statesmen with whom they come in contact.

And so the great step was taken by France, the sincere friend of Bohemia from the days before the war. Upon the occasion of the presentation of the flag given by the City of Paris to the 21st Regiment of the Czechoslovak Army in France, the French Government, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, recognized the independence of the Czechoslovak nation as actually existing of right, and recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as its provisional government. It is the first instance in which one of the great powers of the Entente has recognized the belligerency of

one of the subject peoples of the Dual Monarchy through its authoritative committee abroad. The precedent—making declaration of the French Government is as follows:

“At the moment when the first unit of the Czechoslovak Army in France prepares itself, after receiving its flag, to go

to a sector on the front with its French brothers in arms, the French Government considers it just and necessary to proclaim the rights of your nation to independence, and to recognize officially the National Council as the supreme representative of the future Czechoslovak Government.”

The Czechoslovak Armies.

The world little realizes even at this late day that when war broke out and Austria invaded Serbia, the attack was aimed at the Austrian subjects of Slav and Latin race just as much as at Serbia.

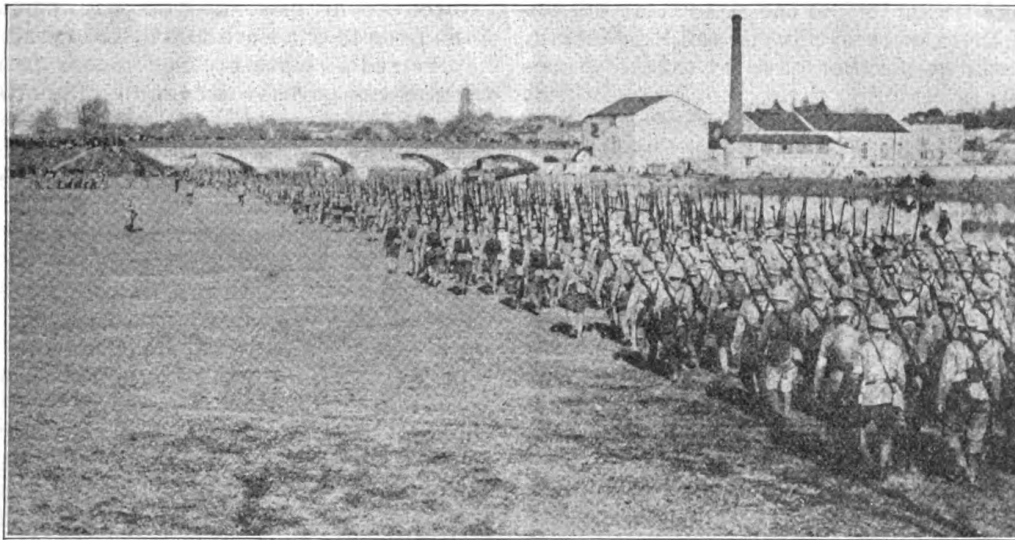
There had always been a strong realization of kinship between the Czechoslovaks, Serbs and Russians. During the Balkan wars the Czechoslovaks aided in all possible ways the anti-Turkish coalition, even by mutinying at the Austrian mobilization in 1912. And when it is recalled that bitter memories of oppression and loss of independence through German violence rankled in the hearts of the subject Slavs, it was to be expected that Czechoslovaks would desert from the Austro-Hungarian armies. Not from cowardice, but because fighting against Serbia and Russia was in their eyes high treason to their national ideals. The whole world knows now that these unwilling conscripts went over to the Serbians and Russians, and later to the Roumanians and Italians, in large numbers. How large, it is difficult to ascertain. Russian figures gave only the number of Austrian prisoners regardless of their racial relationship, but it is safe to say that the number of Czechoslovak prisoners of war in Russia alone exceeded 300,000.

The Czechoslovaks were not content to abandon the German side. They desired an opportunity to fight against their ancient enemy and to strike a blow for the freedom and independence of Bohemia. But to do so was far from easy. In Russia there had been formed at the very opening of the war volunteer detachments, composed of Czechoslovaks settled in Russia, but legally Austrian subjects. The first larger unit, numbering between 800 and 1000 men, called itself the Hussite Sharpshooters' Brotherhood and rendered valuable services to the Russians by reconnaissance work for the armies campaigning in Galicia. This

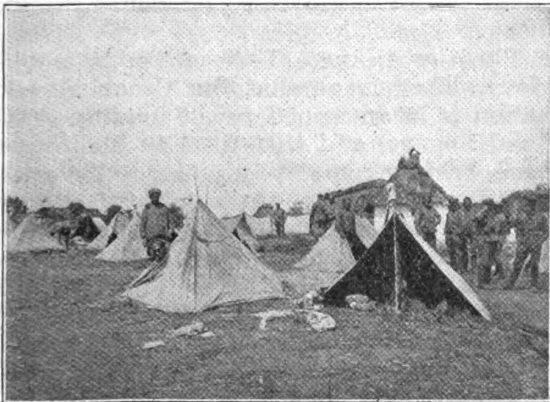
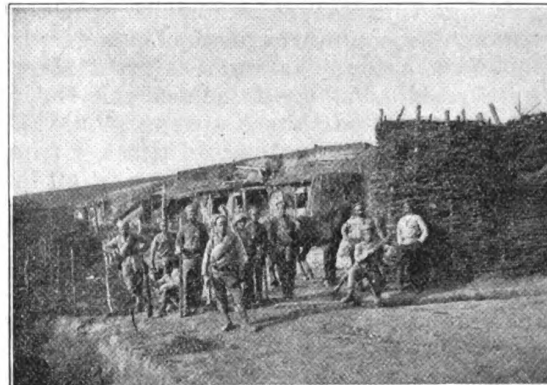
first Czechoslovak force got as far as Cracow in 1915. Very grudgingly the Russian Government gave permission to some of the captured or surrendered men to join the legion. During the year 1915 the Hussite Brotherhood grew into the First Czechoslovak regiment of John Hus, and later on there was organized the second regiment called John Žižka after the great Hussite general, and then the third, known as the regiment of George Poděbrad, the last king of Bohemia of Czech blood. During the winter of 1916-17 the Czechoslovak prisoners of war, scattered through internment camps in Siberia, through munition factories and farms, tried to get permission to join the fighting units, but the old government looked upon them as revolutionaries and the local authorities placed many obstacles in the way of these volunteers.

Kerensky himself was originally opposed to the creation of an army with a nationalistic, as against an internationalistic, program, but after the June offensive he changed his mind. At Zborov in Galicia the first Czechoslovak brigade accomplished deeds of bravery and won successes that did away finally with the hesitation on the part of the provisional government. At that time there was in Kiev depot enough volunteers to organize a second brigade. The army grew rapidly into a division and then into an army corps. This is the army that has recently entered upon its heroic march of six thousand miles through a hostile country to reach the sea and be transported to France. Since they no longer could fight the Germans in Russia, they determined to reach the front where they could be used, and not merely thrown away in a last desperate stand, against their enemies. The last reports, now two months old, gave the number of these fighters at 60,000. But there was even then 50,000 more men enlisted who had not been able

By courtesy Sokol Americky.



From the Czechoslovak Army in France.



Scenes from Czechoslovak victories in Galicia during the last Russian offensive, June 1917.

on account of the disorganization of the railway traffic to join the army. The majority of them were in Siberia and it is certain that a large number have by this time succeeded in reaching their comrades. In fact it is known that many thousands of Roumanian prisoners of war from Siberia preferred to attach their fortunes to the disciplined Czechoslovak army and go with them to France. It is not far from truth to estimate the number of Czechoslovak soldiers strung all the way from the River Volga to the Pacific Ocean at one hundred thousand.

Just how the conflict arose between them and the Bolsheviki is not yet quite clear. The policy of the Czechoslovak Council, the political direction of which is followed by the army, has been to remain absolutely neutral in Russian internal affairs. It is for the Russians themselves to decide, what their government shall be and how they will achieve a stable rule. The only aim of the Czechoslovaks is to fight Austria-Hungary and Germany. In February of this year an agreement was reached between the Bolshevik authorities and Professor Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council, that these troops would be allowed free and unmolested passage from Southern Russia to France by way of the Pacific, or by any other route that might be available. If the Bolsheviki violated this agreement at the inspiration of the Germans, as seems most likely, the Czechoslovak National Council is set free of its obligation, and its future tactics will be dictated according to the changed situation and the needs of the moment.

Not much has been said in the war reports of the fighting done by Czechoslovak volunteers, recruited from prisoners, in the Slav legion which operated in 1916-17 in Dobrudja in co-operation with the Roumanian army. Those of them who remained alive, together with some thousands of men who went over from the Austrian side to the Roumanians, have already been transported to France with a few hundred volunteers from Russia. These men were the foundation of the Czechoslovak army in France, augmented by volunteers from the United States and by drafted men of Czechoslovak race in France. Two of their regiments are now at the front.

The third Czechoslovak army is fighting on the Italian front. The number actually engaged with the Austrians is 18,000, but

the army is still growing. This army is recruited from prisoners of war who had gone over to the Serbians in 1914 and who had retreated with the Serbians in the terrible march across the Albanian Mountains; out of 30,000 men only 18,000 reached the sea. They are also recruited from the Czechoslovak soldiers who are constantly passing from the Austrian lines to the Italian and who simply change their uniforms and fight again, this time in real earnest. For fighting is for these heroes a very serious matter. During the recent disastrous Austrian offensive 300 of the Czechoslovaks were captured, and the desperate Austrian authorities hoped to stop the practice of going over to the Italian side by hanging all three hundred. The Czechoslovak National Council has instructed their soldiers on the Italian front to proceed to reprisals, and the world may be prepared to hear soon of German and Magyar prisoners of war hanged by the Czechoslovaks. One may expect that the enraged comrades of the Czechoslovak victims will make special efforts to capture an Austrian general, and if at all within the range of possibility, a Hapsburg archduke, and show the bloodthirsty tyrants that the game of hanging can be played by both sides.

If one could include the Bohemian and Slovak boys in the United States army, the number of the Czechoslovak fighters would be raised still higher. But counting only the men who stand under the orders of the Czechoslovak National Council in Russia, France, Italy and even on the Macedonian front, there are 150,000 disciplined, devoted men, an army more numerous than that of Belgium or Serbia or Portugal, an army of fighters coming close after the American, English, French and Italian armies.

The significance of these troops is obvious. They mean that the Czechoslovak nation is in an armed revolt against Austria-Hungary, and that the Czechoslovaks have broken completely and finally with the Hapsburgs. But the significance goes further than that. An army is today the main attribute of sovereignty. We can imagine a state deprived by the enemy of all its territory; Belgium and Serbia control only a tiny strip of land, but they are still real states, because they have armies. Once an army comes into being and becomes subject to central political control, a new government has come into existence.

It follows that the new Czechoslovak state already exists, and that the Czechoslovaks are not merely revolutionists, but that they are waging war against Austria-Hungary under their own standards and as the allies of America and the Entente.

It remained for the Allies to give outward recognition to this fact. Not only by recognizing the Czechoslovak National Council as a representative body of revolutionaries, but as the provisional government which it de facto is. The Czechoslovaks

should be declared officially by the Allies to be co-belligerents and their armies given a status entitling the soldiers to the treatment of prisoners of war. The Council should be recognized as the actual government of an allied nation, for such a step would be the best possible guarantee that the Allies will not accept a compromise at the peace conference on the question of Bohemian independence.

France has taken this step. Let America follow.

Will there be a Revolution in Austria?

As the papers bring day by day sensational reports of dissatisfaction and internal trouble in Austria-Hungary, the question is asked by every one: Will Austria go the way of Russia? Can we look for an uprising that will overthrow the Hapsburgs, as the Romanoffs were overthrown a year ago? Will Austria be lost to Germany, as Russia was lost to the Allies?

There are startling resemblances between the events in Russia leading to the revolution of March 1917 and the present situation on the Danube. Like Russia, Austria has been defeated over and over again, in fact far more disgracefully than Russia. Twice little Serbia inflicted a disaster on the Hapsburg armies, while the Russians and the Italians proved times without number that they were far superior to Austrians unsupported by the Germans. The morale of the Austrian army is poor, because the soldiers realize that they belong to a beaten army.

Then there is the hopeless financial situation of Austria-Hungary. The state is far more deeply involved than Russia was before the revolution. The state debt has grown from 12.5 billion to 72 billion crowns — and paper money, the issue of which amounted to 2.5 billion, is now outstanding to the amount of 23 billion. No hard money circulates any longer in Vienna, with the exception of the smallest coins; there is only paper, Geldersatz (money substitute), as the people have christened it. When the finance minister is called upon by the army to produce more money, he goes to the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and orders another issue of a few billion paper crowns. The state is bankrupt, and the citizens know it. Bank-notes may buy you luxuries, but the

necessities of life can be had only by barter.

Austria resembles Russia also in the inefficiency and incompetence of its officials. This inefficiency produces its worst results in the vital matter of provisioning the population. The analogy between Austria and Russia is particularly striking at this point. The immediate cause of the Czar's overthrow was hunger in Petrograd. Russia, could not fill the hungry bellies of the workmen in Petrograd and Moscow, and so finally hell broke loose. Austria-Hungary too, if not in quite the same degree, has been an agricultural country. The dual empire has a density of population far below that of Germany, while a much larger percentage of its people were engaged in agriculture. Yet while Germany has enough to hold out till the next harvest, Austria is compelled to reduce the rations to the point where actual starvation sets in. While it is well to accept with caution sensational reports about Austria, this much is established beyond all doubt: the people of Vienna, Prague and the smaller cities of Austria are so desperately hungry that they are ready for anything.

In all these respects Austria of July 1918 resembles Russia of March 1917. But the empire of the Hapsburgs is threatened by a danger which was absent in the Petrograd revolution, namely the hostility of the majority of the people to the state itself. The revolution of Petrograd was not caused or even contributed to, by the hate of the Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, Caucasians to the Russian rule. But the German-Magyar rule on the Danube is hated by 60% of the subjects. The Dual Monarchy is a state which the majority of its subjects desire to see smashed, broken up, divided. Czechoslo-

vaks, Yugoslavs and Italians, and in a lesser degree the Poles and Roumanians, are ready to overthrow their tyrants. German socialists and even Magyar workingmen are indifferent to the fate of the hybrid monarchy, and the army would promptly do, what the Russian army did—throw away arms and go home.

Why, then does not revolution break out on the Danube? The analogy between Austria and Russia stops here. There is a factor in the situation that worked one way in Russia and another way in Austria. That factor is Germany. The Kaiser favored the Russian revolution, because he knew that it would result to his benefit. But he is sure to use all his strength to put down any attempts at revolution in Austria. A successful revolution in Austria would mean his own downfall. The rebellious elements in Austria do not fear the army of Charles, but they are not ready to measure their strength with the legions of Germany.

Shall we then look upon the possibility of a successful revolution in Austria-Hungary as a chimera? The Allies would be overlooking a strong trump, if they did not count with this possibility. The Kaiser had made good use of smouldering elements in Russia, such good use that he came within sight of a complete victory. The Allies may make use of the tinder lying ready to their hands in Austria and build up a fire in the Kaiser's rear that will bring about a decision. It will not do to watch with folded hands the growth of discontent in Austria and be resigned beforehand to the failure of any possible outbreak. The democratic

governments must take an active part in fomenting an insurrection against the Hapsburgs, an insurrection which will result in taking Austria out of the war and opening a new way into Germany. The Allies should get busy. The Allies should take full advantage of the known hostility of the Slavs and Latins to their German-Magyar overlords. They can strengthen this enmity by pledging their word in an unequivocal manner that the defeat of Germany will bring full freedom to the oppressed. And what is equally important, they should take steps to organize the discontented elements in the Hapsburg dominions from the Adriatic to the Bohemian mountains, smuggle in arms and dynamite, and time the outbreak so that it would coincide with the expected great Allied offensive in the West. Should revolution break out in Austria as soon as Germany suffers the first defeat and will have its hands too full to spare any divisions for Austria, then we may hope to see the war end suddenly. Austria will collapse and Germany will follow close right after it.

During the last three months the Allies have taken steps by authoritative pronouncements to assure the revolutionary elements in Austria-Hungary, the Slavs and the Latins, that they would get full freedom after Germany is defeated. Whether the governments of France, Italy, England and the United States are doing anything in a material way to make the coming revolution successful, is something that we will not know, until it is all over. We sincerely hope that the governments of the Allies are alive to their opportunity.

Fine Arts in Bohemia.

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan

(Continued)

Of other Bohemian artists whose talent blossomed out through the influence of Paris the greatest are Chittussi, Hynais, Marold, Mucha and Kupka.

Antonin Chittussi is the first modern Czech landscape painter. His Italian name indicates that some ancestor of his came to Bohemia from Italy and became a Czech. Antonin was born in Ronov in 1847. After graduating from the middle school he entered the Prague Polytechnic, but in 1866 he left the Technical School and enrolled in the Painters' Academy; later he went to

Munich where he was the pupil of Anschutz, then to Vienna and back to Prague. He left the Prague Academy in 1875 with a number of fellow-students as a protest against the gross insult of the Czech people by Professor Woltmann. He rented an atelier with Frank Ženíšek, but the occupation of Bosnia put him into the military uniform and dragged him to the south. After a discharge from the army service in 1879 he went to Paris and there for the first time found himself. Up to this time he was occupied with historical paintings, never dream-

ing that a rare landscape artist was hidden in his soul. The modern French school of landscape painting opened his eyes. After the classical period which had filled imaginary vistas with antique temples and chapels bordered by beautiful trees right and left and hills and groves rolling in the background, and after the period of new romanticism which again demanded castles and ruins and picturesqueness of scenes came the modern masters who smashed tradition and fashion and forbade the painting of imaginary landscapes. They declared that a painter should put down on canvass the real scene, as he sees it through his own eyes and his individual temperament, that a painter should infuse his soul and his feelings into his immediate concepts. Thus impression becomes the main thing and a landscape must be expressed by fluttering tones.

Since 1880 when his first paintings "A scene on the Elbe" and "An evening in the neighborhood of Barbizon" received merited success in the Paris Salons, Chittussi devoted himself exclusively to landscapes and created a number of splendid paintings, based partly on what he had seen in France and partly in Bohemia. Veiled harmonies of forest and sweet melancholy of great silences of fields and meadows together with dreamy pools are the kingdom of his poems in paint. In France he makes us see the delightful coquetry of the banks of the Seine and Oise, the mystery of the forest of Fontainebleau, the bitter roughness of Bretagne; in Bohemia he looks upon the central Bohemian plains, he depicts the banks of the Elbe and the ponds of Southern Bohemia all in a clear sonorous and natural diction, accessible to every heart open to sincere feelings. In 1891 this first modern landscape painter died at Vinohrady, a suburb of Prague.

Vojtěch Hynais was born in Vienna December 14, 1853. While at the Vienna Academy he became the favorite pupil of Anselm F. Feuerbach, the first really modern Austrian artist. In 1874 he received the Rome fellowship and after he came back was granted the State traveling stipendium. That enabled him to live in Paris for a number of years. Of French masters Baudry had the greatest influence upon him by his decorative talent. Hynais is the delicate poet of the sweet beauty of the female body, and only Max Švabinský of the later artists, can equal him. Of his main works one must mention the curtain of the Na-

tional Theatre in Prague and panels along the marble stairway leading to the royal section in the National Theatre (Apotheosis of the lands of the Bohemian Crown, Peace, History and Idylls) and in the blue boudoir of the royal box (Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter), and paintings in the Court Theatre in Vienna.

In 1893 he became together with Brožík professor at the Prague Academy of Painting. His beautiful picture "The Judgment of Paris" called forth a stormy criticism from the Prague clericals, just as recently Polášek's "Sower" stirred up the false shame of Chicago's hypocrites.

Luděk Marold commenced his brief life of 33 years on the 7th day of August, 1865, in Prague. The following year his father, a major in the army, fell in war with Prussia and his mother with an aunt undertook to bring up the boy, who since his earliest childhood had kept on drawing. At the age of 15 he was enrolled in the Academy of Painting. In 1887 he came back to Prague from Munich and the following year he created a sensation by his picture "From the Egg Market". It is now in the Rudolfinum Gallery. I may say that I was born in this very street and have lived in this characteristic corner of old Prague before the street was demolished by the erection of the City Market; I can state that the painting is an excellent representation of the real scene. Incidentally, this was the first perfect picture of Prague streets, clear and with the right atmosphere. Even then Marold was making ready to go to Paris, where the fairy blossom of his talent burst open and gave out an intoxicating perfume. Now with a feverish activity his hand produced thousands of those delicious drawings, aquarelles, gouachos, etc., that filled the Paris newspapers and illustrated weeklies, novels and short stories, the Munich "Fliegende Blaetter" and the Prague "Zlatá Praha" (Golden Prague) and various other books. Paris cheered him, being bewitched that he, a foreigner, should so bring out the charm of the Parisienne.

Mádl well says: "Marold became the artistic reporter of elegance, charm, coquetry, attractiveness and chic of the daughters of the French metropolis; he was their devoted page, and his eyes thirstily drank in their lines, stroked their soft hair, slender waists, small feet; his ear caught the least rustlings of their silks, every exciting sound of their satin slippers. With these he filled his drawings and aquarelles. In them he de-

posited the results of his passionately hot observation and in them he noted down their physiology with a style of which only the greatest modern French artists are masters." What Maupassant, Prevost, Mirabeau and others expressed by word, Marold caught by drawing. If you will, for instance, take the splendid pictures that for three years appeared in the "Fliegende Blaetter" and later came out collectively in a special album, — an unflinching charm breathes upon you. They were all of them Marold's own conception and the Munich editor merely added the appropriate humorous text. Everything in them is real life, nature and truth—nothing stiff, nothing unreal, no imitation. Two great albums of Marold's works published in Prague fill the soul of the Czech student over and over again with pity that such a splendid talent should have been carried away so soon.

Marold died in Prague December 1, 1898. Of his other works one must mention his gigantic panorama "The Battle of Lipany, May 30, 1434", painted for the engineering exhibition of 1898. Upon this canvas, measuring 1,362 square meters, Marold created with the help of Hilšer, Jansa, Rešek, Štapfr and Vacátko, a monumental memorial of that sorrowful day which saw the fulfillment of Emperor Sigismund's words, that "Bohemians can be defeated by Bohemians only."

Alfonso Maria V. Mucha was born in Ivančice in Moravia in 1860. When we spoke of Aleš we mentioned that in July, 1886 the Munich Society of Czech Artists "Škréta", under the chairmanship of Mucha sent to Aleš a diploma of honorary membership drawn by Marold at the very time when every one was dragging Aleš down. Later Mucha travelled through Italy and Germany and returned to Moravia where at the castle of Count Khuen he painted thirty pictures for the castle gallery, a history of costumes, and sport of all period of all nations. Thence he went to Paris. A piece of good fortune, so important a factor in the lives of artists in a great city, came to his assistance. When the Renaissance Theatre in 1895 was staging the "Gismonde" with Sarah Bernhardt, Mucha was asked to draw a big poster for this play. The poster made Mucha famous over night. Since that moment Mucha took Paris by storm. The only analogy to this instantaneous success that I can think of is found in the musical field, namely the conquest of England by Dvořák. The refined

French taste was pleased by the softened tones of splendidly harmonized colors, by the new shades breathed in such a delicate manner upon Mucha's lithographs (affichés), by his original novelty of decorative curves, by his astonishing employment of plant material for every new ornamentation, by his soft and wonderfully natural poses of the belles that in spite of sweet fatigue were yet full of life, by his occasional use of the exotic Byzantine mosaic background. All this called forth instantly such an interest that no Czech artist has been given as much attention in publications devoted to art as Mucha. Let me just mention an example, four issues of the well-known literary and artistic publication of Paris "La Plume" which devoted in the summer of 1897, four issues entirely to Mucha and later published them in a special volume. From 1896 on these few Paris years of Mucha's were filled out with an almost astonishing amount of work. Mucha sent out thousands of drawings from his workshop in the street Val de Grace, a place that was a veritable conservatory revealing by the wealth of its blooms, whence Mucha derived inspiration for his ornaments. Among Mucha's productions of this period are posters for Sarah Bernhardt (for "Gismonde", The Lady with Camellias", "The Lovers", "The Woman of Samaria", "Lorenzaccio", "Hamlet" and "Medea"), for art exhibits (Salon des Cent, being the exhibit of one hundred artists where Mucha received one of his first great triumphs), for business firms (most notable of them are posters) for Job's cigarettes, for the Champennois lithographic firm, for the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean railroad, etc. — veritable piles of small works, especially invitations to dinners, menus, covers for weeklies and monthlies, business calendars, book covers, great decorative panels and book illustrations. Those of special interest here are his historical illustrations of Seignobos' "Scenes et Episodes de l'Historie de l'Allemagne", in which Mucha, after a careful study of historical costumes, etc., created a great many vivid and historically true scenes, among them the martyrdom of John Hus and the defenestration of the king's lieutenants from the windows of the castle of Prague.

The whole wealth of the sunny decorative art of Mucha's is laid open in 132 colored lithographs, illustrating or rather making up the book "Ilsée, princesse de Tripoli", in which De Flers' narrations of the

love adventures of the mediaeval *trouveur* Jaufré Rudel is overshadowed by Mucha's wonderful drawings. The original French edition was issued in 252 copies only and is unobtainable to-day, while Kočí's Bohemian edition has only black and white illustrations. All the languishing art of Mucha and the dazzling, inexhaustible fan-

tasticism of ornamentation reached their full bloom here.

Less successful is Mucha's "Pater Noster", where his art breaks upon the rocks of mysticism. The work upon which Mucha is engaged at present and the art of Kupka, now the head of the Czech colony in France will be taken up next time.

The May Demonstrations in Prague.

The fiftieth anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone for the Czech National Theatre in Prague came to be more than merely a milestone in the history of the Czech great theatre. It was made the occasion of the second congress of Austro-Hungarian oppressed nationalities, similar to the one held at Rome a month earlier. All the Slavs of Austria, excepting the Ukrainians, were fully represented.

The May meeting of 1918 was a far more representative Slav congress than the first gathering of Slavs held in Prague in 1848. Of especial importance was the strong Polish delegation, numbering 60 members. At its head were the following deputies: ex-Minister Dr. Glombinski, Count Adam Skarbek, Witos, Bojko, Wladimir Temajer, a very popular deputy and prominent painter, leaders of the Polish Socialist deputies, delegates of the two chief cities Lemberg and Gracow and of both the Polish Universities, many authors, journalists and decorative artists. Outside of the official Polish delegates of Galicia, a few unofficial delegates from Russian Poland and from Posnania managed to get across the German lines. Naturally, these men received a specially rousing welcome.

There were over 200 Yugoslav guests; 6 Slovenian deputies; 5 Croatian deputies from Austria; 7 from Hungary, mayors of Laibach and Agram; deputies Kristan and Demetrovic for the Slovenian and Croatian Socialists, a Serbian Socialist deputy from Bosnia, and representatives of various organizations and corporations and cities. There were 22 guests from Slovakland and delegates even from Prussian Silesia; only the Ukrainians and the Lusatian Serbs were prevented from reaching Prague. Of course, guests from Serbia were not expected, but greetings from Belgrade did reach Prague any way.

The most important feature, however, was the presence of Italian delegates.

Prague had always been the gathering place of all Slavs from all parts of Austria, but co-operation among the Slav and Latin subjects had been lacking, until war and the news of the Congress of Rome taught them that they must combine against their common oppressors.

The main celebration was held on May 16th in the National Museum on the St. Václav Square. It was presided over by Dr. Karel Kramář, a man who had spent two years in jail merely because he had been the parliamentary leader of the Czechs before the war. After welcoming the Slav and Italian guests he struck the keynote of the celebration in a speech, the character of which is indicated by the following quotations:

"We will not be satisfied with what Vienna graciously concedes to us. We want to be in full control of all our national life; we need no one for master or guardian; we can stand firmly on our own feet and follow resolutely after ideals of liberty and justice; we have enough strength and perseverance and fear no threats; we demand for our nation full liberty of national life, for the whole nation, including the millions of our tortured brothers in the Tatra Mountains. We demand liberty for our brothers, the Slovaks . . . The hearts of all who today all over the Bohemian lands celebrate this memorable day are full of joyful confidence that we shall live long enough to hear in our national theatre the sound of jubilee over our freedom, of the final victory of justice and right and free determination of all nations."

The Slovaks could not send their parliamentary deputies, for their have none, but they sent their most distinguished man, the poet Orsag-Hviezdoslav, who said:

"I do not come to you as an official delegate for I have not the credentials, I come as an ordinary, but enthusiastic bearer of hearty greetings of the modest Slovak branch to you, the strong Czech branch. So near are the two branches and yet so distant . . . I bring you a simple wreath whose very blossom burns with a passionate love, and lay it at the feet of Mother Prague . . . I come to

catch the spark of enthusiasm and determination that leap from your eyes, I come to pluck from your garden blossoms of hope and carry it all back home."

After him came the spokesman of the Poles, John Kasprowicz, professor of literature at the University of Lemberg, the eloquent poet of Polish democracy. He brought greetings from the entire Polish nation and assured the Czechs that the Polish and the Czechoslovak aspirations were closely united and would win.

The deputy Conci spoke for the oppressed Italian people of Austria and said:

"Nothing brings people so closely together as common persecution, which steels the character of the nation so that both you and we may write upon our shields "frangor non flector" (I will break before I will bend). When I saw with what determined perseverance you opposed unjust persecution, when I saw with what warm devotion and enthusiasm the whole nation gathered around its persecuted leaders, I realized that your nation could not die, but that its just cause would win. It is my devout wish that this may happen soon. It is the wish of the oppressed for the oppressed, the wish of the representative of a people that suffered and still suffers under heavy injuries."

For the Slovenians spoke Dr. Ivan Tavcar of Laibach; for the Croatsians Dr. Stefan Srkulj, mayor of the capital city of Agram, and for the Serbians Vojislav Šola, vice-president of the dissolved Bosnian diet. The whole tone of the speeches of which, of course, the most radical parts have been eliminated by the censor, was in favor of a new Slav Triple Alliance: the Czechoslovak, Polish and Jugo-slav States free and independent in close alliance with western democracies and in full understanding with Roumania and Italy.

After the official celebration there were secret conferences of the spokesmen of the different races of Austria-Hungary and it was decided the publish a common Slav-Latin declaration setting forth the unshakable will of these races to accomplish a free national life on the basis of the right of each nation to settle its own destinies. The declaration condemns completely all treaties made between states, when they are not based upon the will of the peoples. The delegates whose names are appended to the declaration pledge themselves to act with energy and complete harmony for the realization of their aims, and in the name of their peoples promise each other full support. The text of the declaration has not yet reached beyond the boundaries of Austria, but the world has already heard by

telegraph that during the celebration the people of Prague cheered for the Entente, for Clemenceau, Lloyd George and President Wilson, and that the police were powerless to stop the singing of the "Marseillaise". "Masaryk's shadow was present", say the German papers. Not his shadow only, but his spirit—the spirit of the revolution, the consciousness that the Allies are with them, was what filled Prague during the May meetings.

The man who was condemned by the Austrian Government to death as traitor was cheered over and over again, and the monuments, the walls and sidewalks all over Prague were marked with gigantic inscriptions: "Hurrah for Masaryk! Hurrah for Kramář! Long Live the Entente!" The government went as far as it dared. The police tried to break up the crowds and a number were killed and wounded, and the jails were crowded. The foreign guests were all ordered to leave Prague at once, the "Národní Listy" was suppressed. All that will not change the fact that the Slavs and Latins of Austria-Hungary, under the leadership of the Czechs, are in open revolt against the monarchy and the dynasty. They are opposed to the German cause and they look for deliverance to the Allies.

PREMIER SEIDLER'S MESSAGE TO THE CZECHS

From the Prague Venkov, May 25, 1918.

Count V. Sternberg, a member of the so-called Bohemian or rather Austrian nobility, had an interview with Premier Seidler and was given a message by the premier to the Czech people.

Count Sternberg says: "When I told Dr. Seidler that the cutting up of Bohemia into districts was contrary to the fundamental laws of the State, the premier declared that that was not so and that the measure was legal. He said further that after the speech of Count Czernin which had stirred up so greatly the Germans because it announced upon the very highest authority that the Czechs were traitors, the Germans would have quieted down, if the Czechs had made a declaration to the effect that:

- (1) They were loyal to the dynasty;
- (2) That they did not expect help from the Allies, but through internal reforms;
- (3) That they did not refuse to negotiate.

The premier said further that political parties doing nothing to refute the suspicion that they are looking for salvation to the enemies and that give out declarations like those made in Prague for the universal sentiment of their people, and refusing altogether to make any attempt at reconciliation, can expect nothing else but that their interests shall be passed over.

Cleanings from Czech Papers.

CONGRESS OF SLAV WOMEN.

(From the Prague "Národní Listy", May 18, 1918.)

Yesterday at 4 P. M. a great meeting was held at the Prague Representation House, attended by several hundred delegates of Czech Women's Societies. There were delegates present from Bohemia Moravia, Silesia, Lower Austria, and there were many guests, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Polish and Slovak women. In addition there was present a delegation of eight Italian women.

The memorable congress of Slav women was opened by Miloslava Sis. Following ladies were then called to the platform as vicepresidents of the Congress Mrs. Tavčar of Lubljana, Dr. Milena Gavrančič for Croatian women, Mrs. Jelena Cuk for Serbian women, Karla Modicova for the Slovenian women, Mrs. Hana Orszok Hviezdoslav for Hungarian Slovakland, Mrs. Gabriella Preiss and Mrs. Ludmila Konečná. Italian women were represented on the platform by Luisa Giacomuzzi Marinelli.

The president announced first the message of the Polish delegation whose representative, Mrs. Sophia Mereczewska of Cracow, had to leave the preceding evening, after common procedure had been agreed upon at a private meeting for the Czechs, Poles and Jugoslavs.

The first speaker was Mrs. V. Kunětická, the first women legislator in Central Europe, whose address was punctuated by frequent storms of applause; after her spoke in a temperamental manner Miss Cilka Krek. Mrs. Ljuba Ivikovich spoke for Croatian women, Mrs. Jelena Čech for Serbian, Karka Modicova for Slovenian. The Yugoslav speakers were answered by the following Czech ladies: Dr. Zdeňka Hašková, Miss Marie Gebauer, Mrs. Pavla Moudrá, Frances Plamínek, Mrs. El. Purkyně and Miss E. Mach. The address of the Slovak representative, Štefana Burjan of Lipt. Rožumberk, was received with great enthusiasm.

The deepest impression was made by the speech of the Italian delegate, Luisa Giacomuzzi Marinelli. After she finished, a great ovation was offered to her and the other Italian women. All the speeches were pervaded by the spirit of oppressed Slav peoples. At the close of the Congress the following resolutions were adopted:

"We, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Polish women, met during these memorable days that we might, upon the occasion of celebrating the laying of the corner stone for the National Theatre of Bohemia, an event of not merely cultural, but national importance, strengthen our racial consciousness, Slav reciprocity and co-operation. In 1868, when foundations were laid for the theatre, the Czech nation fought against an imposed centralizing constitution and issued its first declaration of state rights. Today, after fifty years, under far more difficult conditions, in the midst of a bloody war in which its fate will be decided, it has the courage to de-

mand more: complete independence not only of the Kingdom of Bohemia, but of all Slav nations, of all oppressed peoples.

This demand, we, Slav women, endorse; today at this reunion, we repeat it: We demand freedom that will secure for all times liberty and independence to subjugated nations and peace to all humanity; we demand freedom for all. We demand freedom for which Slav men fight on all battlefields, scattered, but united in spirit and truth. We demand freedom for which Slav women and mothers have suffered so much.

In the name of this common suffering we are today in the name of all Slav women asking for peace that would bring freedom and the right of self-determination to all nations. We declare that we will work together with Slav men for the achievement of this aim, the only aim worthy of the blood spilled in these terrible wars, the only aim worthy of our sufferings.

Having regard to the true welfare of Slav nations, we declare it to be our desire and our firm will that the freedom of Slav nations, once attained, shall not be marred by external or internal oppression, either of the nation or of the individual. We want to labor not merely for external, but also for internal liberation. We want the Slavs to be what best answers to their true nature, namely democratic nations. We want their political institutions founded upon the widest social justice and equality for all.

We believe that we work will be facilitated and hastened, if we stand together as far as the diversity of national problems permits. We declare it necessary that a firm and permanent organization of Slav women be formed through which they would communicate to each other their various experiences. We look upon this congress of Slav women as the first step toward the formation of such a permanent organization of Slav women, and as a pledge of fidelity in work and battle for the better future of Slav mothers and their children, as a solemn clasp of hands by which we unite, regardless of national, partisan or social differences, in a true alliance for good or evil."

CONVENTION OF SLAV JOURNALISTS IN PRAGUE.

In connection with the congress of Slav and Latin representatives in Prague held on May 14th to 17th upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bohemian National Theatre, there was held in the capital city of Bohemia a convention of Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav journalists. The first act of the convention consisted in taking a solemn pledge, which reads as follows:

"We, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Polish journalists gathered in Prague at a time when the bloody world war calls forth the necessity for a

new organization of the world based upon the self determination of nations, declare that we shall stand in the ranks of fighters for the liberty of nations; we shall work in complete co-operation; we shall fight together against attacks and together uncover plots; we shall together strengthen our people's confidence, confirm their will and increase their determination.

"We lift our hands and pledge ourselves with a solemn and irrevocable pledge. All that we have, and all that our ability and strength can accomplish, we shall devote to the liberation of our nations."

Among the reports made to the convention, the most interesting was the one by Dr. Antonin Hajn, on the Imperial Royal Correspondence Bureau. He said that the business of gathering news and disseminating it by telegraph was in Austria subject to a license and that the state had granted only one license, namely to itself. The Vienna Correspondence Bureau is as much a state monopoly as the sale of tobacco. That fact in itself indicates its real character and value. It enables the government to govern the public opinion within the state and exert an influence on foreign opinion. It twists news, emasculates them and even suppresses what it does not like, but it has exceeded all former records during this war. The bureau is a weapon of war by means of which the government creates an artificial mist of words and conceals by it the real condition of the Empire, both before the world and before its peoples. It is nothing but one of the means of the internal offensive of the German-Magyar system against the aspirations for freedom of the oppressed nations of the monarchy.

The resolutions adopted by the convention of journalists have been badly mutilated by the censor. From the incomplete account published in the Czech papers only this much can be cited: The resolutions condemn the unheard of persecutions of all Slav press, making impossible a free expression of opinion, compelling newspapers to publish official copy as if it were editorial matter, and punishing refractory editors with jail or with service in the army. A protest is made also against the discrimination by which German papers are assured of a supply of paper while the Slav newspapers are unable to obtain the necessary supplies and are threatened with suspension. A strong protest is also made against what the resolutions call, "the world disgrace", namely prohibition of bringing newspapers from enemy countries to Austria and the prohibition of permitting most of Slav journals to be sent even to neutral countries.

SLOVAK PAPER ABOUT PRAGUE EVENTS.

The principal, and almost the only surviving Slovak newspaper, "Slovenský Týždenník", has this to say of the Slovak participation in the Prague celebrations:

Over twenty people came from our land, but what gave special weight to the Slovak participation, was the presence of Hviezdoslav, the greatest and noblest poet not of the Slovaks only, but of

the entire contemporaneous Slav world. It was the first time that our prophet, the pride of our literature, undertook to come out publicly as the spokesman of his people. We Slovaks are not abandoned people, when poets speak for us; we are not a poor people, when Hviezdoslav is our spokesman. Ut to now our people looked upon Hviezdoslav with great respect and admiration as upon a great genius; now a deep satisfaction is in our hearts, when we realize that we have the right kind of spiritual leadership. Crowds of people in Prague, great and small, noble and common, guests and citizens, surrounded our bard with expressions of love and respect."

WHAT THE AUSTRIAN GERMANS DEMAND.

From the Prague Venkov, May 26, 1918.

The Executive committee of the German National Socialist Labor Party had a meeting in Vienna on May 21. Deputy Knirsch presided. After the current business of the party had been transacted, resolutions were adopted welcoming the closer alliance with the German Empire. At the same time the resolutions expressed the conviction of the party that only the union of the western Austrian lands, formerly a part of the German Bund, would constitute a satisfactory solution of German-Austrian relations. The resolutions further take up the decree of the Minister of the Interior, Count Toggenburg, breaking up the unity of Bohemia by erecting there twelve administrative districts subject directly to the ministry at Vienna, instead of to the governor of Bohemia. The resolutions look upon this decree as a very indifferent substitute for German demands, upon the fulfillment of which the party must insist, namely the annexation of German-speaking districts of southern Bohemia to Upper Austria, of southern Moravia to Lower Austria, and of northern Moravia and northeastern Bohemia, together with the industrial district of Moravian Ostrava to Silesia. At the southern end of the monarchy the party is opposed to all attempts to unite the South Slav districts with Croatia; it favors the union of Croatia with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Montenegro and Western Serbia and as compensation Hungary is to cede to Austria German-speaking territory in Western Hungary.

(The rest of this paragraph, containing four lines, is confiscated.)

PROVISIONING OF NORTHERN BOHEMIA BY GERMANY

From the Prague Venkov, May 26, 1918.

Wenzel Titta, president of the German National Council of Bohemia, had promised to get food for the Germans of Bohemia from the German Empire. So he proceeded to the proper quarters in Germany to get the promised assistance. Now Mr. Titta boasts in the papers about the success of his intervention and calls upon German towns to send their applica-

tions for a share of food contributed by Germany. His own report states that what he got from Germany were soup cubes, dry vegetables and sauerkraut.

It is well known that quite a number of fakers supply the consumers with all the soup cubes that anybody can want, so what is the use of going to the fakers of Germany.

The dry vegetables furnished by Germany, are really, as we are informed, dried turnips that had been for more than two years lying despised in various German storehouses without finding a buyer, because it is unfit even for feed. Now Mr. Titta succeeded in buying it for his German countrymen at 45 pfennigs a kilogram. We wish our German friends good appetite for this dessert, a worthy crown of their political success.

The other foodstuff secured by Titta is sauerkraut. Everybody knows that Austria and Bohemia have more of it than they can use and that stores are overflowing with it. Apparently there is a surplus of it in Germany and there is danger that the sauerkraut will spoil. So Mr. Titta's friends in Germany gave him the sauerkraut to get rid of him. Whether Mr. Titta himself will get rid of it is another question. Our German countrymen, it seems, did a fine piece of business.

(The rest, about 12 lines, confiscated.)

HUNGER RIOTS OF Kladno

From the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, May 30, 1918.

A sad picture of the condition of food supply in the center of Czech territory, showing how miserably the people there live and how they suffer with hunger, is uncovered by a monster process which was opened before the Prague Criminal Court on May 28th. In several of the steel mills of Kladno and neighborhood workmen went on strike at the end of April of this year. Their pay stopped, and the people had nothing to eat. At the beginning of May, when no one, the authorities least of all, was giving their condition a thought, riots broke out that spread rapidly into the neighborhood (two lines confiscated). In connection with that more than 300 persons, mostly women and children, were arrested. But in many places unfortunately the matter got further than arrests. People will remember that newspapers wrote of the defense of a flour mill and the killing of a laborer and the wounding of two others by the miller.

The first group of the plunderers just came before the criminal court: eight men, that is to say one grown up man and seven boys from 14 to 18 years old, and 29 women and girls from 15 to 50 years of age. All can read and write, all have attended school; all live, as they stated on what they earn, and out of the wages they support large families. The fathers are mostly in the army, dead or missing. They were suddenly deprived of their pay, the children could not understand it, clamored for food, no one would help them, and so they went into the nearby flour

mills to get something. When their lawyer asked them, whether they met with resistance, they said no; whether they employed force, again no. And why did they go to the flour mills? Because flour is eight crowns per kilogram (about 75 cents a pound) and even more. "Some of the men were armed with sticks and posts," says the indictment.

About eighty defendants have been arraigned in the Prague divisional court, being soldiers on furlough or otherwise subject to the military law.

RELIEF FOR AUSTRIAN VETERANS

From the Prague Venkov, May 25, 1918.

The Minister of Defence, answering an appeal of deputy Klenensiewicz and others on behalf of soldiers who had been on the firing line from the beginning of the war, declares that the number of such soldiers is much higher than the deputy believed and the Minister is unable to grant the appeal in its fullest extent, but in order that these soldiers might be taken out of the immediately dangerous zone, at least for a certain period, an order has been issued that one-half of these men, as far as they do not themselves ask to be left at the front, should be sent back and assigned to duty as instructors of new levies.

They are to perform these duties for three months and then return to the front. The other half of such veteran soldiers will go back of the lines after the first half returns to the front.

AMERICA IS POPULAR IN BOHEMIA.

While the Austrian Government is trying to stir up hate against America as the country that is responsible for the prolongation of the war by raising the morale of the Allies and their will to fight until victory, the Czechoslovak people use every opportunity to manifest their confidence in and friendship for the United States.

In the Czech papers unusual prominence is given to the lectures of Professor Karel Velemínský on America. This scholar spent a year in this country shortly before the war, studying the American school system, and is now lecturing under auspices of the most important societies of Bohemia and Moravia, such as the Society of Engineers, Bohemian Provincial Agricultural Bureau, Manufacturers' Association of Moravia, etc.

Recently reports came to this country that the name of President Wilson was loudly cheered on the streets of Prague. Since then the Czech newspapers published the report that President Wilson has invited Alsations, Czechoslovaks and Poles to take a prominent part in the celebration of the Fourth of July, and that this occasion will be used to bring into prominence the demands of the oppressed people of Germany and Austria for liberation.

Every public expression made by the American Government in favor of the Slavs and Latins of Austria is welcomed and given all possible publicity by the journalists of Bohemia.

PARIS PRESENTS A FLAG

Upon the motion of M. Ernest Gay the Municipal Council of Paris voted to present a flag to the first Czechoslovak regiment fighting alongside of the French.

The flag is made by artists from a sketch prepared by the noted Bohemian painter Kupka. It is made of silk with golden tassels and is divided horizontally into two fields: white above, red below, with a blue hem trimmed with gold. In the center is the number of the regiment and the Czechoslovak monogram. In the corner are the coat of arms of the Czechoslovak lands whose union is symbolized by four golden rings attached to the top of the flagpole instead of the usual pointed end. Underneath is tied a ribbon of white and red silk with the embroidered French and Bohemian inscription: "Paris to the Czechoslovak Army."

The presentation of the flag took place on June 30th. President Poincaré himself made an address upon this occasion in which he said: that France constituted the Czechoslovak army as testimony of her gratitude to the valiant soldiers of that race who had volunteered to serve her from the beginning of the war and had won honor and death under her flag.

"It never entered the mind of the French Government", said President Poincaré, "on the day that Austria the faithful servant of Germany's ambitions, sent an insulting ultimatum to Serbia, to

treat the Czechs who are resident in France, notably young students, as its enemies."

The President recalled that the protest of the Bohemian Diet was the only one made anywhere against Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

FROM THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

On June 11th, Mr. Outhwaite member of Parliament for Hanley, asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whether his attention had been called to the declaration of sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs, issued by the Premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy at Versailles, on June 3d; and what steps the British Government proposed to take to secure the liberation of the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs who, for pursuing nationalistic ambitions, had been imprisoned without trial by the Austrian Government.

Lord R. Cecil answered: The British Government have no means of modifying the action of the Austrian Government in this matter. These persons are the enemies of our enemies, and as such are entitled to our warmest sympathies.

In reply to a further question by Mr. Outhwaite, Lord R. Cecil stated: It will be for the liberated Czechoslovak and Yugoslav peoples themselves to determine their future status. His Majesty's Government thoroughly recognizes the many proofs given by these races of intense national feeling, and cordially acknowledge the assistance which their troops are rendering to the Allied cause.

Current Topics.

OUR CAUSE IS MARCHING ON

The Government of the United States has followed the example of its Allies, France, Italy and England, and has declared unequivocally for complete independence of the Czechoslovaks. Secretary Lansing gave out on June 28th the following statement:

"Since the issuance by the Government on May 29th of the statement regarding the nationalistic aspirations for freedom of the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs, German and Austrian officials and sympathizers have sought to misinterpret and distort its manifest interpretation. In order that there may be no misunderstanding concerning the meaning of the statement, the Secretary of State has today further announced the position of the United States Government to be that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Austrian rule."

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur J. Balfour, addressed a letter to Dr. Edwad Beneš, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council, dated June 5th, in which he says:

"His Majesty's Government, who have every possible sympathy with the Czechoslovak movement, will be glad to give the same recognition to this movement as has been granted by the Governments of France and Italy, that is to say, to recognize the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of the Czechoslovak movement in Allied countries, and to recognize the Czechoslovak army as an organized unit operating in the Allied cause, and to attach thereto a British liaison officer as soon as the need for this may arise."

His Majesty's Government will at the same time be prepared to accord to the National Council political rights concerning the civil affairs of Czechoslovaks similar to those already accorded to the Polish National Committee."

The next step which we hope will soon be taken should be the official recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council by the American Government.

PROGRESS OF CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA

Since the arrival of Professor Masaryk in the United States the Czechoslovak cause has made a tremendous progress. Masaryk has spent most of

his time in Washington, in conferences with the American statesmen and the Allied diplomats. On June 19th he was received by the President and talked with him for 45 minutes. Though official recognition by the American Government has not yet been granted to the Czechoslovak National Council, Masaryk is treated by everyone, including the highest government officials as the head of the revolutionary Government of Bohemia. In addition to that he is the commander-in-chief of the Czechoslovak troops in Russia and Siberia, the only disciplined force to be found between the Pacific and the German lines.

Prof. Masaryk's daughter, Miss Olga Masaryk, arrived in the United States after a stay of nearly four years in London. During the past year she has been practically in charge of the Czechoslovak independence campaign in England. Since she has come to this country to be with her father, she has given to the newspapers a number of interviews that set out in a novel and convincing way the claims of Bohemia to complete freedom. Miss Masaryk is, like her father, a great scholar and a noble character.

Since the work in the United States has grown far beyond mere financing of the work carried on in Europe, some personal changes were deemed necessary, in order that the campaign here might be efficiently carried on. Mr. Chas. Pergler, who established the office of the Czechoslovak National Council in Washington has been commissioned by Professor Masaryk to act as the American representative of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris. That made it advisable that another man should take charge of the Washington bureau, and Dr. J. F. Smetanka was appointed its director. Mr. G. H. Mika was placed in charge of the Slav Press Bureau which has been moved to New York and re-named the Czechoslovak Press Bureau.

BOHEMIANS MOST LIBERAL GIVERS

Appeals to give and campaigns for war funds of many kinds follow so closely one another than the average citizen is hardly able to button his pocket for as long as a day. People of Bohemian descent have proved that they are second to none, both in lending money to the government and in giving to Red Cross and war chest funds. If it be remembered that for three years before America entered the war they had been financing the great campaign for Czechoslovak independence, one would expect to see a decline in the collections of the Bohemian National Alliance.

A year ago, after this country got into the war, the national officers of the Bohemian Alliance were greatly worried over the outlook. Calls made by this country would naturally come first, and it was easy to see that they would be heavy. At the same time the Czechoslovak National Council, originally a revolutionary organization, developed into the real revolutionary government of the Czechoslovak people and its needs were multiplied. There was, of course, always the alternative of calling upon the Allied

governments to finance this anti-Austrian revolution and when it came as far as maintaining an army in the field, this course had to be pursued. But if the scattered Czechoslovaks were not strong enough to support an army, they had pride enough and money enough to support at least the revolutionary government of their native land.

It has been a pleasant surprise to the members of the Central Committee at Chicago to watch the rising tide of liberal giving among their membership—and that membership includes today practically every man and woman born in Bohemia. The greatest source of revenue, exceeding in importance even membership dues, have been the big bazaars or rather national fetes. The Chicago bazaar this year brought in over \$50,000 as against some \$42,000 last year. Even better showing was made by the smaller settlements and the farmers. During the first years of the existence of the Bohemian National Alliance its chief financial support was drawn from the cities; today the farmers give the most. So the little Bohemian farming settlement of Schuyler Neb., held a fete which netted eight thousand. In Gregory, S. D., the few Bohemian farmers collected in one day \$1,500 and in Tabor, S. D., one of the smaller farming communities of Bohemian-speaking people and practically unknown among the Bohemians of New York or Chicago, a bazaar actually crossed the ten thousand dollar line in one day.

The same spirit and the same increase in giving is manifested in the Slovak League. The bazaar of Chicago Slovaks netted over thirty thousand dollars, and the Slovak League is now taking its full share in the support of the Czechoslovak National Council.

BOHEMIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Under this title a book of 256 pages has just been published by Fleming H. Revell Company. The authors are Thomas Čapek and Anna Vostrovský Čapek.

The need for a book of this sort has been felt for a long time. Some of the pamphlets and booklets written on Bohemia have contained a short bibliographic list of English writings, dealing with the country and the people of the Czechs, but all those lists were very incomplete, in fact amateurish. The new book is a work of scholars. In all America there is no man better fitted to deal in an exhaustive and critical manner with this subject than Mr. Čapek, who, in addition to his business as president of the Bank of Europe in New York, has given years of his life to the work of acquainting America with the nation from which he sprang. His wife is well-known as a translator of Bohemian literature into English.

Mr. Čapek's book can fairly claim to be an exhaustive list of all that has been written in English on Bohemian subjects. Of special interest is the chapter "Bohemia in British State Papers and Manuscripts" for which the material has been drawn

from the British Museum collections. The book is divided into twenty-four chapters; the title of some of them will indicate the wide scope of the book. There is a chapter on Bohemian Glass, Drama, Fiction, John Hus, History, Music, Periodicals, Politics, etc.

The book is indispensable to every serious student of Bohemia; it will be very useful to all who want to acquaint their American friends with what has been written in English about Bohemia. The price of the book is \$1.50.

TO BOHEMIA, OUR ALLY!

Under this title the Chicago Daily News published on June 26 an inspired editorial which we are proud to reproduce herewith.

Prof. Masaryk of Bohemia and his daughter, Miss Olga Masaryk, have been in Washington, where they have talked about Bohemia and about Germany. We greet, we salute, the character they show, the purpose they show, for the fighting and for the finishing of this war.

According to the German code of national ethics, they have every human right, this father and this daughter, to desire the destruction of Germany and the extinction of the German name: to urge the allies to gut Germany, to partition it, to break it limb from limb, to rend it into powerless fragments. For four centuries Bohemia has lain buried by Germans. For a hundred years it has struggled to burst its grave cloth, only to be wrapped back into it by Germans. Prof. Masaryk is an exile, condemned to death by Germans. His wife, his other daughter, his two sons, are at home in the power of Germans. His friends, his acquaintances, his fellow countrymen in thousands have been executed by Germans. He speaks of these wrongs; and his daughter, who is with him, speaks of them; and they cannot forget them. And yet not once have they talked of reprisals and retaliations, of partitions and persecutions. Not once have they descended to the level of their enemies. Not once have they been German.

We welcome these visitors, these ambassadors from a nation so ancient, so new. They confirm to us the spirit which we had already surmised in the soul of the whole Bohemian people. Never again, they say, and we believe, shall Bohemia return underground. Bohemia will have victory now, in the light of day, or, in the light of day, extermination. They are ruthless for their rights. But not one inch of German soil do they demand. Not one German right, even in Bohemia, do they ask us to extinguish.

Germans, in a minority, have existed in Bohemia for ages. They will have a right to continue to exist there. The Masaryks do not speak of their extermination or of their expulsion, or even of their exclusion from any political right or from any civil right whatsoever, of office or of property or of language. On the contrary, they speak of guaranties by which those rights shall be safeguarded forever.

This is the spirit which will both defeat Germany and redeem the world. It is the spirit of America's own entrance into the war. We greet the Czechoslovak National Council, sitting at London, recognized by the Allies as the Bohemian provisional government. We greet the Czechoslovak national army, fighting on the Western front, recognized by the Allies as the army of Bohemia returned to life. We greet a new military ally. We greet a new spiritual ally.

When we look at Siberia and see the long lines of Czechoslovak armies, ex-prisoners of war, fighting their way to Vladivostok, to San Francisco, to New York, to the Western front, to hurl themselves against the Germans, we know the valor of Bohemia. When we listen to the Czechoslovak political leaders, in their proclamations at Prague and in their conversations at Washington, we know the morality, the democratic morality, the Christian morality, the invincible morality of Bohemia.

And so to Bohemia, a nation which refuses masters, a nation which refuses slaves, a nation worthily a member of the coming democratic family of nations, we give not only our hands, but our hearts.

Five Czech coal miners in Most, Bohemia, were each sentenced to 18 months at hard labor for refusing to go down the shaft on May 22nd.

Unusually late frosts damaged most seriously this year's crops in Bohemia. The Prague papers state that frosts came as late as the first days of June. In Germany which lies north of Bohemia the damage was even more severe.

Among the resolutions adopted by the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Paul was one declaring unconditionally for Czechoslovak independence. The resolution was introduced at the request of Typographical Union No. 330, composed of Bohemian typesetters.

German newspapers published a fairly accurate report of the triumphant reception of Professor Masaryk in Chicago. According to them he was welcomed by 250,000 of his countrymen. This report was copied by the Bohemian papers, and while no comment was possible owing to the censorship, one can easily imagine the feelings of elation and the eager gossip with which the report of Masaryk's royal welcome must have been received in the streets and coffeehouses of Prague.

There is no such thing, there has never been any such thing as Austrian culture. What there was, and still remains of culture properly so-called in Austria, is not Austrian, but Latin or Slavonic, and therefore friendly, and certain to make common cause with us as soon as it has been freed from the grip of the dynastic constabulary of the Hapsburgs.

—M. A. Gerthwohl in the Fortnightly Review.

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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

August, 1918

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Situation in Austria

Bold Speaking in Reichsrat

Secret of Czechoslovak Success

Civilized War Codes

Tolstoy's Fairy Tale Realized

Current Topics

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

"No lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to reconcile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."

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Gleanings from Czech Papers.

CZECHOSLOVAK SUCCESSES KNOWN IN BOHEMIA

The German papers of Vienna bring regularly reports taken from the French and English papers on the progress of the campaign for Czechoslovak independence, and from these papers the Czech periodicals of Bohemia and Moravia take over the reports, of course without any comment, and thus encourage their people in their determination to oppose their masters.

From the "Lidové Noviny" we quote two statements showing how well the people of Bohemia are informed as to the progress of the movement in the Entente lands. This paper translates from the "Neue Freie Presse" a leading article taken from the Lonton Times on the reception of the Prince of Wales at Rome. Half of this article deals with the part taken by the Czechoslovak troops in the reception. The Times article is quoted in the Czech paper as follows:

"Among the important incidents of the Italian celebration was the fact that the two Czechoslovak companies were among the military detachments which received the Prince of Wales. These men are destined to go to the Italian front. At the celebration in Augusteum there was present a group of Yugoslav officers. These represent the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary and gave the celebration a special coloring. The Times declares that the English are unjustly reproached because they act coolly towards the nationalistic aims of the Italians and other oppressed peoples of the Monarchy. Lord Robert Cecil in one of his speeches makes it clear that the British Government considers itself bound to support these nations in their fight for liberty. In the same article of the Times there is also a reference to the celebration in the Augusteum: it is stated that during the speech of the Prince of Wales one of the boxes was occupied by the staff of the Czechoslovak brigade and that a group of Yugoslav officers sat in the orchestra."

In another issue of the same Czech paper there is a report taken from the London Times, translated from the "Frankfurter Zeitung", stating that the Czech and Yugoslav movement in Austria is arousing great interest in the United States. Professor Masaryk, president of the Czechoslovak National Council, is at present in America. He is endeavoring to secure the official approval of the United States for the nationalistic aims of the oppressed Austro-Hungarian peoples. According to the Times Masaryk has convinced many prominent Americans that "Austria is the weak spot in the German armor" and as long as Austria is intact the Kaiser's command is good from the Riga to the Persian Gulf, but if Austria goes to pieces the victory of the Entente is won.

The Czechoslovak National Council has a branch in America consisting of 16 members. This includes

a mighty organization which counts among its membership the greatest number of Americans of Czech and Slovak descent, numbering about one million and a half. The Bohemian element, long before America entered the war, took a decided stand against Germany. Today the Czechs enlist in great numbers in the army. The Czechs also developed great political activities to "enlighten" the American people. Their pamphlets assure them that an understanding with Austria is impossible, because Austria is merely a German colony and denationalizes non-German and non-Magyar peoples. This propaganda meets with great success. America has come to the conclusion that Count Czernin's policy was dishonorable and was intended to deceive President Wilson."

It is easy to imagine how happy are the readers of Czech papers, when they come across reports of this kind.

AUSTRIAN GERMANS INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF AUSTRIA

While the Czech people are holding tremendous manifestations in favor of complete independence of their people, and while the cities and corporations are adopting resolutions endorsing the same program the Germans of Austria are also holding mass meetings to demonstrate their undying fidelity to Germany. At a great Volgstag or mass meeting held in the city of Nový Jičín resolutions were adopted demanding a closer union with Germany, particularly a closer military union and the establishment of a common food administration for Germany and the Dual Monarchy. The resolutions also protested against the erection of a Czechoslovak and Yugoslav State and pledged the Germans of Moravia to the most determined opposition to any such plans. The meeting favored further the introduction of the German language into all the dealings of the state officials with the people and condemned the "tolerant" attitude of the Government towards the "treason" of the Czechs.

A similar mass meeting was held in the city of Salzburg, the capital of one of the crown lands of Austria. The principal speaker, Irresberger, said: "If it should come to happen that Austria would fall to pieces, why should we Germans, especially we of Salzburg, be afraid of it? If Salzburg is again attached to the main body of the German nation as it has been for a thousand years, it will be a part of Bavaria. What will become of the Salzburgers under Bavarian rule? At war time they will know definitely what they are fighting for, and at peace times they will not have Czechs among their officials, gendarmes and foresters; they would not have to furnish horses, milk, butter, lumber, iron, copper, etc. and still be looked upon as a step-child of the empire."

THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 8.

AUGUST, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

The Great Czechoslovak Romance.

The story of the Czechoslovak conquest of Siberia reads like a romance. It has caught the imagination of the world, and journalists are hard put to it to find an analogy to it in the annals of mankind. One compares it with Xenophon's Anabasis, the famous march of the ten thousand from the center of the Persian Empire to the Black Sea; another likens it to Cortez's conquest of the Empire of the Aztecs. And many no doubt have in mind Napoleon's great excursion into the heart of Russia and its disastrous ending. The wonderful adventure of the Czechoslovaks has not yet got beyond the first chapter; its outcome is on the knees of the gods. But this much is certain even now: it will remain the most marvelous episode of the greatest war in history.

The rough map attached to this article will help the reader to grasp the wonder of the Czechoslovak exploits. Way to the west of Russia, nowhere touching even its pre-war boundaries, is the little country which is the home of the Czechs (Bohemians) and Slovaks. A hundred Bohemias together would not equal the area controlled by the exiled sons of the Czechoslovak lands. It is not, as if little Bohemia made war on great Russia and gained victory; from the days of the Greek triumphs over Persia there have been many cases in which small, well-knit countries defeated loosely organized empires. But the fact must be emphasized that the Czechoslovaks in Russia and Siberia are a small part only of the manhood of Bohemia—that part which was fortunate enough to escape from the Austrian ranks into which they had been drafted and cross over alive to the Russian lines. Czechoslovak soldiers in Siberia and Eastern Russia are former Austrian soldiers who occupied a great empire, not for Austria, but for the Allies.

It was not easy to go over to the Russians, and things were not made easy for the men

who managed to get over. Some of the Czech regiments in 1915 went over to the enemy's side with their bands playing, but others were caught by Austrian artillery in no man's land and smashed. Still other regiments were surrounded by German and Magyar troops, before they could take any steps to carry out their intention of deserting, and every tenth man was shot. Those that were lucky enough to reach the Russian trenches thought that their troubles were over, that they would be received with open arms by their Russian brothers and given a chance at once to exchange the hated Austrian uniform for Russian and fight against their oppressors. How they were disappointed. In most cases they were loaded into box cars and jolted along for weeks, until they were carried into far Siberia, Turkestan or the Caucasus. These they were herded in one camp with other Austrian and German prisoners and had to suffer many indignities from German and Magyar non-commissioned officers, who looked upon the Czechoslovaks as traitors. Gradually, as Russia needed workmen and as pressure was exerted upon the authorities in Petrograd by the Czech residents of Russia, they were allowed to volunteer for work on the farm and in munition factories. Later still here and there they were permitted with the grudging consent of the Petrograd bureaucrats and with the help of the more enlightened local authorities to join the original Hussite legion composed of a few thousand Czech residents of Russia who were not Russian subjects. They rendered the Russian armies very valuable services as scouts, because of their thorough knowledge of the Austrian armies. But the czarist government hesitated to give encouragement to revolutionaries, even if they were Austrian revolutionaries, and not Russian. And so when the Czar was overthrown, there existed only three

Czechoslovak regiments on the Southwestern Russian front, although there were some 300,000 Czech and Slovak prisoners of war scattered through the vast extent of the Russian empire.

Kerensky himself as minister of war looked at first unfavorably upon the nationalistic aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and tried to discourage their recruiting. But the revolution in most places freed the prisoners, friendly and hostile alike, and the Czechoslovaks from the lower Volga, from Central Asia and from the Pacific streamed toward Kiev to join in the fight against Austria. If the Russian front had not collapsed, the former Austrian soldiers would have played a big share in putting an end to Austria's existence. As it is, they had a chance to prove their mettle. One brigade of them was at the front, when the short-lived Kerensky offensive took place in Galicia in June, 1917. This brigade captured four thousand Austrians and a large number of guns, but in two weeks it had to fall back, because the Russian armies threw away their arms and fled without being attacked.

The next few months, the time during which the disorganization of the Russian armies went on at an increasing rate, witnessed the rapid growth of the Czechoslovak army. Professor Masaryk, "the little father", as these desperate fighters always call him, was in Russia and put a new spirit into the discouraged Bohemian exiles. A firm organization of the original Czechoslovak colony in Russia and of the far larger body of prisoners of war was carried out under his leadership to which all eagerly submitted. Emissaries went out from Kiev to all the internment camps from the Black Sea to the Pacific to call all true patriots to arms and to smooth away the difficulties offered in some places by the local authorities. Soon the volunteers commenced to pour into the concentration centers in the Ukraine. In most cases they came in trainloads, each group sped on the way with the best wishes of the local soviet. But even before the overthrow of Kerensky Masaryk lost hope of using the Czechoslovak forces to advantage on the Russian front. No one in Russia wanted to fight the Germans and Austrians, so eager were the Russians to fight each other; and in the general disorganization the small, but firmly disciplined body of fighters, like the Czechoslovaks, were tempted from all sides to join the bolsheviks or Kornilof or Kaledines or other

promising causes which would have frittered away the strength of the small Czechoslovak army and probably caused its total extinction. As early as last fall Professor Masaryk planned to have his fighters transported to France and fight on the western front for the liberation of their homeland. Several thousand of them have in fact been transported by way of the Arctic Sea to the west to form the nucleus of the Czechoslovak army in France. In the meantime the Bolsheviki seized what government there was in Russia and it became impracticable to figure any longer on transportation by way of northern Russian ports. The only way to bring these eager fighters into the battle was to take them clear around the world, across European Russia, across Asia, over the Pacific, Canada or the United States, and the Atlantic.

In the meantime the position of the Czechoslovak troops in the Ukraine was becoming decidedly hazardous. There had been considerable fighting in and around Kiev between the levies of the Ukrainian Rada and the forces of the Bolsheviki, and the Czechoslovaks with difficulty managed to keep clear of this brief war. The red guards captured Kiev, but that only gave the Germans an excuse to rush to the aid of their good friends, the government of the Rada, the same government that a few months later was chased out of Kiev by a squad of German soldiers. And as the German flood overran the Ukraine, it nearly caught the Czechoslovaks. They were retreating out of the Ukraine, when their rearguards found themselves menaced by the Germans at Bachmach on March 11th. A battle was fought in which the German forces were badly worsted, and the Czechoslovaks were enabled to withdraw from territory occupied by their enemies.

At the time these men without a country were already on their way to Vladivostok. Masaryk received promises from the Allied representatives in Moscow that ships would be furnished for the transport of this army across the Pacific and the Atlantic, and at the same time the Bolshevik authorities agreed to help these dangerous men out of the country and to furnish trains to take them to Vladivostok. As soon as the troop movement to Vladivostok was on the way, Masaryk left Russia. He thought that his work in Russia was done. He had guided his children through one crisis after another; he brought them safe out of danger

ous situations and saw them started on their way across Asia. When he came to Chicago and made his first public address in America, he told his countrymen of Chicago that his chief task for the present would be to see to it that transports should be promptly sent to Vladivostok.

But now Germany made one of those blunders, like the attack on Belgium and the declaration of ruthless submarine warfare, which lost the war for it. The representatives of Germany and Austria in Moscow demanded now that the Czechoslovaks, being originally Austrian prisoners of war, should be disarmed, placed under guard and delivered to the Austrians. Now it should be kept in mind that only a few months previously a military convention had been signed by the Bolshevik commander and the Czechoslovak chief providing for the free and unmolested transit of the Czechoslovak troops through and out of Russia, and that this convention was ratified by the people's commissioners. But Lenine and Trotzky could refuse nothing to the Germans. Trotzky as minister of war demanded first the disarmament of the Czechs, and they submitted, merely keeping a few guns to each train. The conflict was thus postponed a little longer. A number of regiments actually reached Vladivostok without any more serious trouble than a month of most uncomfortable traveling — reaching the port they asked the local bolsheviks for barrack room and settled down to wait for their comrades.

Just how the fight started is still far from clear. Perhaps the orders came from Trotzky, perhaps the Moscow commissaries did not intend to go to extremes. It is quite likely that Count Mirbach thought that he could get what he wanted without Trotzky's direct co-operation. For be it remembered that the people's commissioners, elected by the all-Russian Soviet as the chief executive, were obeyed by the provincial and city soviets only in so far as it pleased these local bodies. And in Siberia, where most of the German and Austrian prisoners of war had been interned, the local soviets were very largely controlled by German agents, since the red guards were led by German and Magyar ex-prisoners. And so the first clash which changed the situation completely occurred at Irkutsk. A Czechoslovak troop train, waiting at the Irkutsk station, was fired upon by machine guns at the order of the Ger-

man commander of the Red Guards. The Czechs had only a few rifles and bombs and a few score of them were killed, before they captured the machine guns practically with bare hands, killed the Reds and occupied Irkutsk.

It is not possible to relate in detail just what happened afterwards. We have to rely upon scattered press dispatches. But it seems that the conflict at Irkutsk pushed Trotzky into the position where the Germans wished to have him. He gave orders that every Czechoslovak caught with weapons in his hands should be immediately executed. The intervention of the Allied consuls at Moscow on June 13th had no result. War was on between the Czechoslovaks and the Bolsheviki.

A new front arose, called by Trotzky the Czechoslovak front. It was a battlefield far larger than anything else seen in this war, for it extended from the Volga to the Pacific, a distance of more than five thousand miles. And while now and then the war bulletins of the soviet announced Russian victories over the rebel Czechoslovaks, due no doubt to the fact that sometimes small Czech detachments had been pushed too far and had to be withdrawn, on the whole this unique campaign consists of a long list of Czechoslovak victories. Thus we read that on June 8th Omsk in Central Siberia was captured, on June 13th was announced the capture of Syzran west of the Volga, on June 15th Novonikolajevsk, a few hundred miles west of Omsk was occupied; on June 20th Bolshevik commanders report to Lenine that all Siberia is on fire with rebellion. The next report announces the occupation on June 25th of Tobolsk in Western Siberia and Krasnojarsk in central Siberia; the following day we jump into European Russia again and read of the capture of Ekaterinburg in the Urals and Samara on the Volga. On July 5th the Czechoslovaks drove the Red Guards, composed principally of German and Magyar prisoners, beyond Lake Baikal, and at the same time the regiments at Vladivostok, which in the meantime had overthrown the Bolshevik rule on the Pacific, started out from Vladivostok and occupied the junction of Nikolsk after a bloody battle.

When the Czechoslovak army made its start for France, it counted only 50,000 men. There were 50,000 more volunteers who had not yet succeeded in reaching the

concentration camps; most of them were scattered through Siberia. And now as the trains began to roll over the vast distances of Asia and especially after the reports spread into all parts of Russia that the Bolsheviks had attacked the Czechoslovaks and that a war was on, these volunteers rushed to the Siberian Railroad and joined their brothers. We know that in the middle of June the army had grown to 70,000 and it must be much larger now. There are reports stating that a Polish contingent joined the Czechoslovaks and that other Austrian prisoners of war of Slav and Roumanian races are coming in. We shall hear some wonderful stories of adventure and daring, when we learn the full details of how the Czechoslovak ex-prisoners of war marched toward the Siberian Railroad, riding in box cars or on top of them and often walking, from the boundaries of China and Persia, from Samarkand and Tashkend, from Astrakhan and Tsaritzin on the Lower Volga, and from Stavropol in the Caucasus. Here must lie the explanation of the capture by Czechoslovaks of some of the towns which are hundreds of miles distant from the Siberian Railroad. It must have been the prisoners of the Causasus marching to Samara who captured Novorosijsk on the Black Sea with two Russian cruisers lying in its harbor. Think of men who have never been to sea, who had probably never seen a warship, who fought mostly with bare hands, capturing cruisers and handling the big naval guns in a masterly fashion. A similar explanation must account for the reported capture of Kandalas on the White Sea.

The situation on the first of August was this: the Czechoslovaks were in full control of the Siberian Railroad from the Volga as far as somewhere east of Lake Baikal; they controlled the Pacific coast and were engaged in clearing up that stretch of the railroad lying between the Pacific and the Baikal; two columns of Czechoslovaks, one proceeding west from Vladivostok and another marching east of Irkutsk, were trying to establish contact and destroy well-armed bodies of German and Magyar prisoners. The Czechoslovaks also control navigation on the Volga, the junction of the Turkestan Railroad, and a considerable section of the Petrograd branch of the Siberian Railroad. They had already accomplished a good deal. They prevented the return of almost a million German and Aus-

trian prisoners of war who would have been used to reinforce the armies of the Central Powers; they kept the grain of Western Siberia and the cotton of Turkestan from reaching German hands; they made it impossible for the Germans to grab the mineral riches of the Ural mountains, especially platinum; and above all by overthrowing the terrorism of the red guards they offered an opportunity to the people of Siberia to establish a decent and orderly government. For it would not be fair to the Czechoslovaks to speak of their exploits as the conquest of Siberia. They are no war-like tribe imposing their dominion on less organized peoples. They want nothing for themselves, but they are all anxious to help their Russian brothers whose language they have all learned to speak and whose confidence they fully enjoy. In every city occupied by the Czechoslovaks perfect order prevails and life is as safe as in an American city.

What will be the outcome of it all it is too early to say. It all depends on what the Allies will decide to do. But it should be remembered that the chief aim for the Czechoslovaks is to put in a few good licks for the freedom of Bohemia and of all mankind. They want to get at the Germans; if they can get at them in Russia with some chance of accomplishing something definite and not merely throwing their lives away, so much the better. If the Allies act promptly, before winter sets in, there is good reason to believe that Russia will rouse itself once more and that the Germans will have to withdraw at least half a million men from the Western front to meet the danger in the East.

The "Lidové Noviny" of June 7th contained an interesting incident of Russian disorganization. They quote a story from a Russian newspaper:

Bolshevik divisions were returning from the front, one of them had a train of heavy artillery which was delaying them considerably in their hurry to get home. The commander of the train was a clever man who thought of a way to get rid of their inconvenient baggage.

When they got to a Jewish town named Jaltuskov in the district of Magylev this resourceful commander offered the heavy guns for sale, but the Jews, always ready to buy up metal, had no use for guns, so the division backed away a mile and pointed the guns above and fired a round. The Jews came running with the desired amount and took away the guns and munitions.

Situation in Austria.

The old Austrian policy of puttering along from day to day has once more been employed with success. Dr. Von Seidler had to resign, but the budget has been adopted and the constitutional life of the peculiar Austrian state has been given a new lease of life until the end of the year.

The Reichsrat was to have been summoned originally for the middle of June, but it actually met July 16th. All May and June were taken up with the attempts of Seidler to combine in some way or other a sufficient number of deputies to pass the budget and make good the claim that Austria is a constitutional country and that the majority of the people back the government. All the German parties, with the exception of the German Socialists, were united in the German National Verband and they backed Von Seidler as the champion of the German rule in Austria. He could count on the Ukrainian deputies, as Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia cherished the hope of seeing the Ukrainian republic brought under the Hapsburg scepter, and thus have their nation united. An Austrian premier may generally count upon the support of the Poles; in fact every governmental majority since the days of Ausgleich of 1867 had for one of its essential elements the Polish deputies of Galicia. But conditions changed and Seidler attempted in vain to gain over the support of the Polish Club. There was a strong democratic sentiment among the representatives of the Polish people against which the Polish nobility, always pro-Austrian, found itself in a minority; and besides the Poles of Galicia had many reasons to be discontented with the treatment extended by the German and Austrian governments to the so-called independent Poland. And from across German lines came the complaints of the Poles of Prussia who are suffering today more severe persecutions at the hands of their Prussian lords than even before the war. Without the Poles there was no way of securing a majority for the budget, in fact without their support the Austrian government would have to dissolve the parliament and make it plain to all the world that the government of Vienna was opposed to the will of the majority of its subjects.

Negotiations and conferences went on busily for two months; leaders of the various racial groups were invited to see Premier Seidler and Foreign Minister Burian, threats were made that deputies would lose their parliamentary immunity and would be drafted into the army when the government should be compelled a hostile parliament; the emperor's personal influence was employed to break up the homogeneous groups of the Czechs and Jugoslavs. Still no solution could be found to a state of affairs which was more than a cabinet crisis or parliamentary crisis, and which involved the question, whether Austria was capable of further life. Austrian newspapers with their lengthy discussions of this grave situation bring us to the end of June. For what happened afterwards we have to rely on cable news which give us the result merely of the crisis, but not the manner in which the solution was found. When the parliament met on July 16th, von Seidler was still at the head of the government. He made a non-committal speech, the chief feature of which was a defense of his conduct in splitting Bohemia into twelve districts. He said in short that since the Czechs refused to collaborate in constitutional revision, it would be proceeded with regardless of their desires. What happened after that is not yet clear. All we know is that Seidler offered his resignation to the emperor once more and that this time it was accepted. Baron von Hussarek, former Minister of Education, and of strong German and clerical opinion, was appointed his successor with a cabinet composed solely of permanent office holders and leaders. but it seems evident that the overthrow of Seidler was a sop thrown to the Poles in return for their support of the budget. At any rate the fact remains that the new prime minister succeeded in his chief task; the provisional budget granting the supplies for state administration and war expenditures was approved by the vote of 215 to 196. All the Germans, with the exception of the Socialists, voted for it and most of the Ukrainians did the same thing, while a certain number of Polish, Roumanian and even Italian deputies upheld the government. The minority was composed of all the

Czechs and Yugoslav deputies and some of the Poles and German Socialists. Almost the same line-up took place on the proposal of the Czechs to impeach Seidler and his Minister of the Interior, Toggenburg, for their unconstitutional division of Bohemia into districts. The motion fell through by 215 to 162.

These recent happenings in Vienna clear up the situation within Austria. The Czechs and Yugoslavs cannot be won over by threats or promises. They have stated their aims to be complete independence and their deputies attend the Vienna parliament merely to do as much damage to Austria there as they can. The Ukrainians are afraid to stand alone and look to easy-

going Austria as their defense before the German cruelty. The Poles, the Roumanians and the Italians have not yet reached that stage which the Czechs and Yugoslavs adopted long ago, that of uncompromising opposition to the German cause; but the discontent among them is growing ever stronger and as soon as they lose their belief in the invincibility of Germany, they too will help break up the Austrian empire. Emperor Karl, his ministers, the Germans of Austria and the Germans of Germany all realize that Germany cannot count on the Austro-Hungarian state as its ally, but only on the German race in Austria and the Magyar race in Hungary.

Bold Speaking in the Reichsrat.

The Czech motion for the impeachment of premier Seidler and his Minister of the Interior, Count Toggenburg, was supported by a speech of deputy Stránský. He exceeded in boldness anything spoken so far by any Czech deputy in the Vienna Parliament. Stránský said:

"We are determined to show to the foreign nations, how unbearable has become the German domination over the peoples of Austria and what violence is being committed in Austria under the guise of decrees, illegal in every respect. We bring a charge against this premier that he is a typical representative of the Prussianized Austria whose very existence means a prolongation of war and constitutes one of the greatest obstacles preventing a conclusion of peace by the liberation of the smaller, hitherto oppressed nations.

"In place of conciliating the various nationalities and races, Seidler adopts German policies and attempts to crown fifty years of German terrorism by forging slave fetters on these nationalities and binding them to the wheels of the revengeful German Moloch. The Germans undoubtedly begin to see that their domination is nearing the end and so they attempt to legalize the robberies they committed by the establishment of a German province in Bohemia; the partition of this country is their first step for this end. Austria will exist only so long as its peoples desire it. We now declare that

we will hate Austria with its German backbone forever and with God's help we hope some day to smash it. Austria embodies century-old crimes against the liberty of mankind. The highest national duty of the Czech people is to harm Austria wherever and whenever it is possible. This we owe to the Czech people and to our loyalty to the Bohemian crown, which loyalty can only be put in practice by opposing and even betraying Seidler's Austria. So we are determined to be prepared with all means within our power. Austria is not a state, but a nightmare centuries old, an Alp mountain of tyranny and nothing else. Austria is a state without patriots and without patriotism; it is an absurdity, it is such a state that Czech soldiers sent against the enemy to embrace him and join him for the formation of new regiments and divisions against Austria."

At this point policemen appeared and cleared the galleries, so that outsiders might not hear such treasonable talk and took possession of the records with a view to striking out the objectionable sentences. The impeachment was defeated by a vote of 215 to 162.

The question now before the Allies is, shall we join with our Ally Bohemia in aiding Russia in Siberia, or shall we stand off and see the Bolsheviki arm German and Russian prisoners, sweep the Czechoslovaks out of Siberia and turn Russia over to Germany?—*Washington Post*.

The Secret of Czechoslovak Success.

Many oppressed races of Europe raise their voices today, reciting their grievances and demanding the right to live their own life. The Czechoslovaks are but one of a dozen nations, similarly situated, ground down under the heel of German war machines, appealing to the Allies not to forget them, when the day of final reckoning comes. But none of the races inhabiting that peculiar zone of small nations, stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean Sea between the great nations on the west and the immense territory of Russia, has so well succeeded in arresting the attention of the world and winning its sympathy as the ten-million nation of the Czechoslovaks.

The very word "Czechoslovak" was known before the war to a few scholars only. Many had heard of Bohemians, and in the United States especially, where so many of the Bohemian emigrants had made their home, they were rather extensively and on the whole favorably known; but few people realized that this race called itself Czechs and that the Slovaks were a branch of the same race. Today everyone, the man in the street, as well as the journalist and statesman, admire the Czechoslovaks, and the governments of the League of Nations, opposed to the Central Powers, have committed themselves definitely to the policy of resurrecting the ancient state of Bohemia. Every one who has Czech blood in his veins is full of pride, when he sees the great statesmen of the Entente and the leaders of public opinion refer to his people as "those gallant Czechoslovaks" or "the brave Czechs", or when he reads that on Bastille day in Paris the groups lining the streets cheered especially the American and the Czechoslovak troops.

What are the reasons that brought the Czechoslovaks into such an honorable place among the oppressed nations of Central and Eastern Europe? For one thing it is their excellent organization and discipline. These qualities appear equally in the great movement that has been carried on among emigrants of their race in all parts of the world and in the attitude adopted by the people in the home lands. Take the matter of their organization in the United States. They have achieved here a complete unity and wonderful efficiency, while at the same time allowing full autonomy to certain sec-

tions that would have made harmony difficult in a strictly centralized organization. People of Czechoslovak descent in the United States, whether naturalized or not, have grouped themselves for the purpose of supporting the movement for Bohemia's independence in two large bodies, each representing one branch of the old stock. There is the Bohemian National Alliance, which grew up almost spontaneously in the very first days of the war out of the instinctive feeling of the Czech immigrant that the Great War constituted a unique opportunity, which might never come again, to free the land of their fathers from the domination of the Germans. Today that organization numbers some 350 branches, and while its original purpose still remains its *raison d'être*, it has also helped to line up the great body of Bohemian immigrants for loyal participation in the war on the side of their adopted country. The Slovak League, which was brought into being before the war, has done the same thing for the Slovak immigrants in the United States. And since among the Bohemians there had been for years a sharp difference between the Catholics and the non-Catholics, the Bohemian National Alliance, in the formation of which the Catholics had a very small part, allowed their Catholic brethren full internal autonomy, when they came later and asked to have a share in the work. And for more than three years these two principal organizations have reached every man and woman of their race in the United States. Before America entered into the war, they fought the German propaganda carried on with some measure of success among the less advanced immigrants from Austria-Hungary, though not the slightest impression had ever been made by the lavish expenditure of Austrian corruption funds upon the Czechoslovaks themselves. Since America has taken its rightful share in the great struggle, these bodies have seen to it that their people enlisted in the American army, bought Liberty Bonds and in general helped the war activities of the Government by producing more and spending less. But all along the great emotional force at the back of this unusual organization was the burning desire in the heart of all these people that the Czechoslovak nation, which at one time played an honorable

part in the history of Europe, had its share in defeating the German war machine and took once more its place in the great family of nations.

It was this enthusiasm, which gathered in hundreds of thousands of dollars for the support of the Czechoslovak independence campaign, which fired so many young men, technically subjects of Austria, to join the American Army in the spring of 1917, and which now induces elderly men to leave their families to go to France that they might fight in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Army against their ancient enemy. For internal organization purposes there are thus two distinct bodies, one of them with an autonomous subdivision; but as against the public opinion of America and the world the two organizations constitute merely a branch of the supreme organ of the Czechoslovak revolutionary movement, namely the Czechoslovak National Council.

Here we come to the second reason which accounts for much of the Czechoslovak success, and without which their thoroughly efficient organization would have been impossible. It is their splendid leadership which has brought to the fore the right men, both in America and in the other settlements of the Czechoslovaks, and which best of all is exemplified in the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris. It is said that great times always call forth great men, and the saying is certainly true in this great period of Bohemia's history. The great leader of the Bohemian revolution, which began in 1914, is Masaryk, his age, his public career, his learning and wisdom, his high idealism, and at the same time his constant contact with realities, and the complete confidence with which all his countrymen had always looked upon him, had singled him out for the commander of the Czechoslovaks. Backed by a mandate from all the Czech deputies, he escaped from Austria a few months after the outbreak of the war and after establishing contact with the scattered emigrants of his race he planned the great campaign of convincing the enemies of Germany that in Bohemia they had an ally deserving of their trust and help. Today it is hardly necessary to say more of Masaryk, for he is as well known to the world as are the great statesmen of the Allied countries. But it is well to emphasize the fact that his leadership made the problem of organization and discipline in the revolutionary movement a

simple affair. He stood out so high among his co-workers that there never could have arisen the slightest feeling of jealousy or rivalry. He is more than the leader; he is the universally acknowledged dictator.

Masaryk was fortunate in finding a number of very able co-workers. Dr. Milan R. Štefanik, vice-president of the Czechoslovak National Council, is the diplomat of the movement. A Slovak by birth he became a naturalized French citizen and gained a great name for himself in the scientific world as an astronomer. The outbreak of the war found him answering the call to arms. Entering the French Army as a private, he became soon an officer and a daring aviator. He flew along the entire Austro-Italian front, scattering proclamations calling on the Slovak soldiers not to fight against Italy, their friend. He was wounded on the Saloniki front and on the Western front. He was then given leave from active duty in the army. He devoted his time to the organization of Czechoslovak prisoners of war in France and Italy into a fighting army. The regiments that are now in the thick of the fight both on the French and Italian fronts owe their existence principally to him, and he also started the recruiting campaign for the Czechoslovak Army in the United States.

Dr. Edward Beneš, general secretary of the Council, has also shown remarkable diplomatic talents. It was due to him principally that the Allied answer to President Wilson in January, 1917, the first great success of the revolutionary movement, included a specific promise by the Allies to liberate the Czechoslovaks from foreign domination. Beneš and Štefanik secured the consent of the French and Italian Governments for the creation of the Czechoslovak National Army; it was their ceaseless work and their great ability which won from these two governments the full recognition of the Council as the supreme representative of Independent Bohemia.

While the Czechoslovak settlements all over the world organized and placed themselves at the disposal of the Paris Council, the people in the old country likewise put aside all that divided them before the war and ranged themselves unanimously in a most determined opposition to the Austrian government. Until the spring of 1917 the police rule in Bohemia was so severe that all political life was for the time being stifled. The Parliament was not called to-

gether, public meetings were prohibited, the leading deputies were in jail, newspapers were suppressed and those that remained had to publish what the military censor ordered, and there was the quiet of the grave all through the Czech lands. But if the Bohemians were not permitted to speak what was in their minds, they could not be made to say what would be pleasing to Austria. The most cruel persecutions, culminating in thousands of executions, could not extort from the Czech people or from their representatives a single declaration of loyalty to the Empire or to the cause of the Central Powers. The pressure brought to bear upon the parliamentary delegates and upon the city councils of Bohemia and Moravia was tremendous, but not a single deputy, not a single corporation, would join in the enthusiastic declarations of the Austro-Germans, nor would the people celebrate German victories. When, after the death of Francis Joseph and the revolution in Russia the reign of terror in Austria relaxed, the whole Czech nation was seen to be united against Austria and for the Czechoslovak independence. Political and religious differences were put aside and all the Czech deputies acted as one body. By solemn declarations in the Vienna Parliament, by popular demonstrations in Prague and other cities, by manifestos of authors, scholars, chambers of commerce, by resolutions of cities and villages and district councils, they made it plain that they were through with the Hapsburgs, that they would dare all for the sake of independence and that they were looking to the Allies for assistance.

The Czech nation, formerly broken into many quarreling parties, is absolutely united, standing as one man on the platform first given out by Masaryk in 1915 in the Bohemian Declaration of Independence.

But after all, in time of war more is demanded than solemn declarations and noble aspirations. He who deserves liberty must fight for it and must be ready to die for it. The Czechoslovaks have proved that they were worthy of liberty by raising armies to fight for it. But how could they fight, since they formed a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, being in the very center of Central Europe, as it were in the very deepest cell of the Pan-German jail? To fight in Bohemia would have meant a useless slaughter. The Czechs were willing to die, but not willing to throw away their lives

uselessly. So the regiments surrendered to the Russians, to the Serbians and to the Italians, as soon as the work of the Czechoslovak National Council prepared the ground for it in the cabinets of the Allied Powers. They were organized into Czechoslovak forces to fight against their tyrants. In Russia their fortunes culminated into the most striking episode of the entire war. While the great Slav nation of Russia became utterly disorganized and fell a helpless prey to the German robbers, the Slavs of Bohemia and Slovakia scattered as prisoners of war through millions of square miles of territory managed to come together, secure arms, establish firm discipline, and may yet prove to be the salvation of Russia from German penetration.

Is there anyone today who can doubt the ability of the Czechoslovaks to govern themselves? Can anyone claim that they have not earned the right to complete independence? The past four years have proved that the nation which 500 years ago first raised the standard of liberty and democracy is still fired by a passion for liberty and that it possesses in an abundant measure the sense of discipline and political maturity which an independent nation ought to have. Just as firmly as we believe in the final and complete victory of the Allies, so surely we are convinced that the Czechoslovaks will obtain that boon which is the highest possession of a people — political independence.

The political status of the Czechoslovak revolutionary movement is now as follows:

France and Italy have recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme representative of the future Bohemian government, while England has recognized the Council as the supreme organ of the Czechoslovak movement in the Allied countries. All three of these Powers have recognized the Czechoslovak Army as a district part of the Allied forces. The United States Government is committed to the complete liberation of the Czechoslovaks and other Slavs from German and Austrian rule, but has not as yet extended recognition to the Czechoslovak National Council.

In the name of our national honor, in the name of all that is most holy to us as Czechoslovaks, we swear that we will fight alongside of our Allies against all our enemies up to the time, when the Czechoslovak lands shall be united into an independent and completely free Czechoslovak State, and until our nation in its homeland shall be free to dispose of its own fortunes. *From the oath of the Czechoslovak Army.*

Civilized War Codes—Scraps of Paper.

By E. F. Prantner.

The Czechoslovak soldiers, recently captured by the Hungarians in the last Austrian drive, went to their death "willingly and smilingly". They evidently were comforted by the words of Huss, spoken at the moment when he was tied to the stake in Constance, "Joyfully do I seal with my blood those divine truths which I have spread by my lips and by my writings."

About the time that these brave men were executed, Germany made another bid for peace through Dr. Kuehlman, then her foreign minister, and insisted that "a certain degree of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry" be granted to the nations which will have to consider terms of peace.

"So soon as a man is armed by a sovereign government and takes the soldier's oath of fidelity he is a belligerent." (57) "All soldiers . . . all men who belong to the rising en masse of the hostile country" when captured, shall be regarded as prisoners of war. (49) "A prisoner of war is a public enemy armed or attached to the hostile army for active aid." (49) *

Austria-Hungary recently signed a treaty with the Kaiser by the terms of which it is reduced to a mere vassal state of Germany. Her continued existence depends upon German toleration, pleasure or whim; so long as Austria responds to and obeys German orders, she will not be absorbed or dismembered.

For centuries the peoples inhabiting the lands of the ancient kingdom of Bohemia, the Czechoslovaks, have sought to obtain for themselves from the Austrian crown civil rights equal to those granted to other inhabitants of the monarchy. The successive rulers, to whom the appeals were made, supported by the nobles, the hierarchy, the bureaucracy and the vested interests, refused to listen to the pleas presented by these peoples. Generally the answer was increased taxation, for these lands, the gems of the Austrian crown, must support the other economically weak territories of the empire.

When war was declared, the world rocked and trembled to its very founda-

*John Bassett Moore, International Law, No. 1127. Also, Holland, Laws of War on Land, Sec. 4.

tions. The Czechoslovaks then realized that the purposes for which this war was waged by the Germans and the Austria-Hungarians, were the conquest of territory and the Kulturing of the conquered peoples. From the day of the declaration of hostilities they opposed the war, but they were forced to shoulder arms against brother Slavs, the Serbians and the Russians, and against the French, their devoted friends for many years.

They deserted from Austrian armies, they surrendered whenever an opportunity offered, *not because they were cowards or afraid to fight*, but because they would not fight against brother Slavs and friends, and further because they did not believe in the purposes of the war for the reasons advanced by the German, Austrian and Hungarian autocrats.

Immediately after the declaration of war, the realization was brought home to the Czechoslovaks that the continued existence of their lands and language depended upon their independence; that they must be freed from Austrian rule, be independent of that grand German super-dream, *Mittel-Europa*, and that thus and only thus they will avoid being *Kultured*. Their men were forced into the Austria-Hungarian armies, but determined to desert, to surrender, so that they might give battle to the oppressors of their ancestors, of themselves and of their children. Now they fight for freedom, liberty and democracy and are in the war to the last man.

In the days of Huss the Bohemians were noted for their "indomitable strength, such scorn of death, such passionate faith in their holy cause, that every obstacle must needs fall before them." The traditions of those days are being nobly and religiously upheld by the brave men now fighting for Bohemia.

The Czechoslovaks revolted against the Austria rule. If there ever was any doubt on this point it was removed when the Constituent Assembly adopted, in Prague on January 6th, 1918, the declaration that they (the Czechs) demand a "union with our Slovak brothers and independent economic and cultural life."

The French republic recognized the National Council for Czech and Slovak lands

as a body politic by a decree issued by its President, Poincare, on December 16, 1917. This decree also permitted the Czechoslovaks to organize an army to be recruited from among the Czechoslovaks. *The Entente Powers regard the Czechoslovaks as their allies.*

The Council immediately proceeded to recruit and organize a Czechoslovak army. Each recruit was required to take an oath of allegiance to the National Council, the oath of fidelity of a soldier; they were uniformed by the Council and placed under responsible commanders. Thus they fulfilled every requirement necessary to attain the status of soldiers of a recognized government under the rules of war of civilized nations, and to be regarded as soldiers belonging to a belligerent country, in times of war.*

The German *Kriegsbrauch* (War Code) declares that war is not to be regarded as a contest between armed forces, but that its purpose is to destroy the spiritual and material power of the enemy country. That the laws and customs of war must yield to the law of military necessity, whenever the observance of the law would prevent or hinder the attainments of the objects of the war. That persons not clothed in a uniform, not under the command of responsible leaders, may be summarily shot as *francstireurs* (guerilla). When the presence of prisoners of war is a danger to their captors, they may be put to death.*

The Hague Convention provides, that "They (prisoners of war) must be treated humanely." It is significant that both Germany and Austria-Hungary are parties thereto. Webster, when Secretary of State, held that "The law of war forbids the wounding, killing, impressment into troops of the country, or the enslaving or otherwise mistreating of *prisoners of war*, unless they are guilty of some grave crime."*

Thus we are led to the following conclusions: that a de facto government, recognized by the Entente Powers as such, for the Czech and Slovak Lands exists, that it has an army, that the soldiers comprising that army complied with all the prerequisites of the civilized war code to be regarded as soldiers of a belligerent country and that the soldiers, if captured by the Ger-

man or Austrian armies, could expect to be regarded and treated as prisoners of war.

It is interesting to note that the Hague Convention further provides that "Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile government, but not in that of the individuals or the corps that captured them."

The soldiers of the Czechoslovak army captured on the Italian front were shot in the same manner as deserters or as spies. This is the attitude assumed by the Austria-Hungarian government, for unless the corps commander committed deliberate murder, the government itself must assume responsibility for the execution of these brave men. They received "humane treatment" in accordance with the Hague Convention, modified by the German *Kriegsbrauch*, that "when the presence of prisoners of war is a danger to their captors, they may be put to death." Germany, through Austria, her Kultur-ally, interpreted the Hague Convention, overrode all civilized rules of war so as not to be prevented or hindered in the attainments of the objects of the war she is waging.

From the facts herein noted it is useless to point to similar situations in history, but it is rather interesting, by way of comparison, to contrast the brutality with which the Hun treats the captured Czechoslovak soldiers with the treatment accorded to captured soldiers or rebels during rebellions in other civilized countries.

During the American Revolution, many of the Colonials fell into the hands of the British, not only on land but on the seas as well. They were, nearly all, placed in prison camps in England. Many of the prisoners had been soldiers or officers in the British Army previous to their shouldering arms for the cause of the Colonists. Great Britain did not regard them as deserters, she did not place them before the firing squad, but treated them as prisoners of war. While the care and physical treatment they received was not all that could be desired, as we are told by Abell in his book, "Prisoners of War in Britain", they invariably were regarded and treated as soldiers belonging to a belligerent country.

Approximately 220,000 Confederate soldiers were taken prisoners by the Union Armies during the Civil War. The South's leading military men were graduates of West Point, and when hostilities commenced they held commissions as officers of the United States Army. Some resigned,

*Holland, Laws of War on Land, Sec. 4.

*The German War Code, Committee Public Information.

*Webster's Works, VI, 427, 437.

others simply went over to the Confederacy and received commissions as officers in the rebel army. The foremost military leader of the South, Lee, is an example, while Jackson, Beauregard, Johnston, Longstreet and Pickett are others.

What was the treatment accorded to the captured Southerners? Jefferson Davis, a graduate of West Point, was the head and front of the secessionists. When he was taken prisoner he was handcuffed. How did the North treat him? As a prisoner of war, though he never was in actual confinement. When Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Grant did not treat or consider Lee a deserter, but on the contrary regarded him as a prisoner of war.

Instances of similar character could be cited without number, but the inevitable conclusion that must be reached in each case is, that all the Confederates captured by or surrendered to the Union Army were at all times regarded and treated as prisoners of war. The North demanded such treatment for these men and they received it. The United States war code of this period sheds much light on the subject, and the point emphasized is, that captured Southerners should be treated as prisoners of war.*

War codes, as understood by the present civilized world, are the results of experiences in the treatment of adverseries by various nations heretofore engaged in wars. Most of them are unwritten, but others are written. The Hague Convention is a written war code and the signatory powers thereto are presumed to be bound by it. On the other hand an unwritten code is constituted of the accepted usages during a war between civilized nations which have been handed down from one generation to another. They form the fundamental law of the world, sort of a "common law".

Based on the rules and usages of civilized warfare the Huns are convicted of the basest breaches of faith; judged by the rules of international law they stand guilty of gross violations thereof. The pledged word of their governments is not worth the "scrap of paper" on which it is written, and judged by the Hague Convention the Boches are convicted of unusual and cruel barbarities and wilful breaches of faith.

In his Independence Day speech at Mt. Vernon President Wilson says, that the Cen-

*U. S. Army, Gen'l Order No. 100.

tral Powers are "Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them. . . . It is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure, but the liberties of every other people as well."

Thus again the old fact is illustrated, and sadly in this instance, that the Germans desire the extermination of the Slavs, so that the lands of the Slavs might be incorporated into Mittel-Europa. But they will not attain their objectives. The Czechoslovaks will battle to the very last man to gain their cherished object, freedom for Bohemia and its inhabitants. When going to battle against the Huns, they sing that ancient hymn composed in times of former wars against the Teuton:

"To arms now, my brothers,
Strike hard at the foe,
Shout: 'God is our Father'!
Spread havoc and woe."

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The name "Czechoslovak" is getting to be somewhat more familiar to the people of this country. What all the propaganda and newspaper writing could not accomplish was effected by the Czechoslovak soldiers in Siberia. The American people today are familiar with this new word, although one may well doubt, whether the great majority of the people who read the headlines only and not the detailed accounts know even now who the Czechoslovaks are. A good many of them still think that the Czechoslovaks are one of the many political parties in Russia, parties with terrible names like the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks or the Social Revolutionists.

A good many people who know the meaning of the word "Czechoslovak" have no idea of its pronunciation. At a Czechoslovak meeting held in one of the larger Eastern cities with a considerable Bohemian population, the chairman, a former governor of the State, insisted over and over on praising the brave and patriotic "Ze-ko-slo-vaks".

But the best one comes from Italy. It seems that the editor of an Italian daily, full of zeal for the new Ally of his country, wrote an article in which he intended to approve of the attitude of his government toward the liberation of the Czechoslovaks. But unfortunately the unaccustomed name tripped him up and he spoke of the new Italian Ally as the "Greco-Polaks".

Tolstoy's Fairy Tale Realized in Russia.

The following fairy tale by Leo Nikolajevich Tolstoj was published in the Czech newspaper "Lidové Noviny". In the fable Tolstoj speaks of the king of Tarakan, and the Czech paper substituted in every instance the term of Swabian emperor and Swabian soldiers. These words are used by all the Slav peoples as a nickname for the Germans.

Having done with the two brothers, the old Devil went to Ivan. He changed himself into a General, and coming to Ivan began to persuade him that he ought to have an army.

"It does not become a king," said he, "to be without an army. Only give me the order, and I will collect soldiers from among your people, and form one."

Ivan listened to him. "All right," said Ivan, "form an army, and teach them to sing songs well. I like to hear them do that."

So the old Devil went through Ivan's kingdom to enlist men. He told them to go and be entered as soldiers and each should have a quart of spirits and a fine red cap.

"We have plenty of spirits," said they. "We make it ourselves; and as for caps, the women make all kinds of them, even striped ones with tassels."

So nobody would enlist.

The old Devil came to Ivan and said: "Your fools won't enlist of their own free will. We shall have to make them."

"All right," said Ivan, "you can try."

So the old Devil gave notice that all the people were to enlist, and that Ivan would put to death any one who refused.

The people came to the General and said: "You say that if we do not go as soldiers the King will put us to death, but you don't say what will happen if we do enlist. We have heard say that soldiers get killed."

"Yes, that happens sometimes."

When the people heard this they became obstinate.

"We won't go," said they. "Better meet death at home. Either way we must die."

"Fools! You are fools!" said the old Devil. "A soldier may be killed or he may not, but if you don't go, King Ivan will have you killed for certain."

The people were puzzled, and went to Ivan the Fool to consult him.

"A General has come," said they, "who says we must all become soldiers. "If you go as soldiers," said he, "you may be killed or you may not, but if you don't go, King Ivan will certainly kill you." Is this true?"

Ivan laughed and said, "How can I, alone, put all you to death? If I were not a fool I would explain it to you, but as it is, I don't understand it myself."

"Then," said they, "we will not serve."

"All right," said he, "don't."

So the people went to the General and refused to enlist. And the old Devil saw that this game was up, and he went off and ingratiated himself with the King of Tarakan.

"Let us make war," says he, "and conquer King Ivan's country. It is true there is no money, but there is plenty of corn and cattle and everything else."

So the King of Tarakan prepared to make war. He mustered a great army, provided rifles and cannons, marched to the frontier, and entered Ivan's kingdom.

And people came to Ivan and said "The King of Tarakan is coming to make war on us."

"All right," said Ivan, "let him come."

Having crossed the frontier, the King of Tarakan sent scouts to look for Ivan's army. They looked and looked, but there was no army! They waited and waited for one to appear somewhere, but there were no signs of an army, and nobody to fight with. The King of Tarakan then sent to seize the villages. The soldiers came to a village, and the people, both men and women, rushed out in astonishment to stare at the soldiers. The soldiers began to take their corn and cattle; the people let them have it and did not resist. The soldiers went on to another village; the same thing happened again. The soldiers went on for one day, and then for two days, and everywhere the same thing happened.

"Poor fellows," said they, "if you have a hard life in your own land, why don't you come and stay with us altogether?"

The soldiers marched and marched: still no army, only people living and feeding themselves and others and not resisting, but inviting the soldiers to stay and live with them. The soldiers found it dull work, and they came to the king of Tarakan, and said, "We cannot fight here, lead us elsewhere. War is all right, but what is this? It is like cutting pea-soup. We will not make war here any more."

The King of Tarakan grew angry, and ordered his soldiers to overrun the whole kingdom, to destroy the villages, to burn the grain and the houses, and to slaughter the cattle. "And if you do not obey my orders," said he, "I will execute you all."

The soldiers were frightened, and began to act according to the King's orders. They began to burn houses and corn, and to kill cattle. But the fools still offered no resistance, and only wept. The old men wept, and the old women wept, and the young people wept.

"Why do you harm us?" they said. "Why do you waste good things? If you need them, why do you not take them for yourselves?"

At last the soldiers could stand it no longer. They refused to go any further, and the army disbanded and fled.

The Czech paper, after reprinting all this, adds: "Leo Nikolajevich, how little you knew the soul of the Swabian people and the Swabian Emperor!"

Current Topics.

WHAT THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE IS DOING.

The war which has made great gaps in every business organization and almost every family has also reached into the ranks of the active workers of the Alliance. Dr. L. J. Fisher, who has been president of the organization since its foundation, is in France doing medical work for the Czechoslovak army. His place is taken by the first vice-president of the Alliance, Dr. Joseph P. Pecival. The best known worker in the East, Mr. Emanuel V. Voska, is now an officer in the American army.

After the Fourth of July which was celebrated with extreme enthusiasm in every town in this broad land in which there is a branch of the Alliance or the Slovak League came the French National holiday. There is no other land for which the Bohemians and Slovaks feel so much affection as for the brave France, which gave its hospitality to the Czechoslovak National Council, organized the Czechoslovak Army and was the first of the Allied Powers to recognize the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme representative of its people. And so on the Fourteenth of July hundreds of telegrams reached the French Embassy in Washington from all parts of this country congratulating France on her holiday and assuring her of the gratitude of all the sons of Bohemia.

The Bohemian National Alliance still sustains the chief burden of supporting financially the Czechoslovak National Council. The figures of the Secretary of the Alliance showing the state of affairs for this year have considerable interest. The amount expected to be raised in 1918 was apportioned last year among the various districts of the Alliance. After six months it appears that the New England district has paid up 94% of its apportionment, next comes Oklahoma with 55%, San Francisco 51%, Omaha 50.50%, Canada 47%, Chicago 47% St. Louis 40.50%, Cleveland 34.50%, Detroit 32%, Milwaukee 27.50%, Texas 26%, Pittsburgh 23.43%, Cedar Rapids 12.55%. The total for the six months lacks somewhat of one-half of the assessment, but there is no doubt that the full amount will be raised before the end of the year.

PROFESSOR MASARYK IN BALTIMORE.

Baltimore is one of the cities which contain a considerable number of the Czechoslovak people, who were naturally eager to see and hear the great leader of the race. Although Professor Masaryk is unable to accept the many invitations to speak, coming from various cities and societies, he did not wish to disappoint his countrymen in Baltimore.

The Baltimore meeting was held under the auspices of the War Saving Stamps Committee in the Lyric, the largest theatre in Baltimore. The Bohemians and Slovaks of the city turned out in full

numbers, marching from Northeastern Baltimore to the Union Station to receive the guest as he descended from the Washington train. The meeting was presided over by Ex-Governor Goldsborough. Professor Masaryk spoke both in English and Bohemian, discussing the problems of small nations and the situation of the Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia. After his speech an effort was made to have everyone of the audience pledge a certain amount for the War Saving Stamps; the total pledge of the meeting was \$67,000.00, and the leaders promised to bring it up to \$100,000.00.

After the mass meeting a dinner was given by the Baltimore colony to Professor Masaryk and the Washington guests in the Belvedere. Masaryk spoke again briefly and short addresses were also made by a number of the guests and leading Baltimoreans.

While in size the Baltimore reception would not equal the wonderful reception extended to Professor Masaryk in Chicago, New York and Cleveland, there was the same high enthusiasm and the same unanimity in Baltimore, as in the other cities.

REKINDLED FIRES*

By Joseph Anthony

A book dealing with the life of Bohemians in America is a rare event. There are few of them in the Bohemian language and none at all in English, and one picks up with a great deal of interest a novel which its publishers say deals with a Bohemian-American community. Mr. Anthony's book is summarized by the publishers as follows:

"This is the story of how Stanislav Zabransky became Stanley Zabriskie; of his family who came from Bohemia, and of the colorful life of the Bohemian-American community on the edge of the Jersey meadows where the Zabranskys lived. Michael Zabransky, father of the family, is the social and political dictator of his community and a czar in his own home. His other children disappoint him, and Stanislav becomes his hope, the apple of his eye. In the relation that grows up between them, idealism is rekindled in the son, and Stanley, product of Old World and New is born in the flame. There are humor, broad humanity and romance in the telling of this novel of youth and Americanization and of Old World ideals rekindled on new hearths."

We do not know anything of the author, except that his picture shows him to be very young. If he is not himself the son of a Bohemian immigrant, it is hard to explain where he got his wonderful insight into the life of the Czech cigar makers in the New Jersey town. To one who has lived among these people, his figures and the atmosphere appear to be truthful and accurate. He has emphasized the two outstanding characteristics in the life of the Bohemian immigrants in the United States: the hostility to the Germans which they brought with

*Henry Holt & Co.

them from the old country, and their rebellion against the Catholic Church, a rebellion that so often takes the form of hostility to religion as such. When the story goes on to describe the young hero's college career, it loses in interest. But it is excellently written throughout and the portraits of the hero and especially of old Zabransky are very convincing.

The book has a great interest for people of Czechoslovak descent and we recommend it to them very warmly.

on this occasion a letter which pointed to the many ties connecting Bohemia with Italy and assured the Ambassador of the deep gratitude of the Czechoslovaks for Italian help.

The Ambassador answered in following words:

"I am touched by your letter commemorating the martyrdom of Cesare Battisti in the light of the present sacrifice of the noble Czechoslovak lives for the same ideal that animated him.

"While thanking you for having honored his memory in these days when the struggle is harder than



DEDICATION OF CZECHOSLOVAK FLAG, ROME, MAY 24, 1918.

Czechoslovak Battalion Saluting General Graziani and Prince Colonna, Mayor of Rome. Captain Sheba and Dr. Leo Sychrava, Director of the Home Office of the Czechoslovak National Council follow the guests of honor.

ANNIVERSARY OF CESARE BATTISTI.

July 21st was the third anniversary of the martyrdom of Cesare Battisti, deputy from the Trentino to the Vienna Parliament, who upon the outbreak of the war between Italy and Austria joined his people and being captured by the Austrians was shot as a traitor. He was the first martyr out of the thousands who have since been put to death by the Austrian barbarians of which noble company the 300 Czechoslovaks soldiers executed in June were the very flower.

The Washington office of the Czechoslovak National Council addressed to the Italian Ambassador

ever, I wish to express my reverent admiration for your brave countrymen who are giving the world a splendid evidence of their self-sacrificing courage and patriotism.

"Indeed the cruel sufferings inflicted upon them by the common enemy create an additional bond of friendship between Italians and Czechoslovaks; their joint efforts, made the stronger by the indignation by the barbarous treatment received at the hands of their foes, cannot fail to hasten the day of the final liberating victory.

Yours very truly,

MACCHI DI CELLERE, Italian Ambassador.

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Czechoslovakian Review
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The
BOHEMIAN REVIEW

Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America

October, 1918

*In Sight of Goal
With the Czecho-
slovak Forces
Austrian Slavs
United
No Compromise
Situation in Hun-
gary
Teuton Disregard
for Rights and
Honor
At Home
What the Czechs in
America feel
Current Topics*

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to recon-
silemia to incorporation with Austria."
Dec. 18 Berkeley, Cal.
Dr. Benjamin Wheeler
Pres. of University of Cal.
Woodrow Wilson.

10 Cents a Copy.

One Dollar per Year.



Entered as second class matter April 30, 1917, at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879

BOHEMIAN REVIEW

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW CO
2324 South Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR

JAROSLAV F. SMETANKA, EDITOR

Entered as second class matter April 30th, 1917 at the Post Office
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To the Czechoslovaks of the United States.

In the Third Liberty Loan you subscribed 31 million dollars and landed in the fourth place of the foreign language division. The Government needs more money now, and the other races are better organized. You must buy at least 50 million dollars worth of bonds, if you want to keep your place—and you ought to buy even more than that, so as to get nearer to the top.

The Government of the United States is now pledged to the cause of Czechoslovak independence and out of gratitude alone you should double your subscriptions.

— **BUY MORE BONDS** —

THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BOHEMIAN (CZECH) NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. II., No. 10.

OCTOBER, 1918.

10 cents a Copy
\$1.00 per Year

In Sight of the Goal.

The first stage on the road to independence has been reached. Czechoslovaks have been admitted to the ranks of the Allies as one of the belligerent nations, and the Czechoslovak National Council has been recognized by the Entente—and that means nine-tenths of the world—as a government carrying on war legitimately against the Central Powers. France on June 29th, Italy on June 30th, England on August 9th, the United States on September 3rd and Japan on September 9th, gave official pledges to this effect. Even China has now extended recognition to the Czechoslovaks, and the New York Times in a witty editorial told the Austrian Government that its efforts to bring together the warring sides around the green table could have no effect, since Austria omitted to extend an invitation to one of the governments most closely interested, namely the Czechoslovak National Council.

There are variations in the texts of the various official declarations extending recognition to the new nation. Thus the French who came first with an unqualified endorsement of the claims of the Czechoslovaks for a wholly independent state, speak of the National Council as the trustee of the national interests and the foundation of the future government. Italy chose its own way in extending a hand of friendship to its new Ally; instead of a formal announcement it concluded a treaty with the Czechoslovak National Council by which it recognized the right of the Council to command the Czechoslovak Armies, to make laws for Czechoslovak citizens and to enforce those laws on Italian soil. The British declaration has followed on the whole the tenor of the French recognition, but it is more explicit by stating directly that England looks upon the Czechoslovaks as an Allied and friendly power. The American statement does not go that

far in this particular, and leaves the status of Czechoslovaks resident in the United States and not naturalized still in doubt, but on the other hand it goes further than the European Allies in giving the Czechoslovak National Council the status of a de facto belligerent government. The Japanese text, as one may expect from a distant Power, which comes into contact with the Czechoslovaks merely in the course of military operations in Siberia, deals with the status of the Czechoslovak Army and of the Council as the organ in command of these armies. These differences, while not very serious, illustrate the lack of diplomatic leadership among the Powers of the Entente. There is one commander for all the Allied armies, there is a common war council sitting at Versailles, but the stage has not yet been reached of discussing the diplomatic questions and plans together and issuing a common statement on behalf of all the Allies.

What a difference between the fall of 1918 and the fall of 1914! Four years ago Masaryk left Bohemia with the determination to break up an empire of fifty-two million people into its component parts. He was practically alone. Now he is the president of one of the Allied Governments and the commander-in-chief of great armies. Four years ago a few thousand Bohemian and Slovak emigrants in France and England enlisted to strike a blow at the common enemy of their own nation and of their adopted land. But while they helped to hold up the foe's march to Paris, they fought and died for the cause of the Allies in general and not for their own country in particular. Today 150,000 of their brothers fight the enemy on all fronts in their own armies, knowing that by dying they help to defeat the Germans and also to free their native land. Four years ago a few Bohemian and Slovak enthusiasts in the United States saw in the war a chance for doing

something for the liberation of Bohemia from the German yoke, but they were like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Today their countrymen in all the states have grouped themselves around them, and theirs is the great honor of supporting financially the first free Czechoslovak government until the time comes when that government will come to Prague and will have control of the resources of the Czechoslovak lands.

The Czechoslovak state is the first state to receive recognition by the Allies. This enviable distinction did not come to the people of the Bohemian and Slovak lands by chance; they earned it. It is said that President Wilson delayed the American recognition, even after the European Allies had granted it, because he wanted to make sure that the Czechoslovak National Council was entitled to speak for its people. He found that to be absolutely true. And that is no small matter. When one considers that the Czechoslovaks have been subject for four hundred years to alien rulers, that all their manhood was placed in the Austrian ranks, that their emigrants were scattered over all continents and countless jurisdictions, that there was no compelling authority, except the one of common affection for their native land and of hatred against the Germans the manner in which they lined up back of their leader deserves admiration. To be sure, they were fortunate in having for a leader a man whose claims to leadership were so manifest that no other man could possibly contest the honors with him. Masaryk had such a hold over the affections and respect of his people, he had such notable qualifications for the great task of representing his people before the Allies that no organization opposed to him could arise in any settlement of the Czechoslovak people. In Russia, France and England, in the United States and Canada, in South America and South Africa Czechs and Slovaks organized themselves under various names, and under widely different conditions they have constructed widely differing organizations; but all of them endorsed Masaryk's leadership and followed his guidance.

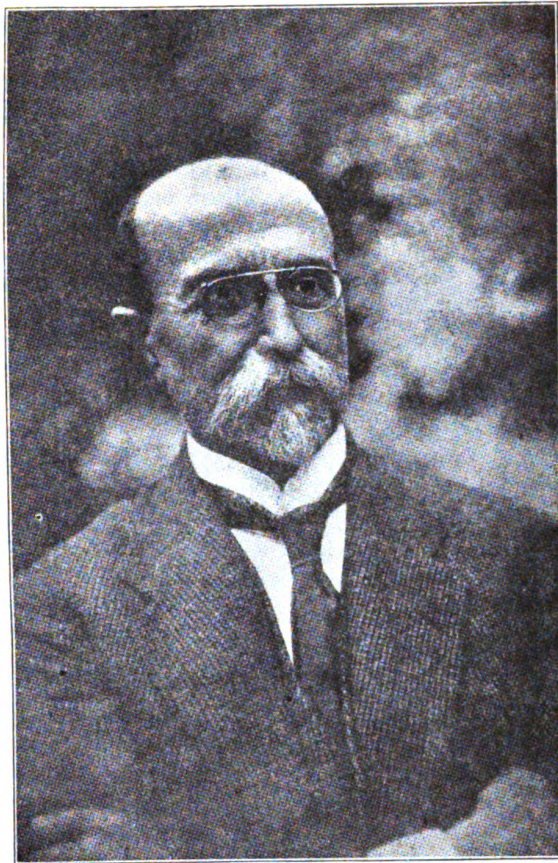
While the supreme leader never interfered in the internal administration of these far-flung bodies, he gathered around him in Paris and London several extremely able

and patriotic coworkers. The most notable of them was General Milan R. Štefanik, who holds the position of vice-president of the Council, and Dr. Edward Beneš, who is the general secretary of the Council. Štefanik as soldier and diplomat, Beneš as publicist and diplomat, ably assisted Masaryk, while he was with them, and took his place and carried on his work in the important capitals of Paris, London and Rome, when he was in Russia and America. A less well-known worker, but one whose labors in England bore material fruit and who has been her father's most faithful and efficient colaborator, is Miss Olga Masaryk. And there are hosts of others who gave all their time and all their unbounded enthusiasm to the work for four long years and who will be one day gratefully remembered by free Bohemia.

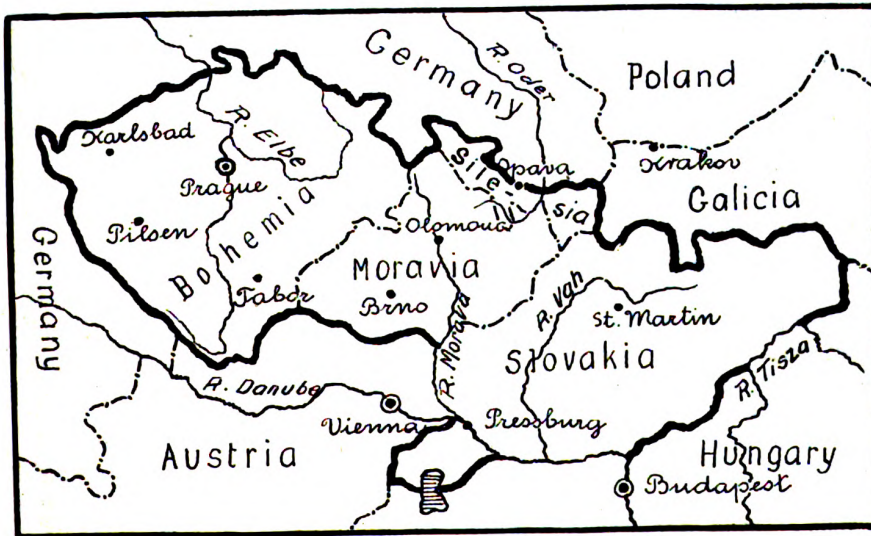
But after all the lion's share in the successes gained by the Czechoslovak cause during the war goes rightfully to the heroes of the Czechoslovak armies. No race is worthy of freedom, unless its men are ready to die for it. Six months ago the cause of free Bohemia could show to its credit many expressions of sympathy, but very little of solid achievement or of real guarantees by its friends. Since the Czechoslovaks in Russia and Siberia astounded the world by their adventure, and since the regiments in Italy and France took their places at the front as one of the Allied armies, the situation was changed. The Czechoslovak people at home might be in bonds and the National Council might be a government without a foot of Czechoslovak soil on which to raise its flag; but they have an army and that army one of fighters.

Marshall Foch said recently that the Allies had reached the top of the hill and that the going would now be easier—downhill. That applies with great force to the Czechoslovak fight for an independent position among the nations of the world. The great nations of the world are definitely pledged to this cause. An army of 150,000 men is in existence to liberate the Czechoslovak lands the very moment that the German military power is broken.

After four hundred years of slavery and four years of fighting the Czechoslovaks are in sight of the goal. Masaryk at the head of an army will lead them to the promised land.



PROFESSOR MASARYK



AND HIS IDEAL.

With the Czechoslovak Forces.

During the last six months the military situation in Russia and Siberia has cleared up considerably. A month ago there were two Czechoslovak fronts, as Trotzky called them, or rather three according to his reckoning: one in Eastern Siberia, one on the Volga and one in the Ural Mountains to the northeast of the Volga.

Now there is practically only one left. The two fronts in European Russia have been so extended as to become a single front, and the campaign in Eastern Siberia is to all intents and purposes over. While the appearance of the Allied forces contributed very largely to the downfall of the Bolshevik power on the Pacific, most of the real fighting was done by the Czechoslovaks. At the beginning of September the Czechoslovak forces of 15,000 which had taken over Vladivostok were marching west once more under General Dietrichs, supported by Japanese, American, British, French and Chinese troops. Their objective was to re-establish contact with the main Czechoslovak forces which were supposed to be hard pressed around Irkutsk by superior numbers composed of German and Magyar prisoners dressed in Red Guard uniforms. It seemed that this relief expedition would have to race with time to break through before winter set in.

What a surprise the world received in the first part of September, when the Czechoslovak force under General Gajda appeared suddenly on the Manchurian border, after overcoming a most determined opposition from the Bolsheviks. A telegram from Olovannaya in Transbaikalia summarizes the wonderful achievements of this small Czechoslovak troop as follows:

"There was severe fighting all the way and the Czechoslovaks were forced to leave the railway continually in order to strike at the enemy from the rear. This strategy was successful in every instance and caused the enemy heavy losses.

"Thirty-nine tunnels on the trans-Siberian railroad had been mined, but the Bolshevik forces were taken by surprise and only one tunnel was successfully blown up. While clearing away the debris the Czechoslovak artillery had to be hauled by man-power over steep ridges.

"In the meantime Czechoslovaks had seized Listvinichskaya, near Irkutsk, on the west bank of the Lake Baikal, where they found two small damaged steamships. These vessels were repaired and after two guns were mounted and several machine guns set up they steamed to the eastward towing barges filled with soldiers.

"By a ruse the Czechoslovaks managed to land near Misovoya, though larger vessels came out to give battle.

"Shots from the Czechoslovak guns shattered the gasoline and set fire to the enemy steamships. The Bolshevik seamen became panic stricken and permitted the Czechoslovaks to land and attack them from the rear.

"In the battle of Misovoya the Bolshevik forces lost forty complete trains out of sixty. Of their forces, estimated to number 20,000, some 6,000 were killed and 2,000 taken prisoners. The others fled into the woods and their defeat demoralized the troops further to the east.

"Thanks to the skill of the Czechoslovak engineers, the bridges on the trans-Siberian railway were repaired before the retreating enemy had time to rally. Consequently, Verkneudinsk and Karimokaya were occupied virtually without fighting. This accounted for the unexpectedly rapid advance of the Czechoslovaks to Tchita and other towns, which were found to be orderly."

The best appreciation of the great valor and resourcefulness of the Czechoslovaks is contained in a message sent by Lloyd George to the president of the Czechoslovak National Council. It is as follows:

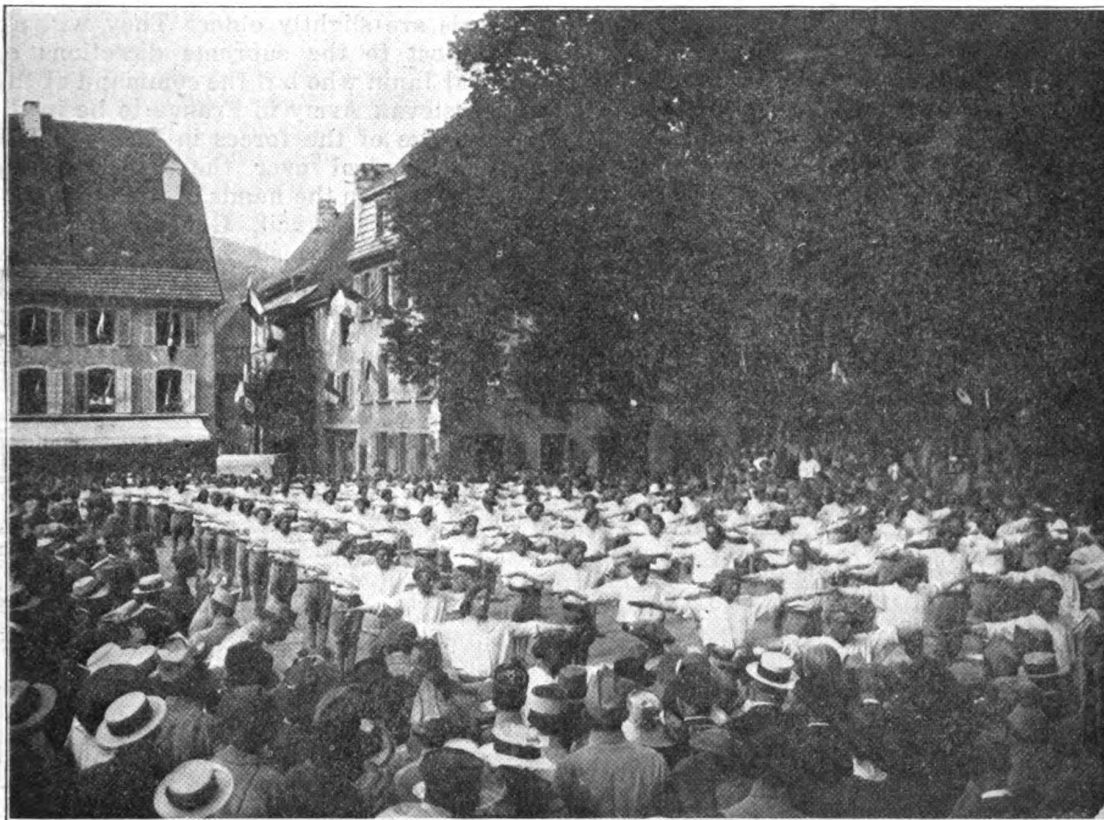
"On behalf of the British War Cabinet I send you our heartiest congratulations on the striking successes won by the Czechoslovak forces against armies of German and Austrian troops in Siberia. The story of the adventures and triumphs of this small army is indeed one of the greatest epics of history; it has filled us all with admiration for the courage, persistence and self-control of your countrymen, and shows what can be done to triumph over time, distance and lack of material resources by those holding the spirit of freedom in their hearts. Your nation has rendered inestimable service to Russia and to

the Allies in their struggle to free the world from despotism. We shall never forget it."

A great deal remains to be done on the Pacific slope of Siberia. There are still large groups of well-armed German prisoners and Bolshevik forces, holding sections of the Amur Railroad and roaming freely over the vast area north of the railroad. But to clean them up presents no great mili-

tary problem; it is merely a question of time.

But the Allies are faced now with a question of first rate importance. They sent small detachments to Siberia for the purpose of backing the Czechoslovaks and to enable the Russians to regain control of their own affairs. Now it seems that they will have to do more than merely keep a



A View of the Fourth of July Exercises Held by the Czechoslovak and American Fighters in Alsace.

small expeditionary force hugging the Pacific coast of Siberia. As a matter of fact the Western front is again in existence. On the Volga a force of Czechoslovaks of an unknown size, but counting less than 100,000, opposes strong forces of Bolsheviks officered by Germans. It is said that the Soviets have raised fifty divisions, while the Czechoslovaks are assured by the new Siberian government that 200,000 volunteer troops will support them. But it will be a long time, before the Russian troops can be relied upon in a serious battle.

As the situation now stands, three campaigns are being carried on in European Russia. In the north a small Allied force is

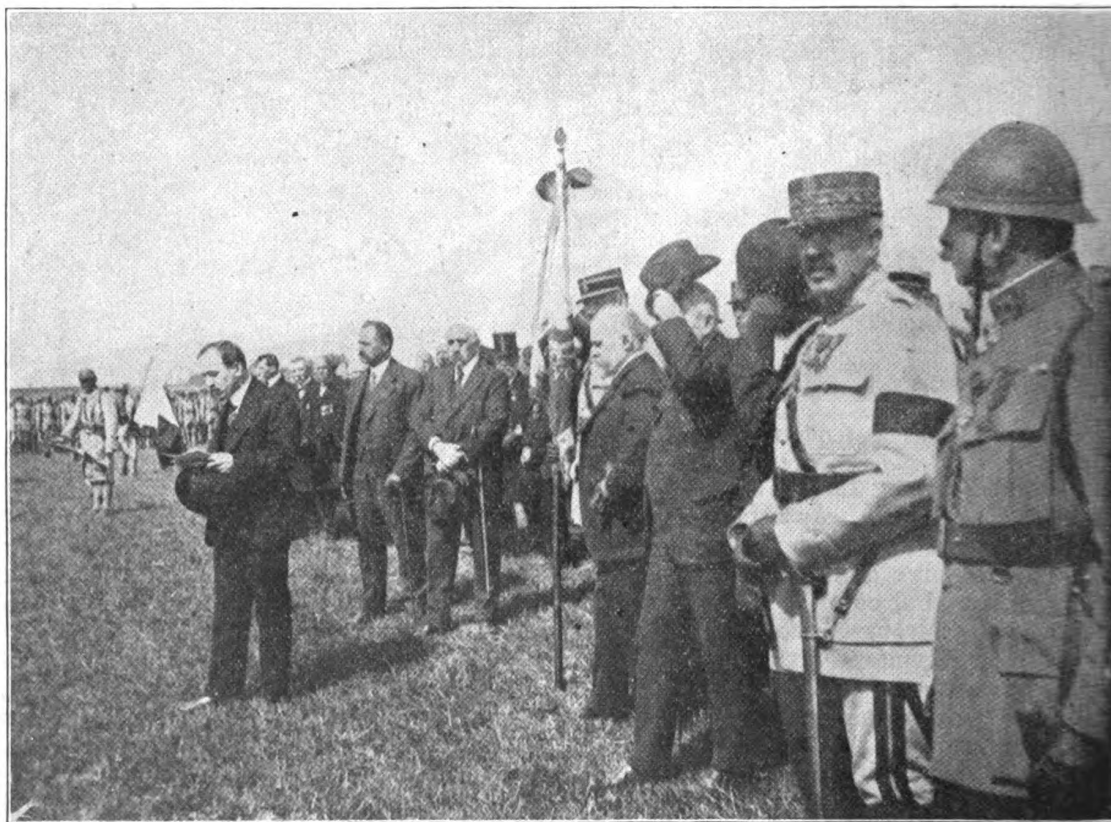
marching southward from Archangel. Separated by a few hundred miles from them the Czechoslovaks are holding their own from Perm to Samara. South of them fighting is going on between the Bolsheviks and the Don Cossacks. If two or three Allied divisions appeared on the Volga, the break between the three armies will be quickly filled in and a new front will extend from the Arctic to the Black Sea. That of course would mean an open alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Germans, but then it has been made clear that the Bolshevik leaders have been all along in the employment of the Germans. If the Czechoslovaks and those Russian elements which gath-

ered around them feel confident that the Allies will not leave them in the lurch against the advancing Germans, the reconstruction of Russia will proceed with much greater speed.

A few months ago, when the Czechoslovaks started on their long trip to France, they had no high officers in their ranks. Their highest officers were captains, and many volunteers who had been officers in the Austrian army had to serve as privates or corporals. Masaryk selected a Russian general of experience for chief of staff. But during the time that the main body of this force was cut off from all contact with the outside world, during the four months of steady fighting, men came to the front by a process of natural selection. At present the commander of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia is Major-General Syrový, an engineer by profession, one of the earliest volunteers in the original Czechoslovak Legion of the Russian army. At the battle of Zborov he lost

his right eye, and like the great Czech general, Žižka, of the Hussite Wars, he leads his men with a black flap over one eye. Under him the commander on the Volga front is General Čeček, who commanded a battalion at Zborov and who won the battle of Bachmach in March of this year against the Germans. The commander in the East is General Gajda, who is a physician by profession and only 28 years old. The other generals are slightly older. They will all be subject to the supreme directions of General Janin who left the command of the Czechoslovak Army in France to be in direct charge of the forces in Russia. The political control over the Czechoslovak forces will be in the hands of the vice-president of the Council, General Štefanik. Both these distinguished leaders are now on their way to Vladivostok.

On the French front three regiments are stationed in Alsace alongside of the American troops, and while they have not taken



Presentation of a Banner by the City of Paris to the Heroic 21st Regiment. In the Front is Dr. Edward Beneš addressing the Fighters. In the center near the banner is President Poincare and immediately behind him General Janin and Captain Philipp of the 21st Regiment of the Czechoslovak Army.

part in any great action, they have already suffered many casualties, among them men that volunteered from America. They have been cited in army orders for their gallant conduct.

On September 21st the Czechoslovak division on the Italian front fought for the first time in its regular formation, achieving victory. This is the story of their great fight as given out by the Italian Embassy in Washington:

"On the Trentino front the Czechoslovaks repelled double enemy attacks east of Lake Garda, prepared in greatest secrecy. It appears that enemy command had not territorial objectives in view, but merely proposed to strike a blow against the Czechoslovaks to obtain proof of the Austrian statement that the Czechoslovak army has no practical value, being recruited by force and would give way voluntarily at the first blow. If the Austrians had achieved any local success on Dosso Alto, their command, after hanging the Czechoslovak prisoners, would have again affirmed that the Czechoslovaks do not wish to fight against Austria. At daybreak on the 21st, picked assault detachments of landwehr, exclusively composed of Magyars and Germans assembled under the command of General

Schiesser. At four they began destructive fire, firing thousands of shells and discharging asphyxiating gases against the Dosso Alto salient. An hour later two columns advanced in attack. The Czechoslovaks went over the trenches, placing machine guns behind wire entanglements, and opening deadly fire against the assaulting troops, the first column of which was obliged to retire. The second column, after desperate fighting, succeeded in overcoming the Czechoslovaks, occupying the position. The Czechoslovaks acting on their own initiative, resumed battle and with irresistible dash after bloodiest battle, recaptured the position. Magyars and Germans were killed on reconquered positions, and Czechoslovaks, freely using daggers, completely re-established the original line in the afternoon. No prisoners were made on either side during the whole battle. Premier Orlando telegraphed to the Secretary General of the Czechoslovak National Council as follows: "Cordially express my admiration at the intrepid firmness and valor of the Czechoslovak division on the Dosso Alto Alps, where a people fighting bravely for its liberty conquered the aggressive fury fed by hate. May this be a good omen for the final battle and victory."

Austrian Slavs United.

The most cheering news received from Austria refers to the convention held in Laibach at the end of August by official delegates of Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks and Poles. It was in a manner a continuation of the Prague manifestation of May 13th. This time the Jugoslavs were the hosts, and the Poles and Czechoslovaks were distinguished and welcome guests. The occasions of the meeting was the dedication of a memorial tablet to the Slovenien leader Krek, who had advocated in the Austrian parliament the idea of a union among the Slavs. Following the example of the Czechs the Jugoslavs elected a national council; its present seat is Laibach, but it will be transferred to Agram, as soon as the Croatians will elect their representatives. Just as in Bohemia, this council is intended to take charge of the situation in southern Austrian lands, when the expected revolution breaks out.

Polish representatives were as outspoken as the Czechs and Slovenians. Deputy Glombinski discussed the constitution of the future independent Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav states, while Count Skarbak argued that the three Slav states must be erected in order to limit German aggression. Deputy Klofáč for the Czechoslovaks assured the assembly that the Czechs were getting ready for all eventualities, that they were absolutely united and that no one among them thought of negotiating with Vienna.

Although the British and American acts of recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council were received with a howl of indignation and sarcasm in the official Austrian press, it is evident that Vienna and Budapest are badly scared. In the hands of the pan-Germanists this feeling is expressed by threats of frightfulness. So Wichtl, a leading member of the German

Radical Party, said in a speech in Styria: "What shall we do with the Slavs? Decimate them and break them up. The war is the best means to that end. That is why every German-thinking man must stand for the continuation of the war."

The war annihilated at least 20 million Slavs. The Germans suffered relatively less owing to the fact that war is being exclusively fought on non-German soil. That was the greatest strategic and political move made by Emperor William and Hindenburg. If now war were carried to Czech soil, no German would burst into tears over it. The war will destroy Slav race to such an extent that they will not be able to recover within perceivable time. We Germans have annihilated Serbia, Montenegro and Russia. So shall we also deal with the Slavs of Austria-Hungary."

The government, too, practices frightfulness as far as it dares. It knows now that it is useless to deny the fact of disaffection in the Austrian Army, as was its practice during the first three years of the war. Recently the Vienna papers published the names of 74 soldiers who were executed for treason, nearly all of them were Slavs. The paper also states that 17 men of the Czechoslovak Army in Italy captured by Austrians were executed, and a standing reward of 450 crowns and 14 days' fur-

lough is offered to any soldier who captures a member of the Czechoslovak Army.

At the front it may still be possible to enforce discipline, but in the interior the process of disorganization has gone so far that the most treasonable talk and open preparations for rebellion are ignored by the authorities. There is no class of the people on whom the helpless ministers can any longer rely. Government officials of Czech race and even the Catholic clergy in Bohemia, in spite of the pressure of German bishops, openly endorse the Czechoslovak Committee as the real Government of the people. Deputy Mashtalka who a year ago was opposed to a total break between the Czech deputies and the Government now returns to the emperor the order of the Iron Crown, being unwilling to wear any longer an Austrian decoration. In the country soldiers are stationed everywhere to watch the growing crops with orders to shoot hungry people who at night and even in daytime dig up a few potatoes.

The parliament is to meet early in October and the Austro-Hungarian delegations are also to deliberate on the common interest of the monarchy. We shall hear some revolutionary talk and shall probably see the Polish deputies under force of Polish public opinion make a common front with the rest of the Austrian Slavs. Austria is ripe for an explosion.

No Compromise.

An Address Delivered by Chas. Pergler, American Delegate of the Czechoslovak National Council, at Chicago, September 14, 1918.

In celebrating today the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council as a de facto belligerent government, we are celebrating an act which perhaps more than any other illustrates the deep gulf existing between Austro-Hungarian and German methods, on the one hand, and American and Allied ways and means on the other. For their own selfish ends, and not out of consideration for any desires on the part of the peoples concerned, Germany endeavored to stir up trouble in Ireland, India, Egypt and elsewhere. The purpose sought was not to give recognition to the aspiration of any nation, but to weaken Allied power for a successful prosecution of the war.

The United States, even to win the holiest of wars, would not stoop to such German and Austro-Hungarian methods. America always stood ready to extend support to those justly asking for it. She always recognized any movement which showed itself to be really one of the people. So she has now accorded recognition to the Czechoslovak movement for independence. She waited, and properly waited, until it was demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that Czecho-Slovak peoples demanded severance from Austria-Hungary, until they showed on the battlefield that they themselves were willing to lay down their lives to achieve their independent purposes. In other words, in according recognition to the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czecho-Slovak national aspirations, the United States Government recognizes an

established and existing fact. America would not attempt to create trouble in Austria-Hungary for her own purposes. But once it is proved that any Austro-Hungarian nationality calls and fights for independence, America unhesitatingly gives its approval to the demand. But she undertakes this step not only because she is confronted with an existing fact, but also because the object fought for by the nationality in question, in this case by the Czechoslovaks, she considers just. An unjust cause, no matter how forcefully supported, she would not give recognition to. Therein lies the greatness of the statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson.

In this respect, too, the admission of the Czechoslovaks into the community of the fighting democratic nations as full-fledged allies is their own work, and we may be justly proud of that fact. No nation is entitled to freedom and liberty, nor can it maintain its freedom and liberty, without having fought for it, without having won it for itself. These priceless possessions never have been and never will be of any value as a mere gift, and never have been and never can be banlied about as charity.

Immediately upon the declaration of war the whole Czechoslovak nation adopted a vigorously anti-Austrian and anti-German attitude. The movement was one of the people. It was spontaneous and general. There was absolutely no artificial stimulation about it, and it could not be repressed by the White Terror of Vienna and Budapest. In fact, the opposition to the war and to Austria-Hungary was begun by Czechoslovak soldiers who were unsillingly conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian armies, but refused to fight for their hereditary enemies and against their friends and brothers on the Allied side. They surrendered to the so-called enemy at every possible opportunity. The Czechoslovak legions in the Allied Armies, came into existence very soon after the outbreak of the war.

The quality of the Czechoslovak legions and the Czechoslovak Armies need not be commented upon. The Russian offensive in July, 1917, was really made possible by the Czechoslovaks, and the battle of Zborov some day will be the subject matter of one of the most stirring tales of the war. A writer in the magazine "Asia" for September, who has been some time with our Siberian Army, has this to say about it: "In

my notebook I cannot find the names of a dozen leaders of the Czechoslovak expedition. In a sense there are no leaders. The outstanding fact in the Czechoslovak Army is the democracy of it. The leaders are men who have been trained, but they owe their position to popular choice. Yet there is no foolish idea that military decisions can be made by a committee of soldiers. The Czechoslovak sacrifices personal ambition to his cause, and that is why his cause is worth fighting for."

We have won our standing as one of the Allies, and we are grateful to the United States and to the Allies for having admitted us into the partnership of the combined fighting democracies after we have proved our fitness for membership:

In some quarters an attempt has been made to construe the wording of the official text of Secretary Lansing's announcement of recognition as being consistent with a possibility of a future existence of Austria-Hungary as a federal state. Nothing can be more erroneous. If the struggle of the Czechoslovaks is an existing fact so potent that it led to the recognition of our National Council as a de facto belligerent government, the undeniable fact also exists that never again will the Czechoslovaks voluntarily submit to Austro-Hungarian rule in any form, and to Hapsburg sovereignty in any shape or manner. We have broken with Austria-Hungary and the Hapsburgs forever, and our struggle shall continue until the Hpasburgs have been sent to deserved oblivion and Austria-Hungary has been wiped off the map forever. This being the case, we are confident that in this, too, we shall have the support of the United States and the Allies.

For that matter, it must be remembered that the principle of nationality cannot be carried out without a complete dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. It must be equally remembered that this principle means not only freedom, but that it also means unity. To preserve Austria-Hungary in any form would mean not only that the Czechoslovaks must remain divided under alien domination, but that the Rumanians of Transylvania and Bukovina must continue to suffer under the unspeakable cruelties of the Magyar regime, that Poland could not become united, and that the Italians of Trentino could not be joined to their brethren of Italy.

The Austrian problem is strongly akin to that of Turkey. In fact, the fate of these two purely military and autocratic empires is closely intertwined. The downfall of Turkey spells downfall for Austria, since Austria loses her ruling idea and her statesmen cannot find for her a mission. Austria loses ground progressively, just as Turkey did. Consider only the dissolution of the Austro-Spanish Empire; that later the monarchy lost the greater part of Silesia, and finally was forced completely to abandon Germany by Prussia; that in 1848 she was saved by autocratic Russia; and that in 1859 she lost most of her Italian provinces; and since 1866 she is simply the tool of Berlin.

After all, the world's statesmanship has made progress and become more idealistic and spiritualized since the days when false theories as to balance of power several times saved Turkey. The compromises which the Turkish problem led to will not, must not, be repeated in regard to Austria-Hungary. In the interest of permanent peace, in the interest of justice and fair dealing, in the interest of democracy, Austria-Hungary must go.

No one can be benefited by the preservation of Austria-Hungary in any form except the Hapsburgs themselves. In the last analysis, anyone pleading for the preservation of Austria-Hungary is pleading the cause of the degenerated Hapsburg dynasty. The story goes that ex-Ambassador Gerard, when asked by the President as to his opinion concerning the causes of the war, answered: "Mr. President, it's this king business." The preservation of Austria-Hungary means the preservation of the Hapsburgs and the continuation, at least to that extent, of the kings' and emperors' business, which has been kept alive by the sacrifice of millions of women and children, and the destruction of untold, unimaginable treasures.

Austria-Hungary preserved, Germany would really remain victorious, and at least unchastized, as well as in a position to start anew at some time in the future another world conflagration.

For be it remembered that the foundation upon which Germany has built is Germany herself, together with Austria-Hungary. Without the immense reservoir of human material in Austria-Hungary, consisting of enslaved nationalities, Germany could not even now be facing almost the entire civilized world.

After the treaty of Brest-Litowsk, the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Karl sent an emissary to our troops then encamped around Kiev with a promise of complete autonomy, amnesty if they return, and assurances they would not be required to again fight with the Austro-Hungarian Armies. The answer of our troops was: "The Czechoslovaks do not negotiate with the Hapsburgs." That, I am sure, will be the answer of the United States and the Allies whenever and wherever the Central Empires start their periodical peace offensives. When the war ends, we shall see the civilized world freed from the nightmare of German militarism, we shall witness the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the re-establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state, and of a united Poland. There will be a united Jugoslavia: the Rumanian state will contain within its borders all Rumanians, and the process of Italian unity will be completed. With the various nations of the world so freed, we may then take the next step, that of forming a society of nations and an international order worth securing by what has become known as a League of Nations, or perhaps a League to Enforce Peace. But a condition precedent to the formation of any such society is, and must be, the establishment of a just international order, one really worth securing and fighting for.

In his recent peace note, Baron Burian maintains there is no objection to the principles enunciated by President Wilson, presupposing their application is general and reconcilable with the vital interests of the states concerned. It is the vital interest of that dynastic preserve called Austria-Hungary to keep enslaved the Austro-Hungarian nationalities. There is the joker in the note. There is the clause which, if no other, shows we are dealing with a group of still unrepentant criminals with whom there can be no parleying, but upon whom sentence simply must be passed, when they shall have been captured and bound.

In the meantime, let us carry on. Let us not be afraid of whatever efforts may be required, let us not shrink from whatever sacrifices may be necessary. A MAN may lose his soul by living, a man may save it by dying. The civilized powers of the world will save their souls by prosecuting this war to a victorious conclusion, no matter what the cost in lives or treasure.

The Situation in Hungary.

By Joža Žák-Marusiak

Ever since the British recognition of the Czechoslovaks the Magyar politics has struck a new note. The oligarchy which rules in Hungary looked heretofore on the Czechoslovak campaign as a mere political trick of the Allies intended to create disorder in the monarchy; but now this clique is beginning to realize the greatness of the danger which threatens the unity of the Hungarian kingdom and the tyranny of the Magyar noblemen over the races of Hungary.

Even before the British declaration was published, the "Pesti Naplo" wrote with reference to the challenge of the Czech deputy Staněk in the Austrian Parliament: "It is greatly to our interest that we should realize the situation in which we are placed and that we should not underestimate the efforts for dismemberment of Hungary which find an echo in the Versailles War Council and in the American White House.

Our public administration, our policy toward the nationalities have endangered the vitality of our work in Hungary. That our administration is Asiatic was stated long ago by Baron Paul Szinnyey. We will not defend our administrative system, just because Staněk castigates it, but we shall attack it ourselves. We demand that things be changed; they ought to be changed so that we would not have to appeal as against Staněk—who is really the voice of Wilson and Lloyd George—to the sole fact that we are Magyars. Let us rather show that we are cultured Magyars, which is something very different. It is dangerous for us that the nationalist question has been transferred to the west. Our Eastern question was solved by the fall of Serbia and Roumania, because the problem of the Eastern Slavs can be solved by force, by fist. But the problem of the Western Slavs who are more advanced is primarily a question of culture. If we do not want to lose we have to realize that."

In these words the organ of Magyar capitalists pointed out a new orientation for Hungarian politicians, the aim being still the same, namely, to maintain Magyar rule over all Hungary. This new orientation manifested itself in a peace propaganda; not for the sake of peace, but to gain

friends on the Allied side and to neutralize the growing influence of the Czechoslovaks in the councils of the Allies.

The chief apostle of the "Magyar peace party" is Count Michael Karolyi, who early in August made a speech to his constituents in which he declared that his party would work for a separate peace on the basis of President Wilson's program. At the same time, however, Count Karolyi is a strong defender of the unity of the Hungarian state which of course implies that the Czechoslovaks must remain divided and that other Slav branches must continue to live under Magyar oppression. It is not likely that the Allies will swallow the Magyar peace bait and abandon the Czechoslovaks with their brave army for the sake of gaining over a few insincere Magyar noblemen! But it is well to realize that the Magyars have no desire to be just to the nationalities of Hungary.

The Budapest Government is still so blind as to imagine that they can hide the desires of the majority of the Hungarian inhabitants for a break-up of Hungary, and that they can accomplish this by suppressing the nationalities themselves. The famous and widely heralded franchise reform was so juggled that it would be practically impossible under this measure for three million Slovaks to elect a single deputy. The latest now is a law consolidating the counties and reducing their number from 63 to 48. The purpose is to bring Magyar districts into counties that were heretofore overwhelmingly Slav or Roumanian, so that the claim could be made that all of the administrative divisions of Hungary are either Magyar or have strong Magyar elements, and that therefore it would be unjust and impracticable to break up the unity of the Hungarian kingdom.

Another Magyar method for the solution of the question of nationalities is a so-called reform of land law. During the four years of the war peasants in Hungary, and especially in the Slovak counties, received good prices for their produce and they used the money to buy more land from the impoverished Magyar gentry. When the estate that happened to come into the market was too large, Czech bankers bought the prop-

erty and parcelled it out to the neighboring Slovak peasants. This process scared the Magyar chauvinists who ruled in Budapest, and a law was passed authorizing the government to expropriate large landed estates and settle on them disabled soldiers who must of course be Magyars. This law copies the Prussian program as applied in Posnania, to settle Polish lands with German farmers. The law provides also that the property of dangerous aliens shall be taken over, and this section is aimed principally at the Czechs, who as Austrian subjects are aliens in Hungary.

Political persecution against Slavs has continued in full force. In May representative Slovaks gathered in Liptov St. Nicholas, and indorsed the Czech program for an independent Czechoslovak state, embracing both branches of the nation. The principal speaker at that Assembly was Dr. Vavro Srobar, a physician and author of Ružomberk. After his address he was charged with treason and sentenced to a long term in the Magyar prisons of Szegedine. The best known Slovak poet, Hviezdoslav, and

a number of women are now before the Hungarian courts on the charge of treason for participating in the Czech demonstrations held in Prague in the month of May. The terrorism of the Magyar authorities is best illustrated by the case of the old professor Polony, who was indicted because he said in a funeral address over the grave of the poet Maro that Maro could not attend a Slovak school, because the Slovaks had none. Such cases are only too common and they flatly contradict Magyar peace offensive which has the audacity to claim that it accepts President Wilson's principles.

The Slovaks are now as united as the Czechs, and both look forward to the same ideals. The "Slovak Tyždennik," the only political newspaper of three million people, wrote recently:

"Let us pay no more attention to the Magyar persecutions. No longer will Magyar soft words have any effect on us. Let us stand together, shoulder to shoulder, work and fight for that beautiful future of our people of which we now feel assured."

Teuton Disregard for Rights and Honor. †

By E. F. Prantner

"From Nature we derive the common rights of man."—Josiah Quincy.

The notorious disregard of the common rights of man by the Central Powers since the beginning of hostilities demonstrates to the world in most emphatic terms their insane purpose of world domination. The Teutons have not only overridden man's rights, but they have trampled on the rights of nations and prostituted the law of God. Is it any wonder that the harvest is utter hatred of all things German?

Shivering "neutrals" hate and fear them, while open enemies cover the earth. The condemnation, the contempt, the distrust, the disdain of the entire world has been heaped upon their heads. Thus the case now on trial before the court of last resort, that grim and ghostly court, may fairly be listed, in the annals of history, as "Teuton Madness vs Humanity and Civilization."

In no past war has universal public opinion been so unanimous in condemning acts of sheer mad barbarity. Why is the alignment of humanity and civilization so bitter toward the Central Powers? Germany and

Austria lifted the lid off hell in August, 1914, and have kept it off ever since. They rode rough shod over the little brave nation that stood in their path. This breach of international law, respect for neutral peoples and territory, is unpardonable, unforgivable. It was an act of a barbaric militarist gone mad. The "Most High and Omnipotent personage" would brook no interference in his plans and purposes, nor allow such trifles as international treaties, the national words of honor, to defeat his ambitions. Innocent nations must be made to suffer to permit the realization of a madman's fantastic dream.

From the smoke of battle emerged the menacing and monstrous purpose: Teutonic world domination. None could mistake it. The German "superman" was to master mankind, rule throughout the world by force or fear of force. His battle shield bore, indelibly imprinted, his motto: "Deutschland ueber Alles". The world was to be German. In his grand triumph, at the termination of the war when the grand dream would be realized, the "superman"

would only tolerate vassals or slaves on this planet, but no friends. To attain his purpose, the consort of the Teutonic "Gott" resorted to atrocities unnumbered, unceasing and often unmentionable.

The governmental combination of Germans and Magyars imposed its will, though clouded in smoke screens styled treaties, on unfortunate Roumania and misguided Russia. In both cases the predominating feature of the peace terms is domination; domination of peoples, lands, commerce and militarism. Ostensibly portions of the conquered lands were parcelled among the Central Powers' allies, but in reality the recipients were already a part of the wonderful dream. World domination, world slavery with the Teuton "superman" acting as Simon Legree, was the ambitious, fantastic, unbelievable and unattainable dream of the Germans.

What is the German view of the present military situation? Disregarding the many misleading and purposely false reports so energetically distributed by the official press bureau, we are brought face to face with the expressions of opinion by the newspapers of that country. They no longer regard the Central Powers unconquerable, and in the words of the military critic of the "Berliner Tageblatt" acknowledge that "the solution of the riddle (Allied strength) lies in the fact that the Entente States' will to annihilation enabled them, after unparalleled exertions, to gather together a powerful numerical superiority in all arms." A German critic admits the numerical superiority of the Allied armies, the German people will soon be convinced of it. Both will soon enough admit that the force and morale of the Entente armies are superior to those of the Central Powers.

Germany is without friends. The realization of this fact is being driven home more forcibly every day. Is it any wonder? The civilized world is purging itself of a loathsome infection, "Kultur". The German press is beginning to realize the isolation of the Central Powers. In the words of the "Vorwarts":

"Why has Germany no friends? The natural inclination to support the weak side, for she is the weakest side in this great war, has not made itself felt. Why? The answer fills a column, but it may be boiled down to a few words. She has always been bragging and still brags about her strength. She judged and judges everythnig and ev-

erybody in terms of force. So it is conceded in this jeremiad that Germany is in danger, and that she has, by reason of her false policy, no friends."

"Just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty in matters spiritual and temporal, is a thing that all men are clearly entitled to, by the eternal and immutable laws of God and nature." This declaration of fundamental truths is just as true today as the day it was uttered by Samuel Adams. For the preservation of these principles the world offers its most precious and sacred possession, manhood, as a sacrifice that the insane cravings of foul minds shall not rule the earth.

The heroism of the original Entente Powers averted the greatest disaster of civilized times. They stopped the mad onrush of the Hun hordes; they snatched from the grip of the beast its prey. Since that day many other peoples, within and without the sphere of Teutonic influence, have joined hands with the modern crusaders until now but few nations remain outside of the sphere of operations. The most notable, dependable and financially strong ally of the Entente is the United States. Through our efforts, aided by the English, French, Italian, Czechoslovak, and possibly the Russian armies, this war will be determined in favor of humanity and civilization.

Heretofore the Allies have made noble and heroic sacrifices which they will continue to make until the object of this deadly grapple, democracy of the world, is assured.

A people, hereto practically unknown, make the world gasp with astonishment by their valiant conduct on the field of battle and by their actions at home. The Czechoslovaks by their course have received approbation and recognition from Italy, France and Great Britain, and now are regarded as an independent nation. The Albany (N. Y.) Journal is led to observe that the "Czecho-Slovaks' look like something that may have a punch." These troops have saved Russia from German domination and absorption and Bolsheviks' fanaticism. The Bolsheviks feel their force and again quote the Albany (N. Y.) Journal, "The Czecho-Slovaks, backed by the Allies, are 'Czecking the Bolsheviks'."

The Austro-Hungarian autocracy froths and gives vent to its feelings, because, "it is the acme of hypocrisy when England gives these notorious traitors a testimonial

that they are waging legitimate warfare." The Teuton may commit the grossest breaches of international law, commit murder, plunder the country and still, in his own estimation, be regarded as a "superman." It is hypocrisy and treason for a Slav to seek liberty and freedom; he must submit to Teutonic and Hungarian mastery, though intellectually and morally he is their superior.

In the recent Austrian drive, on the Piave, the Hungarian troops captured, and executed as traitors, Czechoslovak soldiers. In the eyes of civilization and humanity these men were troops of a belligerent nation, and if taken prisoners in a battle they were to receive treatment accorded to prisoners of war, because before going into battle they complied with all the prerequisites of international law. Treaties, international conventions and international laws govern and bind civilized peoples only; the Teutons are exempt from their operation, when they stand in the way of attaining the Hun objective. The "superman" may violate these laws with impunity at will and still regard himself with that "I am holier than thou" spirit. To the German mind nothing matters unless it works out to the advantage of the Huns.

Again the displeasure of German-Austro-Hungarian combine is voiced. "These disloyal (Czech and Slovak) elements, guilty of perjury, will, notwithstanding the Entente's recognition, be regarded and treated as traitors." What could be expected? The Czechoslovaks aid in the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, hence no matter how humanity may regard them, if they oppose the will and purpose of Teutons and

the Hungarians they are traitors in the eyes of the Central Powers.

It is stated that the present Austrian premier, Baron Hussarek, evolved a plan for a federalization of Austria and a confederate state for Austria-Hungary after a conference with the leading statesmen of the monarchy, including the Slavs. Which Slav statesmen did he consult? Nobody knows. Why is not the basis for the federalization made public? Nobody knows.

The Czechoslovaks will not be bribed by Teutonic-Tartar empty phrases. Nothing but liberty and freedom for the Czechoslovaks and their lands at the hands of the Entente Powers will satisfy them. Promises will not swerve them from their avowed purpose—the democracy of the world. The triumph of the Allies must be assured, it must be complete.

Hus and Žižka fought for freedom of "things spiritual and temporal". Their prayers are to the God of battles and the God of civilization that the arms of their descendants might triumph and their kinsmen realize the ambitions of five centuries.

The Czechs and Slovaks of the present day are imbued with the Hussite principles and they go forth to battle with the same spirit as that which prompted the medieval warriors of Bohemia. They will not disappoint the world. In common with the Bohemian "Falcons" (Sokols) their motto is: "Break through, leap over, but never crawl under." *Přelom, přeskoč, ale nepodlez.*) To the bitter end they will battle, until the dawn of a better day, democracy of the world, shines brightly in the clearing.

At Home.

By Janko Sršeň.

Janko Srien is the pen name of Ján Janček, secretary of the Slovak League. Before the war Mr. Janček was one of the most prominent bankers of Slovakland and did a great deal in a practical way to help the fight of his people against Magyar exploitation. He established savings banks and loan associations and financed industrial concerns as part of the Slovak political fight. When Austria-Hungary declared mobilization, he had to report as a reserve officer, but went over with his entire command to the Russian side at the first opportunity. In Russia he was active as a journalist and was sent to the United States a year ago with messages from the Slovaks in Russia.

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The stories given below were written by him in Russia in the early days of the war and give a key

to the sentiments of the Slovak peasants, when the war started.

Dusk was falling.

On the street corners posters were put up. Men and women crowded around them and stared at them.

"Michael, will my Andrew have to go too?" asked an old woman of 67 years, a widow. A man about 30 years old, tall and sturdy, who was returning from the fields with a scythe over his shoulders, replied with a question:

"In what year was he born?"

"On the fete day of Saints Peter and Paul he was 37 years old."

"Thirty-seven . . . Of course he will have to go. Every man up to the age of 42, if he served his turn in the army."

"And what about my Andrew's children? And his wife? What will they do?"

"Oh, as to them they write nothing. The king orders that every one who had been a soldier and is not yet more than 42 years old must join his regiment."

"That cannot be, Michael; you don't get it right. What can they do with such an elderly fellow, especially as he has rheumatism? He will be only in the way; he can hardly walk, and how could he run? No. I am going to see a notary. It cannot be as you explain it."

"Go on to the notary, if you want to," answered Michael. "It is so written on the placard, and it is actually written in our Slovak language plainly, so that everyone would understand it."

"Why that is so! Look at that Slovak placard," Josef Sidovie called out as he passed by and stopped behind Michael. "All of a sudden these fine gentlemen have learned to write Slovak, when they need us. Lala, even the king himself signed his name in Slovak: Fráño Jozef."

* * * * *

Jano Cárach went to town with his wife.

"And what else shall I buy, now that the war is here?"

"Don't buy very much—get a half sack of peas, a sack of middlings for the pig, so that you would have lard in the winter, and a sack of flour."

"Why get so much of it? Michael won't be home, there will be only the three of you. You have a lot of potatoes and enough cabbage to last you till next summer. If you get more, it will spoil."

"Jano, when the Russians come, what will I give them?" answered the wife.

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At Riadek below the gardens there is a small neat house. In the house there is a living room, a small kitchen and a tiny bedroom from which a little window looks out on the street through a fence covered with bean plants, and in the house lives an old widow.

For two months she received no news from her only son, who had been taken into the army. Every morning she went out before the gate and watched for the mail carrier.

"Please look once more, Andrew—" she begged the mail man, "perhaps there is a little card in there from my Jožko. He has been such a good boy and he surely could not have forgotten me. How he tried to cheer me, when he went away: 'Don't be afraid, little mother, they won't kill me. And I will write to you every day'—but now two months are gone and not a line from him. Could they have killed him after all?"

It was Sunday. The women all went to church, only the old widow could not get ready. Everything seemed to go wrong with her and she could not find her things. Finally she was out of the

house, when it struck her that she forgot to take a penny for the collection.

She went back into the room and took a dime; she would get it changed on the way, or maybe she will give it to the priest to mention Jožko in the prayers. And as she was going out once more, Andrejko, the mail carrier, met her.

"I have got news for you. He has written. Don't tell anyone. He is a prisoner."

"What does it matter, as long as he writes and is alive," and she pressed the dime into Andrejko's hand; "and what does he write, read it to me."

"He says that he is well, that he was captured on the sixth day after he got to the front, and that now he is working again at his trade, making benches in Siberia, in Russia. They are putting up a new school there and he has got to make the benches." 'I have even saved a few rubles,' he writes at the end."

"The Lord be praised; just think of that bad fellow Drahurad who changed his name to Denes so that it would look Magyar; he was telling everyone that the Cossacks would kill all the men they catch."

After dinner the widow Hanka had a visitor. Zusa Zvadovie who lived across the street came to talk about their men in the war; Zusa had two sons and a son-in-law at the front.

"What is the matter, Hanka, you are smiling? Why are you so gay? Did you get anything from Jožko?"

"Yes, he wrote to me. But for God's sake don't mention it to anybody. He is alive. He is a prisoner. Today as I was going to church, Ondrejko brought me a card from him. But the people at the town hall must not know about it. I would lose the seven crowns that I get a month, and God knows what other trouble I might have. Don't mention a word to anyone."

"God forbid, not a word to anyone."

Three weeks later Andrew, the mail carrier, stopped at the Zvadovie farm. The widow Hanka who saw him through her little window ran out to the gate, as soon as he left the house across the street, but Zusa Zvadovie was shouting already across the street: "Hanka, my Mike is a prisoner, too."

* * * * *

"Don't cry, my golden mother," little seven-year-old Janik was cheering his mama.

"My sweet child, how can I keep from crying, when they are going to kill your poor papa in the war? What will we do then?"

"Don't cry, little mother, they won't kill papa, because he likes the Russians. When they start to shoot, he will lie in a hole, and as soon as they stop he will go over to them."

"Anything may happen in the war."

"Oh, no, they won't kill our papa. When the Cossacks get to him and he will say: 'Brothers, I am going with you,' and you will see they won't kill him. Why the Russians are our brothers, too," Janik assured his mother.

How the Austrian Slavs Helped the Italians.

It is well known that on the Italian front there is engaged in fighting against the Austrians a Czechoslovak Army numbering some 25,000 men, and that a Jugo Slav Army, also composed of former Austrian soldiers, will soon take its place alongside of the Italians. But it is not so well known that Slav soldiers, while still in Austrian uniforms, rendered valuable services to the Italians in the ill-fated Austrian offensive of last June. The Vienna Neue Freie Presse of July 28th published a statement issued by the Austrian War Press Bureau which explains to some extent the poor showing made by the Austrians in their offensive along the Piave.

In the morning of June 15th our attack was launched on a long front extending from the Tirol mountains to the Adriatic; it had behind it a storming power such as could be produced only by forces worked out to the least detail and by complete co-operation of all the branches of the service. But at the very beginning of the fighting it became evident that the enemy was exceedingly well prepared to resist and counter-attack at the very places that were selected for the penetration of his lines. It was also ascertained that our adversaries were minutely informed about the extent, the day and the hour of our attack. Thus the moment of surprise, so important to the success of an offensive, failed us. Shortly after, the fact became established by documents that a number of deserters furnished the Italian High Command with material which, upon checking up and comparison, enabled the enemy leaders to form a fairly exact conception of our dispositions for attack.

Officers and men of numerous English, French and Italian regiments taken prisoners stated unanimously that their units were advised on the evening of June 14th that the Austro-Hungarian offensive would start at 2 o'clock on the following morning. They understood that Jugo-Slav deserters told the exact time of attack. The enemy took steps against the expected gas bombardment, which naturally failed to have any results.

To pick out several illustrations: the Bersaglieri battalion 3-20 received orders on June 14th to increase the supply of cartridges for each man from 72 to 240. The Pinerolo brigade stood ready for fighting at 2 o'clock in the morning. In a captured order issued in the evening of June 14th, it states: "According to careful advices it appears that the enemy will begin a cannonading preparatory to an attack in the early hours of June 15th. Gas sentries must double their vigilance. At midnight hot coffee and preserved meat will be served out. An alarm will be sounded on June 15th at 1 o'clock; the soldier is to be on watch with weapons in their hands and ready to put on their gas masks."

It is natural that the Italian High Command did not make public the names of the deserters to whom it was due that the Italian defeat was not turned into a collapse of its entire armed strength. Nevertheless, a systematic study of numerous captured documents has thrown much light on this subject.

The names of some of the deserters are now known, and it has been ascertained what information had been furnished by these traitors to the Italians. For some time the Italian High Command has been engaged in spreading disaffection in our lines. In Italian prison camps Slav soldiers were—against all international law—urged to join the Czechoslovak Legion. Their total ignorance of the real war situation as a whole is due to the clever Italian censoring of news from their home, and it was used with results by certain conscienceless propagandists. An order of the Third Italian Army Command, No. 1658 Prot. H. I. dated May 14th, 1918, speaks of an active propaganda by means of Czech volunteers to invite deserters from the Austro-Hungarian armies to the Italian side. The willing tools of high treason whose feverish imagination makes them completely blind to the real needs of their country are deceived by official Italian claims that riots and rebellions follow each other in Bohemia. In the above mentioned order it is claimed that some attempts at the corruption of Czech elements have been successful. No doubt a number of Czech soldiers went over to the Italians, others remained in order to go over when they should have important news to bring. Even though the contemptible means which Italy is using to seduce our men into high treason and perjury shattered themselves on the heroic opposition of our troops without regard to nationality, there have yet been individual persons who allowed themselves to be used by the enemy for spying services. Two specially flagrant cases may be mentioned here:

Private Rudolph Paprkar of the Machine Gun Detachment, according to a report of the commander of his regiment, dated June 8 1918, jumped into the Piave near the villa Jacur and swam across the stream at the risk of his life. He gave away the location, strength and composition of his command and on the basis of his careful observation and spying he communicated highly important advices from which the Italians could ascertain our plans of attack against Montello. He further communicated to the enemy full details of our preparations for the crossing of the Piave, as well as carefully collected information about the movement of troops, position of batteries, etc.

The Italian command ascribes the greatest part of this treason to Lieut. Karl Stiny of one of the infantry regiments, who deserted in the neighborhood of Norenta. From a voluminous document in which the information brought by him is summed up it appears that he gave away completely our preparations on the Piave and also brought to the enemy a number of very valuable reports. An official Italian estimate of Stiny reads thus: "The lieutenant is a highly intelligent Czech, with glowing national feelings and strong anti-Austrian sentiments. His statements bear the character of complete reliability. He purposely gathered all possible

information before he went over in order that he might communicate it to us. He inspires full confidence. Stiny, who has sufficient professional knowledge, gathered with care and system all data that to him appeared of value. His exposé of the preparations and plans for the offensive is so thorough and complete that we could figure out completely the real plans of the offensive preparations." As

to that let it only be said that Stiny, by his lying reports of the Austro-Hungarian situation at the front and in the rear, only tried to put himself in a good light, as all traitors do. It is characteristic of his statements that he claimed that in case of an offensive the Austro-Hungarian troops would to a large extent surrender, unless they were driven forward by German or Bulgarian bayonets.

What the Czechs in America Feel.

The event of that fateful July day in 1914, which suddenly changed nearly all of Europe into a mass of consuming fire, shocked profoundly the large Czech and Slovak population of America. These people, unable longer to endure the inhuman Austrian tyranny, had turned away in mighty numbers from their native land. That land, to be sure, was the richest soil of the Empire; but it was so sapped by greedy misrule that existence had come to mean only want and limitation. They came to

America. Here they quickly learned to share in the enjoyment of democracy's liberty and in the advantage of unlimited opportunities for the satisfying of all human needs. They usually developed into the best of America's immigrant citizens. They came to stay, but, naturally enough, there came to them many moments of fond recollections of the old home. As it was, however, they seemed to be tinged always by an anxious pity for those who were deprived of the opportunity and privilege of



Dr Ludvik J. Fisher, President of the Bohemian National Alliance in His Rank of Major.

tasting the better life under our starry flag. And thus every such thought enhanced in their hearts the longing to see their native land as free as the land of their adoption. The Czechs, remembering the freedom that once was theirs, never really ceased to hope that a day would dawn when that Empire, so intolerable to the modern mind, should collapse; and when they should win again the inde-

pendence which in the light of history and in the fair eyes of justice was undeniably theirs.

It was but natural, therefore, that when the awful catastrophe of the world war was precipitated the Czechs both at home and elsewhere, notably those in America, became quickly aware that their hour had struck. They knew at once that then, if ever, dawned at last the day when they could definitely

hope to settle accounts with their oppressors, and shake off the shackles that for three centuries had been cutting deeply into their flesh. Though the Czechs had no more anticipation of the outbreak of hostilities than had the rest of the world, there was one thing that they felt immediately, that right was on the side of the entente allies, and that the ideals that were written on their banner, and to which America gave later such glorious expression, were identical with their own. They too stood for the greater freedom of every man, for the highest humanitarianism, and for pure democracy. Naturally, then, all their sympathies belonged at once to the side which drew the sword in defense of raped Belgium and which resolved to crush and destroy that dread Prussian militarism.

With most extreme eagerness the Czechoslovaks in America began to watch the demeanor of their nation "back home". It seemed for a long time that in Bohemia all was quiet. But it was not a natural calm, for Austria had transformed the little kingdom into one large territory of imprisonment: gallows were reared upon which were made to die those who would neither deny nor forsake their real attitude, who could not betray their love to the executioners. Austria was silencing the Czechs by means of imprisonment and death, in order that the world might never know of the seething unrest and

rebellion that existed. But when the nation itself was thus silenced the Czech soldier who stood unwillingly on the firing line in the Carpathians and the Balkans heralded forth the feelings and convictions of his people, by refusing to shed the blood of his Slavic brethren for an unworthy cause. Entire Czechoslovak regiments surrendered freely, refusing to back up Austria's aims against their own kin; and having gone to the other side picked up their weapons to avenge the tragic centuries of wrong and injury perpetrated upon their race.

To the Czechoslovaks in America this outcry of the revolting soldier was a signal for a general movement against hated Austria. At last a way seemed open for action that had much promise of success; and with this new hope and call to action the Czechoslovak consciousness awoke anew. Our people asked what they could do, and promptly began to respond to the need for financing the revolution. Once their beloved leader, Prof. Masaryk, reached safety and freedom to assume leadership of the movement, they avowed the cause as rightly their own, and conscientiously began to supply the necessary funds, declaring proudly that they would finance a Czechoslovak revolution with Czechoslovak money.

In order that the funds might be secured it was necessary, first of all, to organize the American



Dr. Fisher with Officers of the 21st Regiment at the Entrance to a Communication Trench.

Czechs into a single disciplined unit. This unity of organization was not achieved at once. At the beginning small associations appeared in different cities and these developed only gradually into one immense whole, namely, the Bohemian National Alliance of America. The president of this general organization is Dr. Ludvik J. Fisher, who from the very beginning stood at the head of the liberating movement, and who with a staff of earnest workers

labors untiringly for the great cause. The Alliance has at present over 250 branches in the United States, and has won for itself the admiration and respect of leading American fellow-citizens. And this ought to be said, that it not only labors for the financing of the Czechoslovak movement for independence, but also zealously seeks every opportunity to prove and interpret our love and loyalty to America, as witness the official reports of the

erty Loans, the American Red Cross Society, c.

When finally a Czechoslovak army was created on the soil of France and the call was extended even to the Czechs and Slovaks in America who were called from duty here, Dr. Fisher was the first to offer his services. He was immediately entrusted with the task of organizing the medical department for the new forces. After having served in that capacity on both the Italian and the French fronts he has received the rank of Major and has

been sent on a special mission back to America. He will remain for a short time only. It is his conviction that his place is among his brethren who are fighting for the independence of their beloved nation. His heart is now there and he means to remain with the Czechoslovak fighters until that cause is won, to which he has devoted for years the strength and powers of his being. "And then", to quote his own words, he will "come back happy to America", and for the rest of his life will "seek to render devoted and grateful service to that country to which our nation owes so much."

Current Topics.

THE JAPANESE RECOGNITION.

The Japanese Government issued on the 9th of September the following declaration:

The Japanese government have noted with deep sympathy and interest the just aspirations of the Czechoslovak people to exact free and independent national existence. These aspirations have consciously been made manifest in their determined and well organized efforts to arrest the progress of the Germanic aggressive policy.

In these circumstances the Japanese government are happy to regard the Czechoslovak army as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany, and to recognize the right of the Czechoslovak National Council to exercise the supreme control over that army.

They are further prepared to enter into communication with the duly authorized representatives of the Czechoslovak National Council, whenever necessary, on all matters of mutual interest to the Japanese and Czechoslovak forces in Siberia.

AMONG THE CZECHOSLOVAKS HERE.

The month of September opened for the Bohemians and Slovaks of the United States with the act of recognition by the American Government. Both the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League with their hundreds of branches sent telegrams eloquent with gratitude to the President and the Secretary of State. Celebrations were held in the principal settlements of the Czech and Slovak people, at which not merely this one people, but all the Austrian races as well as the representatives of the city and state governments took part. Among the many meetings of this sort should be recorded the celebrations in Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, St. Paul, Bridgeport, etc.

The Bohemians and Slovaks of New York were fortunate to hear at one occasion the most noted figures in the Czechoslovak movement. At a meeting in the Sokol Hall on September 13th addresses were made by President Masaryk, his daughter Miss Olga Masaryk, General Štefanik, vice-president of the National Council, and General Janin, commander of all the Czechoslovak armed forces. General

Janin, like all the others, spoke in the Bohemian language.

Under the influence of the great diplomatic achievements the campaign for raising money for the support of the Czechoslovak government, a campaign that goes on without interruption, has been unusually successful. At the bazaar in Omaha the goal set was to raise \$50,000 and thus beat the larger Bohemian settlements; the result exceeded all expectations, for the total raised was \$60,000. The same great success rewarded the efforts of the Slovak workers in Bridgeport, Conn., where the result was also far greater than anticipated, the net proceeds being equal to the sum gained at Omaha. At the same time recruiting for the Czechoslovak army in France is proceeding with renewed vigor, and the camp at Stamford, Conn., is crowded almost all the time.

The Slovak League million dollar fund will now soon be collected. Among other notable gifts is one of \$10,000, voted by the convention of the First Catholic Slovak Union. A remarkable and highly gratifying fact, testifying to the good effects of the common campaign for freedom, has been the holding of a union patriotic meeting by the conventions of the Slovak Catholic and the Slovak Protestant Unions, both of which held conventions at Pittsburgh at the same time.

THE GREAT NEW YORK MANIFESTATION.

Members of the oppressed races of Austria-Hungary filled to overflowing the auditorium of Carnegie Hall in New York on Sunday, September 15th and applauded speeches and resolutions demanding the break-up of Austria.

The speakers were Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council, now recognized as the Czechoslovak Provisional Government; Ignace J. Paderewski, representative of the Polish National Committee to the United States; Lieutenant Vasile Stoica, President of the Rumanian National League of America; Pierre de Lanux of the French High Commission, and Dr. Hinko Hinkovitch, representative of the Yugoslav National Council.

Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was Chairman of the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Four Minute Men, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National War Savings Committee, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Mayor's Committee on National Defense.

The meeting was of historic interest to the peoples of the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary, for it was the first occasion on which representatives of the seven oppressed nations of Austria met on the common ground of war to the death against their common oppressor. The moment that Mr. Paderewski shook the hand of Professor Masaryk was of particular interest to the Czechoslovaks and the Poles, for it meant to them the realization of a dream of unity of the two great northern Slav peoples who once were free to govern themselves, but who both have been oppressed by foreign masters for many years. Denunciation of Austria-Hungary marked the addresses of all the speakers. President Wilson's proclamation in favor of the rights of small nations to govern themselves was referred to many times and was always received with great applause by the audience.

Telegrams of sympathy were read from Secretary Franklin K. Lane of the Department of the Interior, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University and the Italian Ambassador, Count Macchi di Cellere. There was singing by the Rumanian Chorus and the Czechoslovak Chorus; Adam Didur of the Metropolitan sang a solo and a Serbian folksong was given by Obrad Djurin, a Serb.

A resolution was adopted calling for the dissolution of the present Austrian Empire, and the representatives of the oppressed nationalities pledged themselves to wrest from the aggressor the sovereignty unjustly and violently exercised over them.

"The primary object of this war is the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary," asserted Professor Masaryk in his address. "There can be no solution of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, Rumanian, and other national questions if Austria continues to exist. There is an inner affinity between Austria and Germany. The spirit of Austria is the spirit of Germany, of which it has been said, by one of its poets, that it is a spirit-murderer. This spirit-murderer must be killed. That will be done if the Balkan nations form a barrier to Germany.

"You have read of the peace move of Austria-Hungary. First Burian whined and cried for humanity. Where was Burian when 60,000 Slavs in Austria were decimated? This same Burian is the man who is credited with having aided in forcing the outrageous U-boat war.

"Now he and his fellows prate of humanity and of liberty. They will say to you that they accept President Wilson's program. They will promise to and will pretend to make Alsace Lorraine semi-independent. But if you allow them to keep Austria

intact and to exploit Russia they will go on and finish with the west as they did with the east. This war is not an isolated phenomenon, but is the push of Germany to the east.

Germany Must Be Crushed.

"Our Allies must not be bribed by this or by any other German and Austrian peace offers and the peace offers that are to follow. We will have to do a lot of fighting yet before Germany is crushed. Much must be done before Eastern Europe is reorganized. But it must be done. Every creation is difficult and so the restoration of humankind is a big and great task. The heads of the Allied governments must not shrink if they encounter difficulties. The Kaiser well said that this war is the principle of Prussianism against the American principle. The war is a struggle for the rights and liberties of mankind. We accept this as your principle and we will fight with you to the end for this eternal principle."

Mr. Paderewski made a fervent address in which he paid tribute to Professor Masaryk and to the Czechoslovak nation which is the first of the oppressed nationalities to be recognized officially by the United States and other Allied nations. On behalf of the Poles Mr. Paderewski said he was happy to see the re-entrance of "our brothers, the Czechoslovaks into the family of free nations."

"We consider their success as our victory," he added, "as the triumph of our own ideas and as an act of historic justice." After speaking of the part played by the Czechoslovaks in the world of art, music, industry and poetry, the speaker turned to Professor Masaryk and exclaimed, "And we bow before their great illustrious leader, Thomas G. Masaryk." The audience arose in tribute to the words of the representative of Poland.

FLAG RAISING IN CHICAGO.

Bohemians and Slovaks of Chicago who know how to arrange impressive manifestations and whose welcome to Professor Masaryk in May of this year will not be easily forgotten have again distinguished themselves at the ceremony of flag raising on the lake front of Chicago, September 15th.

The celebration took place as part of the government war exhibition in Grant Park. Twelve thousand people were in the line of march. At the head proceeded the Great Lakes Naval Band of 200 men, followed by a detachment of mounted police, commanded by Captain Ptáček. At the head of the parade proper were four officers of the Czechoslovak Army, Lieutenants Holý, Niederle and Spaniel, as well as Dr. L. J. Fisher, president of the Bohemian National Alliance, now major in the medical service of the Czechoslovak Army; they were followed by officers of the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League, by mounted Slovak men in national costumes, women in the picturesque dresses of the Bohemian and Slovak lands, Sokols in blue and red uniforms, Red Cross workers and members of fraternal and women's societies. The

number of spectators who were lined up on both sides of Michigan avenue was estimated at hundreds of thousands.

At Grant Park the program was in charge of Professor J. J. Zmrhal, English Secretary of the Bohemian National Alliance. He introduced the speakers of whom the first was Lt.-Governor Oglesby, and the second was even more distinguished, namely, George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information. Both had much praise for the Czechoslovak soldiers and for the patriotism of Americans of Czechoslovak descent. The principal address was made by Charles Pergler, American delegate of the Czechoslovak National Council; the salient points of his address are reprinted elsewhere in this issue. He is well known as a forceful and eloquent speaker and received tremendous applause.

No Bohemian manifestation would be complete without singing, and the United Bohemian Singing Societies made a great impression on the audience, which numbered about a quarter of a million people.

BOHEMIANS At The MINNESOTA STATE FAIR

This fair, which has been an annual feature of Minnesota for a great number of years, had this year for the first time a Czechoslovak exhibit. It was provided by Bohemians and Slovaks of St. Paul and Minneapolis under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association. The exhibit consisted of elaborate Bohemian costumes, native embroidery which the grandmothers of the Bohemians living here used to wear, Bohemian glassware more than a hundred years old, pictures and old Bibles from the days of the Reformation, portraits of Bohemian heroes, etc. The center of attraction was the Czechoslovak service flag with hundreds of stars among which were three gold ones, so arranged as to spell the word "Bohemian"; above it was the picture of Professor Masaryk. The exhibit was always surrounded by great crowds who expressed their admiration of the high degree of education prevailing among Czechoslovak people. On September 3rd when news came of the American recognition of the Czechoslovaks the declaration was at once framed and placed among the exhibits. Czechoslovak Day was held at the fair on September 5th, the program consisting of national songs, Sokol drills and folk dances in national costumes.

The small Czechoslovak settlement in the twin cities of Minnesota deserves much credit for this exhibit which has contributed very largely toward a better acquaintance of Americans with our people.

SLOVAKS AND THE FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN.

One of the first large subscriptions to the Fourth Liberty Loan has been made by the National Catholic Slovak Union of America. This organization at its convention held in Pittsburgh voted to invest

\$150,000 of its funds in bonds of the Fourth Liberty Loan.

The sentiments which impelled the delegates to take this action are well expressed in the following resolutions adopted by the convention:

Whereas, our beloved Government, through President Wilson, has requested all Americans to cooperate in every way with the officials of the Government, that victory may be won on battlefields of Europe, that justice and humanity may not perish and that this world be made a fit place in which freedom may live.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Delegates of the First Catholic Slovak Union of America, in its 18th Biennial Convention assembled, in the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, this 10th day of September, A. D. 1918, as follows:

That the delegates of this Union fully realize the importance of co-operating with our Government, therefore request the officers and members of local branches to subscribe to their limit to the Fourth Liberty Loan and, to perform any other services which in their judgment will assist in making said loan a success.

That each member of the union remaining at home, perform and continue to perform, such essential labor as will assist our soldiers in destroying the Hun, whether he be Prussian or Magyar, for all time.

That Slovaks unite with the many peoples of this nation to Americanize America and the world by example and education.

That we condemn as unpatriotic all useless criticism of our public officials.

That we close our ears to all talks of peace uttered or proclaimed by the tyrant, his agents or servants with the hope of lulling our people into a false security while his beasts are attempting to destroy everything dear and sacred to civilization and Christianity.

That we stand with President Wilson in all things, particularly in his declaration that this war must be settled on present battle lines and we again pledge our all—our boys and money to assist in accomplishing this end.

That we congratulate our wives and sisters of the Ladies' Union for having been the first society in America to subscribe to \$100,000 of the Fourth Liberty Loan, in their creating by assessment against their members, a fund for the Red Cross and in calling the attention of our authorities, by resolution to the fact, that the valor of our Czechoslovak soldiers should be rewarded by a recognition of the independence of the Czechoslovak State.

That we congratulate our President and the Honorable Secretary of State for their proclamation, recently issued, wherein the Government of our kinsmen, the Czechoslovak, was recognized as free and independent, because we know and fully appreciate, that it is a positive, solemn guaranty that, at the end of the present war, the fondest hope of every Slovak will be fulfilled.

That we commend for the consideration of the Slavic race, the position America has assumed in the attempt to restore Russia from the ruin of false leadership and German propaganda and respectfully urge all Russians to implicitly trust America.

Be is further resolved, that in line with action of our finance committee in past loan campaigns, that the world may know our answer to the cries of peace of the Magyarized Boche, we do now direct our finance committee to subscribe for \$150,000 of the Fourth Liberty Loan.

BOOK REVIEW.

Bohemian Grammar, by Jaroslav Victor Nigrin.

Bohemian Literary Society, Chicago, Illinois.

Previous to the appearance of this small book of 200 pages the only grammars of Bohemian available to English-speaking people who desire to study this language were very hard to obtain. Charles Jonáš wrote a grammar in 1890, entitled *Bohemian Made Easy*, and R. W. Morfill, professor at the University of Oxford, published a book in 1899 entitled "Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language."

Mr. Nigrin's book is neither too heavy nor too elementary and it will be very useful to American and English friends of the Czechoslovaks who are sufficiently in earnest to try to master their difficult language. Mr. Nigrin has been for three years a teacher of Bohemian in the Carter H. Harrison Technical High School and is well qualified for the task which he undertook.

The Bohemian Literary Society, publishers of the grammar, are also publishing a series of Bohemian Classics to be used primarily as school texts. The books that have appeared so far are: *Krupař Kleofáš* by A. V. Šmilovský (short story), *České pohádky* (Bohemian folklore), and *Noc na Karlštejně* (comedy) by Jaroslav Vrchlický.

The address of the Bohemian Literary Society is 2315 South Ridgeway avenue, Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY AND ITS SLAV MEMBERSHIP.

At the recent conference of secretaries of the American Socialist Party at Chicago a memorandum was presented by the Czechoslovak branch of the party, signed also by the Serbian and Slovenian sections. The memorandum demands that the American Socialist Party change its anti-war attitude for one supporting the war.

The three following paragraphs best express the trend of the memorandum:

"The war and peace program of President Wilson, which today is timely and acute, in all decisive respects is absolutely democratic and expresses those principles which international socialism always proclaimed. And these principles remain such principles regardless of the fact who enunciated them. What we have considered good and demanded, we cannot declare evil or condemn because coming from somebody else.

The real mission of the Socialist Party in America now is, consciously and firmly to support the war and the principles laid down by President Wilson, and if the party now takes this attitude and in such a fashion that unsocialist pacifists and camouflage idolizing of the German regime will be unable to use it as a cloak, then it will have the next duty of seeing to it that the principles of President Wilson remain the real American principles until the very end, and that they receive appreciation in places where heretofore they have not been sanctioned.

If the steps hereinbefore enunciated are not taken, the situation so created will force us to act upon our convictions to the limit."

In this connection it should be noted that the chief editor of the only Bohemian Socialist daily in America, Joseph Novak, recently enlisted in the Czechoslovak Army.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION

In the "Právnícké Rozhledy" (Legal Review), Dr. J. Kollab discusses "Self-determination of Nations as a Legal Principle." He argues among other things against two incorrect deductions of which the enemies of this principle make use. Some declare that the idea of self-determination of nations cannot be realized, because in almost every territory one finds members of foreign nations. Those who reason in this way confuse the principle of self-determination of nations with the principle of civic liberty, both are derived from the principle of people's sovereignty. Civic liberty, however, determines the legal status of each individual, whereas the self-determination of nations determines the status of entire nations. The nation as whole, as a cultural unit, can not be subordinate to any one else; but that does not mean that every individual whom fate might have blown into the midst of another nation is entitled to demand the right of self-determination. He, like everyone else is entitled to civic liberty.

The self-determination of nations is therefore something substantially different from national autonomy. National autonomy is the right of citizens of a certain nationality to have the conditions of their cultural development guaranteed in a state ruled by another culture, or the manner in which the state shall guarantee to members of a foreign nationality their civic liberty. Self-determination, on the other hand, constitutes the demand that the nation as a whole shall have the opportunity to make use of all its powers in the service of its national interests so that it would enforce its individuality in all directions, including the life of the state, of course within the limitations set by international law.

Others again try to make the principle of self-determination ridiculous by demanding that it be applied to self-determination of uncivilized nations of Africa and Asia. In the same way the enemies of civic freedom a hundred years ago derided this demand by claiming that a child or an insane per-

son should be given as much liberty as the adult citizen. In both cases people overlook, or rather intentionally will not see, that liberty is something far different from license. Just as protection granted to those who are unable to dispose of themselves rationally is not the limitation, but protection of their liberty, so the principle of self-determination of nations does not exclude the protection of races so backward in civilization that they are unable to make use of the means of progress which the contact of all nations in cultural life affords.

If we therefore take self-determination of nations seriously, we can not compare the status of adult nations of Europe with the status of the wild tribes of Central Africa, just as we do not measure the legal status of a grown man by the restrictions that must be applied to a five-year-old child.

HOW THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY IN RUSSIA IS GROWING.

There has been a good deal of speculation as to the real numbers of the Czechoslovak Army in Russia. It is difficult to say what the number is at this time, for recruits are joining it all the time. When this army started on its romantic march in April of this year, it consisted of fifty thousand men, more or less armed and equipped and under thorough discipline. There was fifty thousand more men, prisoners of war, scattered throughout the vast regions of Russia and Siberia, whose applications to join the army had been received, but who were unable to reach the concentration camps. Then there were many thousands more, men who could not make up their minds, but who have since joined their comrades on the six thousand mile march to Vladivostok.

A Bohemian living in Detroit received a letter from his brother who is now in Vladivostok. This letter gives an indication of how the army was growing on its long journey through Siberia. This man says:

"Dear Brother, Sister-in-Law and Friends: I have to tell you that I am no longer at my former station, but that I am now a volunteer in the Czechoslovak Army.

"Conditions in Russia in the last few months became extremely bad for the prisoners of war. Factories where we were formerly employed are shut down. Men who worked on the big domains have been taken back to the prison camps and the population were told that they must not take prisoners out for work. And then the constant fights in the cities. I was three times under fire, when street fighting broke out without the slightest warning. It was great luck that I escaped alive. Many Russians and prisoners have perished in this way. And then the famine. It was impossible to buy anything to eat in most of the cities, especially no bread. I considered for a long time what I had better do, when the Germans were pouring in on Russia from many directions. If I stayed where I was, I would

have been in the midst of fighting, for Russian Red Guards opposed the Germans. Our soldiers were leaving the Ukraine in trains, and the Germans occupied the territory right behind them.

Fortunately I saved some money and had a good deal of warm underwear, shoes, clothing and a fur coat, for I used to travel in cattle cars and on top of coal cars during the severe freezing weather that was in February. My nose and lips were all blistered by frost and I lived on bread and tea. All the time I was going further away from my old place, and wherever I went, there were thousands of Russian soldiers going home and thousands of refugees from territories where there was fighting. In all the cities I looked for a job, but could not get anything. I did not care for the villages; they are not like our villages, just huts made of straw and no chance for work. They do not cultivate the ground as we do.

What should I do? Go home and fight for the German cause? Never that. Since I have to fight, I will fight for our liberty and the liberty of the whole world. As I happened to be in one of the depots a train was going by with our soldiers. In every car was a stove, the boys were singing and in one car I saw a gipsy. Tears ran down my cheeks, when I realized that a gipsy was going to fight for the liberty of my country. In that moment I made my decision. So here I am going again to the battlefields with a peaceful mind.

Hearty greetings from ANTHONY."

Slavic Mythology. By Jan Máchal. Boston, Marshall Jones Company.

It is time that the American children should be nurtured in the public schools on something else than the mythology of the Germans. Our educational experts proceed from the theory that American children are all little Teutons, that at the age of eight or ten years they are at the same stage of development as were the grown-up savage Teutons two thousand years ago and that they should learn to look with veneration upon Wotan and the other war deities of the German mythology.

A volume has just been published under the editorship of Louis Herbert Gray containing an account of the Celtic mythology by John Arnott Mac-cullough, and of Slavic mythology by Jan Máchal. Dr. Máchal is professor at the University of Prague, and the present work is a free translation of his *Bájesloví Slovanské*, Prague 1907. Dr. Máchal has been long considered an authority on the beliefs of ancient Slavs and he gives in this book a full account of the deities and spirits worshipped by the various branches of the Slav race, from Bohemia to Russia. It is to be hoped that this book will be the beginning of a sustained interest in Slav mythology and that we shall soon have a book on similar lines got up so as to interest the children.

MALICIOUS MISREPRESENTATION.

The Hearst papers were never friendly to the aspirations of the Czechoslovaks. They never would publish news that tended to set this people in a favorable light, and on innumerable occasions they jibed at their efforts to smash Austria. Judging by their record, we are compelled to believe that a heading published in the New York American on September 4, reflecting on the Czechoslovaks, was not a mere accident, but a malicious slur cast on this brave people.

Immediately below the account of the American recognition of the National Council the New York American displays a headline "Wounded Tell Story of Czech Treachery." The story speaks of a cavalry officer who ordered his forces to charge Bolsheviki near Harbin, but was deserted by them and killed by the enemy. The context makes it plain that the soldiers were Russians of Semenoff's force, but the Hearst paper makes Czechs out of them, and creates the impression that the men whom our government has just recognized as Allies are cowards and traitors.

Comment is unnecessary. It is what one would expect from Mr. Hearst's publications.

The October World's Work is devoted in its entire issue to conditions prevailing in Russia, and has several excellent articles dealing with the Czechoslovak campaign there.

The high cost of living in America cannot be compared for a moment with conditions in Bohemia. Since 1913 the cost of pork has increased by 2321 per cent (more than 23 times), lard by 2535 per cent, eggs by 2018 per cent, peas by 3500 per cent and rice by 11823 per cent.

President Masaryk wrote recently to his countrymen in Texas:

"We Czechs and Slovaks at home want to be equal to you who are citizens of the free republic—the Independent Czechoslovak Republic will strengthen the League of Nations by a strong element of modern democracy. Bring up your children and grandchildren so that they will not forget their ancestors, teach them that to be a Czech or Slovak or their descendant does not conflict with true Americanism, but rather strengthens it, for our fathers were the first to die for the liberty which you so fully enjoy in this country."

Among the many congratulations received by President Masaryk upon the occasion of the American recognition there is a telegram from the Roumanians of America and a letter from the Zionist Organization of America. Judge Julian W. Mack, president of the Zionist Organization, adds this:

"The Zionist Organization of America gives utterance to its unfeigned joy in the fact that the

recognition of our Government by the Secretary of State was extended to and through the person of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, one of the noblest statesmen of the Allied world, whose leadership of the Czechoslovak Council is an augury of the broad and humane spirit which is to govern the founding of the life of the Czechoslovak nation."

Two months after Sedan a country was found in Europe to lift its voice on behalf of a stricken France. It was little Bohemia who, amidst the world's silence, declared that if Germany tore from France a part of her territory which, French in sentiment, wished to remain French, she would be committing a crime against the freedom of peoples. The courage which in 1870 expressed itself in so unequivocal a statement of political morality has, in these years of war, been manifested by Czechs both within the frontiers of Bohemia and on the battlefronts of the East, South and West. But little is known of the reign of terror in Bohemia since the war began, but executions are placed anywhere between 30,000 and 60,000. This brave and martyred people has given a magnificent account of itself in the most desperate circumstances. In France, up to 1917, the Czechoslovaks, 700 strong to begin with had won 110 Croix de Guerre, 12 military medals, a cross of the Legion of Honor, and the red regimental fourragère. On the Eastern front this is General Brusiloff's tragic testimony: "Forsaken at Tarnopol by our infantry, they fought in such a way as to deserve the admiration of the whole world." The Czechoslovak's is one of the most thrilling records of the war.

TO OUR READERS.

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Bohemian (Czech) National Alliance

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The
**CZECHOSLOVAK
 REVIEW**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

January, 1919

*2. v. 3, no. 4
 3, no. 1-5
 Jan - May
 1919*

*Czechoslovak Republic Con-
 solidated.*

Past and Future of Bohemia.

Chemical Industries.

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Economic Strength of Slovakia.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY
 AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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CZECHOSLOVAK REVIEW

Official organ of the American Czechoslovak Board.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW CO
2324 South Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.50 PER YEAR

JAROSLAV F. SMETANKA, EDITOR

Entered as second class matter April 30th, 1917 at the Post Office
of Chicago, Ill. under act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Beginning with this issue, single copies of the Czechoslovak Review will be sold at 15 cents each, and the subscription per year will be \$1.50. This step is necessary in order that the Review might be enlarged and made an illustrated monthly magazine, worthy of the people after which it is named.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.

Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. III., No. 1.

JANUARY, 1919.

15 cents a Copy
\$1.50 per Year

Czechoslovak Republic Consolidated

Out of the ruins of the German, Austrian and Russian empires a number of new, democratic states are arising. But so far only one has reached the stage, where it possesses a properly functioning government, as solid, stable and truly democratic as France, England or America. The new Czechoslovak republic has justified all the high expectations of its friends.

In the orderly development which went on in Prague after the revolution of October 28th took place one has to record first of all the opening of the National Assembly on November 14th. Whereas in Germany the small group of men calling themselves the German government was practically self-appointed with a very uncertain tenure of office, while in other parts of the Austrian empire there exist makeshift governments which cannot claim to represent all the people, in Prague the Czechoslovak National Committee which assumed power on October 28th transformed itself in an orderly manner into a constitutional government. There was never any doubt that the National Committee had behind it all classes of the people, but a larger body in the nature of a parliament was felt to be necessary. And since elections would have consumed much precious time, an expedient was resorted to by which was secured a truly representative national government. The various political parties were called upon to nominate deputies in proportion to the strength shown by each party in the last general elections of 1911. Thus on November 14th a National Assembly met in the halls of the ancient Bohemian Diet, composed as follows: to the left sat 46 social democrats, 28 Czech socialists, 4 representatives of the so-called centralist social democrats; the centre was composed of 40 representatives of the democratic party of independence, 6 progressists, 4 Old Czechs; on the right sat 54 agrarians, 28 members

of the Catholic party and 40 Slovaks. The socialists claimed that their present strength entitled them to a larger representation, but in the interest of harmony they waived their claim.

The first national parliament of the Czechoslovak State was opened by Dr. Karel Kramář as chairman of the National Committee. The most important part of his address was a report on the conference held at Geneva between the leaders of Prague and the representatives of the recognized Czechoslovak government. After announcing that complete harmony had been reached on all points Kramář submitted for the ratification of the Assembly the proposal of the National Committee that the independent Czechoslovak state should be declared a republic and Masaryk its first president. These proposals were unanimously adopted amid a storm of applause. A government of 16 members was then constituted with Kramář as premier, and Francis Tomášek was elected president of the Assembly.

The new government had to contend with a number of serious difficulties. Naturally the most urgent question was the food supply. An appeal was made to the patriotism of the Czech farmers, and as a result of it was possible to increase the daily rations; while there is still much suffering among the people on account of insufficient nutrition, conditions are better than they were under the Austrian rule, when the fertile Czech districts had to feed the Austrian Army and the barren lands of German Austria. The spirit of the people is kept up by promises that the Allies would soon send food, and especially fats, to the Allied Czechoslovak Republic. In other respects the internal administration was gradually overhauled and some necessary reforms introduced. All parties, including the socialists, were agreed that changes

must be made gradually so as not to harm the economic and political future of the new state. A supreme court was established in Prague of which Dr. August Popelka was made presiding judge, and in addition there was also erected an administrative court under the presidency of Dr. Ferdinand Pantuček. Preliminary steps were taken to open universities in Brno and Prešpurk, and reconstruction of the public school system in Slovakia was placed in charge of Jaroslav Vlček, who has been for decades the greatest expert among the Czechs and Slovak problems. Titles of nobility were abolished and the eight hour working day was introduced as a measure of social reform. Prompt action was taken against two bolshevik agitators who came to Prague in pursuance of Lenine's general plan for creating anarchy on the ruins of Germany and Austria. They were at once expelled and at the same time the departure of 56,000 Russian prisoners in Bohemia was expedited. A national loan of one billion crowns was issued and oversubscribed; other steps were taken to introduce order into the financial administration of the republic. It may be mentioned here that nearly all Bohemian banks have largely increased their capital in expectation of the great business which the Czechs hope to carry on under the new order of things in Central and Eastern Europe.

More sensational than these internal questions were the problems of establishing a *modus vivendi* with the neighboring republics of Austrians, Germans and Magyars. In the Czech lands there is a considerable German minority which according to the biased Austrian census constitutes almost one-third of the population, while in Slovakia the Magyars would not release their hold on even the purely Slovak districts. German deputies from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia after the successful Czech revolution established in Liberec a National Council for German Bohemia, subordinated to the Vienna government of German Austria. They claimed for their own all those parts of the Bohemian lands which had been under the artificial Austrian system in the hands of German municipal authorities. They even dared to claim cities lying in the very midst of purely Czech territory, such as Brno, Olomouc, Opava and others, which owing to an unfair franchise and the pressure of Austrian authorities were still under German control, as Prague itself had

been up to about 50 years ago. But the German politicians found little response from their own people. First the German minorities in Czech cities reconciled themselves to the new state of affairs; then one city and district after another accepted the authority of the Prague Government, until finally Eger and Liberec itself fell into the hands of the Czechoslovak Government without a struggle. Credit is surely due to dr. Kramář's government for their conservative methods of dealing with the threatened German secession. The Government neither employed arms, although its military strength was overwhelming, nor did it even design to use pressure by withdrawing food supplies from the disaffected districts; its statesmanlike course was justified by the surrender of German population of Bohemia.

It may be stated here that the German question which had seemed so full of complications will undoubtedly solve itself very simply. Already men who under the Austrian regime would never think of calling themselves Czechs now vie with one another in promising loyalty to the new state and using the Czech language in place of German. In cities like Hodonin, Masaryk's birthplace, where the Germans artificially maintained their rule, German schools are empty, because most of the children attending them have been placed by their parents in Czech schools. The Jewish element of the population claims to be Czech now and speaks Czech in public. And even the new Czechoslovak army German speaking citizens of Bohemia are volunteering in great numbers.

The difficulty with the Magyars was not settled without some bloodshed. During the first days after the Czech revolution many of the districts and cities of Slovakia were abandoned by Magyar officials and gendarmes, and it was necessary for the sake of maintaining order that new officials and civilian guards should take charge in such districts. But in a few days Karolyi's government thought that there was still a chance to hold on to Slovakia and orders were sent from Budapest to drive out the new Czechoslovak authorities from every part of the old Hungarian kingdom. In this the Magyars were supported on one occasion at least by Mackensen's soldiers who were passing through Hungary to Germany. There was a number of bloody conflicts and the small Czechoslovak guards

had to retreat. In places re-occupied by Magyar authorities great cruelties were committed; members of the local Slovak National Councils were murdered and captured Czechoslovak gendarmes were hacked to pieces. The Prague government was forced to call to arms several regiments, but as everybody was anxious to avoid a new war Dr. Kramář in Prague and Dr. Beneš in Paris resorted to diplomatic means to settle the conflict. The result of their intervention was that the French military mission in Budapest served notice on Count Karolyi that the Czechoslovak government as one of the Allied governments was entitled to occupy its own territory, even though it had been formerly a part of Hungary. A provisional line was drawn running along the Danube to the river Ipol, along this river to the city of Rimaszombat, thence in an easterly direction to the river Ung, thence in a north-easterly direction to Mt. Uzsok on the Galician border. Everything north of the line thus drawn was occupied by the Czechoslovaks; Slovakia within those limits measures about 24,000 square miles and constitutes an integral part of the Czechoslovak republic. Some touching stories are told of the welcome with which the long oppressed Slovaks greeted the day of freedom. Thus one correspondent relates that in a Slovak village a peasant speaker began the celebration by saying: "This is the day which the Lord had made." And all the people responded: "We will rejoice and be glad in it." Then the people shouted: "Glory be to our noble liberator Wilson," and with bared heads all sang the national hymn "Hej Slováci."

The culmination of this first stage in the constitution of the Czechoslovak republic was the arrival of President Masaryk in Prague. After touching at London, Paris and in the Italian war zone Masaryk reached Prague on Sunday December 22nd and was received by the cabinet, the members of the National Assembly, his former colleagues of the university of Prague and hundreds of thousands of citizens. The scenes of this wonderful outpouring of national rejoicing were best described by the Prague correspondent of the London Times, from whose description the following may be quoted:

"The joyous acclaim with which the golden city of Prague welcomed Prof. Masaryk, president of Czechoslovakia, today

was a perfect expression of the triumph of the cause of civilization. Perhaps never again in one day and place will the true significance of the great war and the sanctity of the allies' case be so completely evident. Would that the whole allied world might have been on the banks of the Moldau and had it impressed on its heart and brain that one such day is worth the world war.

"So sure are we who viewed it that if all whom the war has bereaved or whom the war has left maimed and broken could have witnessed the joy of this nation redeemed from the bondage through victory of the allies, they would say with the heroes who died to bring it about—"It is enough; it is worth all we paid."

Masaryk was conducted from the station to the parliament buildings to take the following oath of office. "I promise as president of the Czechoslovak republic, on my honor and conscience, that I will care for the welfare of the republic and its people and respect its laws." In his inaugural address the great Czechoslovak leader said: "Komenský's historic prayer has literally been fulfilled and our people, free and independent, advances, respected and supported by universal sympathy, into the community of European nations. Are we living in a fairy tale?"

The first president of the Czechoslovak republic came to Prague with an escort of several companies of Czechoslovak soldiers from the French and Italian fronts. Others had reached Prague before him on December 9th under the command of Col. Husak, and soon all those who fought in the west will come home and be reunited to their families. Only the unlucky Czechoslovaks in Siberia are still cutt off from their liberated fatherland and from their wives and children, whom the majority have not seen for four years.

Mr. Chas. R. Crane says of the Czechoslovaks in Russia: "They govern well. Although they lived for the most part in box cars while they were fighting, these cars were immaculate. Wherever they stayed in a town a few days, they started little gardens and began to clean things up and put affairs in order — and keep them so. They did hard and severe fighting, bore hardships ungrudgingly, and certainly showed a stuff which augurs well for the new Czechoslovak republic."

The Past and the Future of Bohemia

By Thomas Čapek.

The war proved to be a most efficient school mistress. It has enabled us to locate on the map cities, rivers and states whose existence, prior to August, 1914, was all but unknown to the school boy. Furthermore, it has put America on speaking terms with the so-called small nations—the Serbs, Finns, Rumanians, Poles, Czechoslovaks and others.

Before the war the average Anglo-Saxon knew little about the Czechoslovaks and the little that the tourists from England and America have gleaned, while passing through the country from Dresden to Vienna, was distorted because observed through Austrian, that is German glasses. If the Vienna Neue Freie Presse and other Austrian journals chose to represent—or rather misrepresent—them to the world as scheming pan-Slav agitators, as narrow minded nationalists, in whose country it was unsafe for a foreign tourist to travel, as incorrigible trouble makers who, more than any other people in Austria, were responsible for the existence in the empire of racial struggles, the belief eventually gained ground that they were Pan-Slavs, chauvinists, trouble-breeders. Then there was the ever watchful mistress, Vienna, who saw to it that travelers from foreign lands should see and admire none other save her own charms. And yet Prague, the capital of Bohemia, has been spoken of by experienced travelers, Humboldt among them, as one of the most picturesque cities in Europe. The mistake of it was that pre-war travelers from England and America went to Vienna to get light on the Austrian Slav, instead of studying him in his homeland: Czechs in Bohemia, Poles in Galicia, the Croatian in Zagreb.

The Austrian Government put the Teutonic facade on everything in Bohemia and the lands once belonging to her—upon the telegraph, the railroad, commerce, industry, schools, banking, civil administration, the judiciary, the army. From the time of Marie Theresa every Hapsburg believed he was doing a patriotic service to civilization by repressing the non-German races in the empire. Students were punished for conversing in their mother tongue in the class rooms. Before the eighties of the last cent-

ury one could not send a telegram in the Czech language from one part of Bohemia to another, though telegraph offices readily accepted messages in French and English. Towns with pure Czech population were not only required to have street signs in German, but the system imposed upon these municipalities administration that was Teutonic in form, if not always in spirit. It may seem incredible that Prague, the capital, succeeded in throwing off the Teutonic mask only in the early sixties, when the Czech element got the upper hand at municipal elections.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 was instrumental in introducing modern ideas in Austria. The label on Bohemia began to change in color. From pure Teutonic it was then transformed into Austro-Czech. Previous to 1848 the Czech language was barely tolerated. True, a number of patriots busied themselves with the revival of it—Jungmann, Palacký, Havlíček and others—but the sane, safe and conservative element of the burgeoise class long remained deaf to the entreaties of the revivalists. As to the attitude of the government toward the revivalist movement you were free to be a Czech, provided you did nothing to hurt the feeling of the Kaisertreu policeman and gendarme. After the introduction of constitutionalism the system—by the system was meant the dynasty, the beurocracy, hierarchy, aristocracy and the militarists—resorted to every trick and device to keep in political and economic subjection the non-Germanic majority in Austria and non-Magyar majority in Hungary. Census was falsified, suffrage was juggled with, representation in Parliament rested on fraud and gerrymander.

Thinking Czechs dreaded the German, who looked upon the small Slavic nations around him—the Czechoslovaks, Poles, Lusatian Serbs—as his legitimate prey, as fertilizer of Greater Germany.

The Hussite Wars in the 15th century were, in the last analysis, both religious and racial. The proof of this lies in the fact that when they ended the Germans had been pushed everywhere to the border of the country. The dread of the Germans was the dominant theme of Czech history.

As late as the dawn of the nineteenth century, faint hearted men in Bohemia freely gave expression to their fears that the Czech race had lost the never ceasing battle with Germanism and that the same fate awaited it which had met the Slav Obodrites, the Polabians north of them—denationalization.

Against the opposition of Vienna, the intrigues of Budapest and the sinister influence of Berlin, the struggle of the Czechs seemed at times a hopeless one.

When the Czechs demanded a second university in Moravia, they were rebuffed with the answer: let the Czechs learn German.

Czech savings banks were stockholders of the Austro-Hungarian Central Bank. Yet, when they insisted upon being represented on the Board of Governors, the system cried out in unison: Banking does not differentiate between Germans and Czechs. Banking is international.

When they urged concession for the use of their native language in the army, the retort was: Do not touch the army! The army must retain a unified (German) command.

When they rebelled against German being raised to the dignity of the official language of the state, the system sought to still all opposition by arguing that the safety of the state demanded it.

Let us try to forget, however, the wrongs which the Austrian and Magyar grandfathers have done to the Czechoslovak grandfathers and let us consider the future.

Does the Czechoslovak of today possess the qualities which one usually attributes to successful state builders? "Our nation", wrote Charles Velemínský, a Czech pedagogue who visited the United States, "has ever been idealistic, sacrificing all for its ideals. Idealism must be our most precious offering to America. Without ideals even practical America is unthinkable."

The Czech is a democrat. "We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries," says the Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation. From Hus to Havlíček he has waged a ceaseless, though at times a losing war, against the sinister power of reaction. In the course of the struggle and directly due to it, his native land has lost its political independence, but the conqueror could not

stifle in him the lofty ideals he inherited from his Hussite forebears.

He is self-reliant. Note the names of the deputies in the former Austrian Parliament and those constituting the new government: Dr. Rieger, Dr. Pacák, Dr. Kramář, Mr. Klofáč—all commoners. On the other hand observe, for the sake of comparison, who are and were the spokesmen of the Magyars in the Hungarian Parliament: Count Karolyi, Count Andrassy, Count Batthyany, Count Apponyi. The Czechs lost their nobility in the 17th century. The aristocracy owning estates in Bohemia at the present day was, up to the time of the war, almost without exception Austrian in sentiment, ultramontane in politics, feudal in traditions. Stern necessity has taught the Czech commoner to rely on none save himself, to think and act for himself. It is astonishing what progress in art, literature, commerce few decades of national revival, unaided and industry he has made within the last by aristocracy.

He is intelligent. At Ellis Island he has established two records. Of all the races from Austria-Hungary, Germans and Magyars not excepted, the Czech is lowest in the percentage of illiterates—2%—and the highest in the percentage of skilled labor. If it is true, as their enemies contend, that the Slavs are as yet barbarians, then the Czech who in culture is foremost among the Slavs, can boast of being the first barbarian in Europe.

In the Declaration of Independence above quoted the promise is made that the Church will be separated from the State, that the national minorities shall enjoy equal rights and that the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization.

The separation of the Church from the State will be a policy which is certain to revolutionize the thought and action of the re-born nation. For centuries the Church has been the staunchest prop of the old monarchy. In recognition of the great and faithful services rendered, the Hapsburg rulers were permitted to append to their many titles that of the Apostolic Majesty. With the fall of the old régime will be shorn of power those churchmen who were partners with the government in the work of repressing the national aspirations of the subject races, to the end that the ruling minorities, that is the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, might continue in power. Released from the restraint

placed on them by their superiors, the younger clergy will henceforth be free to choose their racial allegiance. Already there is talk in Bohemia of the revival, in some modernized form, of the Bohemian Brethren's Church with its traditions dear to the Czechoslovaks. Around this church, it is possible, will rally dissidents of all denominations and of all shades of opinion.

A Prague newspaper relates how, after the Czechoslovak Republic had been proclaimed, a Bohemian-German asked a jubilant Czech fellow-countryman:

"Now, that you Czechs have a state of your own, how are you going to treat us Germans?" To this the Czech replied: "We will treat you the same way you have treated us." The story goes that the German, upon hearing this reply, looked worried.

The Czech in this story was not voicing the sentiment of his nation, when he stated that the Germans would be treated as well, or rather as unjustly as the Germans under the old order of things had treated them. "We will be fairer with the Germans than they were with us", said Dr. Kramář, the Premier, in a recent newspaper interview. "We will give them (Germans) every liberty, their own schools and language, but the government must be ours." So much for the treatment of the Germans.

Two objects are certain of being attained as a result of the cutting up of large estates. In the first place the land hunger of the small farmer will be appeased; secondly, a crushing blow will be dealt thereby to Germanism and feudalism. The chateaux of the large landed aristocracy, everyone knows, were nests of illiberalism and militant Teutonism. None will feel sorry, when both are finally put out of harm's way.

What of the Germans in the so-called German section of Bohemia? Will they not want to secede? Will they not want to set up a state of their own? These two questions might be answered by asking a third one: is there such a thing in Bohemia or Moravia, or Silesia, as purely German territory? A glance at an ethnographic map will show there is no territory worth speaking of where there are not strong Czech minorities, except in one corner of the country known as the Egerland. According to the census of 1910 there lived in Bohemia 6,774,309 people, including soldiers in active service. Of this number (1900) 62.68% were Czechs, 37.26% Germans. However,

it should be borne in mind that these figures are the product of a doctored, make-believe census. The Austrian Government saw fit to count, for reasons best known to itself, not according to the mother tongue, but on the basis of the "language of association". When the German employer in the northwest is no longer encouraged by Vienna to intimidate his Czech help with threats of discharge unless he puts himself down as an Austrian, the number of Czechs, it is confidently expected, will promptly increase by several hundred thousand in Bohemia alone, while the ranks of the Germans will diminish in proportion.

Moreover, should the Bohemian-Germans be allowed to rend in twain the ancient Bohemian Kingdom, where would the security, the protection against invasion, be on the part of the Czechoslovak Republic? Look at the diamond shaped range of mountains forming a natural barrier on three sides and walling in the country. Then judge for yourself whether the Czechoslovak people could long maintain themselves against a neighbor lusting for conquest, if deprived of the natural protection which these mountains offer? Surely, when the Allies accepted President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination of peoples and when the Czechoslovaks, agreeably to that doctrine, established their commonwealth on the ruins of Austria, it was intended that this and other states should endure, and that they should be provided with safeguards to maintain themselves—not that these safeguards should be destroyed.

On the train from Vienna to Ljubljana I had a long talk with a wealthy Vienna merchant. He took me for a Pole. We said a good deal about the unhappy financial situation in the land. He surprised me by declaring that the one salvation for Central Europe are the Czechs. "A few months ago we transferred our business to the Zivnostenska Banka. They went through our books, and in three days all was in order. The very next week I went in to see them to get a very large sum of money in cash. With my former bankers it would have taken perhaps two days, but these people asked me to sit down for a little, and in a quarter of an hour I was walking out with the money. It fairly took my breath away.

W. J. Rose, in the *New Europe*.

Col. Roosevelt, speaking of the victories of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia, said: "The extraordinary nature of their great and heroic feat is literally unparalleled, as far as I know, in ancient or modern warfare."

Chemical Industries in Czechoslovakia

By J. Pelc, Research Chemist.

It is only natural that a successful economic and industrial revolution in the Czechoslovak lands will follow the successful political revolution which has just taken place. The future of not only Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, but of all new Slav states in Central Europe is closely bound up with the industrial development of natural resources of these countries.

Several important branches of the chemical industry have flourished in Czechoslovakia. For the last fifty years Czech chemists were leaders in the sugar industry, raw sugar production and refining of sugar. But unfortunately nearly all magnificent researches in the chemistry of sugars, performed by Czech chemists, were published in German chemical journals, and consequently credit for them was given to Germans. Czech metallurgists and mining engineers, graduates of the Příbram Mining Academy and of the Technical Universities of Prague and Brno, could not find employment in mines, steel mills and foundries owned by their own people, since most of the big plants were in German hands. Silver mines of Příbram and the gold and radium ore mines of Jáchymov were the property of the Austrian state, while steel mills and iron ore mines of Nucic, Kladno and Vítkovice were in the hands of the German steel trust, the chief competitor of the United States Steel Corporation.

All chemical patents were published only in German, and for this reason the patentees were all classed as German chemists. Paints, dyes, synthetic drugs, medicines, organic compounds were mostly imported from Germany; the few Czech manufacturers who started chemical works operated under the most unfavorable circumstances, because the Austrian government would not help the Czech chemical industry to establish itself.

Soap industry and nitrate production, charcoal, brick and lime manufacturing, were not concentrated and for that reason were not considered important branches of chemical industries. All this manufacturing was carried on by individuals who did not dare to invest more capital in their factories, because the Austrian government would not encourage their export business

and in fact favored imports from Germany into Austria. Czech potteries and ceramic works which were producing very artistic and beautiful objects received no encouragement from the Vienna government. The favor of the German rulers of Austria was extended to breweries and distilleries paying high taxes and owned in most cases by German and Jews; the government was willing to encourage the consumption of beer and alcohol, even though in many parts of Austria alcoholism had come to be a terrible evil.

These are only a few examples showing the attitude of the old Austria toward chemical industries in the Czechoslovak lands. It was impossible that Czech industries should flourish, while the government openly favored both the Austrian Germans and the manufacturers of Germany as against Czech enterprise.

Hard work, very hard work, is in store for Czech chemists and manufacturers, and it will take a long time, before all German influence is removed from technical schools, societies, factories, and from the economic and industrial life in general. The fight for liberation is not completed; Czechoslovaks must keep up their revolutionary struggle, until they win also economic victory and full industrial freedom. Big problems are being solved at the present moment in the chemical world, and Czechoslovak chemists must participate fully in their solution and prove to the world that the energy of the nation was not exhausted in the fight for political liberty.

Agricultural chemistry should above all command the immediate attention of Czech chemists. The new government ought to assist them to create a big organization of analytical, research and manufacturing chemists so as to increase the productivity of soil and to study ways of utilizing waste and by-products. From the manufacturing point of view will involve principally the manufacturing of fertilizers first, by fixation of atmospheric nitrogen as nitric acid and its salts or as ammonia and salts, and second from waste products like bones, sugar residues, sewage, etc. The question of atmospheric nitrogen must not be neglected in Czechoslovak lands, because a Ger-

man-Swedish syndicate is waiting for the first opportunity to invade Czechoslovakia with synthetic nitrates.

Agriculture supported by chemical science and by favorable patent and protective laws will work wonders for the industrial development of Czechoslovak lands. Modern condensing and desiccating plants for milk, eggs, fruits and vegetables, especially potatoes, will develop farming and dairying, will substitute the export of milk powder and condensed milk for the export of inferior cheese and cheese products, and will help in the development of fruit and poultry farming. Packing and canning industry will follow the agricultural development. Canning fruits and making jams, jellies and "povidla" will make many districts far richer than feeding fruits to hogs and cattle or utilizing them for making brandies like the famous "slivovice".

State analytical and research laboratories will of course have to work hand in hand with manufacturers. New schools, university courses for pure chemistry and technical institutes for applied chemistry must be established.

Another important branch of agricultural chemistry is cultivation of medicinal plants that was raised to a very high degree of perfection here in United States. Austrian Pharmacological Institute was making experiments in Moravia before the war, but the results have not been published. Since Czechoslovak lands are the habitat of many well known medicinal plants like Beladonna, Digitalis, Rhubarb, Sage, etc., and the climate is excellent for the cultivation of nearly all medicinal plants except tropical drugs, this industry can be developed so as to be a source of national wealth.

With packing and oil industry there must be connected the production of fatty acids for soaps with glycerine as by-product, manufacturing of natural fertilizers, glue and gelatine.

Wood and peat industry in Czechoslovakia is waiting for more extensive industrial development which would be safe from the influence of capitalists from Vienna and Germany. Wood and peat are very important not only for fuel, but for the manufacturing of wood and industrial grain alcohol, pyroligneous oils, acids and cellulose. New uses must be found for products from lignite, or as it called in Bohemia, brown coal. Peat cellulose can be worked

up as a substitute for wool; wood cellulose is excellent for fireproof pyrocellulose and celluloid as well nitrocellulose for artificial leather and rubber. Celluloid industry will need artificial camphor which will need pinene oils, especially turpentine, for its production.

Iron and steel industry must be taken over and placed in the hands of Czech manufacturers. Access to the sea or seas will present the opportunity not only to get cheap salt, but to start the production of the important hydrochloric acid, bromine and iodine and their acids and salts.

Dyes, synthetic drugs and all coal tar chemicals will be produced by Czech chemists and manufacturers not only for home industries, but also for export to neighboring Slavic states, because Czechoslovak patent and tariff laws will not favor the export of crude coal tar products to Germany, but rather the home production of coal tar, coke, benzol, toluol, aniline and subsequent production of dyes and drugs.

Compressed gases like air, oxygen, acetylene, alcohol and vinegar production from acetylene, wood, animal and mineral carbon industry, production of artificial gems, manufacturing of building materials like gypsum and cements, insecticides, utilization of starches are only a few of the important problems which are to be solved by Czech chemists for the good of Czech chemical industry.

The line of chemical industries in Czechoslovakia waiting for chemists and enterprising men is really inexhaustible. What must be emphasized here is this: our Czech and Slovak countrymen here in United States should study the economic situation and consider well the opportunity for investments in Czechoslovak chemical industries. Such investments will serve a double purpose. First as profitable investments, second as protection against new German and Hungarian economic and industrial expansion in the new Middle European States. German military and political autocracy has been defeated, but German industrial autocracy is making preparations for a new economical offensive. This offensive will be just as dangerous as any military or peace offensive. The German dye trust is making preparation and will be spending millions in advertising to regain its pre-war position on the world's dye market; they invaded all neutral countries during

the war and bought securities in all important chemical industries of Sweden, Holland, Spain, etc. What Germany lost in war, it will try to win back by industrial war, and the new Republic of Czechoslovakia will be affected before every one else by this German economic and industrial offensive.

Every new factory or industrial plant in Czechoslovak or, other Slavic lands,

every chemical laboratory will be an industrial Verdun against German economic expansion in Europe. Our political leaders, our army did their duty. The time is coming, when we shall need a big organization of Slav science, capital and labor, which would hold Czechoslovakia and the other Slav states safe against German autocracy and tyranny in economic and industrial life.

Banks in Bohemia

One of the remarkable things in the national rebirth of the Czechoslovak Nation is the development of its finances. Not quite fifty years ago all financial business in Bohemia was in the hands of the Germans; not a single bank was in Czech hands. Today the state of the Czech banking business is approximately as follows:

There are thirteen large commercial banks. The first place among them belongs to the Živnostenská Banka (Industrial Bank), which has a capital of 100 million crowns and in addition to its Prague headquarters has 21 branches in all the important cities of the Czechoslovak lands, and also in Vienna, Trieste, Cracow, Lemberg and Belgrade. Another large commercial bank is the Credit Bank of Prague with a capital of 30 million crowns which operates principally in Galicia, Serbia and Bulgaria. In addition to commercial banks there are three banks who finance agricultural and industrial enterprises, namely the Bank of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Mortgage Bank of Bohemia and the Mortgage Bank of Moravia. The Bank of the Kingdom of Bohemia issued in 1914, 636 million crowns of its bonds; it discounted 400 millions on drafts and acted as a sort of clearing house for other Czech commercial banks. In 1917 was founded the Union of Czech Banks of which 12 institutions are members; their combined deposits in July, 1917, amounted to 1,084,535,291 crowns.

In 1916 the Živnostenská Banka together with the Agricultural Bank and the Land Bank founded a General Association of Communal Economic Interests. This association financed 14 large factories and insurance companies, and besides 5 banks in Hungary and in the Yugoslav countries, as well as three sugar mills.

The table given below illustrates the economic strength of the great Czech banks:

	Capital in mil- lions of crowns.	Dividends in 1916.	Net profits in 1916.	Surplus	Number of Branches.	Deposits 1917 (mil. crowns)
Živnostenská Bank	100	6½	7,288,719	80,649,493	21	406
Credit Bank	4.8	6½	257,273	34,470	2	30
Credit Bank of Prague	30	7	1,944,461	16,017,988	10	75
Industrial Bank	50	5	2,564,900	2,401,362	20	201
General Bank of Czech Savings Banks	25	2	873,621	2,081,436	6	133
Czech Bank	8	4	481,476	323,964	3	26
Agric. and Indus. Bank of Moravia	14	6	1,062,380	1,178,119	11	150
Land Bank	14	5½	640,086	500,000	6	43
Bank of Bohemia	3	5½	15,247	360,424	3	6
Bank for the Beer Industry	2	5	149,233	47,874	1	6
Bank of Moravia and Silesia	3	5½	218,487	275,000	1	13
Agricultural Bank	12	5½	496,533	400,000	3	139
Bank of Industry & Architecture	2	6	138,546	677,533	..	3
Total	267.8		16,125,912	54,332,677	87	1,236

Czech finance would never have been able to defeat the competition of the German high finance, backed by the Austrian state, if it had not found support in the vast masses of the Czech population. The wise policy of Czech banks gained the confidence of the farmer and laborer and thus made possible the mobilization of the greatest part of the national wealth.

A part of the system are first of all simple loan associations on the Raifeisen plan which operate among a very small circle of clients and inculcate the habits of thrift. In 1910 there were 780 loan associations with a total capital of one billion crowns. Then there were regular savings banks. There numbers in 1912 was 173, and their capital 1,063,537,956 crowns.

All these small institutions employed the services of the great banks and knowing perfectly the needs of each districts and

of each village were able to help the agricultural and industrial developments of the Czechoslovak lands. The banks are actively interested in commerce; they established new industrial and commercial enterprises. Thus the Živnostenská Bank of Prague builds sugar mills in the Balkans and un-

dertakes the sale of the entire production of 26 factories.

All the Czech banks operate annually with a capital of five billion crowns. It was this concentration of wealth which enabled them to hold their own in competition with Great German banks.

The Economic Strength of Slovakia

There are no official statistical figures of the wealth and natural resources of Slovakia, for this country of 54,000 square kilometers was merged in Hungary, and the Magyars did not want the world to know the natural riches of the country oppressed by them. The figures given below are compiled with much labor from the Hungarian official statistics and give a fairly accurate picture of the economic conditions in that unfortunate land.

The relative density of population in Slovakia in 62.3 per square kilometre. In the county of Nitra it is 77.7 inhabitants per square kilometre. According to the Magyar statistics in 1910 there was in Slovakia 69 percent Slovaks, 18.8 percent Magyars and 9.7 percent Germans. Even in Budapest the Magyars had to admit the presences of 25,168 Slovaks; of course the real number was much larger. The productive soil of Slovakia was 93.8 percent of the entire area, and of that 40 percent was arable, 19.3 percent was meadow land and 34.5 was in forests. The number of farms and their division into great and small estates was as follows:

Farms of	Their Number.	No. in Percent.	Percent- age of area
1 to 10 hectares	149,554	50.07%	6.2%
10 to 100 hectares	143,230	48.04%	46.4%
100 to 500 hectares	2,185	0.75%	15.4%
500 or more "	.419	0.15%	32 %

The total value of the crops in the 11 principal Slovak counties in 1901 was 342,218,237 crowns. The following table indicates the production of the chief crops:

	Quintals.	Value in Crowns.
Wheat	1,771,125	34,813,108
Rye	1,435,056	27,693,793
Barley	3,094,710	58,292,584
Oats	1,484,391	28,604,497
Potatoes	13,888,986	35,652,288
Corn	695,296	8,916,743
Other crops		130,245,224
Total		342,218,237

Slovakia is therefore an agricultural country, but at the same time it is more industrial than the rest of Hungary. Among the Slovaks the number of persons making their living out of agriculture was 65.7 percent; in the rest of Hungary 67.4 percent. Industrial and commercial workers among the Slovaks number 22.1 percent and in the rest of Hungary 20 percent.

The underground wealth of Slovakia contains minerals of all species. In 1905 the production of iron ore in Slovakia was 8,971,612 quintals, whereas all rest of the Kingdom of Hungary produced in that year 7,631,972 quintals.

At the same time half of this ore was exported, since the primitive state of the iron industry could not utilize all the ore at home. The production of iron in 1905 in Slovakia was 2,285,328 quintals valued at 18,721,249 crowns. Iron ore is mined in 30 districts and smeltered in 21 districts. The future of the iron industry in Slovakia is very promising since the country possesses rich strata of coal. Most of the Hungarian coal is found in Slovakia. In 1905 coal was mined in 16 districts and the production was 14,225,000 quintals of lignite. Even though the iron mills are not equipped with modern machinery, they pay large dividends.

For the Czechoslovak State it is important that Slovakia has salt, which is completely lacking in the Czech lands. It has been under the old regime, a state monopoly and its production was 59,000 quintals, valued at 1,150,000 crowns.

The composition of the soil is very suitable for the manufacture of pottery; it has given rise in remote times to this industry, the products, of which are well-known to collectors of pottery. In 1900 there were 1326 persons in Slovakia working in 11 potteries. But since this branch of the industry is entirely Slovak, the Hungarian government favored the importation of

foreign wares in order to ruin Slovak works. Thus in 1905 pottery ware was imported into Hungary to the value of 575,000 crowns.

Closely connected with this industry is the manufacture of excellent bricks. The number of brickyards grows from year to year. These are also three factories for the making of cement. Slovak glassware which was once famous and prosperous is decaying for the same reasons which apply to the manufacture of pottery, namely that the Magyar Government does not want Slovaks to get rich. In spite of that there are still glass-blowing establishments in 17 districts.

Another industry has spread into all the counties; that is the manufacture of paper. But modern paper mills are found only in 7 districts.

It is plain that a country like Slovakia with its splendid forests is sure to have an important lumber industry. In 1900 there were 12 factories for the manufacture of furniture, and numberless sawmills.

The manufacture of leather goods is also relatively prominent. In 1900 there were shops in 25 districts. A shoe factory in Št'avnica employs 75 workmen.

Water mills that formerly were used everywhere foregrinding grain for the most part are replaced by steam mills. These modern flour mills are found in 16 districts and give work to 1021 workingmen.

There are 9 sugar mills with 7648 workmen which produce 1,372,322 quintals of sugars; in all Hungary the manufacture of sugar amounts to 2,604,576 quintals. Sugar is exported principally into the East Indies to the value of about 10 million crowns and to England, 4 million crowns.

Distilling of alcohol is an important industry; besides 1469 persons who make alcohol on a small scale there are 7 large distilleries. There are small breweries in all of the large towns and there are 7 large breweries.

Slovakia has even a chemical industry, although rather primitive. Enterprises of kind number 24 and of them the most important are two factories for the manufacture of dynamite and cartridges in Pressburg, where in 1900 there were employed 778 men. The figures that it was possible to gather as to the different branches of industry located in Slovakia have been grouped in a little table below. These en-

terprises number 83 and have a capital of 129,929,000 crowns.

Industries.	No. of Companies.	Capital in thousands of crowns.	Profits.
Flour mills	8	2,895	192,162
Sugar Mills	5	9,200	884,148
Breweries and Distilleries	6	1,938	204,934
Saw Mills	5	752	36,666
Coal Mines	3	21,000	2,669,806
Iron Mines	5	50,400	9,363,603
Stone quarries	2	174	22,767
Monument Works	7	1,540	317,958
Tanneries	1	1,000	84,839
Oil Refineries	2	5,200	1,128,177
Paper Mills	3	5,500	818,746
Printing Establishments	4	139	8,612
Textile Mills	5	14,930	1,955,636
Chemical Industries	2	8,000	2,347,620
Power Houses	9	3,206	143,319
Watering Places	8	1,732	58,682
Gas Works	1	120	
Glass Works	1	900	80,375
Hotel Associations	2	490	23,398
Starch Works	1	224	
Canning Factories	2	299	39,038
Ammunition Works	1	300	15,116
Total:	83	129,929	20,305,582

The economic effort of the Slovaks has encountered many obstacles; and the financial emancipation of the Slovaks is without doubt the most difficult problems of all. Although the first financial institution founded by the Slovaks goes back as far as 1845, it could not develop, for most of the banks founded by Slovaks have through government terrorism fallen into the hands of the Magyars. That made the people averse to dabbling any more in finances, and between 1886 and 1895 not a single bank or financial establishment was founded. A new period opens in 1896 and extends to 1904; during that time the Slovaks have shown a rather live spirit of enterprise. A number of banks were founded and began to prosper in a satisfactory manner. Since that time the Slovaks have struggled manfully to free themselves of Magyar-German finances. They have succeeded, largely owing to the help of the Czech finance which looked upon it as its national duty to support the younger Slovak finances.

In 1900 there were 54 Slovak credit institutions; among them were 40 banks with

18 branches, their capital amounted to 9,538,067 crowns, their deposits were 48,270,453 crowns. The two most important banks are the Bank of Tatra, founded in 1886, with deposits of 10 million crowns, and the Credit Bank of Ružomberk, with a capital of 2 million crowns and deposits of 5 million.

Like Bohemia Slovakia is rich in mineral waters. The baths of Pišťany already enjoy international fame, although the Magyars claim them, just as the Germans claim the famous watering places of Bohemia, Karlsbad, Franzensbad and Marienbad.

This gives a rough sketch of the economic situation in Slovakia at the present time. It is plain that Slovakia is a rich country with a great future, and its underground wealth of minerals will transform it into one of the most industrial districts of all Europe. But it is necessary to bring capital into the country. Up to now the country was exploited by the Magyars and held down artificially to a low degree of economic and intellectual well-being. But the people are highly gifted and the precious gift of liberty will develop their talent, as it has done in America. The future of Slovakia is assured.

Translated from *La Nation Tchèque*.

The Saviors of Russia

By *Kenneth Miller*.

All along the Volga valley, on across the heights of the Ural Mountains, across the broad steppes of Siberia to the Baikal district, across Manchuria and the Amur district as far as the Pacific Ocean at Vladivostok, there has been heard during the summer that is past the cry: 'The Czechoslovaks are coming!'

It has been a cry of relief, like unto the glad-some shouts of prisoners released from captivity, for the coming of the Czechoslovaks has meant for the millions of people in Siberia and Eastern Russia liberation from the tyrannical rule of the Bolsheviks, the restoration of a government by all the people, the downfall of a government by one class for its own selfish interests.

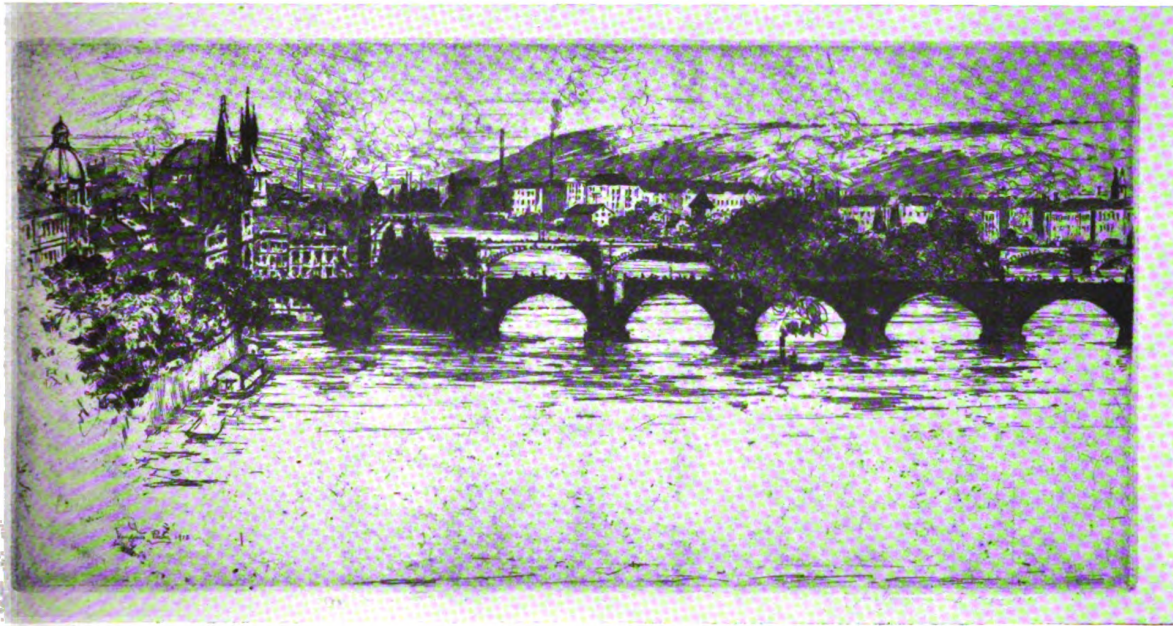
When the Czechoslovaks first began their military operations against the Bolsheviks in the latter part of May, there was considerable confusion upon the part of the man in the street as to the meaning of it all. For although the Czechoslovaks are Slavs like the Russians, and although this particular army had formed an integral part of the Russian army and had rendered invaluable service to the Russian forces, the people as a whole had no very clear idea as to who they were, what they wanted, where they were going, and why they had declared war upon the Bolsheviks. Accustomed as they were after the turbulent events of the past year to insurrections and civil strife — to conflicts between Ukrainians and Bolsheviks, to Dutoff's and Korniloff's warfare against the Soviets, they looked upon this new conflict as but a new and rather strange element in the general disorder. Things could not be any worse than they are now, let the Czechs come and have their way, it is all the same to us. Such was the attitude of the average man at the time.

Then there began to be spread abroad more definite news as to who the Czechoslovaks were and what they wanted. The people learned that they were mostly former prisoners of war who had enlisted in the ranks of the Russian army to fight against Austria in the hope that they might thereby gain the freedom of their home-land, Bohemia. After the Brest-Litovsk peace they had concluded that Russia was no place for an army that wanted to fight against the Central Powers, and had started to depart for the French front by way of Siberia and Vladivostok. Trotsky and his colleagues, however, under suasion of the German ambassador, decided that it would be better to have them join his Red Army, and when they refused to do so, ordered their complete disarmament. Rather than submit to such ignominious treatment the Czechoslovaks decided to beat their way through to Vladivostok by force.

Right on the heels of these reports came the Czechoslovaks themselves. They were uniformed like the soldiers of the old Russian army, save for the little red and white ribbon that they wore in their hats. But what a contrast they presented to the "Tovarishi" of the disintegrated Russian army and to the bandits of the Red Army! Clean-cut, straight-forward looking fellows, honest and courteous in their treatment of the civilian population, with such order and discipline in their ranks as the Bolshevik-ridden Russians had not seen in many months, they immediately won the favor and soon the affection of all the people with whom they came in contact.

And before the astounded people could realize what was going on, and before the bewildered Bolsheviks could gather their wits together, the Czechs had gained control of all the main points

PRAGUE, CITY OF SEVEN HILLS: Eight Etchings by J. C. Vondrous

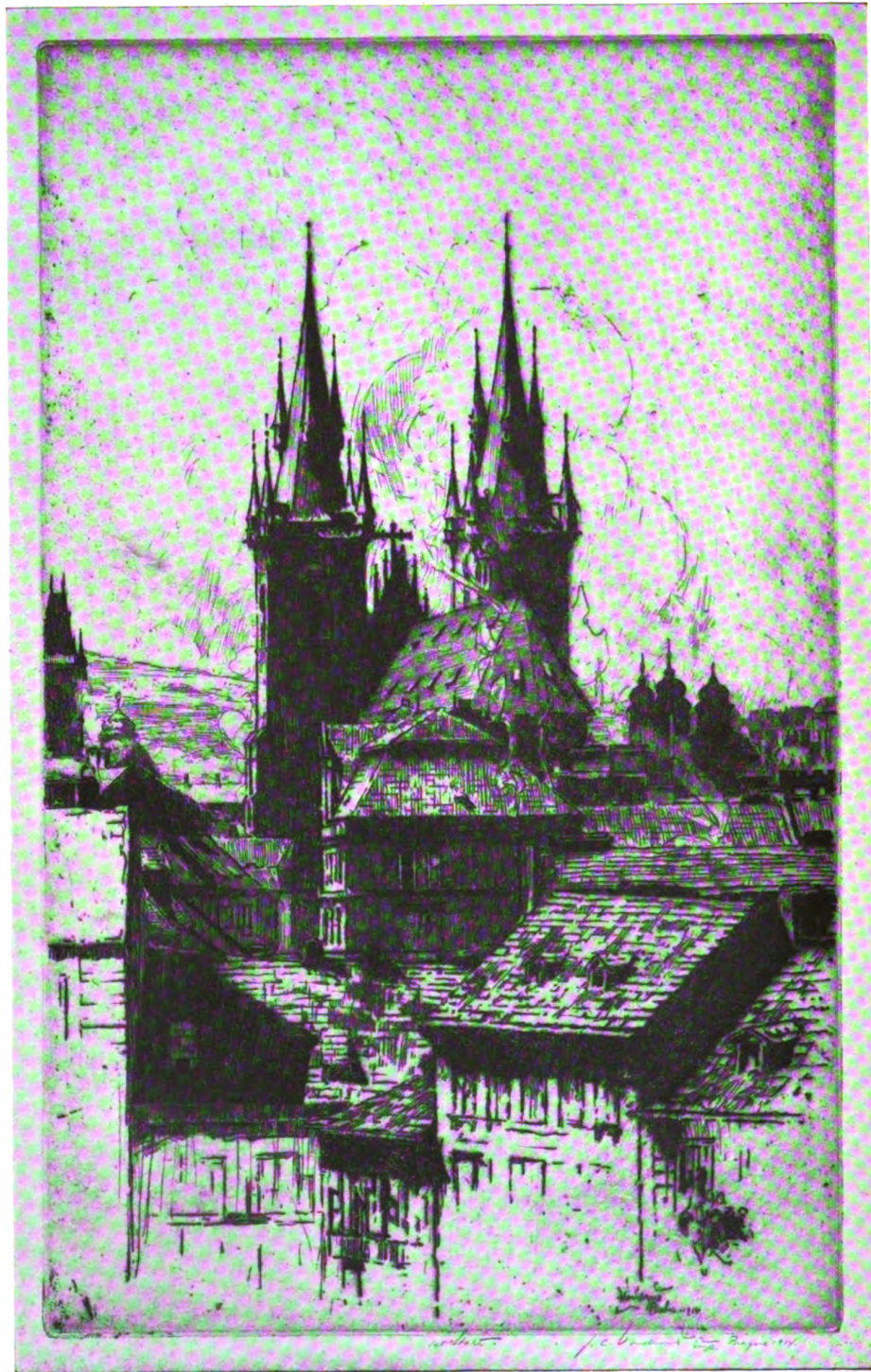


Courtesy of "Asia".

"PRAGUE BRIDGES"
BY J. C. VONDROUS

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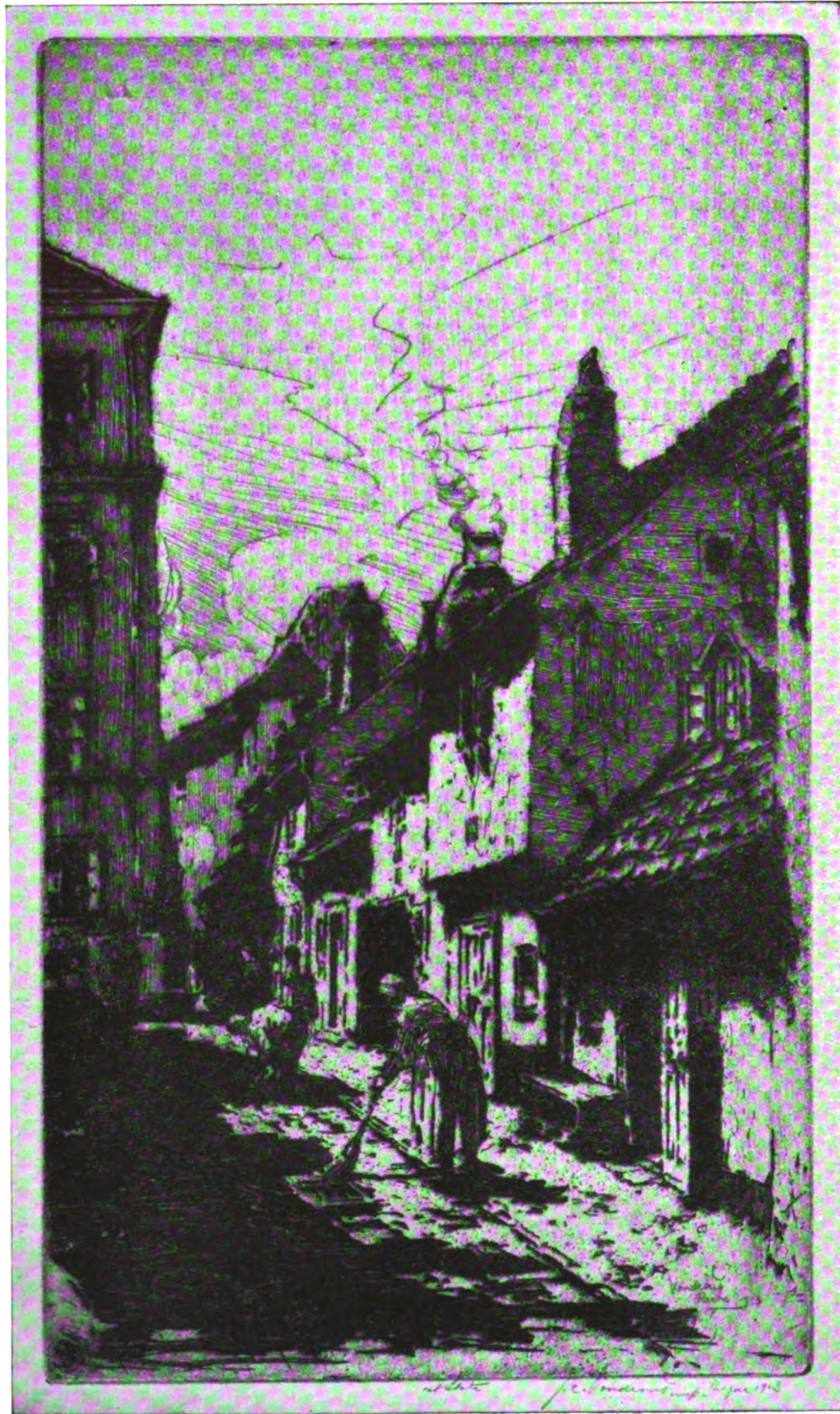
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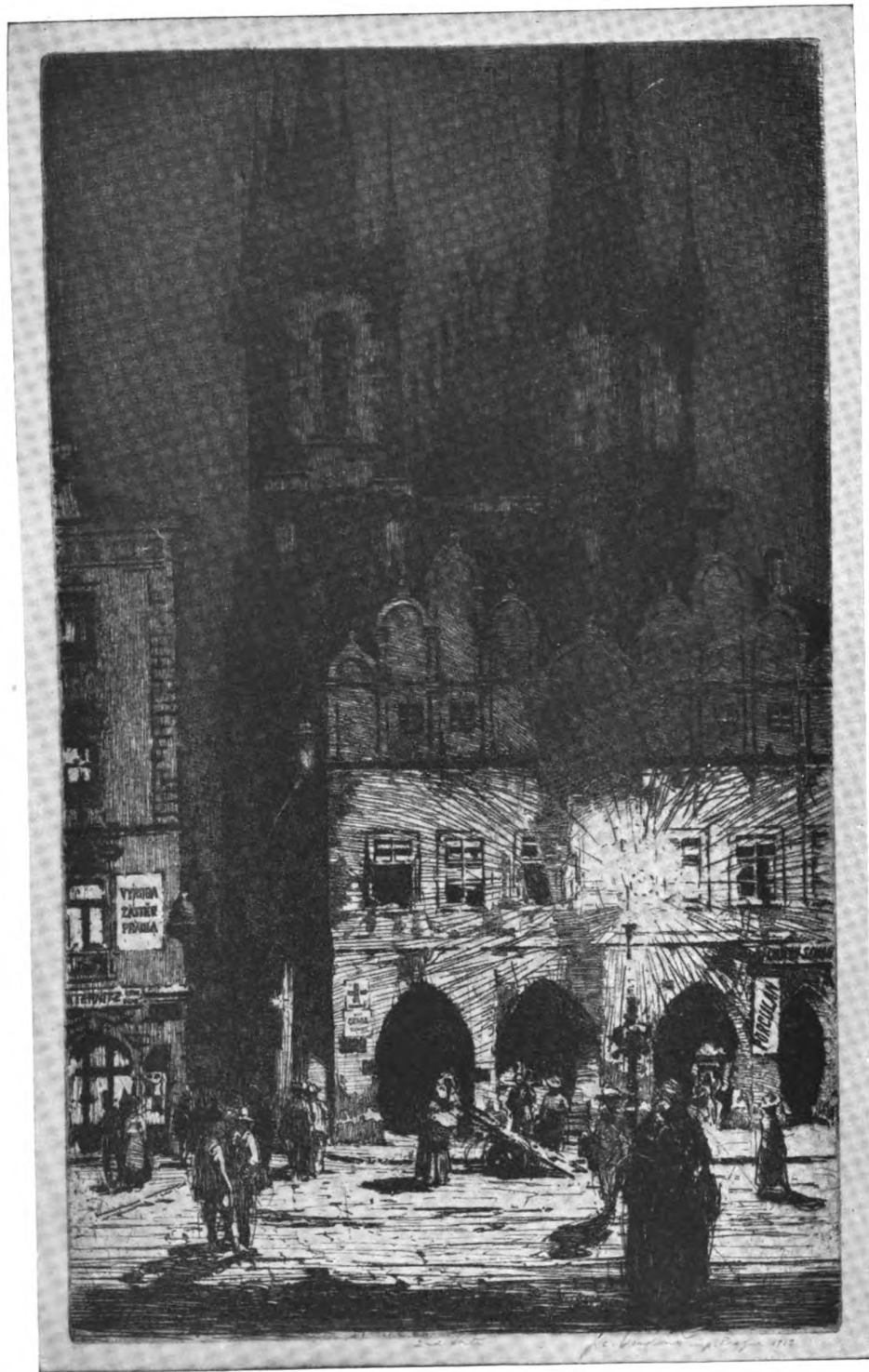
"GOLDEN STREET, OLD-TOWN"
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"OLD-TOWN HALL, PRAGUE"
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"NOCTURNE, TÝN CHURCH"
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**"ST. VITUS CHURCH FROM THE
BELVEDERE," BY J. C. VONDROUS**



"OLD-TOWN BRIDGE TOWER"
BY J. C. VONDROUS

Courtesy of "Asia".

along the trans-Siberian line from Samara as far as Irkutsk, and had disarmed or scattered to the four winds the Bolshevik and Internationalist (Magyar and German prisoners) forces.

At first the Czecho-Slovaks announced that they were not aiming at any interference in the internal affairs of Russia, but were only assuring their safe passage through to Vladivostok, to which point they were to proceed as soon as practicable. But what the Bolsheviks are pleased to call the "dark forces of counter-revolution", or in short those who believed in a different kind of democracy than that of the Soviets, saw immediately that here was a golden opportunity to overthrow the Bolshevik tyranny, and establish a new government making for a truce democracy. An organization for this purpose had long since secretly existed throughout Siberia in the temporary Siberian Government, and the leaders of this organization had been but waiting for a favorable opportunity to bring about a coup-d'etat. They rightly judged that no more favorable opportunity could be found than that afforded by the Czecho-Slovak movement, when the Bolsheviks had no arms with which to continue their terrorization of the people. The leaders of the Czecho-Slovaks were consulted, and, since the Bolsheviks would not allow them to depart, were persuaded to join in this attempt to free Siberia for ever of the Bolshevik yoke.

New local governments were established, those in Siberia centring around the Siberian government at Omsk, and those in Russia around temporary committees formed principally of members-elect to the Constitutional Assembly that the Bolsheviks disbanded in November 1917 because there was not a majority of Bolsheviks.

The people were enraptured over their sudden good fortune, and could not say too much of their gratitude to their deliverers, the Czecho-Slovaks. The newspapers were filled with articles and poems singing their praises, huge demonstrations were made in the cities they had freed from Bolshevik rule. "Now we have shaken off the Bolsheviks here in Siberia, and we shall soon break their rule in European Russia; we shall establish a new government based on the decision of a popularly-elected Constitutional Assembly, we shall re-organize the Russian army, and with the help of the Allies establish anew the Eastern front against the Central powers and fight until every inch of Russian territory is freed from German influence." This was the sincere and decided resolve made not only by the spokesman of the new governmental organizations, but by the common citizen. Feeling ran high, and the future at last began to look bright and rosy, after many months of darkness and despair. It seemed as if Russia were about to be saved; saved from the Bolsheviks, saved from the Germans, saved for the Russians. And the Czecho-Slovaks were the saviors. They were the heroes of the country.

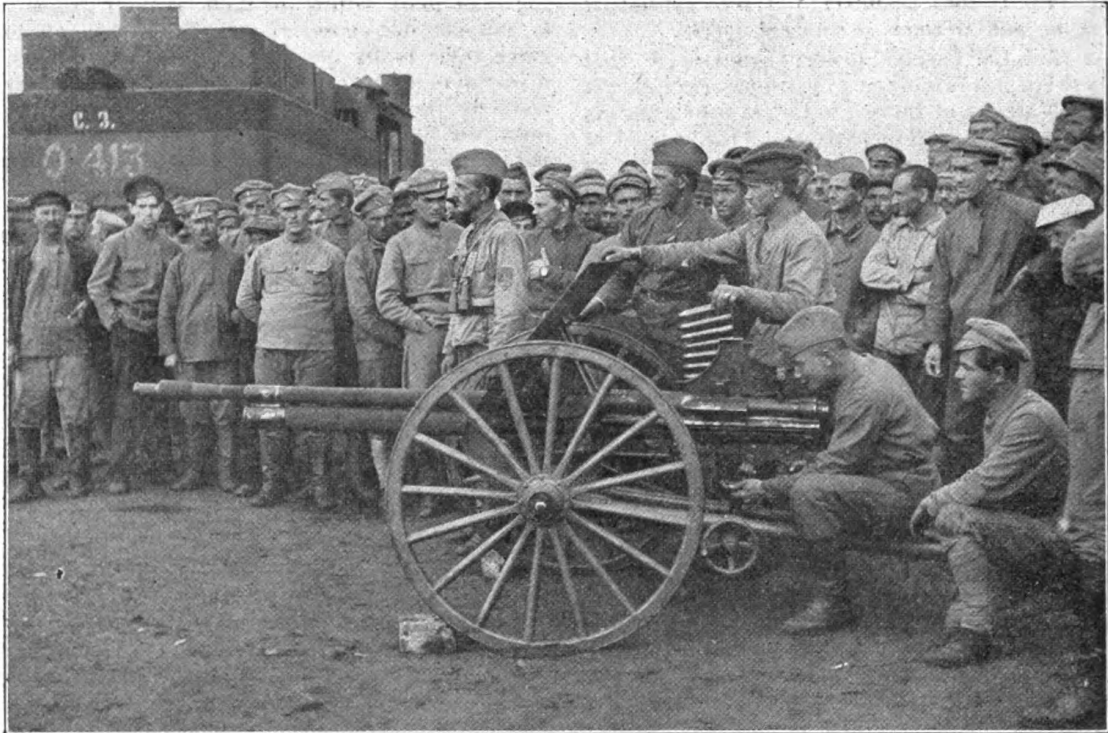
But the Czecho-Slovaks were not deceived by their early victories into thinking that all was going to be plain sailing for them. If their decision to support the counter-Bolshevik forces and to make their battle their own was made quickly, it was not made without counting the cost. They were on the ground and were in a position to judge the Russian situation as no other non-Russian people, owing to their intimate knowledge of Russian affairs and the Russian people. They were cut off from the outside world, and could not consult with their supreme authority, the Czecho-Slovak National Council, nor with the Allies. They were fully aware of the responsibility they took upon themselves, but were convinced that Professor Masaryk, their leader, and the Allies as well, would support them in their action, when all the facts were known. They began the battle for their own self-protection, but they continued it for the restoration of Russia to the Russian people, believing that thus they would be rendering a greater service to the Allied cause than they would by proceeding to the French front, as they had originally planned. But in spite of their confidence that they had taken the only course possible, they were all greatly relieved and delighted when word came through from the Allied ambassadors at Vologda to the effect that the Allies thanked the Czechs for what they had done in Russia and Siberia, approved of their course of action and were beginning armed intervention in Russia and Siberia in the end of June.

From that time on the Czechs set to work to prepare the ground for the coming of Allied troops, the re-organization of the Russian Army, and the re-establishment of an Eastern front against the Germans, with whom the Bolsheviks were more and more openly allying themselves. Their first task was to open the way to the east so as to join forces with their comrades who had already reached Vladivostok and with any allied troops that might be there.

Neither the Czechs nor the Allies at Vladivostok expected that it would be possible for connection to be made with the main body of the Czech troops in Siberia and the Ural District before Spring. But the Czechs did many unexpected and unheard of things in the course of their campaign, and the utter amazement of all the authorities in Vladivostok and eastern Siberia General Gaida with his small force of Czechs and Russians succeeded in making connection with the Cossacks and Czechs operating in Manchuria in the early days of September.

General Gaida's campaign across the steppes of Siberia and through the Lake Baikal region was one of the most brilliant achievements of the summer. Having at his disposal only a regiment and a half of Czech troops and a few raw Siberian troops, Gaida sent them scurrying along the railway lines against one place after another, delivering one unexpected and telling blow after

WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK FIGHTERS IN SIBERIA.



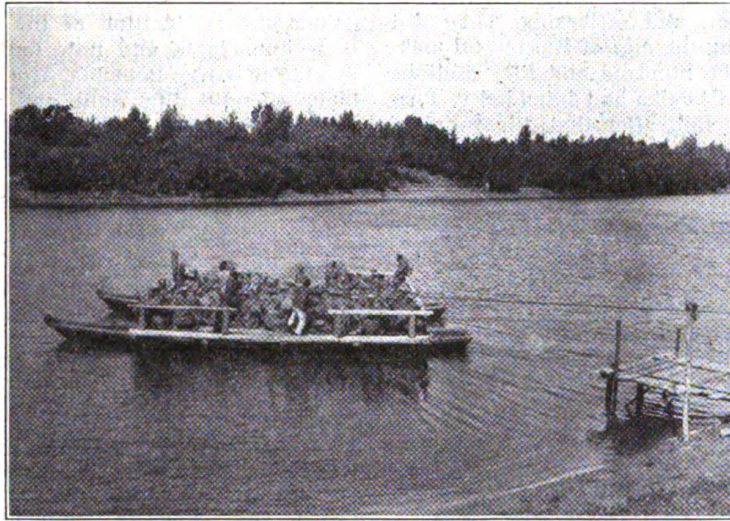
A quick firing gun captured at Penza.



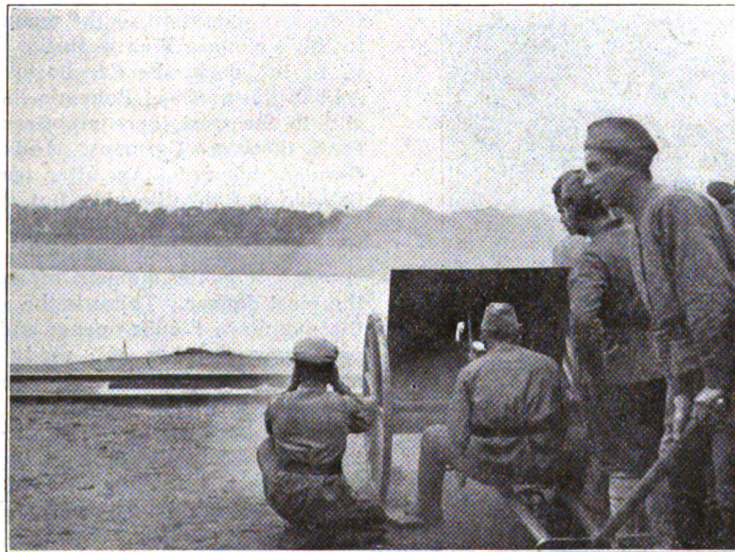
Czechoslovak railroad car.

another until all the important points along the Siberian line had fallen before him, and his men stood at the gates of the city of Irkutsk. Tomsk, Novo Nikolaevsk and Krasnoyarsk fell in succession. In the early stages Gaida never sent more than a battalion against a city of twenty-five

ing upon making a final stand at the Baikal where the tunnels, the lake and the mountains offered splendid natural advantages for a defending army. But Gaida at one time sent forces some two hundred versts around on foot and surprised the Bolsheviki in the rear, at another



Crossing the river Tobol.



Working a quick firing gun at Ufa.

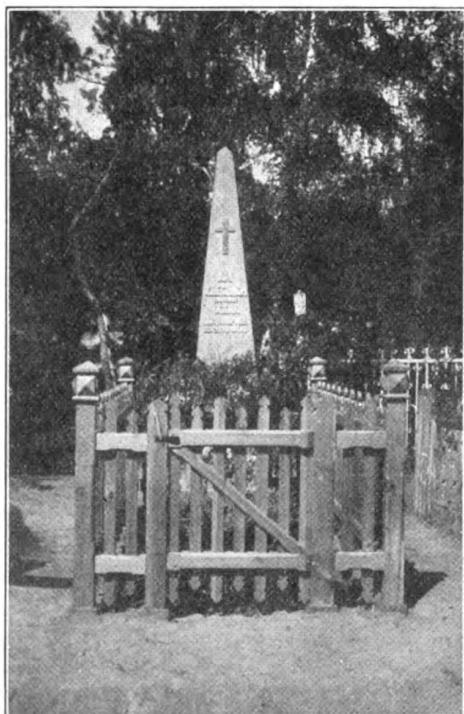
thousand inhabitants; he relied upon surprise attacks, terrifying bomb throwing, and a considerable sprinkling of good old American bluff to put to rout the disorganized "Reds"; and he never had even a set-back.

The Bolsheviki retired beyond Irkutsk, abandoning that city without a battle, evidently count-

time he despatched men across the lake to fall upon the Bolsheviki rear, while upon still another occasion he deceived the enemy by means of false dispatches into believing that he was obliged to retire, and then laid an ambush for them, and nearly cut their forces to pieces. This sort of warfare was too brainy altogether for the simple

Bolsheviks, and Gaida soon had them making eastward as fast as they could into the very hands of the Czech, Cossack and Allied forces advancing from Vladivostok.

In the meantime the Czechs in the Ural District, after taking the important Bolshevik centre at Ekaterinburg, found themselves faced with forces that were giving increasing evidence of German organization and officering. They did succeed in capturing the city of Kazan and making away with seven hundred and fifty millions of gold that the Bolsheviks had intended to turn over to Germany. But, after that, the superior



Grave of John Klecanda, Secretary of the Russian Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council, buried at Omsk.

forces of the enemy and the lack of fresh troops to relieve them and the unreliability of the raw Russian troops forced them to withdraw step by step. They were purposely maintaining the Volga front with the important cities of Samara and Orenburg against the coming of the Allies, but when weeks went by and the Allies gave no sign of coming to their help, they decided to withdraw from the entire region around the Volga and establish such a front as they could themselves hold without the help of the Allies.

From a military stand-point the outlook along the Urals is far from bright. To be sure, the entire Czech Army Corps numbering about eighty thousand men is now united, and with the fresh troops that have arrived from the East it is expected that Perm will be taken, and a new and

shorter front established from that city south to Ufa. But even that front cannot be held very long by the Czechs alone, as they now have about two-hundred and fifty thousand well-organized troops against them. The new Russian army will be of little help without months of training, and the Allies are not to be seen.

The Czecho-Slovaks have in the meantime gained the recognition of the independence of their home-land, and now look forward to returning to a free Bohemia. The Allies have given them splendid diplomatic and political support, and have made fair promises of military support to the Czechs without number. But the only Allies that the Czechs have seen to date are a few official governmental and military agents.

The Czecho-Slovaks have made Siberia and one of the wealthiest regions of Russia "safe for democracy". No one denies that there are great political and technical obstacles in the way of an armed Allied expedition into western Siberia; but also no one who knows the situation here, who has seen it with his own eyes, will deny that now is the golden opportunity to save Russia and set her on her feet; no one will deny that the Czechs have rendered an incalculable service to the cause of democracy, and that their victory so dearly won, stands in imminent danger of being brought to nought.

In Bohemia there is a fable. And in this fable there is a mountain — the mountain Blanik. And in the mountain Blanik, in the hollow middle of it, in the dark, the Czechoslovak army stands. And to the north of Bohemia there are Germans, and to the west there are Germans, and to the south there are Germans. And age after age the Germans triumph. Age after age they destroy the Czechs and the Slovaks. But age after age the Czecho-Slovak army still stands in the mountain Blanik, in dream, in readiness. And a moment comes. It is the moment of moments. There is the most danger. There is the most chance. And the mountain Blanik opens; and the Czecho-Slovak army marches out, ready to the moment, armed to the moment, soldiers, commanders, all; and Bohemia lives.

So speaks the fable. But where is the mountain Blanik? In the fable it is in Bohemia. In fact it turns out to be in Bachmach in Russia, and in Irkutsk in Siberia, and in Vladivostok on the shore of the Pacific.

William Hard in the Metropolitan.

Don't be deceived; the brains of that Slav race, that great race which extends all the way through Siberia, are to be found neither in Moscow, nor at Petrograd, nor at Belgrade, nor at Sophia, but at Prague. From this city went forth all the regenerators of the Slav race. In a war of intellectual trenches, so to say, they won with a wonderful tenacity triumphs on triumphs. Louis Leger.

The Ancient Prague University

By Joseph Turzický. *)

A university that limits itself merely to the education of its students is a school and nothing more. The Czech University of Prague, one of the oldest universities, is far more than a school. The Czech nation has always placed ideals above material interests, in contrast to their Teutonic neighbors. And the Prague University has been from its foundation an exponent of the Czechoslovak idealism.

It was founded by Emperor Charles in 1348 and was thus the first university of Central Europe. It was founded not merely for the Czechs, but for the whole empire, that is to say, for the present Germany and for all the lands that are today in the hands of the Germans. Charles himself was a pupil of the University of Paris. He loved the Czech nation and realized that it was the best educated nation in Central Europe; this primacy he wanted to secure for Bohemia permanently by establishing in its capital a great school of learning.

Today the Prague University, its teacher Masaryk and his pupils carry on the cultural fight against materialism taught in the state universities of Germany; they also carry on a political fight as well as a fight in a revolutionary armies — among them the famous Czechoslovak Army of Siberia.

The University of Prague, which is officially referred to as the "ancient" university, is worthy of its name. Emperor Charles established in it four faculties — of divinity, law, medicine and philosophy; a fourfold division which has been maintained to this day. He also divided it into "nations", according to the nationality of professors and students. There was the Czech nation, which included students from the Czechoslovak lands, as they are known today, as well as from the Jugo-Slav lands; then there was the Polish nation constituted of Poles, Silesians, Russians and Lithuanians, then the Saxon nation, comprising the men from Saxony, Thuringia, Denmark and Sweden, and finally the Bavarian nation, among which were counted Austrians, Swabians, Franconians and men from the Rhineland. So the university was a cosmopolitan school, originally half Slav and half German. Later the Polish "nation", after a university had been established in Cracow, ceased to be Polish and was composed of Germans from Silesia, Brandenburg and Pomerania, and thus Slavs became a minority.

Germans occupied the chairs of professors and by virtue of university privileges they filled with their men the churches and schools of Bohemia. But the controversies that soon arose between the

Czechs and Germans transcended the field of material advantages. Under the leadership of John Hus, twice rector of the university, and master Jerome of Prague the Czechs introduced a religious reform which was opposed by the German professors. The Czech idealism and the German reactionary materialism thus came into conflict. The Czechs, with Hus, defended freedom of conscience, the Germans maintained papal theocracy.

The fight was transferred from the university to the people and resulted in the war of Czech democracy, embodied in the Hussite army, against theocracy supported by the autocracy of German princes.

German students and professors left the University of Prague in 1409 and founded a university in Leipzig, hoping to make the old school insignificant; but no German university, in spite of any achievements, became as the Prague University did become, the real leader of its nation.

After the Hussite wars up to the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, the Prague University continued to be the highest cultural institution of the Czech nation; it was a Hussite, that is to say, Protestant, university.

Ferdinand II. who defeated the Czech rebels, killed the leaders of the people and drove the Protestants out of Bohemia. With them went the old professors of Prague University and Ferdinand turned the university over to the Jesuits, who made of it a Roman Catholic college. Since that day the university bears, in addition to the name of its founder, the name of him also who took it from the nation and gave it to the German and Spanish Jesuits. Its official name has been the Carolo-Ferdinanda University. The education of Jesuits was very effective. As early as 1648, when Prague was besieged by the Swedes, students of the university led by the Jesuit Plachý fought against Swedish supporters of the Czech nation, fought for the Hapsburgs and against their own people.

Up to the days of Maria Theresa the university belonged to the Jesuits and had for its principal aim to make the Czechs Roman Catholics. In that it succeeded, but its second task, to Germanize Bohemia, was not successfully carried out, and the first sign of new days was the institution of the chair of Czech language in 1791. It was like the study of a dead language, for few people believed that the nation with its tongue and its ideals could arise from the grave dug for it by the Jesuits.

But the resurrection of the Czech nation came about, and the Prague University, although Germanized, had its share in it. Up to 1882 the language of instruction remained German, and yet

*) Written originally for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

professors who felt a strong Czech consciousness educated the whole generation of the present leaders of Bohemia. In 1848 students of the Prague University were leaders of the revolution and for a few days were masters of Prague, and since that time the Prague University has been the mainspring of opposition against German domination. And when finally the Czechs secured from the Austrian Government the concession that the ancient university should be divided into a German and a Czech university, the glory of the old school returned. In spite of the fact that the government refused to erect modern buildings for the Czech university and was stingy with its appropriations, while it was generous to the German universities of Austria, the Czech university of Prague numbered in recent years nearly 5000 students and became the center of education and of political and national life of the Czech people. The new Czech university in 1882 called to the chair of philosophy Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk. His name came to mean to the new university what the name of Hus meant to the university of 500 years ago. Masaryk never became rector—who is elected annually—for the Austrian Government would never have consented to it, but in spite of that Masaryk has been the spiritual leader of this institution.

The Prague University again became an international school, or rather a new Slav school, and fully 10 per cent of the students came from Slav lands. Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Jugoslavia and Bulgaria. The leaders of every oppressed Slav nation have nearly all passed through a course of training in the Czech university and have felt the impress of Masaryk's great mind.

In addition to its technical side the Prague University cared for the education of the masses of the people by giving university extension courses in all the cities of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus when Masaryk declared fight on Austria, the whole university, its graduates and the whole nation were back of him. The fight for Czechoslovak independence is thus not merely a politi-

cal fight, but also a cultural fight against the German kultur.

In the provisional Czechoslovak Government, all three members were connected with the Prague University: Masaryk as professor, Dr. Beneš, the Foreign Minister of the provisional government, as associate professor, and General Stefanik, Minister of War and a noted astronomer, as a graduate of the university. The movement among the Czechoslovaks in the United States was led by two former students of the Prague University, Dr. Fisher, president of the Bohemian (Czech) National Alliance, and Joseph Tvrzický, its former secretary.

The commander of the Czechoslovaks in Russia is Dr. Gajda, a graduate of the medical school of the university, and practically all the Czechoslovak officers in Russia are professors, physicians, lawyers, who graduated from the same school.

The faculty of the university was early in the war called upon by the Austrian Government to deprive Masaryk of his title of professor and to repudiate him, but it refused to comply with the demand. When two Czech leaders, Kramář and Rašín were found guilty of high treason and deprived of all their honors and titles, the university conferred upon them once more the degree of doctor of law.

Thus the history of Prague University is but a condensed history of the nation. This scholarly institution is the living document of the Czech people. In addition it has exerted a tremendous influence on other nations, especially the Jugoslavs. It may be said without exaggeration that the inspiration of the fight of the oppressed nationalities of Middle Europe against German domination came from the university of Prague.

There is no doubt that the free Czechoslovak Republic will finally erect worthy buildings for the school which has meant so much for its people. And from Prague currents will radiate east, southeast and northeast by which the best culture of Bohemia and Western Europe will be communicated to the East.

An American Writes from Siberia

An American engineer, employed by the Stevens railway commission in Siberia, has some interesting things to say about the Czechoslovaks in a letter written to his family, and dated at Harbin, August 22, 1918. Writing about his experiences on the Usuri River front he says:

Put in about ten days here with the Czechs — looking over track and bridges that had been blown up by the Bolsheviks whom the Czechs had chased to this point in a few weeks' time since taking Vladivostok. They gave me the finest kind of treatment and are certainly strong for the United States. I was in the front line trenches on three different days, but there was nothing

going on, except some artillery firing, as both sides were marking time after the battle which took place the day before I arrived. In that fight the Czechs lost 80 men killed and 25 missing; the Bolsheviks, consisting mainly of German and Austrian prisoners, outnumbering the Czechs three to one, lost over 1000 killed and no prisoners. The Czechs take no German and Austrian prisoners; Russians they do take prisoners and treat them as kindly as we do our prisoners, but Austrians and Germans, if they surrender, are shot at once. I asked one Czech officer, if he thought that the twenty-five missing men were prisoners. He said: "No, we shoot ourselves or

use our hand grenades first, for we have had the experience of finding our wounded with their tongues cut out and their ears cut off, and we know what capture by these beasts means."

I am ashamed to say that my knowledge of the Czechoslovak nation was so meager that when I first heard of them coming across Russia, I pictured a low-browed, illiterate, undisciplined mob of Slavs, beating their way across the country in a panic. I found instead a perfectly organized, highly disciplined army of as fine and intelligent a body of men as you will see anywhere in the world. They are perfectly trained, real fighting men in every sense of the word, absolutely confident of their own power and ability, afraid of nothing on earth, every last man fighting for the one single purpose — the downfall of Austria and Germany and a place in the world as a free and independent nation. A large portion of them speak good English; most of them speak French and all of them Russian and German, of course.

The Bolshevik army, driven out of Vladivostok, made a stand at Nikolsk, and here the Czechs led them into a trap, killing over one thousand and losing only fifty of their own men. The Bolsheviks then retired north up the Ussuri branch, first blowing up a large steel double track bridge at Nikolsk. Here the efficiency of these Czechs showed itself. They asked the railroad authorities, how long they would require to repair this bridge, and were advised that it would take ten days. The Czechs said: "Get out of the way," and were running trains over the bridge in exactly twelve hours.

The next stand of the Bolsheviks was at a point about 50 versts north of Nikolsk. Here they entrenched themselves for three miles along the high ridge, the trench running under the railroad track at one point, where I was able to get

a good view of it on the way up on my trip. It was a fine piece of trench work, typically German in construction, a nice piece of work; but the darn Czechs unload 4000 men twenty versts away, sent 2000 one way and the other 2000 opposite way, and came in on the trench behind, instead of in front, as they were expected to do. The result was simply a slaughter of Germans and Austrians caught in a trap of their own making.

The one outstanding feature about these Czechs is their absolute confidence in themselves as fighting men. They all tell you, when you speak of odds, that they are good for twenty-five of these Bolsheviks apiece in trench fighting and ten in open fighting, and they say it without a trace of boasting — just pure confidence of a fighting man who has tried it and knows what he can do.

I saw a map at the Czech headquarters showing the three Siberian fronts: the Ussuri, the Manchurian and Irkutsk. On this map was indicated the number of enemy regiments, the number of Germans and Austrians and Russians and Magyars in each regiment, and the shifting of these enemy regiments was indicated by little arrows. The officer who showed me this said: "This is a regiment of Germans shown moving from the Manchurian front back to the Ussuri front. The movement started only 48 hours ago and they will not reach there for another day yet." I asked him, how in the world they got such information, and he replied with a wink: "About five hundred of our best men missed the train at various points on the way across Siberia."

I take my hat off to the Czechs, the men without a country.

From the "Ceskoslovensky Dennik"

published in Ekaterinburg by the Russian Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council.

A few copies of the daily paper published in Russia by the Czechoslovak leaders have reached America. All the copies are from the middle of October. A few items of interest are herewith translated:

When will the Allies come? This is a question about which most of our soldiers talk, it is a question which interests us all and the solution of which we have been expecting ever since communication was opened with the east.

We received the answer: Help will come, help in arms and equipment, help of the Allied armies. Some of the Allied units are already marching toward our western Russian front . . . As soon as communication was established with Vladivostok, it became plain that there is not unity among the Allies with regard to the extent of help

which is to be given to new Russia in its effort to liberate and unite all Russian territory America expressed the fear that sending a considerable force to the Russian front would mean a weakening of its support on the French front, which is deemed the decisive front. Japan would be more ready to participate in the fight here, but Japan follows the wishes of America. So it is necessary to go on negotiating, explaining, demonstrating. We do not beg for help. We do not need to beg. We did our duty, honorably and thoroughly, we did more than could be demanded of us, and now its up to the other Allies to hold what we have liberated.

The All-Siberian Convention of the Social Revolutionary party which met for the first time

since the fall of Bolshevik tyranny send greetings to the noble Czechoslovak Army which united closely its aspirations with fate of Russian revolution and rendered wonderful services to the idea of democracy.

Our scouts near Samara captured a German spy in whose diary records among other things his personal expenses for one day:

Barber 13 rubles, chocolate 109 r., bag 60 r., tailor 42 r., cigars 317 r., cab 24 r., rubber heels 18 r., sister (?) 31 r., repairs of camera 18 r., boat ride 20 r., theatre 99 r., picture show 20 r., newspapers 412 r.; total of expense 812 rubles 50 kopeks for one day.

Mobilization in Krasnoyarsk was carried through with some difficulty, but about 80 percent of the men are now under arms. Some of the country places refused to furnish recruits, but were forced to comply. In Achinsk the recruits were not sent to mobilization point and nobody bothered about getting quarters for them here or feeding them, as the local commander was a drunkard. The recruits decided to go home, but have since been mobilized again.

Upon the occasion of a dinner given by the municipal government of Cheljabinsk to the newly formed All-Russian government, Bohdan Pavlu, vice-president of the Russian Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council, said in part: "We met in this city four months ago to decide whether we should in compliance with orders from Berlin surrender to the Bolsheviks and allow ourselves to be sent back to prison camps. We decided unanimously to continue our struggle for freedom. Right the next day after we disarmed Bolshevik troops we had to face the question whether we should remain in Russia, whether we were justified in turning our backs on our Russian brothers in the most critical period of their history, in complete anarchy. We determined not to leave Russia until the Russian State and Russian freedom were re-established, until Russia enters again the circle of great nations, fighting against German imperialism. For four months we did our duty thoroughly, shedding blood on innumerable fronts. Now the Allies and the awakening Russia nation are hastening to our assistance; soon we will be united and by common effect we will re-establish a battle line for complete victory over German hegemony."

At a dinner given at Ekaterinburg by the Russian Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council to the French Consul General Netteman, the French representative stated that he was sent by Ambassador Noulens to express the sympathies

of France for the Czechoslovak nation and to express its regret that France could not so far give the Czechoslovaks sufficient material and military help. But France used all its diplomatic influence to have Allied armies go to the assistance of the Czechoslovaks; their advance guard might soon be expected.

The Soviet Republic of Turkestan finds itself in an unpleasant situation; it is cut off from the world and is menaced by enemies on four fronts. Aside from the daily talk of the chairman of the Soviet Kolesov by wireless with Moscow, talk which is heard and enjoyed by all Russia and Siberia, the relations of Turkestan with the outside world are completely broken.

Conditions and sentiment in Siberian villages, as far as one may judge from various petitions, articles, letters from the country and newspapers, are far from rosy. The village has a very hazy idea of what is going on. Newspapers are not read, no one believes them. Mobilization and tax collection is received with great reluctance, even with resistance. As far as political ideas are concerned, two views are prevalent: Bolshevik and monarchist. All those who had been at the front, and they are many, are Bolsheviks. The youth of the village are inclined to take the same side. With special gusto the former soldiers talk about their settlement with the Russian officers and the young boys enjoy the stories of bloody massacres.

The older people almost without exception are monarchists and do not believe that things could get along without the little father, czar. There are also many who will give their support to any government, "as long as clothing is cheaper." When they are asked for whom they will vote at the elections for the Constituent Assembly, they all say: "We will vote for the party which is for us."

Everywhere in the villages is found vodka and drunkenness is general. The majority of the peasants have large supplies of grain from previous years, but aren't willing to sell. The reason is that they will not pay taxes, there is nothing to buy, and so money is of no use to them.

The Bolsheviks are mobilizing. All districts commissaries issued orders to the effect that officers who were not under arrest should report themselves. They are to be used to organize the general levy. Anyone who does not report himself on time will be fined three rubles for every minute he is late. Further the former noncommissioned officers and soldiers between the ages of 18 and 40 are mobilized to form the cadre of the Bolshevik armies.

Bohemians or Chehs

By Jaroslav Victor Nigrin.

The question of how to spell the word Czechs and Czechoslovaks is often discussed among the Bohemians of this country. Mr. Nigrin, teacher of the Bohemian language in the Harrison Technical High School of Chicago, proposes the spelling Chehs. The editor will be glad to publish other views on this subject in the next issue.

In some of the Bohemian papers there appeared recently a discussion of the question, whether or not it is advisable to discard the name "Bohemian" and adopt for the nation and its language the name "Czechs". The name "Bohemian", as the readers of the Bohemian Review well know, is used in the English and French languages to designate not only that people of Slavic race, inhabiting the central part of Europe, known as the kingdom of Bohemia, but also the wandering tribe of Gypsies. Since, moreover, the name is used also in speaking of the gay, careless and unconventional artists, it is an equivocal term which has been a great handicap in our efforts to make our people and our aims better known to the American public. The word Bohemian has only a very circumstantial connection with our people. It was used originally to denote a Celtic tribe known as the Boii who inhabited Bohemia before the Czechs, and it was fastened on the new Slavic inhabitants by German historians (see H. Jireček: *Antiquae Bohemiae Tepographia Historica*, Prague, 1893). The name Czechs is undoubtedly a Slavic name which was used from the earliest times to denote exclusively our people. Popular tradition says that Čech, a legendary leader, brought his people some time in the fifth century to a new land and that the people took his name for their own. Later scientific researches (see Novotný, *České Dějiny*, Vol. I, part 1, page 235) connect the word Čech with "člověk", that is man; čech meant according to this interpretation a member of the tribe. There is, therefore, hardly any objection to dropping the name "Bohemia" and "Bohemians" and using instead the more proper and exact term Čech. The old appellation has no other claim for its perpetuation than mere custom. The adoption of the name Čech into the English language would no longer be looked upon as a radical novelty; the French long ago found it advantageous to drop the words *Bohème* and *Bohémian* in speaking of the Čech people and to use the name *Tchèque* instead. Similar steps in English would obviate a great deal of confusion and save much embarrassment to American citizens of Čech origin.

Time was never more propitious for such a change than the present, for just now the Čechs are entering upon a new and glorious phase of their history. Driven against their wish and conscience into the war to fight for their masters, the Germans, the long abused Čechs revolted, sur-

rendered to the Russians in the east and to the Serbians and the Italians in the south, and supported by Čechs and Slovaks from America they formed legions to break the tyranny and subjection in which they were held. Fired by the desire to create a free Čechia they performed deeds of glory and valor which forever will make memorable the name Čecho-Slovak. Thus fighting on the side of justice and humanity they have introduced to the entire world an almost forgotten, but now nobly rejuvenated nation. Shall we continue the obscure old name for this brave people? It certainly would not be just. The Čechs and the Slovaks are sister nations; the difference in language is that of two dialects only. They are one in history, tradition and suffering; they wish to become one in a happy future forming an independent Čecho-Slovak state. The retention of the name Bohemian for one-half of this state would only add to the considerable confusion. Let us therefore give up that old name Bohemian and adopt the new name Čechs which was reborn through the heroism of its sons who won for it the laurels and the admiration of united democracies. The Čecho-Slovak state which is being formed in the heart of Europe will be a permanent monument to the new realization of the immortal American ideal of "liberty and justice for all."

How shall we spell the name Čech in English? Let us make a careful choice so as not to perpetuate some new mistake. The pronunciation of the letter č (the so-called palatalized c) equals in sound to the English *ch* in words like church, cherr. This sound is at present spelled in English *cz* (Czechs), Such spelling is an awkward anomaly and whoever originated it was an ignorant. Spelling of the sound *ch* by *cz* does not show the sound in English at all. There is no word in English with the combination *cz* (the word czar is Russian and is now preferably spelled *tsar*, because *ts* shows better the native sound. The spelling *cz* is also un-Bohemian, for it never occurs in the Čech language. The spelling *cz* is the Polish way of spelling the English sound *ch*, as in church or the Bohemian č. It is obvious that the English spelling of a Bohemian word in a Polish way, which to the average American is an incomprehensible way, is an incongruity which must be given up. The proper spelling of foreign names is either to follow the original foreign spelling, which in this case would be difficult on account of the native hook accent, or else to imitate in a common English way the native pronunciation.

Therefore I submit the following proposal: Should it be decided to adopt for the Bohemian designation of the Bohemian people the word Čech, in compound Čecho-Slovak, let us spell the word in

an English way which would best approximate the native pronunciation; and that would be Cheh. The final *ch* in the Bohemian *Čech* has a softer sound than the English *h* (as in hold), but that sound would approach it quite well. The name of the people would be Chehs, the land Chehia, the language Chehian; in compound Cheho-Slovaks, Cheho-Slovakia and Cheho-Slovakian. Such change would be logical and for the Bohemian people a

blessing. The change would be an easy one to make. The English name for the heroic people of King Peter was spelled until recently Servs, Servians. It was an ugly nickname; what all did it suggest to the average person. Since the war the name has been spelled properly Serbs, Serbians, and we have learned to love and respect this heroic nation of poets. The same will happen with the Chehs.

Current Topics

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PROPOSED.

The campaign for close commercial relations between United States and Czechoslovakia was opened at a conference of Czechoslovak business men who met in Baltimore on December 10th upon the occasion of the Southern Commercial Congress. One session of this important congress was devoted to the new Czechoslovak Republic, and Charles Pergler, commissioner of the Czechoslovak National Council in America, spoke on behalf of his government. After the session was over, about 30 visitors and prominent Baltimore Bohemians met at the Emerson Hotel to discuss ways and means of helping the economic progress of the old country. Some of the foremost Bohemian-American business men were present. From Chicago came Frank G. Hajiček, president of the Lawndale National Bank, John A. Červenka, president of the Pilsen Brewing Company, and a member of the Board of Directors of the American State Bank, John A. Sokol, food importer, Josef Dušek, one of Chicago's biggest commission merchants, and Frank Skala, steamship ticket agent. The large Cleveland colony of Bohemians was represented by F. J. Truneček, dealer in hops, M. Zeman, steel manufacturer, Dr. J. F. Rybák, president of a savings bank, and George Palda, attorney.

Slovak business men sent as their representative Paul Jamarik and Josef Durish of Pittsburgh, and Edward Kovac of Uniontown. From New York came Charles Ort, while the Bohemians of Baltimore were represented by nearly a dozen of their business and professional leaders. From Washington, in addition to Mr. Charles Pergler, came Major John Šípek, secretary of the Czechoslovak Legion, and Dr. J. F. Smetanka, director of the Czechoslovak Information Bureau.

The conference lasted three hours and nearly every one present participated in the discussion. It was realized that the most important and pressing economic problem of the Czechoslovak Republic was to obtain a supply of foodstuffs for the extended population and a supply of raw materials to keep the factories going and the people employed. This problem, however, was recognized as being beyond the capacity of the Czechoslovak business men in the United States;

that was a matter for the Czechoslovak government to take up with the governments of the Allies, and principally with the food administration and the War Trade Board of the United States. At the same time the suggestion was thrown out that a stock company might be formed under some such name as the American-Czechoslovak Trading Company to buy in this country goods needed in Bohemia and to act as consignee for Bohemian exports to America.

Another subject discussed was investment in manufacturing enterprises; this was emphasized by Slovak delegates who claimed that the crying need of Slovakia was foreign capital. Of all the Czechoslovak lands this part is perhaps the richest in natural resources, but is at the same time the least developed. No doubt Bohemia and Moravia are badly in need of additional capital to develop their industries, for while before the war there was sufficient wealth and excellent banking system to take care of the financial needs of these lands, the ravages of war cannot be repaired entirely by internal efforts. But in comparison with Slovakia Bohemia is richly supplied with capital. Slovakia needs large investments for the development of its coal mines, oil wells, iron ore riches, mineral springs, lumber industries, etc.

The appeal of the Slovak delegates found a warm response from the entire conference, and it was recognized generally that until regular connection is reestablished with the Czechoslovak republic and until consultation can be held with the business leaders there, no appeal can be made here to subscribe capital for an investment abroad.

Every one present however, was agreed as to the advisability of establishing at once a Czechoslovak-American Chamber of Commerce. The one great service the Czechoslovaks in this country could render to the newly formed republic is to find markets for Czechoslovak products in the United States. While the principal market for Czechoslovak exports will be found in Russia and the Balkans, many things are produced in Bohemia for which demand could be found in America. Even before the war musical instruments like violins, harps, band instruments etc., were

imported to America from Bohemia. Today this market is in Japanese hands, but with German competition removed Bohemia should have no difficulty in capturing the musical instrument market of America. The same thing is true of gloves, cut glass and chemical glassware, toys, laces, etc.

It was decided at the Baltimore conference to take important steps for the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce. This institution will issue bulletins and booklets on Czechoslovak industries, will give financial ratings of importers in Bohemia, will maintain permanent commercial exhibits in New York, Chicago and probably some other cities. The formal constitution of the American-Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce will take place in Chicago at a great convention of Bohemian and Slovak business men from all parts of the United States on February 3rd and 4th.

DECEMBER ISSUE OF THE "ASIA".

The most prominent feature of the December issue of the "Asia", the Mid-European number of this excellent magazine, are stories and pictures of the Czechoslovaks. Mr. Pergler contributes an article on the Future Czechoslovak State, illustrated by drawings of members of the New York Czechoslovak Arts Club, while Miss Louise Llewellyn, well known to Bohemian audiences, as a concert singer, tells of Czech and Slovak folk songs. Her story is also beautifully illustrated with sketches by Aleš, Kremlička and Úprka. The issue contains also a picture of Masaryk at the Philadelphia convention, and the coat of arms of the Czechoslovak republic.

The most striking feature of this issue are etchings by a Czech artist of New York, Mr. J. C. Vondrouš; they present eight impressions of Prague of great artistic merit. Our readers are advised to send 25 cents to the Asia Publishing Company, 627 Lexington Ave., New York, and get a copy of this remarkable number.

WITH THE SLOVAK LEAGUE.

The Slovaks lost a valuable worker, and the Old Country gained an efficient leader in the departure for Europe of Jan Janček, secretary of the League. He proceeded to Slovakia in pursuance of a mission entrusted to him by the Cleveland Conference of the League. His task will be principally to arrange for regular transmission of news from Slovakia to the United States; he will also secure directions for the prosecution of relief work among the people of warridden Slovakia.

Janček has been less than a year in the United States, having come here from Russia, where he had been serving in the Czechoslovak Army as a lieutenant. He came originally merely to advise his people here of what was done in Russia, but was persuaded to accept the office of secretary

to the League and did excellent work in that capacity as an organizer. He is a capable business man and before the war was an important lumber manufacturer and one of the few Slovak millionaires. Of course during the war all his property had been confiscated by the Magyar Government which declared Janček a traitor.

The Slovak League plans to invest large sums of money in industrial enterprises in Slovakia, for every Slovak believes in the future prosperity of his native land. It has been decided to send other leaders to the liberated country; the delegation will consist of Albert Mamatey, Milan Getting, E. Kovač and J. Matlocha.

In the meantime the million-dollar fund is growing at an increased rate under the enthusiasm caused by the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic. The most important recent contribution was made by the Slovaks of Binghamton, who in a short campaign collected \$40,000.00.

MAKING FRIENDS AMONG AMERICANS.

One of the principal duties of the diplomatic representative of the Czechoslovak republic is to make addresses at various more or less official occasions. Charles Pergler, the present commissioner, happens to be a highly gifted public speaker and is constantly in demand, addressing congresses, chambers of commerce and mass meetings.

Another speaker who is doing effective work to make friends for the new liberated nation is Charles M. Atherton. Mr. Atherton was until recently a Y. M. C. A. worker in the Second Czechoslovak Regiment in Russia, he returned to this country for medical treatment, but is now able to make addresses on the romantic adventures of the small Czechoslovak Army in Siberia. His talks are given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. in military camps and being accompanied with excellent and unique slides arouse much interest and sympathy for the brave fighters in the Urals. Mr. Atherton is also preparing a book on the same subject, and expects to give a course of addresses in various colleges.

Under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education Mrs. Anna V. Čapek is engaged in giving illustrated lectures in the various public schools of New York City. She has a number of beautifully colored slides, showing the best scenic and architectural gems of Bohemia, and being an accomplished musician she adds to her descriptive lecture samples of Bohemian folk songs. If we could have more competent lectures who would cover the country as New York City is covered, every one in America would soon know something of the new republic in Central Europe and Bohemia would be loved in America as much as America is loved in Prague.

THE UHRO-RUSIN PLEBISCITE.

The first plebiscite to settle the fate of a small, liberated nation of Central Europe has just been successfully completed. It was carried out in the United States and was concerned with the determination of the political status of the Uhro-Rusins. By a majority of more than two-thirds the plebiscite favored the inclusion of this people in the Czechoslovak republic.

The voting took place in the parishes and beneficial lodges of the Uhro-Rusin immigrants in the United States. Practically all of these people are adherents of the Greek Catholic Church; there are 52 parishes with 19,010 families, all subject to the jurisdiction of the Rt. Rev. Gabriel Martyak, administrator of the Uhro-Rusin Greek Catholic Church in America. Most of them are also members of two death and sick benefit societies, one of which is known as the Greek Catholic Union with 42,681 members paying dues and 6106 other members in the Sokol branch of the Union; the other organization is known as the United Societies of the Greek Catholic Religion and numbers 4477 members.

During the month of December a vote was taken in all the parishes and the local lodges of the two benefit societies to determine the question of the future political allegiance of the Uhro-Rusinians of Hungary. Each parish was allowed one vote to every fifty families and each lodge one vote to every fifty members. There was no campaigning and no money was spent by any faction; but the issues were fully and clearly explained in the various Uhro-Rusin newspapers. It should be remarked that scarcely 10 per cent of the Uhro-Rusins in this country are naturalized and that the people in the Old Country who are still under Magyar rule have as yet had no opportunity to express their wishes.

The result of the plebiscite is as follows:

For Union with the Czechoslovaks	732	votes,
For union with the Ukrainian republic	310	"
For total independence	27	"
For union with Carpatho-Russians	13	"
For union with Russia	10	"
For union with Magyars	9	"
For union with Galicia	1	"

The result of the plebiscite with ballots will be taken to Paris and Uhro-Rusinia immediately by a delegation consisting of Julius G. Gardoš, president of the Uhro-Rusins National Council, and Gregory I. Zsatkovich, a lawyer of Pittsburgh. A report summarizing the result of the vote has already been cabled to Dr. Edward Beneš, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister.

TVRZICKÝ GOES TO BOHEMIA.

After four years of work for Czechoslovak independence in America Joseph Tvrzický sailed from New York on December 10 to go to Prague for the purpose of establishing there a regular press service for Czech and Slovak newspapers of the United States.

Tvrzický was one of the principal moving spirits in the organization of the Bohemian National Alliance of America. On the very day on which the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia expired he arranged a meeting of protest in Chicago, and since that day has given all his wonderful energy and journalistic and political ability to the task of lining up the Czechoslovak people in America for independent Bohemia. He was secretary of the Central Committee of the Bohemian National Alliance for three years; during the last year he was in charge of the Czech press bureau at Washington.

He was accompanied to Prague by Mr. Donald Breed, a newspaper man who will serve an American syndicate as Prague correspondent.

To Prof. Masaryk and to Deputy Kramář belong the lion's share of the credit for the present glory of Bohemia. Neither recognized defeat. When the clouds were the darkest their hopes were the brightest. Each was spurred with but one thought or ambition—liberty and freedom for Bohemia and her peoples.

We must not forget the noble warriors who sacrificed their all, even their very lives, for Bohemia, for her people and for civilization. Without their aid all would have been in vain, all for naught. Without their active co-operation no statement of principles, or the very principles themselves, would be of no avail or effect. Their sacrifices, their heroism and their valiant conduct made freedom and liberty possible for Bohemia. We honor them, we glorify them in the words, slightly altered, of Hume,

"Your name and your fame and your story, through centuries comming shall ring,
So comfort from this let us borrow, and loudly your message proclaim;
Through hardships and dangers and sorrows, you marched to the glory of Fame."

The nation of Comenius is now an active factor, and a useful one, in the world's daily life. Those of us of Czech or Slovak birth or descent offer it our hearty well wishes and blessings. Hopes shall brighten the days to come while memories will gild the past. Success is assured. The nation goes forth lustily singing the Hussite Battle Hymn, and guided by the words of Pelíšek's noble character of Comenius, they must succeed;

"My nation—my blessed people
O dwell in God—live on—do not die,
And your men—may they be without number."
E. F. Prantner.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Beginning with this issue, single copies of the Czechoslovak Review will be sold at 15 cents each, and the subscription per year will be \$1.50. This step is necessary in order that the Review might be enlarged and made an illustrated monthly magazine, worthy of the people after which it is named.

MAR 4 1919

The
**CZECHOSLOVAK
REVIEW**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

February, 1919

FOUR WORKS OF MÁNES.

Events in Bohemia.

Relation of Church and State.

They, too, have labored.

*Commerce with Czecho-
slovakia.*

Columbia.

Boundaries of Slovakia.

Masaryk's First Message.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW CO
2324 South Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.50 PER YEAR

JAROSLAV F. SMETANKA, EDITOR

Entered as second class matter April 30th, 1917 at the Post Office
of Chicago, Ill. under act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879



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Vol. III., No. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1919.

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Events in Bohemia

West of the Rhine and north of Italy everything is in a state of chaos. Only the Czechoslovak Republic stands firmly in the very heart of Europe as an island of order and an outpost of the Allies. Its complete isolation from all friends is the principal complaint voiced by the Czechoslovaks who are trying to make the best of a difficult situation. It takes four days for a telegram to go from Prague to Paris and letters are forwarded only upon special occasion and as a special favor. Badly needed supplies which the Western Powers are ready to sell can not be forwarded, and when the Czechoslovak delegates to the peace conference, premier Karel Kramář, and foreign minister Edward Beneš desire to communicate with their government, they are obliged to send a courier in a round about way, through Italy, Jugoslavia and German Austria. Even the wireless service between Prague and Paris is maliciously interfered with by the great German wireless station of Nauen.

All this emphasizes the soundness of a plan which has long been advocated by Czechoslovak and Jugo-Slav statesmen, namely to create a corridor running along the western boundary of Hungary and connecting Jugo-Slav territory with Czechoslovakia. This zone which would be about 100 miles long covers a territory which is settled by a racially mixed population; the strongest element in it are the Germans, but there are also both Magyar, and Jugoslav and Slovak minorities. If the peace conference decided to create this corridor, it would mean the inclusion of some 200,000 Germans and 100,000 Magyars in Slav territory, but it would give twelve million Czechoslovak citizens access to the sea through friendly territory and it would separate permanently eight million Magyars from their German friends. If there is a case, where the wishes of a small number of local population must

yield to higher strategic and economic considerations, surely the plan for a corridor to connect the Czechoslovaks with the Jugoslavs should commend itself to Allied statesmen.

Notwithstanding their difficult position the Czechoslovaks are trying to put their state in order and repair the ravages of the war. Masaryk's great reception in Prague on December 21 and 22 was in a manner of speaking the closing act of those two great months since the overthrow of Austrian rule.

Accounts of Masaryk's welcome given in Czech papers make one feel that December 21st, 1918, was the greatest day in twelve hundred years of Prague's history. In addition to half a million people living in Prague who lined up the streets through which Masaryk passed on the way from the station to the castle of Hradčany there were half a million visitors in Prague. Out of several speeches made by representatives of the people on this occasion one may quote a few sentences from the address of welcome pronounced by Alois Jirásek, the greatest living Czech novelist: "You left your country at the time of its greatest slavery. Now you return to a free state as its first president. You left Prague alone, now you return at the head of noble companies of Czechoslovak warriors who bring moral and material help to our young republic. Our age-long enemy is vanquished; the terrible fight of two worlds is ended in a victory of justice and humanity, of which you have ever been a herald and defender by word and pen. We have lived to see our deepest desires fulfilled, the government of our country has been returned to us. For centuries there have been no such glorious moments in the life of our nation, unless perhaps when George Poděbrad was elected king, when many wept for joy, because they were freed of subjection to Ger-

man kings.' Blessed was, Mr. President, your work which will be an epoch in our history, blessed shall be our nation. Welcome to you, our hero and victor, whose name generations upon generations shall called blessed."

President Masaryk's arrival was expected with many secret hopes by the Germans of Bohemia. They looked upon him in somewhat the same light as upon Wilson; they believed him to be an idealist who could be easily deceived by protestations of innoc-

their desire to join Germany Masaryk was as firm as the rest of his countrymen. No concession is possible in the matter of cutting up the national boundaries of Bohemia and leaving to the tender mercies of the Germans several hundred thousand Czechs in northern Bohemia. The whole question has lost its practical and urgent character, as all the districts claimed by the Germans have submitted to the rule of the Prague government. The so-called government of German Bohemia was compelled to aban-



KAREL KRAMÁŘ.

Czechoslovak Premier, Delegate to Peace Conference.

ence and appeals to high sounding principles. The Germans were disappointed in Masaryk, as they had been disappointed in Wilson. In his first presidential message Masaryk assured the German speaking citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic that they would have full civic rights, full opportunity to carry on their distinctive national life and that a wide scheme of local self-government would satisfy all their just demands; but on the question of yielding to the separatist movement and conceding

don its headquarters in Liberec; it fled first to Saxony and then to Vienna. Now only Rudolf Lodgmann, styling himself president of the provincial government of German Bohemia, sends out from his safe retreat in Vienna complaints against the rapacity of the Czechs who would not give up to the Germans one-third of their territory.

After the Allied army representatives in Budapest notified Count Karolyi to withdraw Magyar troops from Slovakia as delimited by them, Czechoslovaks troops under

the command of Italian General Luigi Giuseppe Piccione occupied all this territory without further armed conflict. The city of Prešpurk for which the Magyars have made a most determined struggle came also into

were happily solved. But in the meantime a complication that seemed at first of slight importance grew into larger dimensions.

Two days after the national committee in Prague carried out the succesful revolu-



EDWARD BENEŠ.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Delegate to Peace Conference.

their hands and is sure to remain in Czechoslovakia as its great Danube port and the second capital of the republic. Thus the two principal difficulties with which the new republic had to deal, taking possession of territory claimed by Germans and Magyars,

tion against Austria, Polish soldiers from Cracow took possession of coal mines in Austrian Silesian territory which had never belonged to Poland and had been always a part of the Bohemian crown, but which has a considerable Polish element among

its workmen. Now the relations between the Czechs and the Poles, both Slav peoples and both threatened by Germans, had always been friendly, and while the Czechs deprecated the unseemly haste of the Poles in taking possession of disputed territory, they did not want to use armed force and aggravate the original cause of the quarrel. A peaceful course appeared the more commendable, because it was ascertained that the forcible occupation of the coal district was undertaken by orders of Polish authorities in Cracow, while on the other hand the principal Polish government at Warsaw was willing to negotiate with the Czechs about the disposition of the district and the Polish National Council of German Poland sent a delegation to Prague to congratulate the Czechoslovaks on the winning of independence and to express a hope for close alliance.

But in the meantime the disruption of public life in Polish territory and the strong taint of Bolshevism among certain classes of Polish workmen brought about an almost total suspension of coal production, and as a result of it great steel mills in the neighboring Czech districts and the whole of Slovakia and even Magyar territory were deprived of necessary coal. At the same time Bolshevik agitators found their way into Moravia from the Silesian coal mines seized by the Poles. Finally at the end of January the district was taken possession of by Czech troops to be held for final disposition by the peace conference.

In internal matters the peaceful and orderly development went on. Czech talent for public administration showed itself in the smooth working of the old Austrian governmental machinery under the sovereignty of the new republic. Taxes continued to be paid and in fact were paid far more promptly than under the imperial regime. The eight-hour working day was enacted as the standard, but workmen and especially coal miners voluntarily worked longer hours in order that production might be increased and that the new state might have merchandise with which to buy needed supplies and set its financial housekeeping on a safe foundation. The greatest financial problem is the introduction of new currency in place of the depreciated Austrian financial medium. The reports of the Austro-Hungarian Bank indicate a total circulation of 34 billion

crowns, but the real amount is 46 billion. The gold reserve back of this immense mass of paper is insignificant, and as a result the value of the crown which before the war was a fraction over 20 cents is now only about 6 cents. It is simply impossible for the Czechoslovak Republic to purchase its needs abroad and pay a three-fold price in depreciated Austrian currency. But until the boundaries of the new republic are permanently settled, the Austrian paper crown must remain the circulating medium of Czechoslovakia. A number of sharp conflicts between Prague and Vienna were caused by the reckless acts of the amateur statesmen of German Austria who on the one hand kept working the press of the Austro-Hungarian bank so as to produce a few more billion crowns and on the other hand kept selling the immense supplies of the dissolved Austrian army at ridiculous prices. To evolve order out of the bankruptcy of the Dual Monarchy will be a terrific task.

The Czechoslovaks hope that the peace conference will hurry its labors and that at least the preliminary peace will be signed early in Spring. Until then the position of the republic will remain difficult and irregular. So far only the French and the British have accredited their ministers to the Prague government and neutral countries like Switzerland have not as yet extended their recognition. Nor has America sent a diplomatic representative to Prague.

Allied military intervention in Russia has been ineffective because it has been half-hearted and on a parsimonious scale. Practically all that has been accomplished in the way of saving Russia from a Bolshevik regime, acting in Germany's interest, was accomplished by the Czechoslovaks — ex-prisoners of war who dropped miraculously out of the clouds at the propitious moment. But for them the Allies at this moment would probably be holding only Kola, Archangel, Vladivostok and the Black Sea ports and Russia would be a malignant and powerful enemy, extremely difficult to deal with because of the spread everywhere of the Bolshevik fanaticism.—N. Y. Tribune.

Formerly the city authorities of Vienna claimed that there lived fewer than 100,000 Czechs in their city. Now, when they have to ask for food from the Czechoslovak republic, they figure the number at 417,000.

The relation of Church and State

By the Rev. Francis W. Jedlička, Vicepresident, National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics.

During the long years of the greatest war of the ages the dominating question in the minds of the majority of men was to crush the tyrannical and autocratic powers and peoples who usurped the right to destroy and subjugate the nations of the world and eliminate all principles of true democracy in all lines of human endeavor. The hectic struggle began in 1914, and gradually, with the rapidity of a devouring conflagration, it spread practically over all the countries of the world, so that it really became a struggle for national existence of those nations that allied themselves in a common cause of righteous principles against an inimical array of nations bent upon ruling the world by a long previous preparation of brute force. The unhappy struggle began, and fortunately, thanks to the Almighty, is ended with a complete victory of the true principles of just democracy.

However, the great war has left upon the minds of the people a scar of evil. Brute force to be conquered had to be met by like methods. Nations that have quietly pursued their religious, social, political, educational and commercial interest previously to the great war were compelled to abandon them and were thrown into a murderous conflict with a system of Germanic militarism to safeguard their lives, wealth and national integrity. Thrown from their peaceful pursuits into the throes of war, seeing millions of human beings killed and wounded, seeing cities destroyed, women and children maltreated, witnessing wholesale rapine and murder, these millions of human beings forgot their peaceful pursuits, their homes and their better nature and were swayed by the evil effects brought on by long and cruel wars. In one respect the religious inclinations of the war-afflicted peoples create a situation well worth one's attention and study. This article is limited to a brief study of after-war religious conditions in the newest of the worlds republics, that of Czechoslovakia.

The Czechs, Moravians and Silesians and all other nationalities of the Kingdom of Bohemia as it existed under the Austro-

Hungarian government, as well as the Slovaks of Hungary, are confronted as a result of the war with the question of separation of Church and State. It must be admitted by thinking men that the effect of this change will have a tremendous influence upon the religious inclinations of the people involved. The importance of stabilizing religion in the new Czecho-Slovak Republic is attracting the attention of all the civilized nations, where this question, recognized as most important for the tranquillity of national life, does not require any radical change from its pre-war status.

How will the Czechoslovaks in their newly gained independence respect the rights of individuals to religious freedom? This and similar questions have been asked of political representatives of the new nation long before the independence of Czechoslovakia had been recognized by the principal allied nations. The answers given have shown that the men who guided the fortunes of the newly forming republic have had not only political welfare of the nation at heart, but also realized that the delicate question must be given proper and due attention. They realized that the mind of the world must be satisfied on this point, if the Czechoslovaks are to be considered as a nation truly matured for self-government.

A retrospective view into the history of religion in the former Kingdom of Bohemia, proves conclusively in this particular instance as it always did in the past, that religion has been the cause of more national strife and international conflicts, than perhaps any other known existing cause.

The ninth century witnessed the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia and Moravia by the great and saintly apostles of the Slavs, St. Cyrill and Methodius, who showed heroic virtues in their evangelization of the Czechs. Slav rulers, the Bohemian duke Bořivoj, Moravian grand duke Svatopluk, Bořivoj's wife, saintly Ludmila, and most of their relations were baptized in the Catholic faith. Bořivoj's and Ludmila's grandson Václav, the sainted King of Bohemia, was a model of religious per-

fection to all of his people. Christianity spread over Bohemia rapidly, the people were deeply religious, although in the executive department of the church the Germanic influence, for which the Bohemians had ever in national affairs showed aversion and hostility, had perhaps somewhat a baneful influence upon the religious mind of the people. In the 13th and 14th centuries Bohemia had reached the zenith of its religious fervor and supremacy. Dark clouds of national and spiritual discontent began to threaten the peace and concord of the nation, when John Hus was condemned by the council of Constance for spreading the errors of Wyclif. The minds of the people were agitated. Controversies arose and the Germans used to great advantage the national strife of the Czechs; the Church suffered enormous losses and the baneful effect of this struggle lasted through centuries. However severe were perhaps the trials of the Catholic Church in Bohemia and notwithstanding the fact that Protestantism secured a foothold in the land after the Hussite wars, the majority of the Czechs remained true to the Catholic doctrines. They did not confound the pure teachings with the occasional unworthiness of those that taught. It can be truthfully stated that up to very recent years the Czechs remained true Catholics, whereas Protestantism was in a great minority as far as numbers were concerned. Owing to the unfortunate recent results of the union of the Church and State in Austria-Hungary, the Czechs inoculated with modern influence of materialistic teachings, began to forsake the Church, and although obliged to go through religious formalities, in what we may term a formally Catholic State, at heart they were not true and practical Catholics. The numerical strength of the Catholics in Bohemia is an artificial government calculation and does not correspond to the true state of affairs.

The religious state of affairs brought about by the conclusion of the war as reflected in Bohemia might be called chaotic. Great numbers of the Czechs with the possible exception of Moravia have defected from the practice of the faith and are at liberty to do in matters of religion as they wish. Will they adhere perhaps to the teachings of Huss and follow them practically? That is a problematical question. The field for missionary work in Czecho-

slovakia is open. No doubt the separation of State and Church is an assured fact in Czechoslovakia. The individual churches, whether Catholic or otherwise, will receive a practical support of their communicants, and religion will again be honored for its own sake and not through any rule or law of the State.

President Masaryk expressing his views on this vital question said again and again that absolute liberty of religion and conscience will be safeguarded in Czechoslovakia. His own words, addressed to the representatives of the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics in the United States, which organization assisted according to its means to procure the downfall of the tyrannical Hapsburgs, said: "I am of the opinion that a plan for the adjustment of relations of Church and State will be worked out with the cooperation of the interested church officials. I assure you, that in so far as I can collaborate in the solution of this question I will see that it is done with due deliberation and without haste. The intention of this action is to remove the Austro-Hungarian abuse of religion by the State."

It is to be sincerely hoped for the sake of the future glory of Czechoslovakia that the Czechoslovaks benefiting by their political maturity and universal intention to obtain political liberty after centuries of oppression, will after their dreams are realized show fully as much foresight and consideration in such an important factor as is the establishment of a true religious freedom, safeguarding thus the principles of Christianity and the idea of a true God.

In honor of President Masaryk's arrival in Prague the Bohemian National Theatre staged Smetana's great opera "Libuše"; the title role was sung by Emmy Destinn. Masaryk sat in what used to be the royal box.

French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon said in the French Chamber on December 29: "We were the first to work for the resurrection of Bohemia which is the most remarkable and miraculous event of the war. We were the first to recognize the Czechoslovak government, the government of Masaryk, Kramář, Štefánik and Beneš. We called its members to our conferences. We formed the Czechoslovak army and with the music of the Marseillaise the government of the Czechoslovak republic entered Prague accompanied by the representative of France, the only foreign diplomat."

They, too, have labored

BY CHARLES PERGLER,

Commissioner of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States.

It would be false modesty on the part of Czechoslovaks of America, if they did not feel quite proud of the role they played in the four year struggle for Czechoslovak independence, not only by way of raising the necessary funds to finance the revolutionary movement, but politically as well. This latter phase is frequently overlooked, and entirely too much stress is being laid on the purely financial part of the colony in the revolution. The fact is that immediately upon the outbreak of the war our people in this country demonstrated their political maturity.

It must be remembered that communications with Bohemia became extremely difficult as soon as the hostilities commenced. There were all sorts of wild rumors. Everyone was confident that the nation in its historical home would oppose to the utmost the designs of Vienna, Budapest, and Berlin. But there were, and could be, no directions from Prague, and if anything was to be done in America, any action taken had to be initiated entirely on this side of the Atlantic. It will remain to the eternal credit of the Czechoslovaks of America that, as soon as the famous ultimatum to Serbia was published, they demonstrated by all conceivable ways and methods their abhorrence of the dastardly Austrian, German, and Magyar attack upon the liberties of the world. We all remember the significant meeting in Chicago, particularly the one where the Sokols, in one of the halls of Chicago, removed the Austrian eagles they happened to see attached to the beams of the assembly room. The idea that the time to strike for Czechoslovak independence had arrived was not the property of one man, even in America, and thoughtful patriots in New York, in Chicago and elsewhere immediately began organizing the colony for all possible contingencies.

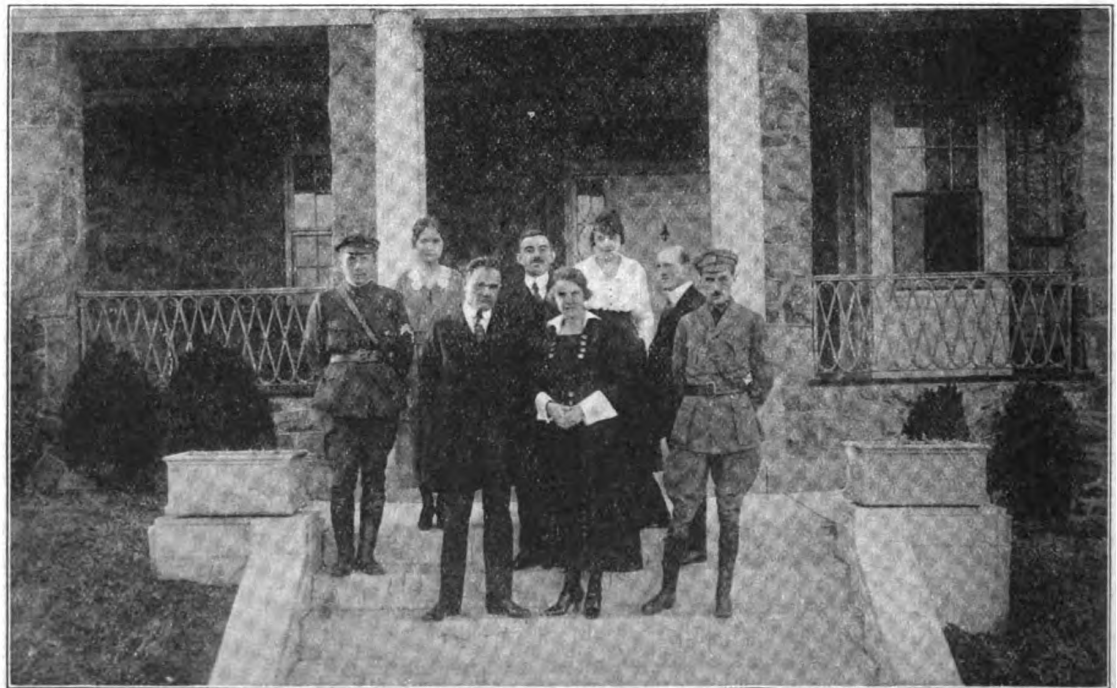
As soon as it was known that Masaryk succeeded in escaping into Switzerland, the raising of funds was started. This of itself had tremendous political significance, because, of course, no revolution can be conducted without money. The next step was to meet the insidious German propaganda so often masquerading in pacifist guise.

And it was equally necessary to show that what became known as "hyphenism" did not prosper among Czechs and Slovaks. Even the American public still remembers the famous Czechoslovak memorandum to the President of the United States, declaring that the Czechs and Slovaks here owe their allegiance first of all to America; that they simply are citizens of Czechoslovak origin. In an open letter to Jane Addams, and American pacifists in general, it was pointed out that the pacifists' attitude logically would lead to a destruction of the smaller nationalities by Germany and Austria-Hungary. And in 1916, during the presidential campaign, the Bohemian National Alliance demanded that Czechoslovaks, insofar as they are citizens, go to the polls simply as Americans, and nothing else, with the welfare of America in mind, and without being influenced by any other considerations.

It will always remain the pride of the Czechoslovak colony in America that in the United States, and only in the United States, the Czechoslovak cause, even while America was still neutral, was brought before a parliamentary forum in a hearing arranged by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives as a result of a resolution by Representative London; later on, again before the Immigration and Naturalization Committee, and before the Legislature of the State of Texas.

The word "propaganda" is not one pleasant to use, in view of its association with German methods. In fact, what the Czechoslovaks in America did was not a campaign of propaganda, but one of information. There is a distinction between the two terms. To inform means to tell the truth: to conduct propaganda does not necessarily mean telling the truth, as the Germans have abundantly shown us. It is not an exaggeration to say that in no other country did the Czechoslovak campaign of information reach the proportions it obtained in the United States. This is due largely to conditions, of course, but it is also due to the fact that it was thoroughly organized here. For quite a while there was hardly a gathering of importance which was not given an op-

THE CZECHOSLOVAK REVIEW
CZECHOSLOVAK LEGATION IN WASHINGTON.



Bottom row—Charles Pergler, Czechoslovak Commissioner, Mrs. Pergler, Colonel Hurban.
Center row—Lieut. Zmrhal, Dr. Smetanka, Mr. Tvrzický.
Top row—Miss Kazamek, Miss Boor, stenographers.

portunity to listen to a presentation of the case for Czechoslovak independence. One need only mention the Congress of Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities in Washington in January of 1917, one of the annual meetings of the Academy of Political and Social Science, the Long Beach Conference of Foreign Relations, and addresses without number before important clubs and associations.

It was thus that the Czechoslovaks of America helped to lay the foundation for the recognition of their nation's aspirations by the United States of America, a recognition which came when President Wilson and the United States Government accorded the Czechoslovak National Council the status of a de facto government. And while in Europe these foundations were laid by that great leader Thomas G. Masaryk, in the United States his countrymen were forced to get along without his incomparable and unparalleled judgment,

the benefit of which his co-workers in Europe all had at one time or another.

The Czechoslovaks of America have a right to claim that they, too, contributed to the triumph of the cause as a whole. The liberation of a nation is always a resultant of the interplay of various forces. One of these forces in the present struggle was the energy, force, and sound political thinking displayed by the Czechoslovaks of America. In the natural process of Americanization, which we all welcome, and which needs no artificial stimulation, some day there will cease to be such things as separate racial fragments in the United States. But a grateful Czechoslovak nation will always remember, as long as history is written, that before losing their identity in the melting pot of America, those who were forced to leave Bohemia and Slovakia because of Austrian and Magyar oppression, aided in achieving freedom and liberty for their native land.

American Commerce with Czechoslovakia

One of the most urgent duties laid at the present time upon American citizens of Czechoslovak birth and descent is to help in the creation of business ties between the United States and the newly born Czechoslovak Republic, relations that will be beneficial to both parties. There are many difficulties in the way, for the republic with which commercial relations are to be established has been in existence as an independent country for only three months.

It is situated in the very center of Europe without an outlet to the sea, and what is more important just at the present time, it is surrounded on three sides by countries that are still enemy countries, namely Germany and German Austria. Access to Czechoslovakia is as yet very difficult, for on the west, north and south are the Germans, and in the east is the seething zone of small nations recently liberated and disturbed by Bolshevistic disorders. Only a few days ago President Masaryk complained in an interview that the Allies have done little to establish communications with their advance post in the east, namely Prague; he suggested that there should be at least one airship a day flying between Strassburg and Prague, as long as regular train communication is lacking.

Of course most of these troubles will be soon remedied and in a few months, if not weeks, it will be possible for mails, passengers and freight to reach the Czechoslovak Republic. But so far even newspapers from Prague reach America months after the date of their appearance and no one has as yet crossed to this side of the Atlantic who is competent to act as adviser on the problems of Czechoslovak commerce in America. To begin on the firm ground we must go back as far as 1914 and take our departure from the figures supplied by American consular reports and the publications of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Some of the figures available relate to Bohemia directly, but most of them deal only with the defunct Austro-Hungarian empire.

Owing to the backwardness of large elements of its population the former empire was never as important a customer of America as one would expect judging by its population. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914 all of Austria-Hungary with its 51,000,000 people bought merchandise from the United States to the value of \$22,718,258. That was a mere drop in the bucket compared to American exports to Germany which totaled \$334,794,276. Of course much

of the business done with Germany should really go to the credit of Austria-Hungary, because the goods were consumed there. Russia was in somewhat similar condition, for the 150,000,000 people of European Russia took only \$30,088,643 worth of American merchandise. Compare with that the amount sold to Norway whose population of only 2,300,000 took over \$9,000,000 worth of American goods, while Switzerland with 3,500,000 took nearly \$15,000,000 worth and Belgium with 7,500,000 bought \$61,000,000 worth. The figures for imports into the United States are similar. Austria-Hungary sent to this country in the same year merchandise valued at \$21,110,834, almost the same amount as Russia (\$20,831,184), but less than little Switzerland which sold to America more than \$25,000,000 worth of goods, while Belgium sold more than \$41,000,000.

Of this disappointingly small trade between the United States and what used to be Austria-Hungary the share of the new Czechoslovak Republic may only be guessed at. The new republic contains within its boundaries three lands that formerly were known as crown lands of the Austrian half of the empire, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia; it also contains the northern part of Hungary known as Slovakia. Before its break-up the empire measured approximately 250,000 square miles, while the new republic will have just about 50,000 square miles. Out of the former population of 51,000,000 between 12 and 13,000,000 are now Czechoslovak citizens. In other words Czechoslovakia contains one-fifth of the area and one-fourth of the population of the old empire. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that only one-fifth or one-fourth of the business formerly done with the dual monarchy will now be taken over by the Slav republic. For it is a fact that with the exception of Vienna and its neighborhood nearly all the manufacturing districts of the empire were located in the Bohemian lands. Before the war United States had five consulates in the Austrian half of the empire, in Trieste, Vienna, Prague, Karlsbad and Reichenberg, or as we should say now Liberec. The last three were all located in the old Kingdom of Bohemia, and that gives some indication of the industrial importance of Bohemia proper. The other two Bohemian provinces, Moravia and Silesia, belonged under the jurisdiction of the Viennese consul, while

the Slovak districts of Hungary came under the jurisdiction of the Budapest consul. Thus it happens that we have exact figures of at least the import end of the business transacted between the United States and Bohemia proper. A few figures compiled from the reports of American consuls in Karlsbad, Prague and Liberec may be of interest. These figures are for the calendar year of 1913, the last year before the changes produced by war. In that year the total exports from the Kingdom of Bohemia to the United States amounted to \$8,704,760, that is to say nearly one-half of the total exports of Austria-Hungary, although the population of Bohemia proper was only one-eighth of that in the Austrian empire.

It is very unfortunate that the two principal items of Bohemian export for which there was a great demand in the United States before will now have to find markets elsewhere. These two articles of commerce are beer, the export of which from Bohemia to the United States amounted to \$1,021,291; no more Pilsen beer for the thirsty throats of the epicures of America. And the second item is equally affected by the prohibition policy of the United States; that is hops of which as everybody knows Bohemia grows the finest grade. In 1913 there was shipped to America \$1,436,559 worth of hops. That will make quite a hole in the former trade; perhaps this will be made up by the export of sugar of which Bohemia grows ten times as much as it consumes.

Next in importance in the export trade from Bohemia to the United States before the war were buttons—glass, ivory and metal. The 1913 figures state that American dealers purchased buttons in Bohemia to the amount of \$705,111. Close to this item is the trade in chinaware of which Bohemia sold to America \$701,495. In addition it sold also \$523,415 worth of glassware and \$44,058 of earthenware. The reputation of Bohemian glass is worldwide, especially for the more artistic kinds, and although the glass industry has been strongly developed in the United States, the best kinds of Bohemian glassware are articles of luxury and always find a profitable market in this country. Related to this trade is the sale of imitation jewelry for which northern Bohemia is famous; in one district over 40,000 people are engaged in the manufacture of highly artistic jewelry. This industry dates back to the Middle Ages and finds market in nearly every country on the globe. It

includes every conceivable variety of jewelry and novelties, such as brooches, pendants, belt buckles, hatpins, ear rings, rings and imitation diamonds. United States bought in 1906 \$795,667 and to this might be added \$330,481 worth of beads and \$138,213 dress fasteners. A related industry is the making of lamps and chandeliers of which the United States bought \$109,687 worth.

An important item of trade between Bohemia and America, and one which has an excellent change of growing, is that of linen goods; figures for 1913 are \$518,065. Bohemian linen, laces and embroidery are found sold in this country as Irish linen and French or Belgian laces, because they are not so well known, but their quality is equal to anything produced in western Europe. Another important object of trade which could easily be increased is in ladies gloves, produced principally in Prague itself. The amount sold in 1913 was \$274,521. Vienna also manufactures gloves and Prague has the opportunity now of capturing the business of its rival. A very promising item of trade also is the export of musical instruments, principally violins, but also brass and reed instruments; the last figures are \$200,116. Bohemia has the opportunity now to get the big American market which was before the war supplied principally from Germany and during the war by not very satisfactory instruments manufactured in Japan. And Czechoslovakia will also compete now with the Germans and Japanese for the American toy market. Musical toys especially have been exported from northern Bohemia to the United States, the value for 1913 being \$85,841.

The woolen and cotton industry of Bohemia is highly developed, practically all the cotton mills of former Austria being located in Bohemia. But it would be too much to expect a great market for cotton and woolen goods in this country which is so well equipped in this industry. The principal market of the Czechoslovaks will be in the Balkans and in Russia. In 1913 the exports of woolen goods to America from Bohemia amounted to \$131,096 and of cotton goods to \$111,591. Carpets and rugs, mostly woolen, were sold to the United States to the value of \$88,026.

In the statistical figures one finds an interesting item of \$131,906 of books; no doubt mostly Czech books for our people in this country. Among similar items that

seem to offer a promise of bigger market in the United States are found chemicals to the value of \$173,459. The Czechs have splendid chemists, fully equal to the best men in Germany, but it would take experts acquainted with present conditions in Bohemia and Germany to speak with more assurance about the growth of trade in this line between the two countries. Two other small items in the list of articles exported to the United States from Bohemia give promise of much growth -- artificial flowers which the people in the old country are extremely skilled to produce and of which America bought \$70,348 worth; and bent wood furniture, chairs with cane seats of which great quantities were manufactured before the war in Vienna, and also in Moravia. The Czechs ought to be able to compete in America with the Vienna manufacturers. An article of commerce the sale of which the Czechoslovak Government will hardly care to push is the export of human hair of which America bought \$123,114. But it would seem that it would be possible to increase the sale in America of clover seed and sugar beet seed; of the former America bought \$98,840 and of the latter \$92,680 worth.

It is unfortunate that we do not know more of the present status of the industry and supplies of manufactured goods in Czechoslovakia. The new republic must buy tremendous amounts of food, clothing, raw materials for its factories and manufactured goods, and in return for them it must try to sell as much of its products as possible so as to avoid borrowing too freely. We know that the country has large supplies on hand of sugar and hops, and we know also that smaller items of Bohemian manufacture, like glassware, can find purchasers in this country immediately at an advance of several hundred percent over pre-war prices.

As to what America can sell to Czechoslovakia, a distinction must be drawn between immediate needs and the normal trade of the future. Like all the European countries, Bohemia needs urgently large quantities of food, lard and butter above all, flour, rice, coffee, meat, etc. Even more urgent seems to be the lack of shoes and clothing, for Prague newspapers complain that while the food ration has been increased, since the country rid itself of the Austrian yoke, no improvement is as yet to be perceived in the matter of getting shoes

and clothing. And as to other immediate needs, one can only guess at the real lack of horses and cattle, copper, machinery, oils and innumerable other things. We feel very badly our lack of detailed information of the present economic and industrial conditions in the old lands; and if it is impracticable to send experienced Bohemian business men over here, then some of our own financial and business leading men must go to Prague.

Going back to the American consular reports from before the war, we get some idea of the ordinary exports from the United States to Bohemia. Exact figures are lacking, since the American consul had no official duty to perform in connection with American goods imported into or consumed in his district. But we get sufficient information to show us in general what Bohemia bought of the United States before war.

The greatest single item of commerce bought of America by Bohemia was raw cotton. While much was also bought from India and Egypt, United States was after all the main supply of the flourishing Bohemian textile industry. People in this country do not understand that nearly all the cotton mills of Austria were located in Bohemia, that in these Bohemian mills there were over 4,000,000 spindles and that Bohemian cotton goods almost monopolized the Balkan markets and large parts of Asia. There is no doubt that these markets will increase and that Bohemia will be a still greater consumer of American cotton.

Machinery is perhaps second in importance. While Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have important machine shops, and while steel mills in Bohemian and Silesian coal centers produced rails, structural steel, etc. for export, much American machinery was bought by Bohemia before the war, such as agricultural machinery and especially gasoline motors and tractors, sewing machines, typewriters, adding machines, cash registers, shoemaking machinery, printing machines, hardware, steam radiators. Tools of American manufacture enjoy the highest reputation and have been generally on sale in Prague. American machinery was used in many manufacturing establishments, and the Czechoslovak republic is a promising field for the American machinery exporter. A sales depot should be organized in Prague where the machinery may be inspected, seen in operation and repaired. There is sure to be also a great market in

Bohemia for American automobiles, especially the cheaper makes. There has always been a great demand for various American novelties, such as safety razors, fountain pens and photographic apparatus, stationery, carbon paper, office furniture, etc. American canned fruits and vegetables were known in Prague very favorably and large market may be gained for them.

Formerly most of these goods were sold in Bohemia through commission houses in Vienna, Hamburg and Berlin. Today the American exporter should realize that Prague will be the principal city in Central Europe and should be the sales depot of his wares, both for the Czechoslovak Republic and the new countries to the south and east of it. He should also remember that labels on his goods should not be in German, but in English and Czech.

Taking our departure from the pre-war figures, we may say that the territory included in the new Czechoslovak Republic bought before the war about \$10,000,000 worth of American goods. As the prices of these goods have more than doubled, we would have an export trade of some \$20,000,000, but both the present needs of the Czechoslovak lands and their increased consuming capacity in the future make of them a still more promising field for the American manufacturer and exporter. If Belgium could take more than \$60,000,000 worth of American products in a year, why should not Czechoslovakia, which has twice the population of Belgium, with good will on both sides and the desire for close business relations, increase its national consumption of the products of the United States, until American exports reach the great sum of one hundred million dollars?

AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD.

The executive committee of the American Czechoslovak Board met in Chicago on January 18. Secretary Vojta Beneš announced that the Bohemian National Alliance had sent one million francs to Paris to be employed for the relief of war suffering in Bohemia. From reports of other delegates it appeared that more funds were on hand which could be used for the same purpose.

Among the actions taken at this meeting was the decision to send a delegation of six Czechs and six Slovaks to Czechoslovakia as early as possible. One of the matters to be taken up by this commission is the exchange of students between America and Bohemia. A full meeting of the Board with representatives of women's relief organizations was called to meet at Cleveland on March 1 and 2.

FOUR WORKS OF JOSEF MÁNES



FRANTIŠEK LADISLAV RIEGER.



FORGET-ME-NOTS



VILLAGE CHURCH



PEASANT DRESS FROM BÎLOVICE.

Josef Mánes

When the Czech nation in the 17th and 18th centuries passed through a long period of deathlike sleep under the Germanizing policies of Austrian emperors, Czech art also decayed, and whatever of artistic value was produced in the Czech lands had a German or international character. As a result of the French Revolution new life began to stir in Bohemia, and art also was affected. Czech landscapes were painted and large canvasses from Bohemian history were produced, but all had little life in them and less of the spirit of the people. The artists were skilled artisans without true enthusiasm and inspiration.

The first modern Czech artist who came close to the soul of his people is Josef Mánes. In fact he was the first great painter of the Czech renaissance and is today acknowledged generally as the founder of modern Czech art. A society which numbers among its members all the great living Czech decorative artists — Šimon, Švábinský, Mucha, Bílek — calls itself after Mánes to show that in their opinion he is the teacher of modern Bohemian school of art.

Mánes was born May 2, 1820, and entered the Prague Academy of Art at the time when the professors were men of small calibre, brought up in the German school. The director of the school, Professor Ruben, himself a German, was a man of small talent and early took a prejudice against Mánes on account of his Czech patriotism. Mánes therefore left the Prague school and went to Munich in 1843. During the revolutionary year of 1848 he was back in Prague and took an active part in the political life. The reflex of all new hopes of the people made itself felt in other fields, and a Society of Decorative Artists was founded in Prague with Mánes as one of its most active members.

Since that time the young artist devoted himself to the study of his people. He proceeded to Moravia, where the Slav characteristics of the Czech people were less ob-

scured by foreign influences; he learned to draw the cheerful and colorful costume of the peasant, mirroring his simple soul. His lyric art loved the study of the peasants' life, their customs and songs. He painted the strong, handsome type of the peasant in his work, in his joys and his sorrows; his art sang, rejoiced and wept. His frequent children's types are an expression of care-free childhood in its sunny joyousness.

Mánes was in love not with the people only, but with the Bohemian and Moravian scenery. His landscapes, his villages with the little churches on the hills speak the Czech tongue and have a Slav soul. His famous illustrations of folk songs are taken from the people and are admired by the Czechs both because they are so clearly Czech and because they are highly artistic. In portrait work Mánes was also a master, his painting of Rieger being specially well known.

Perhaps the greatest work of Mánes is the Horloge of the Old Town Hall of Prague. It is a series of twelve scenes from peasant life representing the twelve months of the year and through them the happy life of an honest and industrious tiller of the soil.

The art of Mánes was Czech and Slav, not because he put his peasants and the country maids into the old costumes, but because he gave them a Slav soul. This he could do for the reason that he lived among the people and felt that he was one of them. He made merry with them and suffered their pains, and thus the productions of his pen and brush were vital and true.

In spite of this the life of Mánes was far from happy and mental disease threatened his mind more and more. After he had completed the twelve scenes that adorn the ancient clock of Prague Town Hall, his mind suffered an eclipse. His life ended on December 9, 1871.

Vojta Beneš.

The Boundaries of Slovakia

By Joža Žák Marusiak.

The empire of Austria-Hungary broke up suddenly, so suddenly that the Allied commanders operating against it from the south did not know, how to act in a situation radically different from what they had been facing for four years. At the end of October and in the first days of November the Austrian army on the Italian front was routed, the Yugoslavs took over the Austrian navy, the Czechoslovaks carried through a successful revolution, the Hapsburgs abdicated and in Budapest the Royal Hungarian government gave way to the Magyar National Council with Count Karolyi at the head. At that time the Balkan army under the command of French General Franchet d'Esperey had already crossed into Hungary from Serbia, and on November 8, the Austro-Hungarian army command having already surrendered, Franchet d'Esperey concluded an armistice with Count Karolyi. Regardless of the fact that the Austro-Hungarian empire had fallen to pieces and that Magyar National Council could speak only for the Magyars, regardless of the fact that the Allies had recognized the independence of the Czechoslovaks, the armistice granted by the Allied General provided that the new authorities of Budapest were to be left in authority throughout Hungary. Karolyi, taking his stand on this convention, refused to evacuate Slovakia and attempted to drive out by armed force Czechoslovak officials who were gradually taking over the administration of that portion of their new republic lying in Hungary. Serious conflicts broke out between soldiers of the two nations and great cruelties were committed by Magyars against Slovak leaders. The Prague government, being desirous of avoiding war, appealed to the Supreme Allied Command in Paris, and on December 3 Col. Vix, in command of the French garrison in Budapest, called upon Karolyi to withdraw his forces and his officials from Slovak territory. At the same time Col. Vix drew a provisional boundary between territory to be occupied by Czechoslovaks and that remaining to the Magyars. The boundary runs as follows:

Commencing on the Danube at the mouth of the river Morava (March) so as to include in Czechoslovakia the city of Prešpurk or Wilsonville, the line runs along the left bank of the main channel of the Danube of Magyar settlers included in Slovakia would be about 480,000. A majority nube in a southeastern and then eastern direction, so as to bring into Czechoslovak territory the great Danube Island of Schutt and the ancient city of Komarno. At the mouth of the Ipol the demarcation line leaves the Danube and follows the Ipol in a northerly and northeasterly direction to the neighborhood of the town of Lučenec, thence in a generally eastern direction with a northerly slant past the city of Rimavska Sobota (Rima Szombat) across the counties of Nový Hrad, Gemer, Borsod, Abauj and Zemplin to the mouth of the River Ung as far as its source in the Carpathian mountains near the Uszok pass. For the rest both Slovakia and the entire Czechoslovak republic is delimited by its ancient boundaries as against Galicia, Germany and German Austria.

When the peace conference comes to consider the definitive boundaries of the Czechoslovak republic, it will meet with few difficulties, until it comes to the line which is to separate the Slovaks from the Magyars. While Germans of both Germany and Austria will ask for the separation from the new Slav state of large districts in the north of Silesia, Moravia and Bohemia, and in the west of Bohemia, there is little fear that their demands will be granted, especially as the German minorities concerned are themselves far from anxious to be incorporated into Germany. But when it comes to the southeastern boundary of Czechoslovakia, the statesmen sitting at Paris will not have an easy task. The Magyars are clamoring that the temporary delimitation is unfair to them; they would like to hold all Slovaks under their rule, for they have not yet given up all hopes of maintaining their domination over the Slavs and Latins of Hungary; and in any case they are endeavoring by the most prodigal use of propaganda to cut

down the area of Slovak territory on the ground that it contains Magyar minorities. At the time the French officers compelled the Budapest government to withdraw from northern Hungary, Oszkar Jaszy, minister of nationalities in Karolyi's government, went so far as to urge the government and the Magyar people to inaugurate a passive opposition: to stop working, stop paying taxes, stop the machinery of the government and let the French administer the country as best they might. But wiser counsels prevailed and Karolyi actually issued a statement in which, while deprecating the Allied command to give way to the Czechs, he expressed the hope that at least it would now be possible to come to some understanding with the Czechoslovak government on urgent economic questions. The fact is that the Magyars expected to lose even more than they did and that secretly they were pleased by the limits drawn by Colonel Vix. A line drawn along strictly ethnographic boundary would make the area of Slovakia 54,000 square kilometers, whereas Slovakia as delimited by Colonel Vix covers only 48,000 square kilometers.

More important perhaps than ethnographical considerations are considerations of strategy. The boundary as drawn by the armistice commission leaves the Czechoslovak territories defenseless before some future German-Magyar attack. While the Danube is a useful boundary, the city of Prešpurk is situated on both banks of the river and has no natural defense. Now there is no doubt that this city will in the course of a generation become the most important Danube port and may even outgrow Vienna. The Czechoslovak State should either be granted territory on the right bank of the Danube opposite Prešpurk, especially as these districts have a large Slovak minority, or to balance the disadvantageous location of the principal Slovak city Czechoslovak territory should be extended across the Danube opposite the mouth of the Ipol River, so as to take in the hills which command Budapest. Here also the territory in question is largely settled by Slovaks.

Considering the boundaries of Slovakia, as drawn by Colonel Vix, from the ethnographical point of view we come to the Magyar complaint that there will be some 600,000 Magyars in Slovak territory, that

is to say 17 per cent of the population. This is so according to Magyar statistics, but the Magyars themselves, even Count Tisza, the greatest chauvinist of them all, admitted the strong bias of Hungarian statistics in favor of the Magyars. Thus statistics show Magyar minorities in Slovak counties where everyone knows there are no Magyar settlers or immigrants at all. The few Magyars found there are state officials or railroad employees, and these men will naturally disappear with the disappearance of Magyar rule. According to the census of 1910 there were 134,060 such Magyar employees in Slovak land, so that the real of these people also has been artificially settled in Slovakia during the last fifty years, both in the cities and on large estates owned by Magyar noblemen. Then again at least one-third of this number declared themselves Magyar in 1910 under official compulsion; with all pressure removed they will give their speech as Slovak. This is particularly true of the Jews. In any case the Magyars have about as much right to some of the cities of Slovakia, with artificially created Magyar preponderance, as immigrant races in America would have to some of the great American industrial cities. This argument reminds one of what President Wilson said at Turin on January 4th. Speaking in a joking manner he said to his Italian hearers: "I was sorry I could not let you have New York City, which I understand is the greatest Italian city in the world."

After all proper deductions are made, there will be in Slovakia as at present drawn about 200,000 genuine Magyars. But as against that Slovaks will lose large fragments of their people who have been for centuries settled in small compact bodies in the midst of Magyar territory. In Budapest itself there are 25,000 Slovaks, and in the neighborhood of the capital there are many Slovak villages. These ethnographical islands are scattered throughout the Hungarian plains as far south as the territory of the South Slavs. The number of men thus lost to Slovakia is estimated at 450,000, more than twice as many as the Magyars will lose. Therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation at the peace conference will demand a correction of the provisional boundary, especially in the county of Abauj so as to have the entire county included in the Czechoslovak Republic.

Columbia

Written for the Slovaks of America by Svetozar Hurban Vajanský, while in prison in Szegedin for writing a political article. Translated by Rev. L. Novomeský and Miss Ethel J. Cablk.

*For the dark corners only you were born,
And e'en for those you evermore must pay
And give the tithe and suffer stripes beside.
You borrowed naught, yet must your debt defray.
Your capital: a rugged plot and rough;
To fatten us, your lords, is good enough.*

*Thus was it once. But, later, times were changed:
"Peasants rejoice! we grant you liberty!
Your corner, soil and harvest shall be yours,
The yoke is breaking: equal now are we;
Landlords are you, no longer serfs or slaves,
And over you the flag of freedom waves".*

*And you had faith in them. You took up arms,
And gave your toil, your blood to drench the sword:
Flashing of gunshots lit the quiet hills;
For them your palms grew rough with labor hard.
And what was your reward? When peace arrived,
You of your dark corner were deprived!*

*Not only of the spot of rugged soil
You had bedewed with tears and sweat so long,
But of your forest products given by God,
Your rivers full of fish, swift-flowing, strong;
The air's fresh scent, the free wind's viewless flight,
Even the sun's warm radiance golden bright.*

*Then from your bodies everything they tore
That pleases man, or decks the maiden's breast
E'en what was left they thought too much for you;
You still had health, and were with children blest.
"Too many white and ruddy cheeks we view;
Give them to us to drag to countries new!"*

*"We are your lords; we do you grace in this;
We will transfuse your blood into our race
To cure its rottenness; our puddles' stench
The flow of your fresh waters shall efface.
The blossoms of your bodies, pure and fair,
Shall deck our regions, barren now and bare."*

*They stole your goods your wealth, your bodies' fruits.
Nay, God is good, requiting everything!
How oft soever hot blood in rivers flowed,
And storm swept bare your fields of flowers of spring,
They flourished still. There needs a torture new;
The murderous hand now smites the spirit too:*

*What though the folks are naked, in despair
The mothers, for their children reft away,
They yet may rise, the children may return,
That would not help us; that is nonsense, play!
We want the soul, that in man's life inspires
Thought's brightness and the flame of high desires.*

*"We want to quench and trample out the soul,
All memories of the days ere they were slaves;
To dance the can-can in their nation's face,
Our foulness to defile their fathers' graves.
When their sweet tongue shall be cut out and gone,
The mothers will bear sons for us alone".*

*A new, a sensual serfdom now begins;
A new tithe comes, the people's hearts to grieve.
The little pupil weeps, thrown out of school;
Spiders their webs over Museum weave;
The precious books are spoiled by moths and mould
Which good men dying left to us of old.*

*The aged men are dying, and they see
Ruin all round, no truth, no hope in life.
The young apostatize, some swift, some slow;
Even the strong give o'er the endless strife.
Only a handful now keep up the fight;
Only a few lights burn amid the night.*

*Then suddenly, from out the ocean waves
A giant woman with majestic face
Proudly appears, her white robe glittering bright;
Her eyes, like flames upon the altar place,
Her breast, like sun-smit marble, fair to see:
"Oh ye forsaken children, come to me!"*

*"Oh, come I know your bundles are but poor,
And from your fatherland no gems you bring;
The ruthless wrath of murderers drives you forth
From your ancestral soil to which you cling.
No gifts I offer, only this reward:
Time for free work, for human rights regard!"*

*The people, so disgraced in their own land,
Lift up proud heads sice o'er the sea they came;
And there he speaks aloud who here was mute,
He glories there in what he here thought shame.
He knows himself, in light Columbia gives,
Surprised, he finds that only now he lives.*

*Cheer to my brethren! Their harsh stepmother
Drove them from their dear huts, their native sod.
Thou, oh Columbia, hast rent their chains,
And lifted them to manhood, heaven, God!
Oh, land of Christopher, may Christ repay
What for my brethren poor you do to-day.*

*My sons, my sisters, oh, beloved race!
I from far-off prison speak to you,
Oh, sacred, sacred tops of Tatra's heights!
Nothing is like them, 'neath the heaven blue.
Search all this bad, sad world from strand to strand,
You'll find naught fairer than the Slovak land!*

*So, while in stern imprisonment I weep,
My voice I raise to you, my countrymen;
Oh, to your words and songs be ever true,
And, if it may be, come, oh, come again!
If not, yet still in heart with us remain!
I cease; The jailer shakes the clanking chain.*

Proper Spelling of "Czechoslovak"

The article by Mr. Nigrin in the last issue of the Czecho-Slovak Review has called forth a good deal of comment, some of it favorable to Mr. Nigrin's proposal of the spelling "Cheh", some adverse, and still other writers suggesting new ways of spelling.

Dr. F. J. Kalal says: "Away with Bohemians and let us adopt "Cheh" or the best equivalent of "Čech". But why not also turn out Prague which is the French spelling of the German word and use the real name Praha, as well as many other Germanized names of Bohemian cities, like Pilsen instead of Plzeň, Turnau instead of Turnov and hundreds of others. Now is the time."

Mr. A. A. Rumreich favors the same spelling in English as in the native tongue. "My view is decidedly against the name Bohemian. The only term that is adaptable and correct is "Čech", and none other. It is a sore spot to my eyes to see Czech. It would be the same with Tcheque, Tsech or any other substitution for the only proper spelling — Čech. To change the original orthography so as to indicate the proper sound in English does not really help much. For the letters "ch" are pronounced by Americans as our *č* in the word church, as *k* in the word choir or chemical, or *š* in the word chamois or chivalry. How is the average American to know how the letters "ch" in the word "Cheh" are to be pronounced? In my opinion it is simply impossible to indicate to English speaking people by any known characters the proper sound of the word "Čech". It has to be heard to be pronounced right. Who did start the use of the name Čecho-Slovak? Those gallant and chivalrous boys in Siberia. Can we suppose that they would have it any other way than Č-e-c-h-o—Sl-o-v-a-k-s? No, they had it right. Let us have it the way they started it. They paid with blood and life for it, so it is really valuable. Without their payment we would not have had it."

Mrs. Antonie Krejsa Kendrick is substantially of the same opinion: "There are good reasons for discarding the designations Bohemian and Czechs. But I see no reason for creating a new word such as Cheh. By all means let us use the one historical term Čech with the mark over the Č, and whenever necessary help the reader by parenthetical insertions, such as (Č pronounced as ch, as in check; ch pronounced as h). Should we change Čech into Cheh we encounter new troubles. What should we do with such names as Čeněk, Čapek, Čejkal, Brouček, Holeček and ad infinitum? Then we have the letter ř with a hook for which there is no close equivalent and, which I believe, only a Slav can pronounce. Is it not best to let the Americans wrestle with the č, ř, ž, and do the best they can? The average American will do as well with these sounds as

he does with the German umlaut or such a generous German assemblage of consonants as in Zeuhlke, Schreibergardus, Weichzel, Zeitmahl etc. Let us stand for the purity of the Čech language, not so much because it is patriotic to do so, but because language is the natural, logical and scientific development of the race which speaks it. It is a belonging of the race and fits it as a useful and comely garment becomes the person who wears it."

Rev. Thomas Ballou objects to the whole term Čechoslovak. He says: "I realize that important political considerations led to the creation of this new term. But as a Moravian by birth I cannot understand how it is that for 46 years I have been a Čech and suddenly I find myself a Čechoslovak which means a Čech Slovak. I have always loved our Slovak brothers, but I object to the composite term. It seems to me that a Czechoslovak is either a Slovak who speaks Czech or a Czech who speaks Slovak or lives in Slovakia. Now that does not agree with similar terms. A Yugoslav is a Slav, a Little Russian is a Russian, and therefore Czechoslovak by analogy is a certain species of Slovak. The correct term in my opinion would be "Čecho-Slavs", for we are all Slavs—Czechs, Moravians, Silesians, Slovaks, all Slavs of the Czech branch, therefore Čecho-Slavs."

These are views held by people who are by birth Čechs or Czechs or Czechoslovaks, whichever may be the right term. But it seems that to Americans the word Bohemia will after all be the easiest and the one they will continue to use. This view is best expressed in an editorial article of the Baltimore News, which we are glad to give in its entirety.

"The Czecho-Slovak Review is, as the legend on its cover states, the organ of the American Czecho-Slovak Board. Title of Review and Board alike seem a gentle concession to Anglo-Saxon ignorance concerning the language of the new little State — a reciprocation, if you will, of the courteous Anglo-Saxon determination to give the State a name that will please it, even though one have to sneeze to pronounce the same.

"The current issue of the Review carries a very sensible article on the Anglicization of the name. We have done violence to a good many foreign countries and provinces in settling upon them designations which are but the feeblest approximations to what they call themselves. From our standpoint, which might justly be less concerned with compliment than familiar historical geography, the natural Anglo-Saxon name for the new State would be Bohemia. We will concede that Jan of Hussynecz was a Czech, but John Huss was, and he will ever remain, a Bohemian, born and martyred in Bohemia (sic). It seems a pity

to draw the line so absolutely between the present and the past.

"But 'Bohemia' has in the course of time become a condition instead of a State. It is the land of the gipsies, the synonym for Romany. It is the land of the gay, the careless, the unconventional. Small wonder that the Czech, flushed with the pride of freedom at last, balks at its resurrection as an appellation for his reborn State. Bohemia would do very well for us, but not by any means for him.

"But the article, while it refuses consideration of any name that doesn't signify the race rather than history, at least proposes to make the Slavic name as easy for us as possible. However willingly we would go the whole measure, Cz is a combination the Anglo-Saxon will stumble over as long as the English language remains. Now, if ever, is the time to get rid of it. We are rather surprised to find that besides being burdensome it is a wholly gratuitous imposition upon our good nature. The palatalized "c" is "ch", as in "church" There is no "cz" combination in Bohemian. In order to be politely exact, simple spelling of any Slav name being an obvious impossibility, we have taken the most complicated spelling possible first, rendered the Czech word into Polish and then half-Anglicized that. Ch

would be a very simply beginning: also the right one. As the author points out, "the English spelling of a Bohemian word in a Polish way, which to the average American is an incomprehensible way, is an incongruity which must be given up."

"The rest is still more pleasing. Final ch in Bohemia is a soft h, as in "hold"—just a gentle intangible aspiration. Why snort it out as if it were a "k" inside a chestnut burr? Chehs, the Bohemians are to themselves; why not Chehs to the Anglo-Saxon world and Chehia their-land?

"Here is a commendable effort to launch the name of a new State on the world correctly and simply. It so happens that the simplest, most natural Anglicization is the most correct. Possible the effort will not succeed; Czecho-Slovakia, barbarous though it be, has a good hold. But when one gets right down to brass tacks, what earthly need is there for the Czechs to worry over what we call them? A sibilant "Paris" doesn't disturb the French, nor Holland the Dutch, nor "Constantinople" the denizens of Istanbul. And as long as time goes on, John Huss will remain a Bohemian, and tourists will be able to run over to Bohemia with their eyes shut, though they need a map to locate Czecho-Slovakia—however one spell it."

Másaryk's First Presidential Message

Two days after his arrival in Prague on December 23rd, 1918, President Thomas G. Masaryk read his first message to the members of the National Assembly in the ancient royal castle of Prague. In addition to the deputies there were present also diplomatic and military representatives of the Allies.

The address was introduced by a quotation well known to every Czech, a quotation from the great educator and the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, John Amos Comenius: "I firmly trust in God that after the tempests of wrath brought upon our heads by our sins have passed over, the government of thy commonwealth will return to thee, oh Czech people." Then the president said: The times through which the Czechoslovak nation is passing seem like a fairy tale. But the fairy tale is a reality. The whole world was divided into two camps; after a terrible fight victory was gained by those who defended the ideals of justice; the idealists won. Autocracy which claimed that sovereigns ruled by divine grace was defeated by democracy resting on the principles of humanitarian society. Prussian militarism was vanquished by popular armies which had first to be organized during the course of the war. The Allies, faithful to democracy, declared for the rights of all states and nations, the small as well as the great, to independence. Against the

four Central Powers the whole of mankind united. And if the consensus of nations could be used as an argument for the existence of God, then the consensus of all nations of the world in this war is proof of the truth of democracy.

We Czechs and Slovaks could not stand aside; we had to decide against Austria-Hungary and Germany. For our entire history, its contents and significance, led us to union with democratic powers. And so quite correctly and fortunately we took our stand from the very beginning of the war on the side of the entente. There was no place for us in the ranks of those who attacked us, led by barbarous war-cries of violence.

Permit me, my friends, to give you a report of our activities abroad. I can mention only the most important facts, for a history of the four years work would be long and voluminous; I shall describe only the principles by which our work was governed, rather than report all that we have done.

I myself saw clearly that I could not and must not remain in the services of Austria-Hungary. It is true that at first I hesitated to act: I felt the tremendous responsibility. I counted the cost of defeat — but our soldiers refusing to serve and surrendering to the Allies, criminal execution of our men who rejoiced at the promises of the Russian commander, the entire machinery

of Vienna and Budapest barbarity forced me to a decision. I took counsel with individual political friends, for the parties as parties were suppressed. I took a trip to Vienna to talk with the more serious Austrian-Germans and found what they expected of the war, especially in case of victory; I was twice in Holland, I passed through Germany and there also I sought diligently information. In the middle of December 1914, I departed for Italy, then still neutral, and from there to Switzerland. I had hoped to return once more to Prague and communicate the information gained by me, but it was no longer possible. For a time I remained in Geneva and in the fall of 1915 I proceeded by way of Paris to London from whence I made frequent visits to Paris. In Paris the work was in charge of Dr. Beneš and General Štefánik, devoted, faithful and efficient co-workers. In May 1917 I had to go to Russia, from Russia I departed early in March by way of Siberia to Japan, through Japan to United States, and after seven months residence there I returned at the call of our government after a lapse of four years as the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

It was a strange, unexpected trip around the world, in reality a journey of information, gaining the entire Allied world for our national cause and for our political progress, the principal part of which was the disruption of Austria-Hungary and thereby the isolation of Germany, compelling it to remain content with its own national territory. Austria was Germany's strongest card, but also its weakness.

We organized abroad all our emigrant colonies and inaugurated a well planned propaganda by personal contact and through the press and also diplomatic activities. But politics and especially revolution is impossible without money; in this our people in America and Russia helped. I declare here most emphatically that we never took a penny from the Allies: I emphasize this fact because our enemies talk of Russian, British and other gold; and I also declare that during all that time we have never employed a single falsehood against our enemies, not a single one of the so-called diplomatic tricks. Such honorable political fight, such honorable revolution I dare say has never before been carried out. It was clear to me that neither propaganda nor revolution at home and in the Austrian Army was sufficient, that we must have our own army. The first legions arose in France and Russia; soon volunteers came from all lands, from England, America, Canada, Africa, Australia. At first the units were small, but they grew with the increase of prisoners. This is true especially of Russia, where our captured men were very numerous.

The history of our army in Russia is the history of Russia during the war, at least the development of Russia is mirrored in the developments of our army. Here I can only say briefly

that the old Stuermer regime discouraged the formation of a large army; Kerensky also was at first against us, until he found out that his offensive was to a large extent carried out by our three regiments and that our boys covered the fatal flight of the Russian army. Praise of the bravery of our army by Brusilov, Aleksejev and others, as well as by French and Italian military authorities, is well known.

After many attempts we finally managed to organize an army corps; I can say without boasting that organizing this army during the anarchy and the complete break-up of the Russian army is the best testimony to the maturity, not merely of our boys, but of the whole nation, for 100,000 men is enough to represent a nation. The army in Russia grew in the spring of this year to 50,000 men under arms, and 50,000 more had volunteered. This organizing ability and national discipline is exceeded only by their heroic heart, their love for liberty and fidelity to the nation.

I cannot refrain from asking you to render honor to the dear fallen boys, to our heroes in Russia, Dobrudja, France and Italy and on the Saloniki front, who made possible the present memorable meeting and our whole liberation. Nor let us forget the martyrs of the Hapsburg terror at home and the thousands upon thousands victims of the Russian internment, those that died in Murman and in Turkestan, all over the wide plains of unfortunate Russia, unable to care for the welfare of our captured men. And then the thousands that died during the flight across the Albanian mountains; Czech graves are found in all the belligerent countries.

It is but right that I should express gratitude and satisfaction for your conduct and political actions and those of the whole nation, Czechs and Slovaks. Perhaps my opinion, who as you know was not easily satisfied, has a certain weight, though we all agree that even criticism has its place.

Our army fighting on three fronts won our liberty for us. The history of our action abroad and especially the history of our army, its fights and heroism, the history of the Siberian anabasis—all this will be splendid educational material for our future generations. Here I can only sum up the results. And alongside of our fighting men many of our co-workers conducted the organization in all lands. The most work was naturally done in Russia, and I give thanks here to all the members of the Russian Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council, and remember especially the deceased general secretary, George Klecanda.

France was the first to recognize the significance of our nation for the Allies and for Europe in February 1916 and was the first to recognize our national council abroad. It recognized and maintained our army in France and later even in Russia, behaved toward us truly magnificently. Italy was always very friendly toward us:

we have a considerable army there and with Italy we concluded our first treaty, thereby gaining her recognition; all the other Allies then turned toward us with sympathy. We were recognized by England, United States, Japan, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Cuba. I hardly know whom to thank first. It is natural that recognition by England and United States, the greatest Allied Powers, strengthened us greatly, as the behavior of the enemies made plain.

The United States rendered to us of their riches immediate help and gave us definite promises for the future. President Wilson himself devoted much sincere attention to our country. We are greatly indebted to him and all the Allies, and they may always count upon us; I can express our feelings toward them best in the words of premier Dr. Kramář who asked me in the first wireless message sent from Prague to Paris: "Assure the governments and nations of the Allies of our gratitude and firm fidelity." After receiving official recognition from the Allies we declared the independence of our nation and constructed a government; the nation at home approved this step and entrusted the government to you and me.

The principal aim of the war and of the present time is the reorganization of Eastern Europe and the solution of the eastern question. The war was the continuation and culmination of the fights and attempts for the solution of the eastern question in the broad meaning of the term. The German push toward the East is aimed at the zone of smaller and small nations, living between the Germans and the Russians, beginning with the Finns and ending with the Greeks. This zone includes 18 small nations. Pan-Germanists preached that the small nations had no future, that history favored the construction of great states; this view is manifestly incorrect; for since the 18th Century a great number of small states arose. Napoleon's imperialistic attempts did not succeed, and German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian imperialism was also wrecked.

The negative aim of the war is achieved. Europe is faced with the positive task of organizing the east of Europe and thus all Europe and all humanity. We stand on the threshold of a new era when all mankind realizes its unity. Our nation wishes to contribute with full consciousness of the task something to the realization of this magnificent and noble aim. We know that the nations look for new, creative and organizing statesmanship and we promise that we shall make an honorable attempt toward it.

Bismarck said that the master of Bohemia is the master of Europe. He described thus in his own way the special world significance of our nation. We are the westernmost Slav branch in the Centre of Europe and we successfully helped to balk the German push toward the east. Our present victory was made possible by our

national firmness as well as the natural riches of our country. Our victory is likewise the victory of the other small nations, menaced by Germany and Austria.

Similar fate and similar dangers lead us to close friendship with our neighbors in the East and the Southeast. I started friendly relations abroad with all these nations, the Poles, Ukrainians, Jugoslavs, Roumanians, Lithuanians, Letts, Finns, Greeks and Albanians. We attempted in America to form a union of Mid-European nations. Twelve nations were gained and the attempt was promising. America took lively interest in this union, and a special society was formed for the support of Mid-European nations which, I hope, will make its contribution to the great task. President Wilson greatly favored this union and its aims, and efforts to solve the problems of small nations found in him a warm friend.

Our immediate tasks can be sketched very briefly. Speaking in general we want to organize as close relations as possible with our neighbors and the Allied nations. The fact that we are neighbors and have a similar history should make for close friendship with Poles. I took this up on many occasions with Polish leaders, we even spoke of a federation, but decided that in the immediate future each nation had its special constructive work and that it would be better not to complicate our tasks; but we shall try at any rate to reach an economic and military agreement. That would be of course purely defensive. I also discussed the Polish question in Silesia. And an agreement is easy, for it is on the whole an insignificant problem in comparison with the great work ahead of us. It is in the interest of both parties that we should both be as strong as possible. But I must say that the manner in which some Poles attempt to occupy our territory is in our opinion improper. At first we must consolidate the territory of each state and then we may voluntarily agree to a rectification of the boundaries. I hope that the Poles will approve of this attitude, the more so, as their example might incite in others similar attempts against the Poles. When the Poles have a consolidated state, we can take this up as a matter between the two states.

We were in harmony with Roumanians, especially in Russia; strong friendship grew between us. I was myself in Roumania and negotiated with the government and the King especially for joining our army with the Roumanian army. But the plan was not realized. The possibility is now given to us to be neighbors. Uhro-Rusins through their representatives in America laid before us the proposition that their people should be an autonomous part of our state. A similar proposition was made by the so-called Carpatho-Russians. I did not, of course, have the authority to settle these questions, but I expressed approval of this union. There seems no doubt that the Rusin people in Hungary will approve the prop-

osition. I expect that Roumanians and Jugoslavs will reach an agreement, especially in the matter of the Banat.

I need not say that our relations with Jugoslavs are most cordial, sealed by common fights; common frontiers with Roumanians would make possible more direct relations. Both in our own and in Jugoslav political circles there exists the absolute conviction of the necessity for our direct geographical union. Austrian-Germans now ask for this territory, but the Magyars have recently told them that the territory in question has numerous Croat and Slovene elements. In any case the fact that we have no territorial controversy with the Roumanians and the Jugoslavs will make possible most intimate harmony. I conferred with representatives of both nations, and we reached an agreement; the Greeks also through their leading men, especially Venizelos, approved of this entente. If the contested questions between the Jugoslavs and the Italians are made up, as we have good reasons to hope, then the pan-German Mittel-Europa will be replaced by a close understanding of states from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic and on through Switzerland to France. That would be a strong wall against Germans, if they should wish to keep up their plans against the east; it would protect Russia, thus separated from Prussia.

Strong Russia, united on a federative basis, is needed both by us and by Europe. Russia is going through a difficult crisis. Incapable and degenerate czarism fell, just as Viennese and Berlin czarism fell, but the Russian revolution has not been sufficiently creative; Russians have not learned how to administer, and without administration there is no democracy. I doubt whether Russia can be made well by self-help without the help of the Allies. I cannot explain this plan in detail. I merely indicate the direction in which it is desirable that foreign politics should develop.

This sketch must be completed by mentioning our relations toward the Germans and the Magyars. As far as Germans of our own lands are concerned our program is well known; territory inhabited by Germans is our territory and will remain ours. We constructed our state, we maintained it, we are reconstructing it now; I wish that our Germans would collaborate with us, as that would be a better policy than their present mistaken efforts. I understand of course that they are in a difficult position. They accepted unfortunately the aggressive pan-German program against the Czechs and too willingly they misconstrued the world situation. They were drunk with the first apparent successes; our Germans became victims of false Austrianism and of shortsighted Hapsburgs. It is easy to understand that they are sore over their fatal miscalculations and over the fact that we were right. I repeat: We constructed our state; and that determines the fundamental position of our Germans

who came here originally as immigrants and colonists. We have the full right to the resources of our territory necessary both for our industry and that of the Germans living among us. We cannot and will not sacrifice strong Czech minorities in the so-called German territories. We are also convinced that economic motives lead our German countrymen toward us. It is for them to take the right attitude. Let them remember that in 1861 they asked the king together with us that he should allow himself to be crowned King of Bohemia. I sincerely wish that we might soon reach an agreement.

To be sure it will be difficult for us to forget that our Germans and all the Germans in Austria accepted without protest inhuman cruelties of Austrian and Magyar soldiers; it will be difficult to forget that our Germans were the most violent supporters of pan-Germanism. But nevertheless we will accept them, if they make up their minds to work with us. No one can take it ill, if we are careful after many bitter experiences, but I promise that minorities in our state will enjoy equal national rights and civic equality. The American Republic undertook a civil war rather than admit a secession of the south.

Neither will we admit a secession of our nationally mixed north. By creating a truly democratic local government we shall have the means for the solution of the national question. To draw a straight boundary line is out of question on account of the mixed population, and the problem is not merely national, but also to a large extent social.

The old Austria-Hungary was a clear organization of violence aimed against the majority of its peoples. As for our duty toward the present German Austria, if the Austrian Germans abandon their lust of domination, if they abandon their pan-German plans, if they will act kindly toward us and refuse to interfere in our affairs, then satisfactory relations of neighbors are possible and Austria may be able to retain its independence. I believe that in that way the difficult problem of Vienna may be solved best for the Germans themselves. We shall naturally be moved by considerations for our large minority in Vienna.

Our relations to the Germans of Germany will depend on what politics they will pursue. We hope that the defeat of Prussian militarism will be the victory of the German people, but it is necessary that the German people abandon its aggressive policies in the east and devote its great abilities to the organization of the nation and of mankind. This is a nobler aim than the Pan-German aim.

At this point President Masaryk used the Slovak speech. He said: It is not necessary to say much about the Magyars. Up to the sixties of the last century they played a modest role, but at that time the fertility of their soil made itself felt and they gained in economic importance

over industrial parts of Austria. At the same time they employed Bismarck's policies toward Austria and became the devoted vanguard of the Germans in the Balkans. Their feudal nobility supported by the capitalists erected an artificial state structure which the war caused to fall as it did the entire artificial structure of the Hapsburgs. It was almost unbelievable that a nation like the Magyars could exploit so long four other nations, our Slovaks, Rusins, Roumanians and Jugoslavs. Cavour already discerned clearly that the Magyars could not respect the liberty of other nations, although they had to defend themselves against the Germans: politically the Magyars have during this war lived on their prestige from the year 1848. But the falsehood of their propaganda has been everywhere realized, and today the Allies see that the Magyars have a right to their own national state only. I should like to have our relations with them adjusted firmly and quickly. Magyar minorities will everywhere enjoy civic rights. The Magyars were so cruel as to claim that the Slovak was not a man. But I would not repay them evil. We only desire that the Slovaks may have the frontiers necessary for their development. The same thing is true of the Rusins who wish to join us.

I wish to finish. We know we shall not attain our national program merely by foreign politics, but we must work hard internally; there also our policies will be honest and reasonable. During the time of transition we shall endeavor to maintain order and devote ourselves to peaceful administrative work. The substance of democracy is not domination, but work for the safe-guarding of justice; it is the mathematics of humanity. We must devote special attention to agriculture, industry and commerce. We shall enter upon new railroad and communication policies. Our new life and relations with the Allies will be not merely political, but also economic.

I have already entered upon economic and financial relations with influential factors in America, England and France. Financial assistance of Allied countries has been promised to us. The United States and President Wilson himself promised help in the way of food-stuffs during the period of transition. The government has already indicated a list of what we need; we asked for only the most necessary things, because we know that others also need assistance. America has helped and is still helping efficiently our army in Russia. The American Red Cross is doing wonderful work there. The government and financial circles are willing to make loans to us. I myself have provisionally negotiated small loans which will have to be constitutionally approved.

But men and nations do not live by bread alone. We have all realized that we need to be re-educated. Creation of schools and spiritual life need our most intensive efforts. It is evident that our legislative organs must make new laws, corresponding to new conditions. Unhealthy

Austrianism must be completely eradicated and that requires more than doing away with outward signs. In general we have the possibility now to carry out many plans that were heretofore theoretical.

Let us beware of too much haste; we have time ahead of us now, everything does not need to be done at once. Let us begin with the most necessary things, with matters that will make further orderly development possible. The situation of the world and of our country demands radical social reforms; democratic equality cannot live together with exploitation and domination of classes.

I am happy to see women in this assembly. I believe that women should devote themselves to public life just as men.

Let us hope that the peace conference in Paris will secure for us a permanent peace. That does not do away with the necessity for national defense, on the contrary we must create an all-national system of efficient defense. That means that we shall have to give much attention to the increase of population, and I am glad that we have a ministry of public health as a part of this government. Experience in the long war impels us to care for the body and spirit of future generations. The ideals of Fuegner and Tyrš have proved their value in our army.

Our army from Italy is on the way back, and I wish that our boys from Russia might also return, but distance and technical difficulties are in the way, neither can we as one of the Allies act independently in such a serious concern. We shall employ the army for safeguarding our territory and maintaining order. Our army is a part of the Allied armies and we hope that our separatists may realize this fact and its consequence as based on the conditions of armistice.

I did not intend, my friends, to render a detailed program. I merely lay before you certain leading principles for our political activities and I tried to summarize briefly the meaning of this terrible experience in this, let us hope, last war which ended so fortunately for us. Its sense may be expressed briefly thus: We all, individuals and nations, firmly hope that the great sacrifices of lives and goods have not been in vain. We have achieved our goal. Let us try to make it secure forever, and this is a task more difficult perhaps than our tasks during the war. All citizens of good will regardless of party, religion and nationality, have the opportunity to create an exemplary democratic state that will watch over the interests of free, selfgoverning citizenship.

A few more words, gentlemen. We have gained the sympathies of the Allies and the respect of our enemies by our organizing ability and by the fact that we were able to make and maintain order. Now this order must be maintained in the future under all circumstances. In our lands there must be no violence, and I ask you strong-

ly, friends, to help wherever you can to still the passions. Disorders would cause us grave political harm, and England and America especially would be unfavorably affected. I ask your cooperation very earnestly.

I came to Prague accompanied by a part of our army abroad; you will see that we have all of us taken it very seriously, offering our goods and our lives. I am sure that the whole nation will love our boys as I love them. I had been an anti-militarist and disliked the Austrian soldier,

but our armies were not organized for militaristic reasons, but for the winning and maintaining of liberty and democracy. To defend this we must have our army; it will be the serious task of men entrusted with this work to create a republican and democratic army. Now democracy in the army, as in every other sphere, cannot be had merely by doing away with Austrianism, but by a rebirth of the spirit.

I have finished. May you all enjoy a Happy Christmas!

Current Topics

KRAMÁŘ SENDS GREETINGS.

Next to Masaryk, Dr. Karel Kramář, premier of the Czechoslovak Republic, is the biggest man of Bohemia. He is also one of the two delegates to the peace conference.

Upon his arrival in Paris at the end of January Premier Kramář sent the following cablegram to Chicago, addressed to the Czechoslovak Board, Bohemian National Alliance and Slovak League:

"Having just arrived in France and before entering upon the work of the peace conference I am very happy to address to all Czechoslovaks in the United States, on behalf of the government of the Czechoslovak Republic, an expression of our greatest gratitude for all their work in the cause of our independence and liberty. You have worked as true American and Czechoslovak patriots; you have helped our nation and all the Allies. Free Czechoslovak Republic can never forget the services you have rendered in doing your national duty.

"Prague and Slovakia hope to see soon your delegates on the soil of the liberated republic."

PITTSBURGH UNIVERSITY LECTURES.

The interest which America was compelled to take in European affairs by reason of the war gives fair promise of being kept up even after the war. One of the signs pointing in that direction is the announcement by the University of Pittsburgh of a course of lectures on the "Slavic Nations and Slavic Problems." What is quite as important is the fact that the lecturer has the qualifications to make the course interesting and instructive. Mr. Edward O. Tabor, the lecturer, is of Czech descent, has the degree of M. A. from the University of Wisconsin and LL. B. from Harvard. He has been recently executive secretary of the Americanization bureau of the Pa. Council of National Defense. While the scope of the course covers all the principal Slav nations, the Czechoslovaks come in for especial attention. In connection with the regular university course Mr. Tabor will also give a series of popular lectures on the same topics under the university auspices.

SLAVIC EUROPE.

A selected bibliography in the western languages. By *Robert Kerner*, Ph. D. Harvard University Press.

Both the book and the author are of interest to the Czechoslovaks of the United States. Dr. Kerner is son of one of the publishers of the *Denni Hlasatel* and at present is in Bohemia on a mission for the American government. For a year before that Dr. Kerner was gathering data for the House Commission, so that one may feel certain that the American peace mission is in possession of correct facts bearing on ethnographical and other phases of the Czechoslovak problem.

The book which Mr. Kerner recently completed is a monument to his untiring diligence. He cites some 8000 distinct works in English, French, German, Italian, Latin etc., dealing with the general subject of Slavic Europe. Out of 4521 titles about 800 are cited which deal with the Bohemians and Slovaks. Here his book covers somewhat the same field as Mr. Čapek's "Bohemian Bibliography", but Dr. Kerner cites works in other languages than English only. For his chapter on writings dealing with Bohemia Dr. Kerner searched the University and Museum libraries of Prague, and his list is quite exhaustive and thorough. But the usefulness of the book to others than scholars would be increased, if a shorter list had been prepared giving only the few important books under each nation and each subdivision.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Please note that the subscription price to the *Czechoslovak Review* is now \$1.50; single issues cost 15 cents. Old issues of the 1917 and 1918 volumes may be had at 3 cents each, and subscribers of the *Review* can render it important service by distributing old numbers to friends who in their opinion might be interested in this publication.

There are no complete sets of the first volume on hand. The 1918 issues complete may be had for \$1.10; bound volume for \$1.60.

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MAR 27 1919

The
**CZECHOSLOVAK
REVIEW**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

March 1919



15 CENTS A COPY

PUBLISHED MONTHLY
AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

\$ 1.50 PER YEAR

CZECHOSLOVAK REVIEW

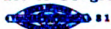
Official organ of the American Czechoslovak Board.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW CO
2324 South Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.50 PER YEAR

JAROSLAV F. SMETANKA, EDITOR

Entered as second class matter April 30th, 1917 at the Post Office
of Chicago, Ill. under act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879



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Controversy about Teschen
What We Have Accomplished
Masaryk's Peace Program
Work of Our Women
Ideal of Universal Education
Czechoslovak Chamber of Com-
merce
Russian Army Under Bolsheviki
From Austrian Secret Archives
Ceskoslovensky Dennik
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Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Vol. III., No. 3.

MARCH, 1919.

15 cents a Copy
\$1.50 per Year

Let Us Have Peace

It is now three months, since the statesmen of the Allied countries met in Paris to formulate terms of peace. Today peace is still far away, and guesses as to the date on which even the preliminary peace may be signed vary by many weeks and even months. It is difficult to restrain oneself from criticism. To be sure the peace conference has to settle the affairs of the whole world, and there is only so much that a man can do in a day. And yet every day's delay increases the danger of a new conflagration in Central Europe and imposes terrible hardships on the newly liberated countries.

The most pressing need of the Czechoslovak Republic is an early peace. As long as the state of war exists, Bohemia is separated from her allies and from the entire outside world by a belt of enemy countries. In the meantime the internal situation of the country is growing more desperate every day. America loaned the Czechoslovaks money with which they bought food from Mr. Hoover, but all Mr. Hoover could do was to unload his food in Trieste, and there it lies in the warehouses, because the Italians have closed their frontier against the Jugoslavs and because there is fear that German Austria will take for its own use Bohemian railroad cars sent into its territory. According to most recent reports food conditions in Prague are really desperate, for insufficient nutrition is killing thousands of the weaker people, especially children. Lack of food and warm clothing is bound to result in a decrease of energy and lack of will to work, and while in Bohemia exultation over victory and gaining of independence still constitutes a tremendous driving force, its momentum is being dissipated and return to normal economic life is demanded more and more loudly.

Resumption of productive work is also hampered by lack of cotton, copper, steel alloys, tools and machinery; coal, too, is scarce. A still greater problem is regulation of currency and the disposition which is to be made of the Austro-Hungarian war debts. There are 36 billion crowns in paper with a gold reserve of just one-half of one percent; the crown is quoted in Switzerland at less than 30 per cent of its normal value. The total debt of Austria-Hungary on December 1st at the close of fighting amounted to nearly 127 billion crowns of which sum 101 billion crowns was incurred during the war. Who will pay that tremendous sum which amounts to practically one-half of the entire wealth of the former monarchy? The Czechs refuse to pay more than the amount held by their own citizens, and naturally they are eager to close the frontiers of their republic at the earliest possible moment water-tight, until all the bank notes and all the war bonds in their territory are checked up and identified or exchanged for new securities. That is the only way they can prevent an unfair measure of the obligations of Austria and Hungary from being dumped on them. But before that can be done, they must know what their boundaries will be, and that depends on the peace conference.

In short normal economic life and full production to repair the ravages of war cannot be resumed in the liberated countries of Central Europe, until the peace conference presents to the enemy a preliminary peace and declares the state of war to at an end. It is of vital importance to the Czechoslovaks that this task should be hurried by the statesmen in Paris. Give us peace!

The Controversy About Teschen

It is very unfortunate that the conflicting claims of the Czechs and the Poles to a part of the former Austrian duchy of Silesia should have resulted in a clash of arms and a temporary bitterness between the two peoples who are so nearly related in blood and whose interests are so closely interwoven. Fortunately good sense prevailed on both sides, and Prague and Warsaw agreed to abide by the decision of their big Allies, a decision which may be announced at any time now.

During the heat of the controversy, at the end of January and early in February, the Polish side was fully presented to the American people. There is an Associated Press representative in Warsaw who cables several dispatches a day to America, and there are in addition a number of correspondents in the Polish capital, representing American newspaper syndicates. In Prague there is no Associated Press man, and as far as is known, just one American and one English newspaper correspondent. And so the Czechoslovak side of the quarrel did not get a fair hearing in the American press. We give herewith the story of the Czech-Polish conflict about Teschen, as set forth in the Prague papers and Czech official documents.

Teschen—which by the way is the German name of the district, the Czech name being Těšín and the Polish name Cieszyn—is a part of Austria Silesia which again is but a small part of the old Duchy of Silesia. The greatest part of this rich province was taken from Maria Theresa by Frederick of Prussia in 1742. The duchy of Teschen has an area of only 2282 square kilometers, or approximately 900 square miles, with a population which in 1910 numbered 434,821. Historically Teschen has been connected with the kingdom of Bohemia since 1291; it is not a part of Poland, when that unhappy kingdom was three times divided among its neighbors, but its eastern boundary marches with Galicia or that part of Poland which fell to the share of Austria. Racially the district is mixed, being inhabited by Czechs, Poles and Germans; the language boundary is particularly difficult to draw as between the Poles and Czechs, since the people speak their own dialects marking a gradual transition from Czech

to Polish, as one goes east. There are no statistical figures available as to the percentage of the three races in Teschen, because Teschen was not recognized in Austria as a distinct political unit or subdivision of the state. But in all Austrian Silesia with its 756,949 people there lived according to statistical figures of 1910, grossly favoring the Germans, 180,348 Czechs, 235,224 Poles and 325,523 Germans.

During the war, when co-operation among the Czechs and Poles of Austria was effected for purposes of a common revolution, an understanding was reached by their respective leaders as to Teschen. During the Prague celebrations of May 16 and 17, 1918, Polish leaders agreed that in the event of a revolution each people would occupy its historical territory and hold it until the final decision of the peace conference on the boundaries with due regard to the self-determination of the people. A similar understanding was reached by Masaryk and Dmowski, when they were both in Washington in the fall of 1918. But all these agreements went into the discard, when Austria fell to pieces. Two days after the successful revolution in Prague on Oct. 30, Polish guards from Cracow took forcible possession of the greater part of Teschen, and a note of protest by the Prague government remained unanswered. The chief apple of discord were the important coal mines of Ostrava-Karvin; the Czechs were in the possession of part of the coal district close to the Moravian boundary, while the Poles had their headquarters in Bohumin (Oderberg) on the frontier of Prussian Silesia. The way this divided control of the important district worked out is best described in a speech delivered in the Prague National Assembly on January 24 by Anton Švehla, minister of the interior and acting Czech premier.

Minister Švehla stated expressly that the occupation of the Karvin mines was undertaken after notice had been sent to the Warsaw government. He declared further that the Czechoslovaks were employing force to obtain aims to which they were fully entitled or which they were compelled by circumstances to do. Circumstances similar to those which developed in Slovakia in the first days of the revolution have

arisen from different causes in Teschen after the Polish occupation. Delegations of the miners from the Ostrava district came here almost daily, even here into the Assembly, to declare that disorder in administration and civic life prevailing in territory held by the Poles was overflowing into districts administered by us and that our public administration may succumb to those disorders. Czechs, Poles and Germans called upon our republic to help them against a disorganization in which it was impossible to live. The government is in a position to furnish official evidence of the truth of the danger that the Moravian-Ostrava district would have fallen prey to disorder.

When the government became convinced that the territory which is of vital importance to the state was in truth lacking all public authority, that it was the headquarters of Bolshevik agitators and bands that invaded territory administered by us and incited people living under our rule to disturbances, when the government saw that the production of coal in the Ostrava-Karvin coal district fell off from 6,768,912 quintals (220.46 lbs. each) a month to 3,069,120, it decided to send troops to introduce administrative order through the entire Teschen area and secure for the people all the benefits of an orderly government. This step would not have been necessary, if Teschen had not been occupied by the Poles against the agreements which we had concluded in Russia, Moscow and Kiev, in Washington and Prague, all to the effect that questions relating to Silesia would be settled by the Czechoslovak government in agreement with the Poles, or in case an agreement could not be reached by them, then by the peace conference and until then status quo should prevail.

That the entire Silesia in its historical boundaries belongs to us is confirmed by the Allied Note of January 19, 1919 to the Budapest Government and by an English Note replying to an appeal of the German-Austrian Government. The Poles cannot claim that a majority of the people are of the Polish nationality or that the right of self-determination is violated. As far as language is concerned, it is well-known that experts disagree, whether the inhabitants of Teschen speak the Czech or the Polish language.

The question of Teschen has for us the utmost economic importance and this im-

portance is not merely local, but affects a large part of Europe. Karvin and Ostrava cannot be separated from each other, as the Poles have done by their occupation. The evil effects of the Polish occupation may be best seen from this: in two or three weeks great steel mills of Vítkovice would have to close down, and that would mean loss of employment for 17,000 mill hands and as a result of that 70,000 more workers in factories which must have steel would also be thrown out of work. We could not supply coal to Italy, Slovakia, to our own beet sugar mills and railroads. Even today we adhere to our original proposal that the dispute about Teschen should be settled by Prague and Warsaw governments with friendly offices of the peace conference. We proposed to the Government of Warsaw to create a Czech-Polish commission of experts to take up this problem. In taking the above important steps we are only doing our duty, and no one, not even the Poles can justly complain, if in our own state and on our own territory we enforce order and peace and secure law and civic liberty.

This declaration of the acting Czechoslovak premier is supplemented by the following bulletin issued by the Czechoslovak Press Bureau: The government of the Czechoslovak Republic has followed for a long time with serious fears the developments of events in Teschen, but it refrained from every action of a political character. But when recently an English mission returning from Breslau and passing through Teschen declared the conditions prevailing there to be unsupportable and called attention to the danger of Bolshevism which disseminates from this region into all Central Europe, representatives of the military forces of the entente stationed in Prague determined that they would immediately undertake the reforms necessary to secure the lives of the peaceful inhabitants who are in danger of being murdered and also to secure production of coal from the Karvin mines which during the present coal crisis is of immense importance.

The character of the entire action is best seen from a manifesto by which it was opened: To the inhabitants of the duchy of Silesia. Deplorable conditions of public safety and danger of economic catastrophe in Silesia compelled the government of the Czechoslovak Republic to send a part of Allied armies coming from France to in-

roduce order in the land. The people may be of easy minds. As Frenchmen, Englishmen; Italians and Americans we have warm sympathies for both nations forming a majority of the people. As soldiers we do our duty. We have nothing to do with political questions. We ask of all elements of the people assistance in our administrative work. The republic is a government of order. Signed by Lt.-Colonel of the French Army Gilain, Major of the British Army Grossfield, Major of the Italian Army Naseda, and First-Lt. of the United States Army Voska.

On January 23rd, the commission of the entente forces requested the commander of the Polish troops in Teschen, Brig. Latinik to order his garrisons to evacuate the district of Teschen. After some hesitation he promised. But against all expectations in certain places Polish garrisons put up opposition and employed their arms against the forces of occupation, it is said at the orders of the Polish National Council. In spite of that the action went on rap-

idly; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon Oderberg was occupied, and all the Czechoslovak losses amounted to six killed and twenty-three wounded.

The entire question is now being looked into by a commission appointed by the executive council of the peace conference. Until their decision is given and approved by the main body, the Czech forces are ordered to occupy the entire coal district, while the Polish forces are in possession of the eastern part of the district of Teschen. The Czechoslovaks have full confidence in the justice of their claims and in the fairness of the Allied representatives who have become arbitrators of the quarrel. Whatever the decision at Paris may be, the Czechoslovak government and the Czechoslovak people will accept it with a good grace. As to their present relations with the Poles, the Czechoslovaks hope that the present discord will blow over and that the two kindred nations, both menaced by Germans, will work together and support each other.

What We Have Accomplished

By Vojta Beneš.

The outbreak of the war caught the Czechoslovak people in America unprepared. Not that they failed to realize at once the tremendous significance of the cataclysm for their native land, as well as for the entire world, but they had no organization that could speak for them and gather into one channel the strong currents of indignation at German-Austrian crimes and the desire to help their brothers in the old country to get rid of the foreign yoke.

The Slovaks had an existing organization, the Slovak League, but this body was not prepared to take advantage of the revolutionary situation. The Czech speaking people in the United States had been for years divided into two principal camps — the liberals and the Catholics, while the Protestants formed a third camp numerically small. There had been no cooperation between these sharply separated parties, neither were the parties themselves organized to undertake an intensive campaign on behalf of their kinsmen in Bohemia. There were societies and organizations in plenty, social, beneficial, athletic, but all

concerned themselves with their local or special interests only.

But there were a great many individuals among the Czechoslovak immigrants and naturalized and native born citizens who realized at once, as soon as Austria declared war on Serbia, that there was a unique opportunity for the Czechs and Slovaks in Europe to gain that liberty which the Czechoslovaks of America enjoyed. And so the fight of our people in this country against Austria-Hungary and Germany is dated from the very first days of the war, and this fight assumed a real significance and began to make itself felt as soon as Thomas Masaryk from his retreat in Switzerland got in touch with his countrymen in America. Numerous local organizations which sprang up in the summer of 1914 for the purpose of collecting money for widows and orphans in Bohemia were quickly transformed into branches of the Bohemian National Alliance, and these undertook as their special task in the great campaign for Czechoslovak independence financial support of all the activities in Allied and ne-

utral lands. From the foundation of the Bohemian National Alliance we may date the beginning of the organized fight of our people in America for the liberation of their brothers from the Hapsburg subjugation.

One of the first bodies bearing this name and having these aims was organized in Chicago in the fall of 1914. About the same time societies with similar names and generally with relief and political purposes combined sprang up in other centers of the Bohemian speaking people, like New York, Omaha, Cleveland, Detroit, etc. In February 1915 these local societies held a convention in Cleveland at which the name Bohemian National Alliance was accepted as the designation for the entire movement and the Chicago society was selected as the Central body of the organization which from that time on spread into the Czech settlements in America. There were a great many obstacles at first. Neutrality was the policy of the United States, and many timid men voiced the opinion that the Bohemian National Alliance by adopting a determined stand against the German side of the great quarrel was not observing the spirit of American neutrality. There were many also who remembered the wonderful efficiency of the German and Austrian armies and feared that the anti-Austrian attitude of the Czechs in America would make the difficult situation of the Czechs in Bohemia still more difficult, when Austria should have won the war. There were even a few men whose sympathies were with the German-Austrian side, and they gathered around Frank Iška, a leader of the free-thought group in Chicago, whose wife was a German Jewess. At that time also the Austro-Hungarian consulates as a part of their work kept track of the activities of former Austrian subjects, and working together with the widespread German propaganda and having the use of millions of dollars they made the efforts of discontented Austrian subjects look insignificant. One might also mention that among the less desirable qualities of our people is found a lack of confidence in their own leaders, and this distrust was adroitly worked upon by Iška and his few sympathizers. Thus during the first year of its existence the Bohemian National Alliance increased in strength but slowly. No news came from Bohemia, except official Austrian reports trying to

make the world believe that the various nations of the dual empire supported loyally their emperor and his war. There was no one who could authoritatively expound the real sentiments of the people at home, as no one from Bohemia was allowed to get beyond the boundaries of the Central Powers. It was up to the clear thinking and politically mature men among our people here to convince the masses of their countrymen in America that they must take a part in the great struggle. Of these men the best known is Joseph Tvrzický, who in the spring of 1915 became secretary of the Bohemian National Alliance and conducted



VOJTA BENEŠ,

Secretary of the American Czechoslovak Board
and of the Bohemian National Alliance.

the early fights against Austrian tools and against the men with little faith. Dr. L. J. Fisher was president of the Alliance from its foundation until the fall of 1918, when he joined the Czechoslovak army in France as medical officer, and James F. Štěpina served faithfully as treasurer four years.

The one great force which helped to strengthen the young movement was the appeal of Masaryk to the Czechs of America, to undertake the financing of the revolutionary campaign. This gave the organization a definite task and its workers something to do which they felt able to

accomplish. If we could tell how small were the demands of Masaryk during the first year and even during the second year, our American friends, who seen the results obtained would be astonished. Where the Germans disposed of millions, nay, hundreds of millions for their propaganda in neutral lands and treachery in Allied lands, Masaryk had one a few thousands dollars, but he made a dollar go further than the Austrian Government accomplished with a fortune. But perhaps there exists no reason any longer why we could not say for the year of 1915 Masaryk asked us to send him \$50,000 for his campaign; so small were our beginnings that many of our workers declared it impossible to collect so much money. And as a matter of fact we fell somewhat short of the sum expected of us during that first year of our campaign.

In the summer of 1915 I managed to leave Austria and came to New York on August 15th. I was sent to the United States by the political leaders of the nation to work for the revolutionary movement in America among my people. It was, of course, necessary that my departure to America should have outwardly other reasons, and when I landed in this country I was not able to come out at once for the independence movement. Pro-Austrian elements thought that they would find in me a sympathizer and asked me to denounce the work carried on by the Bohemian National Alliance as dangerous and abnoxious to the Czech nation. I said nothing at first, but on November 8th, 1915, I came out publicly for Czechoslovak independence. Since that day I have had a constant fight with the Austrian tools, who were not very numerous, but who employed all sorts of weapons to pull me down and neutralize my activities.

In the fall of 1915 the organization work of the Alliance received a strong impulse. At that time it was still limited to the liberal element, although from the very first days the Czech protestants were strong supporters of the movement and rendered it valuable service. The principal task, as I have said, was to send money for the support of the campaign managed by Dr. Masaryk. There was no way of getting money from Bohemia; the Czechs in Russia who were the next strongest immigrant branch had too many cares of their own, and Czech residents in Paris, London and elsewhere were too few and too poor to give substantial help. It was natural and logical that

the share of the Czechoslovaks of America in the revolution should have been that of furnishing money. And that is what we did, according to our strength.

Of course the information activity of the Bohemian National Alliance was emphasized from the very beginning. But until America entered into the war, the political significance of acquainting America with the justice of the Czechoslovak claims was of a secondary order. This work had really greater effect on the workers and membership of the organization than on the American public, for it made the body of the people see with their own eyes that the Alliance was accomplishing something definite, even though as a matter of fact the great work was done by Masaryk and his co-workers in Paris, London and Rome. At the same time the unanimously expressed sentiments of one million people of Czechoslovak birth or descent under the free institutions of America had their weight with the Allied statesmen who did not have the means to ascertain for themselves the sentiments of the people in Bohemia and Slovakia. Czechoslovak immigrants in America spoke for their brothers who could not speak for themselves and their great organization, the Bohemian National Alliance and Slovak League, made the voice of a million people heard.

The leaders of the movement were consistent democrats, and so they tried to get the money needed in Europe from the masses of the people, rather than collect it in large amounts from a few wealthy individuals. It would have been very difficult in any case to carry out this second plan, for the wealthier Czechs in America lagged behind the workingmen in enthusiasm and rather decried the Alliance and its leaders as impractical dreamers. The principal support, both financial and moral, came from the workingmen in the cities and the farmers of the central west and southwest.

To gain the support of the large mass of the Czechoslovak immigrants and their children took an almost unbelievable amount of work and hardship. The organizer of the Bohemian National Alliance crossed the United States back and forth, over and over again, addressing hundreds and even thousands of meetings and visiting even the smallest settlements. He and other zealous workers like Em. Voska, J. Tuma, St. Šerpan, V. and M. Vimmer, talked to the coal miners of Pennsylvania, the farmers of

Texas and Nebraska, the workmen of the East and Central West. As a result the Bohemian National Alliance has now more than 350 branches, each of them a center for collecting money and creating patriotic sentiment in favor of winning the war.

In organizing the National Alliance it was necessary to take into account the existing conditions among the Bohemian people in this country. Thus the organization was not perhaps as clean cut and logical as might have been desired, but it was wonderfully efficient. Its members were both individuals and Czech societies, beneficial, athletic, social and workmen's societies. It enrolled the great number of 100,000 direct members and almost that many indirect members through organizations which entered its membership with the Alliance. That included practically everybody born in Bohemia or descended from Bohemian parents. And when America finally decided to take part in the great fight for justice and right, the government did not have to worry over the attitude of Czech and Slovak immigrants. It did not have to start an educational campaign telling how war came to America or why every citizen should do his best. Our Czech and Slovak boys rushed in thousands into the American army in April and May of 1917, and great was their disappointment when later on they were left to attend to the camps in this country, instead of being sent to France, just because they had been born under Austrian rule. In spite of many disappointments, in spite of the constant discrimination against Bohemians and Slovaks as suspected Austrians, the Czechoslovaks kept up their patriotic activities to win the war and their record is better than that of any other immigrant race. In the Third Liberty Loan Campaign they subscribed \$37,000,000, far exceeding per capita their share, as compared to other foreign speaking elements. In the Fourth Loan they took over \$40,000,000, in other words more than \$40 to each man, woman and child, and there are no millionaires among them. It should go to the credit of the Bohemian National Alliance that the Bohemian speaking people in this country did their full duty and more than their duty as American citizens, and the same thing is true of the Slovak League. But going back to the participation of our people here in the struggle for Czechoslovak independence it should be emphasized that their scattered branches

of the Alliance were centers of zealous and enthusiastic propaganda. All our people could read and write, all knew the history of Bohemia, all knew the true nature of Austria-Hungary and Germany. In all the northern and western states there were thus men who of their own accord and without the slightest idea of being paid for it tried to inform their American neighbors about the true conditions in Austria. They countered every piece of German propaganda, as far as their small strength would permit, and they took every opportunity in newspapers, public meetings and private conversation to tell their neighbors what the Czechoslovaks demanded and where they stood.

The common interests of Czechs and Slovaks brought together the organizations of the two branches of the Czechoslovak race at a very early stage of the fight. But a formal organization of the two did not take place until the spring of 1917. We both declared for the same aims and pursued these aims by similar means. In the summer of 1917 the Catholic camp which began organizing itself during the preceding year declared itself without any ambiguity for total independence of the Czechoslovak nation, and their organization became an autonomous part of the Bohemian National Alliance. For nearly two years all the Czech and Slovak organizations have been working in complete harmony.

In 1916 we were able to send to Professor Masaryk the full sum for which he asked. For by that time the distrust which at first made the collection of money difficult disappeared almost completely, and the one objection that was still frequently raised was the necessity of keeping confidential the amount of money sent to Europe. We did not want Austria to know who much or rather how little, we collected, and for what purpose the money was used. And out of this necessary secrecy the enemies of the organization, whether actuated by personal spite or influenced by the Austrian consulates, had a chance to create distrust. But after all our people in spite of the impossibility of furnishing detailed accounts knew that the men who had undertaken the collection of this money were honest, and the amounts collected kept on increasing. In 1917 so much was collected that the Czechoslovak National Council could maintain offices in London, Paris,

Rome and Washington, publish books and magazines.

Toward the end of 1917 a new task was laid upon the Czech and Slovak organizations in America, namely to furnish volunteers for the recently formed army in France. Up to this time it had been a question of furnishing money only, and for a short time, before the passage of the draft law, to stimulate volunteering for the United States Army. Now the leaders in Europe expected their people in America to furnish thousands of fighters for the Czechoslovak Army, and it was up to our people here also to create relief societies that would render to the Czechoslovak soldiers in France and Italy the same services as the American Red Cross, Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations render to the American Army. These necessities made a still closer joining of the three principal Czech and Slovak organizations necessary, and at a conference held in Chicago in February of 1918 the common sentiments and common aims of the Czechoslovaks in America, including Canada and South America, were embodied in a common organ consisting of 20 members and known as the National Council. This body had four departments through which its activities were exerted—political, press, military and relief. Charles Pergler, now commissioner of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States, was made political representative with headquarters in Washington; his work consisted in making friends for the Czechoslovak cause among the leaders of the great public of the United States through lectures and by personal contact. Information through the medium of the press belonged to the press department. The military department was in charge of recruiting for the Czechoslovak Army in France; a camp was established at Stamford, Conn., where the volunteers were concentrated and trained while waiting for their ship. The relief department was given over to the Czechoslovak women as their special trust and under the efficient leadership of Mrs. Libuše Moták accomplished great work for the young army. It sent necessities and comforts to the value of tens of thousands of dollars to France, Italy and Siberia. Nor should one forget to record here the services rendered to our movement in the United States by a number of men who were sent here by the leaders from abroad — Captain Ferdinand Pišecký, Lts. Holý, Španiel, Niederle,

Horvath, Major Šipek, Col. Hurban and Jan Janček. Their work made itself especially felt in recruiting volunteers for the Czechoslovak army in France.

After our great leader Masaryk came to the United States in May of 1918, and after the great Allied Powers one after another recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as a belligerent government, the political department of the Czechoslovak National Council was transformed into an organ of the new government, and Mr. Pergler became the first representative of the Czechoslovak Government in this country. In place of this department a convention of the Czechoslovak organizations held in Cleveland in October of 1918, created a cultural department. At this convention also it was decided, in order to avoid using the same name as that under which the Czechoslovak Provisional Government had been recognized, to call the common organization of the Czechs and Slovaks in America the American Czechoslovak Board with headquarters in Chicago. Prof. B. Šimek is its president, and the writer of this article is the secretary. It was voted at this convention to collect all that relates to the history of our movement in this country, so that a careful account of it might be written. For the Czechoslovak people in the United States, Canada, and South America are proud of the share they had in winning independence for their brothers in the old country.

The Bohemian National Alliance during the four years and more of its existence published a number of pamphlets and books relating to the Bohemian question; the writers were Charles Pergler, J. F. Smetanka, Director of the Washington office of the American Czechoslovak Board, Thomas Čapek, who wrote a Bohemian Bibliography, Vojta Beneš, Prof. J. J. Zmrhal. Lectures and articles written by Dr. Masaryk and books and pamphlets published by the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris and London were sent out in thousands by the Bohemian National Alliance to public libraries and leaders of public opinion throughout the United States. An important part of this activity is the publication of the Bohemian Review, now the Czechoslovak Review, which has accomplished a great deal to wake up interest in and sympathy for the cause of Czechoslovak independence.

A great impression was made upon the American public by the wonderful posters, mostly recruiting posters, drawn by a Czech artist, Vojtěch Preisig, professor at the Wentworth Institute in Boston. The Czechoslovak Arts Club of New York published with rare taste a number of booklets, among them Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovak Nation; Czech artists of Chicago have also applied their talents in the service of their people. The French bi-monthly, *La Nation Tcheque*, is received by the Alliance from Paris, and hundreds of copies are mailed regularly by the Chicago office to the principal libraries and to individuals who have manifested an interest in this valuable periodical. A great deal was also done through the medium of addresses. Hundreds of speeches in English were delivered before large audiences, prominent clubs, social gatherings, scientific and business societies. Charles Pergler has been foremost in this work, while Dr. Smetanka, Prof. B. Šimek, Prof. J. J. Zmrhal, Prof. Šárka Hrbkova, Albert Mamatey, John Straka, Rev. Oldřich Zlámal and Rev. Francis Jedlička have been doing faithfully and successfully the work of informing the American public about the aims and accomplishments of the Czechoslovaks. Joseph Martinek, a Czech socialist who spent six months in Russia and witnessed the evil effects of Bolshevism, delivered a number of lectures on the condition of the Czechoslovak Army in Russia and the unfortunate situation caused by the Bolshevik revolution. A great debt of gratitude is due to the Bohemian and Slovak press in America. All the other races had among their publications in this country numerous sheets fighting the interests of their own people from motives more or less creditable. But out of more than one hundred Bohemian periodicals only one small weekly served the interests of Austria—the ill-famed *Vesmír* which soon went down under the indignation of the people. All the rest of our press stood firmly by their people; without its steady and enthusiastic support the great work of the Bohemian National Alliance could not have been accomplished.

The past year is the culmination of our work not merely from the political point of view, but also in the matter of organization. The constantly growing scope of activities of the Czechoslovak National Council implied large demands upon our financial

ability. At the beginning of 1918 the Central Committee of America of the Bohemian National Alliance, not including the Catholic branch, prepared a budget which provided for the collection of half a million dollars. It was no small task to gather such a large sum among our working people in the United States and Canada, for even in 1918 most of the gifts came in small amounts from the great mass of the people, rather than from the few wealthy men. The National Alliance is divided into sixteen districts, and the Central Committee determined the proportion which each district should raise of the total required. As the various districts sent in their collections month by month, they were advised of their standing, so that soon there was a rivalry among the various districts as to which would exceed its percentage by the biggest margin. All of them came up to what was expected of them, and some did unusually well. Thus the Pacific District with headquarters at San Francisco turned in 310 per cent of the amount expected of it, the farming district centering around Omaha collected 301 per cent. Chicago was first as far as the actual sum collected, for it turned over to the Central Committee over \$200,000.

The best means of raising money were national bazaars. Thus the Chicago bazaar brought in \$50,000 of net proceeds, the Texas bazaar netted \$60,000 and the Omaha bazaar was first of them all with \$70,000. There have been many bazaars held in this country in support of various war charities, but I feel sure that none of them were run with such a small proportionate expense. Our bazaars never paid out more than 8 per cent of the receipts for running expenses, and the bazaar of Cedar Rapids which turned in over \$25,000 had not a cent of expense; all was done or donated free. These are only some of the larger bazaars, but similar fairs and national fetes were held in almost every Bohemian settlement in the United States.

Another undertaking, in which the Catholics took part, was the campaign for a national thanksgiving offering. It was scheduled for the Thanksgiving Day, but the collection went on during December. Its proceeds amount now to \$320,000, while the total expense connected with this nation-wide campaign is only \$2200, less than one per cent of what was collected. Recently one million francs out of this sum was sent to the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister

in Paris for the purchase of food for Bohemia. Chicago gave over \$100,000 toward this national tax or offering, Cleveland \$40,000; all of it was collected in small sums, mostly in dollar bills. People who are very poor and some who are invalids came themselves and brought their offering; poor coal miners from Pennsylvania and small renters from Texas all gave more than they could afford. Farmers drove days and days over the muddy roads of Nebraska and Minnesota to visit every Czech farmer in their county. In North Dakota an old woman who is supported by public charity called in the collectors who wanted to pass her by and made them take 50c, all she had. Money came to Chicago headquarters from six hundred different local collecting centers. We are proud of our people, and America may be proud of such citizens who know how to give.

Our organization, even though very efficient, was always rather loose, for the policy was to leave as much freedom and discretion to the various districts as possible. This resulted in the participation of large numbers of faithful and able workers, all volunteers. As to American politics, of course, the Bohemian National Alliance kept strictly aloof. Its attitude has been all along; absolute loyalty to the United States and the fullest participation by every citizen of Czechoslovak birth in all activities which may help to win the war. On July 4, 1918, when various immigrant races in this country manifested their devotion to the American Republic and its institutions, the Czechoslovaks took everywhere a prominent part and presented to President Wilson an address of loyalty which was read at every Czechoslovak celebration on that day along with the Declaration of Independence. Then again in September and October parades and celebrations were held to show the gratitude of our people for the recognition by America of Czechoslovak independence; the manifestations in Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, New York and elsewhere were particularly impressive.

Most impressive, however, were the wonderful receptions held in Chicago, New York and Cleveland for Masaryk upon his arrival in this country from Russia. It may be said that the size and enthusiasm of these demonstrations first made the American public realize, what a large figure Masaryk was.

The end of the year crowned this long campaign with victory; the Czechoslovaks are now free. Their brothers in America are proud that they have had a share in the fight and in the victory, and soon a delegation of the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League will visit the land of their fathers to bring greetings and congratulations and to find out, what other help could be given to the newly born nation. The delegation will take with them a splendid flag to be presented to the 22nd Regiment of the Czechoslovak Army which fought bravely on the French front and which is composed principally of volunteers from this country.

Today, when the political struggles are over, the hearts of the Czechoslovaks in America, each of whom has relations in the old country, turn toward the great problem of giving some measure of relief to the misery brought on by the war, to the relief of the widows and orphans whose number reaches into millions.

Independent Bohemia. By Vladimir Nosek, J. M. Dent & Sons, London.—A great many articles and pamphlets have been written about the Czechoslovak people during the war, but only two books on that subject have been published so far. One is Dr. Edward Beneš, the present minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the second is this book by Vladimir Nosek, secretary of the Czechoslovak Legation in London.

The new publication of 190 pages gives a very full account of the part played by the Czechoslovaks in the great war. The chapter discussing the Czech political parties before and during the war is a feature that was neglected in other accounts of the Czechoslovak cause, and the incorporation of numerous documents illustrating the revolutionary movement is particularly valuable. The story is brought down to the break-up of the Austrian empire and the day of liberation.

One criticism which suggests itself to readers on this side of the Atlantic is the omission of all reference to the work done by the Czechoslovaks in America. In his chapter on "The Military and Political Action of the Czechoslovaks Abroad" Mr. Nosek starts out to say: "The most important part was taken, however, by the Czechoslovak colonies in Russia and America". And after telling what was done in Russia he forgets to go back to America.

It is announced that a daily aerial service between Paris and Prague has been established. Czechoslovak delegates to the peace conference will now be enabled to keep in touch with their government in Prague.

Masaryk's Peace Program

During his sojourn in Russia in 1917 President Masaryk wrote a book which has just been published in London under the title "The New Europe". The manuscript was re-written by Mr. Masaryk during his stay in Washington and represents his views on the fundamental problems raised by the war, as he saw them in October 1918. In the last pages of the book — which has been printed for private circulation only — is found Masaryk's peace program. We are happy to be able to re-print it.

(1) The Congress of Peace could convene at once, the war being morally and strategically finished — the nations become convinced that force shall not decide the fate of nations and humanity; even militaristic Prussia must confess that non-militaristic nations are equal to it in bravery, in the spirit of sacrifice and even in military ability.

(2) The Congress of Peace should be composed of representatives of all belligerent nations, not merely of the governments. Admission should be granted to the representatives of all nations whose fate is being decided and who have a claim to self-determination.

(3) The antiquated and insincere diplomatic rule that states should not interfere in the internal affairs of other states should not apply in the coming peace congress; if democracy is truly humanitarian and if the strengthening of international feeling is not to be a mere phrase, then political boundaries must not be a shield to arbitrariness. This terrible war arose just because states have for such a long time avoided interference in the internal affairs of their neighbors.

(4) All secret agreements must be excluded.

(5) Theocratism must be abolished in all the states of Europe; the churches must be free, they must not be abused for political purposes. The American way of arranging the relations of the state and the church can serve as a suitable model.

(6) All states must abolish standing armies and employ for their defence in case of necessity a system of militia (abolishment of militarism).

(7) Navigation of the seas outside of territorial waters must be made free to all na-

tions. Exceptions are made by international agreement. To landlocked nations access to the sea must be secured by an international agreement; an ex-territorial harbour and duty free passage of goods will be granted at the nearest shore.

(8) Commerce is free; protection of industry and commerce against unfair competition must be regulated by international agreement.

The doctrine of the old liberalism demanding absolute freedom of trade is often exacted in a very abstract way and is deduced from conditions prevailing in western, civilized industrial Europe (principally England and France). Freedom of trade may be abused by the stronger to the subjugation of the weaker, just as war can; the subjugation may be even worse and more demoralizing. In that manner Austria - Hungary threatened Roumania and Serbia by a tariff war. Every country in the agricultural state endeavors to become an industrial country and to be economically independent; industrialization implies the growth of a railroad system and of means of communication in general, and that again presupposes a certain degree of scientific education of the nation, practical and theoretical. Every country will want to protect itself against exploitation. From this wider cultural standpoint we must consider the watchword of free trade, and international commerce must be wisely and justly regulated for all nations by international agreement.

(9) The most difficult task of the Congress will be the just settlement of territorial questions. Owing to German aggressiveness and the Pan-german push towards the East the national questions are most acute in the East of Europe: Prussia, Austria-Hungary, the Balkans and Russia must be politically reorganized. The re-construction of the East is the primary aim of the war and of the peace. In the West there are no acute disturbing national questions: the nations of the West have their states and well-established forms of government, they have their old civilization—France and Belgium will have to rebuild their destroyed cities and villages, to repair their factories and fields, but in the East new states, new forms of governments must be created and the

foundation of civilized life must be laid down.

The territorial readjustment of Eastern Europe will, as a rule, be carried out according to the principle of nationality; but in each case due regard must also be paid to present economic conditions, and to historical peculiarities. The great complexity of the national problem makes each concrete national question a distinct political problem of its own.

(10) Belgium must be completely restored; Germany must make compensation for the losses caused by its perfidious attack and occupation.

(11) The non-German nations of Prussia, Germany, must be liberated.

In the first place, Alsace-Lorraine; though the majority of the population is German, they desire to be united with France, or at least to break away from Germany. Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to Germany in 1871 against the will of the people, and has never become reconciled to the annexation; on that occasion the representatives of the Czech nation alone protested officially against this deed of violence. True, the German Socialists of those days had enough courage to protest also.

The Danes in Schleswig must be united with Denmark, the Poles in Prussian Silesia and in Posnania with Danzig must be united with their countrymen of Russia and Austria. Eastern Prussia will thus become a German enclave having direct connection with Prussia by the sea.

The Lusatians, should they so wish, may be joined to Bohemia, the Lithuanians of East Prussia (with a few Letts) would be attached to Lithuania. Czechs in Prussian Silesia will be exchanged for German territory of the Austrian Silesia. Prussia and Germany would in that way become united nationally, something that the Pangermans themselves desire; that is no injury to the German nation, for it would merely compel the Germans to limit themselves to their own national resources, and give up exploiting non-German nations.

I have not the least doubt that the Pangermans will reject with the greatest indignation such a solution of the Prussian question — to free the Lusatians? To have within cannon shot of Berlin a free Slav territory? Yes — that would be a victory of justice and Nemesis: if the Allies win, a solution of the Prussian question in a demo-

cratic and truly national sense is possible and necessary.

The Germans will object to leaving Danzig to the Poles; they already proposed to give the Poles a free access to Danzig. The Polish population reaches to the gates of Danzig and the sea shore; the forcible, inhuman Germanization of the Slavs justifies such German losses.*)

(12) The entire Polish nation, in Russia, Austria, and Prussia, must be united into an independent state. It will have the access to the seas through its own territory (Danzig).

(13) The Bohemian Lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) with the Slovaks of Northern Hungary must form an independent state. The boundaries of the Bohemian Lands are given, for the Bohemian state is by law independent the so-called German territory in Bohemia (Moravia and Silesia) has many Czech inhabitants, therefore, it is just that the renewed state keep it; it would be unjust and inhuman to sacrifice hundred thousands of Bohemians to the furor teutonicus; as late as 1861 the Germans in Bohemia were one with the Czechs in demanding the coronation of Francis Joseph as King of Bohemia — no doubt, after this war the Germans in Bohemia will abandon the national furor into which they have been driven by the brutal Pangerman agitation. Many Germans themselves more than once protested against the Pangerman policy of severing North and West of Bohemia and trying to establish a new capital in one of the German towns.

Respecting the Magyar minority, it must be emphasized that there are no Magyars in Slovakia, only Magyar-speaking individuals; the Magyars closed the Slovak schools, suppressed the Slovak literature, and are trying by all means to denationalize the Slovaks. It is only just to stop this brutal,

*) The entire independence of the Baltic nations has been proclaimed after the German occupation and the Russian revolution; but representatives of the Lithuanians, for instance, proposed until lately federation with Russia. A close union of the Lithuanians with the Letts has been proposed to facilitate the independence of both peoples.

The Armenians proclaimed their republic and joined the Allies in fighting the Turks and Germans; similar attempts have been tried by some of the small nations in Russia.

inhuman policy and to force the Magyars to rely on their own national forces.

It was reported, that the Hungarian Ukrainians (the Uhro-Rusins and the Carpatho-Russians) wish to be incorporated as an autonomous unit in the Czecho-Slovak state. And it was also proposed to connect Slovakia with Jugoslavia by a kind of a corridor starting at Presburg and stretching south along the boundaries of Lower Austria and Styria to the River Mura; this area takes in Hungarian territory, but is inhabited by Germans, not Magyars, with Croatian colonies and a Slovene minority.

(14) The Ukrainians (in Galicia, Bukovina, Hungary) will become a part of the Russian Ukraine.*

(15) The Magyar nation forms an independent state.

(16) The Roumanians of Austria, Hungary, Russia, will be united with Roumanians.

(17) Jugoslavs form an independent federation, led politically by Serbia. Montenegro will decide, through its parliament, whether it any longer wishes to be independent or united with Serbia.

(18) Bulgaria will be recognized within its boundaries before the war; it may be given part of Turkish territory.

(19) Albania will remain free. It has been proposed that she may federate with Serbia or Greece or Italy — but that must be decided by the Albanians themselves. Albania cannot have a German ruler or any prince connected with Austria or Germany.

(20) Turkey must no longer be allowed to keep any territory in Europe, the Allies agreed on this point in their Note to President Wilson. Constantinople and the Dardanelles will probably be administered by a commission of the Allies; a definite disposition will be made as experiences of the new states will be acquired.

* The terminology in the case of the Ukrainians is embarrassing. Ukraine, Ukrainians has been used of the part of the nation living in the south of Russia; in Austria the name Ruthenians or Rusins has been used. The whole nation is often called Little Russians, in distinction of the Great (and White) Russians.

Not all Ukrainians claim to be a separate nation distinct from the Russians; in Austria and Hungary there has been a political party professing the national unity with the Russians and calling themselves Russians (vide the mentioned Carpatho-Russians).

The Turkish movement, known as Neo-Turanian, a very close analogy of Prussian Pangermanism and Austrian Imperialism, deserves sharp condemnation; the Neo-Turanians appeal to the memory of Djengis-Khan. In every encyclopedia you will find that this barbarian imperialist put to death five million people, a horrible figure, but still smaller than the number of victims of the two Pangermans, William and Francis Joseph.

(21) The Greek question (or rather questions) require a careful consideration; it would not be unjust to restore Constantinople and the Dardanelles to Greece — to some degree it is a question of finances, a question whether Greece could afford the cost of maintenance. There are many Greek cities and scattered territories in Asia Minor; they should be restored to Greece.

(22) Italy will receive the Italian territories of Austria; Trieste will probably be a free city and port.

Italy points to the fact that her eastern coast in the Adriatic, is, owing to its straight shores, in a great disadvantage as against the many excellent harbors of Istria and Dalmatia; this fact and the fact that there is a small Italian minority in Dalmatia are adduced as reasons for annexing a great part of Dalmatia and the islands. Dalmatia would be dangerous to Italy in the hands of Austria led by Germany; it will not be dangerous in the hands of Serbia and the Jugoslavs, because they have no navy and will not be rich enough to build up a dangerous navy; neither have they any aggressive plans. Trieste and Pola will suffice to secure for Italy the supremacy of the Adriatic; Italy's right to these was conceded by Serbia (Pašić's London Declaration); the main problem that Italy will have to solve is and will be problem of population and finances. Italy very soon will out-distance France with regard to population; if Italy develops its industries and increases its wealth, it will exercise a decisive influence on the Adriatic and the Balkans through its economic strength. The eventual closing of the Adriatic in the Straits of Otranto depends mainly upon the size and efficiency of the navy. The disposition of the occupied islands in the Aegean Sea must be made by agreement at the Conference.

(23) The German provinces of Austria will become an independent state; they will decide whether or no they will join the German federation.

(24) Russia will organize itself in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of nations into a federation of nations. In this federation there could in the west (outside of the Poles) be the Esthonians, Letts, and Lithuanians; the Ukraine will be an autonomous part of Russia--their attempt to be entirely independent could sufficiently convince the Ukrainians that separation from Russia will turn them into slaves of the Germans.

The various small nations of the Caucasus and of other parts of Russia and Russian Asia will enjoy national autonomy in accordance with their degree of education, national consciousness and number. The Prussian part of Lithuanians (with a few Letts) will be united to Lithuania. The Roumanian part of Bessarabia will be joined to Roumania. Finland may be independent, if it reaches an agreement to that effect with Russia.*)

(25) In the Far East of Asia political supremacy belongs to the cultural nations of the Mongolian race; Western Asia has in fact been a part of Europe and will be organized by the agreement of Russia, France, England and Italy. Russian Asia will remain united to Russia, English and French colonies will continue to be English and French; nations under European rule will be secured, in accordance with their cultural development and their number, national autonomy and participation in the government.

(26) Africa will remain substantially under the rule of England and France; Germany may receive back its western colony, Italy will agree with England and France as to the increase of the colonial domain.

(27) America (Northern, Central and Southern) will not permit Germany to establish autonomous German colonies.

*) The German professor Schaeffer in his ethnographical map (1916) gives the following statistics of non-German nations in Germany—Prussia; Poles, 3,746,000; French, 216,000; Danes, 147,000; Lithuanians, 106,000. These figures are estimated to be too low; Schaeffer's map conceals the fact that there are Lusatians and Czechs in Prussia. Some ethnographers, even Slavs, declare the Kashubs a nation distinct from the Poles, and the Lusatians also are divided in two branches. A more detailed ethnographic exposition is here unnecessary. (There are in Prussia, just as in the Austrian Bukovina, Russian colonies, etc., but these questions are without political significance.)

(28) With regard to colonies, their administration must have regard for the needs of the native peoples and educate them and extend to them self-government gradually.

(29) The German colonies in Polynesia will be given to England and Holland.

(30) The Jews among all nations will enjoy the same rights as other citizens; their national and Zionistic aims will receive after the example of England all possible support.

(31) The Congress will adopt a law with international guarantees securing to national minorities cultural and administrative self-government.

(32) Ethnographic rectifications of state boundaries may, with the consent of the nations concerned, be carried out from time to time according to the growth of national consciousness and experience. The Congress must urge an exact census of the population according to nationality, for the existing statistics are very partial and insufficient.

(33) The Congress should provide leading principles for eugenic supervision, secured from the point of view of hygiene, of be of great importance after war in all the states; policy in regard to population will be of great importance after war in all the countries. Alcoholism, for instance, must be suppressed internationally.

(34) To secure the execution of the principles and decisions reached by the Congress of Peace, the Congress will transform itself into an international tribunal, controlling the cultural development of nations and the organization of international reciprocity. (League of Nations).

The leading principle of all decisions must be the endeavor to facilitate the international organization of all nations of Europe, and to bring them nearer to the nations of Asia, Africa, and America. If necessary, some closer unions of nations can be formed.

The political innovations proposed in this theme are neither many nor surprising. They are in harmony with the development of nations and their just demand of political freedom and unification. De facto only two independent states would be new, the Polish and Czecho-Slovak; Bohemia and Poland are not new states, for they had been free, their freedom will be merely restored. Bohemia is legally independent, Austria and Hungary oppressed it by force, The other states will remain, some en-

larged, some diminished, or their independence will be strengthened (Finland, Hungary). Of course, Austria-Hungary will be radically changed, and so will Russia and partly Prussia. It is just the transformation of Eastern Europe which furnishes the strongest proof that the world war will end far differently than Pangermanism expected.

But the New Man, homo Europaeus, will be the result not merely of external politics, but principally of internal. All nations will be obliged, after the war, to devote all their thought to material and spiritual rebirth. Mutual slaughter is not a great action, the belligerent nations will realize the greatness of this moment, they will create a new historical epoch if they rightly appreciate the horrors of this war, if they overcome the war and orientate themselves as to where and how further development should proceed, and if they decide for permanent peace and for humanity. Democracy must become the faith of all, a world view. In Prussia the Germans organized a forcible germanization of the Poles, and a philosopher was found (Ed. V. Hartmann) who declared in the name of the Prussian ideal the necessity to exterminate the Poles ("ausrotten"); in Hungary the Magyar oligarchy maintained itself by shooting Slovak, Serbian and Roumanian voters and by the suppression of their schools, literature and press; in Austria the Pangermans publicly plotted their schemes of forcibly germanising whole nations; Russian tsarism followed the German example; civilized Europe remained quiet and acquiesced in all these political atrocities, until this war revealed the danger, under which the nations of Eastern Europe were languishing for years and years . . .

The political task of the democratic reconstruction of Europe must be attained and actually made possible by a moral re-education of the nations — either democracy or dynastic militarism, either Bismarckism or rational and honest politics, either force or humanity, either matter or spirit!

Prussian and Austrian politicians, the German and Austrian Emperors louder than others, emphasize the religious foundation of their policy and their states; but this religion is political religion. Prussia and Austria are survivals of the theocratic, mediaeval imperialism; democracy is the antithesis of theocracy.

Religion will not lose thereby the weight of the authority, on the contrary it will gain, if it is freed from the state and the arbitrary will of deified dynasties: What was right in the medieval theocracy—the idea of catholicity, universality, mankind as an organized whole — will not be lost by democracy. Democracy also hopes and works to the end that there may be one sheepfold and one shepherd.

Caesar or Jesus — that is the watchword of democratic Europe, not Berlin-Bagdad, if Caesar is conceived as Mommsen constructed him, seeing in him the ideal of Pangerman imperialism.

BRITISH DECORATION FOR CZECHOSLOVAK GENERALS.

General Bowes, chief of the British military mission attached to the Czechoslovak army, addressed to the Czechoslovak National Council, Russian branch, the following letter:*)

Omsk, November 19, 1918.

I have been instructed to inform you that His Majesty King George V. has been pleased to confer the high distinction of the Order of the Bath upon Gen. Syrový, Gen. Gajda and Gen. Čeček. His Majesty has also been pleased to distribute among the soldiers of the Czechoslovak army the following decorations: to officers 10 distinguished conduct crosses and 40 military crosses, to men 250 distinguished conduct medals and 250 war medals. I beg that you will communicate this to Generals Syrový, Gajda and Čeček, and to the Czechoslovak forces under their command.

In connection with the order conferring these decorations King George addressed a letter to General Syrový which reads as follows:*)

I have followed with admiration the heroic fight led by your armies. Please express to them my warm acknowledgment of the services they have rendered to the common cause of the Allies. The work which is yet to be completed, namely of saving Russia for the Russians and restoring peace and prosperity to the land, is a work of great importance for civilization. This task which was undertaken and is still pursued by the brave Czechoslovak armies places Great Britain under an obligation to Czechoslovakia that shall never be forgotten. I congratulate you all in the name of all our people most heartily; I wish you full success and strength for further labors.

*) The available text of these documents is in a Bohemian translation which is here rendered back into English.

The Work of Our Women

By Libuše S. Moták.

The Czechoslovak women were among the first of the foreign racial groups to organize for war service. There was every reason why they ought not delay. Theirs was a double responsibility. They welcomed the opportunity to show their loyalty and gratitude to the country of their adoption, in the defense of which they were ready to stand — to the last woman — if necessary. And again their hearts yearned to help their mother country, Czechoslovakia, which was engaged in a death struggle for liberty, with its inveterate oppressors, the Germans and the Magyars.

As active members of the Bohemian (Czech) National Alliance and the Slovak League, they had gained experience which prepared them, in a measure, for the tremendous task that now confronted them. Everywhere they began this task by offering their services to the American Red Cross, Liberty Loan Committees and other patriotic agencies. They participated in all the recognized National War Activities and Drives. They continued in this work throughout the duration of the war, and time will show that the Czechoslovak women of this country bore, creditably, a generous share of the war's burden that fell to the American womanhood.

When the good news came that by the decree of the President of France the formation of an independent Czechoslovak Army was authorized, the Czechoslovak women saw that their chance to help their mother country — by backing up, morally and materially, the men who were fighting for her freedom. This acted as an impetus to organize themselves throughout the country into groups for the special purpose of doing relief work for Czechoslovak volunteers and their dependents. These groups assumed such names as "Priadky" (Spinners), "Včelky" (Bees), etc. They realized that while for America they could work through the existing national organizations, the Czechoslovak relief work they could do more efficiently through organizations of their own. They patterned their activities after the American relief committees. They made the usual type of comfort articles given to men in service, collected books, newspapers and maga-

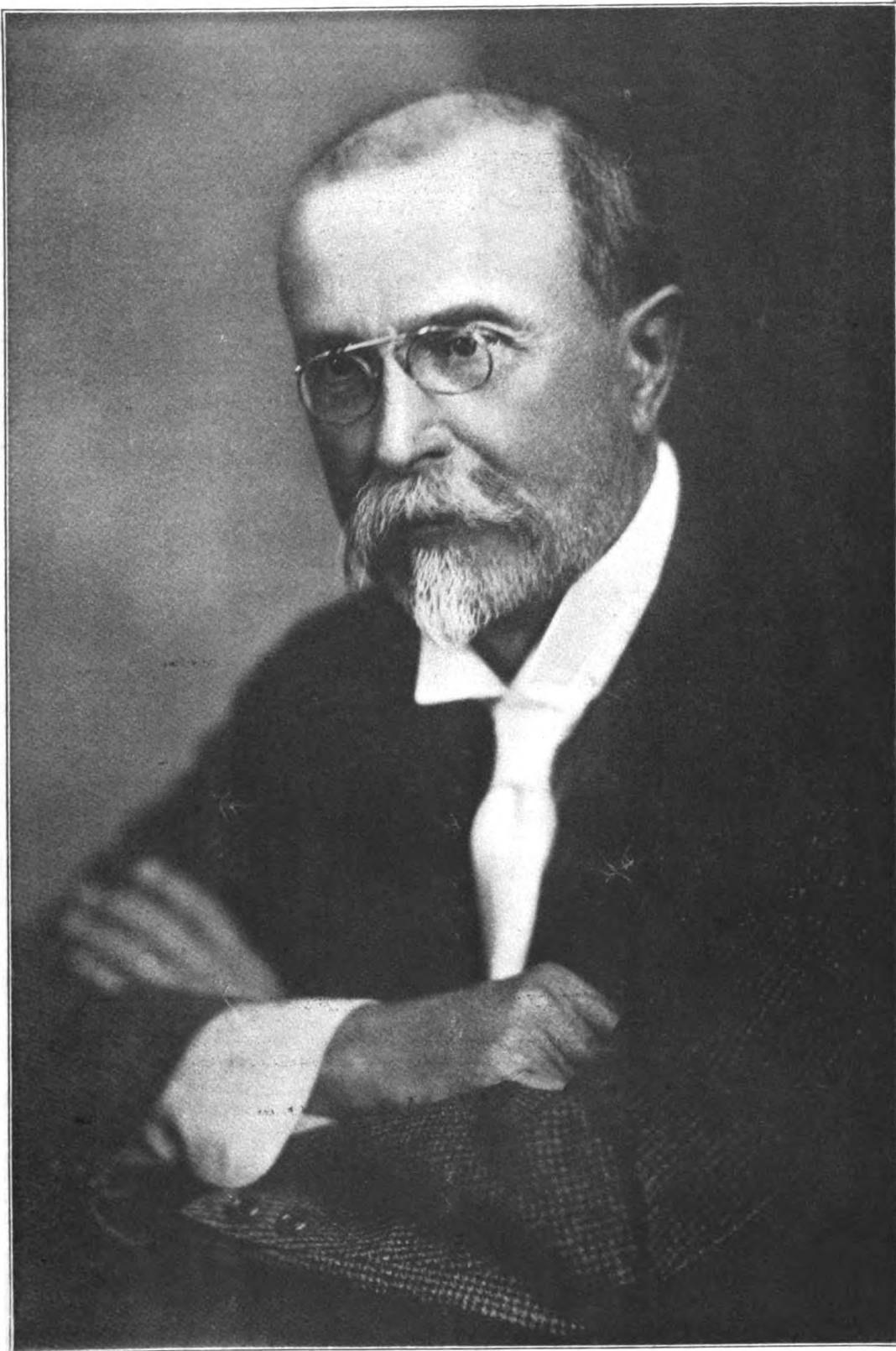
zines, and solicited money for the purchase of tobacco and chocolate.

In order to unify and coordinate the activities of these local and disconnected relief groups, a National Czechoslovak Relief Committee, with offices in New York, was established at a Conference of the Slovak League and the Bohemian (Czech) National Alliance, held early in February of 1918. This Committee was to be one of the Departments of the Czechoslovak National Council in America (now the American Czechoslovak Board), formed at the same Conference.

To me came the honor and the responsibility of the Chairmanship of the National Relief Committee, representing the Czech women of the United States. Miss Ethel Cablk was elected Secretary, and represented the Slovak women.

We went to work without delay, and a modest little office was opened at 316 East 72nd Street. There was, however, nothing modest about our visions as to what our organization would eventually become. We took the American Red Cross as our model for the plan of organization, and the map of the United States as our field of activity. Our first task was to get in touch with the above mentioned local relief groups and to form them into a nucleus of the larger organization as it exists today. This involved a considerable amount of correspondence, and to simplify matters it was decided to divide our field; accordingly ten Division Offices were established in the following Cities New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Bridgeport, Omaha, St. Louis, Houston, Baltimore and San Francisco.

The work of these Division Offices was, first, to get into closer touch with the Czechoslovak women in their respective territories and to organize them into local relief committees where it had not already been done; second, to distribute and direct the work of these committees; third, to receive the material made and collected, and to pack it in cases ready for shipment abroad, all these cases being consigned to the National Headquarters in New York, where final arrangements for shipping were made.



President Masaryk Arrives in Prague.



Scene from Masaryk's Reception in Prague.

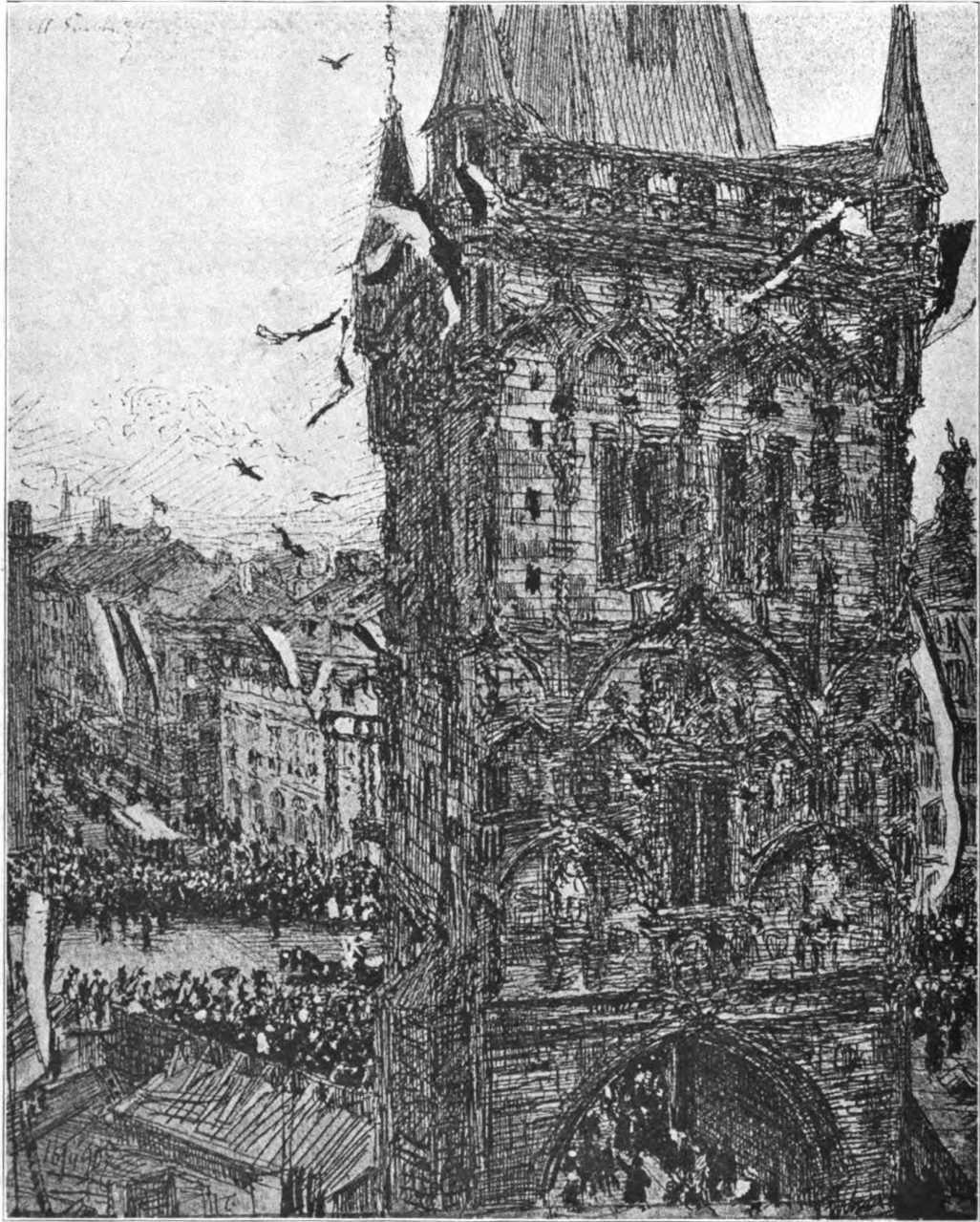


Our Bohemian Heroes from France in Prague.



By Ferd. Engelmüller.

ROYAL CASTLE OF HRADCANY
Now Residence of President Masaryk.



By Max Svabinský.

PRAGUE TRIUMPHANT.

We now have more than 300 local relief branches, and considering that all organization work was done entirely by correspondence, (in order to economize, an organizer was not sent out) the results were in all respects satisfactory. It is really remarkable how splendidly our women came forward and how harmoniously they worked together, although up to this time there had been very little cooperation

care for the dependents of Czechoslovak volunteers fighting in France, in the same manner in which the families of the American soldiers are cared for.

A plan by which Red Cross Local Chapters and Local Czechoslovak Relief Committees could cooperate in the care of these families was agreed upon by national officers of the two organizations, and has been as effectively carried out as

CZECHOSLOVAK RELIEF COMMITTEE, NEW YORK.



Upper left, **Miss Ethel Cablk**
Lower left, **Mrs. Chas. Vohrna**

Upper right, **Miss Marie T. E. Ruman**
Lower right, **Mrs. Chas. R. Motak**

between the Czech and Slovak women in their national organizations.

Our first concern was for the families of our fighting men; they must not be allowed to bear physical privation, since they had already made a great sacrifice by giving their supporters to the Army. In this part of our task the American Red Cross, living up to its name of "The Greatest Mother," adopted, at our request, the then "Baby Ally" and accepted the obligation to

could be expected, everything being considered. Our National Office is in constant correspondence with the Home Service Sections of the American Red Cross and the Czechoslovak Committees wherever we have dependents, and has on file a complete record of each case. From the Czechoslovak Military Department dependent parents, wives, and children up to sixteen years of age receive a regular monthly allowance, and in cases where there is a need

which our Local Relief Committee cannot meet, this allowance is usually supplemented by the American Red Cross in a way best suited to the individual case. Friendly visiting is also done. Social gatherings are arranged for the mothers and children, and on such holidays as Thanksgiving and Christmas, gifts for the children and baskets of cheer for the families are provided by our Local Committees. Much is being done, but now that the stress of war is over, we hope to do more, especially for those families where the husband, father or son will return no more, having given their lives on the field of honor.

It was in November of 1917 that the first unit of volunteers consisting of seventy-two men, left this country. Other units followed in quick succession. In every case each volunteer before leaving for France was given reading matter and tobacco for the trip overseas, besides a full set of knitted articles, consisting of sweater, wristlets, helmet, socks; also a well filled comfort kit containing about twenty-five articles. If any of the volunteers could carry more than their personal baggage, they were given parcels with cigarettes for the men "over there." In this way several hundred thousand cigarettes were sent to our units in France with the least possible delay.

Later on, when an embarkation camp was established at Stamford, Conn., it fell again to the Women's Relief Organization to equip it with bed linens, quilts, towels, soap, underwear, pajamas, sick room necessities, books, newspapers and tobacco. In special cases we supplied shoes, caps, overcoats, razors and even traveling bags. Whenever a volunteer needed anything, he had but to ask, and if it lay in our power to meet the need, he did not ask in vain. The supplies which we sent to the Camp amounted in all to \$22,000. Recently, when the Camp was discontinued, most of the equipment was sent to France. In this connection it should be stated that we received general and cordial cooperation from the American Red Cross, through Atlantic Division and the Stamford and New York Chapters, when our stock happened to be depleted by shipments to France.

During all this time we knew that our Czechoslovak units in France, Italy and Russia were looking to the Czechoslovaks of America for moral, and, if possible, ma-

terial support. These expectations we were only too anxious to meet, as far as lay in our power, because we knew how vital a factor they were in the whole scheme of our revolution. The hearts of our women were touched, especially by the thought that most of these men had been separated for three and four years from what was dearest to them—their country, their families. We had the greatest incentive to work, and work we did, day and night. The majority of our women do not belong to the leisure class, and hence their work in connection with the Relief Committees was done after their ordinary duties had been attended to, that is at night.

To France and Italy we shipped, through the courtesy of the French High Commission, during a period of ten months, 190 cases valued at \$51,741. These cases contained knitted wear, underwear, tobacco, chocolate, books, magazines, newspapers, sheet music, musical instruments, regimental flags, comfort kits, handkerchiefs, socks, towels, foot bandages, soap etc. Many contained hundreds of packages for individuals from relatives and friends, who very often also sent sums of money for volunteers in France, Italy and Russia, which we remitted through our Military Department.

Reports reached us of the glorious deeds of the Czechoslovak troops in Russia. Our officers who arrived in this country from Siberia confirmed these reports, but also informed us of the privations and hardships which these men had been enduring for months. We were anxious to help, but were powerless until recently, when our Military Attaché at Washington arranged with the United States Shipping Board for the loading of a cargo of supplies to Vladivostok. Because our Army in Siberia numbered almost 100,000 men, we know that we could help only in a general way; and after learning from good authority that a button costs 1 ruble, a spool of cotton 4 to 5 rubles, that needles could not be bought at any price, and that our men had not had a piece of soap for six months, we decided that comfort kits would best meet this need. We therefore sent out appeals for kits containing these articles and any other comforts that the donors might choose to add. Besides each comfort kit was to contain a personal note.

To write up the results of our Comfort Kit Campaign would fill pages, and would

be fascinating reading for anyone. These so called comfort kits were all that their name implies and more. They contained underwear, socks, sewing kits, razors, combs, shaving cream, talcum powder, vaseline, bandages, writing paper, pencils, wash cloths, laundry and toilet soap, towels, handkerchiefs and candy. Many had coffee, dry sausage, boullion cubes, canned goods, etc., etc. Very often a patriotic donor would enclose a nicely folded American flag. The letters were such as will be cherished by the recipients all their lives.

The above description of the comfort kits sent to Russia seems almost an exaggeration, but when it is considered that the majority were not just ordinary comfort kits, but bags measuring 20x36 inches, and were valued up to \$28.00, it can readily be seen that the above statements are facts. Every kit was a voluntary contribution, some of those most generously filled coming from men and women in the humblest circumstances. The variety in size, contents and value may not have been a fair division to our soldiers, but that happened through inexperience in providing for an army — where all are equal. However,

this did not worry us, as we know that the Czechoslovak Army is one huge brotherhood and that our men share everything in brotherly fashion; so it was unnecessary for us to do the dividing here.

To Russia we shipped 306 cases, valued at approximately \$68,397.

We will continue our work until the men are home again; and even then our work is not finished. Ours was a double responsibility, but we have reaped a twofold reward; victory for the United States and independence for Czechoslovakia. Our gratitude spurs us on to renewed effort. We are now preparing to take part in the coming Victory Loan and already our women are busy knitting and sewing garments for returning soldiers, convalescents, widows and orphans of Czechoslovakia. Funds continue to be raised to help meet the many needs of the new republic whose statesmen are bringing order out of chaos in such an admirable way.

We Czechoslovak women cherish the watchword given by President Thomas Garrigue Masaryk to Czechoslovaks the world over: "We shall remain steadfast until the end."

The Ideal of Universal Education

By Martha Poindexter.

Among the many nations that the relatively recent tide of immigration has brought to our country Poles, Czechoslovaks and Italians far outnumber the others.

The Czechoslovaks are in a sense the youngest of the nations, inasmuch as their separate government has only been recognized within the past few months by the governments of the modern world.

Here is the irony of history, one of those curious co-incidences that make us stop with a gasp of astonishment and realize that the gods must sometimes smile at the childish games we would-be wordly-wise children of the 20th century are playing.

Here in America we are preaching, writing, often screaming, of the overwhelming need of universal education —

Jan Amos Comenius, the subject of this essay, was born March 28, 1592, and the Czechs who look upon him as one of their greatest men observe his birthday every year, just as Americans honor Washington and Lincoln.

especially as applied to the newly-arrived strangers from the old world who have come to make part of our civilization. This education, we urge, is essential in order to Americanize them, and yet the cornerstone, the principles, the ideals of our own system of education today were laid more than three hundred years ago by one of those Czechs, whom we are endeavoring to "convert" to our ideals in this country.

Comenius, known in his own country as John Amos Komensky, was practically the founder of the highest plans of education which have been in use since the 16th century. His life was given to the advancement of education among his own people, as well as to the teaching of the principles of Christ, as interpreted by the Moravian Church of which he was a faithful pastor for many years.

His road was a stony one and he never attained his great ambition of putting into actual practice his scheme of universal

education to all kinds and conditions of men, but the programme he laid down in the early part of the 17th century lies before us to-day as an ideal system, embracing the highest principles of the democracy of the world, as it is understood in this century.

It is significant that while we are preaching his principles we are most of us unfamiliar with his name. A copy of his chief work was requested at a library in New York recently and the librarian said: "Comenius? oh yes, we have his life. Is he coming over to lecture?" The fact that he has been dead since 1672 does not mean, however, that we are not availing ourselves of his teachings, as far as in us lies.

One of his chief principles was the advantage of learning foreign languages, and he insisted that the best way to learn a language was to speak as much of it as one gained by speaking it from day to day, leaving the grammar and rhetoric to follow.

So modern was he, as we interpret the term, that although a devout preacher of the Moravian Church, he was as much a pragmatist as our own William James in his methods. He believed that example had force far stronger than precept and that results were the only proof of effectual effort, physical, mental or moral. He insisted that discipline was intended to prevent a recurrence of the fault corrected by reproof, and that in order to make discipline effective the actual reason for punishment must be made clear to the offender.

He was as much opposed to corporal punishment as the most ardent follower of the Montessori methods to-day, and quite as anxious to make the school a happy pleasure ground for the child, as are the disciples of Froebel in our own Kindergartens. Indeed the first seeds of the modern Kindergarten methods were sown by Comenius and a glance at his noted "School of Infancy" shows very definitely his attitude towards little children and his belief that on their early education rests the foundation of the future state. With him the child was literally the father of the man and the child's development stood for all that was strongest in the government of the nation.

Comenius plead for the gradual development of the child from infancy to early childhood under the care of his father and mother. He cites, as an instance of the need for a mutual understanding between

child and parent, the fact that Themistocles, the wise ruler of Athens, was seen riding astride a long reed, accompanied by his tiny son who had a similar reed which represented their horses; when questioned by a passer-by as to this singular pastime, Themistocles replied: "When you are a father you will understand." One of our own senators to-day quotes, as an example of the wisdom he learnt from his grandmother, "those days when Grandma was willing to go fishing with me and wait more than an hour for me to catch a small catfish, taught me more than all I learned in lesson time." So human nature changes very little in fundamental things, for it is a long stretch of time from Themistocles' day to our own, and Comenius in between held the same faith in the advantage to the child of parental sympathy.

His outline of the great universal education was as follows:

The establishment of one system for all men and women. Can our most advanced suffragists demand more? Do our highest ideals of Democracy go further?

He divided the course of universal education into four periods.

From infancy to six years, the home school and the kindergarten; from childhood to twelve years, the elementary school (our grammar school); adolescence, from twelve to eighteen years. The study of Latin was to begin, (our high school); from eighteen to twenty-four years, university training and travel (our college). He held that a school of infancy should be available everywhere, an elementary school in each village, a Grammar school in each city or town, a University in each province or kingdom.

The three first periods were to be covered by all boys and girls. The university was to be reserved for those of higher ability. But the higher education, like the first periods, was open to all who had the intelligence to learn. Education was a broad ladder for everyone to climb as high as his or her ability would permit.

Comenius was a living illustration of the doctrine of Christ as regards the universal brotherhood of man. He believed that all men had a common divine father and so were entitled to all the best that the world afforded of knowledge which was the road to strength and and true happiness.

His school of infancy was to teach songs, simple counting, the difference between

the earth, sun, moon and stars; habits of neatness and politeness. What has our Kindergarten in the next street to offer more than these? The elementary school included instruction in morals, elements of civics, government and economics; geography, especially of one's own country; history of noted men of past and present, and a knowledge of art. All these were to be learned in the tongue of the country. The Latin, or high school, continued these subjects, with the addition of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc.

The University was meant to give instruction in general, or universal knowledge, languages, literature, science and art. Here we also have the most modern conception of vocational schools, as each individual was supposed to choose the course of instruction at the university for which he or she was peculiarly adapted. At the university pupils of exceptional ability were urged to pursue all branches of knowledge, in order that each country should have a rich reserve of teachers of encyclopaedic knowledge to whom the multitudes might come for mental refreshment and instruction.

The education which we are offering to all men and women to-day without regard to race, creed or colour, is but a 20th century attempt to follow in the footsteps of the wise and modest Czech reformer of the 16th century, whose life was given to teaching his fellow men the way to live in order to make their own lives, and consequently their own country, fuller and richer in that wisdom which is more precious than rubies.

That Comenius was abreast of his own times and far ahead of them is shown again and again throughout his writings. It may well make our American women smile, if not blush, to read that "some women would rather be seen carrying a dog or a squirrel in their arms than their own baby", and again we have a most up-to-date remonstrance against the use of "maddening drink of wine and brandy to ruin the race." Can Fashion and Prohibition demand a more enthusiastic priest! Even our most approved methods of neurology can go no further than to quote Comenius in saying that "A joyful mind is half-health." The latest Nature books can find rich "copy" in his precepts and it is of interest to remember that his *Orbis Pictus* was the first child's picture-book.

If all American citizens, whatever their native land, would respond to the appeal of Comenius for the need of an universal education, the much longed for peace among nations might perhaps be reached more quickly, through mutual understanding, and he would be alive in his teachings to-day, although he died in 1670 and cannot "come over here to lecture!"

INGRATITUDE.

Fm. Ackerman, lately *The Times* correspondent in Siberia, says that the Czechoslovaks want to go home. They were revolutionists fighting for the freedom of their own country, and the events which led to their war against the Bolsheviki were only an episode in the great war of which the Czechoslovak revolution was another episode. They were not sent to Siberia by the Allies, they were there by accident; but by their presence and their hard fighting they undoubtedly kept the Bolsheviki and the German influence within bounds, and destroyed German activity of the Urals.

Now the great war is over and the Czechoslovak revolution has ended in glorious triumph. Nevertheless, these men are still dying every day for their country. Not that the Czechoslovak Republic has any direct interest in the events in Siberia; but the boundaries of that republic are yet to be determined by the Peace Conference. Its Government has asked the Allies to let the army come home to a country where it is badly needed before it wastes away on the Siberian front; but it dares not ask very persistently for fear that the annoyance of the Powers who are letting the Czechoslovaks do their work in Russia may express itself in curtailment of the territories of the new State. Czechs and Slovaks are being killed on the Siberian front because their Government is afraid to offend the Allies.

The five great Powers who could not trust one another sufficiently to send their own troops to Russia in any adequate numbers, but whose work there has been done, so far as it has been done at all, by these Czechoslovaks who were there by chance, might at least manifest their gratitude by letting the Czechs go home. They have done their work and we have already told them we shall send none of our own men to their relief. It is grossly unfair to ask the Czechoslovaks to stay in Siberia after the Allies have abandoned Russia to her fate.

N. Y. Times, Feb. 27.

According to the *Washington Star* Congressman Sabath was told by President Wilson that the minister to Czechoslovakia would be some American now in the diplomatic service in a nearby country.

Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce

Since the foundation of the Bohemian National Alliance no such important step has been taken by the Czechoslovaks of America, as will prove to be the establishment of a chamber of commerce, realized at a convention of American businessmen of Czechoslovak birth or descent, held at Chicago on February 3rd and 4th, 1919.

The great interest which was felt in the projected convention showed itself in a surprisingly heavy attendance. Over one hundred bankers, merchants, manufacturers and other interested persons came to Chicago from all parts of the United States to take part in the American Czechoslovak Commercial Congress. There were visitors from New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Saginaw, St. Louis, Omaha, Boston, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Cedar Rapids, Lincoln (Neb.), Washington, Petersburg (Va.), Braddock, Perth Amboy, Bridgeport, and from several cities of Kansas, Arkansas and Texas. The number of Chicago delegates was especially large.

The convention was called to order on Monday, February 3rd, in the convention hall of the Morrison Hotel, one of the largest and most modern hotels of Chicago. Chairman of the committee of arrangements, John A. Červenka, called for the election of temporary officers, and by acclamation Mr. Červenka was elected for chairman and John A. Sokol for secretary. The first morning was spent in listening to speeches of welcome and in attending to various routine matters. On behalf of the governor of Illinois an eloquent address was made by Edward J. Brundage, attorney-general of the state; response was made by James J. Štěpina, president of the American State Bank.

A good friend of the Czechoslovak citizens of Chicago, Harry H. Merrick, presented greetings from the Chicago Association of Commerce of which he is president. Then followed an address by Charles Pergler, commissioner of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States, who welcomed the work of extending commercial relations between the two republics as being in the best interests of both countries and in the interest of firm friendship between America and Czechoslovakia.

The chairman then announced his list of committees which were to meet during the afternoon and prepare definite proposals for discussion and approval of the congress on the following day. The credit for the smooth transaction of business by the large assembly and the satisfactory outcome of the congress should justly go to the officers of the convention and to the members of the committees who did their work well. The committees appointed and their members were:

Committee on Resolutions: V. A. Geringer, J. F. Smetanka, Albert Mamatey, F. J. Svoboda, Lieut. Albert Hlaváč, Capt. Method Pázdral and Václav Bureš.

Committee on Rules: A. S. Ambrose, John Novák, Chas. S. Chapp, J. J. Wlach, J. F. Kolář, G. Sedláček and Jos. J. Tyra.

Committee on Ways and Means: Paul Jamarik, F. J. Švejda, Geo. Palda, F. Holmans, Joseph Kovář, Chas. Novák, Stanley Šerpán and A. J. Čermák.

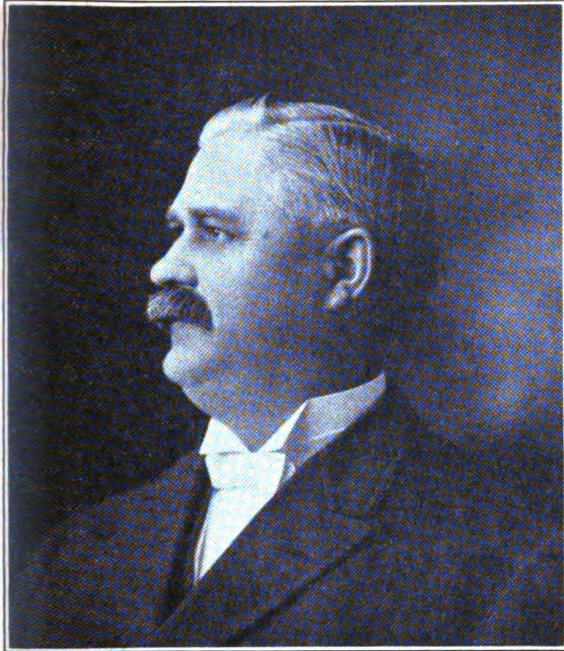
Committee on By-Laws: A. J. Čermák, K. V. Janovský, Andrew Shustek, L. A. Zavitovsky, W. F. Severa, A. A. Rumreich, A. S. Ambrose, F. J. Businský, Hynek Dostál, F. J. Vlček, J. Bilza, Jos. Kusek, Rud. Pilnáček, Frank Šimek, Milan Getting, J. F. Kolář, Chas. Zalusky, J. F. Eliáš, C. K. Kosek and Louis Jalovec.

Committee on Permanent Organization: John Švehla, John Pankuch, J. Sklenář, M. Zeman, Otto Stehlik, Jos. Mikšiček and Jos. Zvoneček.

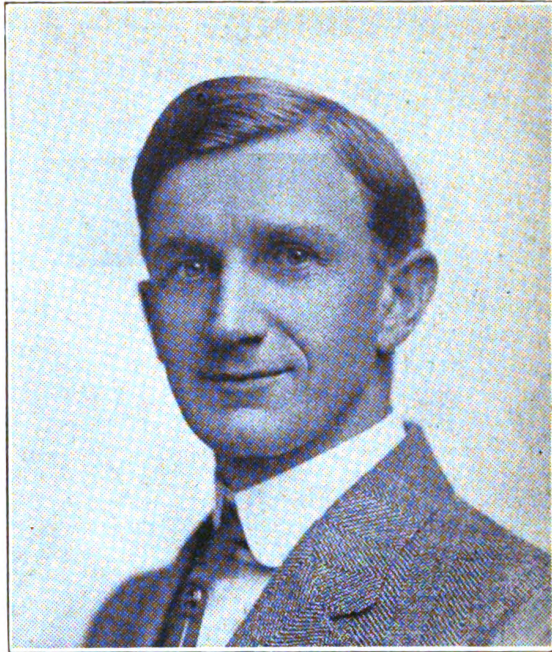
Committee on Credentials, consisting of Thos. Filas, Dr. Rybák, Jos. Kosek, M. Weinberg, John Švehla, C. K. Kosek and Louis Jalovec reported that delegates registered numbered altogether 235, of whom 103 were from out of town, the balance from Chicago and neighborhood.

The afternoon was spent by members of the committees in hard work. Some of the committees were kept at it until time came for the dinner which concluded the first day's proceedings.

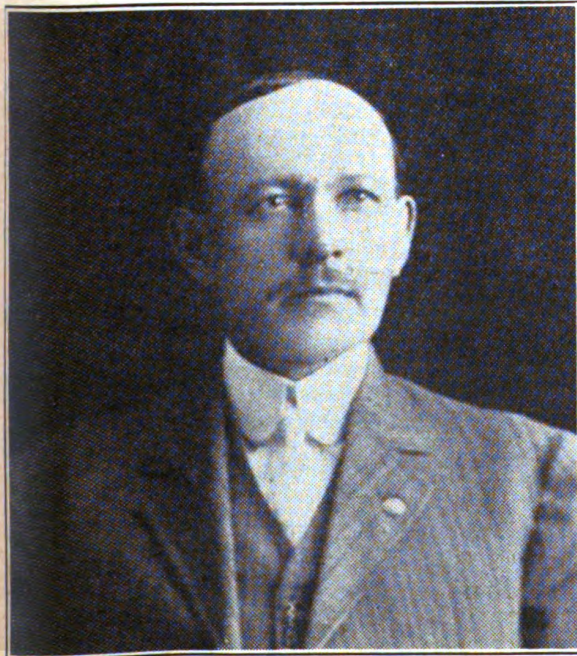
More than 600 guests sat down at the tables when Rubringer's band struck up the American hymn at half past eight o'clock Monday night. At the speaker's table were the prominent out-of-town guests, representatives of the commercial bodies and consuls of the Allied countries. A Bohemian dinner could not, of course, be complete without music, and Miss Libuše Zdeněk, soprano, and the Bohemian-American quartet helped to keep the large company in good spirits. The principal after dinner speaker was James Keeley, former publisher of the Chicago Herald. He had some interesting reminiscences to relate of President Masaryk. Charles Pergler spoke in Bohemian, but he addressed a few words in English to the Polish representative, assuring him of the continued good will between their closely related Slav nations, in spite of a recent conflict in Silesia. Mr. Pergler's sentiments were warmly reciprocated by John Smulski, the official Polish representative in the United States. Short addresses were also made by Albert Mamatey, president of the Slovak League, John R. Palandech, representing the Jugoslavs, Francis Kopecký, Czechoslovak consul general in New York, Major



JOHN A. ČERVENKA,
President of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce in America.



JOHN A. SOKOL,
Secretary of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce in America.



ANDREW SCHUSTEK,
Fin. Sec'y of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce in America.



JAMES F. ŠTĚPINA,
Treasurer of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce in America.

John Šipek and Dr. J. F. Smetanka. The toastmaster was John A. Červenka, chairman of the convention.

The following morning the delegates met for business at 10 o'clock in the morning. The committee on permanent organization recommended for permanent president of the convention John A. Červenka and for vice-presidents Václav Bureš, M. Zeman, Joseph Domek and Rudolf Pilaček; John A. Sokol was recommended for secretary, Milan Getting, Alois Jalovec and Jos. Kubiček for assistant secretaries; Paul Kvorka for treasurer. These recommendations were unanimously approved.

The report of the committee on rules contained little of special interest, except the provision that both English and Czech or Slovak might be used on the floor; it was interesting to note that the great majority of the delegates preferred to speak in English.

The committee on resolutions submitted quite a number of resolutions for the approval of the congress, some of them of routine nature, others of considerable significance. A telegram of loyalty was sent to Vice-President Marshall and a letter of greetings and congratulations was ordered sent to Prague to the Czechoslovak Press Bureau. Upon recommendation of the committee on resolutions the congress instructed the secretary to ask Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce to send as soon as possible a trade mission to Bohemia for the purpose of gathering information on the trade opportunities between the American and the Czechoslovak Republics. The reports of the committees on Ways and Means and on By-Laws were discussed together. The Ways and Means Committee estimated that the maintenance of the office and the expenses of the work which the proposed Chamber of Commerce should undertake would amount to about \$20,000 a year, and figuring on that basis proposed definite membership fees for various classes of members. This matter produced considerable discussion and after having been referred back to the committee it was finally left for final determination by the Board of Directors. The only definite action taken by the Congress was to vote that local Chambers of Commerce and similar societies, such as have already been organized in Chicago, New York, Baltimore and elsewhere, should become members of the national organization by paying \$2 for each member. Out of the usual provisions found in the By-Laws of Chambers of Commerce the most significant was the decision to have a board of 21 directors upon whose ability and efficiency the success of the new chamber of commerce will depend. A nominating committee canvassed very carefully the names of all the delegates and brought in a report which was adopted without discussion, as every delegate felt that the recommendation of the committee was most carefully

drawn. The convention having decided previously that the headquarters of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce of America should be in Chicago, seven of the 21 directors, that number being a quorum, are residents of Chicago. They are: John R. Červenka, James F. Štěpina, Frank G. Hajiček, John A. Sokol, Andrew Schustek, John Kubiček and Paul Kvorka. Pennsylvania is represented by Michael Bosak and Albert Mamatey, Maryland by J. Civiš and A. J. Švejda, New York by Thomas Čapek and Albert Hlaváč, Connecticut by A. S. Ambrose, Ohio by F. J. Vlček, John Pankuch and Chas. C. Chapp, Nebraska by Václav Bureš, Texas by Method Pázdral and Michigan by J. F. Eliáš. This Board of Directors was divided into three classes, Bosak, Hajiček, Schustek, Vlček, Hlaváč, Eliáš and Červenka, serving for one year; Pázdral, Sokol, Civiš, Ambrose, Bureš and Kvorka for two years, and Štěpina, Pankuch, Čapek, Švejda, Mamatey, Chapp, Kubiček for three years.

The elections concluded all the business before the Congress, and at six o'clock on Tuesday, February 4th, the chairman adjourned the meeting sine die. The Board of Directors met immediately after and organized itself by electing John Červenka chairman, Albert Mamatey and Václav Bureš, vice-chairmen, John Sokol, secretary, Andrew Schustek financial secretary and James F. Štěpina treasurer.

The American Czechoslovak Commercial Congress gave the necessary impulse and set into motion the machinery needed to create business ties between the American and Czechoslovak Republics. A good start has been made; all depends on the efforts of the Board of Directors and on the way in which their work will be received and backed by American business men of Czechoslovak descent and by the entire Czech speaking body of American citizenship. Those who attended the convention left Chicago full of confidence that the work begun there would bear fruit.

American Y. M. C. A. has sent to Prague a carload of motion picture films and a staff of secretaries to carry on the noble work of the Y. M. C. A. among the soldiers and the new republic. Among the secretaries is also Rev. Ludvik Burian of New York. They received a cordial welcome from Mr. Klofáč, minister of national defense.

How times change! Slovaks who used to be treated by the Magyars as serfs now laugh at the following joke: A doctor was consulted by a Magyar who complained of stomach troubles. The doctor said: "You must do more exercise. I would recommend that you take a walk three times each day around Magyarország (the Magyar state)."

Russian Army Under the Bolsheviki

By Major John Šipek.

It was in October 1917. In Petrograd the government was seized by the Bolshevik leaders, Trotzky, Krylenko and their like. Comrade Krylenko was made commander in chief of all the Russian Armies. He had been ensign in the 13th Finnish Regiment, a very insignificant little officer with a rank inferior to that of second lieutenant. And now he became commander-in-chief over night. I saw him for the first time in May 1917 at the Convention of the Armies of the Southwestern front. He was a nice looking little fellow, an orator of the style of Marat, a demagogue who liked being sarcastic. Now and then he assumed a poise a la Napoleon, lightning playing in his eyes; the crowd was hypnotized. He was incarnate ambition, and now he realized the wildest of his dreams; he was the commander-in-chief of the entire army.

There was only one fly in his ointment; he was still an ensign, even after he was promoted to supreme command. To make the contrast between his rank and his power less glaring he induced Lenine to give him the rank of colonel, but that was not sufficient. Why should there be any officers at all? Look at Krylenko himself. Until recently he had been a lawyer; he became an officer because he had been called into the army through the necessity of war and having some education was made an officer, most of the professional officers having been killed.

So now Krylenko issued a general order by which the rank of officer in the Russian Army was abolished; the different companies, batteries, battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, army corps and armies were to select their own leaders or commanders, but the leaders were to wear no special insignia of their command. The order was carried out. The majority of soldiers paid no attention to the order, but the worst elements in each company held a meeting and selected one of themselves for the commanding officer of the company. The former officers were turned to do kitchen police and were taught fraternity and equality by blows, kicks, bayonets and in the end by powder and shot. Thus the radical idea of equality was realized in the Russian Army, as thousands of officers were tortured and killed merely because they were better educated than the soldiers.

The new commanders, most of whom had been toughs before the war, assumed the reins of power. First they divided among themselves the cash in the regimental treasury; then they started to barter away supplies. All food supplies were distributed by the regimental leaders to the companies, and commanders of the companies traded food with Austro-Hungarian and German

armies, the Russians preferring to take whiskey rather than money. Pretty soon the Russian Army did not have enough to eat. Soldiers who could put two and two together saw that the end was near and so went home without waiting for it. Nobody stopped them, and as early as December Russian companies had only twenty to thirty soldiers apiece, men who had no home or whose home was the entire world.

Now these soldiers knew what to do, when supplies gave out. First they traded horses and guns, uniforms and shoes from various supply depots for food and whiskey; then they made excursions back of the front, cleaned up some villages, burnt them and went on. And when there was nothing more in the neighborhood, when the whole country in the rear of them was turned into a desert, they abandoned their position on the inactive front and marched a few days into the interior of Russia. Before them went terror, after them was the peace of death.

At Brest-Litovsk in the meantime German diplomatic agents met the Bolsheviki to make peace. The gathering might call itself a meeting of German delegates, for in reality all those present were German agents. For the sake of appearances Germany annexed only one-third of European Russia, but in reality the entire gigantic empire of the Czar was taken over by the Kaiser. Trotzky, an ever faithful servant of the "empire of discipline and good manners", as Bismarck called his country, received the hint to exchange his portfolio of foreign affairs commissary for the military department; and when he had done that, he proceeded to organize the Red Army from the refuse of humankind which still remained in the old Army, because of the fact that they had nowhere else to go. These men did not like the idea of going to work and grasped the opportunity to take a job, where there was nothing to do except to draw good pay and follow the pleasant motto "what is yours is mine, and what is mine is none of your business."

At the same time Trotzky was told that it would be in harmony with his principles of international brotherhood to organize an army of German and Magyar prisoners; incidentally his government would find in them strong support. To help Trotzky in this undertaking the Germans sent detailed instructions to their officers in internment camps in Russia, and soon the organization of the Red Army was in full swing. In every town and village there were some men who before the revolution had been loafers or did only occasional work in order to earn money for whiskey. This type of Russian rushed into Lenine's Army. Others of the same kind who preferred

to stay at home organized a village soviet, secured arms and began to rule their particular city or village. Private property was declared abolished, and those who formerly had worked so that they might maintain themselves and their families had to maintain now a whole flock of idle commissaries and their guard. The commissaries issued decrees as to what each man should pay, and the guardsmen went around to collect with loaded rifles and a string of bombs around their belt. They went from house to house, handed the "bourgeois" the order to pay, searched the quarters, turned everything upside down, and when

they collected the money, arranged drinking bouts in the offices of the local soviets, bouts which ended in disgraceful orgies. If anyone dared to protest, he was shot. Just to look with hatred or contempt on a Red Guardsman was sufficient ground to take him to jail as a counter-revolutionist.

Freedom of speech was abolished, newspapers suppressed, every liberty done away with, even the freedom of thought. The old wacry of liberty, equality, and fraternity has received much abuse, but never such shameless perversion as at the hands of the Russian Bolsheviks.

From Austrian Secret Archives

Now that the war is over, secret documents are beginning to appear that shed much light on things only suspected or whispered, while the fighting went on. On December 14th the press bureau of the new German Austrian Republic published ten documents taken from the secret archives of the War Ministry in Vienna; a number of these papers have a special interest for the Czechoslovaks, for they describe the attitude of the Czech people in the early days of the war.

On November 26th, 1914, Archduke Frederic, commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian Army, addressed a note to the Austrian premier, Count Stuerghk, with reference to treasonable sentiments and acts in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. This document is of sufficient interest to be given in literal translation:

"From numerous reports of military commanders, from anonymous complaints and confidential communications I have received the impression that the military and patriotic feelings of several classes of Czech population of Bohemia and Moravia in these difficult times are not what one would desire and that Russophile currents make themselves felt here. A memorandum addressed by me to the minister of the interior on November 1st with reference to this matter under No. 9082 has not yet been answered. I am convinced that these conditions may be traced partly to the slow ordinary procedure before criminal courts in cases charging high treason or crimes against the military power of the state; it would be different, if the state administration would see to it that the state police supervising societies, meetings and the press, public corporations, as well as supervision of mails, would do their duty zealously. In the matter of criminal trials I am addressing a petition to His Majesty that he would place the courts of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia under the General Army Command and that he would most graciously order the introduction of field courtmartial procedure. I feel compelled to request your excellency most strongly that you would give your special attention to the above described conditions which al-

ready have an effect on our military power and may be of the very greatest importance; you are requested to call forth all the powers of the state to put a stop to the above described treasonable efforts. In any case it is necessary to extend special provisions, decreed on account of the war, to Bohemia and to that part of Moravia and Silesia which is not in the war zone. This refers to the ministerial decree of July 31st, relating to the possession of weapons, ammunition and explosives. The principal thing however, is to carry out the existing orders energetically and purposefully for the suppression of the above described evils. Persons who make themselves in any way suspicious or spread secretly discouraging reports in public places should be placed under observation or interned. The right of house search should be exercised against all who are suspected of hostility to the state with thoroughness and without any regard to political influence or to the sentiments of a particular locality. Letters in my opinion are not censored with sufficient strictness. (In this connection it may be mentioned that in 1916 and 1917 Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia received postal cards from relatives in Bohemia addressed directly to A. B. 3rd Czechoslovak Regiment, War zone, Russia. These cards frequently read: We know what you are doing and God be with you. And next to the censor's stamp the Austrian censor who was a Czech himself added: God bless you, and signed his name). It would also be desirable to issue a general order that only open letters may be turned in at the postoffice and forwarded. The activity of all societies, even when no political tendency may be shown in it, should be suspended or greatly circumscribed in all cases where it does not serve strictly patriotic purposes. No meetings should be allowed except for the same purpose. A more intensive exercise of the press police I hold absolutely necessary. The power to stop the publishing or distribution of printed matter should be used most widely. All newspapers with tendencies hostile to the state should be completely suppressed and the re-appearance

of the suppressed newspapers under another name should not be permitted. The dissolution of municipal and country councils and the substitution of state commissioners is in many cases a desirable measure, increase in the number of gendarmes is highly desirable . . .”

On the same day the supreme army command addressed a report to the emperor in which the same subject is taken up, the intention being to compel action by premier Stuerghk.

On December 5th, 1914, the army command renewed its representations to Emperor Francis Joseph over conditions in Bohemia. After references to previously reported disloyal sentiments the document says:

“Reports received since as to the conduct of troops recruited from the above named provinces and the reports over the progress of pan-Slav and anti-military agitations make it unfortunately clear that means heretofore suggested will no longer suffice. The defeat of the 21st Landwehr Division of Prague during the first offensive in Serbia, during which a surprisingly great number of men were captured by the enemy, is partly to be explained by the lack of patriotic feeling on the part of the men . . . For the garrison of Cracow we originally selected the 95th Landsturm Brigade of Prague and then the 4th and 11th Landsturm Territorial Brigade of Prague and Jičín. The conduct of the first named unit during the operations of the army group of General von Kummer and the behaviour of the other formations in the fortress compelled the chief army command to send them away, especially in view of the report of the commander of the fortress that he was doubtful about successful defense with such troops. The 95th Brigade is at best available only for service in the interior. Clear lack of morale accounts also for the poor showing of the 6th Landsturm Territorial Brigade during the crossing at Semendria, where this brigade during its first contact with the enemy lost great numbers of unwounded prisoners in spite of slight Serbian opposition. Events that occurred near Jaroslav in the early hours of October 29th seem to indicate that several companies of the 36th Infantry Regiment of Mladá Boleslav and the 30th Regiment of Králové Hradec surrendered to the enemy without any real fighting; and this suspicion is strengthened by the fact that several days later Russian reports spoke of expressions hostile to the monarchy and to the war on the part of 1500 Czech soldiers who had been recently captured by the Russians. Otherwise the 9th Army Corps gave little reason for complaints until recently. Through the introduction of strong detachments of newly raised soldiers whose sentiments could not be sufficiently influenced during their brief military training it seems that the spirit of the troops suffered so much that great numbers of men ran away to the enemy at every opportunity; the corps commander is of the opinion that the only

remedy is to infuse into his command large numbers of German or Magyar soldiers. In nearly all the army corps which draw their men from Czech districts events happened which indicate that the men cannot be relied upon . . .

Even though as yet there are no well founded reports of evil intentions on the part of individuals or units, nevertheless the occurrence of so many regrettable incidents in troops composed of Czechs points to a common reason and makes it clear that their present bad conduct is due to the propaganda hostile to the state which for years had been carried on under the eyes of the authorities . . . We must figure today with the presence of sentiments friendly to Russia in many circles of the Czech people . . . The continued existence of conditions above described, especially in the Kingdom of Bohemia, endangers the successful outcome of the war and the continued existence of the monarchy . . . Filled with serious worry over the future development of operations on both battlefronts in case the army is further exposed to the inner political difficulties, I pray Your Majesty that in the interest of sound conditions in Bohemia you will eliminate the present ill fitted administration and would appoint a high general for governor of the Kingdom giving him special powers . . .

May your majesty be graciously pleased to see to it that strong steps be immediately taken regardless of position and influence, that compromised officials of all grades be firmly deposed, that clergymen hostile to the state be turned over to criminal courts, that men who spread reports and editors who do not remember their duty be dealt with by military law, that corporations which misuse their autonomy lose it, that all political societies without exception be broken up and all secret meetings prevented, and that the population be warned of the reasons for these strict measures.”

When Italy declared war on Austria, the Austrian Army command, or rather Archduke Frederick, addressed the emperor once more on May 21, 1915, urging the necessity for a more severe regime in Bohemia:

“While it was difficult during the past months of the war to handle effectively treasonable movements in the Kingdom of Bohemia, now one must be prepared for most serious events due to the growing difficulty of the situation. Privations and exceptional measures are likely to stir up the unpatriotic population, already excited by conscienceless demagogues, to most dangerous deeds, especially as the state authorities have manifested all along regrettable weakness and the few troops remaining in the country are in no way sufficient to deprive an insurrection of all chances of success. In order that the military operations should not be further endangered by events in the interior whereby the fight of the monarchy for existence would be most unfavorably affected, it is imperative to initiate a most

strict and vigorous attack upon the treasonable sentiment in Bohemia. Let his majesty accept this as the firm persuasion of the supreme army command that radical movements will be made impossible only by the appointment of a military governor."

The next document referring to the situation in Bohemia is dated September 25th, 1915, and is again addressed by the supreme army command to the emperor. It deals with the dissatisfaction throughout Austria; only references to the Bohemian troubles are here translated:

"The treasonable and anti-militaristic propaganda that has been carried on in Bohemia for decades without opposition resulted in spite of far-reaching preventive measures in complete failure of the old troops before the enemy Reports of the still proceeding agitation in Bohemia and Moravia hostile to the state, the objectionable behavior of the 7th Landwehr Regiment of Pilsen, the 8th of Prague and the 29th of Budweis in the recent fighting in Galicia and Volhynia . . . led to the conviction that the present efforts of the government even with the help of war measures have for the most part resulted in failure."

The documents cited give the point of view of the Austrian Army authorities; what they lack is details. Some of these details are supplied in recent statements made by the men who carried on the subterranean war of the Czech people against Austria. The principal Prague daily the "Národní Listy", the organ of premier Kramář, says on December 1st:

"Everything was betrayed — movements of troops, transports of ammunition, strategical plans, economic position, the feeling at court, letters of the ministers, secret military orders, instructions of the governor, orders for arms, overheard telephone conversations, stock exchange conditions, even whole pages from the notebooks of Austrian ministers. And these things were sent in cipher across the frontier, sometimes even in the original, in the wires of umbrellas, in the bindings of books, in the handle of a walking stick, inside of buttons, or written in invisible ink on silk underwear of opera singers, or in the pistons of machines. Against the Austrian beast everything was permissible Treason grew and prevailed everywhere. Czech physicians began to undertake appendicitis operations on a wholesale scale, Czech soldiers grew sick and could not get well, hospitals were overflowing and the clinics were jammed with cases of soldiers whose sickness could not be diagnosed: on the streets of Prague there were groups of "crippled" soldiers with one or two stocks whom the military surgeons could not cure; industrial establishments demanded the return of soldiers as indispensable workmen, whether they were needed or not. When the Austrian state proceeded to collect metals, it found in Bohemia less than anywhere else War loans were not sub-

scribed, and when a man was compelled to buy bonds, he tried to resell them as soon as possible."

Another account of the secret warfare of the Czechs was rendered by a former deputy and university professor Dr. Drtina in a speech delivered November 29:

"When Masaryk returned in August 1914 from Geneva, he watched the events and mobilized his people. Then he went to Rotterdam where he conceived his plans. In Berlin he "informed" State Secretary Zimmermann. After returning to Prague he was at a gathering in the flat of Dr. Bouček and already drew on the map the boundaries of the future Czechoslovak state with the well-known corridor to the sea. He made known documents and dispatches of the most confidential nature. Here arose the Czech Maffia. It managed to intercept the correspondence between Prince Thun (then governor of Bohemia) and Count Stuergh, also between the minister of the interior Baron Heinold and Archduke Frederick the Bloody. The Maffia was extremely well informed about the acts of the cabinet, as well as about the directions of the police. Good Czech patriots took over exclusively all these tasks. In Vienna the poet Machar took part in this. Nobody had an idea what a dangerous work our people there had. One of these always carried a revolver on his person, in case he should be discovered. It reads like a novel to think of the diligence of the Austrian minister in Switzerland who had Masaryk watched and sent lengthy reports of it, all of which fell into the hands of the Maffia . . . Masaryk was called Hradecký or Hospodský, Scheiner was known as Soukal, Šamal as Strkal, Dr. Kramář as Holz, Rašín as Sin"

Perhaps later on some of the men who took an important and dangerous part in this secret war on Austria from within will tell their story. It will be surely of great interest.

UHRO-RUSIN DELEGATION IN PARIS.

Independently of the movement that originated among Uhro-Rusin immigrants in America for the incorporation of their native land in the Czechoslovak Republic the same motives called out a similar movement in the Rusin districts of Hungary. When the delegates of the American Rusins, Julius G. Gardos and Gregory I Zsatkovich, arrived in Paris, bearing the results of the plebiscite, they met there a leader of their people from Hungary, former deputy Beskyd. According to a cable received in Pittsburgh they are working in complete harmony and submitted a formal petition to the peace conference, asking for a union of their people with the Czechoslovaks. They feel certain that their petition will be granted. The Czechoslovaks follow with much interest their efforts and will be pleased to welcome their Rusin kinsmen as fellow-citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Items from the Československy Dennik

BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA IN NOVEMBER.

In the Československý Denník published at Ekaterinburg, are found frequent sketches of life in European Russia under the Bolsheviki. Here is a story by a Czech journalist who was fighting on the northern Ural front at the time he wrote to the daily paper of his army.

Russia is ruled by famine and terror. Against the famine the Bolshevik remedy is: "Destroy the Czechoslovaks and then there will be plenty of bread from Siberia." Against the dissatisfied individual they employ powder and shot. Their newspapers publish a daily list of unfortunates who were shot in retaliation for the so-called white terror; here is an example from our front. When we marched on Kungur in September, the railroad bridge between Perm and Kungur in the rear of the enemy was blown up. The commander of the Second Bolshevik Division had 29 men shot; men who according to his own declaration had nothing to do with the destruction of the bridge, but who were accused of harboring sympathies for the Czechoslovaks. The Bolsheviki threaten that they will keep up this procedure and will punish every hostile move of local population by massacre of prominent local men.

In the Red Army there is still much disorder. The barracks are empty, because the majority of the soldiers live in private quarters and come to the barracks only for meals, but the rooms are full of dirt and refuse. Admonition to keep the barracks clean and maintain discipline seems to have no effect. At least the Bolshevik newspapers confess that quite openly.

Complaints are also voiced against employees of soviet authorities who are supposed to work six hours a day, but spend most of the time in drinking tea and talking to each other. Death penalty is threatened to those who are convicted of grafting, but nevertheless bribes are constantly given. A soldier guarding the depot will pass through for a pound of bread a tradesman who smuggles flour, and a judge will decide a case in your favor for as little as three roubles.

The Bolsheviki are trying to raise the morale of their army by various means. They carry on agitation among former army officers to enter the Red Guard. The All-Russian Soviet established on September 19th a military Order of the Red Flag to be awarded for bravery. The first man honored by this Order is commander of division Bluecher who cut his way through from Orenburg to Krasnoufimsk, a distance of seven hundred miles, and brought with him thousands of wagon loads of booty.

Desertion is now severely punished in the Red Army. Trotzky's last order fixes the responsibility for desertion on the man's family, if it is found in the Soviet territory. The command-

ers also warn their soldiers not to surrender, because the Czechoslovaks are supposed to kill their captives. To raise the spirits of their men the Bolsheviki paid 250 roubles to every soldier who participated in the re-capture of Kazan.

In order to be admitted to the officers training schools all that is necessary is to be able to read and write and understand the four fundamental rules of arithmetic.

The Czechoslovaks are particularly hated by the Bolsheviki; sometimes the Bolshevik papers speak of Czechoslovakia instead of Siberia; they call us the 20th Century beasts and accuse us of killing babies.

THE SUPPLY SERVICE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY.

To carry on war regularly means to organize an efficient supply service. Up to June of 1918 this problem was handled in a haphazard way which resulted in serious shortage of food and clothing. Every regiment, every operating column looked after its own needs. The difficulties of the commissariat at the departure from the Ukraine were tremendous and those of our men who had the unevitable assignment as providers deserve great credit for doing as well as they did. In April, before fighting broke out, an army corps supply service was established, but under the conditions then prevailing this branch could not furnish all that was necessary; it had to beg the Bolsheviki for what it needed or buy it at night from dealers who smuggled, so to speak, food supplies in small amounts. The situation was rapidly improved after the break and especially after we occupied Kurgan and Petropavlovsk, the richest districts of Western Siberia. Purchasing commissions were sent out in all directions to buy supplies for the entire Army and to make contracts for future deliveries. Right then provision was made for winter, and it appears that our army has now about 70 per cent of what it needs in winter clothing. Our quartermasters took over a number of factories and shops which are now producing at full speed. In Omsk there is a tailor shop turning out 750 overcoats a week, also a shoe shop making 700 pairs a week, another at Petropavlovsk which delivers about 1250 pairs of boots a week, half of them for the Russian Army. In Omsk we have a machine shop making cans and roasting machines, in Petropavlovsk a soap factory which turns out daily 200 poods (one pood equals 36.113 pounds). In Kurgan we have a brewery which makes about 12,000 gallons of beer a week. In Novonikolajevsk we have a chemical laboratory in which is manufactured tooth powder, black and tan shoe polish, disinfectants, etc. In Kurgan we have a tin shop which makes pots, tea urns, kettles, cans. At several places we have

packing establishments that supply 12,000 poods a month of smoked meat products, also cheese factories with a production of 3000 poods a month, and three flour mills which turn out 5,000 poods of flour a day. In Omsk we have a macaroni mill with a monthly output of 4,000 poods and an establishment for the production of lubricant oils.

At a distance of 20 to 30 miles from the railroad we have leased large farms where there are thousands of head of cattle, pigs and sheep feeding on the steppes and watched by our own cowboys. Our elderly soldiers are assigned to this work and have under them German prisoners of war. Meat on hoof is driven to the railroad and sent to the front. Now that freezing weather has set in, most of it will be slaughtered to save the loss of weight during winter. We have also sent a commission to Mongolia to buy cattle and our own camel transport trains bring supplies to us across the deserts. The men in charge are experts in their line and their assistants are men unfit for service at the front, but all have been there and know of their own experience, how necessary a properly regulated supply service is. We can say now after four months of work that our army has its most necessary wants supplied. Imported army supplies are looked after by a purchasing commission at Omsk, which has its representatives at Vladivostok.

Monthly needs of our army are approximately as follows:

Rye flour 100,500 poods, coffee 208 poods, chicory 69, sugar 11,260, tea 312, beef 45,000, pork 36,000, rice 2500, barley 6500, potatoes 22,500, macaroni 16, butter 11,500, cheese 3500, sausages 3500, smoked meat 4,000, vegetables 8125, salt 5,000, vinegar 104, soap 2,000, tobacco 2500, onions 3700, tomatoes 12500, spices, etc. 2670, a total of 280,496 poods (over 10,000,000 lbs.) or seven trains of 40 freight cars each. The cost of monthly supplies is 10,773,000 roubles.

THE OMSK WIRELESS.

One of the romantic incidents connected with the Czechoslovak campaign in Siberia is the story of the complete wireless outfit and its transport from Paris to Omsk. At the request of the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris the French minister of war decided to send to Siberia a complete wireless installation and a detachment of experts to operate it. This was the only way for the Czechoslovak Army to keep in touch with their leaders in Paris.

But the question was how to get the equipment to Omsk. There was no way of getting through European Russia, and at that time, in summer, is seemed very doubtful, whether the Siberian railroad east of Lake Baikal would be clear of the Bolsheviks before winter. The only remaining road to Central Siberia lead through the Arctic Sea to the mouth of the River Ob and up the Ob and the Irtysh to Omsk. But no one

knew whether passage through the River Ob would be allowed by the Bolsheviks, for Bolshevik bands broken up by our soldiers at the different railroad stations scattered through the Siberian forest to the north. There were rumors of 20 Bolshevik ships on the Lower Ob, and so the French ship with the wireless outfit was also equipped with guns and machine guns. The ship got safely to the mouth of the Ob, where the equipment was transferred to the river steamer "Groznyj" and after several weeks of sailing got to Omsk without an accident. The station was promptly installed and is functioning excellently, being able to receive and send between Omsk and Paris.

Patriotic Russians in Siberia have troubles with which our own tribulations during the Red Cross, W. S. S. and similar campaigns cannot even be compared. Here is the complaint of a patriotic Siberiak, as given in the Československý Denník:

As a patriotic citizen I must attend a war relief concert at least three times a week. Admission for myself, wife and daughter is 45 rubles, program 10 rubles, flowers 40 r., three teas with biscuit 12 r., wardrobe 1.50 r., a total of 108.50 rubles each concert. That makes 325.50 rubles a week or 1302 a month. And that is minimum. Thank God that it is impossible for the ladies to get new dresses, for what would I do then?

In the "Ufa Narod" a Russian soldier who enlisted in the first Czechoslovak regiment writes about life in this regiment. He is full of praise of the brotherly spirit, the kind manner of officers with men, harmony, cleanliness, order, comradeship, entertainments etc. In short you can see from his words that he feels in this "revolutionary family" as if in heaven. It is a pity that more Russians do not enlist in Russian-Czech regiments.

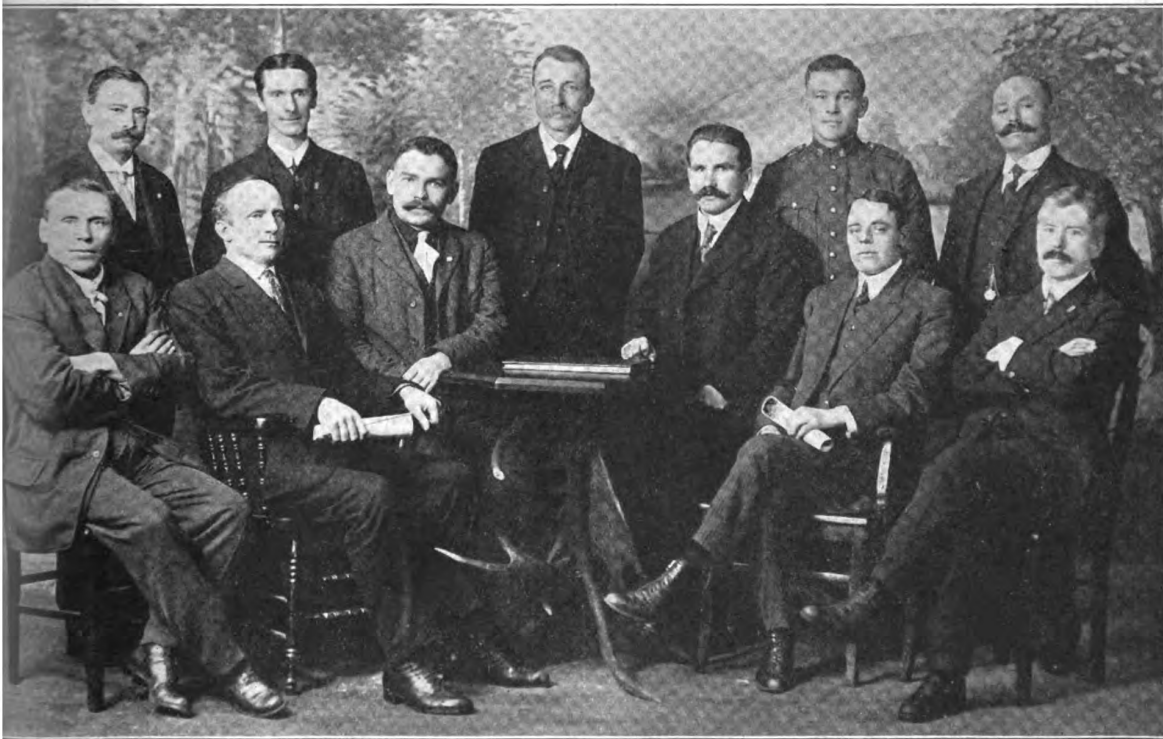
The gold treasure captured by the Czechoslovaks at Kazan is valued at 6,000,000,000 roubles and is kept in Omsk, far from the scene of war operations, in especially well secured vaults. It was turned over to the Siberian Government who requested the Czechoslovak command to assume the guardianship of the treasure. The gold consists of coin, ingots and wrought gold. Together with it was captured also the great silver reserve which in weight is about equal to the gold treasure.

The Czechoslovak Army in Siberia according to latest reports consists of 12 regiments of infantry, 2 artillery brigades, 2 batteries of heavy artillery, one reserve regiments of infantry, 2 regiments of cavalry, one battalion of special attacking troops, and the usual supply, medical and other services.

Bohemian National Alliance in Canada

Before the war the few scattered Czechs in Canada had not even thought of the possibility that they might have an all-Canadian organization of their own. But the same crying need that called into being organizations of Czechs and Slovaks in every Allied and neutral country has brought about the organization of the Canadian branch of the Bohemian National Alliance with headquarters in Winnipeg. As early as 1915 this body had branches in the prairie and Rocky Mountain provinces, and in 1916 other branches were organized in Ontario and the Maritime provinces, until now their number amounts to

The scattered branch societies of the Bohemian National Alliance of Canada held a convention in Winnipeg on December 7 to 9. Following delegates were present: Frank Vejr for Frank, Alta.; Frank Pail for Prague, Alta.; Leo Schatny for Marriott, Sask.; Joseph Hájek for a number of branches in Saskatchewan; Wm. Ruda for the Winnipeg branch of the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics; Frank Kozel for the other Winnipeg branch, Václav Pátek for the Winnipeg beneficial society of Bohemians. Mr. Joseph Wagner was accredited as delegate for the local societies of Natal, B. C., Hamilton, Ont., Vancouver,



CONFERENCE OF THE BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE IN CANADA.

19. For the last two years certificate of membership in the Bohemian National Alliance was satisfactory evidence to the Canadian authorities that the holder is an alien friend, and restrictions imposed upon other Austrian subjects did not apply to members of the Bohemian Alliance. Although the Czech settlers in Canada number only a few thousands and are scattered in small settlements from Cape Breton to Vancouver, they have furnished one company of volunteers for the Canadian army, not counting others that volunteered for the various local units of oversea forces. All these men are workingmen and farmers; they have not a single professional man among them, and for that reason are entitled to so much the more credit.

B. C., Staffordville, Alta., River Hebert, N. S., and New Waterford, N. S.

Reports were rendered by the various officers; of special interest was the report of Sergt. Fibiger who was instrumental in recruiting several hundred Czech volunteers and himself served more than a year abroad. Officers elected for the coming year were: Joseph Wagner, president, V. Moravec, vice-president, Wm. Ruda, secretary, V. Bláha, treasurer, Frank Kozel and Jos. Dojáček, auditing committee. A telegram of greetings was read from Chas. Pergler, Czechoslovak commissioner in the United States; it was voted to ask Mr. Pergler for his co-operation in securing the speedy appointment of a Czechoslovak consul in Canada.

Current Topics

FROM THE PRAGUE PAPERS.

Quite a number of men well known in the Bohemian circles of America have turned up in Prague since the arrival of President Masaryk. There is Jaroslav Císař, the president's private secretary of whom the journalists had quite a little to say. There is Ven Švarc, a Cleveland lawyer, who represents certain American newspapers in Bohemia. There is also Capt. Ferdinand Pišecký who spent more than a year in the United States and gave lectures in nearly all the Czech and Slovak settlements; Dr. L. J. Fisher, former president of the Bohemian National Alliance and later medical officer in the Czechoslovak Army, has also arrived with a convoy of invalids in Prague.

But the big figures from America, at least in the Prague newspapers, are two well known workers in the cause of Czechoslovak independence, Capt. Emanuel Voska and Joseph Tvrzický. Mr. Voska, formerly chairman of the New York district committee of the Alliance, was granted a commission in the Intelligence Division of the U. S. Army last May and was stationed in Paris. He arrived in Prague on January 10th with Mr. George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information, and has been lionized ever since. He received a great reception upon his arrival, big boosts by the newspapers, a tremendous ovation in his native city of Kutná Hora, spoke at dozens of meetings, had freedom of cities conferred upon him, and among other things Emmy Destinn sang at a concert in his honor. Mr. Tvrzický threw himself at once into the fight against Alois Muna and his fellow bolsheviks from Russia who troubled the harmonious political life of Bohemia just at that time. At one meeting he spoke three times, addressing an overflow crowd from a tree. He tells the people what their brothers in America have done for them and exhorts the nation to make short thrift of any disturancers. The papers state that he opened a bureau in the office of the old National Council to give information about conditions in America and to facilitate communication between relatives that had been out of touch during the war.

CONVENTION OF BOHEMIAN CATHOLICS.

The National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics which was established on February 6, 1917, for the purpose of cooperating with the Bohemian National Alliance in the campaign for Czechoslovak independence held a convention in Chicago on February 25th and 26th. The delegates present numbered 75, and in addition a large number of priests from many states attended.

The convention was called to order by the Rev. Innocent Kestl, president of the Alliance, who reviewed the activities of the organization during the past two years. Joseph J. Janda of Chicago was then elected chairman of the meeting, and Frank Šindelář submitted a detailed report of his work as secretary of the Alliance for the past two years. From the report it appeared that the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics had at present time 132 branches in the United States and Canada. Mr. Šindelář's efficient work as secretary of the Alliance received the warmest approval of the convention. It was voted to continue the existence of the organization in the general interest of Bohemian Catholics, the headquarters will remain in Chicago. The next convention will be held again in Chicago in June 1920.

Officers elected for the coming term are as follows: John Straka, president; Joseph E. Mašek, Anton V. Tesař, Hynek Dostál, V. J. Jelínek, vice presidents; Rev. Frank Jedlička, chaplain; John Voller was elected secretary, since the present secretary refused reelection, Joseph Kopecký was elected for treasurer and Mrs. Rose Nedvěď, Mrs. Marie Novotný, J. J. Janda, Charles Radouš and John F. Novotný were elected members of the executive committee.

CZECHOSLOVAK COMMERCIAL CORPORATION.

American business men of Slovak birth and descent met in Cleveland on February 18th to discuss the problems of investments in Slovakia, so as to create more employment over there and increase commercial relations between the Czechoslovak Republic and the United States. More than a hundred representative business men attended the conference. The result of the deliberations was to establish a Czechoslovak Commercial Corporation of America with a capital of one million dollars, and those present subscribed at once the sum of \$100,000.

Following persons were elected to organize the company: A. S. Ambrose of Bridgeport, chairman; Paul Kverka of Chicago, vice-chairman; Michael Bosak of Scranton, treasurer; Ivan Bielek, of Pittsburgh, secretary; Clement Ihrský, Leo Zaruba, John Pankuch, Joseph Schromofský and John Hrivnák, members of the committee. It is the intention of the new corporation to buy the necessaries of life, farming implements, etc., in wholesale and to establish in Slovakia local depots for the sale of this merchandise to peasants at low rates. This undertaking has the support of the Slovak League of America and its president, Albert Mamatey.

The
**CZECHOSLOVAK
REVIEW**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY
AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

\$1.50 PER YEAR



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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK BOARD

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor.
Published Monthly by the Bohemian Review Co., 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second class matter April 30, 1917 at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. III., No. 5.

MAY, 1919.

15 cents a Copy
\$1.50 per Year

Rašín's Financial Measures

For months after the Czechoslovaks got rid of the Austrian yoke they continued to be tied to the defunct empire by one of the strongest bonds in existence—a common currency. And the Austrian currency was in a terrible condition.

Next to the lack of food, inflation of currency was the greatest evil with which all Central Europe, including Bohemia, had to contend. Money was plentiful, far more so than before the war, but it would buy nothing. As a result people did not see any use in working and they squandered their paper money on the few luxuries still obtainable. The Austro-Hungarian Bank issued during the war 37,000,000,000 crowns, unsecured by any metal reserve. That meant a per capita circulation of 750 crowns. In Bohemia, the industrial portion of the empire, the amount of paper money to each person was more than one thousand crowns. At normal rate of exchange that would mean more than \$200, and even at the terribly depreciated rate of exchange the circulation of fiat money was greater per capita than in the prosperous and wealthy United States.

The break-up of the monarchy and the rise of new national states did not stop the presses of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. The bank continued to create fictitious money which was a burden on all the new states, and it loaned this money to German Austria and Hungary. No attention was paid to the protests of the Czechoslovak government; in fact it was notorious that the new money was sent in bundles to Slovakia and Bohemia to stir up rebellion against the republic among German and Magyar minorities.

The government of Prague realized that the creation of a separate Czechoslovak currency was imperative. But to make plates and print a few billion of notes of entirely new money required a great deal of

time and special facilities lacking in the new republic. Other means had to be found, and after two months of secret preparations Alois Rašín, minister of finance, laid his plans before the National Assembly on February 25. The principal provision of his bills set a term of nine days within which all Austrian money circulating in the territories of the Czechoslovak Republic had to be brought in to public offices and banks to be stamped or earmarked; frontiers would be tightly closed in the meantime, to prevent the influx of more banknotes from Vienna and Budapest. After the expiration of this period only stamped bank notes would be legal tender.

But in addition to separating Czechoslovak currency from Austrian and Hungarian currency Rašín's financial measures dealt also with the problem of inflation. One half of all the currency brought in for stamping was to be retained by the state as a forced loan bearing interest at one per cent only. By this means it was intended to withdraw at one stroke half the money from circulation. Dr. Rašín stated, however, that the government intended to refund soon the smallest amounts thus held back, so as to avoid unnecessary hardship to the poor. And in order to utilize to some advantage the temporary business paralysis created by the period of stamping money, the financial measures provided further for the stamping of all securities held by Czechoslovak citizens, especially Austrian war bonds, and for a census of all movable property, the intention being to get a reliable basis for the imposition of a heavy property tax. In checking up property separate entry was made of property held before the war and that gained during the war; much higher rate is to be imposed upon war profits. Dr. Rašín explained that an extraordinary prop-

erty tax was unavoidable in the interest of sound economical life; to distribute the necessarily heavy taxes over a number of years would mean that they would be added to the cost of production and thus handicap Czechoslovak products in the world markets.

Another bill introduced by the minister of finance at the same time asked for authority to issue a domestic loan purchasable only in gold, silver or foreign currency. This loan is to be repaid in four years in kind. In this way the government hoped to lay the foundation for a metallic reserve for its new currency. It was well known that in spite of all the Austrian requisitions during the war the Czechoslovak people had hidden considerable amounts of precious metals in coins and ornaments. To induce the people to bring in their hidden stores of gold and silver the new loan bore four per cent interest and was exempt from all taxes, including property tax.

For weeks before the introduction of these measures Rašín's plans were constantly talked about and guessed at. But they were prepared secretly, discussed by the financial committee of the National Assembly in strict confidence before their introduction, and within half an hour after their submission to the legislature they were adopted and the frontiers closed. No travelling was permitted during the nine days of stamping, except to government couriers, and no mails were transported between neighboring states and Czechoslovakia. So efficient was the machinery provided by Rašín for the execution of his measures that the difficult task of substituting of one currency for another and checking up on all personal property within a state of 13 million people was carried out smoothly and practically without a complaint. One reads in the Prague papers that a German village in northern Bohemia refused to produce its money at the county office on the day appointed, but the elders changed their minds before the stamping period elapsed and were granted the privilege of appearing on a later day. And of course there were a few individuals who seemed to have overslept and who kept sending their unstamped Austrian crowns to the ministry of finance after it was all over, in the vain hope that an exception

would be made for them. But on the whole the people accepted the startling measures as necessary, and rich and poor, socialists and agrarians and bourgeois, Germans as well as Czechs, praised Rašín for his wise radicalism. Only Vienna raged and protested, and finally followed the Czechoslovak example. The Magyars intended to do the same thing and stamp their money also, as the Jugoslavs had already done. What will happen to the billions of Austrian currency held in Germany and the neutral European states no one can tell. Today none of the states of the former Dual Monarchy will accept unstamped Austro-Hungarian currency.

One month later Rašín came again before the National Assembly for authority to make an external loan of \$179,000,000 to buy food, strengthen the gold reserve and purchase abroad raw materials required by Czechoslovak industries. The loan was authorized and Czech financiers are already negotiating in England, and will soon be negotiating in the United States, for the most favorable terms. Loans extended in the past to the Czechoslovak Republic by the United States government as a war measure will no longer be available. But the credit of the new republic is good, for all classes of the people realize that stability and order must be maintained and production increased, if the state is to live.

Recent news indicates that the controversial question of the expropriation of large landed estates has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. On April 15th the National Assembly adopted unanimously a law by which the state takes over all estates of more than 150 hectares (about 380 acres) of arable land and more than 100 hectares of forest. It is estimated that the total amount of land thus expropriated will be 1,300,000 hectares of arable land and 3,000,000 of forests; 430,000 families can find new homes on this formerly feudal land. No compensation will be paid for land which was owned by members of the former imperial family, but payment will be made for land taken from noblemen and prelates.

Food conditions have greatly improved with the arrival of supplies from America by way of Hamburg. The first boatload reached Prague on April 8th. The Czechoslovak government bought in Saxony barges and tugs to the amount of five million

dollars. A still larger river fleet is operating under Czechoslovak flag on the Danube. With the improvement of the food situation the political situation also has lost some of the partisan bitterness, exhibited especially by the socialists toward the agrarians. And the morale of the entire nation was raised by the arrival of the inviolated soldiers from Siberia. Three parties of them arrived in Prague from Vladivostok after a long trip around India, and a party of one hundred Czechoslovak invalids is expected to arrive shortly in the United States on the way home.

The red revolution in Budapest found no echo in the Czechoslovak Republic. No one was anxious to follow the example of the Magyars, who are more hated than even the Germans. The radical socialists of course protested against the use of armed Czechoslovak forces to suppress the pro-

letarian revolution, but then Masaryk promptly turned down appeals of Magyar upper classes to interfere in their behalf. There were local collisions between Magyar red guards and Czechoslovak frontier guards, and the situation will continue dangerous, as long as the southern and eastern boundaries of the Czechoslovak Republic are not determined by the peace conference.

While the principle of the separation of church and state is adhered to by all parties, the government is taking care to avoid religious strife. Thus the National Assembly authorized the erection of additional chairs in the Catholic theological faculty at Olomouc and gave it the name of the Cyril-Methodius Theological Faculty. On the other hand the Assembly authorized the opening of a Protestant Jan Hus Theological Faculty in Prague.

Czechoslovaks in South Side Virginia

By COL. LE ROY HODGES.

What may be termed the south-side Virginia colony of Czechoslovaks is centered around the city of Petersburg in southeast Virginia, chiefly in the county of Prince George. This county, together with the counties of Dinwiddie and Chesterfield, contains the bulk of the Slav farmers in Virginia. The colony was began more than 25 years ago by a few Bohemian and Slovak families from the industrial and mining communities of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, who were seeking agricultural homes. These early settlers came to Virginia with little money, without friends, but stimulated by the desire to make homes for themselves on the fertile lands of the upper James.

Life, however, was not all roses in Virginia for these first settlers. They were not known in the region, nor were they recognized at their true worth. They did not possess the easy credit they command today, nor—the even more valuable asset—the confidence of the native residents. They had to struggle against heavy odds. Gradually, by sheer pluck, good behavior, unbounded energy, and by hard work, they have won the recognition of the native Virginians. To-day their colony enjoys the full confidence of the people of southeast

Virginia, and in the city of Petersburg and their respective counties they are very highly regarded.

Slavs they are, every one of them: Slavs, however, who are proud of their origin, and who are zealous in their efforts to command the respect of their fellow citizens. Slavs who are loyal, patriotic Americans. They are respectful of the traditions of the Old South, and are eager, active builders of the New South. On all sides they enjoy the confidence and command the respect of the Virginians—they are foster children of the Republic who are growing into the fullness of true citizenship under the care of the old mother State.

In the whole colony which is represented to a certain extent in all of the so-called nine south-side counties, including Amelia, Brunswick, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Greensville, Nottoway, Prince George, Surrey and Sussex, there are possibly as many as 3,000 Slavs. Slovaks predominate, and, it is interesting to note, they hold a place equally as high as the Bohemians. There are a few Russian Poles here and there particularly in Surrey and Sussex counties, and a few scattering families of Lithuanians and Slovenians. All of these people are engaged in agriculture.

The Czechoslovaks in this colony have taken up land in many instances long neglected and regarded as "worn-out land" and have turned the places into valuable producing farms. They follow practically the same crop scheme as practiced by the native farmers, their principal crops being peanuts, corn, and tobacco. Over 90 per cent are proprietors and operate their own farms. Although they compose less than 3 per cent of the total rural population of the south-side counties, and not more than 15 per cent of that of Prince George county, their presence is easily noted.

In Prince George county, which alone has about 1,200 Czechoslovaks, the largest foreign population of any of the counties in the group, is found the highest percentage of improved land. This is true in face of the fact that no more than 69 per cent of the total land area of the county is in farm lands. For instance, the improved farm lands compose just a little over 48 per cent of the county's total farm area, while in none of the other south-side counties does the proportion exceed 38 per cent. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the population per square mile is only 27, the total population in 1910 being less than 8,000, of which 58 per cent were negroes.

In this same county more than half of the Slav males of voting age are fully naturalized, while a large percentage of the other half hold first papers. No record of a criminal prosecution having been brought against a Slav exists in Prince George county, and only one or two minor judgments have been docketed against members of the colony.

Illiteracy among males of voting age in the county was reported by the thirteenth Census of the United States to be higher among the native-born whites than among the Slav foreign born, the percentage being 7.1 for the former and only 5 for the foreign-born Slavs. This is significant in view of the predominancy of Slovaks in the county. Illiteracy among the negroes was reported at higher than 46 per cent.

This same report shows that of the total number of children in the county 6 to 14 years old, inclusive, only about 65 per cent attend school. Of the Slav children, however, 74 per cent attend the public schools as compared with 73 per cent of the native white children of native parentage. Only 60 per cent of the negro children are in

school. In addition to this, the public school teachers in the county report that the Slav children exhibit a more marked tendency to advance than any other group of children in the schools.

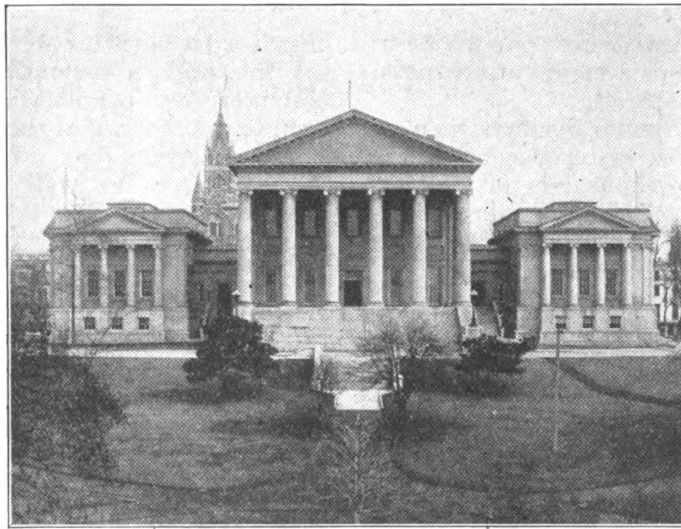
Another unusual feature found among the Slavs in Prince George county is the predominancy of Protestantism. Considering the large number of Slovaks this is extremely interesting. There are three Protestant congregations in the county and only one Roman Catholic. The latter has possibly no more than 250 adherents, while the combined Protestant congregations include about 800 persons. Among the Protestants, the Congregational Church has a following of about 500 and is the largest Congregational pastorate in the State of Virginia. There is also a large Presbyterian congregation of about 200, and a Lutheran Church with about half this number. Here and there are also found a few families of Slavs who are Methodists.

Recently the people of Petersburg and vicinity were suddenly made aware of the maturity of the south-side Virginia colony by a prompt and publicly expressed resentment of a possibly unintentional slur cast at the Slavs by a visiting speaker who was understood to class the Slavs as undesirable immigrants for the South. This incident, with almost lightning rapidity, solidified the several Czechoslovak elements in the colony, and their leaders immediately demanded recognition of their fitness as agricultural settlers. The response to this demand was highly flattering to the Slavs and remarkable for the promptness and forcefulness with which it was made.

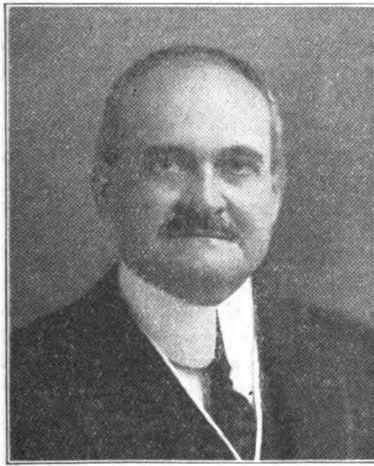
The Index-Appeal, the leading daily newspaper at Petersburg, said in part as follows:

"What a pity it is that the speaker had not talked with one or two of the business men of Petersburg regarding the Slavs. He would not have expressed the views to which he gave utterance regarding the character of these people had he obtained first the opinions of our business men regarding their character and general desirability as citizens.

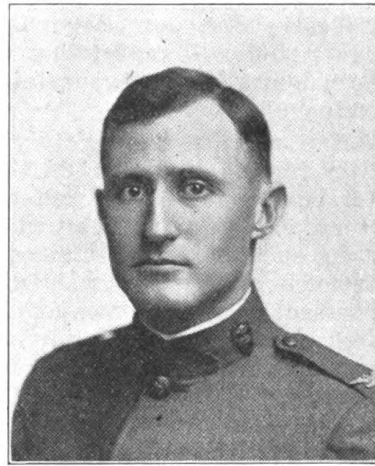
"It would be impossible to find a better class of people to bring into America from Europe than the Bohemians. Almost without exception they are hardworking, honest, thrifty, and fine farmers. They have made sections of Prince George blossom like a rose. The farm of the average Bohe-



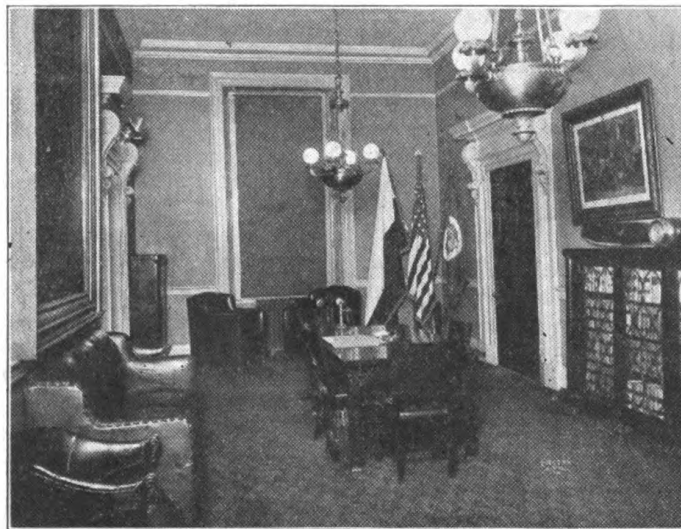
Virginia State Capitol.



Governor Westmoreland Davis.



Col. LeRoy Hodges.



Executive Office, Showing Czechoslovak Flag.

mian in Prince George, where the majority of them are located, is a model of neatness, productiveness, and thrift.

One of the best-known business men of Petersburg told this writer recently that he had sold many thousands of dollars' worth of goods to Bohemians in Prince George, Dinwiddie, and Chesterfield and never had lost a dollar on a single purchase. A year or two ago a Bohemian sold his Prince George farm and went to Chicago to live. When the news came to the merchant mentioned, he made up his mind to charge to the profit and loss account the \$60 which this debtor owed him. But inside of three months he sent him \$30 and inside of six months remitted the remaining \$30 of the debt.

"Business men of Petersburg will not resent, in the sense of becoming angry, the slurs cast upon our 'Bohemians' by this speaker, but will regret that he failed to inform himself more accurately before expressing his opinion."

Action was also immediately taken in the matter by the Chamber of Commerce of Petersburg which has resulted in a satisfactory explanation from the incautious visiting speaker. A most hearty public indorsement of the Czechoslovaks has been expressed, and all classes of citizens have united in voicing their approval of them as agricultural settlers for the south-side Virginia counties.

As we study these people, their political, social, and literary history, and begin more fully to appreciate their character and their dominating ambitions—really begin to know them—we cease to marvel at the rapidity of the progress they are capable of when given a real chance. More than this, we suddenly begin to realize that they too possess some of the higher traits of civilized humanity. It becomes harder to carelessly class them as "undesirable immigrants", for even the most prejudiced of us in the south are forced to recognize merit in them, as they have proved that they can do on southern farms what we ourselves are apparently unable to do.

A deeper feeling of sympathy also awakens in us, as we realize in our more sober moments that with the coming of the Slavs to the South we are recruiting in part the army upon which we must depend to build the greater nation through the building of a greater South. With the awakening of that greater sympathy, even

though it be born for self-interest, we also feel the added responsibility which the coming of these people places upon us. We begin to see that we of the South owe these people a certain duty. The best interests of the Nation, as well as those of the South, demand that as they come to make their homes among us, we meet them with kindness, with fairness, and with an appreciative understanding of their needs.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK RECORD IN RUSSIA.

Aspersions on the Czechoslovaks who fought in Russia are answered by Mme. Catherine K. Breshkovsky, the venerable "Grandmother" of the Russian revolution. Mme. Breshkovsky came in close personal contact with the Czechoslovaks at Omsk, Ekaterinburg, Ufa, Samara and other East Russian and Siberian cities. She testifies enthusiastically to their discipline, courage and kindness and to the affection in which they were held by the Russian populations which they rescued from the clutches of Lenine's Red Guards.

It stands to reason that the Czechoslovaks were humane and considerate in their treatment of the Russian communities in which they operated. They were soldiers with the highest military ideals. They were intense patriots, fighting for the liberation of their own country from Austro-Hungarian oppression. They could never have remained in Russia—a handful of men, thousands of miles from any base of supplies—if they had not won the confidence and support of the civilian population. They were not looters and mercenaries, like the Red Guards. They were not fighting for plunder or power. They were not making civil war. Lenine foolishly prevented them from leaving the country. They stayed on and fought him because he had sold himself to Germany.

The Czechoslovak adventure in Russia was one of the great romances of the war. Only soldiers with clean hands and a spirit of chivalry could have carried that adventure through. The results of the campaign made by the Czechoslovaks speak for themselves. Hardly 100,000 strong, they conquered Siberia and drove the Bolsheviks back to the line of the Volga. They contributed more than any other single factor toward saving Russia and Siberia from falling into the hands of the Germans.

Mme. Breshkovsky says of them "Everywhere and in all circumstances I found them the same—noble, unselfish, strong in their duties and faith. . . . I always found them fine men, beloved and esteemed by all the Russians."

She means, of course, by the real Russians, not the criminal and bloodthirsty followers of Lenine. Their work is to be judged not only by the friends but also by the enemies they made.

—N. Y. Tribune, March 12, 1919.

The Czech Heart

People in America cannot possibly grasp in their imagination the awful depths of misery and destitution prevailing in the entire war area of Europe. A great deal has been told about conditions in Belgium, much also about the devastated regions of Poland and Serbia. And Armenia is in a class of its own. But there are other large sections of Europe of which no mention is ever seen in the American press, where famine stalks by day and night and old people and children are dying of exhaustion and hunger typhoid by the thousands. Only a few days ago official reports were received in this country of the activities of a Czechoslovak organization known as the "Czech Heart", and these reports present a vivid picture of human misery and human charity in a country which has not so far made an appeal for help to America.

Czechoslovak lands are fertile and well cultivated and under normal conditions they produce more food stuffs than are needed for their dense population. But during the war the Austrian government requisitioned most of the crops for the use of the army and for feeding the barren lands of German Austria and the great capital city of Vienna. Czech cities, and especially Prague, were starved by the central authorities, because the Czechs were considered rebels and traitors to the emperor. Only the farmers managed to get enough to eat, for they early learned the trick of hiding some of the grain, butter and eggs raised by them.

During the fourth year of the war living conditions in Prague and many smaller industrial cities became truly terrible. Most of the men, fathers of families, had been dragged away as unwilling conscripts for the Austrian army; tens of thousands were dead by this time and other tens of thousands were fighting in the recently created Czechoslovak armies in Russia, France and Italy. Their wives and children spent their days and sometimes their nights in trying to get enough food to keep body and soul together. Stores selling food were closed and padlocked, for they had nothing to sell; the death rate doubled and tripled, and grave diggers had to hire assistants. People were wearing out the last of the clothes which they possessed at the beginning of the war. Women stood in line all

night long in the severest freezing weather in the hope that they would be in time to get something for their money and bread tickets, when stores opened in the morning. They shivered in their light, torn clothing, and little babies froze on their backs as they stood waiting all night. And if they were lucky enough, they got half of a small loaf of bread made of some sticky material looking and tasting like clay. There has been practically no milk in Prague since 1915. Imagine the fate of babies born during the war; their mortality has been terribly high and those that live are really slowing dying. Of course mothers protected their children as well as they could and gave them food which they drew for themselves. But under such circumstances they could not nurse their babies and there was no milk to be bought or other substitute to be given to the wailing little ones. Nor did drug stores have drugs for the sick and the few inadequate hospitals were always crowded. There are today hundreds of thousands of children in the Czechoslovak Republic who have not worn any shirt for several years. Their little bodies are wound in dirty rags and during the winter, as well as in summer, they walk barefooted. There is no underwear, there is no bed linen, neither in homes nor in hospitals and charitable institutions.

To cope with all this misery seemed a hopeless task. But the attempt was made. An organization that sprang out of charitable hearts, and called itself the "Czech Heart" proved that even in a general condition of hunger and privation self-sacrificing charity could do a great deal to alleviate human misery. On November 17, 1917, the organization of this society was undertaken mainly for the purpose of evening up the varied levels of privation on which the different classes of the nation stood. The main task was to obtain some food from the country for the poor of Prague and other cities by an appeal both to human sympathy and to Czech patriotism. In a short while there were twenty-eight branches in Prague distributing food-stuffs to the most needy and there were over one hundred district organizations in the country which were sending a little of the small stock of eatables saved from the Austrian requisitioning officers. Thu-

we read in the annual report of the "Czech Heart" that on a certain day a village in Moravia sent 3 loaves of bread and 6 pounds of peas, another village 20 eggs, a larger and richer town sent 60 loaves, 410 eggs, 100 pounds of potatoes and 14 pieces of clothing, another village sent 600 pounds of cherries, etc. Rich people in cities sent contributions in money and with these funds certain foodstuffs were bought which were not taken over by the state or sold only on cards. From 50,000 to 70,000 crowns a week were received for this purpose. But where public provisioning failed, it was hopeless to expect that charity on this small scale could accomplish much in combating famine. Elderly people especially were dying either directly of hunger or of diseases brought on by insufficient nutrition. And so workers of the "Czech Heart" sorrowfully concentrated their efforts on saving the children.

There was no possible way of feeding the children in the cities. The only thing that could be done for them was to send them out to the country, to farmers who would take children as free guests. This step was taken as early as December, 1917, but not until the following Spring was the principal activity of the society devoted to placing children in the country. A powerful campaign was carried on in all of the newspapers to induce the country people to take in the children of Prague and other cities as "national guests". Soon the agrarian party was enlisted and lent its powerful political organization in all the Czechoslovak counties toward organizing district and village committees to place city children in country homes. Over 7,000 little ones were sent out to the country in the spring of last year.

At first the offices of the "Czech Heart" in Prague had considerable trouble in convincing mothers, who saw in this a new scheme of Austrian authorities, to allow their children to be taken away from them. But with the incessant newspaper campaigns the aims of the society were made clear to every one, and soon the offices were crowded with mothers bringing hungry children, bringing sick and even dying children in their arms, all actuated with the hope that the society could save them. New offices had to be opened in various quarters of the city of Prague and from 1,500 to 2,000 mothers and children applied there for help every day.

Some of the scenes taking place daily in the Prague offices of the "Czech Heart" are described in a booklet written by Rose Svoboda, the noble woman who organized the work for children of this great society. She speaks eloquently of those children with the ashen color in their faces and big eyes burning with the dying flame of life. The ideal of the Prague children is no longer home, but country and a good woman who will give them bread and milk. Hundreds of children come every day hoping that it is their turn to be sent out where there was something to eat. Some of them look pretty full in their faces, but the arm is a mere bone. "You look well", says the worker to a little girl. And the girl answered seriously: "But we really do not have any breakfast or supper, we eat only once a day." "And what do you eat?" "Oats." And how poor workers in the offices feel, when invitations from the country fall off and the children are told that there is no chance for a long time of sending them out. The children won't believe that they are doomed and the mothers beg for a chance for their children, refusing to go back home deprived of all hope.

Those that go to the country are indeed saved. A boy writes to his mother: "I eat now so much that I am fit to burst and I will be soon as fat as the viceroy." Other children try to send something to their mothers in Prague, and if they can't get any bread they at least pick mushrooms and send dried mushrooms to their old homes. Mrs. Svoboda tells of a small emaciated girl from a Prague suburb. Her father, an ordinary working man, was in the army and mother was dead. Five children kept house in one small room. The eldest girl was 18 and was the housekeeper, a boy of 16 was working in a munition factory and there was a smaller boy with highly developed consumption. This little girl had to sleep in one bed with the consumptive boy. She was sent out to one of the farmer's homes and a few weeks later her brother wrote to the society to thank them for what they did. He said: "Mrs. W. asked me to visit my sister for Easter. When I came there I could not recognize Ella, for she was dressed nicely and had full rosy cheeks. At home she would hardly say a word and now she kept telling me what a great time she had. She whispered to me that her new 'aunt' was like mother used to be. And then she said that she

would have liked poor Frank to come out instead of her, that he would get well in the country. She has a good heart and told me that sometimes she could hardly eat dumplings and cake and milk, when she thought that we had black, unsweetened coffee and corn bread at home."

Conditions have not improved by the overthrow of Austrian rule and today life is still as hard and death as common in the Czechoslovak Republic as it was under the Hapsburgs. There is not one-third of the necessary food in the country, for crops were poor by reason of lack of cattle and lack of fertilizers and a great deal of the insufficient crops was taken by the last requisitions of the Austrian government in September and October. From the very day of the revolution on October 28, 1918, the principal business of the new Czechoslovak authorities was to increase the rations of the people and get food from the outside. But not till March did the first few carloads arrive, principally from America, and while several train loads with meats, flour, and fats come each day from Trieste and more is expected to come on barges from Hamburg, it is all far from enough. People are still dying of hunger in Prague, and in the industrial cities of northern Bohemia the mortality of children under five years is more than 50 per cent.

An appeal has been made recently by the "Czech Heart" to the Czechoslovaks in the United States for quick and substantial relief and now this appeal is reinforced by a call issued by Dr. Alice Masaryk, daughter of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. Alice Masaryk is the woman who three years ago was in danger of execution by the Austrian government and who was saved by a mighty protest of American women to the Austrian ambassador. Today Alice Masaryk who spent some years in Chicago as a settlement worker is head of the Czechoslovak Red Cross. In her letter to her countrymen in America she says:

"We still have hundreds of children dying of hunger; there are hundreds of children dressed in rags, there are entire districts where the children are almost all dead. Did you realize how many sighs each minute are given out in Prague, do you ever see the pitiable smiles of emaciated children, living skeletons? Austria sucked out our blood, you must nurse us

back to life. You must have faith and you must get to work. Awaken your fellow-citizens, whether they are of Czechoslovak origin or Anglo-Saxon. Send food, underwear, clothing and shoes for children, new things or second-hand. Send money also, for our needs are immense."

Much money has been collected during the war by the Czechoslovak people in this country; they alone maintained for four years the revolutionary campaign for the disruption of Austria and the liberation of Bohemia, the campaign led by Masaryk, so gloriously successful in the end. Now they are turning all their efforts toward collecting millions in food, clothing and money for the relief of the awful misery among their brothers and sisters in the Czechoslovak Republic. The work is done through the Czechoslovak Relief Committee, 436 West 23rd street, New York City. The immediate plan is to send out a ship in June which will be loaded partly with food and clothing bought from money collected, partly by old clothing which the American Red Cross will allot to the needy in Czechoslovakia, and partly by packages of clothing and food sent by Czechoslovak immigrants here to their needy relations and friends.

Up to this time no attempt was made by the Czechoslovaks in America to enlist the charity of others. The entire work of liberation was paid for by their own gifts; they took care of their own soldiers and their families. But now they feel in view of the desperate conditions in the old country and the urgent appeals of the Czech Heart and the Czechoslovak Red Cross that they must tell the American people what great sufferings are still borne by those Czechoslovaks who have merited so well of the Allies. Will America which so generously gave its admiration to the brave Czechoslovak soldiers give also of its wealth for the saving of Czechoslovak children?

A Czechoslovak commission will visit the United States in May to study American methods in industry, social welfare, and sanitation.

The United States Government has sold to the Czechoslovak military authorities airplanes and airplane equipment to the value of \$1,000,000. The number of machines embraced in the consignment was not made public, but they were listed as value at \$319,000.

Jews in Slovakia

By PAUL JAMARIK.

Among the many reports published by American papers every few days of anti-Jewish outbreaks in various parts of central and eastern Europe there have been one or two stories of Jewish persecution in Slovakia. Compared to detailed reports of cruelties in Poland and the Ukraine the charges against Slovaks have been mild and rather indefinite. But unless such stories are properly explained, they create the impression that the Slovaks are guilty of unreasonable and unworthy prejudice, that they are actuated by a religious and racial hatred toward the Jews living among them. An examination of the political and social conditions in Slovakia before the war will throw light on this question of anti-Jewish outbreaks.

Let it be stated first of all that the Czechoslovak people in general and the Slovaks in particular have never been anti-Semitic. Here and there single incidents of hatred or revenge for social or religious reasons may have occurred, but there has never been an anti-Jewish campaign or political party among the Czechoslovaks, such as the anti-Semites of Vienna who for decades and until a few months ago controlled the city hall of the Austrian capital. If cable reports speak of Jewish shops being plundered in Slovakia, it can only mean that the hungry and half-starved people broke into Jewish and other shops, because they believed that the shops contained great supplies of secretly stored food, held back in the expectation of higher prices. And no doubt public sentiment among the Slovaks after the overthrow of the Magyar rule was anything but favorable to the Jews who during the war and before it sided all along with the Magyar government.

Such a thing as a Jewish pogrom has never been known in Slovakia. The peasants were always friendly to the Jews and gave them preference in trading, often to their own detriment. Even in the United States Slovak Jews followed Slovak immigrants and established flourishing business among them. Jewish dealer settled in a Slovak village was generally looked up to as the wisest man in the village. In Bohemia and Moravia the Jews were treated

even better, for there a large percentage of them identified themselves with the Czechoslovak cause before and during the war. Among the leading Czech deputies in the Austrian parliament were two Jews, and today they sit in Masaryk's cabinet. President Masaryk himself is known to the Jews of the whole world as their friend; they do not forget how he once at the risk of his own personal popularity championed a Jew who had been found guilty by Austrian courts of ritual murder.

The Jews belong to a distinct race, but they have no nationality in the modern sense of the word. They are therefore peculiarly susceptible to denationalization and assimilation. A German or Russian Jew will become Americanized quicker than anybody else. He picks up a fluent command of English before the other immigrants even begin to think of learning English. For the Jew there is no sentiment attached to any language, except that of utility. He has no specific national culture to leave behind with regret, no native tongue to abandon. To an independent, strong nation the Jew may become an asset, but to a subjected, backward and weak race he may become a hindrance, an instrument of oppression.

In Hungary, of which Slovakia until her recent union with Bohemia was an unwilling part, there were only three classes: those at the bottom, including the peasantry and rural and industrial laborers; the upper class, consisting of the landlords who owned more than half of the arable land and all the big forests, together with the lesser nobility or gentry who made their living exclusively out of politics; and finally a small middle class of merchants and the so-called bourgeois. Magyar magnates, like Karolyi, Andrassy, Apponyi, were all in politics, both for the glory and for the spoils of it. The gentry was entirely subservient to the big noblemen who distributed political jobs in Budapest and in the counties to deserving and needy squires. In that way it came about that the Jew in Hungary acquired an absolute monopoly of business and industry, banking and journalism; through money-lending to the nobles he was getting into his hand also many

of the big estates of improvident magnates. By handling all the commerce of the country he grew to be the most powerful influence in the Magyar state with which he identified himself. In Budapest the Jew and the Magyar aristocrat determined the policy of the government, in the territories inhabited by the subject races the Jew served as the outpost of the policy of Magyarization.

The Magyar government was founded on injustice, oppression and terrorism. Eight million Magyars tried to assimilate or rather swallow up twelve million people of other races. To Magyarize every man and woman in Hungary, to make a Magyar out of every new-born child was the principal aim of all governmental activities. Everything was permissible that tended to further this aim. Upon this preposterous and immoral idea was built the entire political structure of the Magyaroszag (Magyar State). It did not work, and under the stress of the great war the Magyar state tumbled down like a house of cards, crushing under its debris its builders and upholders—the landholding aristocrats and the Jewish bourgeois. But while the system lasted, it caused untold misery, suffering and social and moral degradation. And it left behind it unquenchable racial hatred and animosity which may trouble the inhabitants of the liberated territories for years to come.

The Jew in Slovakia, as in all civilized countries, was engaged almost exclusively in trading. He came from Russia or Poland, driven out by cruel persecution, penniless; he settled in a village on the southern slope of the Carpathians, opened a rum shop, and in a few years became the wealthiest man in the village. He gave credit to the peasant in his store, but he drove a hard bargain; he would lend the men small sums of money at exorbitant interest and get them into his power. But worst of all he introduced into the village "palenka" (whiskey) which brought with it laziness, demoralization and poverty. Thus the immigrant Jew got rich on the weakness of the Slovak peasant. As a rule he had no competition; the Slovaks did not know how to run a store, and the Magyar nobility and gentry would not lower itself to the life of a tradesman. The Jew made the most of his opportunity and one can hardly blame him for that, but the fact remains that he

did not make himself popular by such methods.

In more recent years priests and more enlightened Slovaks began to organize temperance societies and co-operative stores with some success. That hurt the business of the Jewish publicans and they appealed to the government for protection. As whiskey was a great source revenue to the state, the Magyar government disbanded temperance societies in Slovakia on the pretext that they were part of the nationalistic movement and therefore directed against the integrity of Hungary.

Jews that became rich in the petty trade in the villages moved into the cities and engaged in grain business and banking. The second generation entered the learned professions; they became lawyers, doctors, professors or built distilleries. And they also got into politics. Now in Hungary before the recent revolution a subject had either to declare himself a good Magyar or else be condemned to persecution and oppression. The Jews in Slovakia almost without exception took the first course. Although they had suffered severe persecution in Poland and Russia, they showed no interest in the poor, oppressed Slovak outside of the sphere of trading with him. Why identify himself with the hopeless cause of the Slovaks, when it was to his advantage to side with the government. I do not wish to condemn the Jews in Slovakia for choosing this course; when the advantages were all on one side, most of us would have probably acted the same. Human nature is the same the world over. But the fact remains that the Jew who made his living out of the Slovak peasants had the chance to become either Magyar Jew or Slovak Jew, and he chose the former. Naturally this placed him in an awkward position, when contrary to all human expectations the Magyar kingdom broke up in the fall of 1918.

The Jew was easily "denationalized" and willingly embraced the Magyar Kultur. He had nothing to lose. What did it matter to him, whether he was a Polish Jew or German Jew or Hungarian Jew. In any case he retained his racial characteristics and his religion; at home he could speak Yiddish, if he cared to do so. By professing to be a Magyar he had everything to gain, and so he yielded readily to the policy of Magyarization, where all

other nationalities of Hungary struggled bitterly against it.

As a race the Jews are extremists. On the one side they are the greatest radicals and the most idealist reformers in politics and religion; on the other side one finds among them the greatest supporters of the existing order, of reaction and oppression. In Hungary the greatest champion of the oppressed nationalities was a Magyar Jew, Oscar Jaszy, who after the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became the minister of nationalities in Karolyi's cabinet. No real Magyar dared or cared to say the truth about the futility of the Magyarizing policy as plainly and as forcibly as did Jaszy. But Jaszy is only one among hundred thousands. In every Slovak village there was a Jew, generally the innkeeper and rumseller, who was the most faithful henchman of the old rotten government. He was instrumental in swinging the votes for the government candidate; he was in collusion with the local officials, the petty tyrants and veritable leeches on the body of the peasants. He was the most chauvinistic Magyar of the entire village, openly flouting his loyalty to the hated government. He never lost an opportunity to spy upon the talk of the people and report their sentiments to the authorities. Many a cruel persecution, many a death resulted out of his spying. And the Slovak peasants knew it.

The fact that most of the commerce of Hungary was in Jewish hands and that naturally among the Jewish merchants were found many unscrupulous profiteers, added greatly to the gravity of the situation after the revolution. There seems to be no doubt that in the first days after the ending of Magyar rule Jewish shops were plundered by the hungry population; not because the owners were Jews, but because they had sided with the hated regime and because it was known that many shopkeepers had stored great quantities of food for speculative purposes. Undoubtedly some innocent men were unjustly maltreated; who can reason with a hungry and excited crowd? What so many individual Jews had done to the detriment of the people among whom they lived was now, in the hour of reckoning, charged against the entire race. The Slovaks do not hate the Jews as such, but only as the willing instruments and agents of that barbarous government which had for years bled the Slovaks white and tried

to stab them to death, when the end came. There were a few good men among the Jews in Slovakia, men who sympathized with the Slovak struggle to preserve their national individuality. Such men were respected and called "Our Jews" by the peasantry. Neither would it be fair to create the impression that the Jews alone took part in the Slovak persecution. The greatest culprits of the old regime were the petty Magyar officials, the district prefects and the local notaries, and in many cases Magyarized Slovaks, such as lawyers, priests, teachers and merchants. The renegade is always more cruel than the foreigner.

The real offense of the Slovak Jews was their utter lack of sympathy with the aspirations of the oppressed race and their active support of the immoral regime aiming at the extinction of everything that was not Magyar. While there were noble individuals among the Jews in Slovakia, as an organized body they never raised their voices in protest against the war on nationalities in Hungary. One finds it difficult to understand, why the Jew has so little sympathy with the oppressed of other races and yet is so keenly concerned in the unhappy lot of his own people in any part of the world. When there is an injustice done to the Jews anywhere in the world, the four corners of the earth hear about it on the same day. Yet the Jews in Austria-Hungary had never a word to say about the oppression to which their Slav neighbors were subject under their very eyes.

The disorders in Slovakia lasted only a few days, and no Jew lost his life as a result of them. The Slovak is not revengeful, and the Czechoslovak government had the situation well in hand a few days after the expulsion of the Magyar authorities. Order is fully restored and no one who lives peacefully is molested. The Slovaks are ready to bury the unpleasant memories of the old regime. Let the Jew convince his Slovak neighbor that he is with him sincerely and for good, and he will be treated as fairly as any other citizen. There exists no desire to curb the Jew by special enactments or restrictions. If the Jewish inhabitants of Slovakia will identify themselves with the Czechoslovak cause, if they will deal honestly with their customers, the peasants will live on the best terms with their Jewish fellow citizens.

Crisis That Blew Over

The so-called governmental crisis in the Czechoslovak Republic which arose suddenly in the middle of March by the action of Social Democratic deputies turned out to be merely a protest of the more radical elements of the country against the slow tempo in which promised social reforms were carried out. The coalition cabinet is still in power and enjoys the support of all the political parties of the National Assembly.

The story of the socialist ultimatum as it was called in cabled reports of American correspondents, merely helps to emphasize the unusually stable political conditions of the Czechoslovak Republic. On March 12th the Club of Social Democratic members of the National Assembly addressed to the other political Clubs the following declaration:

"We lack confidence that the present government will be able to carry out its social program of January 9th. The efforts of the Social Democratic members of the cabinet failed to move the bourgeois members of the government to take decided steps especially in the matter of expropriating the large landed estates. The ministry of agriculture has not even called together a commission of inquiry announced two months ago. Neither has the government taken any steps in the direction of acquiring control of coal mines. On January 8th chairmen of the political clubs decided to include in the economic program of the government the expropriation of steel mills and other large enterprises having the nature of monopoly. The spokesmen of the government declared at that time that the cabinet accepted the decision of the party chairman. But nothing has been done to carry out these promises. We also object to the severe interpretation of the law of free assembly by the authorities. The government does not lead the National Assembly, because it lacks firm policies. This condition of affairs creates discontent in the republic, and we refuse to share the responsibility for the failure of the cabinet to produce results or for the opposition of the bourgeois members of the government to the program of January 9th. We would ask: (1) Passing of a law within fourteen days expropriating in principle

large landed estates and taking them over provisionally for the purpose of securing this year's crops. Colonization of these estates would be dealt with by special laws later. (2) Calling of a commission of inquiry within fourteen days to take up expropriation of coal mines, as well as another commission to consider monopolistic enterprises. We would look upon them as the first step for the prompt socialization of these branches of production. (3) Amending the law for workmen's sickness insurance by April 1st. (4) Immediate enactment of law guaranteeing full freedom of assembly, press and association. (5) Immediate proclamation of municipal elections.

If the various parties represented in the National Assembly will not consent to this, we shall take steps to call a party convention to decide on the future tactics of the Social Democratic members in the National Assembly.

We shall ask for the enactment of election laws for a constituent assembly. Not later than two months after municipal elections there ought to follow elections for the true parliament of the republic.

We express our full confidence to Social Democratic ministers Haberman, Soukup and Winter."

This action of one of the strongest political parties was supported also in substance, if not in form, by the Czech Socialist Party, and naturally created considerable excitement in Prague papers and political circles. It looked as if the period of coalition government was over and party strife hitherto cultivated only in political newspapers would be transferred to the National Assembly. But in a few days it became evident that the Socialists had no intention of grasping the government into their hands or of attempting to carry out at once their entire program. The radical form in which their demands were voiced, especially the setting of a time limit, was due to the need of throwing a sop to their more extreme followers. But in editorials published in their principal organ, the *Právo Lidu*, coalition government was accepted as necessary. The nation must present a united front, as long as it is sur-

rounded by enemies in Germany, Austria and Hungary and until normal conditions of production and economy are restored. The Socialists, according to the *Právo Lidu* merely complain of the inefficiency of some of the administrative departments. As to the expropriation of the estates of the noblemen and prelates the Socialists argue that every one in Bohemia is agreed upon the necessity of it. The differences appear only, when it comes to the question of the final disposition of the large estates. The Socialists demand that they remain property of the state and that they be worked either by renters, whose interest may be passed to their children, or worked in common by groups of agricultural laborers; the agrarians on the other hand insist on breaking up the estates and selling them to the peasants on long term payments. Under the circumstances the *Právo Lidu* is willing to postpone the question of final disposition and merely insists on the immediate taking over of the estates by the government.

The opposing view is most authorita-

tively set forth in the *Národní Listy*, the great citizens' daily owned by Premier Kramář. This paper admits the justice of the socialist demands and claims that the reason why they have not been carried out is simply physical impossibility. The administrative machinery of the new state is not yet working as smoothly and as rapidly as one would like. But the paper objects to the rough form in which the Socialists phrased their demands.

A few days later the Socialist paper, *České Slovo*, wrote: "The crisis is over, for the responsible men in all parties realize that to break up the coalition government of all parties might mean the breaking up of the Republic." And then came the news of the Bolshevik revolution in Budapest, and both Socialist parties took the opportunity to declare that they stood firmly back of the Czechoslovak Government in the new and this time real crisis.

The net result of this brief thunderstorm was to accelerate the pace in which social reforms, generally agreed upon as necessary, are to be carried out.

Socialism in Bohemia

By ALEŠ BROŽ.

In Bohemia as well as in other countries the war has caused a serious crisis in the Socialist movement. There are at present two Socialist parties in Bohemia: The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Labor party and the Czechoslovak Socialist party. The first is the original Czech Labor party existing now over thirty years. It has four daily papers and many weekly and monthly reviews and local papers. Its local organizations are found in all parts of the Czechoslovak Republic. The second Socialist party was founded a year ago through the reconstitution of the former National Socialist party. It is weaker than the first, but during the last few months it has acquired considerable strength. Formerly these two groups were antagonistic, but today the differences between them are not great and may be summed up as follows: The Social Democratic party is composed of workingmen only, the Socialist party consists of other elements also and has a more pronounced nationalist tendency. Though the congresses of both these parties

voted in principle for amalgamation, this has not as yet been realized owing to objections of some influential members on both sides. In both parties there are various political and social tendencies, a fact which proves that their constitution is not definite, and that in the Czechoslovak labor movement a new party constellation is due.

For the last two years the Social Democratic party has been passing through a serious crisis. During the war some of the party leaders followed the opportunistic pro-Austrian policy of Dr. Šmeral of which the Austrian Government made a great use, a policy which was contrary to the opinion of the enormous majority of the party. Only after the energetic opposition of several Social Democratic deputies led by Modráček an end was put to Šmeral's opportunist policy. In September 1917 Modráček's sensational manifesto was issued which brought about a radical change in the party. This manifesto sharply criticised the policy of Dr. Šmeral and called for a clean Socialist policy, adapted to the wishes of the nation.

The opposition since its very start met with complete success. The chairman of the parliamentary club of the Czech Social Democratic deputies in the former Reichsrat, Dr. Šmeral, had to resign, and the present Minister of Education in the Czechoslovak government, Gustav Haberman, was elected in his place. Thus the opportunist policy was definitely abandoned as the result of Modráček's opposition and the victory of the anti-Austrian tendency prevented also the break-up of the party and materially contributed to the peaceful outcome of the Czechoslovak revolution of October 28, 1918.

But the prevailing differences in the Social Democratic party did not cease with victory of Modráček's opposition. In the above mentioned Modráček's manifesto a new orientation was demanded not only as regards national policy, but also as regards economic policy. The declaration criticized the Socialist policy which emanated from Berlin and Vienna, and ended in the betrayal of the International and in Bolshevism; it called for a new Socialist and Labor orientation. Since then Modráček has been working for the reform of the party as regards both theory and policy, and his views are voiced by the weekly journal "Socialistické Listy", published at Prague. It goes without saying that his views gave rise to considerable opposition among the conservative members of the party who did not want to adapt the old traditions of the party to the requirements of the new times.

It may be of general interest, if I attempt to outline the principles of Modráček's views and theory. But first of all let me state that Czech workers are not greatly inclined to endless theorization. As a matter of fact theoretic discussions were but little practiced in Bohemia. The intellectual requirements of the Czech workers were satisfied mostly by translations from foreign authors. Thus it can be explained that abroad there was no knowledge of the theoretic and intellectual currents in the Czech Socialist movement. Efforts were, of course, made to emancipate the Czech Socialist movement from German intellectual influences, but these efforts, apart from Modráček, remained without any results worth mentioning.

Modráček's group has therefore an indisputable importance, because it consti-

tutes the first independent intellectual body in Czech Socialist movement which has its own ideas and theories, based upon the teachings of Fourier, Proudhon, Marx, Bernstein and other Socialist thinkers. The foreign element cannot therefore be denied, yet Modráček's group represents as regards Socialist theory an original and independent body of Socialist thinkers.

Modráček elaborated his ideas in a scholarly book entitled: "The Self-Government of Labor" published at the end of last year, and also in a book called "The Republic and Socialism", and in many articles which appeared in the Socialist Review "Akademia" and "Socialistické Listy". His views can be summed up as follows:

Modráček considers the policy pursued by the Social Democratic parties as incompatible with the new times. Russian Bolshevism and the collapse of the International at the outbreak of the war is according to him, the result of the wrong Social Democratic policy. Socialism, says Modráček, does not mean only class-war and struggle of laboring classes for power, but it means at the same time an administrative problem, a problem of intellectual capacity of the working classes to manage the industrial establishments and to rule the society. State Socialism as preached by the Social Democratic parties would be economically inefficient and is in a large measure impossible to realize. Besides it does not solve social problems and it does not abolish class struggle. State collectivism and capitalist establishments have a common defect—they are not based on personal responsibility of the workmen, and consequently their organization represents a hegemony of the State or the capitalists over labor. Modráček therefore advises the workers not to rely too much upon the State, as the proletarians of Old Rome did, not to expect everything from Parliament, because Socialism will not be realized in ministerial offices, but will emerge from human society, from practical education and democratization of our economic and social life. Thus Modráček puts in place of the Socialist State a co-operative Socialist Society.

For the realization of this co-operative Socialist Society it is necessary to work by three methods: (1) by assisting co-operative societies; (2) by trades unionism, and (3) by political democracy. All these ef-

forts of social progress and struggle lead to the same end, to the victory of democracy in the economic life and to the economic liberation of the working classes.

Modráček criticizes the policy of those trade-unions which plead only for higher wages; he points out that the employers have several means of transferring the amount of increase in wages to the consumers. The trade-unions should be inspired therefore by a higher aim: to work for the abolishment of the wage-system and to demand a co-partnership of workmen in the profit and management of all industrial establishments. Though Modráček does not consider partnership of workers as an ideal, nevertheless it is the first step toward the co-operative system.

The present economic system, based on hegemony of capital and exploitation of workmen, he holds to be untenable. It is a perpetual anarchy and revolution which permanently endangers human society. The present system of wages must be abolished as serfdom was abolished, and its place will be taken by the Socialist co-operative system as the only possible form of industrial undertaking. To work this aim is, according to Modráček, the most important object of the Socialist and Labor policy.

Having this aim in view Modráček advises the workers to take a greater part in the co-operative movement and thus to prepare themselves for the economic management of the future Socialist society. By the way it is interesting to note that Modráček has proposed in the Czechoslovak National Assembly the introduction into the superior schools of instruction in cooperation. Modráček does not agree with those co-operative theoreticians who consider the producing co-operative societies of workmen as useless and economically unnatural, and proves that it is possible to organize labor on a co-operative basis. According to his opinion the future Socialist society will be based on co-operation of producers and consumers.

Modráček laughs at the expropriation theory of the Social Democracy and sharply combats Bolshevism. He points out that if we expropriate out of several millions of private employers a few hundred great capitalists, it does not bring us anywhere near to the Socialist society. The expropriation of private property will only be a transitory phenomenon of the Social and economic

transformation. Modráček approves therefore expropriation in a limited extent, as regards monopolistic economic concerns, where it is necessary to take the natural economic resources on which the existence of the nation depends out of the hands of the capitalist usurpators. Such economic concerns are large landed estates, railways, mines, etc. Modráček's speech for the expropriation of great landowners delivered at the last congress of the Social Democratic Party greatly pushed forward this question which is at present under consideration by the Czechoslovak National Assembly. As the bourgeois parties also favor expropriation of the great landowners, there is no doubt that large estates will soon disappear in the Czechoslovak Republic. Modráček proposes that expropriated land be given to co-operative societies of agricultural laborers and to the invalids.

The most striking example of the senseless policy which pretends to establish a Socialist Society by expropriation and State socialism Modráček sees in Bolshevist Russia; the experiments of Bolsheviks brought the country to an economic catastrophe and to actual starvation, though Russia is the richest country in agricultural products.

Such are the general outlines of the principles propagated by Modráček and "Socialistické Listy". The majority of the party maintains for the time being a neutral attitude as regards the intellectual currents in the party: doctrinary marxism as preached by the Germans never had any important body of convinced followers in Bohemia. As regards Modráček's ideas the party did not pronounce as yet its judgment. But it may be confidently expected that in the end Modráček's group will gain the upper hand, because the Czech Socialist Party, formerly National Socialist Party, accepts Modráček's general principles as the basis of Czech Socialism.

Bohemia, much more truly than Switzerland, is the heart of Europe, set about equal distances from all the great seas, a marked physical unit cut off by forested mountains, and yet with easy access to those seas by the Saxon and Moravian, the Austrian and the Magyar gates, holding the balance between the northwestward-flowing Elbe and the southeastward-flowing Danube, for centuries a focus of political and ethnic interests and today one of the most important industrial areas of the world.

FOUR WORKS OF ALEŠ



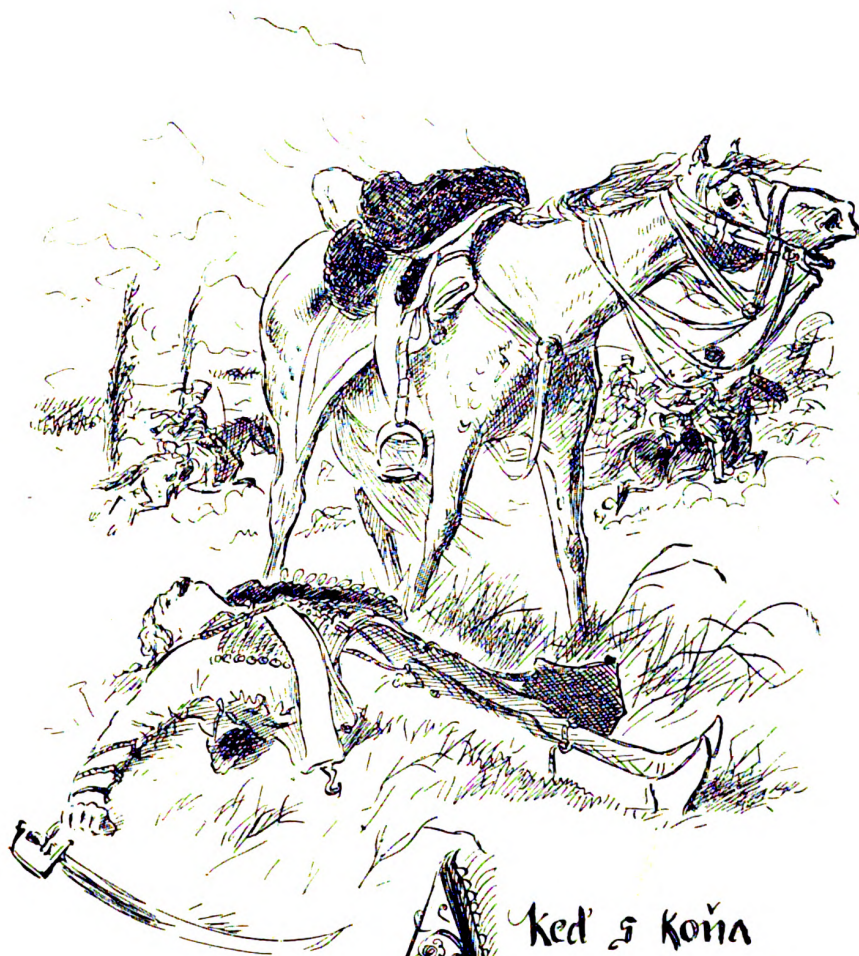
Nevej zahynouti
nám i budoucím!

M. Aleš.
1891

St. Vaclav, Patron Saint of Bohemia.



An Orphan.



1903.
Ked' s koňa
spadnem,
šablenka zazvoni.

Soldier's Death.



At the grave of a Hussite Warrior.

Mikuláš Aleš

Aleš, of all the Czech artists most distinctively Czech, was born in the southwest of Bohemia, in the town of Mirovice in 1852. Just as Smetana in the field of music, so Aleš with his pen and brush brought home to every Czech the fact that he was of the same blood and the same race as the Czech heroes of the past and the peasants of the present. To appreciate Aleš thoroughly one must be Czechoslovak, for art is national; a Czechoslovak art-lover will not fully enjoy the genius of Bach, Beethoven or Dickens, and a stranger will never see as much in the works of Mikuláš Aleš as a Bohemian. The secret of his wonderful work cannot be described, it must be felt, and only sons of Aleš's own nation see his work, as he saw it. Josef Mánes, first of the great modern Czech painters, makes a broader appeal, even though the two have so much in common. Mánes was a Slav in general, Aleš is just a Czech.

He was principally an illustrator of the history of his nation. Whether he saw the legendary scenes of the pagan period, whether he drew sketches of the great Hussite days, or whether he dwelt upon the days of humiliation and slavery, he always managed to bring out the same unchanging Czech soul. How simple and noble is his Prince Václav, humbly imploring God: Let not our people perish, now or in the days to come. (First of the four reproductions.) Or his Jan Hus—an ordinary priest, but with a firm hand and a determined look, indicating strength that flames could not subdue, strength that shook the supreme authority of the Middle Ages. How plain and real are his peasants who followed the teachings of Hus and singing the Hussite hymn, "Ye who are God's warriors" defeated six crusading hosts. (The fourth illustration shows a Hussite captain standing by the grave of a comrade, a "God's warrior".)

Aleš loved his people, and he sketched them constantly—in work and song, in joy and sorrow, peasant types, plain, healthy, strong, as they were bred in Bohemia and Slovakia. He loved the Slovaks especially

and brought out well their melancholic soul which we hear in the Slovak folk songs, of all nations the most beautiful. The pain of the enslaved people, its manifold sufferings no one could bring out as well as he.

He was not a painter of great canvasses. Small, simple drawings, illustrations of books and innumerable periodicals comprised most of his work. Aleš may be said to have drawn the entire history of the Czech nation, yet he was not an historical painter of great style. The form of his art was simple, the spirit was lofty.

What Aleš loved best to draw were Czech children. And the love he had for them is returned by the children. Every Czechoslovak child knows Mikuláš Aleš and his sketches of fairy tales, national heroes and little figures full of vitality, childish dreams, games and songs. (The second reproduction brings out the ghost of a familiar folk song, "A child was orphaned".)

For his children Aleš drew his magnificent horses. They seem to have human faculties in their love for their masters. (The third reproduction illustrates a verse from a folk song, "And when I fall from the horse, the sabre will ring".) His geese, returning home from pasture, his knights of the fairy tales, his dragons and witches, his princesses waiting for the true knights to liberate them — how real and delightful they are still to hundreds of thousands of children. Why, Aleš could tell a whole fairy tale in one page of drawings—from the time the orphan boy ran away from his wicked stepmother until he married the beautiful princess at the bottom of the page. And that was before the days of the movies.

Aleš's pen was the pen of a democratic artist devoted to his nation and to democratic ideas which always were uppermost in the Czechoslovak soul. When Aleš died ten years ago, the nation lost a man who had done much to strengthen it for the great tribulation and the great glory that were in store for it.

V. B.

The Slovak-Magyar Frontier

Reprinted from the "New Europe", April 3 and 10.

The new Republic consists roughly of two halves — the lands of the Bohemian Crown and Slovakia—the latter being nearly equal in area to the former, but possessing barely a quarter of its population. In drawing the frontiers of Slovakia quite other standards must be applied from those which we have shown to be valid in the case of Bohemia. Slovakia has never formed an independent State, though in the ninth century and until the coming of the Magyars it was the center of that shortlived and loosely knit "Great Moravian Empire", of which Svatopluk was King and the great Methodius Metropolitan. Save for an interlude during the later Hussite period of the fifteenth century, the Slovaks have remained separated from their Czech kinsmen and subjected to the heavy yoke of the Magyars who ever since the modern nationalist revival have spared no effort to denationalize the Slovaks, or where this was not possible, to foment distinctions between them and the Czechs and to foster local and particularist tendencies. It is indeed remarkable that a people whom geography and the deliberate policy of its rulers combined to isolate from the main currents of European history should none the less have proved peculiarly responsive to Slav sentiment in its widest sense, and in Kollár, Palacký, Šafařík and Masaryk should have produced four of the most eminent apostles of the Slav idea. The plain fact is that the Slovaks are one of the most gifted races in all Europe, whose natural artistic, musical and literary talent have here and there found an outlet even in the teeth of Magyar oppression, and of whom great things may fairly be expected now that the long tyranny has been shaken off.

The problem of demarcation is simplified by the fact that on the north the ethnological line of cleavage corresponds with one of the most clearly-defined natural frontiers in Europe—the mountainous barrier separating Hungary from Galicia. This will obviously remain unaltered. On the west, of course, the union wipes out the old Hungaro-Moravian boundary; but from the southernmost point of Moravia the river March again provides a natural and linguistic frontier between the Czechoslovak

and German-Austrian Republics, as far as its junction with the Danube twelve miles west of Pressburg (now Bratislava). Thus the only serious difficulty is to devise a satisfactory line between the Slovaks and the Magyars.

Here, as everywhere else in Europe, the problem resolves itself into a compromise between ethnography and geography; but it is obvious that the first essential must be an attempt to get as near as possible to the true racial boundary. The main lines of such a result can be obtained from the official Magyar census figures, and it is these which we have deliberately used in the present article. It is notorious that the results which they contain are in every case unduly favorable to the Magyar element; but since 90 per cent of the essential facts can be proved out of the mouth of the enemy himself, the extreme course of rejecting all Magyar statistics as unreliable and "tendentious" would simply leave us in the position of having virtually no material whatever to work upon. Before, however, a sure and final verdict on the remaining ten per cent can be obtained, it will certainly be necessary to send an impartial international boundary commission to study conditions on the spot; and it is safe to assume that in that case the numbers of the Magyars in northern Hungary (as indeed in Transylvania and the south) will be found to have been vastly exaggerated. One simple proof of this is the fact that according to the statistics of 1910 the total number of Slovaks is given as 1,967,970, but the number of persons speaking Slovak as 2,776,743. As it is only too notorious that hardly any Magyar (even an official whose duty it is to do so) condescends to learn Slovak, the balance between these two figures must obviously consist in the main of artificially Magyarized Slovaks.

The Slovak counties fall naturally into three groups: (1) seven where the population is predominantly Slovak; (2) seven which are in great majority Slovak, but portions of which are mixed and therefore debateable; and (3) five which contain Magyar majorities, certain portions of which it will be necessary to sacrifice in

order to attain a tolerable frontier. In the following tables these groups are divided for practical purposes into two categories: (I) what can fairly be assigned without further question to the Czechoslovak Re-

public, and (II) debateable districts which ought, if the Paris Conference still has the time and energy, to form the subject of a special inquiry on the spot, rather than be carved up arbitrarily by diplomats—

I.

(A)—Overwhelmingly Slovak Counties.

	Slovak.	Magyar.	German.	Total
Trenčín (Trencsén)	284,770	13,204	9,029	310,437
Turec (Turócz)	38,432	5,560	10,993	55,703
Orava (Arva)	59,096	2,000	1,518	*78,745
Liptov (Liptó)	78,098	4,365	2,591	86,906
Zvolen (Zólyom)	113,294	16,509	2,124	133,653
Spiš (Szepes, Zips)	97,077	18,658	38,434	†172,867
Šaryš (Sáros)	101,855	18,088	9,447	†174,620
Total (A)	772,622	78,384	74,136	1,012,931

*The County of Orava has always contained the highest percentage of Slovaks (94.7 per cent in 1900); but in 1910 the Magyar statistics suddenly discovered the existence of 16,120 Poles, thus conveniently reducing the Slovaks to 75 per cent. This fictitious change rests on the obvious fact that along the linguistic frontier the Slovak dialect shows certain Polish (as also Ruthene) influences.

†There are also 50,827 Ruthenes (12,327 in Spiš, 38,500 in Saryš).

(B)—Counties with Slovak majority (deducting debateable districts).

	Slovak.	Magyar.	German.	Total
1. Prešpurk:				
(a) Five districts N. of Danube*....	137,237	64,749	12,912	218,876
6. Town of Pressburg	11,673	31,705	32,790	78,223
(c) Towns of Tirnova, Bazin, Modor and St. George	16,695	6,156	5,279	28,439
2. Nitra:				
(a) Ten country districts†.....	283,021	36,065	24,959	337,698
(b) Towns of Nitra and Skalice.....	9,084	10,259	1,895	21,437
3. Tekov (Bars):				
(a) Four country districts‡.....	81,938	24,216	15,455	122,531
(b) Towns of Kremnice and Ujbanva..	5,738	1,971	1,593	9,328
4. Hont:				
(a) Two country districts (Batovce and Krupina)	29,018	3,659	217	48,479
(b) Town of Stavnica (Selmeczbánya...)	8,341	6,340	453	15,185
5. Novohrad (Nógrád) country district of Gács	19,633	1,557	56	21,679
6. Gemer:				
(a) Three country districts (Sobata, Ga ramvolgy, Revuca)	44,768	11,894	361	58,394
(b) Towns of Rima Sobata, Revuca, Jol- va and Dobšina	3,304	11,227	1,858	16,712
7. Zemplín:				
Five country districts§	80,917	23,978	5,954	121,627
Total (B)	731,367	233,776	103,207	1,098,608
Total (A and B)	1,503,989	312,160	177,918	2,111,539

II.

Prešpurk (Grosse Schütt)	412	60,757	2,841	64,212
Nitra (Ersekujvár, Vagsellye)	32,559	54,000	1,103	88,320
Tekov (Levice)	10,148	35,835	318	46,641
Komárom (north of Danube)	3,051	78,379	142	81,747
Esztergom (north of Danube)	908	36,075) 77	37,092
Hont (Ipolysag, Ipolynyék, Szob, Vámos- mikola)	10,703	62,732	6,393	79,761
Novohrad (Novohrad, Lučenec and towns of Lučenec and Balaša)	33,527	77,944	2,134	114,838
Gemer (Rimaseč, Putnok, Rožnava)	16,583	65,922	600	84,080
Abauj-Torna (Füzer and Košice) town of Košice	33,300	61,410	3,694	100,779
Zemplin (Sátoralja)	4,988	37,145	42	42,937
Total	146,179	570,199	17,344	740,407

*Malačky, Tirnova, Senc, Prešpurk, Galanta.

†Galgocz, Myjava, Topolčany, Nitra, Zámky, Pištany, Prievidza, Skalice, Senica,

N. Mesto.

‡Zlata Moravce, Garam Szt Kereszt, Oslany, Vrable.

§Galszecs, Humonne, V. Mikulas, Varanno, Stropko.

It is not of course to be assumed that anything like the whole of these debateable districts will be assigned to the Slovaks, but somewhere within them the final frontier will have to be drawn. The Grosse Schütt—the rich territory forming an island between the two arms of the Danube east of Pressburg—is claimed by the Czechs as necessary for their control of the river; but it will probably be decided that this would be a gratuitous violation of the national principle, since the island contains only a few hundred Slovaks in over 100,000 Magyars. On the other hand, the town of Pressburg (now rechristened Bratislava), which contains a German-Magyar majority but is surrounded by Slovak territory, is vitally needed by the new State as its Danubian port and hence as a means of commercial access to the Balkans and the Black Sea.

Further east the provisional frontier assigned to the new Republic follows the Danube from Komárom to the mouth of the Ipol and thus assures to the Slovaks the whole course of their chief river, the Váh, and the two lesser rivers, Nitra and Hron. The advantages of securing this natural frontier are, of course, very great; but the Conference may conceivably decide to be guided by direct investigations as to the racial character of the districts lying immediately to the north of the Danube. It will probably be found that their Magyarism is for the most part little more than a political veneer imposed by the peculiar circumstances of the last two generations.

The provisional frontier follows the Ipol to no great distance from its source, and then, leaving the foothills near Rimovska, strikes diagonally north-eastwards until it reaches the Ung river near Užhorod (Ungvár), on the line of cleavage between Slovaks and Ruthenes. It is probably safe to assume that in its essentials this line will be made permanent, and that the extreme Czech claim, comprising such towns as Vác and Miskolcz and the mining district of Salgótarján, which is so vital to the Magyars, will be disallowed. The main interest of the Czechoslovaks, as of every State under the new dispensation, is to be saddled with as few, not as many, alien subjects as possible; and it will be an un-mixed blessing for Prague if it can find safe devices for paring down certain sections of the frontier and so reducing the number of its German and Magyar subjects.

Attention must, however, be drawn to the fact that while several hundred thousand Magyars will inevitably be included in Czechoslovakia, the Slovaks, on their side, will be obliged to sacrifice a number of flourishing colonies—amounting to 226,972, according to the official figures, and probably far more numerous—which lie scattered in the plains of Central and Southern Hungary, and which, owing to their geographical position, must necessarily remain in the Hungarian republic (or even in Jugoslavia). Of these the most important are Békés Co. (66,770); the Bácska (30,137); Pest Co. (26,681); Budapest (20,359); Csanád Co. (17,133); Torontál Co. (16,143). Thus, an exact racial division being impossible, the existence of small racial minorities on either side of the new frontier may be regarded as a guarantee of mutual tolerance, if, as is only too probable, any attempt to exchange them should break down in face of the peasants' attachment to the soil.

It is necessary to point out that throughout the northern counties the Magyar element consists mainly of officials (administrative, judicial, or educational) imported from Central or Southern Hungary to hold down the Slovaks, and of a certain number of Magyarized Slovaks who have yielded to political pressure or forsworn their nationality in return for some local position. Of these, the former will automatically withdraw to Hungary, while the latter will speedily rediscover their Slovak nationality. When this natural process is complete the number of Magyars will be negligible. This of course, does not apply in the same degree to the districts close to the ethnographic frontier, where there are many pure Magyar villages interspersed with Slav.

The Bohemian National Alliance, 3734 W. 26th St., Chicago, has just published a second edition of an account by Vojta Beneš of the "Economic Strength of the Czechoslovak Lands." The story has been brought to date and contains in addition a summary of the "American Commerce with Czechoslovakia" before the war, reprinted from the Czechoslovak Review. Together the two articles make a handsome booklet of 32 pages. Order it from the Bohemian National Alliance (15 cents each) and present to your American friends.

German Plots Against Czechoslovakia

Dethronement of the Kaiser, election of a socialist for president of the German Republic, even the Spartacide uprisings and the attempts at the establishment of a communist government have not changed the German character. The Germans do not know what it means to be democratic, they have not learned to have any regard for the rights of others, they still consider themselves the superior race entitled to lord it over the inferior races who are their neighbors. While they noisily take their stand on Wilson's fourteen points and demand a just peace, they plot in Russia and Poland for the extension of their domination over the East of Europe and they make plans for the overrunning of the Czechoslovak Republic. What happened in America during the early years of the world war is taking place now in Central and Eastern Europe. The plots of Bernstorff and Luxemburg are repeated in Prague in the conspiracies of the German consul Schwarz against the peace and independence of the country in which he resided.

These plots were exposed and written evidence of them furnished to Allied representatives in Prague and to their military representatives in Vienna and Budapest by the Czechoslovak Government on March 7th. The note embodying these charges and proofs was read in the Czechoslovak National Assembly March 11th by the acting premier Švehla. The note is as follows:

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic became aware that in certain nationally mixed districts of the republic systematic activity was carried on for some time aimed against the peace and integrity of the Czechoslovak State. By means of agitators, special couriers, newspapers and handbills pan-German propaganda was carried on in these districts; this propaganda, supported by heavy financial subsidies and having at its disposal arms sent from abroad, continually incited the local population to disorders, resistance, strikes and even revolts against the state. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic followed this agitation with increased attention and ascertained that it was inspired and fed from neighboring states hostile to the Entente. The espionage affair of the former German vice-consul in Prague, Dr.

Schwarz, furnished direct proof that the conspiracy against the very existence of the Czechoslovak Republic could be traced to Berlin. From Berlin was sent into the territory of the republic material to create insurrection, and hints in a veiled form as to procedure were given. At the same time, as the attached military orders of German Austrian units indicate, considerable military forces were formed on the territory of the German Austrian Republic, armed and even trained for street fighting; these forces were destined for armed invasion of Czechoslovak territory. This campaign was directly managed by German Austrian authorities, and its wide extent may be estimated by the fact that it was also supported from Hungary and Saxony.

In order to estimate properly the wide extent of this hostile action, menacing the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic, the fact should be considered—as proved by the attached report of the Vienna plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak Republic—that the state chancellor and the president of the German Austrian Republic finally admitted that the military campaign against the Czechoslovak Republic was conducted by the State Secretary of the German Austrian Republic Mayer, surely not without knowledge of the other members of the German Austrian Government. All these hostile acts were prepared at a time, when the German Austrian Government dared to charge the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic before the whole world with refusing to deliver coal, thus crippling Austrian economic life, although it is well known that the Czechoslovak Government without any legal obligation, solely from humanitarian motives, is trying to supply German Austria as much coal as possible. To guarantee the success of armed invasion planned for early March it was intended to use sabotage in the interior of the Czechoslovak Republic and also declare a general strike, purely political, on March 4th. The real aim was to stir up civil war in the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic, and in many places, especially at Sternberg in Moravia, this led to direct revolts and attacks by local population armed with German Austrian weapons against Czechoslovak garrisons. It was

the same with strikes, revolts and armed invasion of Magyar bands in Slovakia.

Only by timely discovery of the espionage of Dr. Schwarz and the publication of certain German Austrian orders of February 28th and March 1st were the authors of the conspiracy against the Czechoslovak Republic confounded, so that the projected German-Magyar invasion into the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic had to be postponed.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic in bringing these facts to the notice of Allied and associated governments protests most emphatically against the unprecedented acts of the German Austrian Government (respectively the Magyar Government.) (1) It has most flagrantly broken the armistice of November 3rd. (2) With the direction and participation of members of the government it prepared a dastardly attack against the Czechoslovak Republic, an attack which endangered and might have frustrated all efforts at consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic as the principal support of peace in Central Europe. (3) By its hostile acts toward the Czechoslovak Republic, planned almost under the very eyes of Entente representatives in Vienna, the German Austrian Government not merely endangered the prestige of associated and Allied powers, but imperilled the vital interests of the Entente of which the Czechoslovak Republic is a part. (4) The Government of German Austrian Republic proved by its machinations that in spite of all painful experiences of the four years' war it is led by the same principles which formed the substance of Prussian militarism: ruthless violation of written treaties and the most elementary international customs, as well as readiness treacherously to attack a neighbor, whenever a suitable opportunity seems to offer.

The government of the Czechoslovak Republic, being fully conscious that its energetic efforts for the maintenance of security and order serve not only the interests of the Czechoslovak Republic, but also the most important interests of its Allies and the cause of general peace, is compelled to declare that this work will be made impossible, unless the governments of the Allied and associated powers deduce from the foregoing fully established facts the following consequences:

(1) The government of the German Austrian Republic is to be made responsible.

(2) All those guilty shall be after proper investigation punished in an exemplary manner and the result of the investigation and punishment shall be communicated to the Czechoslovak Government. (3) The German Austrian Government shall repay expenses incurred by the enforced military and police measures which the Czechoslovak Republic was obliged to take against the projected invasion and revolt. (4) Military detachments intended to invade Czechoslovak territory shall be promptly, under Allied control, disarmed and scattered. (5) Since all peace declarations of the German Austrian Republic to the effect that it would refrain in future from conspiring against the Czechoslovak Republic could receive little credence, the armed forces of the German Austrian Republic shall be reduced to the strength necessary for mere police service. (6) All arms that such a reduction of military strength of German Austria will make available shall be surrendered to an inter-Allied commission with the participation of Czechoslovak delegates, and this commission shall exercise supervision over all munition works and arsenals on German Austrian territory. (7) All German Austrian railroads shall be placed under control of an Allied commission with the participation of Czechoslovak delegates. (8) With reference to imminent peril, that the government of the German Austrian Republic will continue in its plots against the integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic, the government of the Czechoslovak Republic reserves the right to take all provisional measures that will make impossible any hostile action against the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic. (9) The government of the Magyar Republic shall be called upon to institute under inter-Allied control strict investigation as to the participation of Magyar soldiers in the projected invasion, and as to furnishing of weapons and munitions for that purpose. (10) All persons found guilty after detailed investigation shall be severely punished and the result of the investigation and punishment shall be communicated to the Czechoslovak Government. (11) The government of the Magyar Republic shall be instructed to give proper satisfaction to the Czechoslovak Republic in a manner to be approved by the Czechoslovak Government. (12) The Saxon Government shall be instructed to investigate most carefully cases mentioned

in Document No. 9, punish guilty persons and give full satisfaction to the government of the Czechoslovak Republic in a manner to be determined by it.

After reading this note minister Švehla supplemented it by reading excerpts from attached proofs. He summed up the case in the following words:

"We hoped that the German Austrian Government after being notified of these charges on March 4th would of its own accord stop further acts and adopt measures that any other government would take in a similar case. Unfortunately I must state that even after March 4th the German Austrian Government maintained its attitude,

and the military formations gathered for an invasion of our republic still stand under arms prepared to move. We were ready and still are ready to live in peace and friendly relations with our neighbors. We hoped for peaceful relations in order that we might devote ourselves to the tremendous tasks that are ahead of us. But we were disappointed. We regret greatly that blood was shed on both sides, that we were compelled to meet a combined attack of our enemies against the existence of our state. We declare with all emphasis that all parties in the entire Czech nation are determined to defend the republic against all attacks and that in this we are and shall be united always and against all."

Masaryk's Birthday

The false rumors of President Masaryk's resignation published in this country at the time of the communist revolution in Budapest, even though promptly denied, gave rise to the impression that Masaryk's great popularity among his countrymen has suffered serious diminution since his arrival in Prague just before last Christmas. That such an impression is totally wrong may be best seen from editorials published in Czechoslovak newspapers on the occasion of Masaryk's sixty-ninth birthday on March 7th.

The principal Agrarian daily of Prague, the *Venkov*, says:

"If we remember this day, the birthday of our President, we do so not because he is the head of the state, but with great good will and full conviction that we render honor to the man to whom more than to anyone else we owe our liberty. Through him our country was liberated from age-long slavery and through his efforts the Czechoslovak Republic appeared on the map of Europe as an independent and sovereign state. We do not need to exaggerate or flatter or pretend artificial loyalty; in his case his old deeds speak, known to all and appreciated by all."

The best known Czech daily, the *Národní Lísty*, speaks of Masaryk in the same tone: "The Czechoslovak people upon the occasion of the glorious return of the President manifested nobly their gratitude, respect and love; today upon his birthday they remember him in their hearts with the same feeling. In his message he indicated the ways which we should follow. If we govern ourselves by his councils, we shall reach the goal that he set for us. After the hard days which have been his lot in the past may he live to see his dreams realized and may happiness and peace shine long over his head."

The *Slovak Daily* uses the occasion for a patriotic appeal: "How can we best celebrate the sixty-ninth birthday of our dear President? The best way will be to ask ourselves this question: do we really stand where he is? Do we sacrifice everything for the welfare of the nation as he does? Are we as just and severe to ourselves and others as he is? Do we love each other as he loves us? If so, we can remember him with a joyful spirit and heart and our celebration will be worthy of the Czechoslovak nation."

The most radical Socialist paper of Prague, the *Právo Lidu*, exceeds all the other journals in the praise of the President: "Today President Masaryk is one of the nation's heroes, he is one of the world's heroes. His place is at the side of John Amos Comenius with whom he is kindred in his deeds, his exemplary life and the greatness of his spirit. We wish him much happiness on this day. May he live long among us. May his hands help in completing the structure of the Czechoslovak Republic according to his ideals, in the spirit of democracy and humanity, in the spirit of social regeneration and uplifting of the poor."

The *Tribuna*, organ of the Czech Jewish organizations, quotes a number of expressions from Masaryk's first message to the National Assembly, and concludes: "He who works in the sense of these noble expressions of Masaryk honors and loves him best, and he can join with a full heart the prayers of the nation for continued strength to our President."

The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party sent Masaryk this telegram: "We take the occasion of your birthday to express to you once more our feelings of respect and devotion. The entire party rejoices that you stand at the head of our free state and hopes from the bottom of their hearts that you may be preserved for many years for the welfare of the Republic."

The Future of Škoda Works

Next to the immense Krupp shops in Essen the most famous munition factory in the world is the great industrial plant at Pilsen, Bohemia, controlled by the Austrian Baron Škoda. Here were made the famous Austrian howitzers that battered down the fortifications of Liege and gave such a marked superiority to German artillery during the first years of the war. The changes brought about by the cessation of armed conflict are graphically described in the *Právo Lidu*, a Prague daily. From this account we reprint the following facts:

Before the war the Škoda Works in Pilsen employed about 8,000 people. During the war the number of employed increased to 37,000, including about 5,000 women and an administrative personnel of 2,000. Only he who could secure admittance beyond the high fencing around Škoda factories can have a conception of the immensity of this industrial enterprise, its productive activities, its technical perfection and its terrible mission in time of war. The factory grew into a city with many principal buildings and innumerable small plants and shops which together composed a single colossal workshop. During the war the Škoda Works gathered within their walls thousands of workers from the immediate district and from all parts of the Austrian empire; this enterprise was not merely a producing center for instruments of murder, but it was truly a slave camp.

The revolution of October 28th put a stop to the activities of the Škoda Works. War production ceased and the munition plant is being liquidated. On the very day of October 28th the last new gun was tried out on the proving grounds at Bolevec, but immediately afterwards the noise was stilled, lathes were abandoned, anvils were silenced and munition works were empty of human presence. Tall chimney stacks ceased to vomit mighty columns of smoke — the Škoda factory breathed its last, finished its task of destructive production and found nothing to do in the cause of peace. Its department for normal industrial manufacture had a few orders, but found it difficult to get coal. The immense plant which for so many years centered its energy on the needs of war became in spite of its size and efficiency a dead house without hopes of finding new tasks.

Today there are still six thousand people employed there more or less regularly. If this industrial enterprise could get orders and material, it could give employment to ten thousand people. In the munition department there is no work of any kind done. The main shops are silenced and their immense spaces are filled with multitudes of guns of all kinds; there are the smallest mountain and field guns, machine guns and quick firers, there are hundreds of

anti-aircraft guns, there are long distance cannon and tremendous naval guns. The smallest as well as the largest lie here as inoffensive material, some of them brought back here for repairs after doing their share of the work of destruction, others just finished and never employed on the battlefronts. In the largest hall of the munition plant the mass of small guns is dominated by two 40-centimeter monsters, and next to them are two immensely long steel tubes, long-reach cannon one of which was to have been employed against Paris and one against Venice. The steel beasts lie here powerless, covered with dust and contemptuously spoken of by all civilians who come now and then to inspect the masses of the steel war material. The mouths of the ugly guns and mortars that were employed in the perfidious invasion of Belgium face other heavy cannon used in the battles of Verdun and Piave.

But the dissolution and liquidation of war production is not the liquidation of the entire plant. It would be erroneous to think of the Škoda Works as merely producing armaments. During the war this plant received the addition of the so-called Hindenburg buildings; these were structures planned by Hindenburg for a base of his technical campaign for supremacy against the entente; immense and costly structures, entire city of factories destined exclusively for the making of guns, munitions and airships. This industrial city awaits utilization for the purpose of peace production. For even before the war the Škoda Works had large departments making bridges, locomotives, motors, plows, together with immense technical outfit of machinery, tools, cranes, terminal railroads, all forming together a foundation for the most important industrial enterprise in the whole Czechoslovak Republic.

This is today one of our great problems. What shall we do with the mammoth plant upon which the livelihood of thousands depends, with which the prosperity of Pilsen and the whole district is inseparably bound up? Can the domestic market consume all that the Škoda factory can produce, can the plant compete with foreign capital in the manufacture of export goods? It is a problem that deserves the most careful and expert attention of our authorities. The most immediate need from the point of view of the workingmen is to guarantee enough coal to take care of the existing orders which will keep the men busy for the next four months.

It is announced that seven new railroad lines will be soon built in Slovakia. Since the revolution twelve secondary schools and a teacher's training school have been established in Slovak territory.

Budapest the Defeated

By PETER KOMPIŠ.

As you go out of the Eastern Depot, you see piles of dirt. Men are engaged in sweeping it away, but the piles are not decreasing. Everything seems somehow damp and dirty, the station buildings, street cars, pavements. On the square by the depot every one is busy and every one is noisy; the open spaces are filled with tents, tables and benches; people are selling black bread, bakery goods of various univiting shapes, candy, hot sausages, sodawater, lemonade, bacon. Among these street sellers you see a great many soldiers, both sound and crippled, all equally dilapidated. Even a fourteen year old boy wears a military cap, but he no doubt never saw war.

On the streets you meet again soldiers peddling various merchandise. They yell, each trying to outdo the other, in order to draw your attention. "Genuine Egyptian cigarettes — German cigarettes — Fine cigarettes, gentlemen—" They cost from 40 to 80 hellers each. Little loaves of black bread, about the size of a roll, are sold for 50 hellers, a box of matches for 40 hellers. If you try a bakery, you will not get bread without a bread card, and in the cigar store they will tell you that they have no matches.

At the depot I saw two soldiers selling footwear — yellow feltshoes — at 50—60 crowns a pair. They did not yell or even call out their ware, but they had no lack of customers. The big box from which they were taking the shoes was rapidly being emptied. A policeman goes by, but never thinks of inquiring, where the rare merchandise came from. Probably he had been a soldier himself and would not spoil the game of his comrades.

"Shoe laces, peace goods, will last forever, 2 crowns, 80 hellers a pair", cries a lame soldier standing at the entrance of a dry goods store.

In front of posters crowds are always standing many deep. The League for the Integrity of Hungary has the most striking poster: in a red field a white map of Hungary, cut into Slovak, Serbian and Roumanian territory. Under the red field big black letters stand out: "Nem! Nem! Soha!" (No, no, never.) Another placard announces that the Magyar radical party is calling a mass meeting; officers of the regular army and non-commissioned officers are taking steps to organize. The Communist League of Magyar Intellectual Workers calls upon all public officials to join them, the mayor of Budapest urges the populace to avoid conflict with Allied military detachments. Posters signed Magyar Christian Socialist Party are torn everywhere.

Translated from the "Venkov" of March 15.

"Every fifteen minutes a new placard" remarks someone from the bystanders. "At least we can save on newspapers." At the same moment an old woman dressed in rags sticks a paper under his nose and yells: "Deli Hirlap."

We enter a restaurant to dine. Veal cutlet with potatoes 8 crowns, salad 2 crowns. Bread and dessert only on production of bread card. "What can we get to drink", I ask the waiter. "Raspberry juice." And then he adds in a low voice: "No liquors may be sold in Pest. But if you will step into the next room, we serve reliable guests fine white wine, excellent Riesling."

The guests in the restaurant are busy talking politics. "Is it true that the Czechs are coming here?" "Let them; if they do, they will have to feed us!" "Foolish fears. As they came, so they will leave. All of them will clear out — Roumanians, Serbians and the Czechs", says an old gentleman. "I don't care who comes, Czech or Serb or Frenchman, as long as I can make a decent living." Everybody looks with disapproving eyes at a man who speaks unpatriotically. He is a young man, apparently a shop foreman, with a red badge, and judging by his pronunciation a true Magyar.

When I paid, the waiter could not get the amount right. He charged 80 hel. for soup instead of 60, for veal cutlet 8.50 instead of 8, for salad 2.50 instead of 2. When I appealed to the bill of fare, he claimed that he forgot and charged yesterday's prices. Oh well, that is what one expects in Budapest.

In Café Windsor I became acquainted with a young Magyar lieutenant. He showed me a passport to Russia. "Why, what do you mean to do?" "I am going to emigrate permanently. As a prisoner I learned to talk Russian perfectly and I have good friends over there. I feel confident that I can make good in Russia. It is a great country and needs educated people. And I am not alone; from Budapest quite a number of my acquaintances have already moved to Russia."

"Why not stay at home and make good here?" "Under this bolshevik-Jewish government? And then there are such awful numbers of us. Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Banat, all swamp us with fleeing officials. There are not enough jobs for all of us." "Have you parents?" "Mother only." "And what does she say?" "She does not know yet. But she will have to agree, when I show her the passport."

The young lieutenant was almost crying. But he got control of himself and said: "She will not lose me for long. As soon as things get settled down in Russia and I have a good position, I will send for her and take good care of her."

Foltýn's Drum

By SVATOPLUK ČECH.*

Old Foltýn slung across his shoulder an enormous drum, the venerable relic of the glorious patrimonial times, and came out before the castle. It seemed that the indulgent Father Time preserved the drummer for the drum's own sake, for the tall, bony figure of Foltýn — very erect after the military fashion, inside an antique Uhlan's mantle, with face wrinkled into innumerable folds though still possessing the vestige of its former fresh glow and clear, blue eyes of its youthful appearance, with coarse grey moustache and a grey stubble upon his divided chin, with a wide scar upon his brow and a dignified self-restraint in every movement — was as a living remnant of bygone feudal glory. Old Foltýn was the castle gatekeep, an office hereditary in his family. As in the Middle Ages the vassal families dedicated their efforts exclusively to the service of their own lord, so also the Foltýns restricted their ambitions to the positions of porters, overseers, henchmen, shepherds and wardens in the services of the noble proprietors of this castle. Yes, one member of them even attained to the dignity of a footman with one of the former gentry, thus becoming, of course, a boast and a proud recollection of his extensive relations.

Well then, old Foltýn stepped out before the castle along with his drum, seemingly to call the head of the village and his councillors together for some extremely important official business; in reality, alas! only to assemble an army of old women for the gentry's field-work.

Cocking his head a bit to one side, he brandished his drumsticks over his ancient drum. But what now? After a few prodigious beginnings, his productions culminated suddenly in one dull thud. I am convinced that many an old woman, upon hearing that lone, dismal sound, dropped her spoon in surprise and quickened her ears; then, as the mysterious sound remained the last one, she surely donned her headdress over her grey pleats, and running to the opposite cottage, met the female resident of it and read upon her lips the question which she herself was preparing to utter: what has happened to old Foltýn that he has concluded his afternoon's artistic feat by such an unseemly turn?

The thing happened in this way. Had you but stood, at the given moment in Foltýn's place and possessed his falcon eyes, you'd have seen, in the road bend at the foot of the forest, a certain dark object which was nearing the village with terrific rapidity. Later on you'd distinguish a pair of horses and an equipage whose form was, in those regions, but seldom seen.

* Translated by John Hulla.

When the gate-keep reached this point in his observations, he abruptly came to from a complete state of petrification to which the appearance of the above mentioned object had reduced him, and hurried, quick as his legs could carry him, back to the castle.

The Adjunct Beruška was just casting a sorrowful, parting glance towards a remarkably fine piece of roast, ominously soaring above which was the fork of his esteemed principal, when Foltýn, drum and all, without giving any advance sign of entering whatever, broke into the room. He presented a singular spectacle. White as chalk, his eyes wildly astare, drops of perspiration trickling down his forehead, his lips moved without producing a sound while his hand aimlessly waved a drumstick in the air. All present turned, in painful expectancy from the table and towards him, fearing beforehand the news whose terrible character was clearly visible in the old man's features.

"The gen—gentry!" he blurted out, at last.

"What?" shot back the director, the fork falling from his hand upon the dish before him.

"The gentry — at foot of the forest!" answered Foltýn, with dreadful certainty.

The director flew to his feet, and seizing his best coat, began putting it on over his wild-hued dressing gown; his wife, for reasons mysterious, set about the hasty removal of the silver table service; Miss Mélanie ran, fluttering, across the scene; Beruška stood, alone of thorough composure, gazing with quiet satisfaction at his superior, whom Nemesis had surprised so unexpectedly at his favorite diversion of choosing the best roast portions.

To explain all these phenomena, I shall have to apprise the reader that this castle — perhaps for its remoteness and its unsightly aspect — was the least favorite with its owners. Since the days of the old lord, who had spent a short time here before his death, not one of its noble proprietors was seen among its faded walls. The rooms of the first story, reserved for the gentry, were filled with truly useless extravagance: spiders, their sole occupants, swung upon fine threads from the showy ceilings down to the soft rugs on the floors, interweaving with their silken skeins, the richly carved backs of chairs and lounges that were covered with velvet. The officials and servants of the castle knew their masters but from hearsay. They pictured them therefore as well as they could, of course in colors largely ideal.

From official communications, various tales, rumors that circulated from one manor to another, conjectures even, they formed their

own portraits of all those persons who, God-like and from afar, reached with hands unseen into their lives. Soaring before their inner vision in ever-bright contours were the barons, baronesses, baronets and the junior baronesses, chambermaids, nurses, the bewrinkled, wigged attorney, the English governess with her sharp, pointed nose, the rotund butler; the characters of each being known to them to its least detail. But to see these constant objects of their dreams and discussions, to meet these, their models of perfections, suddenly face to face was to them a prospect rather dazzling and awesome.

The inside of the castle was animated by a feverish stir. From the upper rooms came the creaking of doors, the noise of furniture moved hither and thither, the rustle of brooms and dusters. The director's wife ran about the courtyard from the chicken-coops to the pig-sty without a definite plan of action, the director was seeking for miscellaneous keys and diaries, heaping the guilt for all disorder upon Beruška's head, the fair ringlets of which the latter, thinking himself secure within the confines of the officerrooms and without the least suspicion of the approaching storm, was busy at steeping in sweet-oil. Old Foltýn stood in the passage, with his drum across his shoulder, each muscle and every line of his face atwilt, stretching forth a hand armed with a drumstick after the fashion of Joshua, to tarry beyond the village awhile until everything was ready; for a triumphal arch, maids of honor, schoolboys, speech of welcome, flowers upon the footway — all this was darting through his old head. But the carriage stood not, nearing the castle with the swiftness of a gale. Already quite visible upon the road leading to the village was a pair of sturdy bays with lighter-hued, flowing manes, a braid-entwined coachman shone upon his box, a bluish grey cloud of dust floated above and about the carriage, enveloping in its folds a group of children standing, with mouths agape, along the roadside. Hardly had Foltýn stepped aside, removing his befurred shako the while, hardly had the delicate, white silhouette of Miss Mélanie vanished beyond a window of the lower story, before the august visit came rumbling up the passageway.

The carriage contained a gentleman and a lady — lord of the manor and his consort. The man was of middle age and was dressed in smart black, his evenly oval and very pale face wearing a deep shadow about the eyes. He appeared languid and sleepy, yawning frequently. The lady was a young, fresh brunette of a quick, fiery eye, and was dressed in bright colors; with a vivacious, coquettish glance she gazed about.

As they rode into the passage where the whole populace of the castle was greeting them with low bows, the gentleman in black fixed his faint, sleepless eyes upon old Foltýn who stood in the very forefront, with his mustaches flabbily adroop, with limitless devotion written in his

frank blue eye, with the expression of humble sorrow in his furrowed face, and his hereditary drum by his side.

The baron stared awhile upon this interesting part of his ancestors' estate; then the muscles of his fatigued face moved, and milord gave vent to his good humor by a ringing, hearty laugh. Those standing about, surprised, looked for a moment from the baron at the gate-keep and back; thereupon they thought it good form to express their loyalty by blindly imitating the action of their majestic exemplary, and everyone laughed as best he could. The director and his wife in a somewhat uneasy manner, the carefree Beruška, the coachman and the butler quite heartily. The baroness herself smiled lightly and in a bewitching fashion.

Old Foltýn at this point presented a picture that is not easily drawn. He looked about a few times, alternately growing pale and blushing, stroked first his eyes finally resting upon the fatal drum. It seemed to him that he understood it all. He was ruined.

After some condescending words to the rest, the gentry repaired to their chambers creating an initial impression upon the occupants of the lower story as the finest and happiest couple on earth.

A short while later they could be seen in their joint drawingroom. The gentleman sat, indolently reposing in an armchair, sketching upon the cover of a book the likeness of old Foltýn. The baroness, holding in her hand an antique, nude statue was gazing searchingly, about the room.

"Advise me, Henri, where shall I place it?"

"You should have left it where it was."

"Oh no! We are inseparable. I'd be lonesome out of the sight of its fine, oval, marble face."

"But if you will carry it everywhere we go, it won't remain whole for long."

"The very reason I guard it as if it was the pupil of my eye. You couldn't but note the excess of care I paid it throughout our journey."

"Better get a lap-dog, my dear!"

The baroness shot an angry glance towards her spouse. Her lips opened to utter some biting conjugal reproof, but she thought better of it. Taking the statue carefully, she whisked, full of scorn, past the baron to a rounded alcove. She was at point of depositing her fetish here when, suddenly and as if bitten by a snake, she leaped backwards and raised her finger in her husband's direction. Many years' dust that had accumulated in the niche, had left its hoary trace upon it.

"Look!" she cried.

"Look!" echoed he, pointing to the ceiling. From a bouquet of fantastic blossoms there swayed a long, unsteady cobweb at the end of which, clearly defined, swung a hideous spider. "You did not heed my warning. Here is your first introduction to that divine rustic idyl of which you had dreamt."

The baroness pursed her lips in abhorrence of the spider no less than disgust over her husband's remark. She gave the bell rope upon the table a violent tug. A fat butler in violet-colored livery appeared.

"Tell those down stairs to send a maid to remove the dust and cobwebs," commanded the fair lady, with a cloud upon her brow. Seating herself opposite her husband, who wore a kind of malignant smile, she kept looking with face full of chagrin in the direction of her endeared statue. A long time elapsed — the maid failed to materialize. The baroness' face registered more chagrin, and the baron's smile became still more malignant.

Below, the footman's message caused an enormous alarm in the matter of dust and cobwebs, and no meaner amount of anxiety regarding the desired maid. After a lengthy conference and much ado they decided, in the fashion of a drowning man clutching at a straw, upon Foltýn's Mary. It wasn't but after repeated entreaties from old Foltýn, who hoped with his daughter's aid to correct the unhappy incident with the drum, that they succeeded in dragging the hesitating girl from the porter's lodge, the director's wife herself forcibly placing her own yellow silk kerchief — the one with the long, fringed border — upon her bosom, and a monstrous whisk into her hand; thus adorned, the trembling victim was led by the footman to the rooms of the gentry.

Angrily stamping her foot, the baroness stepped towards the door when it opened and Mary, white as a sheet, with eyes lowered, made her appearance. The baroness' intended unkind address died upon her lips. She was dumbstruck by the charms of a humble girl: for this one was slender and pliant as a reed, her features refined and childlike in their roundness, her rich brown hair in admirable harmony with her fresh, clear-complexioned face, her whole being breathing forth the magic of its first summer.

"Here my dear child!" at last spoke the lady, pointing to the oscillating cobweb.

The girl courtied in a clumsy way sending a swift, dark-blue spark from beneath her dark brows the while, and came timidly forward. The whisk did not reach the cobweb. She was compelled to crimson, her dark blue eyes wandered towards the ceiling, her immaculately white throat arching upwards, below which, through the fringes of the bright yellow kerchief, showed a string of artificial corals upon the snow-white folds of her chemise. Add to this a princess' foot that was hers, and own: a winsome sight.

After the removal of everything objectionable, the baroness tapped upon Mary's shoulder in an affable manner and asked: "What is your name?"

"Mary Foltýn;" lisped the girl.

"Foltýn? Foltýn—? What does your father do?"

"He's the gate-keep, your grace!"

"Undoubtedly the one with the drum", remarked the baron, while a slight smile passed over his countenance.

"Go into the neighboring room and wait for me," said the baroness to the girl. After the withdrawal of the latter, she turned to her husband with the words: "A delightful child! How do you like her?"

"It all depends upon one's taste."

"As I have said, delightful! Exceptionally fine figure, pleasing face and, withal, how modest!"

"The statue seems to have found a rival."

"Jesting aside, what if I should bring her up as a chambermaid? Should I hire her at once? What do you say?"

"That your whims are truly inconceivable;" he answered, yawning.

The baroness favored her whims with an unusual degree of energy. With no preliminary whatever, she asked the girl if she would like to go to town with her, and, without even awaiting her answer, she engaged her on the spot, rechristened her to Marietta, recounted to her in brilliant colors the advantages of being a chambermaid, bestowing upon her, in the end, a pair of hardly worn slippers and a coquettish house-bonnet.

Old Foltýn was left speechless with pleasant surprise when Mary returned to him with this news. Not even in dreams did he cherish the hope that his daughter was by fate chosen to become a lustrous pendant to the footman whose relationship was the pride of the whole family of Foltýns. He forgot the drum incident on the instant, his walk became still more erect and his eyes glistened like those of a youngster.

Some days passed. The baroness continued in ecstasies over the beauties of rural life, and applied herself with great zeal to the task of making a chambermaid of Marietta; the latter often stood before a mirror, inside her fancy cap, with a huge tuft of all-color feathers which her mistress had purchased for her for the removal of dust, in her shapely hand; frequently, seating herself upon an ornamental footstool in the drawing-room, she roamed with her dreamy blue gaze somewhere afar, where her mind saw lofty mansions, finely attired people, and magnificent equipages — later always resting her head in her palms, lost in deep, deep thought. The baron lounged slothfully in his pet armchair, smoking and yawning; the director and his wife were at end of their concern regarding the exalted visitors; Beruška made friends with the violet-colored butler and played at *twenty-six* with him, safe in the midst of fumes of their pipes behind the locked office-doors.

Once, at eventide, the baroness betook herself, with a tastefully bound volume of Burns in hand,

to a romantic arbor in the park, which commanded an expansive view of the picturesque countryside about; there she intended to await the concert of nightingales that had resounded for several evenings past in the vicinity of the castle. The baron had scolded the butler for his fleshiness and ordered him on that score out to the fields for a walk. The director and his wife, in the secrecy of a locked kitchen, were putting away some fruit preserves. Miss Mélanie had a toothache.

At this idyllic, restful period it occurred to old Foltýn's mind that Mary was tarrying a rather long time in the gentry's apartments. He dispelled the thought, but it returned. The more he tried to banish it, the more insistent it became. "What can she possibly be doing there this long?" he grumbled into his moustache, musingly; "the mistress is not at home."

Quite without aim, he wandered out into the hall and passing up and down it, he listened attentively for any sound which might come from above. Then he ventured, impelled by a power unknown, on the stairs; upon the tips of his feet he ascended to the corridor of the upper story. Stealing towards the door of servants' chamber, he pressed the knob; it was locked. He crept in the direction of the drawing-room. Suddenly he stopped; a voice sounded from within — the baron's voice. He distinctly heard these words: "Don't be childish! Foolish prejudices! The world is different from what told by priests and your lowborn parents. I'll make you happy, whatever your desires, they shall be fulfilled: handsome gowns, jewels, money — everything. I'll create your father the manor's manager or something even greater. You shall be alone in the city. Come, little one, be not a bashful, raise your beautiful eyes; heaven knows I never saw a finer pair!"

Foltýn remained as if thunderstruck. All the blood left his face, which expressed naught but dread and great terror. Lowering his head to the keyhole, he saw the baron inside completely changed: in his pale, clear-cut face there wasn't a trace of sleepiness and his dark eyes were fairly teeming with passion beneath his thin, proud brow. Raising by its chin Mary's superb face which was of crimson color with shame, he stared lustfully at her agitated bosom. Her eyes were lowered, one of her hands holding the statuette, the varicolored feather-crop, disheveled, being in the other.

Wild with the desperation, old Foltýn clutched at his grey head with his hands; grave concern laid hold of his throat, his head being flooded with a swarm of horrible thoughts. He was just at the point of reaching for the door-knob, but he withdrew his hand. No! That the baron should find that a father listened to his words, that he should stand shamed, caught at a vile deed by his servant — no, that could never be,

that was too repugnant to the inborn loyalty of Foltýn. But what was there to do?

"The butler is sure to be at the office; I'll send him up under some pretense or other;" he thought, hurrying down. But the office was locked, the silence of a grave reigning within. Beruška and the butler who were in there playing at cards just a while ago were there no longer; one was loitering in the courtyard, the other out on his health-walk.

Despondently, Foltýn hastened up the corridor. Before the doors of the lock-up, though, he came to an abrupt stop. Here he stood awhile; then, forcing the door, he seized the huge drum that hung there and swinging it across his shoulder, he ran out into the passage. Waving the drumsticks in a wild flourish, he lowered his head as the deafening reverberations of the drum sounded. He drummed with such earnestness that drops of perspiration appeared upon his brow.

The director upon hearing the noise, became deathly pale. "Good Lord, Foltýn must have gone crazy"; he stammered, flying into the passage. There he saw Beruška holding a pack of cards in one hand, and the collar of the undesirable drummer in the other.

"Are you drunk?" cried the clerk. Foltýn kept up his obstinate drumming. Diverse figures collected from various points in the evening's dusk, hastening to the place of the unusual noise.

The director came to Beruška's aid: "Stop you idiot!" he thundered at Foltýn. "The baron must be sleeping by now. I shall dismiss you immediately!"

"Just let him go on;" sounded the baron's voice in their rear. "He drums capitally." Then he passed through the group which bowed in reverence, whistling and flogging his riding-boots. He was going out walking.

When the baroness, lured by the mysterious sound of the drum, returned from the nightingales' concert and entered the drawingroom, she saw her fetish broken into many pieces. From the reddened eyes of Marietta, whom she had summoned, she instantly recognized the guilty one. In great anger she ousted her at once from her service. Short was the dream of the stately edifices, illustrious folk and sumptuous carriages!

At noon of the day following, Foltýn stood before the castle drumming people together for work. Meanwhile he gazed towards the forest bend of the road along which the gentry's equipage was travelling with marvelous speed on its way from the village. When the vehicle vanished in the forest, Foltýn gave a deep sigh, hung his drumsticks and shook his head. Then came the thought that, like his old drum, he no longer fitted into the present world. The cause of disturbance which occurred the previous day he preserved a headstrong secret until his death.

Current Topics

FIRST AMERICAN MINISTER IN PRAGUE.

The announcement made by the State Department on April 18. that Richard T. Crane, Jr. was appointed the first American minister to the Czechoslovak Republic was nowhere received with more approval than among American citizens of Czechoslovak ancestry. They know Mr. Crane to be a sincere friend to the new state to which he is accredited.



Richard Teller Crane, Jr.

Richard Crane was born in Champaign, Ill., 33 years ago, son of Charles R. and Mary Crane. His father is well known in America as former head of the Crane Company of Chicago, manufacturers of valves, fittings etc., an establishment that employs many hundreds of Bohemian workingmen. Mr. Crane Sr. is still better known as philanthropist and student of Slavic and Eastern affairs. Richard Crane studied law at the University of Wisconsin and Nebraska, held important positions under the Crane Company, and for the last four years has served as Mr.

Lansing's secretary. As such he came into close relations with President Masaryk during his stay in Washington last summer. It may be stated confidently that Mr. Crane will be cordially welcomed in Prague, where he will find a number of personal friends. It is announced that he will sail on May 3rd.

The new minister will have with him as a member of his official family Captain Frank Jedlička who will serve as military attache of the Prague legation. Vladimir Geringer, American trade commissioner, with his secretary Louis Jalovec, and John Bouchal, viceconsul in Prague, are already at their posts. The United States Government will thus have several representatives in the Czechoslovak Republic able to speak the language of the country.

WHAT THE MAGAZINES SAY.

Literary Digest for April 26 reprints Dmitrij Chaloupka's story which the readers of the Czechoslovak Review found in the December number. It is given in this important weekly under the title "The Plain and Illuminating Tale of a Czechoslovak Private." In introducing the story the editor says: "Phrases that appear very nebulous in newspaper reports of the Peace Conference, such as free determination of peoples and government resting on the consent of the governed, receive very practical illustration in this Czechoslovak private's story, which is not only his individual story, but something of a modern history of a whole nation."

The American Review of Reviews for May has an account of the "Music of the Czechoslovaks", based upon Ladislav Urban's booklet "The Music of Bohemia." Mr. Urban who contributed a brief article on Bohemian Musical Art to the last issue of the Czechoslovak Review has recently written a more detailed story of the "Music of Bohemia", published tastefully by the New York Czech Artists Club. The American Review of Reviews quotes from this booklet at great length and prints the entire score of the great Hussite hymn "Warriors who for God are fighting."

The National City Bank of New York, an institution with deposits of more than 800 million and assets of nearly one billion dollars, publishes a monthly business magazine, entitled "The Americas". In the April issue the most important article deals with Bohemia. It is entitled "Picturesque Old Bohemia to be a New Market for American Products." The story is very well written and based upon a sound foundation of facts, historical, political and economic. It is illustrated by a map and twelve excellent pictures of scenes from Bohemia.

An important interview with President Masaryk appeared in the "Outlook" of April 16. It was secured by Gregory Mason on March 1, and as on that date the topic of uppermost interest in Prague was the discovery of German conspiracy against the safety of the Czechoslovak Republic, it was natural that Dr. Masaryk in his interview emphasized the fact that German mentality has as yet undergone no change. To our readers Masaryk's views on Russia will probably prove of most interest. We quote from the Outlook:

"What do you think the Allies ought to do about Russia, Dr. Masaryk" I asked.

His always thoughtful face grew more rigid. He half turned in his chair and his eyes, too, seemed to look across to the opposite hill and rest on that symbol of Russia, fantastic and beautiful.

"A man who could answer that question justly would perhaps be the biggest statesman of his time," said the Czechoslovak leader slowly, just the tremor of a smile breaking the seriousness of his face. "I think the biggest problem for the Allies is Russia. We must do something, but what? Yet we must do something; we cannot let Russia drift any longer. In my opinion, we must intervene, justly, consistently, and decisively. However, that is only my opinion. But it is self-evident that we must make up our minds to do something. The greatest need of the Allies is a policy toward Russia."

SENDING MONEY TO BOHEMIA.

The American Relief Association has taken charge of the sending of money from this country to Central and Eastern Europe. The plan under which it operates deserves to be thoroughly advertised among foreign speaking people of the United States who desire to send food to their relatives in Czechoslovakia and near-by countries.

By an order of Fred I. Kent, director of the Division of Foreign Exchange of the Federal Reserve Board, all dealers in foreign exchange in the United States — and that includes banks, express companies, steamship ticket agencies etc. — must transmit money received by them for payment in Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Poland, Roumania and neighboring states through the American Relief Administration. This organization will periodically notify Mr. Hoover in Paris of the amount of money, received let us say for payment in the Czechoslovak Republic. Mr. Hoover gives the Czechoslovak government the equivalent of this money in American food at wholesale prices, and at the same time a list is mailed to the Czechoslovak government of persons to whom money was sent by their American friends. These individuals then can use their credits to buy at home American food at smaller

cost, than if it had been bought here and sent to them by parcel post.

Funds from this country will continue to be sent through bankers, but bankers must transmit exclusively through the Relief Administration. It is very gratifying to the Czechoslovaks that tentative rates announced by the American authorities show the Czechoslovak crown to be worth a great deal more than the Austrian crown. A dollar buys 20 Austrian crowns and only 15 Czechoslovak crowns.

MY ANTONIA By Willa Sibert Cater, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

This is a story of pioneer farmers in Nebraska, the men and women who lived in dugouts and were the first to bring under the plow the fertile rolling prairies beyond the Missouri. In form it is a record of the memories of a boy who grew up among the Bohemian and Scandinavian settlers and returned to visit his early home many years later, when he was a successful lawyer in New York. There is no plot, but the story centers around Antonia Shimerda, a remarkable Bohemian girl of strong character and unusual vital force. The story has a peculiar ending in leaving us a picture of Antonia as a farmer's wife with nearly a dozen children around her.

To Bohemian farmers of Nebraska and neighboring states, especially the older generation, the book is sure to appeal. It makes real those early days of hardship and its descriptions of prairie life and scenery are well drawn.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24TH, 1912.

Of The Czechoslovak Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1, 1919.

District of Columbia, City of Washington, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared J. F. Smetanka, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Czechoslovak Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The Bohemian Review Company, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago; editor J. F. Smetanka, District National Bank, Washington, D. C.; managing editor, none; business manager, V. Vanek, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):

Owner: The Czechoslovak Review Company.

Stockholders: J. F. Smetanka, District National Bank, Washington, D. C. J. J. Fekl, Czechoslovak Army, 22nd Reg't.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

J. F. SMETANKA, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of March, 1919.

(Seal) John T. Meany, Notary Public.
My commission expires Oct. 8, 1920.

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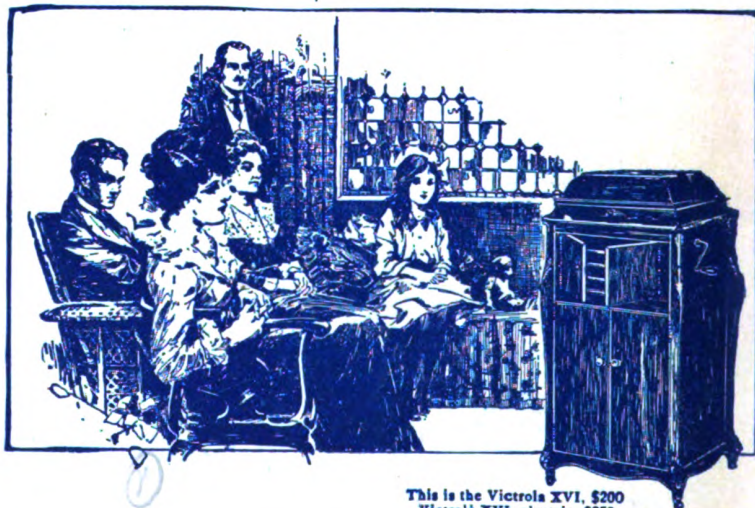
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