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Editor's Notes

This issue incorporates scholarship on a variety of topics related to Czech, Slovak, and Czechoslovak history and cultural studies. In some cases the critical approach or point of view taken by the author is of special interest as well. For example, in the first article Todd Ruecker, as he analyzes the “alternative rhetoric” of those associated with the experimental project *Bílé Divadlo* (White Theater) during the period 1970-76 in Czechoslovakia, acknowledges our continuing need for “a plurality of rhetorics.”

Pavel Marek’s study of Václav Myslivec is the first of several articles and essays that focus on biographical (and autobiographical) topics. Myslivec was a leading Czech figure in the Christian-Democratic movement of the later 1800s and early 1900s who, according to Marek, has not yet been adequately studied by historians. Many of our readers will surely agree that a scholarly biography of Myslivec would help us to better understand the complex political and religious movements in which he played a part.

With Karolina Slámová’s article on Igor Hájek we move to literary issues, and in addition to readers with a specific interest in this important Czech author, those with a broad interest in a comparative approach to literature will find much to ponder in her links between Hájek and Philip Roth, Josef Škvorecký, and other writers. In particular, Slámová’s claim that Hájek “helped Czech books to find their way to new audiences” should resonate with readers.

Michael Cwach has had a longstanding interest in Czech bagpipers, and his personal commitment to research in this area of the Czech folk music tradition is obvious in his account of Josef Šnabl, Ondřej Ludvík, and other performers in their 1920 American tour. I hope that any readers of this article who may have access to additional information about this remarkable Czech-American connection will make contact with the author. Czech-American connections in another (in this case, political) context are explored by Francis D. Raška in his study of Ferdinand Peroutka and his associations with Radio Free Europe and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Sadly, this Czech exile “never felt at home in America.”

Many readers will recognize essayists in this issue as previous contributors to *Kosmas*. I suspect that Zdeněk Salzmann’s essay on “diminutives and augmentatives in Czech” will find its way to various classrooms in which the language is taught. Readers with a special interest in the development of Slavic national movements and a Panslavic consciousness in the 1830s and 1840s will no doubt appreciate Jelena Milojković-Djurić’s essay on the visionary Slovak scholar Jan Kollár. Eric Dluhosch’s essay on Karel Teige, which began as a book review, offers readers reproductions of illustrations from *Karel Teige and Typography* by Karel Srp, Polana Bregantová, and Lenka Byďovská, along with a commentary that will surely encourage interest in this important new book. Joseph N. Rostinsky and Kenji Hotta’s essay on Estelle Hudson and Henry R. Maresh’s *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest* (1934) is of special interest to me personally because this “classic” historical work is one

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that has a special status among Texans of Czech heritage, and I look forward to sharing this essay with old friends and relatives.

Jan Klinka's essay on Robert Matula and Alois Vyhánk, two Czechoslovak paratroopers in World War II who ended up in Canada, and the personal memoir of Herbert Löwit, who also served in the war, are both powerful reminders of the complex history surrounding the Second World War, and I know that some readers will be reminded of other life stories as well.

In addition to Dluhosch's essay on the *Karel Teige* book, we have included reviews of several important new books, and readers who are familiar with our journal will recognize names among the reviewers: Tracy A. Burns, Zdeněk V. David, Marcella K. Perett, James W. Peterson, Zdeněk Salzmann, and Mary Hrabík Šámal (our Book Review Editor). Given the name of our journal, it is appropriate that among the books reviewed is a recent translation of The Twelve Century Latin *Chronicle of the Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague.

I am grateful for the valuable work of Assistant Editor Sofia Prado and Managing Editor David Z. Chroust in preparing this issue for publication, and I also want to thank Christina Wall, a doctoral candidate in German Cultural Studies at the University of Maryland, for assisting us in the editing process.

We appreciate the encouraging comments received from several readers who found the contents of our Fall 2010 issue of special interest. I do want to note that we at *Kosmas* acknowledge our own responsibility for a problem involving the coordination of endnotes with the text in the essay by Ivo K. Feierabend.

ARTICLES

Creating an Alternative Rhetoric through Theatre in Communist Czechoslovakia

By Todd Ruecker

During the time that Alexander Dubček was the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party, 1960s Czechoslovakia experienced an increased movement towards what Dubček termed “socialism with a human face.” One of the most important changes of this period was the abolition of censorship, a move that angered other Eastern Bloc countries and the Soviet Union most of all, indicating censorship’s importance under the Soviet regime.¹ During this period, known as “Prague Spring,” newspapers began to deviate from the party line. As evidenced by the production of films such as *Skřivánci na Niti*² and *Ucho*³, Czech artists, filmmakers, actors, and playwrights were given more freedom, which opened space for Czech culture to develop after the repressive 50s.

After a series of negotiations between Dubček’s government and the Soviet authorities, the Russians decided that the reforms had gone too far, prompting them to invade Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968. In *Making History: Czech Voices of Dissent and the Revolution of 1989*, Michael Long explains the impact that this invasion had on the Czechoslovak people: “The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia dealt a devastating blow to the collective psyche of its people.... For others, namely, the nation’s academic, cultural, and artistic elite, it meant the abandonment of hope for an intellectual life free from government interference.”⁴ Representing the view of the artistic community, playwright, dissident, and future Czech president Václav Havel writes as if their very humanity was destroyed: “Order has been established. At the price of a paralysis of the spirit, a deadening of the heart, and devastation of life.”⁵ Suppressing rhetorical freedom, something essential for intellectual and cultural development as well as human identity, was a top priority for the invading Russians.⁶

During the subsequent normalization period, the vast majority of Czech citizens reluctantly accepted the fate imposed by rhetorical oppression. In an attempt to construct a unitary and total reality, the regime quickly reinstated a strict censorship and jailed or otherwise marginalized intellectuals, actors, and others who wrote, spoke, or performed something that could be construed as a threat to the regime. In such an oppressive atmosphere, it is unsurprising that intellectual development stagnated and that there was hardly any chance for meaningful work in theatre. Václav Havel described the intellectual life of this time as a “long period of moribund silence.”⁷ Realities like the one depicted in Jiří Menzel’s *Skřivánci na Niti*, where intellectuals were working on factory lines in scrap yards and in other menial jobs, were common.⁸

Nonetheless, rhetorical diversity continued, which supports James Berlin’s point that there is always a plurality of competing rhetorics “despite

the attempts of dictators, totalitarian states, and other tyrannies to create a simple monolithic system.”⁹ In the preface to Milan Šimečka’s *The Restoration of Order*, Zdeněk Mlynář explains how this plurality is possible: “the State does not require the entire person, just the part that projects above the surface of public life.”¹⁰ While many continued to participate in the rhetoric of public life as loyal Czechoslovak “comrades,” they also used a rhetoric of resistance mentally or through private discussions with trusted family and friends. Heidi Bludau has called this practice “švejkism,” arguing that the majority of Czech citizens engaged in this covert, passive resistance in some way.¹¹ Some chose to go further, distributing prohibited self-authored texts through a method known as *samizdat*. As evidenced by the persecution of the music group Plastic People of the Universe and the jailing of Havel and other Charter 77¹² signers, the state vigorously opposed any rhetoric that could be construed as a threat to their attempt to control the construction of Czechoslovak reality.

During the height of the normalization period, from 1970-1976, a group of actors met secretly for an experimental project they referred to as *Bilé Divadlo*, or White Theatre. As the regime increasingly curtailed freedom in the public realm, prohibiting them from performing anything worthwhile and truly creative, they found ways to evade their public responsibilities to work on *Bilé Divadlo*.¹³ James Porter writes that “rhetorical action always involves a negotiation between competing positions and perspectives, between abstract principles and theories and particular needs and circumstances” and that it always involves ethical judgment.¹⁴ As I will show, the members of *Bilé Divadlo* made an ethical decision to enact a rhetorical practice of resistance through their project, despite full awareness that they were at risk under a regime who aggressively suppressed “competing positions and perspectives.” Using Berlin, Porter, Lauer, and other rhetorical theorists to guide my analysis, I argue that the rhetorics practiced by the Czechoslovak communist regime and those involved in *Bilé Divadlo* were antagonistic to each other, as the two groups held different views regarding the inventionary freedom of the writer/speaker/actor as well as different views of reality construction, particularly the function of discourse in creating reality.

For source texts on the *Bilé Divadlo* project, I draw from works written by a founding member of the project, František Hrdlička, and another integral member, Zdena Bratršovská. Both have written a fictional work, *Sebranci*, and a non-fictional account, *Zpráva o Bilém Divadle*, neither of which has been published in English. Additionally, I utilize published reviews of their work, interviews, and personal communication with the authors.¹⁵ For Czechoslovak history, I refer to a number of works written by historians at various times, including personal accounts of dissidents and the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party during the Prague Spring movement, Alexander Dubček. Finally, I draw on my own experience living in the Czech Republic, having conversations with Czechs about life under Communism, and watching a number of films produced during the era. By drawing these various sources together, I argue that the theories of invention and discourse practices by those involved in *Bilé Divadlo* were a threat to a

government that held an impoverished notion of invention due to its desire to promulgate a unitary, unquestionable reality.

Historiographical Method

A postmodern view of historiography guides this project, which Alan Munslow explains as “a recognition of the relativism of meaning, determined by where one stands and the dissolution of source-derived certainty in historical representation.”¹⁶ In the field of rhetorical history, James Berlin has written “objectivity is out of the question. All historians are interested, writing their narratives from a particular ideological position.”¹⁷ The work I am doing is no exception to this. Being a citizen of the U.S., I have grown up in an environment antagonistic to Soviet communism. Through 2006 and 2007, I lived in the Czech Republic where the vast majority of discourses I heard were critical of the Communist era.

Besides biases created by my personal situatedness, the historical texts I have consulted have their own biases. While some, like David Rodnick’s *The Strangled Democracy*¹⁸ are more biased against the Soviet system than others, all have been written by Czechs, Slovaks, or other Western scholars with a negative attitude towards the Soviet system.

Due to my situatedness in the present and the realization that I will never have the lived experience of the time I am describing, I agree with Hayden White who describes the historical text as a discursive representation of the past: “I will consider the historical work as what it most manifestly is—that is to say, a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of *explaining what they were by representing them*.”¹⁹ I believe that any attempt to describe the past through writing a history is hopelessly inadequate and at best I can provide some partial textual representation that is filtered though a lens imbued with very different experiences and ideologies than someone living in communist Czechoslovakia had.

This view resonates with that of the work *Sebranci* by Bratršovská and Hrdlička, whose fictionalized account of *Bilé Divadlo* suggests the importance of postmodern subjectivity and historiography. In *Sebranci*, Bratršovská and Hrdlička write a series of vignettes from a few dozen narrators, each offering a different view while varying in their trustworthiness. One of the narrators appears to share a postmodern view of historiography when discussing art critics:

If we would consider the conduct of several of our contemporaries--and what other activity is there for a comparative art critic than precisely this rosary of inquisitive fermatas and melancholy retrospectives, that yes --, well then, if we would consider the conduct of several of our contemporaries, who wearily and pedantically attempt to reconstruct from several fragments, as if they were bequeathing to us an ancient

chronicle or an oral representation, a total and plausible image of former realities, we cannot refrain from an indulgent smile. Certainly, their endeavor—an endeavor of this entire generation of bards, akyns, troubadours, minnesingers, zhackers, poet-laureates, yarn-spinners, monk-scriveners, bucolic men of letters, etc. – was, more often than not, genuine and unmercenary, nevertheless, hopelessly dilettante.²⁰

While this statement may be taken in part as a parody, it does reveal something about the practice of historiography. Because they work with fragments of the past, historians cannot hope to reconstruct the past in full but instead to simply provide a construction of a piece of the past, a picture that is unavoidably interested. Anyone who claims otherwise, as the passage above indicates, is “hopelessly dilettante.”

Conflicting Inventional Practices

In this section, I explore the inventedional practices of the Czechoslovak communist regime and *Bilé Divadlo* to indicate how the former encouraged simple repetition of worn scripts and a static body of knowledge in line with party doctrine while the latter focused on the unpredictable potential of the individual working communally with others to create new knowledge.

Rhetorical theorist Janice Lauer has emphasized the inventedional component of rhetoric, which she says has always been an important part of both theoretical and practical parts of rhetoric.²¹ Part of its importance stems from the fact that it is the only one of the five canons of rhetoric that is overtly concerned with the content of discourse, and more significantly, with the dissonance that leads to the initiation of discourse. Over the centuries, there have been many debates surrounding the purpose of discourse and rhetorical invention, but the most crucial has been whether rhetoric merely communicates knowledge or whether it actually creates new knowledge. It appears that the communist regime realized the knowledge-producing power of rhetoric; however, because they wanted to control knowledge construction, they sanctioned only discourse that repeated knowledge created by themselves.

In a lecture given during the Prague Spring movement, Ivan Sviták said, “Every totalitarian dictatorship must destroy personality and individuality...because the totalitarian orientation arises from the character of absolute, centralized, and unrestricted power.”²² With this in mind, it is unsurprising that Milan Šimečka referred to communist spokespersons as “cardboard cutouts always spouting the same old platitudes.”²³ Under an authoritarian regime like the communist one following Prague Spring, the potential for rhetorical invention is severely repressed because of the state’s desire to maintain absolute control over the production of knowledge in society. While this restriction applied to everyone, the lives of those in power were the most restricted because any hint of disunity among the ranks of leadership could lead to a potential fracture in the power structure. Thus, leaders were expected to merely repeat “platitudes” that were completely in line with party ideology. As a result,

the inventionary practice of the leaders and other influential members of society such as teachers was restricted to the mere repetition of a stagnant, party-line created knowledge, where each iteration had to be carefully and accurately represented lest one be removed from the party or worse, imprisoned.

During Prague Spring, however, things had begun to change. As opposed to the cardboard cut-outs that Šimečka describes above, he notes that “People suddenly began to perceive the politicians and actors in the drama as human beings,” humans who could say different things rather than repeat worn “platitudes.”²⁴ One of the major reformers in the time of Prague Spring, Alexander Dubček, writes in his autobiography of his negotiations with the Soviets in Moscow. He explains how one of the Soviets’ main goals in negotiating was to reinstate censorship. In fact, he suggests, some historians feel that the primary purpose in the 1968 invasion was to restore control over the newspapers, radios, and other media outlets.²⁵ Dubček, however, realized the importance of freedom of expression, writing, “I viewed freedom of our domestic debates as vital to our new political life, and I vowed to defend it.”²⁶

Unfortunately for the Czechs, Dubček was quickly ousted in favor of another leader, Gustáv Husák, who readily complied with Soviet demands. This change in power initiated the process of normalization. According to *Pravda*, the official Soviet paper of the time, normalization is defined as: “the complete exposure of the right-wing, anti-socialist forces; the elimination of their influence on a part of the population, and especially the youth; the resulted strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Party in the activities of the state agencies, in the ideological and public sphere, in the whole life of the country.”²⁷ As demonstrated by this description, the strengthening of Communism required control over the “ideological and public sphere” and, as much as possible, over the whole lives of the people. Benedetto Fontana, Kenneth Bruffee, and others have explained how rhetorical freedom is an essential part of democracy.²⁸ In “Rhetoric and the Roots of Democratic Politics,” Fontana writes that rhetoric “emerges, develops, and thrives under conditions of conflict, competition, and strife.”²⁹ Similarly, Václav Havel has emphasized the importance of a “dialectic climate of genuine knowledge,” explaining that a world where this is suppressed is a world of “mental sterility” and “petrified dogmas.”³⁰ For the authoritarian regime in normalization-era Czechoslovakia, suppressing rhetorical freedom was a top priority so that the government could take full responsibility for knowledge construction.

The actors in Czechoslovak communism were expected to stick to an ideologically-coherent script, much like the way actors in traditional theatre are expected to memorize and act out a script, leaving little room for individual creative invention. In the freer atmosphere of the 60s, both this authoritarian form of communism and traditional theatre were being challenged. In a 1972 article on the burgeoning experimental movements of the time, Theodore Shank explains how those involved in experimental theatre communities were frustrated with the fragmentation of the traditional theatre process in which a writer wrote a script in isolation and actors performed it with the help of a number of specialized assistants. In experimental movements, the whole proc-

ess was done collectively and the actor becomes more than a performer, “a person with broader creative responsibilities.”³¹ In a related vein, Hrdlička and Bratršovská have explained how their frustration with this fragmented process of traditional theatre where “actors must only reproduce foreign texts and cannot be fully creative and authentic” led them to *Bilé Divadlo*.³² For this reason, Hrdlička and Bratršovská explain that the role of the director in *Bilé Divadlo* was not to select “suitable dramatic texts” for the members; rather, she would provide “dramatic matters” which would involve dramatic schema, ancient myths, rituals, and other shared elements of culture.³³

Bilé Divadlo drew its inspiration from a number of experimental movements of the time, including Jerzy Grotowski’s work in Poland and Peter Brook’s Living Theatre in New York. Frustrated with traditional theatre where the actor had little to do with the invention process, Grotowski was critical of art as performance, instead developing a method which he termed “art as vehicle.” In art as performance, the actor, much like the official spokespeople in Soviet Communism, is expected to passively repeat knowledge produced elsewhere, focusing mainly on style of delivery. In contrast, “art as vehicle” focuses on the invention powers of the actor and her ability to pursue an “artistic and personal” discovery.³⁴

Like Grotowski, Brook also viewed theatre as a vehicle for discovery and writes that the Living Theatre members were “in search of meaning in their lives” and that the “theatrical event [was] the climax and center of their search.”³⁵ Therefore, according to Hrdlička and Bratršovská, Brook’s work was influential in their creation of *Bilé Divadlo*. In his book *The Empty Space*, Brook describes his philosophy of theatre along with giving a glimpse of some activities his theatre group used to facilitate this discovery process in which the invisible becomes visible on stage, when patterns “manifest[ed] themselves as rhythms or shapes.”³⁶ As this passage reveals, Brook’s Living Theatre members facilitated this discovery in a number of ways, drawing especially on their memories:

Slowly we worked towards different wordless languages: we took an event, a fragment of experience and made exercises that turned them into forms that could be shared. We encouraged the actors to see themselves not only as improvisers, lending themselves blindly to their inner impulses, but as artists responsible for searching and selecting amongst form, so that a gesture or a cry becomes like an object that he discovers and even remoulds.³⁷

As Sharon Crowley and Patrick Hutton have written, an important part of the invention practice is memory.³⁸ For instance, Hutton explains that mnemonics was an important art for ancient rhetoricians and continued to be until the rise of a print culture and the scientific tradition, when it was dismissed as imperfect and not useful. In “Invention, Memory and Place,” Ed-

ward Said refers to the creation of the modern state of Israel to explain how the construction or deconstruction of the discourse of memory and history is based “on the need to construct a desirable loyalty to an insider’s understanding of one’s country, tradition, and faith.”³⁹ The regime in Czechoslovakia understood the importance of controlling memory in its quest to control the inventional powers of Czechoslovak citizens and foster loyalty to the communist system. As a result, history books were rewritten to glorify the greatness of Soviet Communism. For instance, the role of the U.S. in the liberation of Czechoslovakia during WWII was erased and U.S. soldiers were depicted as pillagers while the Soviets were uplifted as the sole saviors of the country.

Faced with a regime which attempted to construct and control their memories, the members of *Bilé Divadlo* developed an oppositional inventional strategy along the lines of Brook’s and Grotowski’s that sought alternative memories to those imposed by the regime. They drew from Jung’s notion of the collective unconscious, which asserts that members of humanity have a shared collective memory which includes traces of ancient myths, archetypes, and other fragments of culture. As part of their work, they sought to explore this collective unconscious: “...it wasn’t just about new theatrical techniques, but also about connecting life and creation, searching for archetypes, which we carry inside ourselves, about self-understanding.”⁴⁰ As with Grotowski’s work, much of the material that inspired the *Bilé Divadlo* members came from the “cradle” of Western culture: places such as ancient Egypt, Greece, Israel, and Syria.⁴¹ *Bilé Divadlo*’s work has been described as a sort of anthropology:

They set about on the path of theatrical anthropology....They didn’t distinguish theatrical performance and practice, they looked for the border between theatre and theatricality, truth and authenticity, which for them was more important than the resulting artifact, erasing the border between creation and “ordinary” life.⁴²

In order to spark their collective memory, the members were encouraged to watch films and theatre productions, read books, and learn more about religion, myths, and cultural development. They had seminars about theatre history, other experimental theatre movements, and Biblical stories.⁴³ Yet, according to Hrdlička and Bratršovská, true understanding did not necessarily originate from looking outward, but rather it could “originate spontaneously, for example, through the development of movement, rhythmic or tonal exercises, individual experience, etc.”⁴⁴ Here, the role of memory in invention was never certain but rather arose “spontaneously” and may have been sparked by anything ranging from reading a certain text to engaging in a specific movement. This seems to resonate with the theory of rhetorical invention described by Sharon Crowley in *The Methodical Memory*, which is “notoriously unscientific” and “attaches as much importance to human passion as it does in reason.”⁴⁵ Through their dependence on memory, especially unconscious memory, the members of *Bilé Divadlo* understood the importance of mnemonics,

spontaneity, and the limitations of printed texts in the realm of creativity.

Reality(s) and Language

In Western society, reality has traditionally been viewed as fixed and objective, a belief that, according to Thomas West, underlies the structure of modern discourse:

Modern discourse rests upon a conception of truth and knowledge governed by an ideal, value-free subject engaged in observing, comparing, ordering, and measuring in order to arrive at evidence sufficient to make valid inferences, confirm speculative hypotheses, deduce error-proof conclusions, and verify true representations of reality.⁴⁶

As this description indicates, the scientific method of observing is expected to bring us to a correct understanding of reality, where discourse is a passive tool used to convey the knowledge discovered about this reality to others. In the 70s, rhetorical theorists began to challenge this view, arguing that discourse plays a much larger role in reality construction than previously thought. Barry Brummett has written that we can never know if an objective reality exists because we can only know what we observe and knowledge gained from observation differs based on the situatedness of who is observing. As a result, Brummett articulated a definition of what he called process reality: “Reality is what experience means. This meaning is taken from personal experience and communication about it with others, the sharing of meaning.”⁴⁷ Under Brummett’s definition, the only reality that we can know is the one created through an examination of our experiences and the meanings we assign to them. However, because “social groups assign different meanings to experience,”⁴⁸ adopting a process definition of reality allows for the existence of multiple realities, realities that are created through the confluence of individual subjectivity with others’ subjectivities, resulting in multiple intersubjective realities. In this section, I will utilize Brummett’s theory of process reality in examining how both the Czechoslovak communist regime and the members of *Bílé Divadlo* recognized the existence of multiple realities. However, while the former sought to eliminate other realities in their quest to create a unitary one, the latter acknowledged and encouraged the existence of multiple realities.

Through the use of the discourse of propaganda, Soviet communists aimed for something called “*Realsozialismus*,” which would work to create a singular reality by denying any reality outside of socialism. They would work on developing ideologies that made *Realsozialismus* seem normal and as if nothing else ever existed.⁴⁹ On first hearing the term normalization, Dubček did not feel threatened; however, he and the others working with him soon realized that there was a difference between the Czech and Soviet conception of “normal.” Dubček reveals that different conceptions of “normal” was not an isolated incident: “The Soviets’ usage of even such basic terms like *democracy* or *sovereignty* either emptied these notions of meaning or turned them into

their opposites.⁵⁰ These differing conceptions of words illustrates the Bakhtinian notion of heteroglossia, that language is populated with the intentions of others and that one needs to engage in a struggle to appropriate it and use it in a way that supports their own intentions.⁵¹ This is a direct challenge to the correspondence theory of language, which postulates that language accurately represents reality and that words mean the same for everyone.

As the Soviets struggled to construct a unitary reality through the discourse of propaganda, the whole question of reality was upset and confused for those who inhabited other realities. Dubček writes, “I realized that in this crazy-horse setting nothing made any sense.”⁵² Zdeněk Krystufek and Milan Šimečka have described a similar confusion regarding reality and the subsequent and clear fragmentation of private and public life. Šimečka writes, “The pressure of official propaganda caused many people to doubt the truth of their very own experience. I would read magazines and newspapers from the period and the words then seemed inappropriate and quite inconsistent with my new experience.”⁵³ In *The Soviet Regime in Czechoslovakia*, Kryštufek’s echoes Šimečka’s point regarding the difficulty of resistance in a truly authoritative regime which works to control public discourse and prevent any statement incongruous with the official reality.⁵⁴ In such an environment, it is difficult to verify one’s experience and opinions through an intersubjective construction of reality. By making their reality seem commonsensical and suppressing rhetorical freedom, authoritarian regimes reduce the degree that their citizens question its existence.

The Czechoslovak film *Ucho* reveals how the regime worked to curtail freedom of expression even in one’s home while making one distrust seemingly close “friends,” fostering the dehumanizing workings of fear.⁵⁵ Czechoslovak citizens became fearful and distrustful, making it difficult to construct nonconformist beliefs with others. In touring the country after the invasion, Dubček recalls feeling that “There was a growing lack of natural, open communication.”⁵⁶ While there was certainly risk in doing so, people could interact somewhat more openly with close friends and family. Thus, it is unsurprising that, describing a visit to Czechoslovakia in 1969, David Rodnick makes the following observation: “In 21 years Communism has turned most of the population into a large informal and unofficial underground in which one’s closest contacts are intimate friends, work colleagues, and relatives.”⁵⁷ This concerted attempt to fragment Czechoslovak citizens through the workings of fear reveals the regime’s understanding that a community that is “fragmented, perforated, intermittent, and attenuated” is less able to perform rhetorical work and contribute to the production of knowledge.⁵⁸ Fortunately, while the communist regime’s efforts to push a singular reality by fragmenting individuals and suppressing alternative rhetorics went largely unchallenged in the public realm, it was more aggressively challenged by rhetorics in the private sphere, as evidenced by the work of *Bílé Divadlo*.

Like the communist regime, the members of *Bílé Divadlo* understood how knowledge is socially constructed; however, they resisted the regime’s attempt to claim sole authority for reality construction. As described above,

the regime depended on the isolation of individuals and the restriction of their ability to discuss and subsequently confirm different perceptions of reality other than those officially promulgated. *Bílé Divadlo*, in its value of collective creation, strongly resisted this. According to one member of the group, Ján Sedal, the actors in the project discovered what was hidden through improvising together.⁵⁹ Hrdlička has explained that the essential parts of *Bílé Divadlo* were collective action and empathy and that trust, reliability, and openness were additional important characteristics.⁶⁰ The members of *Bílé Divadlo* would spend long hours working together and often living together. The trust built in this collective community was a sharp contrast to the increasing distrust occurring in the Czechoslovak community at large.

In order to create a stable reality, the regime wanted complete control over defining words like “normal” and “democracy”; however, the members of *Bílé Divadlo* understood that meanings of words are constantly being reconstructed and because of individual subjectivities, each person views them differently. In *Zpráva o Bílém Divadle*, Hrdlička and Bratršovská explain how the dramatic motif “flood” changes during its reincarnation in different mythical stories. While the regime would work to stabilize meanings of words, stories, and other themes, the members of *Bílé Divadlo* strove to maximize this potential for change by eschewing the fixed text. Through working with stories, or in this case, dramatic schema, they understood that reality was constantly in flux: “This dramatic schema, which appears somewhat abstractly, is possible to enact it concretely, with live and exact actions, which after every subsequent incarnation changes it.”⁶¹

The members of *Bílé Divadlo* realized that not only dramatic schema but also the meanings of words were unfixed. As a result, they would spend time working with individual words and their own subjectivities to uncover the various associations and meanings connected to words. Here is an excerpt from one such session when they were working with the Czech word for tomb, *hrob*:

They do it with these variants: variants, which want to inspire, which come from the core. They work with a single word, not without purpose, but so that the image they draw from this would be as visible as possible. How it sounds from Zdena, from one slightly expressive cry from Jana and how we heard it from you, Aleš. This means to process a single word slowly. Tomb. Tomb. Lump. You have the word, you have sound, you have rhythm. And you have movement...⁶²

According to Hrdlička, the person directing this activity, the purpose of this exercise was to bring forth the characteristic form that these words evoke in us. He was, however, clearly aware that words do not simply mean the same thing for everyone. In referring to the different connotations that people have for the word “tomb,” he says: “Someone has become earth, says it as a lump, someone feels being rained on, someone else has a feeling of leaves, others have differ-

ent associations.”⁶³ In “The rhetoric of improvisation,” David Lichtensten explains that both linguistic and musical signs have varying meanings and that “the poetic” works to release the sign from the stricture of a fixed meaning and instead “play[s] the ambiguities and uncertainties of signifiers.”⁶⁴ Similarly, through exercises like the one described above, the members of *Bilé Divadlo* revealed their understanding of how the relations between the word and what it signifies are constructed differently by different people. When words are viewed as carrying the intentions of everyone who uses them, it is apparent that this occurs because people construct meaning according to their own situatedness. The result is the inevitable construction of multiple realities, which are mediated through the actions of social, epistemic construction. The view that reality and the language shaping it is constantly in flux is anathema to an authoritarian ruling party because it undermines their assumption that they can completely control and monitor the lives of the people.

The Resistance Continues

Bilé Divadlo was an “oasis of freedom” in the midst of what one article has called “a sea of demons.”⁶⁵ In a review of *Zpráva o Bilém Divadle* that appeared in the magazine *Divadelní Noviny*, the author writes that the project was something quite extraordinary given the oppressive regime surrounding it.⁶⁶ The authors have explained that the project operated on a semi-legal basis because, while it was not in open opposition to the regime, they were also evading their officially required work responsibilities as Czechoslovak citizens. Additionally, as I have described here, the discursive practices of the movement, practices that allowed for spontaneous invention by individuals, for the existence of multiple realities, and for different meanings of concepts and words, were in opposition to the communist regime’s discursive practices which claimed sole legitimacy for the construction of reality.

Because the members of *Bilé Divadlo* could be punished for evading their responsibilities and challenging the regime with their practice, recruitment was always a problem. Hrdlička and Bratršovská crossed Czechoslovakia often via hitchhiking in search of new members. Additionally, they placed hidden ads and relied on word of mouth. For the duration of *Bilé Divadlo* from 1969-75, the pressures of normalization continued to increase and freedoms were increasingly curtailed. Recruitment became more difficult and the threat of being jailed for their work became real. In September of 1975, after a long difficult conversation with the few remaining members of the group, Hrdlička decided that the only solution was the project’s dissolution.⁶⁷

In the afterward to *Sebranci*, the fictionalized account of the project that Bratršovská and Hrdlička wrote after the *Bilé Divadlo* years, Jiří Honzík explains that the authors could have simply become depressed and resigned after the dissolution of *Bilé Divadlo*, ending their discursive resistance to the regime. Instead, he says this occurrence meant a “change of tools, a provident choice of a different pole of action, a shift from theatre to literature, from

acting to writing.”⁶⁸ In an interview published in *Mosty*, Bratršovská and Hrdlička confirm this shift, saying they moved from being extroverts to being introverts, a change that was certainly necessitated by the conditions of the time when even a semi-private project like *Bilé Divadlo* was too public and at risk of being discovered. In making the shift to writing, the authors continued to resist the conformity pushed by the regime. In the *Mosty* interview, Bratršovská explains they were not going to write anything that they would not stand by and that the regime could misuse. As a result, most of the work they produced in the 70s and 80s was not published until after the fall of Communism in 1989.⁶⁹

Their first work, *Sebranci*, was written immediately following *Bilé Divadlo* partially as a way to preserve the memory of the project. While it did not include material overtly offensive to the regime, Honzík explains that it had no chance of being published until after the fall of Communism. Honzík attributes this to the depiction of a community that refused to accept the status quo of artistic mediocrity and conformity imposed by the regime.⁷⁰ I would add an additional important point that correlates with my focus in this essay: the regime’s acknowledgement of the unfixed nature of language and the existence of multiple realities.

As discussed previously, the regime used propaganda and control of public publications to present a simplistic, totalitarian view of reality. Conformity was the rule of the day as men with long hair and women without bras were not allowed to appear on TV.⁷¹ Traditional literary works often uphold this image of a unitary reality through the presence of an omniscient narrator who knows and tells all. *Sebranci* is different. It includes thirty-seven narrators from perspectives within and without the *Bilé Divadlo* project, each having their unique style of speech, ranging from dry scientific language to street slang. Some narrators praise *Bilé Divadlo*, others label the members as lunatics, others characterize it as a sex party, while others are hugely unreliable as their narration is disjointed and fragmented.

In a review of the work by the newspaper *Lidové Noviny*, the reviewer explains that the presence of multiple narrators raises questions and upsets the whole notion of objectivity: “What actually happened? Why did it happen? Was it good that it happened? Who was guilty? Who killed? Such questions lose their right on one plain, i.e. objective response, because the world is relativized, the prose abandons classical narration schemes and is enriched with many views.”⁷² This relativistic view, one that understands the subjectivity of each individual and the presence of multiple realities, relates to James Berlin’s notion of social epistemic rhetoric, which explains that there are always conflicting ideologies and thus conflicting notions of reality.⁷³ Berlin, like Bratršovská and Hrdlička, understands that it is impossible to reconstruct a “grand-narrative” that accounts for all the features of the past or present. Instead, each story, like the many stories told in *Sebranci*, offers merely alternative perspectives as multiple as the subjects involved. As Berlin explains, this notion of rhetoric and reality is “anti-foundational” and strongly connected to

democracy, two things that were anathema to the Soviet regime in Czechoslovakia.

Conclusion

After the fall of Communism in 1989, Czechoslovak society underwent rapid change as it transformed into a democratic capitalist country. With this transition, censorship ended and public freedom of expression began to thrive again. Hrdlička and Bratršovská have been able to publish their works, talk openly about *Bilé Divadlo*, and hold workshops in which they trained people in the philosophy and methods of the project. Communication with the West opened up and they have labored to have their works recognized in the West through trying to hold a *Bilé Divadlo* workshop in New York and an attempt to have an English translation of *Sebranci* published.

While the authors recognize the benefits of a capitalist democracy, they understand that it brings its share of problems as well. In an interview with the magazine *Babylon*, Hrdlička discusses the limitations on enacting *Bilé Divadlo* in today's world, saying, "Yesterday's members understood *Bilé Divadlo* as an 'oasis of freedom.' Today's members would probably equate it to some worse form of life, because they often turn to apathetic individualism and to hedonism."⁷⁴ The reintroduction of capitalism into Czechoslovakia has brought the individualistic and consumerist philosophies that pervade Western-style capitalism. In this quote, Hrdlička reveals his understanding that the individualistic and consumptive tendencies associated with capitalism clash with the values of communal creation of knowledge and simple living, essential components of the *Bilé Divadlo* project. While they have held workshops on the project, these have been a week or two long, a brief moment in comparison to the five or so years that Hrdlička, Bratršovská, and other members of *Bilé Divadlo* came together to create an oasis of freedom, engage in collective knowledge and reality construction, and explore their subconscious while living under a repressive regime with a very different view of reality and discourse.

Despite the fact that one living in the U.S. or modern Czech or Slovak Republics might not live under an authoritarian regime that overtly promotes a unitary reality, democratic governments, educational institutions, and the media corporations in capitalist countries certainly push conformity and their views of reality. Thus, there will always be a need for alternative rhetorics like those developed by *Bilé Divadlo* and other theatre movements of the 60s so that we do not passively sit by as our realities are constructed for us by others and our freedom to invent knowledge is subverted. Alternative rhetorics will always face resistance; however, it is essential that we always work, like the members of *Bilé Divadlo* did, to maintain a plurality of rhetorics.

NOTES

1. Michael Long, *Making History: Czech Voices of Dissent and the Revolution of 1989* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

2. Jiří Menzel, director, *Skřivánci na Niti* (Prague: Barrandov Studios, 1969).
3. Karel Kachyňa, director, *Ucho* (Prague: Barrandov Studios, 1969).
4. Long, *Making History*, 5.
5. Václav Havel, “Letter to Dr Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party,” in *Václav Havel or Living in Truth*, edited by Ján Vladislav (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1986), 15.
6. When using the term rhetoric, I am referring to the situated and strategic use of discourse for a specific purpose. Moreover, I subscribe to the view that rhetoric is epistemic, that discourse plays a vital role in the construction of knowledge and our realities, which are multiple.
 7. Long, *Making History*, 7.
 8. Menzel, *Skřivánci*.
9. James Berlin, *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 3.
10. Milan Šimečka, *The Restoration of Order: The Normalization of Czechoslovakia, 1969-1976* (London: Verso, 1984), 8.
11. Heidi Bludau, “The Good Dissident Švejk: An Exploration of Czech Morality and Cultural Survival,” *Kosmas* 22, no. 2 (2009): 59-71.
12. Charter 77 is named after the year in which it was formed, 1977, and was intended to call the regime to task for its ignorance of human rights, despite having signed a number of international treaties in the previous years. One of these included the Helsinki Conference, which required the signing governments to value human rights and freedoms in their countries (Long, *Making History*, 13). The Charter was signed by a number of intellectual dissidents such as Václav Havel, all of who risked marginalization, harassment, and even imprisonment for having their names appear on the document.
13. Every Czechoslovak adult, unless disabled, was required by law to be employed. While Hrdlička was excepted because of disability, other members had to go through other means to evade responsibility in the public realm. For example, one member, who was anarchist and pacifist, had the potential of mandatory military service. Through intensive study and practice, he was able to trick doctors into believing that he was schizophrenic, enabling him to avoid military service and continue his participation with *Bílé Divadlo* (Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 45-7).
14. James Porter, “Developing a Postmodern Ethics of Rhetoric and Composition,” in *Defining the New Rhetorics*, edited by Theresa Enos and Stuart C. Brown (London: Sage Publications, 1993), 221.
15. The author made all translations from Czech source texts. Translations were verified by a native speaker of Czech.
16. Alan Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 28.
17. James Berlin, “Revisionary Histories of Rhetoric: Politics, Power and Plurality,” in *Writing Histories of Rhetoric*, edited by Victor J. Vitanza (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 121.

18. David Rodnick, *The Strangled Democracy: Czechoslovakia 1948-1969* (Lubbock, TX: The Caprock Press, 1970).
19. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).
20. Zdena Bratršovská and František Hrdlička, *Sebranci*. Unpublished translation by Alicie Pišťková and Howard Sidenberg, 8-9.
21. Janice Lauer, *Invention in Rhetoric and Composition* (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 2004), 1.
22. Ivan Sviták, "With Your Head against the Wall," in *Winter in Prague: Documents on Czechoslovak Communism in Crisis*, edited by Robin A. Remington (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), 75.
23. Šimečka, *The Restoration of Order*, 17.
24. Ibid.
25. Alexander Dubček, *Hope Dies Last: The Autobiography of Alexander Dubček* (New York: Kodansha International, 1993), 219.
26. Ibid., 177.
27. Long, *Making History*, 6.
28. Bendetto Fontana, "Rhetoric and the Roots of Democratic Politics," in *Talking Democracy: Historical Perspectives on Rhetoric and Democracy*, edited by Bendetto Fontana, Cary J. Nederman, and Gary Remer (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).
- Kenneth Bruffee, "Social Construction, Language, and the Authority of Knowledge: A Bibliographical Essay," *College English* 48, no. 8 (1986), 773-90.
29. Fontana, "Rhetoric and the Roots," 29.
30. Václav Havel, "Letter to Dr. Gustáv Husák," 16.
31. Theodore Shank, "Collective Creation," *The Drama Review* 16, no. 2 (1972), 4.
32. František Hrdlička and Zdena Bratršovská, e-mail message to the author, April 24, 2009.
33. František Hrdlička and Zdena Bratršovská, *Zpráva o Bílém divadle* (Prague: HplusH, 1998), 91.
34. Jerzy Grotowski, "From the Theatre Company to Art as Vehicle," in *At Work with Grotowski on Physical Actions*, edited by Thomas Richards (New York: Routledge, 1995), 116-117.
35. Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968), 62.
36. Ibid., 42.
37. Ibid., 52.
38. Sharon Crowley, *The Methodical Memory* (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990). Patrick H. Hutton, "The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Rhetoric to Psychoanalysis," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48, no. 3 (1987), 382.
39. Edward Said, "Invention, Memory, and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2000), 176.

40. Zdena Bratršovská and František Hrdlička, “Umělecké dílo je nabídka přátelského rozhovoru,” *Mosity*, February 1, 2000, 1+.
41. Grotowski, “From the Theatre Company,” 130.
42. Vladimír Hulce, “Ladění,” *Divadelní Noviny* 4 (1999), 3.
43. Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 92.
44. *Ibid.*, 91.
45. Crowley, *The Methodical Memory*, 10.
46. Thomas West, “A Genealogy of Modern Racism,” in *Race Critical Theories*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 97.
47. Barry Brummett, “Some Implications of ‘Process’ or ‘Intersubjectivity’: Postmodern Rhetoric,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 9, no. 1 (1976), 29.
48. Barry Brummett, “The Three Meanings of Epistemic Rhetoric,” presentation, annual SCA conference, San Antonio, TX, November 1979: para. 21.
49. Dubček, *Hope Dies Last*, 263.
50. *Ibid.*, 176
51. Helen Foster, *Networked Process* (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 2007), 100-01.
52. Dubček, *Hope Dies Last*, 212.
53. Šimečka, *The Restoration of Order*, 15-16.
54. Zdenek Kryšufek, *The Soviet Regime in Czechoslovakia* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Monographs, 1981).
55. Kachyňa, *Ucho*.
56. Dubček, *Hope Dies Last*, 229.
57. Rodnick, *The Strangled Democracy*, 172.
58. Carolyn R. Miller, “Rhetoric and Community: The Problem of the One and the Many,” in *Defining the New Rhetorics*, edited by Theresa Enos and Stuart C. Brown (London: Sage Publications, 1993), 91.
59. Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 121.
60. František Hrdlička, “Bílé divadlo,” *Babylon*, May 30, 2005, 7.
61. Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 91.
62. Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 155.
63. *Ibid.*
64. David Lichtenstein, “The Rhetoric of Improvisation: Spontaneous Discourse in Jazz and Psychoanalysis,” *American Imago* 50, no. 2 (1993), 237.
65. Jan Kerbr, “Ostrůvek svobody v moři běsu,” *Nové Knihy* 12, 3.
66. Hulce, “Ladění,” no page number.
67. Hrdlička and Bratršovská, *Zpráva*, 48.
68. Zdena Bratršovská and František Hrdlička, *Sebranci* (Prague: Protis, 2007), 128.
69. Bratršovská and Hrdlička, “Umělecké dílo,” 1.
70. Bratršovská and Hrdlička, *Sebranci*, 132.
71. Šimečka, *The Restoration of Order*, 61.

72. Pavel Janáček, “Staronový prostor beletrie,” *Lidové Noviny*, Sept. 24, 1992, 2.
73. James Berlin, “Poststructuralism, Cultural Studies, and the Composition Classroom: Postmodern Theory in Practice,” *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 1 (1992), 24.
74. Hrdlička, “Bílé Divadlo,” *Babylon*, 7.

Václav Myslivec, A Man Between Christian Socialism, Christian Democracy, and Catholic Conservatism: An Outline of a Political Biography¹

By Pavel Marek

'He was a man whom I held in veneration for his genuine religious beliefs. No sacrifice was too great for him to make for the sake of the Catholic faith and welfare of the nation.'

Cardinal Karel Kašpar, Archbishop of Prague, 1934

At the time of emergence of the Christian–Social political movement in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Czech Christian–Social Party of Bohemia and Moravia had more than a few eminent faces who not only laid foundations of Czech Political Catholicism, but would also later, before WWI and after in the first year of the Czechoslovak Republic, play a leading role in the party and Czech politics. These were Jan Šrámek (1870–1956), František Světlík (1875–1949), Rudolf Horský (1852–1926), František Valoušek (1863–1932), Gustav Mazanec (1873–1938), František Reyl (1865–1935), etc. Czech historians have more or less examined their lives and work in monographs or shorter analytical papers. However, having pored over the bulk of literature on this topic, we must say that, surprisingly enough, such a renowned person as Václav Myslivec has been omitted from the above list, even though many authors of studies, both partial and synthetic, on Czech Political Catholicism have mentioned him in their works. What a paradox! Despite his young age, Myslivec was known in Bohemia as one of top Catholic politicians already before WWI and participated in establishing (and splitting) several political parties. Moreover, he was among the leading advocates of the Christian–Democratic movement and urged his fellows to establish a Christian–Democratic Party. Unlike in Western Europe, where Political Catholicism developed along a Christian–Democratic pattern,² confessional political parties in the Czech Lands adopted a different approach, presenting themselves strictly as Christian–Social parties. Even though the idea of Political Catholicism would somewhat change after WWI, Catholic parties were going to keep their distance from the term ‘democratic’ and it had not appeared in their names until the Velvet Revolution 1989. Today, after a merger of several political groups, the major party representing Czech Political Catholicism is called “the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party.”³

This article examines watershed moments in V. Myslivec’s political life. It does not treat and portray all details, which would not be feasible, as we lack enough knowledge about Myslivec’s role in the party and politics (authentic sources and preliminary studies are virtually nonexistent). It is based on historical documents found in the Archives of the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party (KDU–ČSL) and national Archives (Prague); the party press and periodicals (especially those edited by Myslivec); and, last but not least, knowledge acquired by the author, who has thoroughly studied aspects of Czech Political Catholicism and the church history of the

late 1800s and early 1900s.

The story can hardly begin without mentioning Václav Myslivec's youth – the time before he set out on a career in politics. He was born November 10, 1875, in Doksany, a village in the North Bohemia, diocese of Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), known for its Premonstratensian nunnery⁴ founded by Gertruda, wife of Duke (later hereditary King) Vladislav II from the Royal House of Premyslides, in 1141. (Later, St. Agnes of Bohemia would study there, daughter of King Přemysl Otakar I.) His father being a farm laborer,⁵ young Václav and his brothers František and Josef (lawyer who would later, before WWI, assist Václav in political and press activities)⁶ knew poverty too well; hence his compassion and strong social feeling, which developed along with his fervent patriotism, faith and love of God. Myslivec attended elementary school in his home village. Although being a gifted and talented pupil, he could not afford to study due to his family poverty and served his apprenticeship as a cobbler in Litoměřice, a town 5 miles away from his village.⁷ Like most journeymen at that time, he became a wayfaring traveler soon after he completed his apprenticeship (1889), wandering on foot through Bavaria and Upper and Lower Austria for two years. During that time he worked in numerous cobblers' workshops, learned a lot, experienced a lot, and traveled across considerable sections of Central Europe. In 1893, he returned through Moravia to Bohemia and moved to Prague. A young Catholic-oriented artisan could hardly evade the influence of the milieu of his fellows joined in the Union of Catholic Journeymen. This association had been co-founded by Adolf Koppling⁸ (1813–1865) on June 29, 1852, and the sphere of its activities was very large.⁹ It profited from the ingenious insight of its chairman Eduard Jan Neponuk Brynych (1846–1902) who, at that time, was about to part ways with the Union, having been appointed the new bishop of Hradec Králové. Canon Josef Burian (1854–1922) was another exceptional leader of the organization. Friendly and cheerful, Myslivec soon became extremely popular and his new friends discovered his gift of speech. The Union was closely linked to another important rallying point of Czech Catholics, the *Vlast* (Homeland) co-operative, where the idea of establishing the Christian–Social Party was very much discussed in the early 1890s. One of its leaders, Tomáš Josef Jiroušek (1858–1940), invited Myslivec (a 19 year old youth!) to a convention of Catholic workers that took place in Litomyšl in 1894 and even asked him to give a speech on the subject of "*A Christian Worker in the Society*." The convention made the first move towards establishing the Christian–Social Party of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia¹⁰ and young Myslivec was, suddenly, in the very core of the important political movement inspired by *Rerum Novarum*, the celebrated social encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII.¹¹ This convention changed Myslivec's whole life. Between 1893 and 1897 he scrupulously attended meetings of the First Political Club of Catholic Work People in Bohemia, although – being younger than 24 – he was too young to become its full-fledged member. On the other hand, he had an opportunity to meet members of the generation of old workers' movement advocates from the 1860s and 1870s (e.g. Matěj Patočka or Ferdinand Malý) and also got into close contact with R.

Horský, T. J. Jiroušek, Tomáš Škrdel (1853–1913), Rudolf Vrba (1860–1939) and other Christian–Social organizers.

His meeting with Emil Dlouhý–Pokorný (1867–1936)¹² was of not less importance for Myslivec's future life. According to Josef Fikejzl, a historian and direct witness of the origins of the Christian–Social movement, it was due to Myslivec's grave illness; during the fall of 1896 his condition worsened so terribly that it was feared he might die. Curate Dlouhý–Pokorný was horrified at Myslivec's condition and decided to help him financially.¹³ In his memoirs,¹⁴ E. Dlouhý–Pokorný himself depicted V. Myslivec as a gifted man and able organizer, remarkable for his zeal for the idea of Christian Democracy and disapproving attitude towards the conservative membership of *Vlast*. As Pokorný had lost his job and was left penniless in Prague, it seemed he would have to give up all activities and retreat to his home area.

Curate Dlouhý–Pokorný took care of the fellow–activist of the Christian–Social movement, who was eight years younger than he. To start with, he found him a job as a gardener, but soon started to sponsor him financially, thus helping him become a professional politician. Dlouhý–Pokorný also put his library at Myslivec's disposal, in particular foreign works on socialism, thanks to which Myslivec could learn and compare different social teachings and look for inspiration. To a certain extent, the educated curate advised and tutored him. Together they traveled to Vienna and set out for a study tour to Switzerland, France and Germany, where they consulted their opinions with leading Christian–oriented sociologists. Among others, they met Professor Josef Beck (1858–1943)¹⁵ and lawyer Kaspar Decurtins (1855–1916)¹⁶ at the Catholic University of Fribourg, Switzerland, and priest Janez Krek (1865–1917)¹⁷ in Ljubljana (Laibach). It was undoubtedly due to Dlouhý–Pokorný's influence¹⁸ that Myslivec enrolled for a series of lectures on economy at Charles–Ferdinand University, Prague, as a special student. Nevertheless, literature was still his main source of learning.

At that time, Dlouhý–Pokorný and Myslivec parted with the right wing of the Christian–Social Party, represented by Horský, and joined a group of “young” Catholics, which had emerged soon after the Litomyšl convention with the aim of deepening and accomplishing social and political activities. Headed by Vilém Koleš (1869–1944) and Josef Hovádek (1869–1937), the group promoted the Christian–Democratic views as part of Catholic political principles. “Although the young do honor and appreciate the pioneering work of Dr. Horský and editor Jiroušek, they would like to put in their mite so that these activities can be wider and more democratic. They especially wish that the Party press should flourish.”¹⁹ Christian Democrats would first come to be seen as an autonomous faction in 1895: they called for publishing a new, folk–oriented bi–monthly periodical called *Bojovník* (The Campaigner). Koleš later commented on the journal: “In our innocence we wished to bring solace to Čech²⁰ (this periodical was always complaining of the rise of the Social Democracy), and also silence the Social Democrats, who kept alleging that there bright Catholic workers were nonexistent and that only priests established and edited our periodicals . . .”²¹

After the concept of *Bojovník* had failed, the Christian Democrats started to publish a cheap bi-monthly magazine, *Lidové listy* (People's Gazette) on September 25, 1896. Although it may seem that their only job in the mid-1890s was founding a new periodical of their own, activities of the Christian Democrats were manifold. As soon as both young enthusiasts joined the faction, they immediately seized power. Consequently, opinions became polarized and the Christian-Social movement started to look for the new ticket. Primarily, the Christian Democrats demanded that the electoral system should be changed: they called for universal and equal suffrage, direct elections and the secret ballot, in contradiction to the official policy of Catholic leaders. They also advocated participation of women in activities of the Christian-Social movement – a radical demand in the Czech Catholic milieu of that time! – who should become equal to men, not only in the field of welfare and help to the poorest (which should become more than a mere charity), but should carry out activities of their own. In addition to common religious actions, they should have been active in the field of public and political education, thus attracting the wider electorate for Catholic parties. Another radical demand was that of young Christian Democrats, who – in contradiction to the tradition and views of the movement – wished to act in the political scene independently of the Catholic hierarchy. The lower clergy wished to play a more active role and called for freedom of opinion in civic matters. Bishops should no longer demand obedience, but should have let them enroll in the political party of their choice, without regard to the official views of the Roman Catholic Church. Parsons and curates were convinced that times of privileged social classes were over and asserted that this attitude should be applied not only to the Church itself but also to the human society. It was a broad hint to the conservative aristocracy and big landowners who, in their opinion, exploited common man, paying him no more than a hunch of bread.

Unlike Dlouhý-Pokorný, who was the “gray eminence” of the movement, instigating numerous campaigns and activities and often paying them from his priestly salary or his stepmother’s donations, Myslivec – an extrovert and good speaker – soon became a symbolic figure and officially recognized leader. On October 26, 1897 he took over from J. Hovádek’s publishing and editing of *Lidové listy* (until 1899 when the paper was closed down). As an editor-in-chief, he published there plenty of his articles. When Dlouhý-Pokorný decided to start a new bi-monthly paper the following January, called very typically *Křesťanský demokrat* (The Christian Democrat), Myslivec became its editor again and could publish extensively. It was clear that the Christian Democrats were taking the offensive. The fact that two new periodicals had been started at the same time was far from being accidental. The Christian Democrats had to fight on two fronts: in addition to promoting their program, they had to oppose conservative Catholic politicians who, being more than reserved towards the ideas of Christian Socialism and Christian Democracy, tried to create a unified and conservative Catholic party. For that reason, the conservatives tried to devour the Christian-Social Party of Bohemia recently founded at its first congress (September 1896) and launched a massive cam-

paign across the country. A famous and celebrated speaker at meetings and rallies, Myslivec was to play a leading role in the campaign. The time was ripe as the elections to the Viennese Parliament (*Reichsrat*) were imminent. A joint election committee was established, consisting of representatives of all Catholic factions and chaired by Count Vojtěch (Adalbert) von Schönborn (1854–1924), brother of the then Archbishop of Prague and a prominent member of the conservative Catholic Political Union of the Czech Kingdom. The Christian–Social faction established a half-autonomous club within the boundaries of the committee, which was to organize the elections into the “fifth curia” open to all male voters. This pattern, with Catholic workers being a self-autonomous but constituent part of a huge conservative organization – the National Catholic Party of Bohemia – was to last for some time.²² It is worth mentioning that those who prepared the proposed merger worked surreptitiously, employing backstage maneuvering instead of political negotiations.

However, the attempt to suppress independent activities of the Czech Christian Social movement failed, thanks to Dlouhý–Pokorný and Myslivec, fellow combatants in the intra-party struggles.²³ The fact that the party leadership under Horský was eventually ready to accept the notion of a unified conservative Catholic party resulted in an open conflict in 1898²⁴ and, a year later and after many twists and turns, into a secession of the Christian–Democratic faction, which later transformed itself into the Christian–Social People’s Party.²⁵ The emergence of the new political party, with Myslivec as a member of the Executive Committee and secretary, was a climax of Christian–Democratic endeavor.

The history of this somewhat short-lived faction was plagued with a number of unfortunate circumstances that eventually resulted in a breakup of the party and decline of Christian–Democratic ideas, as the movement ceased to be an autonomous political grouping based on strong institutional pillars – the press and the political party. The first and, apparently, critical event was a personal clash between Dlouhý–Pokorný and Myslivec. Its origins are unknown, but circumstances suggest that the ultimate cause lay in Myslivec’s vacillation and hedging. Even though Myslivec belonged to leaders of the Christian–Democratic movement, he was less uncompromising in his views than Dlouhý–Pokorný. Unlike the latter, he did not wish to break off all ties to the Christian–Social Right and he still stayed in touch with Catholic conservatives, kept negotiating with them in a vain effort to overcome the rift and form a unified Catholic party – this all at the time when Dlouhý–Pokorný was in fact unacceptable to the conservatives and was undergoing a profound spiritual crisis that would eventually make him give up holy orders (in the end, he was excommunicated from the Church). In this context, Dlouhý–Pokorný considered Myslivec a traitor and, having resigned from all posts he had held in the party, broke off all contacts with the Christian Democrats and Christian–Social movement and from then on was engaged exclusively in activities of the Czech Catholic Modern Movement (so-called *Moderna*). The fact that, as a result of Myslivec’s and Mazanec’s conciliatory attitudes, Dlouhý–Pokorný left the party whose guru, ideological pillar, tactical leader and, often, chief sponsor he

had been, and this soon resulted in stagnation and rapid decomposition. If any consensus was to be reached, all parties involved had to make concessions – and Myslivec's group gave up the idea of establishing an autonomous Christian–Democratic party.

What Dlouhý–Pokorný perceived as Myslivec's “treachery” – namely, his contacts with the Catholic Right and attempts at conciliation with his political adversaries – had another hidden reason (so well hidden that even Myslivec himself might have not noticed it): lacking any sure and regular income, Myslivec had been struggling for existence and was too well aware of the fact that the Christian–Social (in other words, democratic) Left could not offer him the financial security he needed. If he was to help the Catholic cause as a professional politician, he could not afford to make empty gestures but rather had to be as cooperative as circumstances allowed. He was going to learn his lesson pretty soon, after *Křesťanský demokrat* was closed down (1899). Ending up in dire economic straits, he decided to apply for a job as a clerk at the Prague office of *Landesausschuss* (Land Committee, in fact a provincial government of Bohemia). By coincidence, Count von Schönborn was present as an observer at the interview. The chief of Czech Catholic conservatives showed his magnanimousness and, instead of turning down Myslivec's application, offered the gifted journalist a job of an editor of *Katolické listy* (The Catholic Gazette), a temporary substitute (1896–1904) for *Čech*. Myslivec accepted the offer and would edit the paper, with few interruptions, from 1900²⁶ until September 1931.²⁷ An independent observer might be tempted to call it a U–turn: Myslivec apparently went over to his adversary. It is difficult to say whether he was forced to compromise his views; nevertheless, it was obvious in the following years – at least until WWI – that nothing curbed his activities and he never wavered from his earlier democratic views.

While the end of the 19th century seemed to have rung down the curtain on the first stage of Myslivec's political activities, the new century was opening a new niche for bold exploits of the 25–year–old man. By coincidence, the political movements of Czech Catholics – indeed, Czech Catholics *en masse* – were at the parting of the ways. Their political parties were suffering a profound crisis, the Christian–Social movement had split into two factions, and the National Catholic Party was virtually inactive. Despite every effort of numerous individuals, the rift had not been repaired and all negotiations were futile. If the negotiators – including V. Myslivec as a representative of the Christian–Democratic Left – reached a compromise, it was to remain on paper only. To make things even worse, the so-called St. Wenceslas Savings Bank scandal broke out in 1902²⁸ to the dismay of Czech Catholics, who as a result stopped all activities for some time. Even though the infamous scandal had nothing to do with politics, the consequences were so grave that the Catholics seriously discussed the possibility of disbanding all their parties and merging with non–confessional political groupings as the only possible way of saving the future of Catholicism.²⁹

Such defeatism was sharply rejected by Myslivec, who published a number of fundamental articles in 1903 and 1904 questioning, for the most

part, the views of František Jan Kroher (1871–1948).³⁰ In his articles, Myslivec explained that the proposed concept of “disbandment and merger” would have resulted in religious decline of the people, who would have been interested in mundane matters, abandoning spiritual values at the same time. Unlike Kroher, he saw a possible solution in establishing a modern political party. In one of his articles he explained that the longer the political unity of Catholics would be delayed the worse the obstacles would become: “Abandoned fields are infested with weeds; stagnant water stinks and is home to a frog rather than trout.”³¹ He complained about total disarray and perplexity that had recently engulfed the Catholic movement and felt that “we badly lack a man of insight and energy; a Catholic Moses able to lead us to the Promised Land; or, to put it in more contemporary terms, a new O’Connell³² or Windhorst³³ gathering Catholics under his flag and leading them to victory.”³⁴ But at the same time, he added, one must not give into despair: the Lord can see those who pray and toil, and helps them. One must not sit on one’s hands and wait for a leader to come and change everything with a magic wand. It is necessary to set about doing something and hope in the Lord’s help.

It was characteristic of Myslivec at that time that, although speaking about *gathering Catholics under one flag*, he did not mention founding a unified Catholic party. In the light of his later organizing activities and political work, it is possible that he already then preferred establishing a modern political mass. He admittedly participated in founding the Party of the Catholic People³⁵ in 1906, which tried to integrate all Catholic groups and factions and, if only in theory, proclaimed itself all-Christian (i.e., its membership was opened up even to non-Catholics);³⁶ nevertheless, his main effort was focused on establishing an organization of Catholic peasant and Catholic labor unions. Apparently, this was due to his pragmatism³⁷ and ability to perceive new trends in developments of political parties that, starting from the 1890s, were gradually changing from elite clubs to mass parties with a sophisticated structure and affiliated organizations offering benefits to their membership. Having abandoned the idea of founding a Christian–Democratic party, Myslivec was looking for a new sphere of competence to make his political ideas reality. Therefore it was only logical for him to maintain contacts with Christian–Social adherents from Eastern Bohemia, which culminated by founding the Christian Labor Union Congress of the Czech Kingdom³⁸ at the constituent convention in Týniště nad Orlicí (1902). Headed and inspired by the local Bishop E.J.N. Brynch,³⁹ the region of Eastern Bohemia was, next to Prague, the second center of the Christian–Social and Christian–Democratic movements in Bohemia; moreover, the “people’s” and “conservative” factions of the Catholic movement had never broken away here. It is not surprising that local Catholics appreciated Myslivec’s activities and repeatedly nominated and elected him their representative in the provincial (Bohemian) and Imperial (Austrian) legislative assemblies.

Myslivec’s activities in the Association of Czech Catholic Peasants of the Czech Kingdom (founded 1904)⁴⁰ were a different story. Why the celebrated labor union leader suddenly turned into a co-founder of the peasant

association is hard to say. There are at least two possible explanations for this fact, so crucial for future development of the Czech Christian–Social (but also Conservative Catholic) movement. First, it might have been just pure coincidence. From the mid–1890s, and the more so after the emergence of the Agrarian Party of Bohemia (1899),⁴¹ countless political factions had been trying to win over peasants and farmers, who had split with the Young Czech Party (National Liberal Party). Later on, the discontented peasants founded the Association of Czech Peasants (1898), which gradually tried to become a full–fledged political subject. At that time, Catholic peasants could pick from two paragons. On one hand, there was an energetic and knowledgeable “Philosopher from Padařov,” Alfons Šťastný (1831–1913),⁴² who might have been able to lead a huge agrarian association, but was rightfully considered a missionary of atheism in Bohemia. On the other hand stood Josef Šamalík (1875–1948), a Moravian farmer from Ostrov u Sloupu, a man of imposing presence and intelligent face, renowned for his activities in the Catholic Union of Czech Peasants of Moravia, Silesia, and Lower Austria (founded 1901). Šamalík made no secret of his ambition to found a Catholic–oriented agrarian party that, if successful, might spread across the boarders of the three aforesaid Austrian Crown Lands. Eventually, Catholic farmers made their choice, went over from the Association of Czech Peasants to the Catholic Union, and Myslivec, having shrewdly assessed the situation, appeared at their head.

The other possible explanation is that Myslivec perceived his involvement with Catholic peasants as a possible way out of the crisis caused by his rift with the Christian Democrats. In fact, most workers were then attracted by the Social Democrats, others founded a national–oriented workers’ party in the late 1890s, while some remained loyal to the Young Czech Party and the rest sided with other political groupings emerging in the process of differentiation of Czech society during the 1890s. With a majority of pro–Catholic workers belonging to the Horský faction, only a handful of them (plus those politically indifferent) remained non–partisan and hence “at Myslivec’s disposal,” which could hardly satisfy a politician as ambitious as he was. It was only logical that he eventually turned his attention to the countryside, where he could muster many more followers. Furthermore, he met there a group of bright young Catholic–oriented peasant activists and speakers (F. Šafránek, J. Adámek, J. Krejčí, A. Kaňourek et al.) who shared his views and accepted his vision of the association of Catholic peasants, principally small and petty ones, and farm laborers.⁴³ In such activities, Myslivec saw his chance to follow up on his past work and keep developing the Christian–Democratic ideas.

No matter which explanation we prefer, the essential thing is that, being a co–founder and committee member of the Catholic Union, Myslivec virtually became a leader of a huge and promising organization,⁴⁴ which would make possible his political comeback (even though the Union was formally chaired by F. Šafránek). In fact, Myslivec had helped found the *Selský list* (The Peasants’ Paper) weekly as early as 1902 and later, in 1904, participated in a vast campaign of meetings and rallies that accompanied the founding of the

Catholic Union. His speaker skills were very much in demand at the constitutive convention, but the more so at demonstrative rallies held in memorable locations like Křemešník u Pelhřimova, Hrádek u Vlašimi or Košumberk u Luže. In 1905 he co-edited a long-term working program of the Union that, as a matter of fact, looked a lot like a full-fledged party program. What was more important, the program did not remain on paper only but was put into praxis within a short period of time. It is not necessary here to go into great detail on the history of Bohemian associations of Catholic peasants; suffice it to say that they were extremely successful in establishing the Catholic press. Besides the aforesaid *Selský list*, they published *Selská stráž* (The Peasants' Guardian; 1904), *Venkovan* (The Countryman; 1907) – the largest Catholic paper with as many as 30,000 copies, *Nový věk* (The New Age; 1907), which was to have become a daily newspaper, *Věstník zemědělců* (The Farmer's Gazette; 1909), and *Selská obrana* (The Peasants' Defender; 1910). Starting from 1908, the Catholic peasants started to publish extremely popular family calendars of the *Venkovan*, each in several modifications and versions. Due to the extensive press activities, the Catholic peasants soon wished to own and operate their own printing plant in which they could print their periodicals and which could become a source of funding of the Union. After many twists and turns, they eventually succeeded and established the Czech-Slavic Joint-Stock Printing Works (ČAT) in 1911. Far from being satisfied with what they had achieved as a political organization, the Catholic Union also decided to establish business corporations and compete with the Agrarian Party. The developments were happening very fast: the Economic Corporation of Czech Christian Peasants of the Czech Kingdom – a huge collection center – emerged in 1908; in the following year, an association of savings and credit companies was founded as part of the Raiffeisen network – the so-called Land's Union of Czech Commercial Institutions of the Czech Kingdom – as well as the Czech-Slavic Savings Bank, in fact a Catholic banking house.⁴⁵ To top it off, the Country Youth Association had been founded in 1904, which published its own periodical, *Naše mládež* (Our Youth) from 1908. Myslivec participated in all the aforesaid cases, at least in the initial stages of the formation of each corporation. He also won over the “most inventive manager,” Emanuel Jungr, to the Catholics, and even though his involvement with the Catholic political movement would eventually end in failure, he was the first to take credit for the amazing expansion of the Catholic peasants’ associations. After Jungr had split with the Social Democrats, it was Myslivec who found him a job in the editorial office of *Selský list* (1905), and later made him a secretary general of the Union, and eventually the secretary of the Party of the Catholic People.

It is hard to say today whether Myslivec really wished to focus all his skills and energy on Catholic peasants or rather intended to exploit the opportunity and use the Catholic Union as a tool for strengthening his position in politics. Today’s historians tend to agree that he had fostered a vision of two parallel yet relatively autonomous organizations that could cooperate with each other. After the Party of the Catholic People was founded in 1906, Catholic peasants joined it as a satellite organization and their representatives, including

V. Myslivec, took three seats in the party executive committee. It was very important for the Catholic Union and, from then on, its membership was to grow rapidly: the wide Catholic public welcomed the fact that past quarrels had been forgotten. Within a short time, the Union had more members than the party itself; thus, the peasants became the party's largest faction, which boosted their leaders' self-confidence. Whereas the party was being controlled by conservatives, the Union became a focal point of the Christian-Social and Christian-Democratic Left, which took the advantage and fought for a better position and asked for more seats in the executive committee in recognition of the strength of the faction. Such attempts became more intense after the Imperial Parliament (*Reichsrat*) elections of 1907, the first after an election reform had been introduced. Surprisingly enough, Catholic political parties were unexpectedly successful and won seven seats in the *Reichsrat* (six of them had been nominated and supported by the peasants' Union). Myslivec was elected as well, thus getting some satisfaction for his failure in by-elections in the Žamberk district that had taken place earlier in January.⁴⁶

After a period of gradual growth (1904–1907), the Catholic Union clashed with the conservatives for control of the Party of the Catholic People between 1907 and 1910 and eventually won. Marked by two milestones – party congresses of 1908 and 1910 – the power struggle resulted in the triumph of Myslivec and Jungr's Christian-Social and Christian-Democratic Left. V. Myslivec was elected vice-chairman of the Party of the Catholic People as early as in March 1909. So strong was his position that a year later, in spite of opposition from so-called "Memorandists," he had the party renamed to the Christian-Social Party, which reflected the shift to the left endorsed by the party third congress. Thus, the Catholic peasants had seized a control of the party in a mere six years and became the most important faction of Czech political Catholicism. It was the very climax of Myslivec's pre-war career.

After 1910, Myslivec seemed to take a back seat and let the others rule the party. Not that he would have abandoned politics or lost importance. On the contrary: between 1910 and 1913 he fought and argued with opponents most fervently, eventually seceded from the Christian-Social Party with a handful of friends and founded the Christian-Social People's Party; he lost a battle over E. Jungr, who was excluded from the old party; he pushed through the founding of the society *Veritas* and party printing works, virtually against everyone's will; founded *XX. věk* (The XX Century), a deeply anti-Semitic weekly; ran for re-election in the 1911 *Reichsrat* campaign but failed – as well as other representatives of political Catholicism; and eventually in 1913 returned as a rank-and-file member to the Christian-Social Party, although he mistrusted its new leaders.⁴⁷ What was the ultimate cause of Myslivec's retreat, even if only apparent? Most probably the fact that the landslide victory of his peasants had, in fact, caused the disintegration of the party and entire Catholic movement. Whereas the old Party of the Catholic People had been based on "multifaceted unity," Myslivec's Czech Christian-Social Party of the Czech Kingdom abandoned this attitude after 1910 in a vain attempt to prioritize unity (or rather uniformity) over plurality. Consequently, new figures emerged

in the Catholic political movement, fostering separatist tendencies and founding secessionist party factions. In the end, Professor František Kordač, Doctor of Divinity (1852–1934)⁴⁸ intervened with his authority, ousted Myslivec, Horský, et al. from the leadership of the Christian Social Party, and radically changed the party policy, actually restoring the situation that existed before 1906. Myslivec, a Christian Democrat and radical, was suddenly isolated.

Myslivec decided to quit as a Catholic leader in 1913. Many years later he would observe that he had been desperate at that time, since his dream of attracting the masses to the ideas of Christian Socialism and Democracy had collapsed. However, after some time, he no longer perceived it as an injustice and tried to see it as a blessing: had the Christian Social movement been successful back then, they might have got bogged down in “activist” (i.e., pro-Austrian and pro-Habsburg) policy during WWI, which would have inevitably resulted in harsh anti-Catholic measures during the cultural struggle in first years of the post-war Czechoslovak Republic.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Myslivec remained a Catholic journalist and as such, could comment on politics and events in newspapers and at meetings. When the Austrian government promulgated the so-called *Annapatente* (St. Anne’s Day Decrees) that suspended the Bohemian provincial legislature (*Landtag*), he criticized it harshly, not excepting Czech members of the cabinet, and called for revenge, urging Czech deputies to paralyze the Viennese Imperial Parliament. He even convened a mass meeting of Prague citizens on July 18, 1913 under the aegis of the Christian-Social Political Club (even though the head of the Club’s board was Count Albert Schönborn) and in the name of Catholics protested against the dictatorial tendencies of the government. However, most of disoriented Catholics remained taciturn. Myslivec’s openness and bluntness were also the cause of his anti-Semitic invectives, especially in his younger years and on the pages of *XX. věk*. They were not racially motivated (on the contrary: Myslivec fervently condemned racism, as he often demonstrated in his speeches during the 1930s, with German Nazism – which he despised – on the rise). They had no religious context, either. Myslivec observed more than once that Christians should learn from Jews how to treat religious traditions and paraphrased the utterance of Karel Havlíček-Borovský (1821–1856): “Shame on a Czech, if he doesn’t behave like a Czech under all circumstances,” substituting “Czech” for “Catholic”. In fact, his anti-Semitism was a simple response to anti-Czech resentments of certain Jewish circles.⁵⁰

With the *XX. věk* closed down late in 1913, Myslivec once again ended up in dire economic straits. He was unemployed, with a wife and seven children to feed. After six months of searching a job, he was thinking about moving to America, where he could have edited a Catholic paper for Czech emigrants. He also pondered an offer to join the Agrarian Party, which would have secured him a decent living without having to engage in public activities. He nevertheless resisted temptation, believing that the time would come and he would be able to work for Catholic peasants and workers again. Paradoxically, this peculiar situation was solved with the outbreak of the Great War. Myslivec was mobilized as a reservist and sent with his battalion to Serbia. Having sur-

vived the battle of the Smederevo Fortress with a handful of his fellow combatants, he soon after collapsed from physical and mental exhaustion and was spared by chance: half-frozen, he fell from a wooden cart and was subsequently transported to a Budapest hospital. There he got over the worst, spent some time in several more Hungarian hospitals (from which he would send articles and war reports to *Čech*) and eventually was declared unfit for service due to a severe cardiac defect. Having persuaded an examining magistrate that he had not deserted from the Serbian front, Myslivec finally came back home in 1915. He found a job in the editorial office of *Čech* again (which was quite surprising in view of his tense relationships with his fellow editors after 1911), but it was just a charitable gesture due to his poor physical condition and large family. His salary was so small that he, out of desperation, brushed up on his job skills and set on repairing shoes and boots. To make things even worse, he was sometimes forced to put on a backpack and go around his friends and locals, begging for some potatoes or a loaf of bread. More than once he heard a cutting remark in addition the war years affected him badly, his health deteriorated, and this all would lead to his premature death.

As soon as Myslivec returned from the war, he was absorbed by his work for *Čech*. The articles from that period have not yet been analyzed. Moreover, they are anonymous, and hence not traceable, and Myslivec's opinions are known only from hearsay. After the war experience, he became more critical towards the Dual Monarchy, which was reflected in his articles. Although *Čech* had always been a conservative and cautious periodical, it suffered several censorship bans in 1918. After the war, even Přemysl Šámal (1867–1941)⁵¹ allegedly appreciated its role in the anti-Austrian resistance.⁵² Although it is doubtful that, at that time, Myslivec had a clear idea of the future developments of the Czech nation and possible constitutional changes to come, he probably no longer sided with Austria, as he criticized its ethnic policy. Unlike some Catholic leaders, he parted with the Monarchy happily. As early as October 29, 1918 he welcomed the fall of the Monarchy in an editorial in *Čech* and rejoiced in the nation's independence. As a matter of fact, he had expected major changes throughout that month and in mid-October had taken first steps that eventually would lead to the re-establishment of the Prague Political Club of Christian-Social Workers. With a handful of collaborators⁵³ he also prepared a huge meeting of Prague Catholics that took place in the *Měšťanská beseda* clubhouse on November 3, 1918. By coincidence, the meeting not only celebrated the emergence of the Czechoslovak state, but also became the very first protest rally against the "cultural struggle" initiated under the rallying cry of *Los von Rom*. As a matter of fact, an anti-Catholic mob had toppled the baroque Column of Our Lady's at the Prague's Old Town Square just a couple of hours earlier, of which some of the participants at the meeting were eyewitness. On January 5 and 6, 1919, Myslivec took part in the constituent convention of the Bohemian faction of the Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL) and in his speech urged its members to declare their Catholic faith openly and fearlessly.

The post-WWI period is one of the most obscure periods of

Myslivec's life. He still pursued a career as a journalist, *Čech* being his "home" newspaper until he parted with his fellow editors, apparently on bad terms. In the final years of his life he worked as a part-time editor for *Pražský večerník* (The Prague Evening Paper) and *Lid* (The People). Initially, Myslivec stood aloof from *Lidové listy* (The People's Gazette), the official paper of ČSL,⁵⁴ but later, having left *Čech*, started to publish his articles there. He even became a member of the party's Executive Committee for Bohemia and, which is more important, represented it in the Chamber of Deputies.⁵⁵ He became a member of the first (so-called "Revolutionary") National Assembly in 1919, somewhat belatedly, as a substitute for the deceased Bedřich Pospíšil. In the following years (1920–1929) he would repeatedly run as a candidate for the Prague district and would be smoothly re-elected, despite being strongly opposed by the party leader, J. Šrámek, in 1925. The trouble was that, at that time, Myslivec belonged to the Horský conservative faction (sometimes referred to as the "Far Right"),⁵⁶ which severely criticized Šrámek's policy for alleged lack of commitment to the cause of the Church and Catholicism. To the Far Right, Šrámek seemed to be perceived and treated as too weak by other parties, and unwilling to use the party apparatus to promote Catholicism. Such criticism was perhaps too harsh: Šrámek's adversaries wrongly assessed the situation and real strength of Catholicism in the recently established Republic. As for Myslivec himself, his attitudes derived from his strong ideological beliefs, intense faith, personal zeal, and uncompromising commitment to the Roman-Catholic Church and were motivated by the best will. On the other hand, the fact that he sided with Horský is today perceived as an ideological U-turn as compared with his activities before the war, when he had represented the radical, democratic and socially-oriented Left and was closely linked with the Catholic Modern Movement, while Horský had been a leader of the Christian-Social Right. Without a doubt, the old Myslivec was far less radical, fervent, and vigorous than the pre-WWI lion of political meetings. As he himself observed, "I have experienced too many battles in my life, but I have always fought for a noble cause, without a hint of selfishness; I daresay I can assert this without being blamed for blowing my own trumpet, even though I know my faults too well."⁵⁷

Myslivec often asserted that he felt no resentment towards J. Šrámek and appreciated his work; on the other hand, the relationships between the party leaders (namely, Šrámek) and Myslivec had always been tense. The latter tried to explain it by different views on the party strategy – and was convinced that his views were correct.⁵⁸ To a certain extent he might have been right, but frankly speaking, he was sometimes regarded as the *enfant terrible* of the Catholic political movement. He was the only Catholic member of the Chamber of Deputies to vote against the "Little Educational Bill" (1922); advocated a merger of the ČSL and Hlinka's Slovak People's Party and kept in touch with it even after it clashed with ČSL; was in favor of establishing an alliance of Czech and Slovak Catholics, etc.⁵⁹ In the mid-1920s Myslivec stirred up a conflict within ČSL, after he all alone attacked leaderships of the party and party factions in the Chamber of Deputies in association with the so-called

“Kaderka scandal.” Consequently, he was summoned to the “party trial” and explain why he “had belittled the party in the eyes of the public” by publishing allegations of bribery. The Central Committee of local party branches of the Greater Prague eventually called for a party congress to be convened or, at least, demanded that ‘the subversives be expelled from the party’.⁶⁰ This event, as well as some others, clearly showed that the differences lay deeper than in tactical approaches: to put it simply, a politician with a prolific pre-war record, Myslivec was unwilling to fall into line with the party policy but had a mind of his own. Still, he was far from being merely tolerated: in fact, he presented opinions of ČSL in the Chamber of Deputies as its official speaker and, until his death, would speak at hundreds of meetings and lectures throughout Czechoslovakia, being always received as a renowned and even well-liked representative of his party.

This article would be too voluminous if it should include a thorough analysis of Myslivec’s speeches in the National Assembly, Chamber of Deputies, and parliamentary committees. Suffice it to say that as a Member of Parliament and editor of *Čech* (the primary author of editorials), Myslivec commented political, economic, and social developments of the Czechoslovak Republic from its emergence to the mid-1930s. Paying his attention to both domestic and foreign policy, he in general shared the official opinions of his party. He backed the young Republic, wished it the best and, being a Czech nationalist, called for a coalition cabinet of Czech and Slovak parties:

It is true that a coalition of the Czechs and Germans would be feasible, too, but such a cabinet would be dishonest . . . The [Czechoslovak] Germans . . . have always opposed to the establishment of the Republic and later revolted against it even after it had been established. Until they honestly admit, “Nostra Culpa! – It was our fault!” and until they show their remorse by behaving and acting properly, any concession made to them should be considered a sin against those who fought and died for the victory of the Entente and, hence, for the restoration of our independence.⁶¹

In another speech, Myslivec explained his attitude towards the German minority as follows: the People’s Party, being a Christian party, condemns ethnic intolerance; it is prepared to forget that Czechs had often been wronged by Germans in the past; however, the Germans must be loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic. Their appeals to the League of Nations and protests against oppression and injustice they allegedly suffered from Czechoslovak authorities, in Myslivec’s opinion, showed how arrogant the Czechoslovak Germans were.⁶²

As was already mentioned above, Myslivec’s attitude toward the Slovaks was very different. Myslivec condemned “Czechoslovakism” (a theory asserting that Czechs and Slovaks were two branches of the same nation rather than two separate nations), unequivocally defended rights of Slovaks as a nation⁶³ and urged Czechs to recognize them. He even accepted the idea of Slo-

vak separatism (in a territorial, not ethnic sense) as a way to an independent Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Republic. Promoting cooperation between the nations, he wished to build on principles of justice and Christian charity. During his lecture tour through Slovakia (Nitra, Trnava, and Bratislava) late in February 1923, he expressed his wish that Czech and Slovak Catholics could respect each other's rights and eventually become united for the good of the Church and Republic. At that time he met Bishops Karol Kmet'ko (1875–1948)⁶⁴ and Pavol Jantausch (1870–1947),⁶⁵ several canons and Members of Parliament. Jozef Tiso (1887–1947),⁶⁶ secretary of a Nitra-based Slovak Catholic Circle, urged Myslivec to convey a message to Czechs.

Tell our Czech brethren in Prague they are wrong if they think that we, Slovak Catholics joined in the Slovak People's Party, are they enemies, or that we hate Czechs. Not at all! We sincerely welcome all Czechs who come to us in the spirit of true Christian brotherhood, who shall spare our national and religious feelings, respect our economic interests, and shall not steal our bread.⁶⁷

Myslivec's sympathy for leaders of the Slovak (Hlinka's) People's Party were great, and soon rumors circulated in the press that he might join this party and represent it in the Parliament.⁶⁸

V. Myslivec was always much concerned with the social struggle of the masses. It had been his "job" already before WWI and he remained compassionate to those in need, in particular during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In his opinion, the most important task of the government was to enact old-age pensions and accident insurance for employees, which he presented as his old vision: "I consider the enactment of old-age pensions as highest priority, which has been part of our program for a period longer than 25 years; a real dream come true for all Christian-Social activists gathered around the People's Party."⁶⁹ On the other hand, Myslivec took a firm stand as defender of the Roman-Catholic Church, thoroughly scrutinizing the religious situation in Czechoslovakia and the government's policy in this field. He constantly criticized anything that could harm the Church: the "enemies of the Cross of Christ" who had caused a religious clash by establishing the Czechoslovak Church,⁷⁰ or those who tried to stir up trouble within ČSL, banish religious instruction from schools, or "strip the Catholic Church" by means of a land reform bill and associated legislation. When the Chamber of Deputies discussed one of those bills, Myslivec got into argument with his fellow deputies, branding them "robbers of Church property" who could only count revenues the Church received from the land but never considered for what purpose the revenues were going to be used. Eventually, Myslivec asked: Who would, for instance, maintain our churches and cathedrals, which are not only places of worship but also cultural and historical monuments, if Church estates should be expropriated?⁷¹ In this context, most politicians regarded Myslivce as an orthodox Catholic for whom his case was the alpha and omega of everything.

As concerns foreign policy, which was another field of his activities in the Chamber of Deputies as an MP, member of committees, and journalist⁷² – in addition to the questions of the military and defense strategy – Myslivec was one of the few ČSL MPs (together with F. Světlík) who systematically pursued this topic. His speeches did not reveal dramatically new approaches. Myslivec endorsed the official government policy represented by Edvard Beneš (1884–1948), the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom he praised for his ability and defended from attacks of his enemies. In November 1923, during a discussion held in the Chamber of Deputies over Beneš's report on foreign policy, Myslivec – speaking on behalf of ČSL – expressed full support for the Minister's policy, which his party endorsed and was proud of.⁷³ He correctly considered the Little Entente as a product of Czechoslovak foreign policy, but emphasized at the same time that it must achieve the goals for which it had been founded. Further, he called for friendly relations with neighboring countries, in particular Poland and Hungary, but – as with Germany – expected these countries to be willing to cooperate and refrain from provocations. Establishing good relations with Italy was another of his goals, as well as helping Bulgaria, at that time still stigmatized because of its pro-German and anti-Slavic policies during WWI, and solving the problems of relations between Czechoslovakia and Russia (U.S.S.R.). Myslivec rejected the extreme approaches – military intervention on one hand and total inactivity on the other; in his view, Russia was “our sister country” subject to the Bolshevik terror.⁷⁴ Unlike F. Světlík,⁷⁵ nicknamed “the Red Prelate,” Myslivec was implacable: he refused Communism and was strongly opposed to recognizing U.S.S.R. *de jure*. This was most probably the reason why the Communist paper *Rudé právo* (The Red Law) branded him a “boss of the Fascist wing within ČSL”,⁷⁶ which was utter nonsense. Myslivec did often warn of the danger of decay of parliamentary democracy not only in Russia, but also in Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, Greece, and Yugoslavia, and called for democracy to be restored. Powerlessness of the League of Nations was a heavy blow to him; when he commented on Minister Beneš's speech on this topic in November 1933, he expressed his skepticism about future developments and suggested that the world should look for “a new universal authority”, which would be a guarantor of worldwide peace and stability. In accordance with his lifelong beliefs, he logically concluded: “Nobody shall be surprised to hear me saying that, in my opinion, the Holy See would be the most suitable arbitrator of peace.”⁷⁷

On the margin, Myslivec had been a member of the Prague Municipal Council in 1919–1920 and left this post after having been elected a Member of Parliament. A journalist by profession, he took part in activities of the Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists. He also chaired the Christian–Democratic Club of Bohemia. His patriotic fervor made him a member of the National Union of Northern Bohemia. And last but not least, he also worked for business corporations like the Prague City Insurance Company etc.⁷⁸

Václav Myslivec died of a heart attack, suddenly and unexpectedly, in his apartment in the Strahov Monastery in the early hours of May 29, 1934. He was 59. The Czech and German–Language press, both Catholic and non-Catholic (*Venkov*, *České slovo*, *Právo lidu*, *Národní osvobození*, *Prager*

Presse, Prager Tagblatt, Deutsche Presse, Lidové listy)⁷⁹ immediately spread the news. A deputation of ČSL lead by the party chairman, Bohumil Stašek and secretary general, František Klimek visited the deathbed to pay respect to the man who had served the party for 40 years. The party presidium then decided to arrange the funeral and bury V. Myslivec at the Vyšehrad Memorial Cemetery, since:

he belonged to the oldest generation of prominent advocates of the Christian and national revival and remained its promoter until his last breath, always in the front line. He was a model of a good journalist, activist, and unflinching preacher of the Lord's glory in our country. He called for justice for all. He wrote hundreds of articles urging the Catholic people to be proud and fearless and promoting Christian values in order to create a more just and fair society. He bravely opposed to everything that was alien to the traditions of our nation, and bravely fought for the national awakening of the Czech and Slovak nation.⁸⁰

The final farewell took place on June 1, 1934 and, according to the press, it was a grand manifestation of national and Catholic solidarity; purportedly, Prague had not seen such "enormous attendance and sincere emotions of Czech people from all walks of life"⁸¹ since the burial of the famous Czech politician F. L. Rieger (1818–1903). A list of names of government and People's Party officials, representatives of Catholic associations, holy orders, schools, etc. who followed the funeral procession from St Ignatius Church at Charles Square to the Vyšehrad cemetery filled two newspaper pages in *Lidové listy*.⁸² In the days to come, the Chamber of Deputies,⁸³ ČSL Clergy Club,⁸⁴ Prague Union of Catholic Journeymen and other associations commemorated the deceased politician and, early in November, Canon Stašek consecrated a black stone cross, erected on Myslivec's grave. The stone was paid for by the Vyšehrad Chapter and from donations; Myslivec, who had been a poor man at the beginning of his political career, ended it as a beggar.⁸⁵

The press of that time, especially Catholic newspapers, abounded with obituaries and memorials. Understandably enough, all of them respectfully highlighted qualities of Myslivec as a man and politician. They unanimously spoke highly of his assiduousness that had helped him to attain a position as the People's Party's leading politician and newspaperman, even though he had lacked education, and appreciated his amazing skills as a speaker. No matter what political views the authors of these articles had, all of them praised the fervor and determination with which Myslivec had fought for his cause and defended Catholic beliefs – without any maneuvering and without regard to possible consequences. Out of the chorus of voices, two seem to be really relevant. First, that of B. Stašek (1886–1948), chairman of the ČSL Executive Committee for Bohemia, who was convinced that the fight for democracy had become the credo of Myslivec's life;⁸⁶ second, that of Mořic Hruban (1862–

1945), who analyzed the question why Myslivec had failed to become a “Czech Karl Lueger” as had been expected, a genuine party leader – a post to which he had been destined.

[It was because] he faced many obstacles, both external and internal, in his private life. So talented and gifted from the God, this man often lacked power to vanquish and overcome everything that prevented him from being what he might have been (and what Czech Catholics expected from him) – a determined political leader. He was too much of a restless spirit. Nevertheless, he more than lived up to the expectations. As a journalist, organizer, people’s advocate, and – above all – strong and pointed speaker, he had done much, very much for the Catholic cause among our people . . .⁸⁷

A few words need to be said by way of conclusion. Myslivec undoubtedly was one of key founders of Czech political Catholicism, in particular before WWI. Though he retired to journalism after the war and his political influence decreased, he still remained an important personage of ČSL in Bohemia, as a keen opponent of the Šrámek leadership. Czech historians still owe us an explanation of what was the ultimate cause of numerous turns and twists in Myslivec’s political career. A perceptive reader must have noticed that in the beginning, Myslivec stood on the political Right, then slowly shifted to the Left, only to appear on the far Right in the end. Was it due to an unstable mind, unable to follow a consistent policy (if one can apply such terminology to the evolution of somebody’s political beliefs)? Or is the traditional Left–Right concept too narrow? An artificial construction, which will not work in a real life? Or else, did the Catholic movement of that time offer a kind of democracy, in which Myslivec’s peculiar political conduct did not seem peculiar? These questions (and a number of others) should be answered; they do not concern only Myslivec but are far more universal.

NOTES

1. This paper was written as part of the GAČR grant assignment No. 409/08/009.

2. *Christlichdemokratie in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. Michael Gehler, Wolfram Kaiser, Helmut Wohnout. Wien – Köln – Weimar, Böhlau Verlag 2001. 791 pages.

3. <http://www.kdu.cz/>, downloaded Sep 15, 2007. – Cf.: *Průvodce křesťanského demokrata* (A Guide of a Christian Democrat). <http://www.kdu.cz/depault.asp?page=51&IDR=10367>, downloaded Sep 15, 2007.

4. <http://www.zamky-hrady.cz/5/doksany.htm>; http://home.tiscali.cz:8080/CZ021916/history_prehled_liter.htm, downloaded Sep 15, 2007.

5. According to newspaper biographies, he worked in a sugar refinery. Nevertheless, it seems to have been a farm laborer, who temporary worked in a sugary at the time his son was born. Myslivec's grandfather was a village teacher. Archives of the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (hereinafter KDU–ČSL), Prague, collection of T. J. Jiroušek, records on personalities, file Václav Myslivec; National Archives, Prague, collection Vamz, file Václav Myslivec, card 3701.

6. JUDr. Josef Myslivec, also a trained shoemaker, as his father had wished, gradually withdrew from politics due to a serious eye illness – eventually he went blind. In 1906–1911 he had been *Reichsrat* (Austrian Imperial Parliament) deputy. He had a law office in Prague.

7. Contemporary journalists mentioned another reason of his sojourn in Litoměřice: he wished to learn German well – and eventually succeeded. V. Myslivec German was excellent.

8. Born Dec 8, 1813 in Kerpen, died Dec 4, 1865 in Cologne; Roman –Catholic priest, initiator of the Union of Catholic Journeymen. Feldmann, Christian: *Adolph Kolping. Für ein soziales Christentum*. Freiburg, Herder 1991; Lütgenn, Franz: *Johann Gregor Breuer und Adolph Kolping. Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Katholischen Gesellenvereins*. Paderborn, Bonifatius–Verlag 1997; Kracht, Hans-Joachim: *Adolph Kolping, Priester, Pädagoge, Publizist. Im Dienst christlicher Sozialreform. Leben und Werk aus den Quellen dargestellt*. Freiburg, Herder 1993. 603 pages; Reusch, Heinrich: *Adolf Kolping*. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Bd. 16, pp. 492–493; http://www.kolping.de/grundinfos/adolf_kolping_3.html, downloaded Sep 15, 2007. – Kopling visited Olomouc at the same time and returned to Prague once more, in 1856.

9. Cf.: Feierstunde, 2, 1952, pp. 132, 171, 200; year 3, 1853, p. 10, 206; Rheinische Volksblätter für Haus, Familie und Handwerke, 1, 1854, pp. 543, 556; year 2, 1855, pp. 400; year 3, 1856, pp. 42 seq.; year 4, 1857, pp. 110, 511; year 5, 1858, pp. 526 seq., 703; year 6, 1859, p. 126; year 7, 1860, pp 63, 510 seq., 687.

10. The convention that took place in Litomyšl on September 8–9, 1894 is usually treated in literature as a constitutive congress of the Christian–Social Party and has always been considered as such by the People's Party and its successor, today's Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak Peoples Party. However, records of the congress proceeding do not explicitly mention establishing a new party. Cf.: Marek, Pavel: *Český katolicismus 1890–1914* (Czech Catholicism 1890–1914). Olomouc 2003, p. 39.

11. Leo XIII, birth name Gioacchino Vincenzo Pecci (b. March 2, 1810, d. July 20, 1903) 256th Pope in 1878–1903. Wallace, Lillian P.: *Leo XIII and the rise of socialism*. Durham, NC, Duke Univ. Press 1966. 464 pages.

12. Marek, Pavel: *Emil Dlouhý–Pokorný. Život a působení katolického modernisty, politika a žurnalisty* (E.D.P. – The Life and Work of a Catholic Modernist, Politician, and Journalist). Brno, CDK 2007. 320 s.; Marek, Pavel – ČERVENÝ, Vladimír – LACH, Jiří: *Od Katolické moderny*

k českému církevnímu rozkolu. Nástin života a díla Emila Dlouhého–Pokorného (From Catholic Modern Movement to Czech Church Schism. A Brief Outline of E.D.P.'s Life). Rosice, Gloria 2000. 213 pages; Marek, Pavel: *A Religious Idealist, Heretic, or Perpetual Seeker? An Outline of the Biography of Emil Dlouhý–Pokorný, A Priest and Man of Four Churches*. Kosmas. Czechoslovak and Central European Journal, volume 19, spring 2006, number 2, pp. 53–66; Marek, Pavel: *Emil Dlouhý–Pokorný jako politik* (E.D.P. – A Politician). In: Osobnost v církvi a politice. Čeští a slovenští křesťané ve 20. století. Ed. Pavel Marek & Jiří Hanuš. Brno, CDK 2006, pp. 50–55.

13. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, personal collection of F. M. Žampach; Josef Fikejzl: *Začátky křesťansko–demokratického hnutí v Čechách* (Origins of the Christian–Social Movement in Bohemia), manuscript, p. 73.

14. Central Archives and Museum of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church, Prague, personal collection of E. Dlouhý–Pokorný, non-catalogued papers, manuscript.

15. A Catholic priest from Basel, professor of the Luzern Seminar since 1888, university professor, co-founder of the University of Fribourg (Freiburg), where he taught pastoral theology, liturgy and education in 1891–1934, Rector (chancellor) of the University 1906–1907, originator of Swiss Christian–Social movement, editor-in-chief of *Monatschrift für Sozialreform* 1902–1907, supporter of *Volkspartei* – a conservative political movement. Author of numerous works. Neue Schweizer Biographie. Hrsg. A. Bruckner. Basel 1938, pp. 31–32; Schweizer Zeitgenossenlexikon. Bern 1947, p. 481; Biographisch–Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, 1. Hrsg. Wilhelm Bautz. Hamm (1976), p. 446; Neue Deutsche Biographie, 1. Berlin 1953, p. 703.

16. One of the most important Christian sociologists and socially oriented politicians of his time. In 1889 he, together with Georges Python, belonged to the initiators and founders of the Catholic University of Fribourg. Pope Leo XIII consulted him while preparing the draft of the encyclical *Rerum novarum*. Decurtins kept in touch with the Moravian Christian–Social movement, in particular with J. Šrámek, who often discussed issues of the Moravian Christian–Social Party with him. Neue Deutsche Biographie, 3. Berlin 1957, p. 550; Fry, Karl: *Kaspar Decurtins, der Löwe von Truns*, 1, 2. Zürich 1949–1952; Albert Büchi. 1864–1930. *Gründung und Anfänge der Universität Freiburg i. Ü.* Hrsg. Iso Baumer-Müller. Freiburg 1987, pp. 39–41.

17. An initiator of the Christian–Social movement in Slovenia, *Reichsrat* (Austrian Imperial Parliament) deputy in 1897–1900 and 1907–1917. Krek showed a special inclination to the Moravian Christian–Social movement and personally visited Moravia more than once. The Moravian Christian–Social movement before WWI drew upon experience of Slovenian Catholics. Slovenski biografski lexikon (Slovenian Biographical Dictionary), 1. Ljubljana 1925–1932, reprinted in 1976, pp. 559–565; Marek P.: Český katolicismus (Czech Catholicism) pp. 112–113.

18. Actually, Dlouhý–Pokorný enrolled himself at philosophical faculties of both the Czech and German University and studied there for three

years, before – disappointed – turned to politics and the Christian–Social movement. He came to the conclusion that ‘practical Christianity’ was the best way of helping the socially disadvantaged.

19. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 70.

20. From 1869 on, *Čech* (The Czech) had been the most important periodical of the Catholic movement. Even though it experienced many turns and twists before it was closed down in 1937, it can be described as the paper of conservative Catholics. Cf.: Marek, Pavel: *Tisk českého katolického tábora před 1. světovou válkou* (Czech Catholic Press Before WWI). In: *Tisk a politické strany* (The Press and Political parties). Olomouc 2001, pp. 53–88.

21. Koleš, Vilém: *Z dob našeho probuzení* (In the Times of Our Awakening). Nové proudy 1900. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 71.

22. For details related to this issue cf.: Marek, Pavel: *K problematice založení Katolicko–národní strany v Čechách* (The Establishing of the National Catholic Party in Bohemia). In: Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas Philosophica, Historica 30–2001, Sborník prací historických XVIII, Olomouc 2001, pp. 107–121.

23. The struggle for the power within the Christian–Social Party had its repercussions in the *Vlast* cooperative as well, as the Christian Democrats – E. Dlouhý–Pokorný and V. Myslivec – repeatedly tried to become members of its committee and control its policy. They, however, failed. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, pp. 77–78.

24. *Rozmazlení a vyhejčkaní křesťanství demokrati* (Christian Democrats, Spoilt and Overindulged). Dělnické noviny, 8, 1899, No. 15, April 1, pp. 116–118.

25. Marek, Pavel: *K dějinám křesťansko–sociální strany lidové v letech 1899–1906* (About the History of the Christian–Social People’s Party in 1899–1906). Český časopis historický, 97, 1999, No. 1, pp. 37–52.

26. Archives of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic, Reg. No. 1804 – personal papers of V. Myslivec – Autobiography. – Even though documents, archives and newspaper articles suggest nothing of this kind, one of the reasons might be the fact that V. Myslivec got married in 1901 and eventually had 5 sons and 2 daughters from the marriage.

27. Myslivec edited *Katolické listy* (*Čech*) until 1910 and, at the same time, worked for the weekly *Meč* (The Sword) from 1903 to 1910. After a brief period in an editorial staff of *Nový věk* (The New Age, 1910–1911) he started to publish the weekly *Mír* (The Peace) in 1911. Having quitted at *Nový věk*, he worked for the daily paper *XX. Věk* (The XX Century) until 1913. National Archives, Prague, VAMZV, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – Jiroušek, Tomáš J.: *Za Václavem Myslivcem* (In the Memory of V.M.). Pražský večerník, May 30, 1934.

28. *Krach Svatováclavské záložny* (St Wenceslas Savings Bank Failure). In: Marek, P.: *Český katolicismus* (Czech Catholicism), pp. 485–494; *V zájmu pravdy* (For Truth’s Sake). *Katolické listy*, 6, 1902, No. 217, Aug 9.,

p. 3; Škrdle, Tomáš: *Jací jsme to katolíci?* (What Sort of Catholics Are We?)
Naše listy, 16, 1907, No. 29, March 16, pp. 1–2.

29. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, pp. 88–89.

30. A Roman–Catholic priest and skilful organizer, adherent of the Agrarian Party (faction of Antonín Švehla, Jr). As a leader (vice-chairman, later chairman) of the Union of Catholic Clergy, he exerted influence over his fellow priests. An influential member of the Czech Catholic Modern Movement. Marek, Pavel: *Senátor agrární strany František Jan Kroher* (F.J.K., Agrarian Senator). In: Osobnosti agrární politiky 19. a 20. století (Agrarian Politicians in 19 and 20 Centuries). Conference proceedings of May 24–25, 2006; papers of the Slovakian Museum of Uherské Hradiště, 11/2006. Ed. Blanka Raštinovka. Uherské Hradiště, Slovácké muzeum 2006, pp. 107–112.

31. Ibid. p. 90.

32. Daniel O‘Connel (1775–1847), Irish statesman and Catholic leader, founder of modern Irish nationalism. <http://www.answeser.com/topic/daniel-o-connel>, downloaded Sep 18, 2007; <http://www.ndb.com/people/923/000092647/>, downloaded Sep 18, 2007; <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11200c.htm>, downloaded Sep 18, 2007

33. Ludwig Windhorst (Windhorst, 1812–1891), German prosecutor and statesman, leader of the government party in the Lower Chamber of the Hanoverian Kingdom 1849–1856, Minister of Justice 1851–1853 and 1862–1863. After formation of the German Empire (1871) he became the most prominent adversary of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in the German Parliament and his antagonist during the period of the Cultural Struggle (*Kulturkampf*). Co-founder and leader of the *Zentrumpartei*. <http://www.hitzhausen.de/Historie/historie.html>, downloaded Sep 18, 2007; <http://www.weltchronik.de/bio/cethegus/w/windhorst.html>, downloaded Sep 18, 2007

34. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 90.

35. Marek, Pavel: *The Party of the Catholic People in Bohemia 1906–1910: A contribution to the History of Czech Political Catholicism*. In: Acta UP, FP, Politologica 1, Olomouc 2003, pp. 73–82.

36. This approach was clearly derived from that of the *Zentrum* (German Centrum Party. Cf.: Becker, Winfried – Buchstab, Günther – Doering – Mantefeuell, Anselm – Morsey, Rudolf (Hrsg.): *Lexikon der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland*. Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2002, pp. 694–699 – includes references to other books; Ritter, Gerhard A.: *Die deutschen Parteien 1830–1914*. Göttingen 1985, pp. 51–59; Fenske, Hans: *Deutsche Parteiengeschichte. Von Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 1994, pp. 128–134; Hofmann, Robert: *Geschichte der deutschen Parteien. Von der Kaiserzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. München – Zürich 1993, pp. 94–108; Fricke, Dieter (Hrsg.): *Die bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland*. Bd. 2. Berlin 1970, pp. 879–907; IBID: *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte*. Bd. 4. Köln 1986, pp. 552–573.

37. Myslivec must have been aware of the fact that, due to the domination of conservatives over the Catholic movement, his political concept could not be accomplished. He withdrew for some time and waited for his time to come (which happened with implementation of universal suffrage).

38. *Všeoborové sdružení křesťanského dělnictva pro království České* (The Christian Labor Union Congress of the Czech Kingdom). In: Marek, P.: Český katolicismus (Czech Catholicism), pp. 185–189; Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 101; *Hnutí odborové v křesťansko-sociálním táboře českoslovanském* (Labor Movement and the Czech–Slavic Christian–Social Movement). In: Spravedlnost. Kapesní kalendář křesťansko-sociální na rok 1903. Praha (Prague) 1902, pp. 54–62.

39. Cf.: Marek, Pavel: *Biskup Eduard J. N. Bryných: Praha nebo Vídeň? Vlastenectví nebo lojalita?* (Bishop E.J.N.B. – Prague, or Vienna? Patriotism, or Allegiance?). Conference proceedings ‘Religion and Nationality’, Prešov (Slovakia), May 2007. Prešov, PU 2007; Novotny, Josef: *Biskup Bryných*. Hradec Králové, Tiskové družstvo 1923. 440 pages; Krlin, Josef: *Eduard Jan Nep. Bryných*. Praha (Prague), Život, 1932. 122 pages; Reyl, František: *Biskup Edvard Bryných*. Hradec Králové, Adalbertinum, 1932. 32 pages; *Biskup Eduard Bryných*. Ed. Jan Duben. Hradec Králové, Východočeská orelská župa, 1946. 46 pages; NOSEK, František: *Velký biskup: Eduard Jan Bryných* (A Great Bishop: E.J.B.). In: Život, 14, 1932, No. 12–13, pp. 171–173.

40. *Sdružení českých katolických zemědělců pro království České* (The Association of Czech Catholic Peasants of the Czech Kingdom). In: Marek, P.: Český katolicismus (Czech Catholicism), pp. 167–171; *Katoličtí rolníci se rádi v šíky*. Meč, 2, 1904, No. 16, July 14, pp. 61; *Manifestační sjezd českých katolických rolníků na Svaté Hoře* (Demonstrative Meeting of Czech Catholic Peasants on Svatá Hora). Český kraj, 6, 1904, No. 29, July 15, pp. 1–4.

41. Cf. e.g.: Rokosky, Jaroslav: *Agrárni strana* (The Agrarian Party). In: MALÍŘ, Jiří – Marek, Pavel: (eds.): Politické strany (Political Parties), 1, Brno, Appendix 2005, pp. 414–431.

42. Founder of the Agrarian Movement in Bohemia. Cf.: *Ze života Alfonse Šťastného* (Chapters from the Life of A.Š.). Ed. Hugo Traub. Praha (Prague) 1928. 398 pages; ZITA, Jaroslav: *Alfons Šťastný, sedlák a filozof* (A.Š.: A Farmer and Philosopher). Jistebnice, obec 2003. 32 pages; Volavka, Antonín: *Alfons Šťastný z Padařova* (A.Š. of Padařov). Praha (Prague), Brázda 1946. 30 pages; Trojan, Jaroslav: *Alfons Šťastný z Padařova* (A.Š. of Padařov). Tábor 1923. 127 pages; Kota, Jaroslav: *Alfons Šťastný z Padařova – myslitel, radikál a iniciátor rolnického hnutí* (A.Š. of Padařov: A Thinker, Radical, and Initiator of Peasants’ Movement). Praha (Prague), FF UK 1976. Department of Philosophy, a 1980 dissertation, later extended into a doctoral thesis; Krizek, Jiří: *Alfons Šťastný z Padařova (1831–1913): zemědělský a náboženský reformátor z jižních Čech* (A.Š. of Padařov, 1831–1913: South Bohemian Agrarian and Religious Reformer). České Budějovice, HÚ FF JU 2003. Dissertation tutored by Doc. Dr. R. Sak.

43. In this point, his approach was different from Šámal's, who tried to attract more affluent farmers, considering his group as a possible pillar of the National Catholic Party of Moravia. It would later, in the early years of the Czechoslovak Republic, result in the foundation of an association of smallholders, cottagers and less prosperous peasants that would oppose to ČSL.

44. From the point of view of Czech Catholics, the Union was promising as it started to fight for the influence in the countryside with the Agrarian Party. From that moment, Catholic peasants could compete with the Agrarian Party thanks to newly established business corporations. Czech aristocrats had lost much of its political influence with the implementation of universal suffrage and was indecisive, being not sure which civic party they should support. It should be mentioned that a close cooperation with the aristocracy was contradictory to Myslivec's Christian–Democratic ideas. As for the membership, there were some 400 devotees in the beginning. After the Union became popular and successful after 1906, it rapidly grew to ca 10,000.

45. Marek, P.: *Český katolicismus* (Czech Catholicism), pp. 171–175.

46. V. Myslivec had failed already in 1908, when he had run for a seat in the Bohemian provincial legislature. V.D.T.: *Václav Myslivec paděsátníkem* (Václav Myslivec's Fiftieth Birthday). *Lidové listy*, 4, 1925, č. 256, Nov. 10, pp. 1–2; National Archives, Prague, Vamz, file Václav Myslivec, card 3701 – *Václav Myslivec paděsátníkem* (VM's Fiftieth Birthday). Čech, Nov 8, 1925.

47. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 205.

48. Marek, Pavel: *Arcibiskup pražský prof. dr. František Kordač* (Prof. Dr. František Kordač, The Archbishop of Prague). Olomouc, Moneta–FM 2005. 638 pages.

49. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 206.

50. Ibid. p. 210.

51. Czech lawyer and politician; leader of the *Maffia* resistance movement after E. Beneš had emigrated in 1915.

52. Archives of KDU–ČSL, Prague, J. Fikejzl, p. 217. – Today's Czech historians do not seem to share this view.

53. Alois Tylínek, Antonín Handlíř, Antonín Tichý, Josef Fikejzl, Karel Švarc, V. Průša, V. Vacovský et al.

54. Apparently, the relationships were affected by the circumstances in which *Lidové listy* had been launched in January 1922. V. Myslivec never hid his reservations had not hidden his reservations about the party's new paper, knowing the financial situation of the Catholic press (*Čech* was not profitable, either). In his opinion, it would have been wiser to transform *Čech*, a periodical that had existed for 50 years, boost it financially, find new editors and coworkers, and convert it into a flagship newspaper of ČSL. Editors of *Čech* considered *Lidové listy* as unfair competition – hence the tension and animosity. A possibility of Myslivec going over to *Lidové listy* was considered as well, even though he himself refused it decisively. Even though Myslivec's concept eventually failed, he kept asserting that *Čech* must remain an

independent Catholic paper – it was, he claimed, absolutely vital for the Catholic movement. He was so closely linked to Čech that he even declared: '*If I should choose between leaving Čech and giving up my seat in the Parliament, I would chose the latter.*' National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – Myslevic, V.: *Prohlášení* (Public Statement). Čech, Dec 23, 1921; newspaper cutting without identification, most likely from Čech, after June 29, 1924.

55. A thorough examination of records and materials kept and issued by the Chamber of Deputies suggests that V. Myslivec was quite an active MP. He often was a rapporteur when drafts of bills were discussed, asked questions, and took an active part in debates. From time to time he became involved in disputes and press controversies, even litigations (usually actions for slander or libel). His lawsuit with Alois Kaderka dragged for years. In 1923 the stripping of immunity was proposed on the grounds of the Bill for the Protection of the Republic, as he had allegedly insulted the President at a meeting in Ružomberok.

56. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Abgeordneter Myslivec gestorben*. Prager Tagblatt, May 30, 1934.

57. National Archives, Prague, collection of VAMZV, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – Myslevic, V.: *Prohlášení* (Statement). Čech, Dec 23, 1921.

58. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – Myslevic, V.: *Ve vlastní věci* (My Case). Čech, June 29, 1924.

59. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *K událostem posledních dnů*. (About the Recent Events). Večerní Tribuna, May 29, 1923.

60. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Poslanec Myslivec u kříže* (V. Myslivec, MP on the Pillory). Večerní České slovo, June 27, 1924; *Prohlášení posl. Myslivce v Klubu politickém strany lidové* (Speech of V. Myslivec, MP in the People's Party Club). Národní listy, June 27, 1924.

61. Myslivec, Václav: *Úkol nejpřednější* (The Highest Priority). Čech, No. 354, Dec. 12, 1921, pp. 1–2; *Řeč poslance Václava Myslivce, redaktora Čecha* (Speech of Václav Myslivec, MP, Editor of 'Čech'). Čech, Oct 23, 1921.

62. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Václav Myslivec o parlamentní vládě* (V.M. on Parliamentary System). Pražský večerník, March 22, 1921.

63. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Poslanec Myslivec na Slovensku* (V. Myslivec, MP Visited Slovakia). Čech, March 2, 1923.

64. Bishop of Nitra since 1920, titular Archbishop since 1944. Slovenský biografický slovník (Slovak Biographical Dictionary), 3. Martin 1989, p. 117.

65. Curate-in-charge in Trnava. Cf.: Slovenský biografický slovník

(Slovak Biographical Dictionary), 2. Martin 1987, pp. 534–535.

66. Slovak priest and statesman, president of the Slovak Republic 1939–1945. http://životopisyonline.cz/jozef_tiso.php; Slovenský biografický slovník (Slovak Biographical Dictionary), 6. Martin 1994, pp. 74–76.

67. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Poslanec Myslivec v Nitre* (V. Myslivec, MP Visited Nitra). Slovák, Feb 28, 1923.

68. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Poslanec Myslivec* (V. Myslivec, MP). Národní osvobození, Dec 24, 1925.

69. Myslevic, V.: *Úkol nejpřednější* (The Highest Priority). Čech No. 354, Dec 25, 1921, p. 1.

70. His disapproving attitude towards the Czechoslovak Church was reflected, e.g., in *Čech* on January 3, 1921, in an article about a meeting in Kostelní Lhota, where the former friends –V. Myslivec and E. Dlouhý–Pokorný – met after a long period of time. The latter fiercely attacked the Catholic Church at the reunion.

71. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Řeč poslance Václava Myslivce* (Speech of V. Myslivec, MP). Čech, March 17, 1921.

72. V. Myslivec sat in the Chamber of Deputies for four terms: 1919–1920, 1920–1925, 1925–1929, and 1929–1934. Except for the first one, he was always a member of the Defense & Security Committee. He also worked in the Board of Inquiry after the 1920 elections; in the Social and Political Committee after those in 1925; and in the Public Health Committee and Committee for Trades and Commerce after the 1929 elections. He was a substitute member of the Permanent Committee during his last term in the Chamber.

73. *Řeč poslance V. Myslivce o zahraniční politice* (Speech of V. Myslivec, MP on Foreign Policy). Lidové listy, 2, year 1923, No. 255, Nov 7, p. 2.

74. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Řeč poslance Václava Myslivce* (Speech of V. Myslivec, MP). Čech Jan 29, 1921.

75. Marek, Pavel – Trapl, Miloš: *Mons. František Světlík (1875–1949). Nástin života a díla katolického politika a novináře* (Brief Outline of Life and Work of the Catholic Politician and Journalist). Olomouc–Rosice, Gloria 2001. 131 pages.

76. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Myslivcoví je i Hitler slabej* (Myslivec Considers Even Hitler Far Too Lenient). Rudé právo, May 16, 1933.

77. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Svatá Stolice ideálním tribunálem míru* (The Holy See as an Consummate Arbitrator of Peace). Lidové listy, Nov 9, 1933.

78. Archives of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic, Reg.

No. 1804 – personal papers of V. Myslivec.

79. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Život a dílo Václava Myslivce* (Life and Work of V.M.). Lidové listy, May 30, 1934.

80. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Poslanec Václav Myslivec mrtev* (Václav Myslivec, MP, Died). Pražský večerník, May 30, 1934.

81. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Tisíce živých nad jedním mrtvým* (Thousands Mourn One Dead). Pražský večerník, June 2, 1934.

82. Abbot Method Zavoral conducted the ceremony; Monsignor František Vaněček, Canon of the Vyšehrad Chapter, consecrated the grave; Bohumil Stašek parted with the deceased on behalf of the party. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Do posvátné půdy staroslovanského Vyšehradu uložen poslanec Václav Myslivec* (Václav Myslivec, MP Buried into Venerable Vyšehrad's Sacred Soil). Lidové listy, June 2, 1934.

83. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamz, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Sněmovna vzdává úctu památce Václava Myslivce* (The House Pays Honors to the Memory of V.M.). Lidové listy, June 6, 1934.

84. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Za + Václavem Myslivcem* (In the Memory of V.M.). Lidové listy, May 31, 1934.

85. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamsv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – *Služ poctivě Bohu, vlasti a národu* (Let's Serve the Lord, Country, and Nation). Lidové listy, Nov 3, 1934.

86. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – STAŠEK, Bohumil: *Za velkým tribunem katolického lidu* (In the Memory of the Great Spokesman for the Catholic People). Lidové listy, May 30, 1934.

87. National Archives, Prague, collection of Vamzv, file V. Myslivec, card 3701 – HRUBAN, Mořic: *Za Václavem Myslivcem* (In the Memory of V.M.). Lidové listy, May 31, 1934.

Philip Roth's and Josef Škvorecký's Alter Ego in Igor Hájek's Comparative Perspective

By Karolina Slamová

In this article, I am going to examine the personality and influence of the exile literary critic Igor Hájek and his comparative approach to literary studies, which will be illustrated in the analysis of his essay “Carnovsky, Smiřický, Zuckerman & Co; a Tale of Mixing Identities.”¹ The first part will focus on some biographical data within the context of 1960s Czechoslovakia and his following exile and contribution to the British academic culture. The second will concentrate on Igor Hájek's reflections concerning Philip Roth's and Josef Škvorecký's semi-autobiographical works. The aim of this analysis is to show how the comparative method helps to understand literary characters more deeply in a wider context.

Igor Hájek was born in 1931 in Ostrava in a family of a bank clerk. During his secondary school studies an interest in jazz was awakened in him, which became one of the impulses that determined his future professional career by motivating him to study English language and British and American culture intensively. After graduating from the English and Czech Studies program at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague, he started to work for the theatre and literary agency Dilia, where he was responsible for the area of British and American literature. The fact that he had access to western periodicals and books, which was quite rare in the conditions of the mid 1950s, helped him in his later activity as a literary critic with double perspective and his comparative approach. He also translated some authors (John Steinbeck, John Updike, Graham Greene, Charles Beumont, Harper Lee, Eudora Welty, David Riesman and Alan Levy) into Czech, and his translations were published in Czechoslovakia at that time with his afterwords in which he portrayed individual authors to familiarize Czech readers with them. In the 1960s, Hájek wrote literary essays for a number of periodicals (*Světová literatura*, *Plamen*, *Host do domu*), but mainly for *Literární noviny*, where he worked as an editor from 1963 until the periodical was cancelled in 1969.² In this connection, it is worth mentioning that *Literární noviny* became the platform for presenting liberal opinions and the tendencies within the society culminating in Prague Spring. For example, at the beginning of the 1960s, they published interviews with some western intellectuals (Sartre, Aragon) dealing with taboo topics; the censors did not dare to prevent publishing these out of respect for the famous names.³

To illustrate Hájek's activity in *Literární noviny* in the excited atmosphere of the 1960s, let us consider some of his articles from that time. The 33rd issue of *Literární noviny* from 1963 published Igor Hájek's article “Kafkaesque America” dealing with two American authors, John Updike and J. D. Salinger, whose work has common ground in the fact that they can be viewed from the perspective of Franz Kafka's philosophy. This is exemplified in the following

statement by Kafka quoted in the June issue of *Plamen*: “A man cannot live without permanent trust in something undestroyable in himself, although both this undestroyable element and the trust might be permanently concealed from him. One of the expressional possibilities of this concealment is belief in a personal God.” Hájek’s essay tries to reveal how both authors search and find the undestroyable element in a man.

John Updike, in his then latest novel *The Centaur*,⁴ looks for a parallel with such authors as Chaucer, Joyce and many others before, by finding human fate in ancient Greek mythology. The main character, Caldwell, resembles his mythical counterpart, the centaur Chiron. The latter is considered to be the wisest of all centaurs due to his willingness to sacrifice himself and his sense of responsibility, which are two generally applicable permanent values expressing the key message of the novel. Hájek characterizes them as “a celebration of pure and immortal humanity.” In addition to the content, he also notices Updike’s stylistic mastery as well as his specific method of writing: “Updike is in his sensitivity interested in the tiniest tingles of reality, he traces their way into human soul, where they form the person’s character qualities, thoughts and face.”

Hájek compares John Updike and Jerome David Salinger, who is known to Czech readers mainly thanks to his novel *Catcher in the Rye*, which has now become a cult favorite. In his later works, Salinger in his Kafkaesque search for a personal God talks to his readers by means of the speaker of the Glass family, Buddy.⁵ This approach culminates in the story called “Seymour,” in which the author expresses his life philosophy. Hájek observes: “... an attempt to communicate what is incommunicable, negation of the prose, a voice pronouncing silence. Expressing a philosophy, in which mental world characterized by the terms Kafka, Kierkegaard, Tao and Zen, mystically sublimates into spiritual world with Seymour as its present-day saint.”⁶

This profound message found in Salinger’s texts might provide an answer to the question of why this writer was so popular, mainly among American youths who were looking for some footing in a world full of discord. At the end of his article Hájek expresses his regret that Czech readers do not have access to a number of valuable literary works that could have a lot to say to those who try to decode them.

In 1965 *Literární noviny* published the article in “From Bradburian World to the Early Prague Spring.” It was inspired by a visit to Prague by a famous representative of the Beat Generation, Allen Ginsberg.⁷ Hájek had already met the poet in Ginsberg’s apartment in Greenwich Village in New York the previous year when he had travelled to the United States. Ginsberg and his friends belonged to those who were looking for spiritual renewal while they were surrounded by a dehumanized, indifferent world. Following his stay on the other side of the ocean, Hájek considered “... how we could try to incorporate the Vangoghian character of Allen Ginsberg in our lyrical, almost oversophisticated conception of literature and culture as a whole (which is the natural effect of a thousand-year old tradition, but at the same time it makes it difficult to understand exceptional phenomena).”⁸

During another meeting with Allen Ginsberg, this time in Prague, he finds an answer to his question when the poet described the principles of beat generation literary output. "I strive to perceive the world without naming, without categories, without ideology, only by means of senses,"⁹ says Allen Ginsberg when he explains his poems that shock so many. This highly subjective, individualistic conception is, as Hájek points out, a polemic with Marxism and mainly with "the vulgarized conception of literature and art that prevailed in the American left-wing circles in the 1930s."¹⁰ Ginsberg also mentions the poets that can be regarded as forerunners of the Beat Generation. He names Walt Whitman, William Carlos Williams, Ezra Pound and Marian Moore. What they have in common is their pioneering approach to poetry, deviation from the rules and established norms and their attempt to bring poetry and everyday life closer together. Hájek draws attention to the sound effect of Ginsberg's verses. The poet himself observes: "The point is that the rhythm of the poem should correspond to what we can hear in real conversation..." This formal aspect of the beat poetry is connected with their humane idea, with the need for love and affection in opposition to a world of narrow-minded values, the world divided by wars and full of indifference. As Hájek concludes, the poet's visit to Prague reminds us of the fact that we cannot close our eyes to any human problem.

At the beginning of his essay *A Man in Human Trap*, which was published in 1967 in the 4th issue of *Literární noviny* Hájek summarizes the general idea of the trend of contemporary American literature. He observes that what prevails instead of programmes and artistic manifestos is the pursuit of an individual testimony based on everyday life, turning to the "very roots of the grass," which could, however, result in discovering what has already been discovered. On the other hand, thanks to this trend American literature stays distinctive and independent of the requirements of any programme orientation.

Hájek's study confronts this general concept of American literature with concrete examples, demonstrating its diversity, and he compares three contemporary American writers: Richard Yates, Philip Roth and Bernard Malamud. He notices the often repeated topic of alienation in a collection of five stories by Yates and appreciates authenticity resulting from the way the author grasps the theme – as if he had just discovered it, as if it were his own private matter. As for the artistic effect, however, the whole collection seems too static when compared to Philip Roth, a Jewish author whose main topic is assimilation of the Jews and the issue of ethnic and cultural affiliation. Hájek introduces his novel *Goodbye, Columbus*, evaluating its well worked-out composition "where every detail evokes a number of connections, where the smallest episode foreshadows and emphasizes the main story line."¹¹ As far as the content is concerned, the study points out that it is very impressive how a simple love story was used as a metaphor for the clash of two worlds that are very distant from each other – the world of immigrants, their cultural and ethnic legacy, and the contemporary America with its superficial and materialistic values. Hájek calls attention to a Fitzgeraldian condemnation of the distorted image of the American dream, degrading success to mere material affluence.

Hájek also points out that Philip Roth has thorough knowledge of literary theory, which helped him create a complex dynamic story where individual characters gradually develop in contrast to Yates's static figures.

The third author introduced to Czech readers in Hájek's study is Bernard Malamud who sets his novels in the Jewish-American milieu in which he grew up as a New York native. Hájek was able to reveal a unique feature of Malamud's message – instead of existentially tuned testimony of an individual surrounded by alienated fate, Malamud attempts to find a meaning in this situation and “suggests to realize the need to renew sensitivity in art (and in people) shouted down by the turmoil of the world.”¹² This lends contemporary relevancy to Malamud's work. Hájek supports his opinion by referencing the novel *The Fixer* set in Tsarist Russia before World War II. The story of an innocent Jew arrested for a murder he did not commit was used as a symbol of those who suffered injustice in the course of human history. The author's appeal for an active attitude towards our own destiny culminates at the end of the novel when the main hero, Jakov Bok, comes to the conclusion that “there is nothing like an apolitical man... one cannot just sit and watch his own destruction.”¹³

In 1968 Hájek was awarded a fellowship from the Ford Foundation for his translation of John Updike's novel *The Centaur*, and he used it to spend six months in Britain that same year. In August 1968, when Czechoslovakia was occupied by the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact, he contacted Richard Davy who worked at the editorial office of *The Times* and anonymously published his commentaries monitoring the situation and explaining its background. Hájek travelled to Britain again the following year and this time he decided to stay. He continued writing for *The Times*, mostly for *The Times Literary Supplement*, and was lucky enough to be offered a post at the University of Lancaster and later at the University of Glasgow. He devoted himself entirely to Bohemian Studies and he did a great deal for Czech culture and Czech literature by publishing his essays in which he compares books by Czech authors available in English translations to those by British and American writers, thus helping Anglophone readers understand the Czech authors better. During his lectures and seminars he provided his students with deep insight into the political and cultural situation in Czechoslovakia, helped them understand Czech culture and literary works, and in this way contributed greatly to spreading awareness in the West of what was happening in his home country. This was his everyday fight for the democracy and freedom that proved to be very significant at that time.

To illustrate his activity at the Department for Central and South-East European Studies, founded at the beginning of the 1970s at the University of Lancaster, let us consider some information provided by Sir Cecil Parrot, the head of the department at that time, in his article published in *The Times Higher Education Supplement* on 14 February 1975. In Britain, studying Slavic languages has always been a highly specialized endeavour with only a limited possibility to finding a position. However, considering the importance of Central Europe for understanding the historical context of Western European history, it is beneficial for a number of different fields of study to acquire knowl-

edge in this area. To comply with this need, the University of Lancaster introduced one-year and two-year courses on Slavic Studies within other programmes of study, so that the students could get a certain level of knowledge of language and culture of a certain country without jeopardizing their later ability to find a job. The countries chosen to be the subject of the study were the then Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Additionally, there was a non-language course focusing on comparative study of history of four Slavonic countries, suitable especially for the students of history and politics. The Department also offered the main study programme focusing on Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as postgraduate programme concentrated on Eastern European Studies. Further existence of these courses depended on the number of students, so sufficient interest was of the utmost importance. Professor Parrot mentioned a concrete example of an excellent opportunity for Western historians. The interpretation of the history of Czech lands had more or less been distorted because it had been consistently subjected to a certain pressure. Therefore, this was an opportunity for the objective approach of a historian specializing in European history who understood Czech culture and traditions.

In 1984 Hájek started teaching at the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literature at the University of Glasgow, where he worked together with the influential linguist Josef Fronek, the author of an English-Czech and Czech-English dictionary.¹⁴ Within his academic activity Igor Hájek also visited universities in the United States (e.g. University of California, Berkeley) and in 1992 travelled to Austin, Texas where he served as a visiting Professor of Czech Studies in a new program endowed by the Czech Educational Foundation of Texas.

As a professor, Hájek was a very versatile, optimistic and enthusiastic man. His pedagogical success is witnessed by those who were in close contact with him. Mrs. Elsa Morrison, who started her studies at Glasgow University at the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literature after she had retired from her teaching post as a secondary school German and English teacher and now works as a translator of Czech books into English, met him the day before his sudden and unexpected death. She recalls their last conversation when she came to consult him about her translation work. Hájek was full of energy and plans. He was looking forward to devoting himself to his favourite activities – research, writing essays and translating – after his forthcoming retirement. Mrs. Morrison still remembers his captivating way of teaching which helped his students to grow fond of Czech language and literature.¹⁵

Another former student, Mrs. Jane Dent, expressed similar feelings and characterized her teacher as a man “larger than life,” noble and remarkable.¹⁶ She recalls his passionate enthusiasm for the subject matter he was teaching, an enthusiasm that was contagious, while he was pacing the room and introducing his listeners to the world of the writers he was speaking about. He achieved that by closely describing the atmosphere the given author lived and worked in, the pubs he visited, the time in which he created. His favourite authors included, among others: Ota Pavel, Jaroslav Seifert, Karel Čapek and Bohumil Hrabal. In connection with Bohumil Hrabal he often mentioned the so

called “Hrabal language,” the author’s own language invented to express a certain reality. From Čapek’s work he focused mainly on *Stories from One Pocket* (*Povídky z jedné kapsy*) and *Stories from the Other Pocket* (*Povídky z druhé kapsy*). The short story belonged among his favourite genres, because it showed the author’s ability to engage the reader’s attention and to draw him into the story. In his seminars, he also analyzed Jan Neruda’s stories, of which he appreciated the masterfully captured atmosphere of the Smaller Town of Prague. Mrs. Dent’s memories also reflect how much Igor Hájek loved his home country – he enjoyed speaking about his favourite places in Prague, his attitude demonstrates how proud he was of Czech writers and Czech literature. However, he made no secret that before he emigrated he had not felt free at home and it was not until he left Czechoslovakia that he felt like new horizons were opening to him.

He further disseminated Czech culture through his publications. He regularly contributed to *The Times Literary Supplement* (two of his essays were chosen for the annual book collection of the most interesting contributions for the *TSL – TLS* 9 and *TLS* 12), and to the *Scottish Slavonic Review*, among other periodicals. He also wrote a treatise on Czech literature for a publication by Frederick Unger in 1976 in New York under the title *Modern Slavic Literatures, Volume II* and a number of entries for the *Encyclopaedia of World Literature* by the same publisher. In 1977, together with his long-time friend Josef Škvorecký, Igor Hájek started an extensive project of collecting data and preparing entries for the *Dictionary of Czech Writers* covering both the authors living at home whose names had been banned from official publications and the writers living in exile. It was published by 68 Publishers in Toronto in 1982 under the title *Slovník českých spisovatelů*, with the subtitle *Pokus o rekonstrukci dějin* (An Attempt at the Reconstruction of History). He also contributed to other dictionaries of Czech literature by creating entries on Josef Škvorecký, Ivan Klíma, Ludvík Vaculík, Bohumil Hrabal, Miroslav Holub and others.¹⁷ In addition to the above mentioned academic and publication activities, Igor Hájek supported Czech culture in other ways as well. In March 1989 he submitted a proposal to the University of Glasgow to award doctorate honoris causa in literature to Václav Havel, whose dramatic work enjoyed considerable acceptance in Britain. His plays had been put on the stage since the 1960s there and there had also been broadcast on TV and radio in BBC production. The University of Glasgow, however, was one of few British educational institutions where Havel’s plays were analyzed in seminars.

Having outlined the conditions in which Hájek lived and work, I am now going to analyze one of his literary essays in order to show how his comparative approach helped English-speaking readers understand Czech authors better and with deeper insight.

According to the general principles of comparative method defined by Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann, one of the possible starting-points of this approach is to compare two texts in two different languages in order to expose an element of difference which is the key factor of comparative study, and to then

juxtapose them in a mutual relation of analogy and difference. The contextualization resulting from this difference - from relating one text to another -- enables us to change their mutual roles according to how the point of view is changed. The importance of such an international perspective lies in a deeper understanding of texts and a widening their semantic layers.¹⁸ Therefore, we can expect that the conclusions to which the comparative approach leads will provide more complex answers to key questions and embrace universal human experience.

Hájek tries to achieve this in his study "Carnovsky, Smiřický, Zuckerman & Co; a Tale of Mixing Identities."¹⁹ The pivotal problem he analyses is the creative process related to the author's life experience and his projection of this onto a fictional literary character with autobiographical features. For this purpose Igor Hájek compares Philip Roth's trilogy *A Ghost Writer*, *Zuckerman Unbound* and *The Anatomy Lesson* and those Josef Škvorecký's books whose common feature is the autobiographical character of Danny Smiřický. The author's alter ego works as contact point, enabling the relation of analogy and difference at the same time. Roth's trilogy relates the life story of Nathan Zuckerman, a successful Jewish writer living in the United States. Hájek describes Roth's method as a kind of deception:

In spite of the fact that the adventures of the main hero of the trilogy, Nathan Zuckerman, strikingly remind us of events from Philip Roth's life, the book cannot be considered an obvious fictionalization of the author's own biography. Although Roth intentionally tries to persuade the reader that it is so, when the autobiography really penetrates the text, the author skilfully presents the facts so that they appear to be just fiction.²⁰

It might be interesting to compare this idea with Harold Bloom's notion in his review of Roth's trilogy for *The New York Times*, published under the title *His Long Ordeal by Laughter*.²¹ Bloom refers to the trilogy as the "classic apolo-gia, an aggressive defence of Roth's moral stance as an author."²² He further states that "Roth knows and accepts also what his surrogate, Zuckerman, is sometimes too outraged to recognize: breaking a new road causes outrage in others and suffering in himself...." Bloom here remarks upon the fact that Roth, just like his fictional hero, deals with the conflict between loyalty towards the traditional values of his Jewish ancestors and the need for creative freedom. Roth's description of the confrontation between the father and the son of the first part of the trilogy (*The Ghost Writer*) seems very authentic, which can likely be attributed to the fact that this incident reflects the author's own experience. Roth's alter ego, Zuckerman, is defending himself after his short story called "Higher Education," depicting a certain family tale, was published in a national literary journal. The problem was that Zuckerman did not refrain from describing quibbling and small-minded disputes and vices of the people involved, which was, according to his father, an offence against a Jewish com-

munity: "Nathan, your story, as far as Gentiles are concerned, is about one thing and one thing only. Listen to me before you go. It is about kikes. Kikes and their love of money. That is all our good Christian friends will see, I guarantee you."²³ This is Zuckerman's father's appeal to his son's conscience, and the newly-emerged conflict between his unidealized depiction of reality and the author's moral responsibility culminates in the letter from the highly recognized Jewish judge Leopold Wapter, who wrote to Zuckerman at the writer's parents' request. In the enclosed questionnaire, he asks him ten questions concerning Zuckerman's motivation, his intention and attitudes. The final two are particularly leading:

9. Aside from the financial gain to yourself, what benefit do you think publishing this story in a national magazine will have for (a) your family; (b) your community; (c) the Jewish religion; (d) the well-being of the Jewish people? 10. Can you honestly say that there is anything in your story that would not warm the heart of a Julius Streicher or a Joseph Goebbels?²⁴

When Philip Roth published his first collection of short stories called *Goodbye, Columbus* in 1959, he caused similar outrage. He describes this situation himself in an interview with *The New York Times* under the title "The Unbounded Spirit of Philip Roth":²⁵

...indignant phone calls... the angry letters. They poured in. Strong medicine for a 24-year-old writer. Not only had I published a story, but I had created a scandal. Talk about the unforeseen consequences of art. Did it have an effect on me? Sure. I put up my dukes.

After he published his novel *Portnoy's Complaint*, whose literary counterpart is Zuckerman's bestseller *Carnovsky*, the Jewish Newark community, including his own family, turned against him. Josef Jařab in his afterword to the first part of the trilogy notices the sources of Roth's view of the world and how significant it is:

The important and determining factor for viewing the open world of the Jewish Diaspora, which he entered at university and during his military service, is the fact that Roth had been growing up in a practically enclosed ethnic microworld of the city neighbourhood that was naturally specifically Jewish, but as it was viewed from inside, at the same time it had become generally human in its entireness. For a young literature novice, to overstep its limit meant... to see heroism as heroism and cowardice as cowardice, no matter who demonstrates these

qualities, whether it is a Jew or anybody else.²⁶

Roth demythologized Jewish values and portrayed the Jewish community from his own perspective, which means unidealized and in the raw, his main “offence” being the fact that he did not emphasize solely the good qualities of its members.

Hájek compares this situation to a similar problem concerning Škvorecký's first work called *The Cowards* (Zbabělci), in which the author introduces his semi-autobiographical character of Danny Smiřický for the first time. The essay quotes Josef Rybák's contemporary review:²⁷

Škvorecký, too, is a writer who lacks taste and a taste of shame; in Škvorecký's novel, too, the hero confesses with a frankness that also provides a glimpse of the author's own mentality, of the callousness, cynicism, and the intellectuality of a writer who strips naked not only his characters, but himself as well.... In this book Škvorecký reveals himself as a cynical photographer for whom nothing, not even the source of the people's freedom, is sacred.²⁸

Josef Škvorecký provoked and destroyed artificial ideals; instead of glorifying pathos which was expected from the authors at that time (*The Cowards* was published in 1958). He dealt with the struggles of a teenager and presented crucial historical moments from his perspective. In this way he, similar to Philip Roth, demythologized sacred values and took the gilt off the gingerbread. The path of creative freedom Josef Škvorecký decided to take despite fierce criticism predestined his style of writing. Vladimír Papoušek notices the existential dimension of Škvorecký's work:

In his first stories, Škvorecký created a method that became the permanent part of his poetics. The characteristic feature of his most famous novel *The Cowards* as well as of other prose of the sixties and seventies will be depicting the situation of the narrator and the hero as a permanent reflexion of “Me” in reality with all the possibilities of total disillusionment with the world as the potential place of the realized projection of love, compassion or a collective ideal.²⁹

Many years later, when Josef Škvorecký described Danny's life story in his extensively fragmental and retrospective novel *The Engineer of Human Souls* (*Příběh inženýra lidských duší*), he applied the same method that he described himself in his essay *Literary Views of Ernest Hemingway* (*Literární názory Ernesta Hemingwaye*):³⁰

However, the truth about these things can only be expressed

after the author has acquired intimate knowledge of them, after he has experienced them personally. Whenever the author leaves the field of personal experience, it equals the betrayal and exposes him to the danger of pretence.³¹

Škvorecký considers searching for truth the main mission of a writer and believes that it is necessary to put aside all moral, political, religious and aesthetic opinions as well as concerns for the author's own reputation and position. If he tried to comply with such conventions, he would deceive and lie.

As far as penetrating the author's subject in the text, Hájek notices Škvorecký's method of suggesting his own presence in the text. As an example he chooses the scene in which Danny appears side by side with the woman publisher Santnerová, the character whose counterpart in real life might be found in Škvorecký's wife Zdena Salivarová. He portrays Santnerová as dealing with a writer who had sent his manuscript to the exile publishing house from Czechoslovakia, and the activities for the publishing house are referred to in plural.

On the other hand, as Hájek points out "... no matter how close Roth got to his own experience in his portrayal of Zuckerman, he always kept sufficient distance between himself and his literary character."³² Philip Roth expresses the same idea in the fictional letter by his literary character Nathan Zuckerman, which is addressed to the writer:

As for characterization, you, Roth, are the least completely rendered of all your protagonists. Your gift is not to personalize your existence but to personify it, to embody it in the representation of a person who is *not* yourself. You are not an auto biographer, you are a personifier.³³

Roth plays with the reader by means of sophisticated deception. The resulting effect is described by František Fröhlich in his afterword to the third part of the trilogy (*The Anatomy Lesson*): "The relationship between the autobiography and fiction is so complicated and subtle that not even the author himself was able to distinguish accurately what is real and what is fabricated."³⁴ When Philip Roth wrote his own autobiography, aptly called *The Facts*, he satisfied the need to revive the real material he had been drawing upon in his stories and novels. At the beginning of his autobiography, in the fictional letter addressed to his alter ego, Nathan Zuckerman, he expresses the relation between fiction and reality in these words:

As a matter of fact, the two longish works of fiction about you, written over a decade, were probably what made me sick of fictionalizing myself further, worn out with coaxing into existence a being whose experience was comparable to my own and yet registered a more powerful valence, a life

more highly charged and energized, more entertaining than my own... which happens to have been largely spent, quite unentertainingly, alone in a room with a typewriter. I was depleted by the rules I'd set myself – by having to imagine things not quite as they happened to me... If this manuscript conveys anything, it's my exhaustion with masks, disguises, distortions, and lies.³⁵

Roth's need of literary defence against critical voices that condemned his work for being too sincere, for demystification of Jewish traditional values and for its lack of commitment to the Jewish community brings us to another aspect of the difference accentuated by Hájek: "Although Danny conquers the academic field, he remains the character of Peter Pan. Unlike Zuckerman, who ruins his own life by doubts about himself, Danny mostly withstands all the twists, changes and occasional misfortunes stoically."³⁶

In Hájek's opinion, the key difference between Zuckerman and Smiřický lies in the relation between the author's real-life experience and his literary depiction:

The American longs to break free from the vicious circle absorbing even his most intimate experiences and transforming them into literature. He indulges in dreams of Flaubertesque life *dans le vrai*. On the other hand, the Czech with Eastern-European experience has already grown tired of real life and he is happy enough to escape to the world of literature.³⁷

Zuckerman's problem is identical to another character's experience, Emanuel Lonoff, who is a writer. When the budding, twenty-three-year old author comes to visit his paragon, Lonoff somewhat disturbs Zuckerman's illusions concerning his future career of a writer by venting his frustration about the life he does not live, because he has fully devoted it to writing:

I turn sentences around. That's my life. I write a sentence and then I turn it around. Then I look at it and I turn it around again. Then I have lunch. Then I come back in and write another sentence. Then I have tea and turn the new sentence around. Then I read the two sentences over and turn them both around. Then I lie down on my sofa and think. Then I get up and throw them out and start from the beginning. And if I knock off from this routine for as long as a day, I'm frantic with boredom and a sense of waste.³⁸

In *The Anatomy Lesson*, forty-year-old Zuckerman comes to a conclusion that absorbs him and deprives him of a real, full-blooded life. He wants to

solve this problem by giving up his career as a writer and taking up medical studies. He describes his feelings in the dialogue with his old school friend Bobby, who has become a successful doctor and who Zuckerman finds in Chicago:

Look, it's simple: I'm sick of raiding my memory and feeding on the past. There's nothing more to see from my angle; if it ever was the thing I did best, it isn't anymore. I want an active connection to life and I want it now. I want an active connection to *myself*. I'm sick of channelling everything into writing. I want the real thing, the thing *in the raw*, and not for the writing but for itself. Too long living out of the suitcase of myself. I want to start again for ten hundred different reasons.³⁹

One of those reasons is obviously connected with the question of the purpose of writing that fills Zuckerman with tormenting doubts as to whether his effort is not futile. That is why he wants to find a solution in the medical profession which is much needed:

I look at you and I see a big, confident, bearded fellow without the slightest doubt that what he's doing is worthwhile and that he does it well. That yours is a valuable service is undebatable fact. The surgeon hacks opens his patient to remove something rotten and the patient doesn't feel a thing – because of you. It's clear, it's straightforward, it's unarguably useful and right to the point. I envy that.⁴⁰

These are Zuckerman's words addressed to Bobby while he tries to explain his apparently absurd decision to abandon his writing despite his success among readers.

On the other hand, Škvorecký has never made any secret of the fact that his own experience provided him with sufficient material for his writing, and that his fictional characters are always a mixture of fiction and reality. In the interview with Karel Hviždala he admits:

I am not sure if I “shift” anything more towards a dream or towards reality or towards the fiction. I would rather say that I mix cocktails from a few models... Mary Dresler from *The Swell Season* (*Prima sezóna*) and *The Engineer of Human Souls*? Her original was a pretty young girl that was wonderful to talk to and that had changed into the most beautiful memories of my youth and of my home town. So I have probably shifted her. Towards even greater beauty and maybe greater shrewdness.⁴¹

The significance of this approach can be found in the fact that despite different contexts functioning as the element of difference, we can find the typological similarity of the characters, and thus through mutual analogies we gain deeper insight into their motives. The examples above are based on the analogy between the disparity of Jewish fate and that of the exile writer, thus creating a thematic similarity, although we have to consider the difference between the contexts. As an exile critic, Igor Hájek moved within both worlds and was aware that the situation of the Czech writer could, to a certain extent, be influenced by the pressure of the official critics of that time forcing the authors to realistic description. The American, living and creating in free conditions, however, has to face different kinds of problems.

Hájek's comparative method makes it possible to uncover a certain analogy between the lack of freedom experienced by the Czech author and the situation of the American who has to face the intolerance of his Jewish community which – unlike the totalitarian regime – does not have political power at its disposal and therefore enforce its will by force. Zuckerman's reflections on the deeper meaning of writing come to their climax in the supplement to the Zuckerman trilogy, *The Prague Orgy*.

The famous writer travels to Prague where he wants to acquire an unpublished manuscript by a certain Jewish author whose son, an exile Czech writer named Sisovsky living in the United States, asked Zuckerman to bring it. The story is set in the dismal atmosphere of the normalization period, and during his stay in Czechoslovakia, Zuckerman can see first-hand that Czech writers have to face an oppression that is in a way similar to his own situation, but in fact they are subjected to much larger restrictions. "Those who don't want to leave, they must keep silent. And those who don't want to leave, and who don't wish to keep silent, they finish up in jail."⁴² In his afterword for the Czech translation of *The Prague Orgy*, Hájek explains that such a situation, unbearable for a writer obsessed with irresistible impulse to write, results in "creating a Peplersque, crazily grotesque theatrical world within the reality...."⁴³ As Philip Roth puts it:

Here where the literary culture is held hostage, the art of narration flourishes by mouth. In Prague, stories aren't simply stories; it's what they have instead of life. Here they have become their stories, in lieu of being permitted to be anything else. Storytelling is the form their resistance has taken against the coercion of the powers-that-be.⁴⁴

On the other hand, the problems of a Jewish author are of quite a different nature. Zuckerman has been worried about the matter of ethics and has been full of remorse caused by doubts of whether or not he has treated his fellow members of the Jewish community unjustly by his writing. As a result he feels a constant need to defend himself, which is strongly demonstrated in his reaction to scorching criticism by the highly regarded literary critic Milton

Appel in the Jewish cultural monthly journal *Inquiry*. When Zuckerman finally resorts to a direct confrontation with Appel in a telephone conversation, he fully gives vent to his anger:

You call my sin “distortion,” then distort my book to show how distorted it is! You pervert my intentions, then call me perverse!... My coarse, vindictive fantasies, your honourable, idealistic humanistic concerns! I’m a sellout to the pop-porno culture, you’re the Defender of the Faith! Western Civilization! The Great Tradition! The Serious Viewpoint! As though seriousness can’t be as stupid as anything else!⁴⁵

Zuckerman’s attitude comes to a head during a scene in the cemetery where he accompanies his friend Bobby’s father on a visit to his wife’s grave. When Mr. Freytag complains about Bobby’s adoptive son’s behaviour, Zuckerman, being under the influence of a strong dose of painkillers taken to relieve his chronic pain, physically attacks him and again flies into a rage against those who defend Jewish exceptionality: “Your sacred genes! What do you see inside your head? Genes with JEW sewed on them? Is that all you see in that lunatic mind, the unstained natural virtue of Jews?”⁴⁶ Hájek ponders on the analogy between Jewish wariness of the world surrounding them and the spirit of the Czech exile press.⁴⁷ The Jews have created an ingenious defence mechanism based on meticulous adherence to the centuries-old, deep-rooted Jewish traditions. The Czech exiles who overnight found themselves in a strange, unknown world tried to do the same by continual criticism of various aspects of their new home including food, politics, educational system, attitudes, clothing or weather partnered with nostalgic memories of their lost homeland. It is worth mentioning here that the lot of a Czech exile writer is elaborately dealt with in Josef Škvorecký’s essay “Between Two Words,” which appears to be a polemic with the general idea that a Czech writer must necessarily suffer hardship after leaving his home country. Škvorecký demonstrates in his own example and that of other authors that the new environment can provide writers with new impulses and equip them for interesting language experiments that are characteristic of Škvorecký’s prose. If an author transforms his or her new experience into a story, the result can be unique works with a new view of the world. As Škvorecký illustrates it: “Read the novels by the deceased Egon Hostovský, many of which have been translated into English, or interesting prose by Jan Drábek writing in English and you will see North America from a different point of view.”⁴⁸

Let us get back to Philip Roth’s authentic description of normalization Prague and of the situation of Czech writers who came into conflict with the communist power and are forced to survive in absurd conditions. In this connection, Igor Hájek mentions Ludvík Vaculík’s memoirs *Czech Book of Dreams* (*Český snář*) depicting the situation of the Prague dissent. In the period of normalization, this kind of *samizdat* prose was mainly significant as a source of facts based on eyewitness accounts, thus standing in opposition

against officially published lies. According to *The History of Czech Literature 1945-1989 (Dějiny české literatury 1945-1989)*:

... an important feature of Vaculík's multidimensional novel-diary is the need for self-determination and self-knowledge as well as the need for a certain exhibition... During the process of writing and by means of the arising text he fights for his internal freedom: he reflects the situations brought in the course of time and in dispute with generally accepted truth he searches the truth of his own.⁴⁹

Using Václav Havel's one-act plays *Audience* (Audience), *Private View (Vernisáž)* and *Protest* (Protest) as examples, Hájek illustrates that "the authors that have until recently been forbidden offer a thrilling testimony to how life in a totalitarian regime affects human soul and they mercilessly dissect their own inner feeling in the process...."⁵⁰ Václav Havel's alter ego, Ferdinand Vaněk, an intellectual who is in opposition to the regime and therefore faces oppression, appears in situations expressing the absurdity of the conditions during the period of normalization. However, Hájek does not avoid an objective evaluation of literary production and remarks upon the fact that forbidden authors sometimes cherished the false conclusion that authentic accounts of their lives' mishaps on the fringe of the society automatically become valuable literary work. He points out that although they embark on topics that are taboo in official literature, "in many respects they share its deficiency: they lack creative spark like the incredibly talkative Alvin Pepler."⁵¹

We can conclude that Hájek's comparative approach enables us to draw a certain parallel between the oppression of writers in what was then Czechoslovakia and the situation of the Jewish writer who stands against his Jewish community, which – unlike the totalitarian regime -- does not have political power and is not able to enforce its will. Hájek's perspective makes it possible for English-speaking readers to understand Czech writers much better, because they can view them in connection with their familiar authors. Providing these comparisons, Hájek considerably helped Czech books to find their way to new audiences and become part of the Western canon.

NOTES

1. First published in *The Wider Europe: Essays in Slavonic Languages and Cultures* (Nottingham, 1992). The collection of Igor Hájek's selected essays was published in Czech in 2007 under the title *Prokletá i požehnaná: eseje o české literatuře* by Dokořán, edited by Martin Pilař, translation Karolina Slamová.

2. In February 1968, after it had been temporarily cancelled, *Literární noviny* were renamed to *Literární listy*. After the August invasion, the name changed to *Listy*, and in May 1969 it ceased.

3. See A.J. Liehm, "Minulost v přítomnosti," (Brno: Host, 2002).
4. In 1968 it was published in Czech by Kentaur in Igor Hájek's translation.
5. This is another similarity to John Updike, who also uses a certain group of characters in his books.
6. Igor Hájek, "Kafkovská Amerika," *Literární noviny* no. 33 (1963), 4.
7. As early as in 1959 Igor Hájek published an article on the Beat Generation in *Světová literatura* and was among the first who presented detailed information about this movement to the Czech public.
8. Igor Hájek, "Z bradburyovského světa," *Literární noviny* no. 4 (1965), 8.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Igor Hájek, "A Man in Human Trap," *Literární noviny* no. 4 (1967), 8.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. J. Fronek, *Velký česko-anglický slovník* (Prague: Leda, 2000).
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20. I. Hájek, *Prokletá i požehnaná*, (Prague: Atlantis, 2007), 114.
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27. Josef Rybák, *Rudé právo*, January 14, 1959, 4.
28. Hájek, *Prokletá i požehnaná*, 118.
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43. P. Roth, *Pražské orgie* (Toronto: Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1988), 113. Igor Hájek refers to the character of Alvin Pepler, Zuckerman's former schoolmate, a Jewish veteran of the Marine Corps, who appears in the second part of the Zuckerman trilogy (*Zuckerman Unbound*). Pepler abounds in fertile imagination and vents it by telling various stories. Zuckerman notes them down later to be able to transform them into literature, which is an ability Pepler lacks, because his imagination, unlike Lonoff's, is entirely grounded on reality.
44. P. Roth, *The Prague Orgy*, 68.
45. P. Roth, *Zuckerman Bound*, 415.
46. Ibid., 483.
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48. J. Škvorecký, *Mezi dvěma světy a jiné eseje* (Prague: Ivo Železný, 2004), 98.
49. P. Janoušek et al., *Dějiny české literatury* (Prague: Adademia, 2008), 453.
50. I. Hájek, *Prokletá i požehnaná*, 125.
51. Ibid., 126.

Josef Šnabl, Ondřej Ludvík and the Artistic Company of 1920: Journeys of Life, Musical Performance and Research.

By Michael Cwach

"The last chords of the life song of the Chod musician, Josef Šnabl-Antes¹ faded."²

This poetic opening to an obituary written by J.V. Welcl, appears in Czech in the 14 September 1962 issue of the Chicago newspaper *Denní hlasatel*. Šnabl was born in Domažlice, a small town in the western Bohemian region of Chodsko, and moved to the United States, where he first lived in Chicago and later in Cicero, Illinois at 2428 South 61st. Avenue. His life is summarized largely through his musical activities, as an instrumentalist, playing organ, piano, accordion and a bagpipe, known most commonly, as *dudy* in Czech.³ As an organist, he played in the movie theaters before the advent of sound film, as well as taught piano and piano accordion. Šnabl also played with his trio at the Old Prague Restaurant in Cicero, Illinois. Throughout his life, he had problems with vision and, during his last years, had difficulties hearing.

It is fascinating that a significant portion of Šnabl's obituary is dedicated to an experience that took place forty-two years before his death. He, with his good friend violinist, Ondřej Ludvík, and other artists, took part in a concert tour, that comprised of "more than 200 performances of *Chod* music and singing."⁴ On this tour, which started in New York and continued through compatriot communities throughout much of America, Šnabl played the *dudy*.

The structure of this article is built upon the discoveries that appeared during the course of my research. The milestones are presented in chronological order and each is examined in detail before moving to the next. As a result, the bulk of what is known concerning the activities of Josef Šnabl, Ondřej Ludvík and the other artists that formed an "*umělecká družina*" or "artistic company," will be conveyed while giving credit to those who contributed to this body of knowledge.

My research-based journey – still in progress – started with the following twenty-three word passage discovered in the *Memorial Book History of the Czechs in the State of South Dakota*, the English translation of Josef Dvořák's *Památní kniha dějin čechův ve státu South Dakota*: "The Klatovy Bagpipers, under the direction of Mr. Sinkule, entertained our citizens for three days, although the weather was wicked they were satisfied."⁵ The reading of this simple passage constituted the first step of a fascinating interplay involving my own research with timely input from colleagues in the United States and the Czech Republic.

The First Marker: "The Klatovy Bagpipers were here"

According to Dvořák, the three-day stay of the "Klatovy Bagpipers" took place in the town of Tabor, South Dakota. Established in 1872, Tabor was a small town of immigrants, chiefly from Bohemia and Moravia.

I am a descendant of Josef Pechan, who was with the first group of

Bohemian pioneers to arrive in the Dakota Territory in the summer of 1869. I was instilled with an awareness of my Bohemian roots at an early age and developed an interest in the history related to the Bohemian pioneers and their descendants. Later, I cultivated a curiosity for the music of the Bohemians and specifically the *dudy*. The combination of these elements served as the impetus to learn more about the three-day visit of the “Klatovy Bagpipers” in Tabor.

There were several questions that arose from the short report found in Dvořák’s book. Did this group only consist of bagpipers or was it a combination of bagpipers and other musicians? Under what conditions did they play? Did a group really come the great distance from Klatovy in West Bohemia to perform off the beaten path in Tabor? As Dvořák’s venerable history book was published in 1920, it meant that the event had taken place before the living memory of most of the current residents of Tabor. There was little chance there were any surviving witnesses of the event, but I hoped there might be someone who may recall an aspect of an event significant enough to be included in the primary chronicle of South Dakota’s Czechs.

I consulted the elders of the Tabor Czech community, as well as local musicians, who knew the first generation of Czech-Americans. No one knew anything of the three performances of Sinkule’s “Klatovy Bagpipers.” Despite a lack of positive results, the passage continued to haunt me and be a source of frustration. Regrettably, not being aware of any other way in which to advance at the time, my curiosity of this musical event was held in suspension.

At the Photographers

Knowing of my interest in the *dudy* and its relationship to the Czech lands, Evelyn Schleis-Roesler of Lincoln, Nebraska, gave me a copy of a black and white, autographed, postcard-sized, photograph of a young violinist and bagpiper wearing the national dress from the *Chodsko* region of Bohemia. Near the bottom border of the photo was printed, “ONDŘEJ LUDVÍK J. ŠNÁBL / V upomínce na Uměleckou Družinu v r. 1920” [Ondřej Ludvík Josef Šnábl / Souvenir of the Artistic Company in 1920]. Having collected postcards and other iconography of Czech bagpipers for some years, I was pleased that Evelyn shared this rare image. Another example has not come to light, and the image has since helped illustrate an aspect of Czech musical activity, the duo consisting of *dudy* and violin.

For what purpose was this photo taken and reproduced in this format? The text below the photo simply states the names of the two performers and indicates that they were part of an artistic cortège. The back of card, Evelyn has assured me, is blank. Upon first examination, there appeared to be a strong possibility that this souvenir, whose text had been written in Czech, and apparently dating from 1920, was printed in Czechoslovakia. Even though the sum of Czech and Slovak publishers and printers was considerable in the diaspora in America during the first quarter of the twentieth century, it is unlikely that the postcard was produced by one of them. I knew of no information about a *dudy*-violin duo having been active in Czech communities in America. Additionally, the two men in the photograph were wearing authentic *Chod kroje*.



Figure 1. Ondřej Ludvík
and Josef Šnabl

dudácká hudba (*Czech Bagpipe Music*) by Jaroslav Markl and *Dudy* (*Bagpipes*) by Arnošt Kolář.

Bagpipers in Chodsko 1890s – 1920

During this period, the names Jakub Havel, Jan Kobes and Josef Nejdl most commonly appear in the literature as the active bagpipers in *Chodsko*. Perhaps the most well-known *dudák* (bagpiper) of the trio was Jan Kobes (1849–1929). He outlived his wife and all eight of his children⁶ and was renowned for playing at the Czech & Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague 1895. Nevertheless, the most puzzling aspect of attributing Ludvík and Šnabl as musicians in *Chodsko* was that the tradition of playing the *dudy*, less than a decade prior to 1920, was ebbing in *Chodsko* and had apparently ended, according to the published reported death of the last *chodský dudák* (Chod Bagpiper).

In the April 1913 issue of the monthly, *Český svět* (*Czech World*), a highly illustrated magazine, two photos of an old bagpiper are identified with a single caption, “At the end of March this year, the well-known and last *Chod* bagpiper, Jan Dufek known as Salka, died in Tlumačov.”⁷

The photographs printed in *Český svět* were also misleading. They were not images of Jan Dufek, who, incidentally, was not a bagpiper, but played the E-flat soprano clarinet.⁸ It was Jan Nejdl, known as Hanč or Žídák, who appeared in the photographs. Nejdl lived until 1920 and it is likely that he

(national dress). Since men no longer wore traditional garb in Bohemia in much of the nineteenth century, it was highly unlikely that men wore *kroje* under most circumstances in America ca. 1920, except perhaps, in a Czech theatrical production. If they did, the *kroje* was usually of a generic nature and not representative of one particular area in Bohemia or Moravia. Apparently, this duo was a pair of *Chod* musicians, but the names were unknown to me and were not mentioned in any of standard works written about performers of the *dudy* in *Chodsko* such as: *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku* (*Bagpipers and Bagpipe Bands in the Chod Region*) by Ruldorf Svačina, *Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku* (*The Development of Bagpipe Music in the Chod Region*) by Jana Eksteinová, *Sto kusů pro sólo a duo dudy* (*One Hundred Solos and Duets for Bagpipes*) by Zdeněk Bláha, *5000 let s dudami* (*5000 Years with Bagpipes*) by Josef Režný, *Česká*

was still actively playing in 1913.⁹

Clearly the public was misinformed as to the demise of the last bagpiper in *Chodsko*. There is an adage in *Chodsko, Kamení ha dudy najdeš v Čechách šudy* (You can find rocks and bagpipes everywhere in Bohemia).¹⁰ The quantity of rocks in Bohemia has likely remained consistent, but undeniably the bagpiping tradition in *Chodsko* at the time the photographs appeared in *Český svět* was at a low point. However, there was no evidence to suggest that there was ever a time in *Chodsko* when there was a “*poslední dudák*” or last bagpiper.

Evidently, the photograph of Ludvík and Šnabl was taken at a professional studio, demonstrating a similar composition, as other promotional postcards of Czech bagpipers, active in Prague, ca. 1920. One of these postcards shows two men in a similar pose as Ludvík and Šnabl. The taller man, the *houdek* (violinist), is confidently holding a violin and bow supported by his left arm as his right arm is around the shoulder of the shorter man, the *dudák* (bagpiper). The *dudák* is wearing what appears to be a jacket modeled on the fashionable *Chodská kazajka* (Chod jacket). Printed across the photograph are two stylishly written autographs of the musicians as well as the year “1917.” Below the photograph are the first three bars of the Czech national anthem, *Kde domov můj?* The following information is printed on the reverse “*Česká muzika dudácká: / Karel Michaliček, dudák, / Vratislav Paprštejn, houdek*” and written in pencil is, “*V upomínka na den 29.VI./18.,/ při ohrdáčí besedě v / Hořovicích.*” Another series of three promotional postcards dating from same period are of the *dudák* Rudolf “Ruda” Anděl (1870-1930). Rudolf Anděl was a graduate of the Prague Conservatory where he studied violin,¹¹ but in the photograph he is seen posing in *kroje* similar to that worn in *Chodsko* with his *dudy*. He promoted himself as the *I. ČESKÝ KONCERNÍ DUDÁK* (First Czech Concert Bagpiper) and always indicated an address in Prague.¹²

Wolfgang Šteffek – Bagpipe Maker

All three photographs of the *dudáci* (bagpipers) -- Šnabl, Michaliček, and Anděl -- share a common denominator. Their *dudy* with which they posed are identifiable as being made by the same maker, Wolfgang Šteffek (1842-1923), who lived in Újezd, near Domažlice. This village is a special place in *Chodsko*, because the farm of the legendary *Chod* leader Jan Sladký Kozina is preserved there. The historical novel *Psohlavci* by Alois Jirásek is a work in which Kozina’s best friend, Jiskra Řehůřek, is a bagpiper. The novel, as well as the opera composed by Karel Kovařovic, are works woven of strands of fact and myth, which has resulted in a web of beliefs that has solidly placed *Chodsko* in the psyche of the Czech people.

Šteffek’s workshop was not far from the revered Kozina farm. A key figure of folklore in *Chodsko*, Rudolf Svačina (1900-1997) wrote that “All the bagpipers in *Chodsko* in the second half of the nineteenth century always had bagpipes from Šteffek. When a bagpipe was giving trouble or needed repair,

they [bagpipers] were always guests [at the Šteffek home].”¹³

After the death of Wolfgang “Bolfik” Šteffek in 1923, the tradition of making bagpipes continued in Újezd. His son Wolfgang “Vuk” Šteffek carried on making bagpipes that are still admired by contemporary bagpipe makers for their aesthetic design and workmanship. After the death of the elder Šteffek, an article written by Ladislav Rutte profiling his contributions, appeared in the ethnographic magazine, *Český lid*. Rutte reveals a number of interesting facts about Šteffek’s abilities as a craftsman. In addition to making bagpipes, Šteffek was also a maker and repairer of clocks, as well as the long-handled axe called the *čakan*, a symbol of the *Chod* people.¹⁴ As valuable as the article is in providing an insight into Šteffek’s life and contributions, it is also enlightening concerning the bagpipes that he made.

Dudy vs. pukl

Rutte stated that “Bolfik” Šteffek principally made two distinct sorts of bagpipes, *dudy* and *pukl*:

From his hands came two types of ancient bagpipes....The first more ancient, called in *Chodsko* by its own name *dudy*, mouth-blown, tuned in high keys, mostly in G major, C major and D major, and the second, newer type called the *pukl* with a *huková* [drone] pipe that went over the shoulder [of the player], with bellows, and in E-flat major. And it was nearly impossible to find two instruments that were exactly the same. Each had its own special character.¹⁵

The *pukl* is the version of bagpipe with which Šnabl is posing. In contemporary Czech, the *pukl* is habitually called *dudy*, the word that was once, ironically, reserved for the mouth-blown type. Other terms that are used instead of *pukl* today include *české dudy* (Bohemian or Czech bagpipes) and *chodské dudy* (*Chod* bagpipes). These terms indicate close associations with Bohemia and *Chodsko*, even though the origins of this particular configuration of bagpipe appear to have come from outside the Bohemian border. The oral history of the *Chodsko* region and evidence of the *pukl*’s development having taken place in Germany strongly suggest that the *pukl*’s origins can be found in Bavaria and other parts of present-day Germany:

Honza [Jan Kobes] said that at the beginning his father still played on the mouth-blown *dudy* (the bag was blown up with air from the mouth), but later he only played on the *pukl*. Apparently, it [the *pukl*] was brought to the region [*Chodsko*] by some *šleffíř*¹⁶ from Bavaria. The *pukl* proved itself. Being that it was not nearly as strenuous [to play] it replaced the *dudy* completely.¹⁷

Most folklorists and scholars, including Zdeněk Bláha and Jana Eksteinová, support the previous testimony in their own writings.¹⁸

The *pukl*, as it was known in *Chodsko*, is essentially a development of the *polnischer Bock* (Polish Goat), which was played in and apparently developed at the courts centered in Dresden, Württemberg, Weimar and elsewhere.¹⁹ Evidently the *polnischer Bock* was a development of the *Grosser Bock* (large goat), as depicted in the early seventeenth century by Michael Praetorius,²⁰ having incorporated bellows and a “bent” drone that hung over the player’s shoulder. The *polnischer Bock*, during the Baroque era, was a visually elaborate bagpipe. It lost most of its extravagant features, such as a goat’s head, tail and four legs, in exchange for more modest representative elements during the Classical Era. By the time the “Classical” *polnischer Bock* was adopted in the middle of the nineteenth century in *Chodsko*, it had essentially been in the form in which it is played today, for approximately 100 years.

Performance practice

The photograph of Šnábl and Ludvík verifies aspects of performance practice regarding both the violin and *pukl* that are no longer in vogue. One of these involves the practice of tying down each of the strings of the violin, with a resulting string length sounding a minor third higher than standard tuning.²¹ This practice is similar to the use of a capo on a guitar. It allowed the fiddle player to have four open strings more suitable for playing in the style of the time. This is a style where on occasion the fiddle player could accent, both rhythmically and harmonically, by playing momentarily the lowest open string, a B-flat, a note belonging to the tonic and dominant chords. Only two more photos, both included in the photographic section of Jan Eksteinová’s “*Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku (The Development of Bagpipe Music in the Chod Region)*” where the capo-like device is clearly visible, have been located. One photo (number 9) was taken in 1921 of a quartet in from *Chodsko*, in which the fiddle player, Josef Pelnař (1853-1934), a weaver from Luženice, was playing in Hronov for the observance of the seventieth birthday of the author of *Psohlavci*, Alois Jirásek. Another photo (number 14), apparently taken before World War II, is of the bagpipe band of Jiří Kajer. The fiddle player in this group, identified as Oldřich Královec (1915-1967), is utilizing a capo-like device. According to Eksteinová, this technique was used by fiddle players in *Chodsko* until the 1950s.²²

The practice of using a stringed-capo relates to a tradition of playing a type of violin that was especially constructed to be played with bagpipes. Compared to a normal violin, these violins had shorter necks and smaller bodies. Often the f-holes were located in non-traditional positions. They are called in Czech *krátké housle* (short violins), *dudácké housle* (bagpipe violins)²³ or *housle s krátkým krkem* (violin with a short neck).²⁴ They are relatively rare; it is doubtful that more than thirty original examples exist.²⁵

While there has been a small revival of the use of the short-necked violin, primarily by the group Posumavská Dudácká Muzika based in Strakonice, the violin which the group utilizes is unlike the historical Bohemian

short-necked violins. All surviving short-necked violins have bodies approximating three-quarter or half size violins. The short-necked violin played by Posumavská Dudácká *Muzika* is simply a full size violin that has had a shorter neck substituted for the original. Although it is possible that a full sized violin with a shortened neck was traditionally played in Bohemia, there is no evidence to support this; there are no historical examples of full size violins with shortened necks. If the sound of a full sized bodied violin was desirable, it would have been more economical to tie down the strings of a factory made violin, as was practiced until the middle of the twentieth century in Chodsko.

With the introduction of the double bass into the bagpipe bands of Chodsko, ca. 1950,²⁶ it then became the primary source of harmonic and rhythmic support. This is possibly one of the reasons for the demise of the tradition of tying down the strings on a violin as this role of the fiddle player was no longer required.

The photograph of Šnabl in America is also helpful in understanding the performance practice of playing the *pukl* ca. 1920. Since then, one aspect of playing the *pukl* has certainly changed in Chodsko. This is in regard to how each note of the chanter is tuned. Currently, each of the tone holes of the chanter of the *pukl* played in Chodsko may be fine tuned with the aid of a tuning screw that protrudes into the opening of the tone hole. If the tuning screw is turned out, the opening becomes larger and the pitch rises. The opposite is true when the screw is turned inward; the pitch becomes lower. It is a system that is simple and effective. Before the adaptation, attributed to Jakub Konrády²⁷ in the 1960s, a different technique to fine tune each note of the chanter was traditionally used. In the past the bagpipers adjusted the size of the holes working and shaping beeswax in the hole's opening. Certainly this is how Šnabl tuned his bagpipes, and possible visual evidence for this is the chain or string draped across the side of the face of the wooden head. The purpose of this is not certain, but it is suspected that on one end of the chain or string there may have been a tool used for shaping the beeswax near the opening of the tone holes.

The chanter of the *pukl* is not completely unlike the chalemeau, the predecessor of the clarinet. Some early chalemeaux had no keys²⁸ but gradually more keys were added to both chalemeaux and clarinets. Although modern players of the *pukl* do not play chanters with any keys, there was a time when makers such a Wolfgang Šteffek, the maker of Šnabl's *pukl*, added keys to the chanters. The chanter of the *pukl* that Šnabl played appears to have had one key.²⁹ The key, which runs along the top half of the chanter, covers a hole at the top. Josef Režný, a bagpipe authority in the Czech Republic, documented a similar example, also made by Wolfgang Šteffek, in the village of Miloňovice in South Bohemia.³⁰ Režný wrote that this key was probably used to play the note d². One example of a *pukl* with this d² key, made by Wolfgang Šteffek, is on exhibit at the ethnographic museum in Plzeň.

The Memorable American Tour

The depth of the enigma of the passage discovered in Dvořák's book and the photograph was not revealed until I visited Josef Kuneš, music specialist at the Jindřich Jindřich Museum in Domažlice. He pointed out a passage by Vladimír Baier in a recently published book:

Included in this period is the creation of an instrumental duo in Domažlice that consisted of graduates of the Prague Conservatory. It comprised of Joseph Schnabel, who graduated in the discipline of organ playing, played the bagpipes [*pukl*] and Ondřej Ludvík played the violin. After Christmas 1919, they came to America, where they carried on, especially among compatriots, with bagpipe music. They did not return home.³¹

Mr. Baier used a reliable source for this information that linked the two men on the photograph given to me by Evelyn Schleis-Roesler with interesting activity. A local publication, *Posel od Čerchova*, periodically printed reports of the performances of Ludvík and Šnabl in America, including a list of towns and cities visited as well as the number of performances. The "Artistic Company" was "directed by" and "managed by"³² Jos. Sinkule of Omaha:³³

New York

New York 5³⁴, Astoria 1

New Jersey

Newark 2

Maryland

Baltimore 3

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh 2

Ohio

Cleveland 8

Illinois

Chicago 6³⁵, Cicero 2³⁶

Wisconsin

Racine 2, Milwaukee 2, Manitowoc 2, Melnik 1

Minnesota

Montgomery 2, Veseli 2, Lonsdale 2, New Prague 1, St. Paul 2, Owatonna 1

Iowa

Spillville 1, Protivin 2, Solon 1, Cedar Rapids 2

South Dakota

Tyndall 2, Tabor 3³⁷

Nebraska

Niobrara 1, Lynch 1, Spencer 1, Verdigre 2, Dodge 2, Clarkson 2, Howells 2, Mors Bluff 1, Brno 2, Schuyler 2, Ord 3, Ravenna 2, Wahoo 1, Prague 2, Linwood 1, Dwight 2, Brainard 2, Weston 2, Crete 2, Wilber 3, Table Rock 3, Swanton 1, Milligan 2, South Omaha 1, Omaha 1, Lincoln, Nebraska 3

Iowa

Clutier 2, Vining 1, Solon 1, Cedar Rapids 2, Swisher 1

Chicago (break in tour)

Wisconsin

Taus 1, Kellnersville 2, Maribel 1, Melnik 2, Tischmills 3, Stangelville 1, Manitowoc 1, Pilsen 1, Slovan 1, Kewaunee 1

The group had one concert in Stangelville, Wisconsin. This part of Wisconsin was settled in the mid-nineteenth century by kinsmen Bohemians from Chodsko. It is likely that many in the Stangelville area were familiar with either the *dudy* or the *pukl* as one of the locals, Jiří Rajsláger (George Rajsláger) (1844-1899), played in the region during pioneer days. “One of the pioneer bands was one in which Wencil Pivonka played the clarinet, Joseph Webber the fiddle, George Raislager played the Dudy [sic], an instrument similar to the bagpipe.”³⁸ This quote demonstrates that the standard combination of these three instruments, called *malá selzká muzika* (Small country band) had existed in Wisconsin during pioneer times. For approximately a decade, another immigrant from Chodsko who may have been a bagpiper in Wisconsin during the 1850s and 1860s pioneering times was Bedřich Schleis. Joseph Schleis of Lincoln, Nebraska, maintained that his great-grandfather, Bedřich Schleis (Šlajs), played the *dudy* (or *pukl*). Bedřich Schleis was born 26 June 1818 in Domažlice, married Maria Kobes, and moved to Havlovice, a village situated just west of Domažlice. In the 1850s they emigrated to the United States and lived in the Manitowoc, Wisconsin area before moving to Saline County, Nebraska (near or in Swan City), in August of 1869.³⁹

Perhaps the only oral record of utilizing the string-capo in America is

from ninety-year-old Leon Blahnik (born 1920) of Two Rivers, Wisconsin. He recalls that this father told him when he was about ten years old that there was a bagpiper and violinist in the area.⁴⁰ The violinist tied down the strings with twine (string?).⁴¹ Since this story was related to the young Leon Blahnik around 1930, it is difficult to ascertain if Franta Blahnik was describing the playing of the pioneer fiddle player, Joseph Webber or the touring Ondřej Ludvík cited as playing in the nearby Manitowoc area in the following passage. “Immediately after the war [World War I] the Domazlice bagpipers, Snabel and Ludvik came to Manitowoc with first class Chicago artists, Prokop, Zdenkova and Kalous and their performance was truly artistic. The Director was Jos. Sinkule of Omaha.”⁴²

Documents confirm the arrival of Šnabl and Luvík in the United States. The “STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL” record indicated that both Šnabl and Ludvík intend to visit friends at 2603 (or 2803?) So. Lawndale, Chicago, Illinois. In the “FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920 – POPULATION,” Frances Adamek, 23, is single and employed at an electrical shop doing bench work. She was living as a boarder at 2603 So. Lawndale. Probably, this is the same individual as the F. Adamek mentioned as a singer on the tour with Šnabl and Ludvík in an article published in the *Hlas lidu* (New York).⁴³ There is a slight discrepancy however; the Frances Adamek in the census report is listed as being born in Bohemia, while F. Adamek is mentioned as being American born in a newspaper article appearing in the 29 April 1920 edition of the *Tabor Independent* (see below). Despite this discrepancy, this is almost certainly the same person.

The Recordings

The actual arrival date of Šnabl and Ludvík to New York is unknown, but it must have been before 4 February 1920 as Pepa [Josef] Šnabl and Ondřej Ludvík are listed in the Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings [EDVR] as having recorded four different songs on that day (the titles appear on the EDVR website), “Směs českých národních tanců,” [sic] “Bohemian folk songs and “Andulko and Sousedska z cheskych pisni” [sic]. They had a second recording session on 17 February 1920 recording four more songs, “Na Luženci jaloveček,” “Na rozlouceni [sic],” “Cesky dudacky tanec [sic]” and “Zadny nevi co pou damazlice [sic].” On this day, the pioneering saxophonist, Rudy Wiedoeft, was recording at the Victor studios in New York as well. Apparently, only one commercial recording came of new arrived immigrants’ efforts, the 78 rpm Victor record 72654. Interestingly they were identified on the label as “Bagpipers of Strakonice” and not “Bagpipers of Domažlice” as they were usually referred to on their tour announcements. Perhaps this was a marketing tactic by Victor since Strakonice has been and continues to be more closely associated with bagpipes than Domažlice.

The text of the record label is documented in Dick Spottswood’s, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893-1942*.⁴⁴

Směs Českých Národních Tanců {Medley of Bohemian Folk Dances}
(Český Dudácký Tanec) (arr Pepa Šnabl)
Ondřej Ludvík – violin, Pepa Šnabl – bagpipe
Victor 72654

One side of this recording was re-released 6 April 1993 by Heritage (U.K.) in CD format on an anthology of ethnic bagpipe recordings, *The Ace & Deuce Of Pipering 1906-1947*. In the track listing the artists are listed as Pepa Šnabl & Ondrez Ludvik.⁴⁵ It is clear from this recording that these were indeed virtuosic musicians. Josef Kuneš, a highly regarded folklorist in the Chodsko and one of only three people to have ever taught the *pukl* at the music school in Domažlice, praised their artistry. “It is at this time, amazingly brilliant, everything is in tune, which at that time was not a given and they were very well rehearsed. It is recognizable that both were graduate musicians of the conservatory. Variations and interludes are their own. I think they wrote these [variations] in advance, but I’m not sure.”⁴⁶

Recently, Kuneš dedicated an entire edition, “*Josef Schnabl, dudák za velkou louží*” (“Josef Šnabl, Bagpiper on the Other Side of a Big Puddle”) of the radio program *Špalíček lidových písni* to the activities of Josef Šnabl. This program was produced by Český rozhlas in Pilsen and broadcast on 27 July 2010. The URL for this 26 minute 53 second broadcast is <http://www.rozhlas.cz/default/default/rnp-player-2.php?id=2106116&drm=1> and includes the recording of Šnabl and Ludvík of “Směs Českých Národních Tanců” as recorded on 4 February 1920. This recording is presented at approximately the 13 minute 11 second mark.

Tour Promotion and Review

A tour of the proportion outlined above would have taken a significant amount of organization. Apparently Joseph Sinkule of Omaha, Nebraska was responsible. Advertisements were placed in Czech-language newspapers announcing the performances.

Since first reading the short passage about the “Klatovy bagpipers” in the History of South Dakota Czechs compiled by Josef Dvořák there was another development that would potentially bring understanding to the enigmatic statement that started my journey of research. Besides publishing the book about Czechs in South Dakota, Dvořák also published the weekly newspaper *The Tabor Independent*. At one of the Tabor Czech Days celebrations held annually in June, I spoke to JoAnn Stepanek Relf, a grand-daughter of Dvořák. She revealed that the family still retained a complete set of back issues of the publication. Soon after this meeting, she placed these documents in the Archives and Special Collections department in the University of South Dakota’s (Vermillion) Library, making them available to the public for research. The time spent searching produced results included the discovery of an enlightening review of the concerts in Tabor. The text was presumably written by Dvořák, who was an accomplished musician:



Figure 2. Advertisement from Chicago newspaper, *Denní hlasatel* 11 March 1920⁴⁷

The Bagpipers from the province of Chod, Bohemia, have entertained the people of Tabor last Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Owing to the bad weather and worse roads, the attendance was larger than expected. Mr. Schnabl, the bagpiper, who also is a fine pianist, rendered several of his own compositions, which were well received. Miss Zdenek, who at one time was a vocal instructor in a conservatory of music in Chicago, sang Chodish folk songs in a very characteristic and typical manner, to the accompaniment of the bagpipe, thus bringing before us a fragment of Bohemian life from the mountainous region of chod. Upon request she also rendered a humoristic American song at her own piano accompaniment, thus showing at once that she is also an accomplished pianiste [sic]. Miss Adamek also sang beautifully in a sweet and well modulated soprano. Both these ladies are residents of Chicago and were born in this country. Mr. Prokop has easily proven that he is an actor and his efforts were applauded. Mr. Schnable and Mr. Ludvik came to this country from Bohemia three months ago, the latter named having deserted the Austrian army as hundred [sic] of thousands of other Czechs and had gone through all of the campaigns of the Czechoslovak army in Russia during the world war, and

in our opinion a short talk on his experience if embodied in their program would be well received. Mr. Prokop has been in this country the past eight years and played with the Ludvík Theatrical Company of Chicago for a number of years. Sunday after the program the Company was entertained at the home of Mr. And Mrs. J. A. Wagner,⁴⁸ and Monday left for Niobrara and other points in Nebraska. They intend to visit Tabor next fall.⁴⁹

According to the 20 March 1920 edition of *Posel od Čerchova*, Ondřej Ludvík was a graduate of the Prague Conservatory and then was in Russia six years, during which time he played in the Вольный театр (Free Theater) in Moscow. In October of 1918 he returned to free Bohemia. No mention is made of his service in the Czechoslovak Legion. From the above report from Tabor, South Dakota we learn that there were others in this troupe besides Šnabl and Ludvík. The actor Jiří Prokop, born in Liberec, was also a Czechoslovak legionnaire. "In 1912, [Prokop] came to the United States and was soon engaged by the Ludvík Stock Company, which had arrive Chicago some two decades earlier and was playing regularly in thatlia theater [sic] and was the best known in the United States. At the first Chicago World Fair in 1893, the Ludvíks gave for the first time Smetana's opera the 'Bartered Bride.' 'Jiří' (George) Prokop soon played leads in various musicals, comedies, farces, dramas, etc. and had a large following. At the height of his popularity, World War I broke out and in the 1918 George enlisted in the Czech unit of the French legionnaires in the war that brought freedom to his native land."⁵⁰

Three years after the tour Prokop married Libuše Zdenek, a graduate of Chicago Musical College, where she had majored in voice, piano and dramatics. Already in 1915 she was engaged not only by the Ludvík Company in Chicago but in many cities having Czech communities. She was also on the tour in 1920 and is mentioned in the concert review of the Tabor performances. Her interpretations of Chod folksongs were praised and she was encouraged to sing many encores during the performances with Šnabl and Ludvík. In published reports sent back to Bohemia it is stated that she wore the Bohemian national dress from Chodsko (*Chodský kroj*) during the performances.⁵¹

Josef Šnabl's Life After the Tour

What happened to Šnabl and Ludvík after the tours? Nothing has been discovered of the activities of Ondřej Ludvík, other than that he did not return to Domažlice for any length of time. Josef Šnabl was apparently very active after the tour, but with the advent of sound films in the late 1920s, Šnabl played less in the movie theatres. Coinciding with the end of silent films in the early 1930s, Šnabl's name appears in an announcement that was printed three times⁵² in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. On Thanksgiving Day 26 November 1931 it was possible to read on page 14 an advertisement placed by the Wurlitzer music store, located at 329 S. Wabash Avenue, for new accordions

with 50 free lessons. In the testimonial, Gladys Kasak,⁵³ a young Czech-American, writes: "I bought my accordion at Wurlitzer's a few months ago and now play for parties, entertainments and banquets. One month I received \$51.00. I am taking lessons from one of Wurlitzer's teachers, Prof. Snabl-Antes⁵⁴ and expect to play like he does some day. [signed] Gladys Kasak"⁵⁵

In the early 1930s, Josef Šnabl was apparently composing. This is corroborated by the publication of the "City of Promise. 1934 Century of Progress Song" by Vitak-Elsnic Co. in Chicago in 1934. Šnabl wrote the music for the song while the Czech text was composed by Vasek Niederle with the English translation by Libushka Bartusek.

According to the obituary, Šnabl seems to have continued playing the accordion with his trio at the Old Prague restaurant in Cicero. He also appeared as an accordionist at some functions:

Members of the Bohemian Woman's Civic club, under the "Cheer" comes [*sic*] at noon tomorrow when Mrs. Albert Kimmel, social chairman, has planned for the serving of a Bohemian dinner topped off by famous Czech pastries. After the meal, there will be a program of music and song which has been arranged by Mrs. J.V. Welcl, program chairman. One of the artists will be Joseph Snabl-Antes, accordionist, a graduate of Prague Conservatory of Music.⁵⁶

A photograph of the sixty-year-old Šnabl appears in the 26 December 1957 issue of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* as part of an article reporting on a Christmas party given by the president of the American Federation of Musicians Union, James C. Petrillo. Apparently, at this time Šnabl was blind and was one of "about 40 blind musicians in Chicago locals 10 and 208 and members of their families" that attended a party that included an appearance by Duke Ellington and cowboy singer Bob Atcher.

From the newspaper article about the Christmas party for blind musicians, we can assume that Šnabl was a member of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM). He probably had little choice and would have had to join the AFM if he was going to engage in any professional music making. Nevertheless it would have been interesting to have the old Chod bagpiper, Jan Kobes, meet his younger colleague. Šnabl would have certainly known Kobes before he left Domažlice to go to America. Playing for money was apparently not a priority for the elder Kobes. Zděnek Bořek Dohalský wrote regarding Kobes in the 20 April 1929 edition of *Lidové noviny*, "The old *pukl* player knew very well that music cannot be bought, it can only be shared with people."⁵⁷

Conclusions

This article represents journeys of life, musical performance and research. The entire process of learning about the details of the trip and the lives of the participants probably does not differ significantly from the processes

that other researchers experience. Research often starts with a short reference, often with incorrect detail, which grows into web of information and contacts revealed on their own schedule. Even with the great strides that have been made in the information age, almost all of the information included in this article was done as a result of relationships developed in face-to-face situations. The Internet is a powerful tool, but one of the most important aspects of research, going to places and meeting people, cannot be cast aside.

Sharing music with Czech-American communities was assuredly a memorable event for Šnabl and Ludvík as well as for the others involved. A similar tour probably had not taken place previously and is unlikely to take place again. The stories of Josef Šnabl, Odřej Ludvík and the other artists reflect the times in which they lived. The events surrounding the Great War probably ended chapters and began new ones in the lives of Šnabl and Ludvík as it did for countless others. In this instance, two men, who were highly trained, left “home” and used their skills in a new country to better the lives of others through their music and talents. The end of Josef Šnabl life was expressed by J.V. Welcl in poetic fashion, “Joey, you played your last song and now sleep quietly and rest after life’s tribulations.”⁵⁸

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the following individuals for their comments and suggestions: Roger Buckton and Elaine Dobson of the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand; Paul Nemecek, Czech & Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois; Evelyn Schleis-Roesler, Lincoln, Nebraska; Josef Kuneš, Domažlice, Czech Republic; David Muhlena, Librarian, National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Daniel Daily, Archives and Special Collections Librarian, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota. All have contributed to the fruition of this article. If any *Kosmas* reader has any information concerning any of the artists mentioned in this article, particularly Josef Šnabl or Ondřej Ludvík, or any member of the tour or the tour itself in 1920, I would appreciate being contacted at ceskydudak@yahoo.com.

NOTES

1. Various spellings of the name Šnabl appear in sources are are unavoidably reflected in this article. Other forms are Šnábl, Shnabl, Snabl, Snable, Schnabel, Šnabl-Antes, and Snabl-Antes. At the top of the first page of the manuscript to his “Mass in F” he wrote his name, “JBSchnabl.”

2. J.V. Welcl, “Nad skonem přítele - Josef Šnabl-Antese [About a deceased friend],” *Denní Hlasatel* (Chicago, September 14, 1962). “Dozvěděl poslední akordy životní písň chodského muzikanta, Josef Šnabl-Antese.” Paul Nemecek of the Czech & Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois located and shared this obituary.

3. See Figure 1. This is a photograph that includes an example of the

bagpipe most commonly called *dudy* in Czech today.

4. Welcl, "Nad skonem přítele." "na 200 koncertů chodské hudby a zpěvů."

5. Josef Dvořák, *Dějiny Čechův ve státu South Dakota* (Tabor, South Dakota, 1920), 143. Translation by Laddie E. Kostel. The original Czech text, page 88, "Klatovští Dudáci bavili pod řízením p. Sinkule naše obecenstovo po tři dni a s úspěchem, ač počasí bylo hanebné, mohli býti spokojeni."

6. Rudolf Svačina, *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku* [Bagpipers and bagpipe bands in Chodsko] (Domažlice: Okresní národní výbor, 1990), 21.

7. Český svět, 1913. "Koncem března t.r. zemřel v Tlumačově známý a poslední dudák chodský Jan Dukfa zvaný Salka [At the end of March this year, the well-known and last Chod bagpiper, Jan Dufek known as Salka, died in Tlumačov]"

8. Jana Eksteinová, *Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku* [The development of bagpipe music in Chodsko] (Pilsen: Pedagogická Fakulta v Plzni, 1982), Appendix section 2, page 6.

9. Rudolf Svačina, *Dudák Hančl* [Bagpiper Hančl] (Domažlice: Rudolf Svačina, 1990), 22.

10. Svačina, *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku*, 28.

11. Josef Režný, *5000 let s duduami* [5000 Years with Bagpipes] (Prague: Aula, 2004), 116.

12. On two versions of the promotional postcards, his address would appear as "PRAHA – VYŠEHRAD" and in one example it appeared as "Praha VI., Neklanova 7".

13. Svačina, *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku*, 33. "Vždyť všichni chodští dudáci v druhé polovině 19. Století měli dudy od Šteffka a byli jeho stálými a častými hosty, když pukl zlobil a potřeboval opravy."

14. Ladislav Rutte, "Bulfík Štefek, výrobce chodských dudu v Oujezdě u Domažlic," *Český lid* 24 (1924): 184.

15. Ibid., 183. "Z jeho rukou vycházely oba typy starodávného nástroje, které jsou zachyceny na připojených obrázcích. První starobylejší, zvaný na Chodsku vlastním názvem 'dudy', nadýmaný ústy, laděny ve vyšších tóninách, ponejvíce v g-dur, c-dur, a d-dur, druhý novější zvaný 'pukl' s 'hukovou' trubici přes rameno, nadouvaný měchem, v es-dur. A bylo ztěží nalézti dva úplně stenjé nástroje. Každý měl svůj zvláštní ráz."

16. A *šlejfir* was a person who wandered, sharpening knives and scissors, repaired pots. He also sold small items for general use/mouse traps/etc. This interpretation is courtesy of Karel Kašpar, a native of Moravia, who now lives in Christchurch, New Zealand. Michael Vereno, of Salzburg, Austria suggested that the *šlejfir* may have been *Jenische*. The *Jenische* in the nineteenth century were a nomadic people, occupied with activities such as knife sharpening and repairing various vessels, living in German speaking parts of Central Europe. These activities are consistent with the definition of *šlejfir* as proposed by Mr. Kašpar. In other contexts, "*šlejfir*" is defined in Czech as very talkative person.

17. Svačina, *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku*, 21. “Honza nám vpravoval že tátá hrával zpočatku ještě na původní nafukovací dudy /měch se nadýmal ústy/, ale později hrál už jen na pukla. Přinesl prý ho do kraje nějaký šlejfiř z Bavor. Pukl se osvědčil. Hráni na něj nebylo zdaleka tak namáhatné, a tak brzy dudy úplně vytlačil.”

18. Zdeněk Bláha, *Sto kusů pro sólo a duo dudy* [One Hundred Solos and Duets for Bagpipes] (Domažlice: Okresní kulturní středisko Domažlice, 1990), 3. Eksteinova, *Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku*, 28.

19. I would like to acknowledge the following individuals for information that has deepened my understanding of this topic: Samantha Owens, The University of Queensland; Janice Stockigt, University of Melbourne; Christian Ahrens, Schriftzug Ruhr-Universität Bochum and Michael Vereno, Salzburg. For an excellent published introduction to the topic of the *polnischer Bock* consult, Samantha Owens, “Gedancken für ein gantzes Leben’ Polnischer Bock music at the Württemberg court c1730,” *The Consort* 54 (1998): 43-56.

20. Michael Praetorius, *The Syntagma Musicum of Michael Praetorius Volume two DE ORGANOGRAPHIA First and Second Parts Plus All Forty-two Original Woodcut Illustrations from Theatrum Instrumentorum In an English Translation by Harold Blumenfeld* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), XI.

21. Eksteinová, *Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku*, 34.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Daniela Urbancová, *Egerländer Volksmusikanten mit Dudelsack und Kurzhalsgeige: ein Beitrag zum musikalischen Brauchtum des Egerlandes* [Cheb folk musicians with bagpipes and short-necked violin: a contribution to the musical traditions of the Cheb region] (Prague: Editio Bärenreiter Praha, 2002), 9.

25. Daniela Urbancová, once head of the department of musical instruments at the Czech Museum of Music in Prague, included detailed information for twelve of the surviving instruments in her thesis, *Egerländer Volksmusikanten mit Dudelsack und Kurzhalsgeige*.

26. Eksteinová, *Vývoj hry dudáckých muzik na Chodsku*, 35.

27. Vlastimil Konrády, e-mail message to author, August 10, 2010. According to Vlastimil Konrády, long time teacher of the *pukl* at the music school in Domažlice, the addition of the screws to tune each tone of the chanter occurred in 1965 or later after the return of his father, Antonín Konrády, from a solo competition in Llangollen, Wales. It was so hot inside the tent where the competition was held that the wax did not reliably stay in place. Antonín told his uncle, Jakub Konrády, the well-known maker of bagpipes, these difficulties. The maker then began to add tuning screws to each tone hole of the chanters of his bagpipes.

28. Albert Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 24.

29. This detail was brought to my attention by Michael Vereno of

Salzburg, Austria

30. Josef Režný, *Po stopách dudáků na Prácheňsku* (Strakonice: Muzeum středního Pootaví Strakonice, 2004), 185-188.

31. Vladimír Baier, "Dudácká hudba a zpěváci na Domažlicku [Bagpipe music and singers in the Domažlice region]," in *Český les : příroda, historie, život* [The Bohemian Forest: Nature, history, life], 1st ed. (Prague: Baset, 2005), 642. "Do tohoto období patří i vznik domažlického instrumentálního dua složeného z absolventů pražské konzervatoře. V něm Josef Schnabel, který ukončil školu v oboru hry na varhany, hrál na dudy a Ondřej Ludvík na housle. Po Vánocích roku 1919 dojeli do Ameriky, kde dále provozovali, zejména mezi krajany, dudáckou hudbu. Domů už se nevrátili."

32. Welcl, "Nad skonem přitele."

33. This is very likely Joseph Sinkule, whose musical activity reflects that of someone who may have put together a tour such as the subject of this article. His biography is outlined in the compilation by in Vladimír Kucera, *Czech Music in Nebraska* (Lincoln: Vladimir Kucera, 1980), <http://www.unl.edu/Czechheritage/CzechMusic2.htm>. (accessed 29 July 2010). The grandson of Joseph Sinkule, Gene Sinkule, was contacted and was requested to ask his father, Joseph Jr., if he had any recollection of his father's management of the tour. The response did not confirm involvement of this Joseph Sinluke but did not eliminate the possibility either. "Joe [Jr.] recalls his dad as being a promoter of some sort in days past but has no clear memory of any details." Jeff Janda, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2007.

34. (6 January 1920?) Four of these performances were at the Dělnická-Americká Sokolovna. The last of these four performances took place on 11 February 1920.

35. Sokol Chicago, S. Kedzie Ave., 11–12 March 1920, and Č.S.P.S., 18th and May St. 15–16 March 1920.

36. Sokol Karel Jonáš, 17–18 March 1920.

37. 23–25 April 1920.

38. *Centennial, 1857-1957, Montpelier Township, Kewaunee County, Wisconsin: 1982 update* (Algoma: Montpelier Centennial Committee, 1982), 30.

39. Evelyn Schleis-Roesler (Lincoln, Nebraska), telephone conversation with author, August 2, 2010.

40. Leon's father was Franta Blahnik. He played many instruments but was principally known for playing the E-flat tuba.

41. Leon Blahnik (Two Rivers, Wisconsin), telephone conversation with author, 4 August, 2010.

42. Frank Benes, *Czechs in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin: from 1847 to 1932* (Manitowoc: Manitowoc County Historical Society, 1979), 36.

43. This article appeared in the April 8, 1920 edition of *The Tabor Independent* apparently to create interest for the artistic company's visit to Tabor later in the month.

44. Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893-1942. Vol 1.*

(Urbana:University of Illinois Press), 1990.

45. The correct spelling of Ondrez is Ondřej.

46. Josef Kuneš, e-mail to author, August 9, 2010. “*Je na tu dobu obdivuhodně bravurní, vesměs ladí, což na tu dobu nebylo samozřejmé, jsou velice dobře sehraní. Je z toho poznat, že jsou oba vystudovaní hudebníci na konzervatoři. Variace a mezihry jsou jejich vlastní. Myslím, že si je předem psali do not, ale nevím to jistě.*”

47. Paul Nemecek of the Czech & Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois located and shared this advertisement.

48. J.A. Wagner was a teller at the Tabor State Bank and lived at 112 North Lidice Street in Tabor.

49. [Joseph] [Dvorak], *Tabor Independent* (Tabor, South Dakota, April 29, 1920), 8.

50. *Pamorama; A Historical Review of Czechs and Slovaks in the United States of America* (Cicero, Czechoslovak National Council of America, 1970), 266. “In 1927 Jiří and Libuše were asked to form a theatrical group by Mr. Kinst, the president of Sokol Slávský gymnastic unit, which had just built it large building in Cicero at Lombard Ave. and 22nd St. (Later to be known as Čermák Rd. in honor of the late mayor Čermák. The building is now owned by the fraternal organization Czechoslovak Society of America.) The idea was that they should have a regular stock company with the advantages of a large auditorium and stage. The Prokops formed a group of twenty actors, men and women, and opened in 1928 with the operetta ‘The Black Eagle.’ George was called upon to become the first Czech radio announcer on station WHFC, which opened in the Slávský building at that time. For six years he broadcasted daily.

At this time the theater was very successful; Czech community life was at its height and the Prokops played to a full house with an auditorium seating two thousand. This was especially true of the popular dramatization by Libuše of serial novel running daily in the Czech newspapers. She wrote plays, took part in various types of shows, sang, and interpreted parts on radio programs.

George was a good director, having directed for the professional Ludvíks, as well as many amateur productions. He authored several Czech historical plays.

During the 1930’s, the Czechs were gradually moving to distant localities and even out of the state; the depression also made its mark so that a regular weekly theater became impossible. However, the Prokops even under these conditions presented six to ten plays annually.

In World War II George Prokop was very active in the Czech National Alliance, serving as district chairman and local leader of the Stickney branch. George passed away October 21, 1961.

Libuše is presently gathering material for her book ‘100 Years of Czech Theater in America.’ She resides in Germantown, Wis. with her daughter Vera Prokop Keller, who is married and has two daughters Gwyneth Ann and Marisa Beth. Vera played with her parents in many plays, danced profes-

sionally, and is now director of public relations at Capital Court Shopping Center.”

51. J. Welcl-Olšovský, “Chodské písňe v Americe,” *Posel od Čerchova*, March 6, 1920.

52. The same advertisement appeared three times in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on November 22, November 26, and December 23, in 1931.

53. Paul Nemecek, e-mail message to author, August 16, 2010. Gladys Kasak, known as “The Little Sunshine Girl” died, August 22, 1932, before she reached her eleventh birthday. Paul Nemecek forwarded the funeral announcement that appeared in the *Denní hlasatel*, which Dolores Benes Duy provided.

54. Šnabl took the name of his step-father Josef Antes.

55. “[E]very Girl and Boy can learn to play the piano accordion,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, November 26, 1931), 14.

56. “This Week's Activities of Club Women,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, June 13, 1948), sec. D, 5.

57. Zdeněk Bořek Dohlaský. “Zemřel chodský dudák” [A Chod bag-piper died] *Lidové noviny*, (April 20, 1929). Quoted in Svačina, *Dudáci a dudácká muzika na Chodsku*, 24.

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Ferdinand Peroutka's Exile Activities and His Loyalty to the United States

By Francis D. Raška

Ferdinand Peroutka was a leading representative of the democratic Czechoslovak exiles after the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948. Before the war, Peroutka had been one of the most distinguished Czech journalists. He spent the Second World War as a prisoner in the Buchenwald concentration camp and, after the war, he renewed his career as a journalist. As he was a sincere believer in democratic principles, Peroutka worked for the preservation of democracy in the post-war years. After the Communist coup, he was summarily dismissed from his job and he emigrated in the spring of 1948. After a brief stay at Alaska House, a dormitory for prominent Czechoslovak exiles in Frankfurt, Peroutka moved to England where he actively participated in the formation of an anti-Communist Czechoslovak exile movement. In 1950, he resettled in the United States where he served as the head of the Czechoslovak section of the newly-established Radio Free Europe (RFE). In addition, Peroutka was an extremely important figure in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, which was founded in 1949 as the central organization of the democratic Czechoslovak exile. In 1956, Peroutka abandoned the Council and devoted himself fully to his work at RFE instead. He died in New York in 1978. Therefore, Peroutka is an ideal personality on whom to base a study of the often complex relationship between the Czechoslovak political exile and the United States government. After all, Peroutka, an independent Czechoslovak journalist, spent the last three decades of his life as an employee of an American-financed propaganda organization, namely RFE. Pavel Kosatík, Bořivoj Čelovský, and Francis Raška have touched upon Peroutka's exile activities in their respective studies.¹ Peroutka's RFE radio broadcasts have been published in three bound volumes.² The writer of this article was pleased to find much information about Peroutka in British and American archives. In her recently published memoirs, Peroutka's third wife, Slávka, has provided readers with a bird's eye view into the personal side of Peroutka's thirty years in America.³

Peroutka and the Establishment of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia

The final preparations of the establishment of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia were undertaken by the founding committee at the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington D.C. at a meeting which began on 11 February 1949.⁴ The preparatory work was somewhat complicated by a number of problems, such as bickering between Czechs and Slovaks over the issue of parity in representation. From 17 February, Peroutka headed the final preparatory talks. These negotiations convinced him of the importance of the overall American attitude towards the organization. In a letter to his mistress (and later wife) Slávka, Peroutka wrote:

Matters were critical in that the State Department was fast losing patience and was threatening that it might lose interest

in the enterprise. If we cannot manage to put the organization together, it will serve as another example of the exiles' inability to collaborate among themselves and this, in turn, could endanger the very sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. I was invited to the State Department where they informed me of the American position and they requested that I work toward a quick agreement.⁵

In the end, an agreement was indeed reached. The Council of Free Czechoslovakia was officially founded on 25 February 1949, one year after the Communist seizure of power. The agreement was reached not only due to Peroutka's diplomatic skills, but also thanks to his advancement of American wishes. Other members of the Council never suspected that Peroutka would, in the future, often interfere in their dealings and try to persuade them to adopt positions in line with American interests.

Peroutka became the chairman of the information committee and he even wrote the Council's founding declaration, which was written in beautiful, though often pompous, language. The declaration concluded with the following plea to countrymen behind the Iron Curtain:

...Even if the Communist regime rages with madness, please preserve spotless the character of the nation. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived so as not to be able to recognize what is freedom and what is tyranny, what is right and what is wrong. In thinking be free men. Educate your children to be honest citizens. Teach them, and you yourselves never forget, to distinguish between good and evil. If the character of the nation is preserved, everything else will be restored.⁶

Peroutka commanded great authority despite the fact that he was not a member of any political party. According to Swedish journalist, Amelie Posse-Brázda, former president Edvard Beneš had referred to Peroutka as "the only natural statesman-like leader."⁷ These kind words were not taken kindly by fellow Council functionaries. Štefan Osuský considered himself as Beneš's heir apparent⁸ and Peroutka's relations with Council chairman Petr Zenkl and Jaroslav Stránský also suffered.⁹

Peroutka and Radio Free Europe

As previously mentioned, Peroutka had initially settled in Great Britain. He was dissatisfied, lived in destitution, and, therefore, decided to relocate to the United States. His move was precipitated by an American offer to participate in the establishment of a radio station whose purpose was to broadcast anti-Communist propaganda to countries behind the Iron Curtain. Upon arrival in New York, Peroutka was invited to enter into discussions with the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) and, on 6 April 1950, Peroutka was appointed as director of the future Czechoslovak section of RFE.¹⁰

It is worthy of mention that the NCFE had been financing the operations of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia since March 1949. Even though the NCFE was incorporated in New York as a private, non-profit organization and its leaders included the most significant members of American society, its finances came from the United States government, more specifically the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The relationship between the Council and the American authorities was therefore based upon close cooperation with the NCFE.¹¹ As an NCFE employee, Peroutka enjoyed a close relationship with the NCFE leadership and it is therefore not surprising that in the Council, he forcefully promoted American interests.

The official inauguration of Radio Free Europe (RFE) was set for 1 May 1951. The chairman of the the NCFE board stated: "Mr. Peroutka, this is now your radio station. We know it is in good hands."¹² Peroutka's reply was rather servile:

Never before has one nation given another such a gift. As this radio station has been made possible thanks to the financial contributions of 16 million citizens, we can now do something to further our national movement. We know from history that it has always been fateful for enemies of freedom when your nation has made such a spontaneous decision. We democratic Czechs and Slovaks have been basically silent in all our three years of exile. Now we will speak to the homeland on a daily basis.¹³

Though the Council of Free Czechoslovakia was at this time divided into two hostile groups, members of both groups sent a common expression of thanks to the NCFE.¹⁴

Peroutka worked at RFE until the summer of 1961 when he retired. Even afterwards, he continued to write commentaries broadcast to Czechoslovakia via RFE. Peroutka unreservedly defended the policies and position of the United States in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia until 1956 and in his RFE broadcasts, the last of which occurred in late 1977, just prior to his death. In addition, he was placed in the position of arbiter of disputes that, at times, erupted at the Czechoslovak Section of RFE. In his diary, Peroutka made the following private comment:

Dilemma: We must collaborate with the Americans because America is the main and only power interested in our activities. Pursuing our goals without the Americans or against them is unrealistic. On the other hand, we must ensure that the Americans don't use the exile as a mere tool and subjugate it entirely.¹⁵

Peroutka was extremely sensitive to his superiors' attitude towards him. He often recalled how the first RFE director, Robert Lang, praised

Peroutka with the words: "To us, you are Mr. Czechoslovakia."¹⁶ On the other hand, already in the spring of 1951, Peroutka became convinced that, even though he was referred to by the Americans as an "equal partner", he was a mere employee. In accordance with his perceived subordinate position, he accepted without protest William E. Griffith's decision that his work, "Was Beneš Guilty?", would not be broadcast by RFE.¹⁷

Peroutka and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia

Ferdinand Peroutka played a key role in the activities of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia from its very inception. He was an exceptional member. His superb intellect, analytical capabilities, and journalistic experience enabled Peroutka to orient himself quickly. He could thus positively tailor difficult discussions among Council factions. Peroutka's employment at RFE, however, complicated his role in the Council. Even though Peroutka belonged to no political party, he was consistently a supporter of American interests within the Council. When matters did not develop in a manner that was acceptable to Peroutka, he did not hesitate to use his influence with the Americans in order to intervene. This approach was often criticized by other Council members¹⁸ and Peroutka was accused of being a mere NCFE emissary.¹⁹

In 1950, tensions surfaced within the Council, which resulted in the issuance of an NCFE ultimatum to the Council dated 5 January 1951 demanding that the Council settle its internal affairs in short order.²⁰ The issue dividing the Council was whether to change the organization's bylaws as well as proposed term limits for Council functionaries. The discussion mainly centered on the mandate of chairman, Petr Zenkl. Peroutka, himself, was asked to stand for election to the chairmanship. He refused the offer, but in a lengthy, articulate speech, he definitely dashed Zenkl's hopes of reelection.²¹ The Council thus split for the first time and a rival National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia led by Zenkl was created.²² Negotiations aimed at restoring the unity of the Council wore on until the spring months of 1952. On 26 April 1952, Peroutka once again took the initiative as an NCFE representative. His efforts indeed bore fruit.²³ The reunification of the Council took place at the expense of the pre-war Republican (formerly Agrarian) Party, which was not admitted to the executive committee of the Council. When Peroutka informed the Americans of the good news, he pointed to the fact that American pressure had yielded results and that similar pressure needed to be placed on the Agrarians.²⁴ At a Council meeting that took place between 28-31 October 1953, Peroutka intervened and vigorously supported the inclusion of the Republicans in the Council. He then reminded the Council of potentially catastrophic consequences if American support for the Council were to cease. Peroutka's exact words were:

What will happen once the news spreads that the Americans have terminated their relationship with the Council of Free Czechoslovakia? People at home will ask themselves if the situation in Czechoslovakia is so dire that the Americans have abandoned us. Only the sad result will be known. I state

that we do not have the right to allow such a thing to happen.²⁵

On 2 November 1953, Dr. Zenkl and Dr. Lettrich informed the NCFE of developments and complained of ongoing pressure on the Council to seat Republicans. They also complained of Peroutka's activities without naming him.²⁶ Dr. Ján Papánek sent the NCFE a much sharper protest message:

Ferdinand Peroutka only attends committee meetings when he has some assignment from the NCFE. Peroutka tends to express himself in a crude and most inappropriate manner and make veiled threats. This activity splits the Council more than anything else.²⁷

In 1954, Peroutka and Julius Firt evaluated the situation in the Council for Shepardson and Yarrow at the NCFE. They judged that the situation was deadlocked.²⁸ In May 1954, the situation became more inflamed as the Czechoslovak exile press (controlled by Papánek) published a number of sharp attacks on Peroutka:

We state that nobody contributed more to the sad state of affairs in the Council than Ferdinand Peroutka...He knows how to utilize the authority of the NCFE. Otherwise, he is not really interested in the Council's activities...²⁹

The article ends with a number of offensive slogans:

A leftist who helps the right...Zenkl's friend who twice helped to oust him...An admirer of Masaryk who discarded Beneš. A patriot whose positions reflect the stated or presumed wishes of foreign officials...An objective individual outside party politics who damages others so that he can pave his road to Hradčany...³⁰

This article requires no further comment and was unfair to Peroutka. Peroutka immediately made the following reply:

I had a good reputation when I went into exile in 1948. I cannot hide the fact that my reputation has suffered due to my participation in the Council committee...If I am to improve my reputation, I have no other option than to leave.³¹

In December 1954, Peroutka was cautiously optimistic about the situation in the Council. He advised the Americans to be patient and not to exert pressure on specific members of the Council's executive committee.³² In the spring of 1955, Peroutka addressed the issue of stipends that were given to individual Council members by the NCFE. One detects a bit of envy from the following

statement: "It is immoral when somebody can purchase a 16-room house in Scarsdale while receiving monthly support of 350 dollars."³³ Though Peroutka had a full-time job at NCFE, his living standard was a far cry from what he had been accustomed to in Czechoslovakia. Now, he desired the formation of a working committee in the Council, an idea favored by the NCFE.³⁴ He addressed a crushing letter to the Council stressing the need to create a working committee:

The men at the NCFE needed an illusion, so we gave them one. This represents a mistake on our part. If the men at the NCFE need something, then they need the real thing...the Czechoslovak exile needs the real thing...the members of the working committee need to work hard and not have the impression that they are part of some illusion...³⁵

In a letter to the NCFE dated 14 June, Peroutka requested that the practice of providing financial support without work be terminated so that the orgy of party politics would finally cease.³⁶

Sure enough, within a few months, another conflict emerged in the Council. This time, a quarrel broke out between the executive committee and the working committee. In the autumn months of 1955, Peroutka again requested that the Americans target their financing of Council activities in a manner such that necessary tasks would, in turn, be fulfilled.³⁷ The NCFE reacted immediately by informing the Council that all support would cease on 1 December 1955.³⁸

Throughout 1956, Peroutka worked in vain to transform the Council. In a letter from Julius Firt to Peroutka, Firt stated: "I understand your disgust, but we cannot leave matters in the hands of those gangs..."³⁹

Peroutka and the Transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia

One of the few issues on which most Council members concurred was the post-war transfer of the Germans from Czechoslovakia. In accordance with changes in Western Europe and the growing role played by West Germany, the American authorities tried to force the Council to adopt "a more realistic position" on the transfer. This demand was transmitted to Peroutka by John Leich.⁴⁰ Peroutka immediately accepted the NCFE position and requested a conciliatory position from both the Council and its rival the National Committee. Members of both organizations remained firm on this matter.⁴¹ The NCFE leadership thus reversed itself and the official program of the reunited Council in 1952 stated:

We consider the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia irreversible...The transfer took place with the consent of the American, British, and French governments, which was in line with the conclusions of the Potsdam Conference.⁴²

However, the Council position with respect to the issue of transfer gradually softened. The first Council member who expressed a more accommodating opinion was Professor Jaroslav Stránský in 1953.⁴³ Peroutka was not far behind. On 20 April 1953, Peroutka met with Mr. Simon (a representative of Sudeten German politician, Rudolf Lodgman von Auen) and criticized the Council position on transfer.⁴⁴ Peroutka then mentioned the Sudeten German issue in several reports to the leadership of Radio Free Europe and in his broadcasts to Czechoslovakia. In 1956, Peroutka stated the following in an interview for *Staatszeitung und Herold* in New York: "My personal opinion is that the nearly universal expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia was a mistake. In addition, what occurred during implementation of the expulsion is a disgrace."⁴⁵ This interview provoked angry protests. Peroutka defended his position, which never changed. 1956 brought other disappointments for Peroutka. He could not bear the comparison of differing behavior in the fall of 1956 on the part of Czechoslovaks and Hungarians, respectively. Also, he terminated his participation in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia.

Conclusion

Even though Peroutka loyally defended American interests, he never felt at home in America. At first, he had been enthusiastic about America, but, in an entry in his diary already in 1953, he acknowledged America's drawbacks.⁴⁶ As Pavel Kosatík wrote:

It became clear that Peroutka was not capable of what America demands of immigrants, namely assimilation. He never even attempted to assimilate. Throughout his thirty years in the United States, he never stopped being an intellectual who felt disinherited. The contempt for America, which he displayed from time to time was the unfortunate contempt felt by an outsider.⁴⁷

Peroutka found it difficult to accept his position vis-à-vis his American masters. His insecurity in his dealings with the Americans, however, was to a certain extent self-inflicted because he never learned English well enough to be able to articulate his thoughts clearly.⁴⁸

Peroutka never acquired American citizenship and, apart from the eastern seaboard, he barely knew the country. At the end of the 1950s, Peroutka summarized in ten points his dissatisfaction with his life in America:

1. One is nothing and has no resonance in the world to which he had been accustomed.
2. Inferiority complex, ignorance of the language, inability to make proper phone calls, use the subway or become familiar with the money.
3. A loss of people and atmosphere a person loved. Life becomes a few people, a few places and all else is lost.

4. Life requires stable surroundings in which one can function—even that is lost along with all relationships that comprised life. Mere existence is all that remains.
5. The more ossified and stubborn one is with regard to lifestyle, the more desperate he feels.
6. A politician or writer has lost his audience and doesn't know to whom he is speaking.
7. Assimilation to the climate, even harder in England.
8. One doesn't enjoy the successes to which he had been accustomed, the importance is gone and one lives a bare existence just like in a concentration camp.
9. A loss of intimacy followed by a loss of life's temperature.
10. One has lost all qualities, even his personage.⁴⁹

These were the causes of Peroutka's depression as he saw them. Peroutka's experience differed from those of some of the other 1948-era exiles, but it mainly differed from the lives of the majority of Czechoslovaks who came to America after 1968, who quickly integrated and realized their American dream in various professions, thus becoming successful Americans. Kosatík correctly concludes that "Peroutka did not emigrate, but rather lived in exile." His greatness was in his radio broadcasts to his countrymen behind the Iron Curtain. Indeed, these brilliantly written commentaries proved more significant than his involvement and critical role in the never-ending quarrels in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia.⁵⁰

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ESSAYS

The Riches of Diminutives and Augmentatives in Czech

By Zdeněk Salzmann

Introduction

The large number of languages spoken in the world today (some six thousand of them) invites not only their analysis and classification but also comparison and evaluation. Linguists and linguistic anthropologists have long been engaged in the first three of these activities, while the evaluating has been done by the laity. Some of the lay opinions held about the worth of languages have been wrong: for example, some people believe that the languages of small tribal societies and languages of ancient societies have been, are, or must have been, structurally simpler than the languages of complex industrial societies. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Proto-Indo-European, spoken before 3000 BC, the parent language of all Indo-European languages, is thought to have had a very complex grammar (among other features, apparently three genders, eight cases, and a verb system rich in inflections). And grammatically complex are many of the languages spoken today by small tribal or village societies along the upper Amazon in South America or on the island of New Guinea. By contrast, the grammar of English is simple, with the result that many people the world over are able to communicate in English quite effectively, or at least satisfactorily.

Some lay ideas about languages, however, are reasonable. Take, for example, Italian, which many people consider a “melodic” language. They are correct in the sense that Italian words favor the occurrence of vowels, whose ratio to consonants is quite high. Vowels, of course, can carry tone, and it is therefore not surprising that so many opera librettos are in Italian.

Linguists and linguistic anthropologists do not judge languages as to their relative value. Generally speaking, languages serving societies with viable cultures are considered adequate to their task, and no one would argue that the vocabularies of languages of tribal societies should contain the tens of thousands of technical terms found in the vocabularies of languages spoken in modern industrial nations. In one respect, however, English is among the richest of languages—by virtue of its vocabulary. *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged*, published in 1961, lists over 450,000 words, and with the several addenda sections of subsequent years, the number of entries by now must have reached half a million.

Why is the lexicon of English so rich? The reason is that over the centuries the original Anglo-Saxon vocabulary has been generously receptive to words from other languages—initially from French, Latin, and other European languages, but during the last several centuries from languages spoken in every part of the world.

But as rich in words as English manifestly is, there are certain areas of word derivation where the English vocabulary is much less productive than that of other languages. And this brings me to the purpose of this short essay—

to compare the availability and occurrence of diminutives and augmentatives in the English and Czech languages.

Diminutives and Augmentatives in English

In English, derivational suffixes used to convey diminutiveness (small size and sometimes such related qualities as youngness, loveliness, and familiarity) are *-ette* as in *kitchenette*, *-ie* as in *birdie*, *-let* as in *leaflet*, *-ling* as in *duckling*, *-kin* as in *manikin* (a little man), and *-y* as in *sonny* (linguistically equal to *-ie*). None of these suffixes is especially productive in the formation of new words, with speakers of English resorting to such adjectives to denote smallness as *little*, *petite*, *small*, and to indicate that something is very or extremely small such adjectives as *teeny*, *tiny*, *wee*, *weeny*, or the reduplicative compounds such as *itsy-bitsy*, *itty-bitty*, *teensy-weensy*, and *teeny-weeny*. There is no augmentative suffix in English to indicate large size and, sometimes secondarily, unattractiveness or awkwardness; to describe objects as being large, one uses such adjectives as *enormous*, *giant*, *huge*, *mammoth*, *super*, and *vast*.

Diminutive Nouns in Czech

Morphology used to convey diminutiveness in Czech is very extensive. In theory, one may generate diminutive forms of nouns without limits, but to keep the discussion within reasonable bounds, I am citing (unless otherwise noted) only entries included in *Příruční slovník jazyka českého* (*PSJČ*), (Comprehensive dictionary of the Czech language, published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences between 1935 and 1957 in eight volumes (with volume 4 in two parts). This dictionary of Czech contains about 250,000 entries of contemporary Czech words and is based primarily on the language of classical Czech literature.

Where in English the word *doggy* (*doggie*) usually refers to a small dog, Czech has no less than six diminutive forms of the word *pes* “dog”: *psík*, diminutive of *pes*; *psíček*, diminutive of *psík*; *pejsek*, diminutive of *pes*; *pejsánek*, diminutive of *pejsan*; *psejček* (vernacular form); and *pejsíček*, diminutive of *pejsek*. Not listed in *PSJČ* but attested elsewhere are the diminutive forms *pesánek*, *psíče*, *psíčátko*, *pejsáneček*, and *psíčínek*. To use an abstract noun as an example, the *PSJČ* lists the following diminutives of *chvíle* “(a) while”: *chvilka*, *chvilečka*, *chvilička*, *chvilenka*, *chvilánka*, *chvilinka*, *chvilíčka*, *chvilčinka*, and *chvililinka*. Not listed in *PSJČ* but attested elsewhere are the diminutive forms *chvilenečka* and *chvililinka*.

Here is a sample of Czech diminutive suffixation by means of randomly selected nouns: *dceruška* from *dcera* “daughter”; *dívčička* from *dívčice* “girl”; *dřívko* from *dřevo* “wood”; *dušička* from *duše* “soul”; *kapesníček* from *kapesník* “handkerchief”; *koník* from *kůň* “horse”; *kousínek* from *kousek* from *kus* “piece”; *nosánek* from *nosan* from *nos* “nose”; *slívkó* from *slovo* “word”; and *stolec* or *stolek* from *stůl* “table.”

There are well over a dozen diminutive suffixes and suffix combinations in Czech (some also in their feminine and neuter forms), but this essay

would become too technical if I were to list them all. Of interest, however, may be some of the connotations that diminutive words may assume. In gastronomy, statements by waiters or connoisseurs frequently use the diminutive form not to indicate that a portion of food is small (which it is likely to be) but to suggest that if chosen it would (should) be very enjoyable to eat. Examples: *Dáte si polívčíčku?* (from *polívka*) “Will you have some soup?”; *Tady máte ten rohlíček, pane* (from *rohlík*) “Here is the roll, sir”; or *Humří masičko polité rozpuštěným másličkem, to je jídélko!* (the underlying nouns are *maso*, *máslo*, and *jídlo*) “Lobster meat served with melted butter, that is a dish for you!”

A diminutive form of a noun may be used to make an experience it refers to more tolerable. To tell someone *Počkej na mě hodinku* “Wait for me for an hour” rather than *Počkej na mě hodinu* makes the diminutive form *hodinka* seem shorter than *hodina* even though both are sixty minutes long. Hypocoristics (pet or endearing names) are invariably diminutives—kinship terms such as *babička* “granny” and *tetinka* “auntie,” and given names such as *Pepíček*, *Pepánek*, *Evička*, *Evinka*, *Jaroušek*, *Alenka*, and others. Diminutives may also serve as euphemisms, as when the diminutive word *záchodek* is used instead of *záchod* “restroom,” and they may occasionally even strengthen the meaning of a statement as in the phrase *jeho život visí na vlásku* (from *vlas* “hair”) “his life hangs by a thread.” Abstract nouns also form diminutives, for example, in *to jsou řečičky* (from *řeč*) “that’s idle talk, nothing but chitter-chatter,” or *byla to vlastně jen pitomůstka, ale nevyplatiло se mu to* (from *pitomost*) “it was really just a goof, but he paid for it.” And finally I should mention that some diminutive nouns stand for the names of the young of animals, as in *oslík*, *oslíček*, or *oslátko* “donkey foal” from *osel* “donkey” and *kůzlátko* (beside *kůzle*) “kid” from *koza* “she-goat.”

Diminutive Adjectives

Although the derivation of diminutives is customarily associated with nouns, in Czech it takes place with several other classes of words, adjectives among them.

Some diminutive suffixes weaken (soften) the meaning of the underlying adjective. For example, *-av(y)* (and the corresponding feminine and neuter forms) changes the meaning of *modrý* “blue” to *modravý* “bluish” and of *zelený* “green” to *zelenavý* “greenish.” Similar effects occur with *-l(y)* (and the corresponding feminine and neuter forms) together with the prefixes *na-*, *za-*, *při-*, and *ob-* as in *nasládlý* “sweetish” from *sladký* “sweet,” *zahořklý* “slightly bitter” from *hořký* “bitter,” *přihlouplý* “dull-witted” from *hloupý* “stupid,” and *obhroublý* “somewhat crude” from *hrubý* “coarse, rough.”

The other diminutive suffixes that indicate primarily smallness but in addition usually carry an expressive function are *-ičk(y)*, *-ink(y)*, *-oučk(y)*, and *-ounk(y)* (again with the corresponding feminine and neuter forms in *-á* and *-é*). Examples are *maličký* and *malinký* from *malý* “small”; *kratičký*, *kratinký*, *kraťoučký*, and *kraťounký* from *krátký* “short”; and *blizoučký* and *blizounký* from *blízký* “nearby, close.”

The degree of diminutiveness of these and other adjectives can be

optionally extended by the insertion of such morphemic elements as *-at-*, *-in-*, *-li-*, *-ni-*, and *-ul-* (and their combinations) as in *malinkatý*, *malalinký*, *malininky*, and *malilinkatý* from *malý* “small” and *hezoulinký*, *hezouninky*, and *hezulilinký* from *hezký* “pretty, handsome, attractive.”

Some of these diminutive adjectives also express the speaker’s sympathy or compassion as in *stařičký* “very old” from *starý* and *chuďoučký* “very poor” from *chuď*, or light contempt, as in *pitomoučký* “somewhat dumb, stupid” from *pitomý*.

Diminutive Adverbs

Adverbs, too, are modified by suffixes marking diminutiveness as a small degree of the trait expressed by the underlying word. Examples of adverbs with temporal meanings are *brzičko*, *brzinko*, *brzoučko*, and *brzoulinko* (from *brzo* or *brzy* “soon, in the near future”), *hnedlinko* and *hnedličko* (from *hnedle* from *hned* “immediately”), *nedávničko* (from *nedávno* “recently”), *vždyčinky* (from *vždy[cky]* “always”), and *nyničko* and *nyničko* (from *nyní* “now”). In these diminutive words the suffixes are *-inko/y*, *-oučko*, and *-ičko*.

Other diminutive adverbs expressing a smaller degree of a trait include *tuzinko* (from *tuze* “very much, overly”), *hezounko* and *hezounce* (from *hezounký* from *hezký* “pretty, cute”), *lehoučko*, *lehouunko*, and *lehoučce* (from *lehoučký* from *lehký* “light, easy”), *blizoučko*, *blizounko*, and *blizounce* (from *blizoučký* from *blízký* “near, close”), *maličko*, *malalinko*, and *maliličko* (from *maličký* from *malý* “small”), *slaboulince* (from *slaboulinký* from *slabý* “weak”), and *pomalíčku*, *pomalinku*, *pomaloučku*, *pomalounku*, and *pomalouličku* (from *pomalu* “slowly”). The additional suffixes (and suffix combinations) include *-ičku/o*, *-inkV*, *-ounko/u*, *-ounce*, *-ince*, *-oučko/u*, and *-oučce*.

Diminutive Verbs

Verbs derived from other verbs by means of one of the diminutive suffixes express the emotional attitude of the speaker toward the act referred to. Most commonly, both the basic (underived) and the diminutive forms are used by small children or by adults talking to them. Although this particular derivation is limited to relatively few words, the users are able to devise several degrees of diminutiveness. Among the verbs so derived are *bolinkat* (from *bolet* “to ache”), *spinkat* (from *spát* “to sleep”), *papinkat* (from *papat* “to eat”), *hačat* “to sit”, *cupkat*, *copotat*, and *cupitat* (from *cupat* “to patter, run with quick light-sounding steps”), *hajulinkat* (from *hajat* “to sleep”), *capkat* (from *capat* “to toddle”), and *blinkat* (from *blít* “to vomit”). The basic verbs may be neutral as to feeling (for example, *spát*) or they may already be expressive (for example, *papat*) and somewhat onomatopoetic (for example, *cupitat*).

Examples of other diminutive verbs are *šepotat* (from *šeptat* “to whisper”) and *třepotat* or *třepetat* (from *třepat* “to flutter”).

Some verbal diminutives combine the meaning of a repeated action with a weakening of the action, as in *pospávat* “to doze,” *pozpěvovat si* “to hum,” and *poblýskávat se* “there is occasional lightning.”

Augmentative Words in Czech

Contrasting with the diminutive forms are augmentatives. Such words, not derived morphologically in English, are quite numerous in Czech, and virtually all of them are expressive. Speakers of Czech use augmentatives to indicate that things are larger than average, or unusually large, and almost invariably endow these words with a pejorative connotation and, on occasion, a suggestion of awkwardness. In fact, in some cases the formally marked feature of augmentation is outweighed by the speakers' expression of displeasure, and the words are considered vulgar and ugly. (In this section I am of course not dealing with coarse and rude words such as *tlama* "snout," vulgarisms such as *hajzl* "shithouse," dysphemisms such as *chcípnout* "to kick the bucket," and simple pejoratives such as *špicl* "stool pigeon.")

Let me begin this section with the augmentative forms of the word *pes* "dog": augmentative *pesan*, augmentative and expressive *pejsan*, pejorative and augmentative *psisko*, expressive and augmentative *psina*, and the pejorative and augmentative regionalism *psiště*.

Most Czech augmentatives derive from nouns, for example, *šutrák* "big stone" (from colloquial and expressive *šutr*); *Rusák* "Russian [a noun]" (expressive and somewhat pejorative from *Rus*); *nosan* "big nose" (from *nos*); *zoban* "big beak" (from *zobák*); *copan* "big braid" (from *cop*); *lotras* "scoundrel, villain" (expressive from *lotr*); *babizna* "old hag" (from pejorative *baba* "old woman"); *tlamajzna* "large (animal) mouth" (from *tlama*); *chlapisko* "hulk of a man" (from *chlapi* "guy"); *dubisko* "large oak" (from *dub*); *klučiště* or *klučisko* "boy" (from *kluk*); *kusanec* "lump" (from *kus* "piece"); *kněžour* "preacher" (pejorative from *kněz* "priest"); *Němčour* "Kraut" (pejorative from *Němec* "German [noun]"); *vrahoun* "murderer" (expressive from *vrah*); and *vojanda* "woman who engages in love affairs with soldiers" (pejorative from *voják* "soldier"). The augmentative suffixes (and suffix combinations) employed in the word list above are *-ák*, *-an*, *-as*, *-anec*, *-ajzna*, *-izna*, *-isko*, *-iště*, *-nda*, *-oun*, and *-our*.

There are a few cases in which, contrary to expectations, some of these augmentative suffixes have a diminutive connotation: for example, *křovisko* and *křoviště* "small, low shrub," which derive from the noun *křoví* "bushes" by means of the augmentative suffixes *-isko* and *-iště*.

Some augmentative nouns are derived from adjectives. Among such nouns are *kruťas* or *kruťák* "brute" (from *kruť* "cruel"), *dlouhán* "tall fellow" (from *dlouhý* "long"), and *vztekoun* "hothead" (from *vztek* "anger, rage").

Most augmentative adjectives are derived by means of the following suffixes and suffix combinations: *-ánsk(j)*, *-anánsk(j)*, *-ananánsk(j)*, *-anáck(j)*, and *-i/a/ytánsk(j)*. Examples include *hlubokánský* "very deep" (from *hluboký*); *širokánský* "very wide, broad" (from *široký*); *velikánský*, *ve-likánský*, and *velikananánský* "very (very) large" (from *veliký*); *dlouhánský*, *dlouhatánský*, *dlouhanánský*, *dlouhananánský*, *dlouhytánský*, and *dlouhanácký* "very (very) long" (from *dlouhý*); *ukrutánský* "very cruel" (from *krutý*); and *hrozitánský* "huge, enormous, dreadful" (from

hrozný “terrible”).

An example of an augmentative noun derived from a verb is *klapajzna* “trap (mouth)” (from *klapat* [*hubou*] “to jabber”).

Conclusion

It must now be obvious that speakers of Czech have at their disposal a very large variety of means to indicate formally that a referent is smaller or larger than one would expect, and that they also can use the diminutive and augmentative morphology to express their feelings, whether positive (flattering) or negative (pejorative). Given the large amount of data, not all the suffixes have been exemplified in this paper, but the coverage of the subject should be considered as reasonably complete.

The Czech language may not have a vocabulary the size of the English vocabulary, but it is a rich language, and when it comes to the morphology of diminutiveness and augmentativeness, it surpasses English by far. Karel Čapek, a Czech writer of world renown, was a master of the pen who could “play” on the Czech language as if it were an organ. And yet, this is what he said (my translation) addressing his mother tongue in 1927: “I wish I could write all that you are able to express. I would like to use at least once all those beautiful, specific, living words you possess. You have never failed me, only I fail when I do not find in my hard head enough consciousness, enough inspiration, enough knowledge to express everything accurately. I would have to live a hundred lives to be able to fully appreciate you. Thus far no one has ever seen you in your entirety.”

Jan Kollár in the Context of Panslavic Discourse 1830-1848

By Jelena Milojković-Djurić

. . . For the first time, after many centuries, the scattered Slavic tribes started thinking about themselves again as one people and their various dialects as one language . . . aspiring for a strongest connection . . . casting away old prejudices, tired of long dissensions, barren and stupid division . . . reaching for the lofty planes of human and brotherly love which can only transform the unfortunate peoples.¹

Jan Kollár wrote these words in the introductory chapter of his renowned book, *O knizhevnoi uzaimnosti izmedju razlichni plemena i nariachia slavanskog naraoda* (*About the Literary Reciprocity among the different Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic People*). He believed that the emerging desire for collaboration should lead to a veritable literary renaissance among numerous Slavic peoples. Kollár used the term dialect, when referring to various Slavic languages, in order to stress further the idea of a Slavic Commonwealth. Kollár maintained that the prevailing spirit of the time had helped create the feeling of a new unity among the Slavs.

Kollár, a Slovak scholar and poet of distinction, was an outspoken supporter of Slavic cultural collaboration. He was acknowledged by his contemporaries as one of the precursors of the national revival strengthening the development of Slav national movements throughout Europe. His personal contacts with the enlightened leaders of Slavic literary thought enabled a relatively swift dissemination of his ideas. Kollár's influence was especially pronounced among the South Slavs. Among his followers were personalities such as the Serbian writer from Dubrovnik Medo Pucić, the Croatian literary reformer Ljudovit Gaj, the Croatian writer Ivan Kukuljević Sakičinski; the influential secretary to the Matica Ilirska, the Slovene writer Stanko Vraz, among many others. Thus, Pucić wrote to Kollár that the idea of Slav mutuality and collaboration, "that you so eloquently impressed onto my soul has taken a powerful hold of me."²

Kollár believed that every century brought eventually to fruition its own aspirations.³ Lately, Kollár wrote, the Slavs started to scrutinize their historic past while evaluating their present and future positions within the Slavic realm. Kollár hastened to ascertain that the presently outlined aspirations for reciprocity did not aim to promote a political union of all Slavs, nor any unruly organization against the government leading to turmoil and misfortune.⁴ Kollár was aware of the existing fear of the possibility of a Panslavic expansion under Russian leadership endangering the established balance of powers and the Austrian supremacy in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the emerging Panslav aspirations evolved as an aspect of a Slav national revival stressing the historical and cultural ties of the Slavs. Panslavism was supported by some of

the most enlightened men in Europe as a positive initiative, a means for mobilizing intellectual energy in a region where it had been dormant so long. Many eminent Slav scholars supported the Panslav cultural collaboration but equally asserted the importance of preserving their respective national languages and literatures, as well as cultural and political independence. The dominant framework of their deliberations recognized the principle of distinctive national differences while fostering the common goal of Slavic solidarity.

Kollár discussed the possibilities of a Panslavic literary and intellectual collaboration already in 1830 when he published in Buda a related paper entitled *Raspravy o gmenah* (Treatise about the Commonwealth). Kollár even introduced the expression *vzaimnost* - corresponding to the Latin word *reciprocitas*, and etymologically derived from the old Slavic *zaemnyi*. In his work, *O knizhevnoi uzaimnosti izmedju razlichni plemena i nariachia slavanskog naroda* Kollár wrote:

“The literary reciprocity (knjizhevna vzaimnost) embodies the general participation of all its ethnic branches in the intellectual achievements of one’s own nation, the reciprocal reading and buying (of books JMDj.) in all Slavic dialects. All these dialects need new living strength from other dialects in order to rejuvenate, enrich and transform itself . . . The reciprocity is possible even when one people adheres to several religious traditions and environments, native places and customs.”⁵

In the development of Kollár’s views on Slav nationalism, the ideas of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder played a considerable part. Herder supported the right of a people to self determination when sharing a consciousness of a collective cultural heritage. In his capital work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Herder expressed hope that the Slavs now so backward, but once so industrious, would awake from their long listless slumber. Herder bemoaned the unfortunate historic destiny of many Slavic peoples subjugated under centuries-long foreign domination. These difficult circumstances delayed the conscious development (*Bildung*) of the Slavs and prevented them from securing their own place on the historic stage.⁶

Herder believed that the wheel of fortune was constantly revolving, and the fate of the Slavic peoples should be expected to change as well. The Slavs should shake off the chains of slavery, and enjoy a peaceful development and advancement of their inherent talents and endowments. Herder trusted that Slavs would finally gain the possession of their beautiful lands encompassing the vast territory from the Adriatic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains, and from Don to Moldau. The Slavs should take their rightful position on the world stage and fulfill their historic mission.⁷

Herder’s thesis about national self-determination found approval among many Slav scholars, and political leaders alike. The idea of a nation, as an entity of historical origin, must be grounded in a distinct national spirit

(*Volksgeist*) as a constituent of a respective social reality. The Slavs safeguarded the consciousness of a collective cultural heritage, and linguistic affinity in their multifaceted folk traditions. Herder's call for preservation of folklore and orally transmitted epic and lyric folk songs became quickly accepted and followed.⁸

Though unknowingly, Herder's views helped to strengthen a broader Slavic consciousness, and early notions of Panslavism. Moreover, Herder's belief in a bright future for the Slavs has reverberated ever since in the works of many Slavic scholars of note. In turn, the literary and scholarly writings of these scholars helped further dissemination of Herder's ideas among their compatriots. Thus, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the emerging Panslav aspirations evolved as an aspect of a Slav national revival stressing the historical and cultural ties of the whole of Slavdom.

The early historical, linguistic and folklore explorations were permeated with the pride of discovering native cultural distinctiveness. The new assessment of national identity led to a re-examination of the past which in turn reinforced the national awareness. However, these activities were spontaneous, based on the good will of the participants, and not an organized movement with a defined political aim. The ensuing Slav cultural revival introduced a broader diachronic and synchronic interpretation of national consciousness, leading to the postulates of a Panslavic ideology at large.

Kollár pointed out that the ideas inherent in the Slav national revival were shared by distinguished proponents of cultural specificity and independence: Czech historians František Palacký and František Rieger, the Slovak scholar Pavel Šafařík, the Russian writers Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov and Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky, the Ukrainian historian Osip M. Bodianskyi, the Polish writer Adam Mickiewicz, the Serb scholars Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Djura Daničić, the Slovene scholar Jernej Kopitar and the poet Stanko Vraz, the Croat language reformer Ljudevit Gaj, among many others. These scholars believed that the solidarity of Slavic nations should recognize and not repudiate the principle of distinctive national differences while contributing to the mutual respect and understanding of all of humankind.⁹

The first literary and learned society among the Slavs was *Matica Srpska* founded in Pest in 1826. This society served as a model for the subsequent foundation of similar societies throughout the Slavic world. Thus, the *Matica Česka* was established in 1831, the *Ilyrian-Croatian* in 1842, the *Wendish* in 1847, the *Galician-Russian* in 1848, the *Moravian* in 1859, the *Dalmatian* in 1862, and the *Serbian Matica* in Dubrovnik in 1909.¹⁰

To this effect, the *Slavic Benevolent Societies* throughout Russia supported cultural rapprochement with the Slavs. These Slavic Societies provided steady support for many educational, scholarly and humanitarian endeavors. The noted Slavophil and Panslavist I. S. Aksakov endorsed these aspirations, claiming that from its inception, the *Moscow Benevolent Society* supported the cultural reciprocity with the Slavs, in particular with the South Slavs. Aksakov clearly acknowledged the idea of Panslavic cultural rapprochement as proposed earlier by Jan Kollár.¹¹

Most notably, the Russian Tsar Nicholas I did not condone Slavophil or Panslav aspirations and held a watchful eye on the leading figures of the Slavophil ideology headed by prominent men of letters. He did not even allow Russian official participation at the Prague Slav Congress, and the Russian delegation did not arrive. The Russian writer and philosopher Mikhail Bakunin was present at the Congress in Prague as a member of the Congress, and an independent observer. He stressed the integrity of his participation in his many assessments of the present political and cultural situation. Thus, he repeatedly advised the delegates gathered at the Congress that the Slavs should expect nothing from autocratic Russia.¹² The revolution of 1848 increased the fear of the Russian government that it could be overthrown. The Emperor suspected that the Slavophil supporters, under the guise of compassion for the oppressed Slavs under foreign domination, concealed the idea of unification by means of subversive actions perilous to Russia and political stability in Europe.¹³

The 1820s, 1830s and 1840s marked the appearance of a number of learned studies dealing with the various aspects of history, language, folklore and literature of the Western and Southern Slavs. The pioneering works of Josef Dobrovský, Pavel Šafárik, František Palacký, Jan Kollár, Josef Jungmann, Jernej Kopitar, Vuk Karadžić, Djura Daničić, Ljudevit Gaj, and Nikola Tommaseo, elucidated their respective national cultures. The sincere concern for the fate of their oppressed nations, by highly educated intellectuals, stimulated the gradual awakening of national consciousness.¹⁴

Furthermore, it was Jan Kollár who reminded his readers at large that Ferdinand I had already acknowledged the scholarly achievements of Josef Jungmann for his publication of the *Czech Dictionary*. Thus, Jungmann received an impressive ring with the inscription from the Austrian Emperor.¹⁵ Jungmann was a leading figure in the fight for the preservation of the Czech national entity and its language. Previously, Jungmann distinguished himself as the organizer of two important cultural institutions: in 1817 he initiated the founding of the Czech Museum, and in 1831 he started the literary association *Matica česka*.¹⁶

Kollár stressed that the twenty-two million Slavs in the Austrian Monarchy should rightfully expect support from the highest authority in their drive for literary reciprocity. Kollár also looked into the practical aspect of such co-operation. He suggested the opening of Slavic bookstores in larger cities, alongside an exchange of books among the writers. Most importantly, he supported the idea of the foundation of Slavic chairs at several leading universities. Kollár posited that these combined efforts should bring favorable results, and even enable the eventual appearance of a *Slavic Plutarch*.

Interestingly enough, the first version of Kollár's book was published in Pest, in the newly founded journal *Serbski narodni list*, in two installments in 1835. The editor Teodor Pavlović, a Serb by birth, was a personal friend and supporter of Kollár's ideology of Slavic unity and cultural cooperation. The publication of Kollár's book presented, in the view of many, the highlight of Pavlov's editorial accomplishment at the helm of *Serbski narodni list*. Kollár's work was well received due to its timely and scholarly assessment of the idea

of a Slavic literary and intellectual commonwealth as a stronghold against foreign intrusion and domination. In 1836, Kollár's book appeared in the Czech journal *Hronka*. Two years later Kollár supplied a revised version, translated into German. The German version was subsequently translated into Serbian by Dimitrije Teodorović and published in Belgrade in 1845.¹⁷

The idea for a meeting of selected representatives of various Slavic nations was at first suggested by eminent Slavic scholars and personalities such as František Palacký, Pavel Šafárik, Ljudevit Štrú, Franjo Miklošić, and Count Thun, among others. An agreement was achieved that the first Panslav Congress should take place in Prague, the longtime cultural capital of the Slavic world. Prague was acknowledged as the fountainhead of Panslav ideology. A host of prominent Slavic scholars such as Václav Hanka, Franjo Miklošić and Maksim Papić, among others, helped the organization of the Congress.

The necessity of organizing a Panslav conference was prompted by the new platform of the German Parliament in Frankfurt under the banner: *Ein freies, einiges Vaterland* (A free, united Fatherland). In the early months of 1848, the German Parliament proclaimed that the new Germany was supposed to include also the neighboring lands inhabited by the Slavs such as Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Croatia. The German Parliament proposed a meeting in Frankfurt in order to discuss the plans for a new Greater Germany. An invitation was issued to the Austrian citizens to send representatives to the Parliament in Frankfurt. While the Austrian Germans, as a rule, were in favor of sending delegates, the Slavs who constituted a majority in the Habsburg Monarchy resented the idea of being incorporated in the new state declared as *Deutsches Reich* (German Empire).

On April 10, 1848, František Palacký, the distinguished Czech historian, received the invitation to participate in the deliberations of the German Parliament. Palacký promptly denied, and wrote his reply the next day, on April 11:

I am a Bohemian of Slavic origin, and whatever I now possess or may yet own, I have designated wholly and forever to the good of my nation. Small in numbers is my nation, yet since time immemorial it has maintained its individuality and sovereignty; true its rulers have for ages been parties in the league of German princes, but the nation has never regarded itself as one with the German nation. . . . German Emperors had no relations with the Bohemian nation, that they were not vested with any rights in or over Bohemia, either legislative, judicial or executive; that at no time had they the power to levy armies or order contributions of any kind; that Bohemia, including her crown lands, never formed a part or parcel of any of the ten German states of those times; Whoever now urges that this league of princes should give room to union between the Bohemian and German nations, advances a new postulate, utterly at variance with the past.

Palacky's reply registered the resistance of all Austria's Slavs to the inclusion in a German national state. In Palacky's view, only an independent and federally structured Austrian state could protect the smaller Slav nations and safeguard their quest for equality.¹⁸

In view of the given situation, Pavel Šafařík feared that the delegates to the Congress could experience unpleasant treatment from Austrian and Hungarian authorities. Therefore, informative articles about the Congress were dispatched to the editors of several dailies published in Prague. These articles aimed to inform about the ideological platform of the Congress. The Slavs did not want to change the established administrative borders; their aspirations were mostly addressed to the enhancement of their constitutional rights and free intellectual pursuit. Yet, Šafařík feared that the delegates would face some hostile confrontations, in spite of assurances provided by the organizers. Šafarík expressed his views in a letter to Jan Norbert Neuberg dated May 4, 1848, just a few weeks before Congress:

We should try to prove to the Germans that the old Slavs had the purest and sophisticated democracy, and that this democratic spirit is not yet extinguished even now (Serbia, Montenegro etc.) and that we the Austro-Hungarian Slavs are ready for freedom. That is not enough . . . we should prove to our adversaries that we are politically ripe . . . and willing to protect our freedom . . . until we can sign the union with them (the Germans, JMDj.) as a free people and out of our free will. This could take place at the Congress, but we should discuss it presently and right now. The Slavs here (in Vienna), JMDj.) think about the fusion of their separate and divergent clubs - God help us, this should have happened long time ago. Alone disunited and Slav are understood almost as synonymous.¹⁹

Šafařík bemoaned the long-lasting disarray among the Slavs, and was heartened by the sign of change. He still foresaw the future of Slavs in a union with Austria-Hungary, although he hoped for equality with the Germans within the Monarchy. Therefore, he pointed to the longtime democratic traditions and political astuteness of the Slavs. His views had political connotations, absent in Kollár's work. Šafařík advanced the proposition of renegotiations of the position of all Slavs within Austria-Hungary, albeit in a general manner and without a concrete plan or timetable.

Šafařík's views were apparently shared by others and a befitting document was written, in the form of a pamphlet, entitled: *Ein Wort zur Verständniss über Slavenversammlung in Prague* (A Word of Explanation about the Slav Congress in Prague) Another pamphlet, published at the same time, identified the following officers of the Congress Committee (*Committee für den Slavenkongress*): president count Thun, vice-president Neuberg, and the members of the Committee, Hanka, Palacki, Ruger, Jordan and Erben. The follow-

ing explanation was offered:

The unusual circumstances . . . and turmoil are becoming every day more dangerous. . . Germany is trying to build a military base in the middle of Europe in order to protect its existence and rights, and all surrounding states, German or Slav should be used as a protective trench. . . Austria comprises two segments of population, one German and a large Slav . . . the Germans (in Austria, JMDj.) seem to have forgotten Austria and seek in Frankfurt delivery and salvation. The Austrian Slavs remained calm . . . feeling their own strength as a part of Austria . . . the eighteen million Slavs in the constitutional Austria would like to address you:

Brothers!

The good Emperor of Austria has broken your chains; the Constitution has made you free men. You have to say to the Germans in Austria, that we were for centuries your brothers, your friends; we would not like to rule over you, but we would not like to be oppressed by you, we would like to enjoy . . . the same rights as you.

In order that we, the Czechs, could ask the Slavs to unite and strengthen Austria by this peaceful regrouping, we have asked the Slav tribes to delegate their trustworthy deputies and to send them May 30, of this year, for a consultation in Prague.²⁰

The first Congress of the representatives of the Slavic peoples convened in Prague on June 2-14, 1948, with 341 delegates attending. Preparations for the Congress in Prague were extensive and included the participation of many professional and civic committees, artists and musicians. For this occasion the celebrated artist Joseph Manes designed special ornamental decorations in the national style. The Slovak song, *Hej Slovensi*, as an assertion of Slav entity, was chosen to be performed during the Congress. Written in 1834, by Samuel Tomašík, *Hej Slovensi* became very popular in the course of time. Jan Kollár proposed the celebrated mythical lime tree, *Slovenska lipa*, as the Slav symbol.

The First Slav Congress presented the culmination of the initial phase of Panslav cultural collaboration. According to several testimonies, Prague had a festive appearance due to the efforts of all its citizens. Banners were everywhere and all the houses were decorated. Jovan Subotić, a member of the Serbian delegation, gave his own account of this event:

We conferred and worked until the Orthodox All Saints Day. On this very day, the Slavic Liturgy was celebrated at St. Wenceslaus Square. Archpriest Stamatović and Archimand-

drite Nikanor Grujić officiated. Stamatović mentioned in his reading all famous names of deserving Serbs and Czechs. Poles, and Russians and Gospodi pomiluj (Lord have mercy), resounded like a thunder throughout the square. The houses have been decorated and the windows were filled with ornaments, flags, tapestries and flowers. The pretty ladies and young girls at the windows on all the floors of the buildings looked like birds from the paradise in their cages. Archpriest Stamatović had a powerful rendition and his voice carried like that of an army officer in front of his regiment Archimandrite Grujić enhanced the celebration with his skillful interpretation of the stichera that were performed during the divine service. Grujić was a master of the Church Chant, and his voice was like a bell: small wonder that he impressed the Czechs who knew and admired these qualities. This was a glorious occasion for us and our friends.²¹

The leadership of the Congress had decided beforehand to celebrate the Eastern Orthodox *All Saints Day* as a symbolic gesture of acceptance and tolerance of religious differences. The festive liturgy was planned to take place outdoors, in the center of Prague, in the famous Saint Wenceslaus Square. This place was chosen in order to accommodate several hundreds of singers and an anticipated large public attendance. An altar was built in the middle of the Square. The Serbian church dignitaries, members of the Slavic delegation, Archpriest Pavle Stamatović, and Archimandrite Nikanor Grujić were invited to celebrate the liturgy. This memorable event was attended by more than ten thousand of people.

The last meeting took place on Whitmonday, June 12, at the National Museum. The Plenary Committee formally approved a draft of the European Manifesto, and scheduled a final session of the Congress for June 14, in the Zofin Hall. The Plenary Committee meeting took a recess shortly after noon. Immediately after, street fighting broke out between a crowd of people returning from the Slav Mass at the Saint Wenceslaus Square, and a deputation of conservative German burghers from a meeting with the commanding German general Windischgrätz. A scuffle ensued between the marchers returning from the Mass and the Germans, and a few shots were fired. The fighting did not stop but gradually engulfed the whole city lasting for several days. On June 17, General Windischgrätz ordered a bombardment of the Prague by heavy cannonade. The Congress broke off the deliberations and was unable to conclude the program.

Due to the given circumstances and the overall political situation in Europe of 1848, the Congress precipitated the transformation from the essentially unifying cultural ideology into political nationalism, albeit without an expressed goal of formation of independent nation-states. The Austrian Slavs did not want to secede but demanded the same national and political recognition that the Germans and Magyars were entitled to receive.

The Panslav movement suffered a drawback, but was not altogether abandoned. The *Croatian Matica* made efforts to organize the Second Panslav Congress in Warsaw or Belgrade in 1851. Due to the sharp criticism and personal intervention of the Austrian minister Alexander Bach, the congress did not take place. Panslav ideas were given an impetus when in the mid 1860s a conference was announced in conjunction with the organization of the *Ethnographic Exhibit* in Moscow in 1867. The organizing committee issued an invitation to all the Slavic peoples, accompanied with a handbook explaining the scope and purpose of this cultural manifestation.

The postulates of cultural collaboration among the Slavic people, envisioned at first by Jan Kollár, stirred a congenial response leading to the eventful First Panslav Congress in Prague. In conclusion, the Congress decided to issue a *Manifesto* to present the Slav position to the enlightened world at large. The *Manifesto* stipulated that the delegates aspired, most of all, to propose a harmonious coexistence within the established political borders striving for freedom, equality, and national and political recognition:

The Panslavic Congress now in Prague is a novel occurrence in Europe and a new experience for us Slavs. . .that web might become better acquainted among ourselves and might peacefully . . . deliberate on affairs that concern us all alike. Not only have we succeeded in making ourselves understood, as far as concerns our melodious languages spoken by eighty million of people, but also by our hearts beating in unison and by the sameness of our intellectual aims . . . Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of every citizen are again our motto as it was a thousand years ago.²²

NOTES

1. Jan Kollár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti izmedju razlichni plemena i narechia slavianskog naroda*, translated from German into Serbian by Dimitrije Todorović (Belgrade: Knjež. Serb. Knigopecatnyi, 1845), 1.
2. Quoted after Jovan Skerlić, *Omladina i njena književnost 1848-1871* (Belgrade: Državna Stamp., 1906), 177.
3. Kollár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti*, 113.
4. Kollár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti*, 4-5.
5. Kollár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti*, 4-5.
6. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Sämtliche Werke, ed. B. Supan (Riga und Leipzig, 1787), 277-280.
7. Herder, *Ideen*, 280.
8. Jelena Milojković-Djurić, “The Role of Choral Societies in the 19th Century among the South Slavs,” in *National Movements in Baltic Countries*, ed. Aleksander Loit (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1985), 475-482.

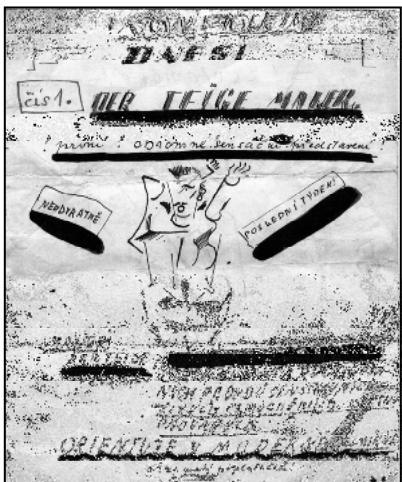
9. Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830-1880; Images of the Self and Others* (New York and Boulder: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1994), 8-49.
10. Jovan Skerlić, *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1967), 131.
11. I.S. Aksakova, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenia* (Moscow: Volchaninov, 1886), 1:213-214.
12. Michael Boro Petrović, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870* (New York, 1956), 199.
13. Nikolai Ivanovich Tsimbaev, *Slavianofil'stvo* (Moscow: Moscow University, 1986), 36.
14. According to Miroslav Hroch, an enlightened group of educated individuals instigated usually the national revival of small nations. M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22-23.
15. Kollaár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti*, 7.
16. Andra Gavrilović, *Književne slike* (Belgrade: Nova el. štamparija, 1904), 113.
17. Kollaár, *O književnoj uzaimnosti*, 11.
18. Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830-1880*, 29-31.
19. Václav Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848* (Prague, Českoslovanská akademie věd), 67-68.
20. Václav Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848*, 71-72.
21. Život Dr. Jovana Subotica (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1902), 2:89.
22. Quoted after Thomas Čapek, *The Slovaks of Hungary* (New York: Knickerbrocker Press, 1906), 41-42.

Karel Teige and Modern Typography

By Eric Dluhosch

Introduction

As this essay is an expanded version of what began as a review of the book *Karel Teige and Typography: An Asymmetric Harmony* by Karel Srp, Polana Bregantová, and Lenka Bydžovská, a brief introduction seems appropriate, in order to examine young Karel Teige's situation in the context of the political and cultural realities of Masaryk's First Republic.¹



Figures 1 and 2

Left: *Der Teige Maler* (Teige the painter), 1916. Indian ink, red ink, paper, 20.3 x 16.4 cm. Památník národního písemnictví, Prague. [Ill., p. 10, colors].

Right: Adolf Hoffmeister, typographical arrangement by Karel Teige, 1930. Indian ink, watercolor, 29.6 x 24.7 cm. Památník národního písemnictví, Prague [Ill. 1, p. 6, color].

Teige was born in Prague, on December 13, 1900, the son of the chief librarian of Prague's Municipal Library. His birth date is auspicious for a number of reasons: For one, he was born at the threshold of the twentieth century, too young to serve in the Austrian army during the First World War. He missed its horrors, but became well aware of its effects on everyday life in Austria-Hungary. Turning eighteen at the founding of the first Czechoslovak Republic, he did not fall under the intellectual and artistic spell of nineteenth century Vienna of older generations, when Prague was relegated to the position of a German-dominated provincial town. Only after 1918 did Prague become the capital city of an independent Czechoslovakia in its own right, providing Teige with the freedom and opportunity to become one of the country's leading avant-garde personalities.

Eager to become a painter, Teige did not take up university studies.

Even later, as an autodidact, he remained an ardent opponent of all things academic and throughout his career rejected any kind of professional compartmentalization in all branches of social and cultural life. Instead, he viewed all intellectual effort in holistic terms, with no artificial boundaries allowed between art, philosophy, architecture, sociology, literature, film, photography, and—as attested in the following—typography as well. A comparison of his intellectual priorities with those of the first president of the Czechoslovak state—Tomas Garigue Masaryk—reveals the deep divisions that existed during the founding years of the republic between the nationalist and largely traditionalist views of the ruling coalition of centrist parties² and the internationally oriented radical left.³

Unlike Masaryk, the young Teige believed that social and cultural progress was only possible within the philosophical and political framework of Marxist theory and by overturning the existing bourgeois order by means of revolution. Apart from believing this to be the inevitable outcome of a historical evolution from capitalism to socialism, Teige was also convinced that this would involve an inter-generational struggle between young and old.⁴ Masaryk, the philosopher-psychologist, was well aware of the general tendency of the young to rebel against their elders by using as a weapon the arguments of Marxist orthodoxy and justifying their push for radical change by more or less romantic notions of revolution as a path to ultimate social equality and international peace.⁵ Half jokingly, half seriously, Masaryk suggested that these dreamers be given a district in the Carpathian region of the republic to test their utopian theories against the contingencies of actual daily life.



Figure 3

Teige's Avant-Garde, ca. 1930. From left to right: Teige, Nezval, unidentified, Werich+Voskovec.

Another factor to keep in mind is Teige's virulent anti-academic attitude in the development of a new modernist cultural situation, as against Masaryk's life-long allegiance to a more rigorous scholarly pursuit of truth.⁶ Spurning academic rigor, Teige developed and nurtured his ideas of social progress and cultural renewal outside the academy and – to a large extent – outside the framework of Masaryk's "official" cultural policy. Rather than embracing the dreams of the Marxists for violent change, Masaryk believed in a gradual developmental process of social and cultural change by rejecting both intellectual dogmatism and messianic utopias as valid candidates of modern notions of philosophy. He believed that philosophy should be used to warn humanity about any obstacles that may disrupt progress along its journey through history and help to orient its path in such a way as to prevent catastrophes, conflicts and quarrels. Moreover, he considered the elevation of messianic philosophers, acting as untouchable moral and "scientific" authorities, as essentially undemocratic.⁷ Teige believed the opposite, as did most members of the leftist avant-garde in Europe during the inter-war years, blinded by the uncritical admiration of the emerging Soviet experiment. Teige's covers of the early twenties are witness of this intellectual enthralment of his generation with the perceived utopia of socialism on the march to global hegemony.

As a realist, Masaryk believed in a natural political division between progressives and traditionalists, as in his observation that "it is natural that people want to live like their predecessors, by holding on to old manners -- good or bad. However, it is equally natural that life's contents change and that the old becomes supplemented by the new. If such a choice is reasonable, society will develop step by step-constantly... But, people are not reasonable...one wants to hold on to the old, refusing to accept anything new, while others seek the new no matter what and condemn all that is old. And that is how uncritical conservatism as well as radical progressivism develops. Progressives become anarchists, and traditionalists conservatives."⁸

Unlike Masaryk, Teige put all his faith in the progressive movement, until chastened by Stalin's show trials during the thirties and his decree of 1935, which abolished all independent modernist associations and replaced them by a state controlled adherence to "Socialist Realism."

Teige's early idealism was later sorely tried by the events unfolding from the middle of the thirties until his tragic death in 1951. Even though he never became a card-carrying member of the Communist Party, the highjacking of the party by Clement Gottwald in 1929 opened his eyes to the doctrinaire narrowness of the left in both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.⁹

Finally, while the radical intellectuals of Devětsil met in smoky cafes and popular bars to debate on how to realize their social utopia, Masaryk acted throughout his tenure as president by pushing land reform, freedom of expression, the abolition of aristocratic titles and privileges, labor reform and many other progressive initiatives, all within the context of a democratic order and a relatively stable social environment.

In a paradoxical way, Teige's most productive period as artist, critic

and typographer actually reached its zenith precisely within the time period of Masaryk's "bourgeois" republic, allowing him to unfold all the facets of his considerable talent without the threat of persecution and character assassination, all of which came to visit him only after the establishment of his much longed for socialist revolution in the Czechoslovakia of 1949. Many of his essays, books and designs have been published in Czech journals and other publications. Few have seen the light in English translation.¹⁰ The following essay is an attempt not only to acquaint the English-speaking reader with Teige's remarkable career as typographer and book designer, but to encourage the translation of this remarkable book into English as well.

Karel Teige and Typography is divided into seven chapters, dedicated to the consecutive creative phases of Teige's typographical activities; 604 color illustrations and a number of black and white photographs of Teige accompany the text. Sections, containing Teige's curriculum vitae, a register of his typographical works, a selected bibliography, editor's notes, an index of names and a German and English summary follow the main text.

The following is intended as a condensed exposition of each chapter in order to acquaint the reader with its contents and offer some comments on its relevance to scholarly research on the subject of typography and book design.

The New Alphabet

The new typography of the interwar years may be characterized by two main themes: The first is its consistent and openly proclaimed international character, clearly opposed to the prevailing nationalistic character of Czech cultural production at that time.¹¹ Oldřich Pospišil, a close collaborator of Teige, defined the situation of avant-garde typography of the twenties and thirties as follows: "The international character of book production does not know any borders and the typographical designs in one country freely adapt the ideas of colleagues from another country...,"¹² to which Teige added the second theme: "It is not possible to name any single individual, who may be considered as the sole creator of modern typographical style and orientation."¹³

Considering the time during which modern typography was developed in its various contexts, it is important to remember that initially it did not catch the attention of the general book readership, nor was it freely accepted by the established book publishing trade. Another factor in its slow acceptance by the publishing world was the generally left-leaning tendencies of the radical avant-garde of the twenties and early thirties, not only in Czechoslovakia, but the rest of Europe as well.

As to authorship, its development went generally along parallel international avant-garde lines, where personal as well as professional relationships played a significant role in defining common trends and widely shared theoretical principles. Teige was a recognized member of this internationally connected fraternity of avant-garde modernists. He developed many personal links with like minded colleagues in Germany, France and

Russia. Apart from submitting his own designs to international journals and exhibitions, he must be considered as one of the foremost theorists of the modern typographical revolution. Unfortunately, only a few of his essays and books have been translated into a major European language, thus tending to relegate Teige to a more or less marginal position among such international figures as Jan Tschichold, El Lissitzky, Lajos Kassák, László Moholy-Nagy, Max Ernst and others, who reached a much wider audience due to their ability to publish in French, German or Russian. Another difficulty in producing a definitive monograph of the full extent of Teige's contribution to modern typography was his conviction that book design is essentially a cooperative enterprise, where author, illustrator, typographer and publisher must work together as a team to produce a graphically and functionally effective whole. This is an additional reason why the translation of his theoretical writings is essential, as it will provide an internationally recognized platform for a comparative evaluation of his work with other authors of that period. In fact, such a comparison is inferred in the Czech text of the book, as it reveals the astonishing breadth of Teige's encyclopedic mind, where typography is linked to architecture, painting, photography, film and poetry as a seamless whole, all eventually brought together under the notion of Czech *Poetism*.¹⁴

The following sections cover all the aforementioned aspects of Teige's activities in typography and book design, including some of his lesser known designs from about 1941 until his death in 1951.¹⁵ The text is meticulously researched and may be considered as the most authoritative treatment of Teige's typographic work by Czech authors to date.

International Language

The decisive event in Teige's life was the foundation of the



association of artists, architects and literati named *Devětsil*.¹⁶ As its co-founder and intellectual leader, he succeeded in establishing *Devětsil* as one of the most important forces furthering the spread of avant-garde ideas in Czechoslovakia, and this provided him with a major platform for publishing his own theories on modern art, architecture, typography and literature. *ReD*, the house journal of *Devětsil*, published avant-garde developments in France, Germany, Russia, Hungary, Poland, the USA and other countries from 1921 until its demise in 1931. Teige designed a number of its covers, all of which are reproduced in the book.

Considering the fact that many members of the international inter-war

avant-garde were left-oriented, it comes as no surprise that Teige designed a number of covers for journals and books published by communist publishing houses in Prague. His work for these publishers coincides with the “proletarian” phase of his typographical activities from ca.1920 to 1922. Examples of this phase show Teige abandoning the assymetrical, quasi-cubist thematic compartmentalization of his previous covers in favor of simple, more or less symmetrical layouts with equally simple types, occasionally complemented by communist symbols, such as hammer and sickle and a red star.



Figures 4, 5, and 6

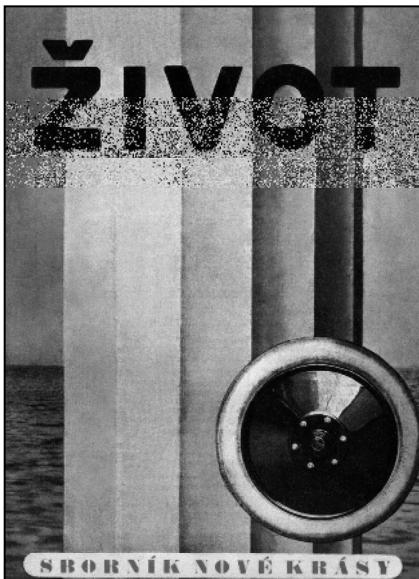
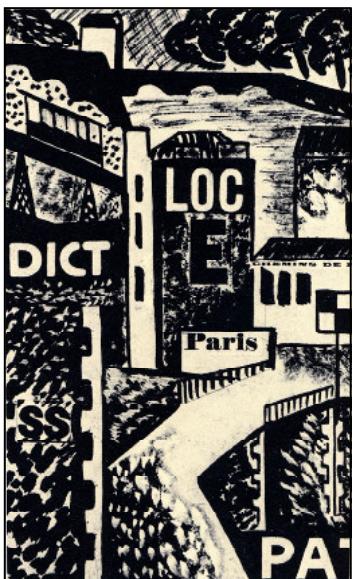
Opposite page: *Devětsil* title page, 1922, *Večernice*, (V. Obrel), 24 x 16 cm [Ill. 14, p. 14, color]. Left: *Devětsil*, front cover, 1922, *Večernice* (V. Obrel), 24 x 16 cm [Ill. 12, p. 14, black and white].

Right: *RSFSR*, illustration, 1921, Printing Section of Czech Communist Party, 27 x 19 cm [Ill. 9, p. 13, black and white].

Teige’s proletarian phase came to an end after his visit to Paris in 1922, which represented a major event in Teige’s reorientation toward a broader intellectual orientation within the larger, international universe of avant-garde modernism. During his visit, he met major figures of the French avant-garde, in addition to absorbing the atmosphere of Parisian street life with its advertisements, posters, street signs, cafes, lively night life and -- most important -- its openness to avant-garde ideas in all branches of modern cultural life.

Using the contacts made in Paris and heartened by the publishing success of *ReD*, Teige increased the circle of personal contacts even further by arranging visits of leading international avant-garde personalities to Prague --

such as Le Corbusier, Saupold, Marinetti, Max Ernst, Mayakovsky, to mention but a few.



Figures 7 and 8

Left: *Devětsil*, 1922, p. 197 [Ill. 21, p. 16, black and white].

Right: Bedřich Feuerstein, Jaromír Krejcar, Josef Šíma and Karel Teige, *Život* 2, 1922, 25.5 x 18.5 cm [Ill. 23, p. 19, color].

As a fervent proponent of all things modern, Teige also took a leading role in the so-called battle of the generations by rejecting the past and by advocating a new direction in art, architecture and literature based on the credo of modernist life.¹⁷ The principles of cubism, neo-plasticism, purism, suprematism, constructivism and functionalism were to be applied to all artistic endeavors, including typography and book design. The new media of photography and film were to replace the traditional, painterly techniques of graphic expression with simple, legible types superseding old, ornate ones. In his quest for radical change in all the arts, Teige openly embraced influences emanating from the avant-gardes of Paris, Berlin, and Dessau, as well as the Russian avant-garde (such as the works of El Lissitzky, Ilya Ehrenburg, Malevich, Rodchenko, Mayakovsky and others).

Having eliminated superfluous ornamentation from book design in his early phase, Teige begins to develop his own typographical language by integrating type, graphic symbols and images of contemporary urban themes into what he labeled a poetic whole. His approach to establishing a new typographical language may be divided into two broad categories. The first is composed of abstract graphic symbols, such as circle, square (single or as chessboard), arrows, naval signaling flags, brackets, and so on. The second

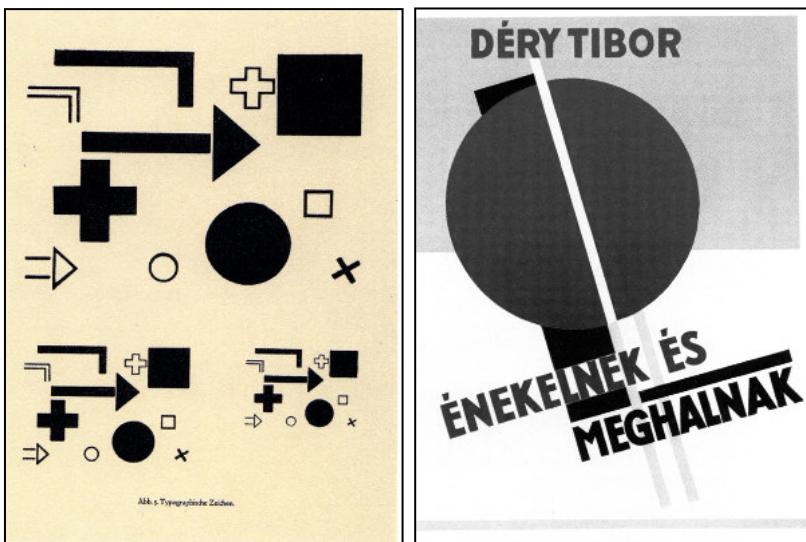
category includes the use of collages of constructivist icons, such as the wheel, steamship, aeroplane, crane, automobile and other symbols of industrial production.

In this context, it is important to note an important difference between the anti-art dogmatism of Soviet or German functionalists and Teige's more nuanced attitude with respect to the inherent poetic aspects of constructivist art. Even though Teige generally agreed with Ilya Ehrenburg's slogan "art is dead," he modified it in his own writings as "art ceases to be art," arguing that there is no clear borderline or fixed criteria to separate art from non-art. At the core of this argument is Teige's conviction that any suitable material or method is capable of producing art, as long as it is compatible with contemporary needs and desires. To make his case, Teige points to the case of photography and film as legitimate successors to the former art of easel painting. It is in that sense Teige defines his slogan that art ceases to be art, rather than summarily proclaiming the end of art.¹⁸

Another important aspect of Teige's typographical revolution is the matter of accessibility and cost. Along with Tschichold he condemned the esthetically refined, but optically misconceived work of William Morris, which he considered to contain two major defects. The first is the high cost of books containing hand-produced ornamental flourishes. The second is the danger of publishing books for a select group of book collectors, who are willing to bear the high cost of these so-called works of art. In contrast, Teige advocated the publication of books for everybody at minimum cost, meaning books produced by modern mechanized printing presses with readily available and optically legible types and illustrations, using photographic and other cheaply available means of reproduction for pictorial effect. This should not entail sacrificing excellence of design. On the contrary, by recognizing the sophistication acquired by the global spread of macro- as well as micro-photographic imagery, book design needs to absorb the optical lessons of the advertising poster, neon traffic sign, and all the other visual effects operative in a modern urban environment. Examples of the implementation of these notions can be found throughout the pages of this chapter.

Book cover designs by Tschichold, El Lissitzky, Kassak, Moholy-Nagy and others, containing similar typographical devices, are included in the illustrations to show to what extent Teige was aware of parallel developments by members of the international avant-garde during those years.

In contrast to the purely utilitarian interpretation of the formula "form follows function," promoted by the German "Neue Sachlichkeit" (new functional objectivity, determining form in architecture), Teige was more circumspect, assigning function a more humble role in the determination of form by declaring that "constructivism is the base, poetism the crown." In other words, the irrational elements of emotion, pleasure, harmony, balance, color, were considered by Teige to be just as important for the creation of poetic images as are function and construction. His invention of "picture poems" was an attempt to realize this fusion of the functional with the emotional in visual terms.



Figures 9 and 10

Left: László Moholy-Nagy, *Typographical Signs*, 1924, Gutenberg-Festschrift (Mainz). [Ill. XXI, p. 31, black and white].

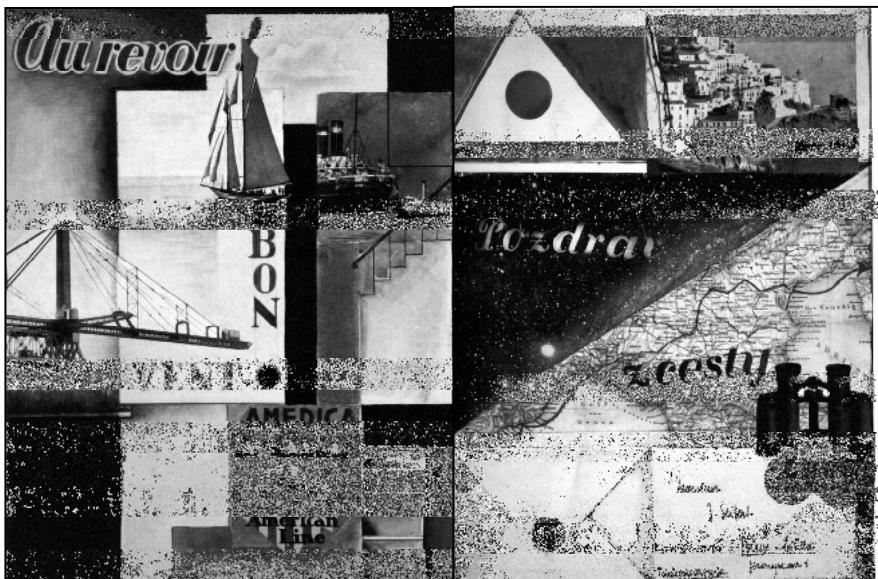
Right: Lajos Kassák, T. Dery, *They Sang and Died*, front cover, 1928, Genius Verlag, 25 x 18 cm [Ill. XXIV, p. 33, color].

Teige's picture poems: *Odjezd na Kyteru* (Departure for Cyprus) and *Pozdrav z cesty* (Greetings from a journey), are discussed at length, along with a detailed analysis of their composition, including Teige's own explanation concerning the intentions of his design: "I tried to design a touristic poem as a reflection of travel lyricism by means of a composition containing a number of elemental photographic images: A ship's signaling flag, a tourist postcard, a photo of a [Mediterranean] starry sky, a route map, a pair of field glasses and a hand-written 'greeting from the journey' on a standard envelope – all this, to evoke the experiences and impressions that are otherwise difficult to express in words."¹⁹ Apart from the collage format of the composition, Teige further notes that the design of *Departure for Cyprus* was an attempt to endow the composition as a consecutive series of pictorial snapshots, similar to the dynamic 'takes' of a film sequence."

Holiday Games

Before continuing my discussion of the book, it is important to briefly sketch the situation in Czechoslovakia during the twenties and early thirties. The operative word for that period is optimism. The country had gained its independence on the side of the victors of the Great War and subsequently succeeded to thrive as a functioning democracy, endowed with a highly sophisticated industrial economic base and a stable currency. Life in general was relatively easy. Jazz was all the rage and the Charleston ruled in Prague dance halls. Teige and his cohorts met in cafes and wine bars to discuss the

expected arrival of a joy-filled socialist paradise. The Great Depression and Hitler were still far beyond the horizon of their futurist expectations. In short, the twenties and early thirties may be considered the *belle époque* of the first Czechoslovak republic.



Figures 11 and 12

Left: *Odjezd na Kyteru* (Departure for Cyprus), 1923–1924, pencil, Indian ink, collage, paper, 26.5 x 22 cm, Gallery of the Capital City of Prague [Ill. 58, p.40, color].

Right: *Pozdrav z cesty* (Greetings from the journey), 1924, pencil, Indian ink, collage, paper, 32.5 x 24.5 cm, Gallery of the Capital City of Prague [Ill. 59, p. 41, color].

Teige's holiday (with Jaroslav Seifert) to southern France and the Adriatic coast was a natural outcome of this joyful celebration of a carefree life. Inspired by the spirit of that time, and before leaving for their vacation south, Teige and Seifert sent a dada-inspired invitation to their friends, asking them to join them for a "poetic good bye" with guaranteed "record good cheer".²⁰ It is composed of a variety of different size types and completely ignores conventional text alignment. At the top of the page, two fingers point at the title of the invitation. Clearly, the intention was to break all the rules of conventional typographical practice. At the bottom of the sheet, Teige placed the black silhouette of a cat licking sweets from a dish. Teige described the design as "dada poetism."

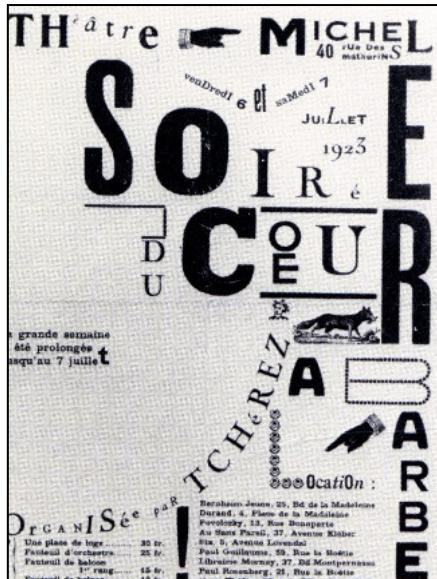
The full range of dadaist arrangements appears in Teige's design of Nezval's *Pantomima* in 1924.²¹ In order to endow the poems with a maximum variety of type faces, Teige personally rummaged through the storage bins of the printer's shop to the wonderment and dismay of the attending type setters. The aim of this exercise was to give each poem its own identity and—at the same time—stimulate the reader to embark upon a typographical adventure by

eliminating the monotony of using the same type throughout the entire volume.

The second poetist book, *TSF (Telegraphie sans fille*, i.e., Telegraph without wires) with Jaroslav Seifert as its main author, represents a more disciplined dadaist approach in typographic terms, but without losing its overall playful tone. This is achieved by endowing each poem with its own typographical identity, changing page positions as well as adding verbal aphorisms, poetic anecdotes and clever dadaistic puzzles.

The title *TSF* was intended to act as a symbol of modern communications, represented by telegraph and radio, both of which can be operated without connecting by wire. The effect of wireless communication—not unlike the optical communication by picture poems—was considered by Teige as direct, massive and dispersed. Critics were less impressed and derided the design of *TSF* as a “typographical rodeo.”

As Teige became more established as a creative book designer, he secured steady work with a number of progressively oriented publishing houses, such as Aventinum, Odeon, the Communist Press, the Central Student Library, V. Petr, as well as some German and Soviet publishers. Examples of his work during that period are shown on pages 55 to 71.



Figures 13 and 14

Left: Jaroslav Seifert and Karel Teige, *Invitation to an Evening Party*, 1924, 30 x 15 cm [Ill. 63, p.46, black and white].

Right: Iliazd (Ilya Zdanević), *Soirée du cœur à barbe*, poster, 1923, 26 x 20.5 cm [Ill. XXVII, p. 46, black and white].

The increasing use of constructivist themes in his photo montages may be traced to his 1927 visit to Moscow as a member of the Czechoslovak Cultural Mission, where he became personally acquainted with prominent

members of the constructivist movement. Illustration of his book covers during this period shows photographic renderings of a mostly constructivist nature, usually positioned in geometrically overlapping abstract planes, thus creating not only a set of hierarchically organized sequences of “takes,” but also creating the illusion of spatial depth within the overall composition. Taking his cue from advertising, Teige conceived these covers as “book posters,” using photo montage and bold types as devices to attract the attention of the reader, regardless of whether his covers advertised political propaganda, novels, poetry, travel stories, film reviews or any other subject.

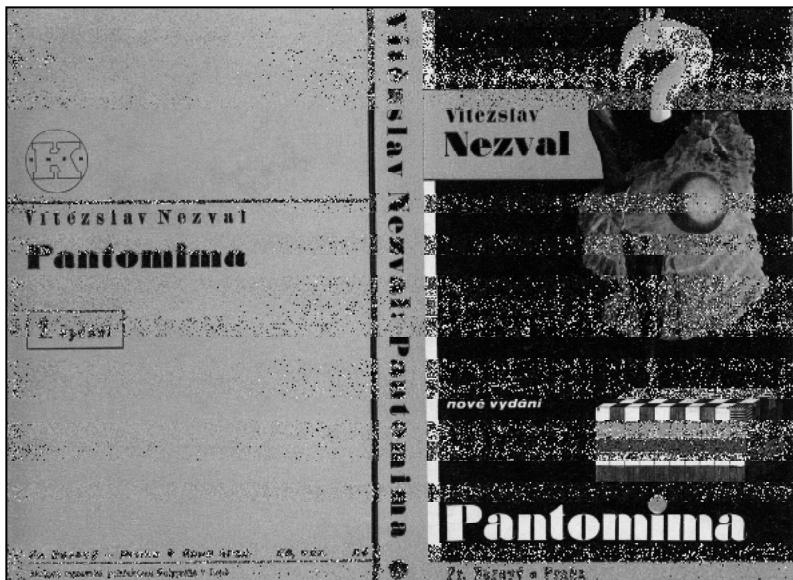


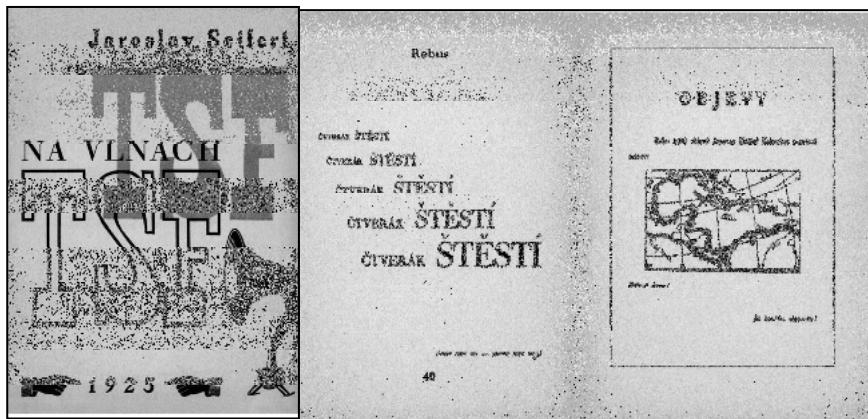
Figure 15

V. Nezval, *Pantomima*, book cover variant, 1935, Fr. Borový, second edition, 21 x 29 cm [Ill. 426, p. 173].

The crown jewel of Teige’s poetist phase is his graphic arrangement of Nezval’s collection of poems in *Abeceda* (Alphabet).²² From the beginning it was conceived as a team effort between Nezval, the poet, Milča Meyerová, the dancer, Karel Paspa, the photographer and Karel Teige the graphic designer. *Abeceda* was originally performed in 1926 as a recitation-dance number in the *Osvobozené divadlo* (Liberated theater) and as part of an evening celebrating the work of Vitezslav Nezval. Its theatrical success eventually led to the decision by Nezval to publish the poems in book form, with photographs of the dance positions accompanying each letter of the alphabet.

Teige immediately saw the potential of this combination of poetry, dance movements and the letters of the alphabet as raw material for the design of a picture poem. Instead of placing the photographs of Milča’s dance positions as conventional illustrations next to Nezval’s quatrains, he provided

each with a graphic “frame” for each letter. The result is a fusion of Nezval’s quatrains with “monumental” letters framing Milča’s dance poses.



Figures 16 and 17

Left: J. Seifert, *Na vlnách TSF* (On the Waves of the radio), cover, 1925, V. Petr, 22.5 x 34.5 cm [Ill. 81, p. 50, color].

Right: J. Seifert, *Na vlnách TSF*, illustration, 1925, V. Petr, 22.5 x 34 cm [Ill. 92-93, p. 52, black and white].

The significance of *Abeceda* as a picture poem is manifold. It provides a graphic realization of the integration of letter, poem, movement and –when declined-sound, while at the same time elevating photography and typography to the level of legitimate components of modern art. The dialectical relationship between the images of a real, moving human body, the abstract shapes of the letters of the alphabet, and the dadaistic nature of the poems must be considered not only as the most accomplished work of the poetist movement, but even more so as a revolutionary statement of the ability of modern book design to merge type, image and poem into a coherent work of art.

Pages 83-101 (Illustrations 186-244) cover Teige's book cover designs from 1927 to 1928. Unlike his poetist approach in *Abeceda*, Teige's emphasis shifts toward producing an energetic, active and somewhat provocative balance between color and form. In his book *Moderní typo* (1927) he sees the role of the book cover as an advertisement of its contents, explaining that "...in order for the intended poster-like format to become effectively balanced, I usually choose primary colors and basic geometric forms,... such as circles, squares, fat underlining and strong color contrasts to achieve dramatic optical effects and a balanced composition of the whole."²³ Unlike in his designs of the early twenties, he avoids any kind of typographical ornament, such as stars, crosses and other typographical flourishes. Many of the covers reproduced were designed for Czech translations of foreign avant-garde writers, such as Charles Baudelaire, Ilya Ehrenburg, Jules Romains, and Jean Cocteau. There are also covers of Teige's own books, such as *Stavba a*

báseň (Building and poem) and the cover of *Typografia XXXIV-10*, the trade journal of the Association of Czechoslovak Printers. The influence of Russian constructivism is evident in most of the designs of this period and is traced by the authors to Teige's contacts with Ilya Ehrenburg after his visit to Moscow.

Even though he shared the admiration of the young Soviet Union with many of his avant-garde contemporaries at home and abroad, he was not blind to the achievements of American technology, which he viewed less in ideological terms but more as examples of the progressive spirit of an advanced technological civilization.



Figures 18 and 19

Left: Otakar Mrkvička and Karel Teige, M. Nohejl, *Dívka a sen* (Maiden and dream), front cover, 1925, Aventinum, 17 x 11.5 cm [Ill. 110, p. 57, color].

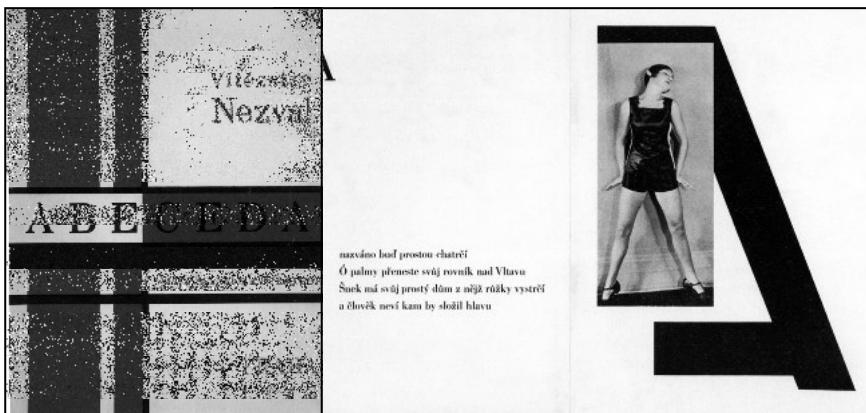
Right: Otakar Mrkvička and Karel Teige, L. Delluc, *Chaplin*, title page, 1924, 17 x 11.5 cm [Ill. 113, p. 57, black and white].

After October 1927, Teige became the chief editor of *Devětsil*'s house journal *ReD* (Review *Devětsil*; 1927-1931). *ReD* became the most important conduit between the Czech avant-garde and its international counterparts. It was advertised by Teige as a "synthetic journal of international cultural work," and "...a red signal announcing an impending new cultural epoch... the ultimate word in international modernism, the modern spirit and the modern will toward revolution."²⁴ He designed or co-designed most of its covers. The journal also served as Teige's outlet for his own theoretical writings on art, architecture, literature, film and typography.

Reproductions of the full series of the covers of *ReD* can be found on pages 102 to 113. They should prove invaluable for rare book collectors, both as a catalog and as a source of valuable information on their contents.

A Wobbling World

This chapter covers the period from 1927 to 1936, a period of transition in the cultural and political climate of Europe. While the eyes of the avant-garde were fixed on the vision of a sunny social utopia, dark clouds were gathering, ready to unleash the coming fascist and Stalinist calamities. Even though Hitler's exhibition condemning modern art (*Entartete Kunst*, 1937) was still some years away, and Stalin's decree *On the Reconstruction of Literary and Art Organizations*,²⁵ establishing Socialist Realism as the official cultural style throughout the Soviet Union in 1932, was yet to come, it became increasingly evident that modernism was under attack throughout Europe. Looking back from the vantage point of today, the late twenties may be viewed as a kind of Pyrrhic victory for modernism in art, architecture, literature and typography in Czechoslovakia, with Karel Teige acknowledged as its pre-eminent champion.



Figures 20 and 21

Left: V. Nezval, *Abeceda* (Alphabet), front cover, 1926, J.Otto, 31 x 23.5 cm [Ill. 154, p. 72, monochrome].

Right: V. Nezval, *Abeceda* (Alphabet), double page, poem and letter „A”-dance collage, 1926, J. Otto, 31 x 47 cm [Ill. 185, p. 74, greyscale].

Apart from his other activities in support of modernism in the arts, architecture and literature, Teige consolidated his position as a major player in the field of typography, both at home and internationally. He enjoyed equal status with other major figures in the field, such as Jan Tschichold, Kurt Schwitters, El Lissitzky, László Moholy-Nagy, and Lajos Kassák. His theoretical writings were translated and published abroad and became part of the international discourse on modern typography.²⁶

The chapter provides a detailed analysis of Teige's views on such subjects as the exclusive use of lower case letters,²⁷ the elimination of capitals and punctuation, symmetry vs. assymetry, the standardization of paper and book formats, orthogonal vs. diagonal positioning of titles and author's names, as well as the use of standard typographical symbols and the combination of

photo montage with all of the above.

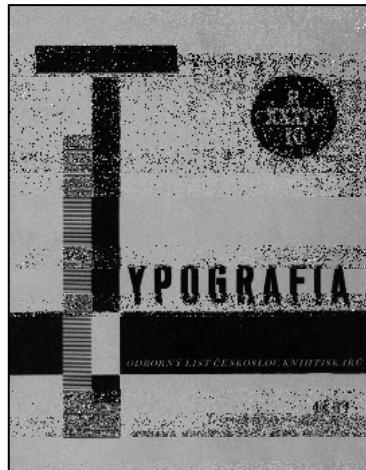
It also contains an excellent discussion of Teige's views on the optical effect of the new typography on the psycho-neural receptors of modern man. Not unlike Moholy-Nagy, Teige believed that modernizing typography ought not to be considered as an end in itself but rather as a psycho-physical process of visual perception, co-determined by content-specific cultural habits.

Simili-Constructivism or Pseudo-Constructivism

With the acceptance of assymetrical and constructivist elements in book design, a conflict arose between Teige's functionalist-purist justifications and the voices of his critics, who accused him of justifying constructivist forms on the basis of a purist notion of a utilitarian imperative, while at the same time mixing it with modified traditional types, thus producing an aesthetically founded "simili constructivism." In the preface of his book *Moderní typo*, Teige responded to his critics by pointing out that there was no reason to change a commonly accepted beautiful type, especially if it becomes impossible to objectively improve upon it. Once perfected, a "classical" type will inevitably remain unchanged over centuries. Interestingly, this reaction actually justified some of the criticism, as it pointed toward the limits of any attempt to create a completely new and strictly modern norm for typology, devoid of any traces of traditional practices. In the end, Teige was aware of this conflict and acknowledged this dilemma by admitting that "...we may talk about a kind of 'magic of forms' which has been instilled in us by centuries of practical use...it is this that the very meaning of typographical intuition and clarity is founded upon. Certain curves and a certain balance and conception of forms appear to us to possess something that is aesthetically significant. Certain typographical forms succeed to evoke in us and affect us by certain forms of associations: We know that a single emphatic typographical sign can tell us the entire sense of a cover."²⁸

Both Teige and Tschichold anticipated the corruption of legitimate constructivist designs by shallow imitators. Teige dealt with this subject in *Moderní typo* where he made a distinction between what he labeled as genuine constructivism, and decorative and formalistic pseudo-constructivism. The latter operates with forms borrowed from constructivist works, but tends to use them in an a-rational manner, without sense or purpose, that is decoratively. Genuine constructivism, on the other hand, is "constructed" on the basis of legitimate typographic elements and provides the eye with optical cues toward a holistic comprehension of the intended resulting image. As was to be expected, not everybody was convinced by Teige's distinction between pure and simili-constructivism. For example, Vít Obrel, also a member of *Devětsil*, considered the book cover as a problem of creative design, rather than the application of some metaphysical constructivist norms. He did not deny the existence of constructivist problems, such as choice of type, paper grain, color harmony, etc., but more as compositional problems, to be rendered compatible with 20th century aesthetic norms. Teige, the functionalist, disagreed: "Form is not a fetish, but the result of a purpose, function and materiál,"²⁹ but he

otherwise ignored Obrtel's attacks in the knowledge that he was acknowledged internationally as the only Czech typographer of importance. Perhaps, deep down, he may have been aware that formal elements always meshed with functional ones and the other way round. In the end, so-called "constructivist" book design became just another another style in general typographical practice.



Figures 22 and 23

Left: K. Teige, *Stavba a báseň* (Building and poem), front cover, 1927, Vaněk a Votava, 26 x 16 cm [Ill. 196, p. 87, color].

Right: *Typografia* 34, 1927, no. 10, cover, 31 x 23.5 cm [Ill. 195, p. 86, monochrome].

Standardization

As modern typography became accepted internationally, the problem of standardization needed to be addressed in order to streamline production methods, paper sizes, poster formats, invoices, etc., throughout Europe. Even though Teige tried to standardize the format of *Devětsil*'s publications, it was Tschichold who eventually succeeded to establishing a European standard in the *Deutsche Werkbund*. Teige accepted Tschichold's standard and adjusted it to Czech circumstances (mainly accounting for the use of diacriticals). Examples of Czech standardized magazine covers are reprinted throughout the chapter, along with standardized letter sizes, address labels, invoices.

Optical Poems

One of the more fascinating sections of this chapter is the analysis of Teige's experiment with standard printer's typographical stencils, such as lines, dots, bars, arrows, for cover designs and book illustrations. The cover and illustrations of Konstantin Biebl's collection of poems *S lodí, jež dováží*

čaj a kávu (With a ship importing tea and coffee, 1928) demonstrate the results of this experiment. Not unlike the Dutch architect Piet Zwart in his *Onaggio a una giovane donna* (1925), Teige used generally available typesetting stencils, such as lines of different colors, bands of different thickness, and other standard symbols to compose different abstract patterns in order to evoke what he calls “optical poems.” Unlike in his earlier “picture poems,” where photographic images of real events or objects were framed by abstract lines and bands, he eliminated all pictorial imagery from the composition in order to produce an optically determined, abstract “optical poem.” The theory used by Teige to justify this approach is based on the theory of abstract painting, namely the attempt to explore the sensory effects of light, color, form and composition as independent factors of pure visual perception, leaving the interpretation of meaning to individual choice.



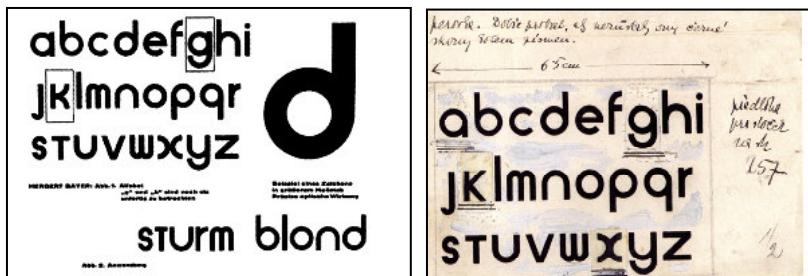
Figure 24

ReD 1, 1927, nos. 2 and 3, front covers, 22 x 17 cm [Ill. 247, p. 103, color].

In essence, these optical poems represent Teige’s understanding of how the eye operates in “reading” a composition. For example, as the eye moves dynamically from left to right, word to word, sentence to sentence and down to the next line, there is no perception of a central axis or a geometrically determined static symmetry. Instead, the eye can be guided to respond voluntarily to stimuli created by positioning optically significant elements (e.g., red circles or big dots) diagonally, rather than mechanically following the directional thrust of a fat line or band. Teige’s “optical poems” were criticised the same way as his purist attitude with respect to constructivist design, that is, as an exercise of typographical decorativism.

In contrast to Teige’s experiment with optical poems, most of his

book covers designed between 1928 and 1929 are actually exercises in minimalist typographical composition. Simple types are placed within an orthogonal framework of horizontal and vertical lines or bands. Colors are used sparingly and subtly to enhance readability and contrast. This retreat into a kind of “classical” simplicity may be attributed to Teige’s unconscious reaction to criticism as well as to a general tendency among the avant-garde to consolidate its gains in the typographical world by restraining their former experimental exuberance in exchange for a general acceptance of their fundamental tenets, such as readability, simplicity, functional clarity and—not to be forgotten—lower cost.



Figures 25 and 26

Left: Herbert Bayer, typographical letter design, 1926 (Offset, *Buch und Werbekunst* (Book and advertising art), no. 7) [III. XLVIII, p. 117, black and white, red color of letter „d“].

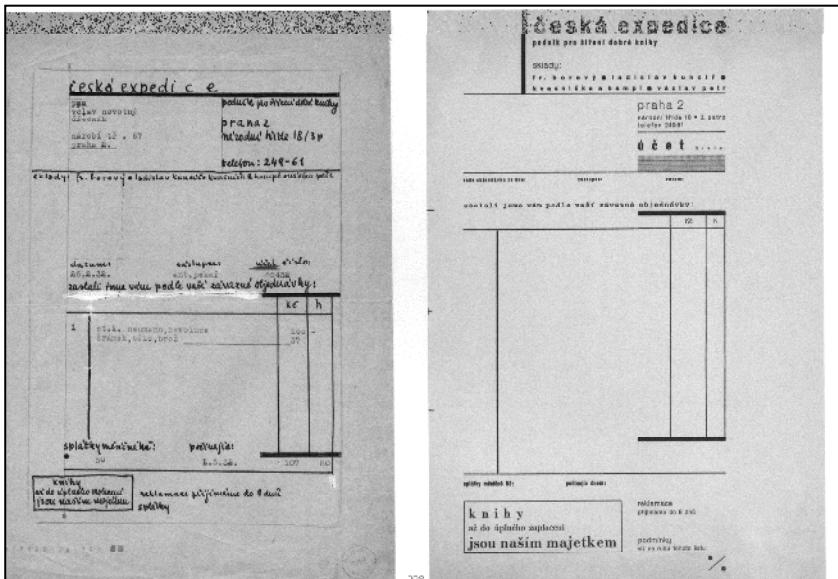
Right: K. Teige, correction of Bayer's font design (letters „g, k and x“), 1928, Indian ink, paper, 14 x 22.5 cm [III. 286, p. 117, black and white].

The chapter concludes with a summary of Teige's views on typography from the late twenties to the middle thirties. As mentioned above, Teige evaded traditional academic specialization in favor of his own development as a free lance author, artist, philosopher, critic and typographer. This absence of academic specialization allowed him to become a kind of Jack of all trades, capable of translating developments in one branch of the arts or architecture to another branch, such as photography, film, typography and book design.

His intimate and frequent contacts with like-minded members of the international avant-garde reinforced the ecumenical nature of his activities, leading to a holistic view of the relationship between life and art. Implicit in such a caleidoscopic view of art and life was the aforementioned difficulty of drawing a clear line of demarcation between form and function. Teige tried to erase this line by viewing historical developments and artistic creativity dialectically as an intellectual puzzle, rather than sequentially ordered events in time and space. It is in that sense that Teige revised his earlier categorical slogan that “art ceases to be art” by drawing a distinction between painting and poster: “When we are looking at a painting, a graphic composition, drawing, or a photographic picture, we view these privately and in silence, with maximal mental concentration. In contrast, when we look at a poster or an

advertisement, it is [merely] with a glance of the eye, [usually] in the hustle bustle of daily life." In the latter case "...the spectator does not seek out a work of art,..." but, on the contrary, "...the poster and the advertisement must seek out their viewers and capture their interest and attention. The function of a work of art is aesthetic. The function of an advertisement is commercial."³⁰

According to Teige, this need to stimulate the interest of the viewer in the hustle-bustle of modern life led to the use of photomontage, as it compresses and emphasizes multiple facets of a given composition, while at the same time allowing the viewer to interpret its meaning on the mental plane. According to Teige, the use of photography and photomontage as a means of promoting the sale of mass-produced consumer items on the one hand and propagating the aims of the worker's movement on the other hand creates the distinction between advertising and "art." In the latter case, the designer can no more put on the mantle of a traditional artist but instead becomes a member of a "worker-engineer" design team, just as the new typographer is merely one specialist among the larger team comprised of author, type setter, producer, publisher and distributor.



Figures 27 and 28

Left: Česká expedice (Czech dispatch office), design of invoice, 1932, Indian ink, paper, 29 x 21 cm, Pámátník národního písemnictví, Prague [Ill. 297, p. 123, black and white].

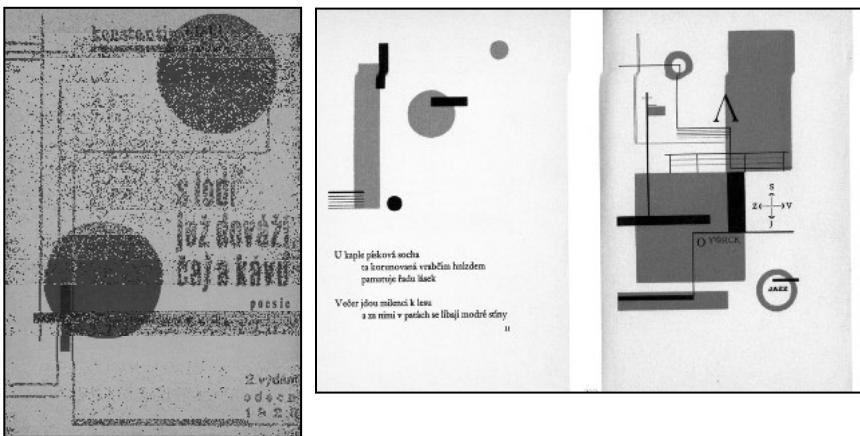
Right: Česká expedice (Czech dispatch office), invoice, 1932, 29.5 x 20.5 cm [Ill. 298, p. 123, black and white].

What Teige seems to ignore is the vexing problem of leadership and a pragmatic understanding of the need for some kind of institutional hierarchy in organized society. Is it really possible that the type setter is equal to the typographer or the author to the editor? Here, his Marxist ideology seems to

have trumped his innate sense of an objective assessment of reality.

Printed Pictures

After the dissolution of *Devětsil* in 1929, Teige shifted his main focus to the subject of architecture. At the same time, he continued to earn a modest income from his regular work in typography. He combined the first with the second with the publication of his own book *Nejmenší byt* (Minimum dwelling).³¹ As an advertisement of its contents, the design of the cover combined constructivist geometry with two photographs of collective dwellings and the reproduction of a strip of newspaper ads in the “apartments for rent” column.



Figures 29 and 30

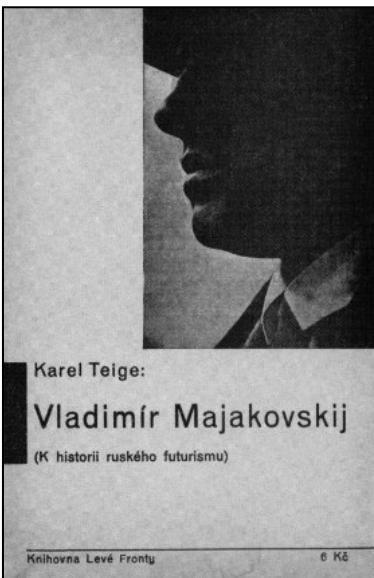
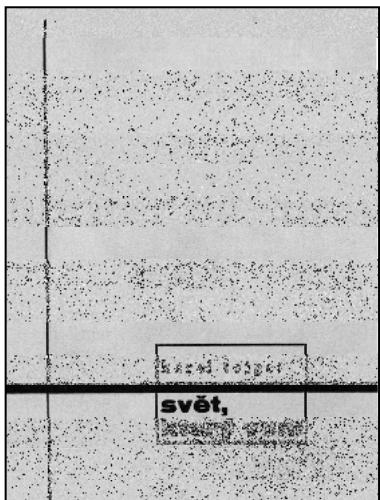
Left: K. Biebl, *S lodí, jež dováží čaj a kávu* (With a ship importing tea and coffee), hand colored, front cover, 1928, Odeon, second edition, 20 x 14 cm, private collection [Ill. 319, p.134, color].
 Right: K. Biebl, *S lodí, jež dováží čaj a kávu* (With a ship importing tea and coffee), illustrations, 1928, Odeon, second edition, 20 x 14 cm, private collection [Ills. 322 and 323, p.135, color].

In contrast to previous sections, which covered Teige’s work in a more or less chronological order, emphasis shifts to an in-depth analysis of Teige’s ability to absorb and improve upon the most important trends that informed the development of the new typology during the early decades of the twentieth century: Jan Tschichold, El Lissitzky and Max Ernst count among the most prominent influences on Teige’s work and are discussed in great detail.

Along with the parallel development of modern typology internationally from purism and constructivism to the use of photographic reproductions and photo-montage, the authors trace Teige’s subsequent embrace of surrealism, both in his typographical work and as a private means of self-expression.

Teige’s inclusion of photographic images in his cover designs is traced to the influence of Jan Tschichold’s 1931 lecture on photo montage in Brno. As to the technique of collage, Teige gives credit to El Lissitzky as the

“most perfect example of [the use of] “typofoto” on the covers of the journal *SSSR na strojku* (USSR in Construction), with photographs of the Dneprostroy dam, Red Army soldiers and collages of Lenin, superimposed on the enlarged beard of Karl Marx. In fact, Teige used copies of some of these images in his own cover designs.³²



Figures 31 and 32

Left: K. Teige, *Svět který voní* (A perfumed world), front cover, 1930, Odeon, 19 x 14 cm [Ill. 353, p. 149, monochrome].

Right: K. Teige, *Vladimir Majakovskij*, front cover, 1936, J. Prokopová, 19,5 x 12,5 cm [Ill. 368, p. 153, monochrome].

Inspired by Russian and German experiments in photo-montage, Teige published a number of essays on this subject in the Czech journal *Žijeme* (We live, Sept./Oct. 1932), where he defined photo-montage as a creative expression of the realities of modern life by combining existing images in such a way as to produce a new meaning by their juxtaposition in both the cultural and political sense. Examples of such seemingly unrelated images, producing an overall synthetic effect, are documented by reproductions of relevant book and journal covers, as well as discussed in some detail in the text. For example, on one of the covers for Fr. Borový's series *Knihy dalekých obzorů* (Books of far away horizons, ill. 391-93), Teige superimposes the black torso of a nude African woman on a faint blue background of sub-surface ocean creatures. On another cover, he combines the skeleton of a human body with an enlarged cross-section of a sea shell spiral and X-ray images of nerve and tissue structures.

The most interesting part of this chapter is the story of Teige's transition from a more or less purist-constructivist mode to his use of surrealist

montages in his book designs. His conversion to surrealism was prompted to a large extent by the increasingly sinister political events of the thirties, which intensified his internal struggle to come to terms with the subconscious world of subjective imagination and dreams within the darkening reality of his personal life.³³ In many ways, this schism between the objective nature of conscious, perceived reality and subjective, subconscious dream reality reveals the struggle between his early faith in the power of rational utilitarianism and the “inner model” of an a-rational world of surrealistic dreamlike “montages.” Put differently, Teige’s embrace of surrealism may be considered as merely another form of truth seeking, where he exchanged the “truth” of realistic photographic images of the external world for the “truth” of the surreal imagery of the inner world.³⁴ It also reveals the deep psychological cleavages of Teige’s complex personality and his remarkable intellectual capacity to absorb and digest diametrically opposed ideas and incorporate their effect in his artistic experiments, often taking diverging paths toward a kind of Hegelian final synthesis. Ultimately, his intellectual versatility saved him from academic one-sidedness and ideological fanaticism.

Another way to look at Teige’s surrealist collages is suggested by the authors to be due to Teige’s success in re-interpreting familiar images by rearranging their context, which effectively imbues them with a “second life” by making them compatible with the sharpened sensibilities of our modern age.³⁵ By establishing surrealist montage as a legitimate artistic means of expression, Teige must be considered as one of the most important contributors to its use in book design.³⁶

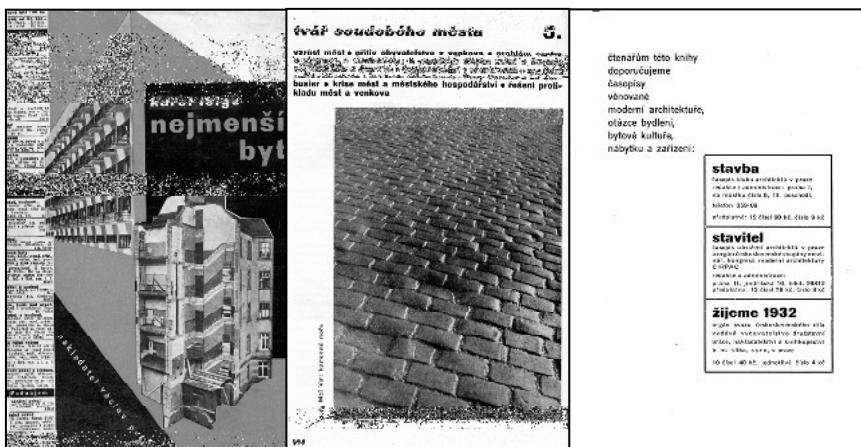


Figure 33, 34 and 35

Left: K. Teige, *Nejmenší byt* (Minimum dwelling), front cover, 1932, V. Petr, 25.5 x 38 cm [III. 375, p. 157, color]. Copy of original in author’s collection. Center: Illustration in original, p. 104. [Author’s collection]. Right: Advertising in original [Author’s collection].

In conclusion, it may be stated that Teige succeeded in many ways in bridging the paradox of his early functionalist convictions with his later

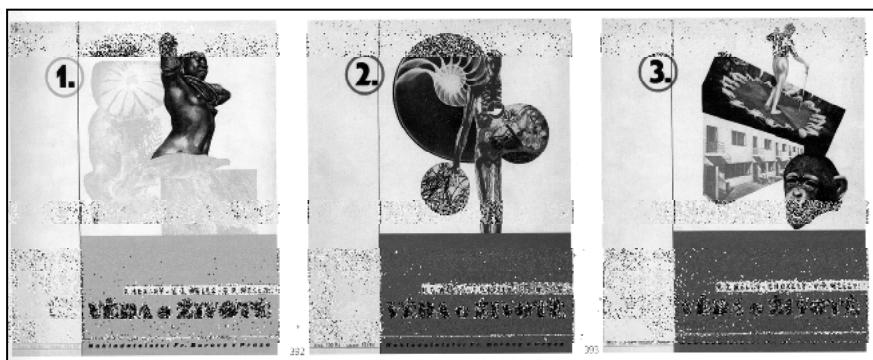
embrace of surrealism by the graphic technique of collage and montage, which allowed him to combine images of an optically revealed conscious world with the hidden world of subconscious dreams, the former lodged in the flow of linear time as traditional history, while the latter remains independent of past, present and future. They represent different sides of the same coin, as modern life has become ever more functional in the constructivist sense, while at the same time serving up ever more surrealistic events.

Everyday Work

The last chapter follows Teige's typographical activities during the years of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia (1939-1945) up to his untimely death in 1951 during the post-war Communist era.

Deprived of free political expression in both situations, Teige managed to eke out a modest living by designing book covers for professional, scientific, literary and art-historical titles. In many cases, he worked anonymously, compelling the authors of the book to verify his authorship by indirect means, such as instructions to printers, personal sketches and notes, as well as third party testimonials. Nevertheless, his distinctive style provides the most compelling proof of his authorship, as he consistently continued to apply the fundamental principles of modern typography to all his designs throughout this period.

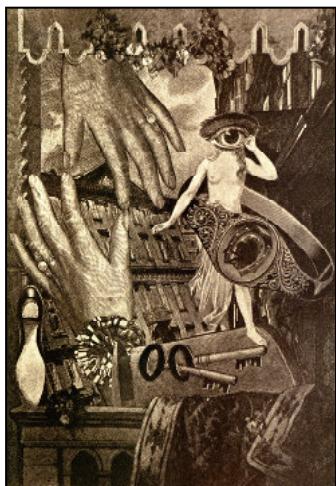
None of the titles reproduced in this section represent new experiments, nor do the designs go beyond the norms of an already accepted modern style in typology. In that sense, Teige's late book designs had become part of a general acceptance of modern typographical tenets in the practice of many printers and publishers.³⁷



Figures 36, 37, 38

H.G. Wells-J.S. Huxley, *Veda Věda o životě* (*Science of life*), front covers of nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1931, Fr. Borový, 25.5 x 20 cm [Ill. 391-393, p. 161, color].

Throughout this period, Teige continued to deliver high quality designs, as documented by the illustrations and as proof of his fidelity to

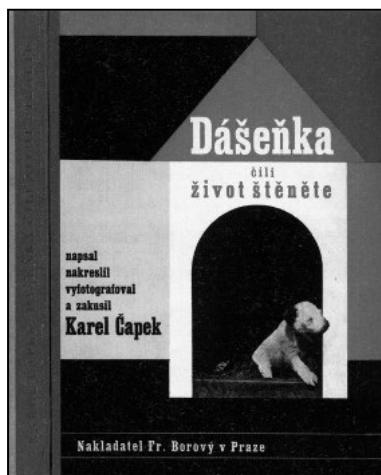


Figures 39 and 40

Left: V. Nezval, *Praha s prsty dese dešťe* (Prague with fingers of rain), design of frontispiece, 1936, collage, paper, 14.5 x 9 cm. Památník národního písemnictví, Prague [Ill. 455, p. 182, monochrome].

Right: V. Nezval, *Basné Básně noci* (Poems of the night), front cover, 1938, Fr. Borový, fourth edition, 19.5 x 12.5 cm [Ill. 463, p. 187, color].

principles developed by himself and other pioneers in the field of typography during the early decades of the century. Unable to take part in public events,



Figures 41 and 42

Left: M. Němec, *Zachrana Záchrana podstaty lesů* (Salvage of forest essentials), front cover, 1946, 21 x 15 cm [Ill. 489, p. 197, color].

Right: Karel Čapek, *Dasenka Dášeňka, cili čili život stenete štěněte* (Dášeňka, or the life of a puppy), front cover, 1933, 28.5 x 42 cm [Ill. 404, p. 164].

Teige accepted this “everyday work” with equanimity, while devoting the rest of his time to the study of the theory and history of modern art, only to be cut short by his untimely death in 1951.

Conclusion

Karel Teige and Typography must be considered an indispensable contribution in the process of rehabilitation and rediscovery of Teige’s legacy. The intention of the preceding comments and observations is to convince even a non-Czech reader of the significance of this book, both as a comprehensive and beautifully illustrated compendium of Teige’s complete typographical oeuvre and as a work of great scholarly value, shedding new light on the relationship of Teige’s theories and designs in comparison with the work of other members of the international avant-garde of the inter-war years.

Considering the high quality of scholarship, illustrations and the well documented and insightful commentaries by the authors, there is no doubt in my mind that it provides an invaluable source of information on Teige’s accomplishments as typographer, illustrator and general book designer, apart from telling a well researched story of his relationship with other avant-garde typographers of his era.³⁸

NOTES

1. Karel Srp, Polana Bregantová, and Lenka Bydžovská, *Karel Teige a typografie: asymetrická harmonie* (Karel Teige and typography: an asymmetric harmony) (Prague: Arbor Vitae, 2009). In this essay, reproductions of original illustrations are identified by page numbers, along with color or black and white designation.

All quotes in the text are free translations from Czech by the author.

Initially, I was asked to produce a short English book review for the Czech journal *Umění* (Art), but was unable to complete it on schedule due to serious health issues. Intrigued by the subject, I decided to expand the review into this essay.

2. Masaryk governed with the help of the “pětka,” a coalition of five parties, excluding the Communists. These were: The Agrarian party (Antonín Švehla), the National Democrats (Alois Rašín), the People’s Party (Jan Šrámek), the Social Democrats Rudolf Bechyně), and the National Socialists Jiří Stříbrný). Masaryk favored the Social Democrats.

3. The Marxist faction of the Social Democrats reconstituted itself as the Communist Party in 1921. It remained one of the strongest parties throughout the existence of the First Republic, but never took part in any coalition during its political life.

4. Teige instigated this “war of generations” after the formation of Devětsil in 1919 by recruiting left leaning young members of his own generation.

5. Teige’s and V. Nezval’s “invention” of *Poetism* as the chosen

cultural vehicle to transform everyday life into a poetic happening is the best example of their idealized version of life in the blissful utopia of socialism.

6. The motto PRAVDA ZVÍTĚZÍ (TRUTH WILL TRIUMPH) on the presidential standard may be considered as a validation of this connection between Mararyk's life-long intellectual search for the sources of "truth."

7. See Karel Čapek, *Hovory s T.G. Masarykem* (Conversations with T.G. Masaryk) (Prague: Český spisovatel, 1990).

8. Ibid. Free interpretation of text by author. See also Jaroslav Opat, *Filosof a politik T.G. Masaryk, 1882-1893* (Prague, Melantrich, 1990).

9. Clement Gottwald made the party join the Communist International in 1929 and made it subject to all policy dictates from Moscow from then on, until the Velvet Revolution in 1989. Any deviation from this rigid regime branded deviants as Trotskyites and bourgeois cosmopolitans. After the communist take over in 1948, Teige was branded by the party as both an unrepentant Trotskyite and as a fellow traveler of bourgeois-leaning cosmopolitanism, even though he never officially joined the party as a member.

10. Eric Dluhosch and Rostislav Švácha, eds., *Karel Teige/1900-1951: L'Enfant Terrible of the Czech Modernist Avant-Garde* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). This is a collection of essays by Czech, Swiss and American authors on each facet of Teige's work, including translations of some of his more important theoretical essays. See also Eric Dluhosch, "Karel Teige," *Architecture and Poetry, Rassegne* XV, 53/1(March 1993), 4-88.

11. The tendency was to glorify the Slavic origins of Czech culture in painting, sculpture and-above all-literature during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

12. Karel Srp, et al., 6.

13. Srp, et al., 6.

14. POETISM was "invented" by Karel Teige and Vítězslav Nezval during one of their nocturnal walks in Prague.

15. Teige's death was as dramatic as his life. As a believer in free love, he maintained a permanent relationship with two women, his wife and Miss E. On the day of his death, he suffered a heart attack, while waiting for a tramway to take him from his home to the apartment of Miss E. He died in her arms. She gave the news to his wife, who had accepted the arrangement. Both women committed suicide days after Teige passed away.

16. The origin of the name *Devětsil* is unclear. Literally, it connotes "the strength of nine," but also denotes the flower butterbur.

17. This represented an intellectual break with most of the pre-WWI generation.

18. Rudo Prekop, "Karel Teige a fotografie" (Ph.D. dissertation, FA-MU Prague, Katedra fotografie, 1986). This thesis is an excellent exposition of Teige's involvement with photography and film.

19. Srp, et al., 41.

20. Ibid., 46.

21. The whole design is heavily influenced by the works of Marinetti,

Mallarmé and Apollinaire.

22. English edition: Vitezslav Nezval, *Alphabet*, translated by Jindřich Toman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications,, 2001).

23. Srp, et al., 87.

24. Ibid., 101.

25. The Union of Soviet Writers was founded to control the output of all artists and authors throughout the Soviet Union. The new policy was rubber-stamped during the Congress of Socialist Writers in 1934. It was enforced ruthlessly in all spheres of artistic endeavor. Artists who strayed from the official line were severely punished—many were sent to labor camps in Siberia and elsewhere.

26. See Lissitzky's 8 points in *Merz*, no 4 (1923); Kurt Schwitters's 10 points in *Merz*, no. 1 (1925), Jan Tschichold's 6 points in *Kulturschau*, folio 4 (spring 1925) and his 10 points in *Elementare Typographie* (October 1925). Teige published his 6 points in *Typografia* in 1927. It was translated and published in German and French soon after.

27. A precedent for using only lower case letters was the publication of Adolf Loos' *Speaking in the Void, 1897-1900*.

28. Srp, et al., 122.

29. Ibid. 125.

30. Ibid. 153.

31. Karel Teige, *The Minimum Dwelling*, translated by Eric Dluhosch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002). The English edition reproduces the original cover, illustrations and type as designed by Teige in the original edition of 1932.

32. Cover of B. S. Haldan's *Marxistická filosofie a přírodní vědy* (Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences (1941).

33. This is related to Teige's definition of the subconscious as the "Inner Model."

34. This is evidenced by his rejection of the use of surrealism as a decorative style, or merely as a "clever play" with exotic images. Teige rejected Štyrský's and Toyen's use of photo-montage, which he considered as nothing else but "artistic embellishment."

35. Karel Srp, *Karel Teige* (Prague: TORST and National Museum of Literature, 2001). This booklet reproduces most of Teige's surrealist collages, along with an extensive English introduction by the author. It is available in the USA through Distinguished Art Publishers, 155 Sixth Avenue, 2nd Floor, New York, N.Y. 10013.

36. Note the current use of "picture within a picture" in television, along with montage, collage, double exposure, surrealist dream images, etc.

37. Many of Teige's designs were executed for the publishing firm Melantrich in Prague, who were brave enough to support him in difficult times.

38. Copious footnotes direct the serious scholar to additional sources, both Czech and international.

The Narrative Aspect of History: A Case Study of Texas Moravians

Joseph N. Rostinsky and Kenji Hotta.

It might have been a mere coincidence that Estelle Hudson and Henry R. Maresh's book on the *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest* appeared in 1934, i.e., at the time of President Roosevelt's New Deal policy. One may also wonder whether the text might have been written under the impact of the socio-economic changes that had taken place in the United States in the early twenties of the last century. It appears that the two authors rather indirectly alluded to the economic hardship and stamina of the American working man through the parable of the industrious and enduring Czech pioneer. It is this paradigmatic figure of the American *common man*, so dear to Walt Whitman and the whole Pleiad of Transcendentalists that seems to be metaphorically depicted as the new creative force in the American society. In Hudson and Maresh's version of the pioneer story in Texas, it is the Moravian and Czech immigrants whose private lives appear as an example to be emulated in the time of troubles, and remembered as a point of reference for the possible future adversities.

The reason for writing the book on the Moravian pioneers in Texas, the two authors explain as their wish to rectify the wrong supposedly done to the Texas Moravians by the Library of the University of Texas. The university library supposedly announced that it had been in the process of collecting historical materials needed for the study of Swedish, Irish, French and German immigrants in Texas. To Hudson's and Maresh's surprise, the university library's research project had nothing to say about the Moravian and Bohemian pioneers in Texas. The reason was, as Hudson and Maresh suggest in the way of apology: "in the matter of gathering Czech history from documents many difficulties were encountered. It seemed that, being no documents, there would be no history."¹

The authors thus point out the crucial problem that one would inevitably encounter when trying to write a comprehensive history of the Czech-Moravian settlement in Texas. Consequently, one may ask: How can one manage to reconstruct and evaluate all the events that might have determined the very character and function of the Czech and Moravian immigration without having at one's disposal adequate historical data, without being able to rely on official written documents that could shed some light, for instance, on the reason for and number of economic transactions, cultural and political events, as well as religious activities of the Texas Moravian immigrants?

Hudson and Maresh solved the problem of the scarcity of historical data by the traditional approach of recording the personal memories of those whom we might refer to as historical witnesses, or rather informants in the research terrain. In other words, the historical data, presented by the two authors, are overwhelmingly based on the oral tradition. It is this epic narrative of hardship and survival that stands for the crux of the book's content.

In the book there are mentioned several names of Moravian and Bohemian families. Their difficult beginnings are presented as a typical point of

departure for further narratives. For obvious reasons that are immanently related to the historical context of the Thirties, it is above all the economic success the frugal and disciplined Moravians and Bohemians had achieved in Texas that appears to crown each family narrative. At the time of writing the book, the two authors could talk only to a very few original pioneers who had been still alive. That is why the majority of the informants happen to be either the children of the Moravian and Czech pioneers or their immediate relatives. Some of the informants actually had been born in the old country (in Moravia or in Bohemia), which means that their memories would have been connected with a substantially different historical experience. However, it is not always the case. The individual capacity to remember various events sometimes fails and the authors of the book are well aware of this. Hence also the authors' critical commentary, inserted occasionally in the text in order to remind the reader, as it were, that the story, narrated and recorded in the book, ought to be accepted with a certain amount of doubt. " 'If Judge Haidusek were living he could tell you' – Not once, but again and again has come this lament in response to the quest for early historical data."²

The authors know well enough that personal memories could hardly be an adequate substitute for the authority of historical records or for the authoritative comment, expressed, for example, by Judge Haidusek. As a matter of fact, even personal memories happen to be subjected to the virulent process of cognitive entropy and dissipation. Actually, all memories, even those of entire nations, undergo a process of modification. They are frequently censored and altered so as to comply with the temporal demands and the context in which they are to be functional. It thus happens that the memories that are produced in the conscious mind as historical data and referential information may in fact be a mere figment of one's imagination.

This is why the historical narrative of the Moravian and Czech settlers in Texas may pose a serious problem of credibility: the time span between the present and the past, i.e., the time span between the actual writing of the book and the authentic historical events, as narrated by the informants, would have been rather extensive. Moreover, it has been established that the human cognitive capacity to remember events that have occurred under strenuous and life-threatening conditions, might be dramatically distorted. There is no doubt that the memories of the Moravian and Czech pioneers in Texas had been often induced by a combination of cultural shock, war events, and in several cases, by total destitution. The question to be posed then concerns not only the problem of credibility of the narrative, but also of the truth conveyed by the narrative.

That Hudson and Maresh show a great deal of empathy with their informants' stories of the hard beginnings on the Texas prairie, might be assumed and actually detected in the text. After all, the authors were quite familiar with the milieu in which the Moravian and Czech Texans had lived for at least two or more generations and, consequently, must have had some family ties with the Moravian community. That is why the two authors' defense of episodic history as a justifiable source of historical knowledge might be

viewed as rather expedient. Hence also the authors' assertion almost at the end of their book: "...the history of the Czech settlement and citizenship of Texas is not necessarily derived from 'documents.' It is to be had from the lives of the people who are making it."³

In other words, the lives of the people as narrated by the first settlers or by posterity ought to be considered as sufficient proof of the past events, construed as history. At this point, one cannot but wonder whether the authors' emphasis on the spoken word might not be just an excuse for their inability to search for historical documents, perhaps somewhere in archives or libraries, in local town halls and churches. One may also wonder whether their preoccupation with individual memories might not represent a mere attempt at *mythologizing* the lives of the Moravian and Bohemian pioneers in Texas, because at the time of troubles, heroic deeds are not only much more appreciated, but also needed as an *exemplum* to be followed.

What may induce the reader to question the authors' allusion to the personal experiences as the essence of history, is the rather telling introduction to the family history of the Šebestas, mentioned in the text of *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest*: "Like the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth on December 22, 1620, those first Czech immigrants who landed in Texas a century ago had two objects in view: to enjoy religious freedom and to acquire land for themselves."⁴

The parallel drawn between the English Pilgrims and nineteenth century Moravian and Bohemian pioneers, is indubitably significant because it tries to assess the symbolic value and functional importance of the two fundamentally different immigration waves to America. As often reiterated, the Pilgrims arrived at the coast of Massachusetts in order to realize their utopian version of the New Jerusalem dream in the New World. However, the Puritan dream also included the preservation of the English language and culture, whereas the Moravians and Bohemians landed at the coast of Texas in order to be culturally assimilated in the so-called *American melting pot*. In other words, the Moravian and Czech pioneers arrived at the United States without any intention of establishing some kind of Moravian Czech colony where they could perpetuate their language, culture, and religious faith. Those who are familiar with the historical chronology of Moravia and Bohemia in the second half of the nineteenth century would agree that the religious freedom was not the major issue in Bohemia and Moravia at that time. That is why the religious convictions of the Moravian and Bohemian pioneers could hardly be presented as some kind of decisive reason for the mass exodus from the Czech Crown lands. It is far more likely that the Moravians would leave their homes for the United States in order to improve their economic conditions. Indeed, it was above all the unbearable economic situation especially in the Northeast of Moravia that forced a great number of families to sell or abandon their homes and families and set off by frequently dangerous boats for the United States of America.

With a time leap of almost eighty years Eva Eckertová rather

convincingly shows in her book *Kameny na prérii* (Tombstones in the Prairie) that it was especially the disastrous socio-economic situation that had forced many Moravian families from the Valašsko and Lašsko regions (Northeastern Moravia) to sail from Germany to Texas or to some other American destination. In Moravia, religious persecution was almost non-existent in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was definitely non-existent as far as the Moravian Roman Catholics were concerned. But even the Bohemian (or Moravian) Brethren enjoyed a fair amount of religious freedom so that their faith would have hardly been a sufficient reason for undertaking the dangerous voyage to the American continent.

Yet, what Hudson and Maresh seem to have omitted in their historical narrative is the national identity issue of the Moravians. For the sake of comparison, it suffices to say that already in 1870, the American Immigration Office registered the Czech immigrants from Bohemia under the national category "Bohemian." However, the Moravians arriving from Moravia were as a rule classified by the American Immigration officer as the people belonging to one of the following nationalities: Austrian, German, Slovak or Hungarian.⁵ In other words, the Moravian nationality was not recognized in the United States until 1910. It was at the time of taking the American population census that the Moravian language was first officially recognized in the United States. At the same time, the Moravian nationality was also officially acknowledged in the United States, and clearly distinguished from the Bohemian nationality. As commonly known, the issue of nationality in Moravia and Bohemia has its own long history, and still continues to be one of the unresolved problems in the present Czech Republic.

Eckertová convincingly shows that some Moravians must have seen the Moravian national problem as one of the driving forces to immigrate. Although the independent Moravia had been recognized in the Austrian Empire as sovereign, historical Margravate, ruled directly by the Emperor, the adherence to the Moravian nationality was problematic, and frequently undermined by the argumentative propaganda of the Czech national revivalists. They claimed that the Moravians belonged to the Czech nation because the language they spoke was similar to the Bohemian language (the codified Czech language). It is clear that nineteenth-century Czech national revivalists viewed the language issue as decisive for formulating the romantic concept of the nation. Needless to say, the national issue in the historical Czech Crown lands could not be satisfactorily solved solely on the basis of the language usage. The Moravians as a nation also comprised a vast number of German-speaking citizens who also referred to themselves as Moravians (Maehrer). It is obvious that the linguistic criterion is not always a sufficient argument for the formation of a nation. The Americans themselves know better, since they speak predominantly English, but they do not claim to be Englishmen. By the same token, the Moravians may have spoken different dialects of Czech, yet their culture and national consciousness had been substantially different from that of the Bohemians.

Unlike Hudson and Maresh, Eckertová does not rely in her historical

description only on the historical, episodic narrative. She sees the Moravian and Bohemian immigration in Texas within the larger context of socio-political and economic problems of nineteenth-century Europe. That is why she is able to portray the first Moravian and Czech immigrants in Texas not only in an empathetic way, but also objectively, as it were. In other words, Eckertová's book maps historical events and makes them meaningfully functional for the reader to better comprehend the complex issue of immigration in general.

The problem with Hudson's and Maresh's historical narrative about the Czech pioneers of the Southwest seems also to be embedded in the fact that some informants readily admitted that they could not well remember the past events. Consequently, the reader cannot but doubt the verity of the historical narrative. A case in point is the story of Josef H. Shiller, as recorded on pages 95-104: "It is hard to write about these things that happened more than eighty years ago ... I do not remember much from my childhood years, but I will try to give my experiences in chronological order."⁶

In other words, it is Shiller's experiences that he is about to mention, but not the authentic events that might have occurred and would be chronologically remembered. The distinction between experiences and memories seems to be rather significant when it comes to writing history as such. One may ask a question as to what constitutes a personal experience and what might be the salient feature of memories. These are problems that have been occupying a great number of cognitive scientists, as one should assume. It is taken for granted that experiences and memories fulfill an essentially different function in human existence. For the same reason, experiences and memories convey different kind of information and thus message to those who would be receptive to the narrative.

According to Shiller, his father set out for the United States in 1853. However, Habenicht states in his *Dějiny Čechův Amerických* (*History of American Czechs*) that Josef Shiller moved to Texas in 1852 and lived in the community of Industry where he happened to buy some land in 1854. Shortly afterwards his wife died and his house burned down, and, as a result, Shiller became mentally ill, and passed away in 1855.⁷ The son of Josef Shiller, the narrator who appears in Hudson's and Maresh's book, does not mention any of these tragic events in his narrative. With all probability, the tragic events that had occurred in his family might have been consciously suppressed or indeed merely forgotten. Yet, it seems rather improbable that such devastating events could be totally obliterated from memory. (Though, from the psychological point of view, it may be also possible.) At any rate, the fact remains that one immigrant's life appears to be presented in the two modified versions. But even this might be seen as nothing truly surprising when it comes to various descriptions even in famous historical annals. However, the question ultimately arises as to who is telling the truth, and who may be omitting it, or even intentionally distorting it.

Needless to say, many historical descriptions and narratives have been constructed in such a way so as to conceal the truth. That is why there will always be different versions and interpretations of the same story. The oral tradi-

tion, as practiced from the time immemorial by all the peoples in the world, has been an invaluable source of frequently mythologized events that might have happened as narrated or that might have been substantially altered in order to perform a different social and political function. Be it as it may, it is apparent even from the colorful variety of the stories, mentioned by Moravian and Bohemian Texans in the form of letters to the newspaper editors (published in the newspapers *Našinec*, *Hospodář*, and *Svoboda*), that the epic tradition of the historical narrative had its deep roots in the Moravian Texas community.

The historical narrative as a concomitant genre of the oral, epic tradition has always played an important role in the Moravian folklore. That is why it should come as no surprise that it would be gradually transferred to the different cultural environment of Texas in the course of Moravian immigration. It was the spoken word, used by the Moravian pioneers in Texas, that kept the Moravian community united, and helped isolate it from the dominant cultural influence, associated with the English language. However, the spoken word as a communication medium has a rather limited function. It designates reality that is in essence perceived through the human consciousness and intention. Reality depicted even by words can have only an arbitrary relationship with the human memory and, therefore, with the historical narrative.

Hudson and Maresh seem to have been aware of the problem inherent in human verbal communication. This is why they mention in their chapter on the Progressive Texas-Czechs: "History is studied from documents. There is no substitute. No documents, no history."⁸ Indeed, the history of immigration does require documents in order to establish the chronological flow of events and the historical repercussions that might have followed. Indeed, no documents could very well mean that historical facts cannot be presented in a credible manner. Since people everywhere in the world can never be satisfied with the *status quo*, with their present living conditions, it is taken for granted that they will periodically attempt to fill in the blank spaces in their genealogical records. That is why people as historical agents will always try to construe or reconstruct historical narrative in order to understand their own identity or merely amend it. They may do so either by means of epic narratives, i.e., by means of their own paradigmatic discourse, or by researching authentic written documents that may be no less paradigmatic, for that matter. Hudson and Maresh had to choose the former because—as they point out in their book—"Texas does not support a historical society to collect and publish its material."⁹ This is also the reason for why they opted for the historical narrative in the form of memoirs, though they could have hardly been convinced about the efficacy of the spoken word. Simply said, they had no other way of compiling their historical data, and that is why they did what they could. In this respect, they had done the Texas Moravian community an invaluable favor because they helped the Texas Moravians and Bohemians rediscover their national identity in the American melting pot especially during the very hard times, during the period of Great Depression in the United States and, consequently,

in the rest of the world.

In addition to all its merits, Hudson and Maresh's book also contains a number of historical flaws that would be pointless to enumerate. Suffice it to say that their excursus into the field of linguistics is precariously dilettantish when they talk about the relationship of the Czech language to other language families. By the same token, their description of Czech history is occasionally romanticized and explicitly wrong. It is clear that some of the mistakes could have been avoided, had the authors tried to conduct their research in a more professional way, for example, in the university library where they might have found various bibliographical sources. But, on the whole, one cannot but commend the effort and intent with which their book had been conceived and completed. For it will always stand out as a monument, erected in the State of Texas in order to honor all those who had come to this vast country from the distant lands of Moravia and Bohemia to realize their dreams and creative potential.

NOTES

1. Estelle Hudson and Henry R. Maresh, *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest* (Houston: Western Lithograph, 1996[c1934]), 330.
2. Ibid., 76.
3. Ibid., 331.
4. Ibid., 57.
5. Eva Eckertová, *Kameny na prérii. Češi vystěhovalci v Texasu* (Praha: Lidové noviny. Knižnice Dějin a současnosti, 2004), 27. For an English language version of this book, see Eva Eckert, *Stones on the Prairie: Acculturation in America* (Slavica Publishers, 2007).
6. Estelle Hudson and Henry R. Maresh, *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest*, 95.
7. Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův amerických* (St.Louis: Časopis Hlas, 1910), 45.
8. Estelle Hudson and Henry R. Maresh, *Czech Pioneers of the Southwest*, 330.
9. Ibid., 330.

Destinies of Two WW2 Czechoslovak Soldiers¹

By Jan Klinka

Tempus Fugit... Yes, time runs inexorably. It has already been seventy years since the two ordinary young men from the Czechoslovak region of Moravia crossed state borders, having decided to join the Allied forces and fight the unscrupulous Nazi bullies who had threatened their homeland with subjugation and enslavement if not extermination. Their names are Robert Matula and Alois Vyhňák.

They were born the same year and had to overcome many adversities in their youth. They took for granted that they had to resist the unjust fate that had fallen on their country. They trained as soldiers, eventually to become paratroopers who operated nearly suicidal missions behind enemy lines. They survived the war, to witness the liberation of their country and its subsequent fall to the oppressive communist regime. Unwilling to compromise their sense of propriety and democratic convictions, they had to seek refuge in the United Kingdom once again. They married their English girl-friends, started their families there, and later, in search of new work opportunities, found new homes in Canada. They both have remained faithful to their conscience throughout their lives which exemplify the inexhaustible human desire for freedom and readiness to safeguard it. Here are — in a nutshell — their life stories.

Robert Matula

Robert Matula was born on December 19, 1919, in a village called Radvanice, on the outskirts of Ostrava, a coal mining and iron-mills town, lying in the northeastern corner of Moravia, shortly after the Czechoslovak republic was created following the First World War. His father Robert, having been conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian Army, came back from the war in ill health. As he was unable to fully support the family, Robert's mother Anežka had to become a major bread winner, and all children - Robert being the third of the four -- had to help as much as they were capable of doing. Growing up amidst a poor mining and farming community, he learned "tough lessons" of life early but they were instrumental in formation of his attitude to work, cooperation with and loyalty to important others, and in sharpening his social comprehension. He conceded that in his earliest recollections, three women figure prominently -- his mother, his aunt Antonie Juchelková, and his first grade teacher Mrs. Medřická:

I was always very keen to walk an extra mile to visit my 'angel-like' auntie *Tonička*- my father's sister, whose kindness cast a spell on me. She used to tease me on my arrival saying 'Why, *Robbie*, your eyes are black again, you've forgotten to wash them, have you?' Whenever I came to her house in Nová Ves by the river Odra, she either had a little treat for me or having assumed I was hungry, she got busy right away to fix me something, usually some *vajčina*-

scrambled egg with milk on toast. We often went together to collect dry branches in woods behind the house. Besides my mother - who naturally loved and cared for me, but also had to straighten me out on occasion - my auntie, as if having stood in for my grandmother I never knew, never failed to demonstrate an unconditional regard for me.

What permanently stuck in my memory from my preschool age had happened on one sunny summer Sunday afternoon. I sat in a corner of a small park by the road, playing with a small wooden stick and observing dressed up parents with children who were returning from a country fair in Slezská Ostrava, many of them carrying gingerbread rings. As I kept scraping the ground, partly preoccupied, all of a sudden my stick stroked something harder than wood, and broke. Curious, I continued rummaging in the soil with my hands and could hardly believe my eyes as I unearthed three silver five crown coins! I was nearly five and my head was spinning with ideas what I would be able to get at the fair. I rushed home and started cleaning the coins right away when my mother came in. "What are you doing, *Robbie*?" she asked having caught a glimpse of the coins. She took them away and asked me where I got them. I had to take her to the place of my find, but the money she kept for herself -- or so I thought. In the few following days I saw my mother as a wicked stepmother because I could not comprehend her burdensome situation she had been facing daily as to how to dress and feed us all. Yet, in no time did I recognize that and never ceased to appreciate her ways, marked by frugality and practicality, and her loving concern for all of us.

In our mining community housing called "Jakubka," there was only one little school room for the first graders. Of all the teachers I ever had later, the one I remember best was Mrs. Medřická even though she was the very first. While my positive feelings towards her might have been partly influenced by my brother František and sister Marie who were attending her classes before my time, I can recall her mild and encouraging manners and see her smiling face as if it were yesterday. I remember her praise when I succeeded writing letters of the alphabet on a school blackboard, and how proud I felt that my A-B-Cs were given as an example for other pupils to follow.

It may sound naïve, but I have never felt more at ease in any class during my future schooling, and perhaps my lifelong attitude towards women stem from this early rewarding experience as well as from all those positive significant formative relationships I had with my aunt and mother.

It seems a given that young Robert became a quick learner, fond of his growing physical prowess, not afraid of hard work and motivated to contribute to his family welfare. He was inquisitive, a keen observer of human characters, and as such, he became quite adept at recognizing improprieties in people's interactions or follies in their behavior. From his good common sense and a feel for fairness, he developed a notable sensitivity to perceive falsehood, thievery, wrongdoings or simply socially unjust situations that motivated him to get actively involved -- and if possible or appropriate -- to resolve them. He was open with his peer friends and straightforward in dealing with adults as well. These qualities, to be sure, have served him well throughout his life even though occasionally have caused him, in a hardly perfect world, some grief.

It comes then as no surprise that following the infamous September 1938 Munich Agreement (or rather Diktat to Czechoslovak state) that resulted in annexation of huge areas of the Czech and Moravian lands in so called *Sudetenland*, followed shortly by a full occupation of the country by Nazi Germany (and separation of Slovakia), he felt bitter enough, willing to resist the ruthless oppressors whichever way. As a young miner in a coal mine close to the Polish border, he was one of the workers who were helping disbanded patriotic Czech soldiers and airmen escape abroad. In June 1939, he refused to work for the *Reich* and decided to leave his country as well and join his compatriots in Poland in preparation for fighting the Nazi as war appeared inevitable.

Eventually, two temporary Czechoslovak army units were formed near Krakow. A smaller group of volunteers retreated to the Soviet Union when the Germans invaded Poland in September 1939. The larger one, which included pilots and men with some military training, was transported by sea to France. Robert owing to his impressive fitness and strength, was assigned to the group heading west. To ensure his acceptance in the "experienced" Army group he gave an incorrect date for his birth (made himself nearly two years older) and also (as he thought) to prevent his family from possible persecution by Germans. Moreover, he submitted photography of himself in the Czech Army uniform which he "borrowed" from his older brother František, who had already gone through the Czech Army basic training. However, these men had to sign up for a sizeable term of service in the French Foreign Legion with a proviso that they would be released as fighting units should the Germans invade France. So in Gdynia, Robert boarded the Swedish ship *Kastelholm* and sailed along with several hundred other men to Calais, and via Lille went by train to Marseille's French *Legion Etrangere* headquarters in the fortress of *Saint Jean*. There he was processed and shipped to Algiers and via the major Legion camp in Algeria Sidi-Bel-Abbes dispatched for training in one of the Legion's desert garrisons -- Bossuet. The harshness of training in what was basically the Legion's boot camp with an uncompromising discipline; it served the men well elsewhere in war actions they took part in later on as Robert judged:

As our physical condition kept improving, our spirits did not lag behind for long. In evenings we were naturally drawn to

one another and while gathered somewhere in a quiet corner of the garrison under a night sky, we talked, remembered our dear ones at home, and sang our folk songs. There was no love lost between us Czechoslovak novices and the rest of the other legionnaires: the noncommissioned or junior legionnaires, mostly Germans, but also some Italians and former “red” Spaniards. They did not like our togetherness as they could not possibly share with us the major common idea uniting us – to fight the German occupiers anywhere and anytime! Here is how we outsmarted some of them on the anniversary day of T.G.Masaryk’s death (September 14): We placed his picture with black ribbon prominently on a wall in our room occupied by four Czechs, four Germans, an Italian, and a Spaniard. A minute before time for a regular morning inspection by the Legion’s “*caporal*” or “*sergent*”, on my “attention” command, all the foreign soldiers stood in attention with us to honor, in silence, our president the Liberator.

The Czechoslovak soldiers finally got a chance to join the Allied forces after the war broke out in September 1939. They headed back to France where on the outskirts of the Mediterranean seaport town of Agde they got possession of an old dilapidated detention barracks which they promptly rebuilt into the Czechoslovak Army Depot. They got only several months to prepare for action on the French front. Their two Infantry Regiments were deployed in areas along Grand Marin and Marne rivers, in brave, yet hopeless for the most part, retrieving fights, as the whole front around them collapsed. Robert served as a heavy machine gunner and was entrusted with the task of securing the withdrawal of his squad from the fast advancing German infantry and tanks. He managed to bring his exhausted group without a loss of a single man to the port of Sete. Here they boarded the last available ship along with the remnants of other Czechoslovak fighting units who escaped the enemy’s encirclement to be evacuated, first to the British enclave of Gibraltar, and from there to the United Kingdom. The men, more determined than ever built a provisional camp in Cheshire, next to Cholmondeley castle in Malpas near the historical town of Chester.

In July 1940 the British Government under the new leadership of Winston Churchill had recognized the Czechoslovak Government in Exile led by Dr.Edvard Beneš. This allowed the consolidation of evacuated soldiers from France and men who succeeded in escaping from the *Protectorate Böhmen und Mähren* and who managed to reach Britain via the Balkan-Middle East route, into its own military body: the Czechoslovak Brigade. Robert Matula, already a sergeant, was assigned to the tank corps. He attended several courses in Special Training Schools (STS)² and took part in various military works, among them building and then guarding military defense structures on the eastern and southern coast of England while his skills related to tank operations were maintained and upgraded.

It was during his stay in Dovercourt, in the summer of 1943, where he met his future wife who served in the same location, in Women's Royal Naval Service (WREN)³ on the H.M.S.BADGER at Parkesston Quay. His recollection of the event has remained astoundingly fresh to this day:

It happened in a church canteen where servicemen of both genders used to come to relax and socialize. I played billiards, perhaps too enthusiastically and one of the billiard balls fell to the ground and rolled under a small table nearby where a young and petit "torpedo wren" sat reading (or possibly pretending to read as I teased her later on) a newspaper. As I was retrieving the ball I caught a sign of the newspaper's text noticing it was a Czechoslovak brigade military daily ("Naše Noviny" - four roughly printed pages). I asked her incredulously if she could understand it to which he replied "I am trying to" with a smile that totally disarmed me, and at that instant I knew I fell hopelessly in love. She was not only reliable and conscientious at her service duties as I soon found out, but she was simply fun to be with because of her wit and cheerfulness. From our very first encounter we both made use of her interest and talent for languages. Yet while my English kept improving at a slower pace, her progress in Czech was certainly faster owing to a correspondence course she was taking rather than my "teaching skills". Nevertheless, instead of using her first name Violet, I started calling her "Katuška" after her second name Catherine, and thus it appeared painted on my Crusader tank. She even paid me a visit in it once, to be sure, with the connivance of my commander Cpt.Otisk. (This particular tank was deployed by the Czechoslovak Armored Brigade in October 1944 at the siege of German Naval fortress Dunkerque on the French coast where it was destroyed in combat). We were spending all our off duty time together, and were able to forget, at least temporarily, that the world was at war. Our favorite romantic outings along river Orwell⁴ during the time of our engagement brought us invariably to a tiny village of Pinmill, not far from our quarters in Dovercourt. We either walked along the river banks or sat in one of the old stony inns observing sailboats of all sizes moving about gently up or down the river. While we had no idea what to expect from the months ahead, we knew that our lives were to be firmly bound together. We were married in Oxford on April 13, 1944 and set out on our five day honeymoon (having received a special leave of absence from our respective units!) in the renowned Stratford-on-Avon and London.

When chosen by Cpt. Josef Otisk, his commanding officer and designated leader of the paratrooper's group, to prepare for a dangerous mission in the occupied homeland, Robert and the other four selected men -- Sgt.Majors Karel Svoboda, Josef Bierský , Josef Černota and Vladimír Řezníček -- agreed without the slightest hesitation. They received additional rigorous multi-faceted training in guerrilla and clandestine warfare in the Czechoslovak section of the SOE - STS in the Scotland Highlands station and elsewhere in the UK. Each man had to pass a parachutist training that ended with a night group jump rehearsal before departure on the mission.

Just a few weeks after the Allies' Normandy landing, the group with a code name WOLFRAM transferred to the southern Italy's waiting station Laureto near Bari. The close-by airfield at *Campo Cassale* on the outskirts of Brindisi already served as the main southern European base for Allied special air operations into frontiers still held by Germans. Precisely at 19:24 p.m.on September 13, 1944 a four-engine Handley Page Halifax of the British Royal Air Force-Special Duties aircraft, navigated by the combined Canadian-New Zealand crew, finally took off with the six determined men and their supplies for a several-hours-long-trip, mostly over enemy controlled territory. The airplane had to evade flak on several occasions before dropping the paratroopers in two waves at the target in the Moravian-Silesian Mountains (*Beskydy*) as planed. The WOLFRAM group was charged with the tasks of organizing small guerrilla-like units, gathering intelligence, and sabotage.

It was important that both the Czechoslovak Army headquarters in London and the staff of the Soviet Red Army, whose brigades were already pushing from the east, receive significant situational updates about the manpower, defense preparations and moves of the German units. Such objectives could not be achieved without enlisting help of local villagers, lumberjacks and foresters, and by connecting with an underground organization. Despite the loss of their two WOLFRAM comrades (the radio operator Karel Svoboda was captured, and the other man Josef Bierský killed by a traitor), severe shortages of equipment, and frequent attacks by German special squads and SS police, the WOLFRAM did not give up. They succeeded in getting not only support for their survival but also the crucial assistance in collecting relevant military information from most local civilians who did not care about whether the fighters came from West or East. It is noteworthy that the Otisk's men -- known to have come from Britain -- developed relations of trust with these ordinary people but they had to overlook distrust of resistance fighters whose political orientation and ideas on the after-war societal changes, were much influenced by communist ideology. The WOLFRAM had to simply find a practical *modus operandi* with the major partisan platoon that was already operating in the mountains. Surprisingly, they were able to establish a sincere, fruitful cooperation with a special, eight-member-strong Soviet intelligence group that landed in the region to collect and radio the significant intelligence that came almost entirely from WOLFRAM and its net of collaborators, to the headquarters of the First Ukrainian Front of Marshal Ivan Koněv. The most valuable report

was apparently proven to be a sufficient outline of the *Wehrmacht* plans of defense in mountainous terrain, roads and in or around towns, especially around the industrial heavily fortified Ostrava with a rather detailed description of enemy's weaponry, supply routes, military companies, and their morale. Arguably, a number of military as well as civilian casualties were reduced and damage to infrastructure, industrial objects and housing was limited during military engagements even though the region recorded the major WW2 tank operation on the Czech lands.

When snow came in early November, however, the situation for WOLFRAM, and partisans became hardly tenable. The Germans wanted to eradicate all resistance in the region. They engaged the entire division of their infantry, reinforced it by several police and security units into 12,000 men, and encircled a massive land area, but met with little success because of resistance fighters' supreme knowledge of terrain, their ability to disperse quickly and reliance on the silent, stubborn support of local inhabitants. Regrettably, a few captured partisans were shot and the three highland game-keepers, accused of providing assistance to resistance underground, were publicly hanged by Germans. The WOLFRAM's remaining four men had themselves made a narrow escape from the encirclement. They had to hide a full two weeks compressed in the frosty pigeon house attached to the farm house just at a border of the German encirclement with minimal rations supplied by the farmer's wife once a day.

They had little choice but to seek a secure base for guerilla fights elsewhere and chose the location close to Cpt. Otisk brother's farm although quite a distance away. They had to march several days South-West in the most atrocious snowy and subzero conditions to make their hideout, first, in the farm's shed, and later on in the woods near the town of Brno. In time, they healed their frost bites, regrouped and co-opted several other local civilians as well as a few escapees from the POW or concentration camps, and even two shot down Russian airmen into a larger fighting unit. Together, as they were able to overpower and collect more arms and ammunition from less protected, smaller German units, they conducted several successful attacks on a variety of Nazi retreating columns, and continued to sabotage and disrupt their defense repositioning. There was not a dearth of hair raising situations the men could and did find themselves in. Robert Matula recalls one such incident:

It must have already been the middle of March 1945. Late in the evening I sat behind a table with our major helping game-keeper Vašků and his wife in their house nearby the village named Mokrá. My comrades, tired from the day's reconnaissance march, were already sleeping in the attic. All of a sudden we heard an automobile's gritting noise and in no time we faced two high ranking *Wehrmacht* officers. They demanded lodging for the night. Mr. Vašků, fortunately a decent speaker of German, explained that his house was too small, full of children, relatives and even forest workers, and

suggested they seek accommodation in the village. In my one hand, I held out a dish with a few pieces of pie in a silent offering to them, while my other hand clutched a loaded handgun under the table. The older officer grudgingly refused and they both left hastily.

One of the typical combat actions of WOLFRAM together with some of their adopted fighters took place close to the end of April 1945. They encountered column of the staff of the German 16th Armored Division on the move towards Brno. This is how Robert remembered and described the event in his matter-of-fact manner:

We heard the column climbing up the hill and watched hidden in the bushes before deciding on action, if any, even though we wished so badly to strike at the enemy. However tempting the situation looked, we were not sure if such a "bite" into Germans was not too much for us to chew. The column consisted of an armored vehicle with a mounted machine gun, two caterpillar roofless vehicles (Bren carrier-like), and a side car motorcycle, also with a machine gun apparently on the ready. The vehicles were slowly and steadily approaching from a sharp curve of the ascending road. As it happened Řezníček and Černota dropped in a ditch on one side the road while I jumped to a higher, wooded position on the other side. When I saw two rows of three sitting, apparently officers of high ranks, in both of the vehicles (who could possibly see my comrades from their elevated seats) I waited a few seconds before the whole column progressed to a level part of the road and only then let my Stengun "do the talking" from a short distance. The ensued screams of injured men mixed with shouted commands filled the area as the Germans seemed wanting to leave the place of assault as quickly as possible rather than fighting an enemy of unknown strength. I aimed at the rank men exclusively, thinking that getting rid of officers would be more desirable than soldiers or chauffeurs. Besides, I wanted the convoy to move on as we could hardly face it in a straight fight given our meager weaponry, and since Vláda [Řezníček] and Josef [Černota] were helplessly lying in a shallow ditch. Still, my comrades were not quite that happy afterwards, claiming that bullets from my Stengun kept going over their heads too closely for comfort!

Although heavily armed, the Germans found the WOFRAM guerrilla tactics and fights in hilly forests difficult and for the most part unprofitable. They were angry, accusing the local population of supporting "bandits" as they

called partisans, and threatened villagers with summary executions or annihilations of their homes or even entire villages. Only the accelerating advancement of both Russian fronts and the realization that the war was definitely lost and over deterred the remnants of desperate fanatical Nazis from such heinous war crimes.

For Robert Matula and his WOLFRAM comrades, the war ended on April 25th, 1945, as they joined up with the Red Army near Brno. Yet it was only at the end of June 1945 when he finally could briefly return to England to join his wife and hold, for the first time, his baby daughter.

With the war gone, Robert Matula, now a fresh Lieutenant assigned to Military Academy to teach physical and *commando*-like skills, wished to remain in the reconstituted Czechoslovak Army but it was not to be. His free thinking style and commitment to the democratic ideals he grew up with and fought for, were definitely incongruous with the communist indoctrination that started creeping into the Military. He chose a civilian life instead. He became a manager of the motor vehicles maintenance for several textile factories of the state firm "*Moravolen*" in northern Moravia, based in the town of Šumperk. All too quickly, however, the winds of the "cold war" brought in a new era of totalitarian politics to be practiced in his country. His objections against harassment and exclusion of those who had fought with the Allies on western fronts (while veterans who came from the east alongside the Red Army were favored) were not received well by the new authorities. Clearly, the ever increasing persecution of people in opposition to the Soviet-supported communist regime installed in February 1948 appeared dangerous to him and his family. Perceived as outspoken and possessing an uncompromising integrity, he was placed under surveillance by the communist secret police. There was not much he could do other than leave his country (unless he would "join those who he could not beat," which was unthinkable), and this was what he did. He escaped by evading his "watchdogs" and crossed the Czech border on foot into the American occupational zone in Germany, ending up back in England. With considerable shrewdness and some assistance from the British Embassy in Prague he was able to get his wife and daughter out of the country safely by air prior to making his own move.

In spite of his acquired British citizenship, a new life in post-war Britain was not easy for a staunchly independent-minded "foreigner" with a growing family (his second daughter was born in 1949 and a son in 1954). So in 1958 Robert decided to move to Canada, seeking new opportunity for himself and his family in Vancouver, British Columbia. He eventually found steady work with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. He kept improving his qualifications so that before his retirement in 1984, he held a supervising position in the company's Diesel engines maintenance section. For their retirement, the Matulas left Vancouver and relocated to a small town called Chemainus on Vancouver Island's east coast, where they built -- with the expert help of their son Robert -- a new home. Robert's dream of living in a free society and of securing a more promising future for their three children and four grandchildren had finally come true.

Both Robert and Violet Matula belonged to the Canadian Legion and Canadian

Royal Navy Club since their arrival in British Columbia. They also joined and remained active in other local volunteer organizations in their communities as long as their health allowed them to do so. They were often invited to address groups of students, cadets or other military servicemen, veterans, and the general public in commemorative gatherings. They talked about their hardship in the war years but also about the pride at being able to be part of victorious humanity. Perhaps the most important point they tried to emphasize, particularly when talking to young people, was that even though military defense is sometimes necessary to ensure lasting peace, one must always remember that there is no glory in going to war!

The citizen Robert Matula has sustained his interest in “world affairs” and in the Canadian politics and military throughout his long life. Likewise, he never lost interest in the destinies of his “brothers-in-arms” who remained behind the iron curtain and kept in touch with a number of those who lived outside of it. It was greatly rewarding for him to witness the liberalization of his native country during the Prague Spring in 1968 which allowed him to reconnect at least temporarily with his homeland, family and friends. Yet even limited freedoms could not be then tolerated by the Soviet Union. Their divisions assisted by the Warsaw Pact satellite army contingents crushed the movement and installed another subservient and oppressive regime.

Thus Robert had to wait two more decades to see the arrival of true freedom and independence to his native land before the Communist rule in Eastern Europe finally crumbled. At long last the wartime effort and exploits of his comrades and him could be genuinely recognized and appreciated regardless of whether they fought on western or eastern fronts. Then Robert set about fulfilling the old promise he and his parachutist buddies had made to each other: To erect, after the war, a dignified monument to those who perished in action, keeping in mind that often their entire families were liquidated by the Nazis. He was instrumental in gathering the necessary funds abroad so that the monument could become a reality, and continues to attract people in Prague who wish to honor their sons’ ultimate sacrifice.⁵

Robert Matula, since 1997 Colonel-Retired, was received during one of his annual pilgrimages to Prague by the then President Václav Havel. In 2004 he was also awarded the Honorary Citizenship of the statutory town of Ostrava. Of his many military awards, he is most fond of the King’s Commendation for Bravery and the two Czechoslovak War Crosses. The last high Czech decoration -- the Cross of Defense of State, was presented to him on the occasion of his 89th birthday in Chemainus, B.C. by a delegation from the Czech Republic. At the same time, he received a congratulatory letter from the Czech president Václav Klaus, Senate leader Přemysl Sobotka and the Hon. Michael Calcott, Ambassador of Canada in the Czech Republic.⁶

On Veterans Day – November 11, 2009 -- and on the eve of his 90th birthday, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General–Retired.

Alois Vyhňák

Alois Vyhňák, known in the English speaking environment as *Louis*, was born on August 11, 1919 in Hodonín (the same place where the first Czechoslovak president T.G.Masaryk [1858-1935] was born nearly 70 years earlier), the town situated at the southern border between Moravia and Slovakia, then major regions of Czechoslovakia, nowadays marking the dividing geographical line between the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Little Alois, called *Lojzík*, grew up in the village named Brumovice some 25 km North West of Hodonín. He was the only child in a family of a very modest means that lived in a tiny village house where his father Antonín also ran a barber shop. At *Lojzík's* entrance to primary school his father died. His mother Jana (nee Frohlichová) is said to have been a religious, strict and both punishing and protective person, often to the point of being smothery, something he quite resented. He had a soft spot for his grandmother who found time to teach him some practical domestic skills that later proved very useful to him. He attended secondary school ("měšťanku") for four years in a nearby village named Klobouky. He preferred to walk there, rain or shine, through hilly fields and vineyards rather than marching on the gravel road via another village Morkůvky⁷ that would be more comfortable but much longer. He was known as a good and inquisitive pupil. During his last school holidays while tending a herd of cows for a village farmer, he contemplated a lot about his immediate future that seemed void of any promise. The attempt to enter into apprenticeship with Bata shoemaking factory in Zlín ended in failure. He wrote about it in a letter to historian Zdeněk Jelínek many years later: "I had been also physically weak, weighing only 35 kg in my 15th years of age and in spite of excellent psychotechnical results in admission tests at Bata Shoe Co. they rejected me for physical weakness."⁸

In desperation, he even considered study for the priesthood as a means of escaping the suffocating poverty and realizing his zest for further education. It did not seem to have been overly difficult to persuade his mother to allow him to try. So they took a train and went to Velehrad, the town well known for its shrine with the catholic *gymnasium* and seminary in a southern corner of Moravia .Needless to say, their "inquiry", based on a "pious hope and wishing (that) was a substitute for money in the bank"⁹ came to no avail. So a 16-year-old *Lojzík* had no choice but to apprentice in Hodonín to become a baker. The bakery belonged to a German family with a stingy and unfriendly widow in charge where -- save for a Czech master baker who worked there -- all means of communication were in German.

He had always been very self-conscious of not being bigger and a more muscular boy. At the onset of his apprenticeship he told himself that catching up to his peers was simply a must. He wasted no time and started building up his physique with little compromise by adding push ups and sit ups to his daily long hours of work routine in the bakery although its demands – "bending, stretching, sieving, lifting, bicycling, pulling and carrying heavy loads"¹⁰ – were quite enough even for a strong, grown up man. As he had hardly any money for little extras, he had to rely on his own resourcefulness:

One day a thought came to my mind that I could make my own underpants from the white canvas flour bags. They were not made of the finest material and no amount of soap and rubbing would wash out the name of the mill and other printed important particulars and qualities of the flour. The presence of such information hardly mattered in the case of underwear as I did my own laundry and only sent my two or three shirts to my mother for washing and ironing via a market woman who came to the town from my village once a week. The material the bags were made of was durable and each of the two or three pairs of boxer shorts I made took me a couple of Sunday afternoons to cut and stitch together. [...] Besides making underwear on Sunday, it also occurred to me that I could make better use of another brief interval in my busy life [...]. It was the break in the dough-handling process [...] instead of dozing off on the board or gazing at the stars, I decided to learn another language. At first it was German but, with what I knew from school and the German being spoken around me, I soon decided that I knew enough to get by. I became more attracted by another language – English. I was gradually coming to conclusion that there was nothing for me in my own country and I would have to try the wide world. Also, I had read too many books on adventure and seem all the Tarzan movies to date, not to feel the lure of the unknown seas, islands and jungles. It was all a very nebulous dream, but the harsher reality, the more one dreams. Learning a world language would make the dream just a little less of an illusion and my present lot so utterly devoid of hope. A paperback textbook of basic English wasn't quite beyond my means, and from then on each day, I spent fifteen or twenty minutes learning book English and even practicing counting and conjugating verbs aloud in English on my rounds.¹¹

Having finished the baker's training just in time to witness German occupation of the Czech lands in March 1939, Louis started looking for ways of getting out of the country in order to join the Czechoslovak army units that he heard about being formed in France. As alluded to earlier, he never ceased to think about improving his lot in life, initially by way of the priesthood that had been fast and unceremoniously abandoned, and later possibly by becoming a soldier who would defend his motherland in her greatest need. He had contended in jest that he might combine these two calls quite eloquently. His plan was to volunteer for work on a construction site in Linz, in already annexed Austria by Nazi Germany, and once there to explore his chances of escaping either to Switzerland or Yugoslavia. Such opportunity occurred at Easter the next year when he applied for a home visit permit. Needless to say, he went the

other direction to Graz and eventually crossed the border into Yugoslavia still untouched by the Germans. From Zagreb and Belgrade he followed the route of other escaped Czechoslovaks who wanted to fight the Nazis alongside the Allies. Louis then traveled via Greece and Turkey to Beirut from where the ship "Patria" took him across the Mediterranean Sea to Marseille.

He reached the Czechoslovak Army depot in Agde on April 27, 1940, and was assigned to the engineers' platoon at Avignon. When German armies had invaded France he was sent in one of the two Czechoslovak regiments to build defenses on the French front near Paris but due to a fast collapse of the French Army he barely managed to retreat to the port of Bordeaux in the ever thinning group of his comrades. Hastily they were taken by a Spanish cargo boat "Forbin" to Gibraltar and repatriated to Great Britain.

It was in Cholmondeley Park's "tent city" where both Alois Vyhňák and Robert Matula found their refuge (not knowing one another as yet) and where their military careers in the Czechoslovak exile brigade slowly progressed. In no time Louis signed up for a non-commissioned officers' course and shortly after its completion he put his name on a list of volunteers for training in gathering intelligence and subversive activities to be used against the Germans in territories under their occupation. For Czechs and Slovaks it meant operating clandestinely within the *protectorate* (in the Czech lands) or in Slovakia, then a fascist state and ally of Germany. According to Louis:

It was a drizzly afternoon in the fall of 1941 when a group of about 30 soldiers stepped out of the train in the Scottish fishing village of Mallaig at the end of the railway line. I was one of them! We were Czechoslovak soldiers selected from our various units billeted in the English Midlands.¹²

There in a remote region of Scotland, in and around the two lonely "hunting lodges" Camusdarach and Garramore and their rugged vicinity, Louis took part in a rigorous, commando-like training program developed by the SOE and executed through the Special Training Schools (STS 25 and 26). He could not have known what roles his training partners Josef Valčík and Adolf Opálka as well as the traitor Karel Čurda would play in the "butcher of Prague" Reinhard Heydrich's assassination in May 1942, and its aftermath¹³ In further preparation for an underground warfare mission, Louis received additional specialized training in several other STS facilities in England: Ringway by Manchester, Bedford, Beaulieu, and Chicheley Hall. He even worked for three months as a "civilian electrician" in Middlesex's Hounslow Heath. He was found (as well as he discovered joyously for himself) to be especially talented in radiotelegraphy. He probably had little idea then that he would have found his lifelong call in the field of radio-communication, and electronics in general, that would bring him eventually success, recognition and satisfaction.

By the end of 1943 Louis was promoted to the rank of Sgt.Major, and owing to his outstanding radio-operator's skills, assigned along with Sgt.Majors Jaroslav Pešan and Jaroslav Klemeš to the paratrooper group called

the “PLATINUM-PEWTER” led by Capt. Jaromír Nechanský¹⁴ Their group was dispatched in May 1944 to the SOE Italian base in Brindisi where they stayed at the Czech section in Laureto as did other groups waiting for their time to get airborne and be flown into the occupied native land. While eager and ready to get in action as soon as possible, the circumstances seemed to have had conspired against them with resultant postponements of their departure. It was long after “D” Day and decisive advances of the Red Army on the Eastern front when the group finally left on its 4th attempt (!) in the night from the 16th to 17th February 1945, and was dropped in the hilly, snowed-in area of eastern Bohemia. Whereas they were lucky in securing their hiding places, even though they had to change them frequently, both their radios were damaged as straps holding them in leg-bags snapped during the drop. Only after a local resistance patriot could provide the necessary and hard-to-get new part (receiver output tube), was Louis able to repair the radio apparatus and send a brief communication to the Czechoslovak Military Radio Centre in London. As Louis recorded:

During a day we ciphered up a message in which we described our situation and requested a speedy drop of communication equipment. The area for an emergency drop had been agreed upon beforehand in Italy [...]. In the message we also requested that its receipt be acknowledged by a cryptic sentence broadcast by the BBC in the Czech hour. Members of the resistance would be listening for the confirmation. [...] The receipt of our message had been acknowledged and the aircraft speedily dispatched. [...] Because we expected a quantity of weapons to be dropped as well, some twenty or thirty resistance workers gathered on the low hill before midnight. [...] The aircraft headed straight for the field at a low altitude, dropped eight or ten containers and was gone. It had been as quick and simple as dropping of a newspaper at a front door.¹⁵

With the new equipment and moving around to avoid goniometric detection of the transmitter by the Germans, Louis was able to open and maintain regular contact with their superiors in England. The paratroopers separated into pairs, connected with the major domestic resistance group called R3 - “Rada Tří” (Council of Three)¹⁶ -- and arranged for a few more drops of weapons and ammunition to arm resistance fighters. All men (and women as well) operated under ever present danger of being discovered as well as putting their helpers at severe risk. Louis described one such situation more than vividly:

I was to move with my transmitter and sabotage material back to the distillery from which I had sent my first message to England. My companion for the move was Cyril Musil,

the ski champion.¹⁷ Loaded with heavy packs we made the five or six kilometer trek across the fields but walked the last couple hundred meters or so along the street to the manager's door in the distillery which was located just inside the town. It was evening, and in the dark we did not notice a group of Germans standing at the corner of the distillery where the street turned into the town, until we were almost at the door. The Germans – soldiers or police were talking quietly but stopped when they spotted us. At that point, we recognized them as German troops but it was too late to turn back. Our only salvation was to get quickly inside, and if the Germans went after us to get out through the back. We quickly mounted the three or four steps, and finding the door closed, I pressed the bell button. Not a sound heard inside! Two of the Germans, with the rifles at the ready, started walking towards us. Desperately I pressed the button again not knowing that the electric power was interrupted that night. The door remained closed, and at that moment I felt the chill of death.

Suddenly, the world around me became unreal; a strange luminosity flooded my consciousness. My companion wasn't armed but I had a loaded Colt .38 special in the pocket of my overcoat. Underneath, I also had a Sten gun, but at the moment I had no chance of serving myself with it. It had to be the pistol. There was no way I would surrender; I was going out to fight it out here. Inside the pocket I pulled the hammer back. The Germans were just mounting the curb, no more than three or four meters away. As if in a trance, I heard my companion saying "good evening, gentlemen" to the Germans. Perhaps it relaxed them a bit, I don't know, but at that moment I pulled out the pistol and fired. The first German was literally lifted off his feet and fell as though poleaxed. The second one fired at me even before the first hit the ground, but only once, as my second shot sent him to the ground too. My companion leapt from the top of steps and rolled over. I thought he was hit, but he picked himself up, dashed across the street and disappeared. I too jumped off the steps into the street and started running back the way we had come, but now the remaining Germans opened fire. There must have been at least half a dozen of them still left in the picket. Bullets were whizzing past my ears and knocking out clusters of sparks under my feet. Fortunately, they had no machine gun, and with rifles they could not aim well in the dark. I turned back and emptied the magazine in their direction, but I could do better, I thought, and get a few more with the Sten gun. To stop in the middle of the street and get

it from under the coat into a firing position would be asking for trouble, but there was a large gate in the distillery wall, slightly recessed. I jumped into the recess.

The Germans still had me in view and kept firing but I was now at least partially protected. With a pack still on my back I tried to get the gun into a horizontal level but the strap got stuck. I tugged and pulled but to no avail.

Only later I discovered what the problem had been. Under the pressure of the heavy pack shoulder straps, the Sten gun strap clip had sunk into the shoulder of my jacket and got stuck there. I had no choice but to abandon the idea of paying back some of their bullets and resumed my retreat along the street. The Germans intensified their fire but soon lost me in the dark and stopped.

Outside the town I ascended a low hill, and as I was nearing its brow I saw, against the dark sky, a shadowy figure moving stealthily along. I stopped and whistled quietly. The figure froze. There could be only one being out there after what happened. I called out "Cyril" and walked toward him. When we met there in the middle of the field, he seized my hand, shook it vigorously, and still half out of breath stammered, 'Good job you started shooting, otherwise we would have it'. With the contents of our packs, it might have been rather difficult to convince the Germans that we only came to say hello to the manager.¹⁸

Along with bands of small partisan units the PLATINUM-PEWTER men carried on several attacks on German detachments, sabotage, and blowing up a railway line. Their two radio stations ("Anna" and "Věra"), operated by Vyhňák and Klemeš, took care of the communication with the Czechoslovak Government in exile and played important intelligence and coordination parts during the Prague uprising in the early days of May, 1945.

The war over, Louis, freshly decorated Lieutenant with the Czechoslovak Army Signal Corps, served for a short while as a radio and cipher officer to the Military Attaché at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris. He resigned the post after the Communists' takeover of the Prague Government in February 1948. Already married (since April 1946) to his English sweetheart Jeannette (nee Randall, enlisted during war years with the FANY¹⁹ stationed, as if by chance, in Laureto -- paratroopers waiting station alongside her husband to be), Louis and his wife went back to England.

Louis then devoted himself to constant upgrading of his knowledge in the electronic field, especially in radio technique communication either on his own or through correspondence and also through relevant employment. He did so in a manner suggesting the same determination he had shown at introducing himself to essentials of the English language during short work breaks in his baker's apprenticeship days with the use of a tiny textbook he used to hide in

his mattress. Such dedication certainly bore fruit when the Vyhňáks came to Canada in 1956. Louis was able to climb his professional way up having ended his work career as a head technician in the language laboratory at Toronto's York University.

He did his best to keep in touch with both his fellow paratroopers in the old country and those who escaped from behind the "Iron Curtain." Among those he visited were Jaroslav Šperl in the USA, Karel Niemczyk in Australia and Robert Matula in Canada's British Columbia. He also corresponded with and later met a few WW2 Czech historians (e.g. Jindřich Marek and Zdeněk Jelínek; the latter also had entered into contact with Robert Matula).

After the Czechoslovak "Velvet Revolution" in November 1989, Louis was promoted to the rank of Lt.Colonel-Ret., and in 1992 paid a visit to his native Moravia. Unfortunately, having experienced deterioration of his health, with fading physical capabilities, this eminently proud and resourceful man ended his life by his own hand in Toronto's suburbs of Willowdale on July 24, 1994 just before his 75th birthday. He was said to have been a dedicated husband and father to his three children. He was fond of boarder collies, having walked over the years with three generation of them, and made sure he swam a distance of two kilometers every day for years. Besides demonstrating mastery in his chosen field of electronics, Louis worked on maintaining a decent knowledge of his acquired languages – German and French -- and also built an impressive collection of classical music recordings that apparently meant more than a hobby for him.

From available personal letters or from letters written occasionally to newspaper editors, and particularly so from the intermittent narratives he wrote "*do šupliku*," as it were, that his wife secured, one gets a sense of the genuine self-made man with definite views, extraordinary inner resources, versatility, and determination. Moreover, his writing style -- coming from a person with at best limited formal education in the humanities and whose mother tongue, to be sure, was not English -- appears truly remarkable.

As much as these two men's life stories are similar in many respects, the familial background and personalities as well as the war and after-war experiences have predetermined their personal lives in different ways. There is no doubt that they, each in his particular way, provided in their biographical accounts the moving example of unpretending patriotism, bravery and loyalty. Both Robert Matula and Alois Vyhňák as soldiers and men remain more than worthy of our respect and admiration, and their stories are decidedly inspirational in their native land and their chosen homeland alike.

NOTES

1. Based on a presentation given at the SVU congress in České Budějovice, 2006; and on the book *Robert Matula: Parašutista skupiny WOLFRAM* (Robert Matula: Parachutist of the WOLFRAM Group) by Jan Klinka, Jan Břečka, Václav Kolesa, (Zlín: Kolesa Publishing, 2007-2009) which in turn, was compiled from both recorded information and numerous oral complements

by Robert Matula as well as data from military archives in the U.K. and Czech Republic. Earlier depiction of WOLFRAM's training, drop down, and activities in the Beskydy Mountains appeared in part one of Lewis M. White, ed., *On All Fronts: Czechoslovaks in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press,, 1991), including Robert Matula, "Remembering the Commanding Officer of Parachutist Team WOLFRAM and Its Operations in the Enemy's Rear," on pp. 175-191. Also consulted were publications: Jiří Šolc, *Bylo málo mužů: Českoslovenští parašutisté na západní frontě za druhé světové války*(Prague: Merkur, 1990); Zdeněk Jelínek, *Západní paraskupiny a domácí odboj*(Prague: Historický Ústav Čs. armády, 1992); Marie Matůšů, *Muži pro speciální operace* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 2005).

Relevant information for the second part of this article was drawn from several Czech newspaper or journal articles or from post communist era publications that dealt with history of the Czechoslovak military involvement in WW2 (e.g. Zdeněk Jelínek, "Kanadská setkání," *Stúdentské listy*, únor 1991; Jan Břečka, "Stínoví vojáci" *Malovaný kraj* 3 (2000); Jindřich Marek in "Pátou kartu bere smrt: Českoslovenští parašutisté v britských battledressech 1941-45," *Svět Křídel* (Cheb) (2000); Oldřich Sládek, *Přicházeli z nebe* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1995); Tomáš Ševela, *Brumovice v zahraničním odboji* (Brumovice: Obec Brumovice, 1995). Some personal details were provided Mrs. Jeannette Vyhňák and/or were drawn from Alois Vyhňák's autobiographical narratives written in English, posthumously collected and edited by Carol Bailey, with the publication assistance by Hana and John Smithin before being published by APF Press, Toronto in 2002, entitled *Memories of My Life*.

I am indebted to Mrs. Jeannette Vyhňák for sharing with me invaluable information about Louis' early life as well as about her life with him.

Mrs. Joan Drabek and her husband Jan Drabek generously gave their time in suggesting improvements in the essay before its final version, for which I am very grateful.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the APT Press Toronto for permission to quote from several pages of Alois Vyhňák's *Memories of My Life*.

2. STS's were Special Training Schools designed by the Special Operations Executive (SOE) under auspices of the British Ministry of Economic Warfare. These were almost exclusively run by a Military Intelligence branch of the Secret Intelligence Service to train men in a variety of non-orthodox military means of fighting, intelligence gathering, sabotage, and guerrilla tactics, to be applied behind enemy lines.

3. W.R.E.N. is the abbreviation for Woman's Royal Naval Service, groups of female volunteers trained to assist in a number of non combative tasks in operations of the British Navy.

4. British writer George Orwell--Eric Arthur Blair (1903-1950)--had chosen his pen name after his favorite river Orwell (Suffolk).

5. The monument was unveiled on June 18, 1995, in the vicinity of the Czech Technical University in Prague-Dejvice.

6. "Dear Mr. Matula, let me congratulate you on behalf of the Government of Canada on the occasion of your being awarded the Czech Cross of the Defense of the State. This award testifies once again to your achievements which are valued highly both in your country of origin and in your adopted country of Canada. Your life is a compelling story of courage and dedication to freedom, to the liberation of your own and other democratic nations from totalitarian rule. Canada is proud to have become your second homeland and we regard you as a prominent example of the many Czech-Canadian citizens who contribute to the strength and vitality of Canada and who help bring Canada and the Czech Republic closer together. Yours sincerely, Michael Calcott, Ambassador of Canada in the Czech Republic, December 11, 2008."

7. Also a native village of Maj. Gen. František Peřina (1911-2006), a Czech air acrobat and fighter pilot ace during WW2 with the French *Arme de l'Air* and Britain Royal Air Force (Czechoslovak 312th Squadron).

8. Jelínek, "Kanadská setkání."

9. Vyhňák, 12.

10. Ibid, 22.

11. Ibid, 24-25.

12. Ibid, 35.

13. Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942) was the chief of the Reich Main Security Office, the acting Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, and a chief planner of the Final Solution--the Nazi program for the genocide of the Jews of Europe. He was gravely wounded during the May 27 assassination attempt in Prague in operation ANTHROPOID, carried out by elite paratroopers Sgt. Majors Jozef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš of Czechoslovak Army-in-Exile, and died June 4, 1942. This action could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of other Czech paratroopers dropped in the Protectorate and crucial assistance and support from the local resistance men and women, many of them killed by the Germans in retaliation. Both Gabčík and Kubiš, along with other paratroopers assisting in the assassination (Adolf Opálka, Josef Bublík, Jan Hrubý, Jaroslav Švarc and Josef Valčík) perished in the crypt of the Church of Saints Cyril & Methodius in Prague, Resslova Street on June 18, 1942, as did Alfred Bartoš and Jiří Potůček elsewhere a few days later. The increased Nazi retributions that followed resulted in the annihilation of Lidice and Ležáky villages and death of thousands of Czechoslovak citizens. Among numerous film or book sources, e.g., Callum Macdonald, *The Killing of SS Obergruppenfuehrer Reinhard Heydrich* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1989), later issued as *Reinhard Heydrich: The SS Butcher of Prague* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998); and Michael Burian, Aleš Knížek, Jiří Rajlich and Eduard Stehlík, *Assassination: Operation Anthropoid 1941-1942* (Prague: Avis, 2002), stand out.

14. Captain Jaromír Nechanský, leader of the PLATINUM-PEWTER paratrooper group; chairman of the Military Committee in the Czech National Council during the Prague May 1945 uprising, and a deputy General of Czech partisans and parachutist's brigade, and a career officer in the Czechoslovak Army until 1949. At the beginning of the Cold War, he was apparently re-

cruited by the American CIA, arrested, tried and executed by the Communist regime for espionage a year later. He was rehabilitated and promoted to the rank of Colonel in memoriam in 1991.

15. Vyhňák, 63-4-5.

16. Rada Tří (Council of Three) was the name of the major resistance organization in the Protectorate established slowly and became increasingly prominent in 1944-45. Whereas its operations were centered around and were guided from the Czech-Moravian Highlands, various underground groups were also activated in other areas of Bohemia and Moravia.

17. Cyril Musil (1907-1977), the pre-WW2 Czechoslovak ski-running champion and anti-Nazi and anti-Communist fighter. He was instrumental in providing shelter and assistance to Czech parachutists as well as Soviet POWs, especially throughout late 1944 and early 1945. He was arrested and tortured by the Communist secret service as he refused to speak against his fellow resistance fighters of democratic persuasion and sentenced in a frame up trial to 20 years in prison. Even though he ranks among the true heroes in the struggle for liberation and democracy in his home land, his life ended tragically. Having escaped from the Communist jail and started a new life in Canada as an operator of his ski motel and school he had built in Ontario's Blue Mountains, he was found dead, and the circumstances under which he was killed inside his chalet were never satisfactorily cleared up. (See also Zdeněk Jelínek, *Cyril Musil: Kapitoly z historie odboje na Českomoravské vysočině* (Nové Město na Moravě: SBS, 1992).

18. Vyhňák, 67-8-9.

19. F.A.N.Y. -- the abbreviation for the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry, the auxiliary women military organization whose history dates back to the Boer war. In July 1941 the female volunteers were incorporated by the SOE to assume roles not only as nurses but also as drivers, radio-operators, and object and supplies managers, and were even used as operatives in enemy territories.

PERSONAL MEMOIR

My Life Story *By Herbert Löwit*

I was born in 1923 in Teplice-Šanov (Teplitz-Schönau), one of the numerous curative spas of north-western Bohemia and the location where Goethe had once met Beethoven, but spent my ten formative years, from 1928 to 1938, in Liberec (Reichenberg), northern Bohemia's commercial and political centre. After attending five years elementary and four years secondary modern schools I was about to continue my education at the local commercial academy in September 1938 when disaster, namely the Munich diktat, struck.

From early childhood I had been an active member of the German Social-Democratic children's and youth movements. My father, a founder-member, in 1919, of Czechoslovakia's German Social Democratic Party, was a full-time secretary of his Clerical Trade Union, chairman of the local Social-Democratic Party organization, and represented the party on the town council both in Teplice-Šanov and in Liberec. Since also my mother and both my older siblings were likewise politically engaged it goes without saying that our family was Number One on the local Sudeten-German Nazi party's "Black List." We therefore had no option but to flee from our home town on 22nd September 1938, the day after the Czechoslovak Government had reluctantly accepted the Anglo-French ultimatum to cede the border regions to Germany. We found temporary refuge with distant relatives in Budýně nad Ohří, which was situated in the still unoccupied part of Bohemia. On contacting party headquarters in Prague my father was informed that a rescue operation for politically endangered activists was being organised under the overall auspices of the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia. My father left Prague for England (via Slovakia and Poland) at the end of October '38 with one of the first thus organized transports. My mother and I (I, at just under 16 years of age, still being a minor) followed on 14th December, also via Poland and the Baltic, and disembarked in the Pool of London six days later. My brother left Prague on one of the last organized transports in March '39, whereas my sister witnessed the German occupation of Prague but miraculously managed to obtain the necessary documents allowing her to depart, direct by train, for England in late April.

In January 1939 the Czech Refugee Trust Fund sent me to a hostel in Brook near Albury, Guildford, Surrey, where with the invaluable help and support of the local Anglican vicar a kind of boarding school for about a dozen refugee children from Czechoslovakia had been established. Its aim was to teach us English and thus equip us to continue our interrupted education at comparable English schools. By the end of the year we were ready to do so, and the Trust Fund obtained a place for me at the Kingston Day Commercial School in Hinchley Wood, Surbiton, and Surrey. The Fund also arranged board and lodging with an English family in near-by Tolworth. Despite the disruptions and destructions caused by the Luftwaffe's 1940 bombing cam-

paign I successfully passed the final examinations of what should have been a two-year course already in October of that year and immediately found employment as Junior Clerk with a firm of wholesale footwear distributors in Kingston-upon-Thames.

By early 1941 I was approaching the age at which my British friends had to register for military service. I did likewise, but, being a Czechoslovak citizen, was referred to the London office of Czechoslovakia's Military Attaché, had my medical, and was ordered to report for military duty with the Czechoslovak Independent Brigade at Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, on May 1st 1941, my 18th birthday. After a short initial training I was transferred to the brigade's Anti-Tank Battery (oddíl kanonů proti útočné vozobě, or OKPÚV) which was billeted in the near-by hamlet of Butlers Marston. After attending the brigade's driving school in early 1942 I was allocated the unit's water tanker and sent to on a British Army training course on water purification at Aldershot. In the summer of 1942, OKPÚV re-located to Yeovil, and subsequently over the following months to Lowestoft, Dovercourt, Huntingdon, Gashashiels and Bridlington. In August 1943 the brigade was joined in England by the Czechoslovak contingent from the Middle East. OKPÚV was strengthened to become fully operational, comprising three batteries of four anti-tank guns each. Originally equipped with so-called "six pounders" (57mm) we were subsequently issued with the standard British "seventeen pounder" (76.2mm) anti-tank guns. As part of this reorganization I was detailed to No.1 gun of the 1st battery. In due course I was made its commander and sent on a training course at the British Army's Armoured Fighting Vehicles Establishment near Aldershot. In mid-August 1944 we embarked in London (having spent the last few days dodging V-1 rockets, the so-called "doodle-bugs"), crossed the English Channel in an American-built "Liberty Ship", and disembarked at Mulberry Harbour near Arromanches in Normandy. Now part of the First Canadian Army the brigade proceeded to the vicinity of Falaise. In early October we reached the outskirts of Dunkirk, where a German garrison was firmly entrenched and, though cut off, stubbornly holding out. OKPÚV was allocated the perimeter's southern sector. 1st battery moved into forward positions in abandoned farmhouses and bunkers in and around the hamlets of Ambouts-Cappel and Spyker. Our task was to defend our positions against occasional (and mainly night-time) enemy attacks, and to undertake (mainly day-time) aggressive patrols or raids into no-man's land and behind enemy lines. The aim was to prevent the enemy from consolidating existing and/or gaining additional footholds. From a more personal point of view we also made it our special task to capture German weaponry, like Mauser rifles, Schmeisser machine pistols, Luger revolvers, also portable trench mortars of various calibres. Our "pièce de résistance" however was an 88mm Flak anti-aircraft gun which fell into our hands undamaged and complete with a supply of ammunition and which we were able to direct successfully against enemy positions.

On Saturday 5th May 1945 we heard on our (captured) wireless set that the German High Command was about to send emissaries to Rheims to

negotiate the surrender of all German Forces. Dunkirk's German garrison took this news as a signal to use up their ammunition. Since our positions were well known to the enemy we presented an easy target for their heavy artillery. So, for the next two days and nights we experienced a heavy and sustained bombardment which kept us more or less pinned down in our fortunately well-protected underground bunker. By the early hours of Tuesday, May 8th, the guns had finally fallen silent. At daybreak we received a signal from our HQ that a cease-fire would officially come into effect at one minute past midnight. On hearing this news some of us emerged from the bunker for a breath of fresh air. Someone had the presence of mind to take a photograph of this memorable occasion.

Later that morning, whilst we were discussing how best to celebrate, a group of unexpected visitors arrived from across no-man's land: shouting "Kamerad! Kamerad!" German soldiers approached us in search of food and cigarettes -- probably the very same who had fired on us just a few hours earlier. After offering them our rations we showed them recently arrived photographs of Belsen and other liberated concentration camps which they dismissed out-of-hand as "Greuelpropaganda" (unsubstantiated horror stories). In the early afternoon two groups of high-ranking officers, one from our Headquarters and one from the German Kommandatura, and each carrying a field telephone, arrived at our bunker. Their task was to establish direct means of communication between the two Headquarters. Being fluent in German, Czech, and English, I was entrusted with the operation of this telephone link. For the rest of the day I translated and conveyed messages to facilitate meetings between liaison officers and to discuss problems which had arisen during these meetings. It had become evident that the German Kommandant, Vize(Rear) Admiral Friedrich Frisius, although agreeing to observe a cease-fire as from midnight, was not yet willing to lay down his arms. He claimed to be uncertain whether the surrender terms which the German High Command had accepted at Rheims included his "Festung (fortress) Dünkirchen", and insisted on seeking further clarification from his new "Führer", Großadmiral Karl Dönitz, now in Flensburg. At midnight all members of our unit assembled on top of a small hillock in front of our bunker overlooking the enemy's position. At one minute past midnight we ignited a huge wooden "V" (for victory, or vítězství) and let off a shower of rockets and multi-coloured flares. Then we sang our National Anthem -- none of us felt ashamed to be seen wiping our eyes.

At about the same time the German Kommandatura had managed to establish contact with their superiors at Flensburg who ordered them to lay down their arms. Shortly after nine o'clock the next morning, 9th May, Vizeadmiral Frisius presented himself in person at General Alois Liška's Headquarters at Wormhout and handed over the signed letter of capitulation. It was agreed that the surrender would become effective that day at 16.00 hours. Late in the evening (after we had emptied a few bottles of Champagne specially reserved for this occasion) I was roused from the first decent sleep I had had for several days and called to the telephone. I was instructed to take down the detailed schedule concerning next day's hand-over of the German garrison's

weaponry, translate it into German and convey the wording at once to Vizeadmiral Frisius. I did, in fact, dictate it, just before midnight, to his deputy, a certain Oberstleutnant (Lt. Col.) von Loeben. The hand-over of the weaponry was to commence at 06.00 hours the next morning, 10th May, at the demarcation line not far from our bunker, and I was ordered to be present.

I must confess that it was an awe-inspiring sight when at the appointed time and place I was confronted by what seemed to me to be the entire German garrison, armed to the teeth and looking rather grim and belligerent. After a somewhat frosty verbal exchange with the officer in charge I was handed a typewritten "Waffenabgabeplan" (time-table for the hand-over) which I promptly pocketed as my personal souvenir. It soon became apparent that the quickest and smoothest way of conducting the hand-over of weaponry was for us to lend the Germans some of our vehicles (their own transport being largely horse-drawn) and for German soldiers to drive, under escort, through our lines to the designated storage places. Halfway through the morning I received a message that General Alois Liška, the brigade's commanding officer, would shortly be passing our way en route to Dunkirk's town hall where he was to officiate at the hoisting of the victorious Allies' flags. When a high-ranking German officer appeared and reported that he was to act as an escort to our General I realized that General Liška would actually stop and probably expect me to report to him. On arrival of the motorcade I instructed the German officers to salute and bring their men to attention. General Liška did indeed alight from his car, acknowledged my, and the German liaison officer's, reports, and invited the latter to join him in his car. As the hand-over of the garrison's weapons was now running smoothly I was relieved from my post for a well-earned rest. It was only much later that I realised that I had in fact participated in the very last act of the Second World War on the European mainland.

We spent the next day in preparation of our homeward journey but also found time to visit near-by cemeteries to take leave from those comrades who would not be returning home with us. The brigade left the outskirts of Dunkirk on 12th May, drove across devastated Germany and arrived on Czechoslovak soil at midday on May 18th. Later the same afternoon we entered Plzeň to a tumultuous welcome. Now part of the 3rd U.S. Army we presently proceeded southwards to the Czech / Bavarian border. Because of my linguistic and clerical abilities I was put in charge of OKPÚV's HQ offices which served as the district's "Kommandatura".

On 1st September 1945 the Independent Brigade was officially absorbed into the regular Czechoslovak Army's First Armoured Corps. I soon realised that peace-time soldiering did not appeal to me. At my request I was released from active service on 23rd September 1945, ostensibly to enable me to continue with my education/career which had been interrupted by my military service. I found accommodation in Prague where the authorities had arranged for me to attend a grammar school. Within days of my arrival in Prague I was offered a well-paid teaching post as English lecturer by the Institute for Modern Languages. Shortly afterwards I was approached by representa-

tives of the American Army and asked to help them establish and run the Prague buying office of the U.S. Army's Exchange Service.

The enforced decision of the Czechoslovak government to withdraw from the Marshall Plan in July 1947, and Stalin's rejection of a separate and independent Czechoslovak road to Socialism, cast a shadow over both my lucrative careers: the Language Institute was leant upon to curtail their English courses in favour of Russian, and the Americans decided to re-locate their European buying offices to Vienna. Before seriously looking for another job, and bearing in mind that not being gainfully employed was deemed to be a punishable offence in the post-war People's Republic, I decided to first visit my parents in England. Fortunately I was in possession of a valid passport because I had previously been required to report in person to U.S. Army's Headquarters in Frankfurt. Obtaining a visitor's visa to England was likewise no problem. At the beginning of my English holiday I met, quite by chance, a special girl-friend with whom I had come to England in December '38 and who had also attended the refugee children's school at Brook in Surrey. My girl-friend had seen war-time service in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) and this was our first meeting for some seven years. Both of us decided not to leave future meetings to the vagaries of fate, but we had to decide whether to start our life together in Czechoslovakia or in England. On the one hand I had as yet no job to look forward to in Prague, but against this was the fact that I had come to England on a restricted visitor's visa which bore the proviso that I was not to take up "any employment, paid or unpaid." The events of February '48 decided matters for us. I was now granted an extension to my visa and given permission to start work as an unskilled labourer in a textile factory in Mirfield, Yorkshire, and the district where both our parents were living. Now we could get married which we did in May '48. After a year I was given permission to take up employment as warehouse manager in a glass factory with Czech connections in Edmonton, north-east London. By the time the second of our two daughters was born (1952) we had bought a house in Ilford, Essex. In 1952 we had applied for, and in 1955 were granted, British nationality. In 1959, when the glass factory was on the verge of bankruptcy, I was offered a position as sales administrator and buying executive with a firm of fancy goods importers and wholesalers in Camden Town. In 1963 we bought our present house in Woodford Green, Essex. From 1979 until my retirement in 1988 I worked as Shipping Manager for an Import-Export company in the City. Since 1968, and until 1998, I had a secondary and very rewarding career as part-time lecturer of German with the local Adult Education Service.

It was only in October 1992 that Therese and I travelled to Czechoslovakia, visiting relatives and places of common personal interest. We encountered an astonishing degree of ignorance about the existence and contribution of Western Czechoslovak war-time forces. A Colonel of the Tank Corps asked me whether I could tell him why his regiment had originally been equipped with British tanks, and who had brought them from England into post-war Czechoslovakia. On my return I provided the Czech Army's Historical Institute in Praha-Žižkov with some information which, I understand, has been on display since.

In 2001 I heard of the Czech government's offer of a one-off gratuity to former members of their war-time forces, provided they were citizens of the Czech Republic. The London Embassy was most helpful and supportive in obtaining the necessary documentation and having my application processed. In August 2002, with the help of this significant sum of money, Therese and I took our two now grown-up daughters on an extensive tour of the places associated with our childhood and early youth. The visit was a great success as it gave our daughters a better understanding of the affection and attachment Therese and I still harbour for the country of our birth, sentiments they now proudly share.

Woodford Green, England - July 2010

BOOK REVIEWS

Bohumil Hrabal. *Vita Nuova*. Translated by Tony Liman. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2010. ISBN: 978-0-8101-2546-9.

Based on a phrase borrowed from Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, literally meaning “New Life,” which is also the title of Dante’s work about his love for Beatrice Portinari, this novel deals with Hrabal’s daily life from 1959 to 1962, when he worked as a paper brazier and later in a theatre. The second book in a trilogy, this novel, translated into English by Tony Liman, straddles the border between fiction and autobiography, as does the first part of the trilogy, *In-House Weddings*. As in the first part, Hrabal makes his wife, Eliška or Pipsi, his narrator, but *Vita Nuova* is formally rather different from the first one – there are no periods between sentences as one thought flows into another.

The connection between Dante’s work and the title of this novel is intriguing. Dante called his book a “libro della memoria” or “book of memoirs,” and Hrabal’s literary creation relies on the autobiographical. Dante’s *Vita Nuova* deals with the author’s meeting with Beatrice and the changes that love for this angelic woman brought to his soul, along with the despair he felt after her death at a young age. Hrabal’s wife, too, plays a salvific role, though Hrabal seems to agonize over her role as a woman of German descent during and after the Holocaust. The title is sarcastic, too. It can be viewed as inspiration for Hrabal’s text or as a sardonic commentary on how his own life, notwithstanding the dramatic circumstances of war and dictatorship, remained intimately self-centered and self-absorbed.

While the plight of the individual is in the foreground, the historical setting is not far in the background as Hrabal explores the theme of writing during the totalitarian regime and describes the fate of his wife as a Sudeten German who, until the end of the novel, feels bitter about having been punished after the war solely because of her German roots. Should she feel guilty about the way the Germans behaved during the war? That is just one of the many questions posed in this book. National identity influences personal identity, Hrabal asserts. Also, this novel deals with the fear of becoming successful – of becoming “a number one” as Hrabal calls it – and the fear of failure. Is it having published a book or writing true to one’s inner self that constitutes success? This is another question Hrabal asks. While the narrator Eliška finds “new life” or a new vitality by coming to fresh revelations that transform her outlook on the world and the war, her husband does not undergo any character change.

The book’s structure is plainly significant. While it is written in a stream of consciousness style with no periods to end sentences, there are ellipses, question marks and exclamation points to break up the flowing speech. Even capital letters do not designate the beginning of sentences, but rather denote pauses in the text. Indeed, it is not the first time Hrabal has used a unique structure for a novel: his novella *Dancing Lessons for the Advanced in Age* is one never-ending sentence. In *Vita Nuova* the writing mirrors the narrator’s

thinking process. This style permits the reader a deeper sense of intimacy with Eliška, as if he or she is sitting down in a café somewhere with her, listening to her tale. Also, the writing has a diary-like format, which adds to the intimacy, given that diaries are generally repositories of their writers' innermost, secret thoughts. By the same token, the narrative gains in authenticity, a quality whereby readers may believe that they can trust the narrator more.

Written during the 1980s, this book is one example of Hrabal's utilization of autobiography in his fiction, unlike his more absurd and grotesque works from the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, even real characters crop up in the text. The reader does not just meet Hrabal's wife Eliška and an unnamed Hrabal (often referred to as "my husband") but also poet and artist Jiří Kolář who was known for his collages and experimental works, poet and translator Josef Hiršal and graphic artist and painter Vladimír Boudník, who created the avant-garde style of explosionism. Boudník's girlfriend, then wife and later ex-wife, Tekla, is another real character. The location of Na Hrázi Street in Libeň was where Hrabal and Eliška really lived. Hrabal even alludes to Boudník's "premature death" (73) or suicide several times in the novel. (Boudník took his own life in 1968, at age 44.)

As is typical of Hrabal, anecdotes and a dry, earthy humor also characterize *Vita Nuova*. This humor is at its best in the anecdotes that Eliška and her husband recount. One such anecdote involves how a young Bohumil Hrabal ripped his teacher's fly open. In yet another, a woman collects old condoms and sells them as new. Perhaps one of the most vivid involves Eliška taking home some ground pepper and paprika from the Hotel Paris, where she was working, and wrapping the spices in napkins.

When I got home in the evening I emptied the spices from the napkins and then without thinking I took the four paper napkins and cut them into smaller squares and put them into that courtyard W C of ours Later that night when my husband went to use the toilet a shout rang out followed by a stream of invective...and there was my husband running around torn pants around his ankles wailing and hollering and at first glance I thought something terrible had happened like maybe the cracked toilet bowl had finally given way and sliced open my husband's rear end or even worse his bits and pieces... and then my husband got his second wind and shouted Who the hell put paprika on the toilet paper? (49)

Another describes an event at the opera "Libuše": just as Libuše is prophesying Prague's glory, a spectator puts his penis in the hands of the woman standing in front of him as she had her hands clasped behind her back. He was shocked to discover that she had "a prosthetic arm with a spring-loaded thumb...you see as soon as there was any pressure the spring released and the hand clamped shut and the unfortunate engineer yelled so loudly they had to turn the house lights on..." (192)

As in the first part of the trilogy, *In-House Weddings*, Hrabal writes about the banality of everyday life, showing how characters cope with the grey monotony of totalitarian repression. Hrabal likes to spend his free days going from pub to pub, for example, and after work he also frequents pubs. He even

admits that “the ordinary life’s enough for me. . .” (126) Simple actions take on profound meanings when depicted within the context of the historical setting. To illustrate, when the Jewish cemetery is being buried near the end of the novel, Hrabal and Eliška watch the scene from a pub where they are drinking beer. It is important to appreciate that at the time of the writing – the 1980s – Hrabal had been followed closely by the Secret Police and subject to numerous police interrogations. Yet he still finds beauty and joy in the most oppressive conditions and illustrates the necessity of focusing on routine and the trivial during an era when society was automated.

Eliška’s relationship with her husband is a key part of *Vita Nuova*. She accepts Hrabal and her role as his wife, thinking of him more as a child than as her partner. She says that maybe she just married him to get permanent residence in Prague and calls him “this drunk person this husband of mine” (43) as she relates how he disgusts her. She also senses that she makes him very unhappy, and this has taken away some of her self-confidence. “I came to learn after being married to him for a while he looked somewhere else just so he wouldn’t have to look at me.” (87) Eliška had been in love with a musician named Jirka, but he ran away with another woman, which prompted her to try to commit suicide. She does not get over Jirka until she goes back to her old flat in Piešťany and takes home the pictures of him that had decorated the walls. Once home, she finally burns the pictures (all but one), symbolizing her burying her past, at least to a certain extent. She shows love for her husband, though, when she tells him that he should keep on writing what he wants, not what the publishers want, and she will support both of them financially.

Another theme taken up by this book is the fear of success and the fear of failure. Hrabal and his friends long to be “number one,” to be successful as writers and painters. When Hrabal finally gets the chance to publish a book of stories, the publisher tells him that he has to rewrite half of the stories in a different style, rid of the raunchy humor that symbolizes Hrabal’s work – the aspects of his writing that Kolář praised. Hrabal does not protest and hands in the manuscript, written the way the publisher has dictated. But he is not happy; rather, he is ashamed of his book and he is afraid it will be successful. When the editor-in-chief of the publishing house announces that the collection of stories is trash and cancels his contract, Hrabal is overcome with joy. At other moments readers sees a Hrabal who is afraid to write, afraid to fail, so he procrastinates and spends his time in pubs instead of writing. The idea of finding his inner voice and getting to know his true self terrifies him. Yet there are other moments when he writes furiously, unable to stop and seems to be at one with the Perkeo typewriter and its German keyboard that he is using. Still, he is in his forties and has no book to show for it.

The plight of the Sudeten Germans and the theme of guilt play significant roles in the novel. Eliška was a Sudeten German who grew up in Czechoslovakia in a 14-bedroom house with a maid, chauffeur and nanny. Her family hated Jews. She even watched Germans defacing headstones in a Jewish cemetery, but didn’t think much of it at the time because her family was pleased by it. Until the end of the novel, she is bitter about being classified as a German at

the war's end and being placed in a work camp for a year. She says that after the war "... I'd been made to feel like some sort of war criminal when I'd gone from innocence to guilt despite the fact I had nothing to feel guilty about..." (175) While her parents were relocated after the war, something that most Sudeten Germans experienced at that time, she worked at a brickworks and then was on her own, having to fend for herself and her younger brother. So, at age 16, she started working in restaurants in order to earn her keep.

It is only at the end of the novel that she shares the guilt for the Nazi Occupation of the country. "We got what we deserved for what we did to the Jews," (223) she says about the Sudeten Germans being relocated and beaten. Eliška comes to this realization after she takes up walking through Jewish cemeteries. She realizes that many Jews had German names and starts to think of the names on the headstones as individuals. When the Jewish cemetery in the Libeň district of Prague is to be buried because something is to be built over it, Eliška realizes that the cemetery is to be abandoned just as she was abandoned. Throughout the book, readers see Eliška as an outsider, just as Hrabal is an outsider; she is a Sudeten German who thought of herself as Czech and had a Czech education but wasn't accepted as such by Czechoslovak authorities in the 1950s. In Communist terms, her Sudeten German background branded her as someone with a bourgeois history.

Her husband's attitude toward the war does not change in the novel, though. He is insensitive to the Jews' plight. Though he rooted for the Allied Powers over the Nazis, he was happy during the Protectorate, reveling in his work as a train dispatcher. He was glad that the university had been closed, and he didn't have to study law anymore. In fact, Hrabal dreaded the day the war would be over and he would have to return to school. His happiness during the war was a sort of betrayal in itself. Who could be happy when so many Jews were being killed? He claims he didn't support the Nazis during the war, but aren't his feelings of satisfaction about his life during this time a sort of support in themselves? Hrabal lived in his own, albeit selfish, world, which was perhaps necessary for him to cope with the historical situation.

Near the end of the novel, Hrabal creates an ingenious scene to show his character's insensitivity to the Jews' fate. Working as a stagehand, Eliška's husband is ordered to dismantle a synagogue in order to make room for more sets. Without protesting, he destroys the podium and the 200-year wall decorations. He also steals the Crown of David, thinking it might bring him luck with his writing. Hrabal even stacks the lumber from the synagogue in his yard as he plans to use it in his two stoves. Watching him dismantle the synagogue, Eliška remarks, "I felt like I was somewhere back in Germany when Hitler came to power." (221) Thus, Hrabal's selfish character does not change. And isn't he supporting the Germans' actions during the war by destroying a synagogue? Furthermore, the Jews' sad plight and people's negative feelings toward Jews endure, even though it is already the late 1950s.

While a rich historical resonance permeates this novel, it is Eliška's transformation that is the most stirring part of this literary experience. Also, readers feel how strongly Hrabal and his friends seek to become number ones

as they talk about famous people in art and literature. His friends desperately fall in love while Hrabal is in love with life and struggles to become a published author. The raunchy, black humor adds bright color to the novel. *Vita Nuova* shows life at its best and worst. It is about people coping with their pasts and their presents, about moving forward in the world when it is so easy to take a step backward. Most of all, it concerns how the historical events shape human identity, which, in this particular case, is not so trite as it sounds.

Tracy A. Burns

Patrick Crowhurst. *Germany and Czechoslovakia 1938-1947: Domination, Exploitation and Revenge*. Loughborough, England: Self-Published, 2010. 292 pp.

The treatment of the subject in this book consists of two distinct approaches. On the one hand, the events from the Munich Crisis to the post-War period are described in the first and the concluding parts of the book. On the other hand, the middle portion contains a wealth of economic information. The first of the narrative parts (1-56) deals with history of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia until the end of World War II. The second narrative part (244-66) deals with the policies of the Czechoslovak government in exile under President Beneš during the War, and with the post-War retribution against the Germans and domestic collaborators through 1947. Concluding comments address the later attempts to deal with the legacy of the Sudeten German issue and with the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. These are competent succinct survey, based mainly on secondary literature with some illustrations drawn from archives. As for the activities of the Beneš government in exile, one may miss references to memoir literature of the political leaders, especially those of Beneš himself, Jan Masaryk, Prokop Drtina, Hubert Ripka, and Juraj Slávik.

The narrative of the post-War period (244-66) utilizes the collection *Die Deutschen in der Tschechoslowakei 1933-1947 : Dokumentensammlung*, ed. Václav Král (Prague: Nakl. Československé akademie věd, 1964), but not the more recent Tomáš Staněk, *Odsun Němců z Československa, 1945-47* (Prague: Academia, 1991). The interesting discussion of the punishment of collaborators under the so-called Great and Small decrees is to some extent based on Benjamin Frommer's *National cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (New York, 2005). A couple of critical observations, however, can be made concerning this generally competent overview. The discussion of Jewish persecution by the Nazis appears to be merged with the general oppression of the population so that the special horror of the Holocaust does not stand out (45, 72, 78-75, 109). See, for instance, the curt treatment of the Aryanization of Jewish property (104-06). Elsewhere, the author's assertion that atrocities against the Germans took place in the countryside, but not in Prague (252), is contradicted in Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black* (Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 235.

The economic analyses in the middle portion, based on voluminous archival materials – and with more than 60 statistical tables – constitute the strongest part of the book. Among the archival depositories in Bohemia and Moravia are the central archives in Prague, as well as the town and district archives in Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, Karviná, Kopřivnice, Mladá Boleslav, Olovouc, Opava, Ostrava, Příbram, Ústí nad Labem, and Zlín. In addition, the author utilized depositories in Germany, especially the German Military Archives in Freiburg, and in Great Britain, especially the Imperial War Museum, and the British Library.

The major topics include the use of Czechs as laborers in Germany. This section – aside from a wealth of statistics – contains personal stories that tend to interrupt the flow of the narrative, but their intrinsic interest perhaps outweighs the loss of continuity (e.g., 79-80). The next section, dealing with armaments, covers at length the overall German problems in this area (88-96), followed by examples of major Czech industries integrated into the overall Nazi production process, in particular the firms Škoda and Zbrojovka, Českomoravská Kolben-Daněk, Baťa, and Ringhoffer-Tatra. Among the smaller enterprises, the mines of Jáchymov – then one of the few sources of uranium in Europe – were not significant for the Nazis who, according to the author, lacked the technological know-how in the field of nuclear energy. Coal, iron, and steel production of the Protectorate was fully integrated with the German industries after 1942, when Albert Speer took over the overall economic management for the “Total War.” The author offers detailed statistics for individual enterprises by year and even by month, and gives the fascinating detail from the area of tank production, namely, that the Czech steel plates, bolted together, had a good chance to withstand the extremes of Russian winters, unlike the German plates held together by welding, which tended to crack (188). After the loss of the Soviet supplies in 1941, German military efforts increasingly depended on the artificial oil production from the soft coal mines of northern Bohemia.

In the last major section on the economic relationships (216-43), the author stresses that the Protectorate’s contribution to the German war effort depended also on the imports of raw materials and armaments from other European countries. He focuses on Romania, Slovakia, Switzerland, and Turkey. The economic relations of the Protectorate with these countries are set into the framework of perhaps too lengthy background information on the history and character of German relations with the given lands, for instance, with Turkey after World War I (233). As for specific countries, it appears that Romania was more dependent on the Protectorate for arms supplies than vice versa, and that Slovak production of armaments went directly into Germany. Switzerland, however, supplied machinery for German war industries through the Protectorate, especially since 1943, and the imports of chrome, vital for German production, were paid for by Czech arms exports to Turkey.

On the whole, the author’s work does not offer a smooth reading, and much of his narrative of basic events, in the opening and the concluding sections of his book, sounds familiar, albeit occasionally enriched by interesting details. He does, however, present a unique collection of economic and war-production statistics, which could not be found elsewhere, even if there are some disproportions in the treatment of the *Reich* as a whole, and the Protectorate.

Zdeněk V. David

Cosmas of Prague: The Chronicle of the Czechs. Trans. by Lisa Wolverton. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-8132-1570-9. 274 pp.

The twelfth-century Latin *Chronicle of the Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague (c. 1045-1125) has finally been made accessible to English-speaking audiences in an excellent translation by Lisa Wolverton. The *Chronicle of the Czechs*, which is the first history of a Slavic people by a Slavic historian, is a narrative history of the Czech land and of its people from the arrival of Bohemus (or Čech in the vernacular) up until the death of Cosmas in 1125. Although it primarily charts political developments, it belongs, as Wolverton explains in the introduction, to the genre of medieval texts called “national history,” in that it forges a unified people, in this case, the Czechs.

Cosmas, whose name in Czech is spelled Kosmas, begins his narrative with the mythical origins of the Czech people and concludes before his own death in 1125. The chronicle is divided in three books of almost equal length, offering a chronological history of the Czech people over about 250 years. Cosmas is primarily concerned with politics. His story revolves around the Přemyslid dynasty, actual dukes and dukes hopeful are his main focus, but he branches out occasionally. Thus we learn of elections, scheming, and violence, but also of military campaigns, travels of people and of relics, miracles as well as plagues, earthquakes and droughts. Cosmas focuses primarily on the happenings in Bohemia, but from time to time discusses events on the larger European scene: military expeditions and diplomatic exchanges between the Czech lands and the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, and Hungary as well as ecclesiastical embassies to Rome.

In the first book, Cosmas surveys the origins of the Czech people, from their bucolic and innocent beginnings, gradual descent into vice and immorality, to their desire for a ruler and the eventual emergence of the Přemyslid dynasty. Many of the characters known from Czech legends make their appearance: The first is Bohemus (or Čech), who led the first group of Czechs into their land called Bohemia (Čechy) and who pronounces the land to be filled with “nectar, honey and milk”(36). There is Děvín, the fortress of maidens, Krok and his three daughters, Kazi, Tetka and Libuše, the legendary sibyl whose oracle leads the Czechs to the peasant Přemysl. He starts out as an unsuspecting farmer plowing his field and is divinely (or so it seems) elected to be the founder of the Přemyslid dynasty (which ruled Bohemia until 1306). Cosmas’s narrative of the search for the first duke, Přemysl, is important because it firmly establishes the legitimacy of the dynasty whose first ruler was chosen by a prophecy and acclaimed by the people.

The second book covers events between 1037, the ascension of Břetislav I, and 1092, the death of the last of his sons. Cosmas was a witness to these events as a boy and a young man, and his experience as an older and wiser observer no doubt shaped his view of these earlier recollections. The narrative is primarily political, the lives and deeds of the dukes. Cosmas does not shy away from offering his own opinions on the subject and shapes the

narrative in order to draw a number of lessons. Boleslav, for example, can be seen as the anti-duke. Guilty of fratricide, he is cruel, savage, impulsive, and he rules as a tyrant, forcing his people to do his bidding rather than seeking and orchestrating consensus. Břetislav I, on the other hand, encapsulates the ideal qualities of a duke. He does not exalt himself, but visits churches, honors priests, worships God, consults with others, judges justly, cares for widows and strangers and (perhaps most memorably) refrains from debasing the coinage (85-6). A good ruler, such as Břetislav I, is supposed to preserve the unity of Bohemia, threatened when several Přemyslids fight amongst themselves for the ducal throne.

Book three begins with the enthronement of Břetislav II in 1092 and concludes in October 1125. The peace and prosperity of Břetislav's rule ends suddenly with his assassination in 1100, which plunges Bohemia into 25 years of succession conflict, scheming, and warfare among the various candidates for the throne. Writing in the midst of such upheaval, Cosmas cannot but reflect on the nature of political legitimacy and threats to political order in Bohemia. In his view, greed proves especially destructive to a political community as it fosters competition and ambition (rather than cooperation and harmony). The falling out between Bořivoj and Svatopluk, cousins and candidates for the throne, is one of many attributed to the influence of "Queen Money." Cosmas's concern for a just exercise of political power is one of the continuing threads in the *Chronicle of the Czechs*.

Cosmas, schooled in Liège, one of the leading schools of his time, belonged to the political and literary elite of his time. He knew Latin well. Wolverton's translation preserves the feel of the original language and masterfully anchors the translation in its twelfth-century Czech context. She achieves this by avoiding terms that conjure up an image of a more urbanized and sophisticated society. Thus, she chooses "warrior" (rather than "knight") for *miles*, "burg" (rather than "city" or "town") for *urbs* or *civitas*. Every translation is an interpretation, and I accept Wolverton's justification for her choices even if Libuše's well-known prophecy about the future greatness of Prague falls somewhat flat to Czech speakers, who have often heard this phrase rendered in much loftier language. In contrast, Wolverton has the sibyl proclaim to the duke and elders assembled before her: "I see a *burg*, whose fame touches the stars, situated in a forest, thirty stades distant from the village where the Vltava ends in streams" (49).

Cosmas's erudite Latin contains copious biblical and classical quotations, which Wolverton identifies in the footnotes. The translation strives (and succeeds) in capturing the contrast in tone and register between classical and biblical allusions and Cosmas's own language. Thus, anyone familiar with the Bible and with the classics will hear echoes of numerous passages alluded to by Cosmas in the course of his narrative. For example, Cosmas's account of the origins of the Czech people contains textual resonances with Virgil's account of Rome's foundation in the *Aeneid* as well as with various Old Testament descriptions. The speech that Cosmas put into the mouth of Bohemus, the mythical ancestor, contains both. "Rising and stretching his hands both palms

upward to the stars (*Aeneid* 1.276), he thus rose to say: ‘Greetings fated land (*Aeneid* 7.120), sought by out thousand prayers, once widowed of man in the time of the Flood. Now, as a kind of monument to men, keep us safe and our generation plentiful from age to age (Luke 1:50).’” This kind of interweaving of classical and biblical material is typical of Cosmas, and it is faithfully and poetically rendered into the English.

The explanatory notes allow the reader full access to Cosmas’s text and milieu. They begin with an erudite yet accessible explanation of the humility *topos*, lest undergraduates, ready to take Cosmas at his word, believe that his chronicle is “polished by no charm of grammatical art but arranged simply and scarcely in a Latin manner” (31). Throughout the narrative, Wolverton hovers close with other helpful offerings. They span a wide spectrum: from highly scholarly notes that supply up-to-date bibliography to basic introduction to the politics and religion of Cosmas’s medieval world.

The chronicle opens a window on the world of twelfth century Bohemia as experienced by a member of the elite. This is a world in which ducal elections, episcopal appointments, political machinations and quests for holiness existed side-by-side. Wolverton presents Cosmas’s chronicle as a “national history,” narrating and thus forging an idea of Czech-dom. As Wolverton points out in her introduction, “the opening stories about the origins of the Czechs and their rulers both assume and establish that a people is shaped by its shared past” (9). Wolverton also explains her decision to translate *Chronica Boemorum* as the *Chronicle of the Czechs* rather than as the *Bohemian Chronicle* or *A Chronicle of Bohemia*, pointing out that “[w]hile Cosmas gives short shrift to internal Moravian developments, to be sure, he clearly understood both its inhabitants and their land as part of his story. This is the history of *both* a place *and* a people.” (26) As the only narrative source of the origins and history of the Czech people, it has wielded incomparable influence on Czech culture, history and folklore. Scholars and students alike will find rich material here.

Marcela K. Perett

The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later. Ed. and comp. by M. Mark Stolarik. Mudelein: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2010. 310 pp. ISBN 978-0-86516-751-3 and ISBN 978-0-86516-757-5.

This is a unique book that resulted from a 2008 Conference at the University of Ottawa in Canada. An eyewitness dimension enhances *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later*. Its editor M. Mark Stolarik, Professor of History and holder of the Chair in Slovak History and Culture at the same university, was in Slovakia on a research trip at the actual time of the invasion.

The book itself consists of sixteen chapters paired into eight units. The first chapter in each unit offers conclusions, data, and insights about the invasion from the perspective of one particular country. Furthermore, a scholar from that nation has written the particular chapter. In the case of Czechoslovakia, there is a chapter on the Czech perspective as well as the Slovak one. Each of these eight chapters relies heavily on material discovered in each country's archives after the fall of communism. In some cases, the new evidence confirms pre-existing beliefs and understandings, while in others totally new conclusions emerge. The second chapter in each unit provides a reaction to the findings presented in the preceding chapter. The authors of these second chapters are academics from Canada and the United States. This creative and unusual pattern of alternating chapters ingeniously provides perspectives from inside and outside the region, while at the same time introducing the reader to the results of fresh research based on newly accessible sources.

In the introduction, the editor nicely summarizes the contributions to follow but also highlights some of the unusual and not-well-known contributions of Slovaks to the process of the Prague Spring. In the unit that deals with the Soviet position, Mikhail V. Latysh argues that the invasion could easily have taken place in May 1968, a month after passage of the April Action Program. His commentator, Matthew J. Ouimet, takes issue with that interpretation and concludes that any sort of invasion was unlikely that early in the year. Ouimet also describes one of the dramatic scenes of Soviet-Czech interactions when he tells how the Soviet Minister of Defense Andrei Grechko rolled up his sleeves to show the Czechoslovak Minister of Defense Martin Dzúr the actual scars that he obtained during the Soviet liberation of Czechoslovakia at the end of World War II. Latysh also makes the revealing point that Soviet leaders offered a ready answer to Slovaks who thought that a Czech Communist Party should be created to parallel the Slovak Party. This would have given even more force to the law on federalism passed during the reform year. Soviet leaders pointed out that they themselves had seen no need to create a Russian Communist Party. Obviously, in both cases the national communist parties served the interests of both Russians and Czechs well enough.

The two chapters on the Czech perspective offer useful insights as well. Jan Rychlik describes the escape of General Jan Sejna to the West as a result of his earlier misuse of army property. This interpretation is in contrast

to a number of others that portray the General as a hero whose escape suggested the possibility that Czechoslovakia might break away from the Warsaw Pact, thus leaving a gaping hole in the alliance. While Rychlík tends to focus on the reforms as a product of the top leadership of the Communist Party, his commentator Michael Kraus reminds him that social pressures as well played a role in development of the reforms. Kraus also makes the sensible point that the Prague Spring reformers were really advocating liberalization rather than democratization, a lesson that applies to expectations about Afghanistan, Iraq, and many areas of the Arab world in 2011. From the point of view of the Slovaks, Slavomír Michálik and Stanislav Šikora well describe Gustav Husák's evolution from a 1950s reformer to a 1968 moderate. They also depict Czech and Slovak disagreement over the general thrust of the law on federalism, with Czechs preferring a tight federation and Slovaks a loose one. Further, the authors offer useful information about special communications between Slovak leaders and Ukrainians, who feared the infection of reformism into their Republic. Stanislav J. Kirschbaum in his commentary calls for additional coverage and research on societal attitudes to balance the wealth of information on the perspectives of the elite. He also, like several other commentators who see similarities between 1968 and 1989, calls for further investigation to connect Slovak attitudes in 1968 with those in 1993 when the Czechoslovak state was dissolved.

Portrayal of the Polish leader Władysław Gomulka's position is clear and stark. In the view of Łukasz Kamiński, Gomulka actually was pushing an indecisive Leonid Brezhnev to take firm action. Fearing Czech ties to the hated West Germans, he permitted 25,000 Polish soldiers to take part in the original invasion, although they were pulled out by October 1968. Kamiński examines leaflets, wall inscriptions, and even one self-immolation to show the Polish society's negative reaction to the invasion. The commentator Piotr Wróbel, in contrast, portrays Polish society as indifferent and passive, in light of their past conflicts with Czechs over territory and other matters. The chapters on the East German data are striking and new. Observers of the invasion listed the East German army as part of the invading force; however, Rüdiger Wenzke's research reveals that the 16,500 NVA troops that were mobilized never left their own country. In 2008, evidence emerged that Moscow had decided not to use that particular set of military units. Gary Bruce, in his commentary, draws out the implications of this situation. He notes the East German leadership's embarrassment over this awkward Soviet decision.

Evidence presented by Ivana Skálová on Bulgaria shows a minor Warsaw Pact partner that sent less than 1,000 soldiers into Czechoslovakia. Again, Soviet leaders treated the country and its leader Todor Zhivkov as bit players. At one point, Brezhnev gave the impression that he thought the Bulgarian party leader has spoken for a longer time in a meeting than he should have. The author also dispels the image that Zhivkov presented of himself in a 1990 interview. There the Bulgarian leader tried to bill of himself as a moderate who had tried to soften the impact of the invasion. Mark Kramer, the commentator, strengthens Skálová's portrayal by pointing out that Zhivkov was the

strongest advocate of an invasion at the July 1968 meeting in Warsaw. In contrast, the evidence that Czaba Békés presents on Hungary seems to authenticate the genuinely moderate view of János Kádár. The Hungarian leader sought to be a mediator between Moscow and Prague, while he treated the possibility of an invasion as a tool of last resort. He also tried to convince others that they should permit the Czechs to come up with their own solution to the crisis. Péter Pastor in his commentary has a different view of Kádár. For example, Pastor describes the Yalta meeting at which Kádár claimed to have acted as a mediators as the place where the decision to invade Czechoslovakia took place. The Hungarian leader was a “go-between.” Pastor also calls Kádár “Brezhnev’s messenger,” a picture quite different than an issue-oriented mediator.

Finally, the Romanian role is a real anomaly. As Dragoș Petrescu describes him, the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceaușescu was a hardliner, but one who advocated that each communist party should be able to develop its own line. Thus, he endorsed the right of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to make its own decisions, a path that he had chosen for Romania as well. No Romanian troops took part in the invasion, and the Czech events actually empowered Ceaușescu to strengthen his own one-party rule, but with the objective of ending the mild liberalization that had been characteristic of his own country. The commentator Monica Ciobanu basically agrees with that argument but points out that there are analysts who think that the tightening up in Romania took place in the 1970s rather than at the time of the Prague Spring.

Overall this book is a useful addition to the literature on the Prague Spring and to the even broader set of writings on Soviet military interventions during the Cold War. The book would have benefitted from more coordination among authors to weed out unnecessary repetition of basic material on the evolution of the crisis. In addition, a concluding chapter that drew themes together would have been welcome. Of course, *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968* has numerous footnotes, but a bibliography would also have been in order. In spite of these omissions, the editor and authors have done an excellent job in presenting the total picture of events surrounding the Prague Spring and of anchoring their conclusions in newly discovered archival evidence after 1989.

James W. Peterson

Up the Devil's Back: A Bilingual Anthology of 20th-Century Czech Poetry.
Bronislava Volková and Clarice Cloutier, eds. and trans. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2008. xvi. 470 pp. ISBN 978-0-89357-362-1.

This comprehensive selection of modern Czech poetry has been prepared by two scholars specializing in Czech literature, both of whom are authors and translators of poetry. Bronislava Volková is Czech-born and lectures at Indiana University, Clarice Cloutier is American-born and teaches at Charles University in Prague.

The 184 poems from 65 poets are arranged in part chronologically by authors, in part according to the poetic movements to which they belong, and in part according to the historical events in the Czech lands during the second half of the twentieth century. Among the various headings used by the editors to group the authors of the chosen poems are predecessors of the avant-garde, so-called poetists and surrealists, philosophical lyricists, and Catholic poets. And acknowledging the political upheavals in the country during the second half of the last century, the editors have also included selections from poets who worked under political pressure, four generations of imprisoned poets, the generation of poets who matured with the events of 1968, and poets who have emigrated across the ocean. Most of the poets included in the volume are represented by three poems, but three poets by as few as one and one poet by as many as five (Jiří Orten, who died tragically at the age of 22). Jaroslav Seifert, the only Czech writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, has four poems in the volume. Seifert also received the title of national artist (*národní umělec*), along with Vladimír Holan, František Hrubín, Vítězslav Nezval, and Fráňa Šrámek—all represented.

In general, Czech lyric poetry has surpassed in quality and quantity both prose and dramatic writing, and the present extensive anthology is therefore to be welcomed. With so many poems coming out in collections or individually in magazines, a representative selection is not easy to make, and different editors would no doubt have come up with somewhat different choices. The selections for this anthology, however, are well-considered, ranging from the symbolist poetry of Otokar Březina, with his luxuriant metaphors and exquisite choice of words, all the way to the colloquial and informal poetry of Jáchym Topol and some of the prose-poems of Martin Reiner. Other poets might well have been included—for example, Petr Bezruč and Viktor Dyk—but this comment is not meant as a criticism; this rich anthology could not have continued to expand indefinitely.

All the poems have been translated into English. Briefly and in general, translating poetry is an exacting task. First, one must understand the sense of the original, but in many modern poems one can look in vain for a clearly identifiable portrayal of a situation, mood, or experience. A translator must try to understand a poem from a linguistic standpoint (including how to parse the lines of an unpunctuated poem). He must also take into account what the poet is trying to say and the manner in which he expresses it—the meaning of words in poems is contextual. The translator should also endeavor to dis-

cover the mood and the aesthetic nature of a poem, that is, its emotional tuning, its ironic or tragic background, the use of sound effects, and the like. The comprehension of all such aspects of a poetic work should lead the translator to an interpretation of the poem, and finally to the recasting of the original into another language. In the case of unrhymed free-verse poems, the translator's task is much simpler than in the case of rhymed verses of a regular syllabic structure. In sum, a good translator must be well acquainted with the two languages and the relationship between their systems in order to reproduce the meaning of the poem, its overall aesthetic effect and, if relevant, the prominent formal characteristics of the original.

The translators of this anthology did their job very well with regard to poems of a more traditional form and those not confined to form. In their "Introduction" they discuss their method of making the selection and then organizing the contents of the book; and Alfred Thomas of the University of Illinois concludes the volume with an interesting "Afterword" in which he talks about many things—from *Beowulf* to Karel Hynek Mácha's *Máj*. Preceding the selections are page-long biographical notes for each poet giving a brief summary of their lives and listing their major works. Facing the biographies are peculiar (artistic?) portraits of the poets adapted for the volume by Cloutier; this reviewer would have much preferred conventional photographs.

In summary, this is a successful representative selection of modern Czech lyrical poetry, and both American and British readers will benefit by having the original pieces faced with good English translations.

Zdeněk Salzmann

**Francis D. Raška. *Fighting Communism from Afar: The Council of Free Czechoslovakia.* Boulder: East European Monographs, 2008. 209 pp.
ISBN: 978-88033-626-0.**

Francis Raška's pioneering work presents and evaluates the achievements of the Council for Free Czechoslovakia, "the first united political exile body among all the captive European nations" (180). Prominent politicians who had left Czechoslovakia after the Communist coup founded this organization in 1949. The Council's mission was to struggle against the Communist domination of their country and to achieve its liberation; furthermore, its members saw themselves a potential government-in-exile.

Council members initially believed that they would soon return to their native land and resume their leading role in the political life of their country. This conviction accounted for "their adherence to political parties and fed their past jealousies and rivalries" (177). The reluctance of non-Communist parties of the National Front to fully include exiles belonging to the civic parties (the Republican [Agrarian], Democratic and Smallholder parties) banned by the 1945 Košice Agreement proved to be an especially contentious issue. "Some of the representatives of these civic parties," Raška explains, "had justified or implied grievances against the politicians of the National Front, whom they accused of being Communist collaborators" (170). The differences of opinion between the Czech and Slovak politicians about the state's future also bedeviled the Council's deliberations. Thus, the representation, as well as the divergent views, of individuals, parties and groups within parties became a constant and time-consuming source of conflict.

Moreover, the international situation was not propitious for the Council. The primary goal of the Council, the liberation of Czechoslovakia, was not a high priority for the Western powers. This situation contrasted sharply with that of the Czechoslovak émigrés of World War I and II whose activities were very useful to the Allies. Ultimately, the Western governments sought to prevent further Soviet encroachment and contain rather than defeat the Soviet Union and wrestle eastern from its grasp. Moreover, Czechoslovak exiles during World War I and II actually contributed to the wars that lasted a relatively short time. The Council's propaganda campaign against Communist domination made only a marginal contribution to the West's interests during the long Cold War.

The Council had other serious weaknesses. Not only did it not command an army, it also had practically no financial resources of its own. It depended on funds from the Western governments, particularly from the United States. Its funding came primarily from the National Committee for Free Europe, later known as the Free Europe Committee.

In spite of its limitations, the Council did have some solid achievements to its credit. The author lists its activities in international organizations as "the Council's most important..." (178). The Council played an important role in the Assembly of Captive European Nation, called attention to the Czechoslovak Communists' violation of the Helsinki Accords and promoted

the cause of Charter'77. Many of Council's founding members also actively and regularly engaged in broadcasting anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda on Radio Free Europe. When the Council also tackled the issues of nationality, it came out in favor of "a united, liberated Czechoslovakia" and irrevocable German transfer from the country. In the last analysis, Raška concludes: "The Council of Free Czechoslovakia served as an important symbol of non-Communist representatives of Czechoslovakia in the free world" (180).

Appendices enhance the scholarly value of this work. The author has included lists of the following used in the text: abbreviations, political parties comprising the National Front (1945-1948), exile Czechoslovak political parties after 1948 and individuals. The list of individuals includes historical personages, Czech exile politicians, as well as important personages who had to do with the Council, such as Dean Acheson, the U.S. Secretary of State and other Western public servants and activists. This feature prevents the copious number of people mentioned in the text from overwhelming the reader. I wish that the author had expanded the identifications, for some of them are so brief that they are inadequate and/or misleading. Besides notes and a bibliography, *Fighting Communism from Afar* also includes eight pages of photographs of individual Council members.

The history of the nations between Germany and Russia, as I have argued previously in these pages (Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 127-9) includes the activities of the countries' nationals living abroad. This feature comprises an intrinsic and salient characteristic of that region's history. The activities of individuals and groups, such as those of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, provide a complementary, as well occasionally competing, dimensions to the history of these nations.

The Council and its activities kept alive the aspiration to a Czechoslovak state other than the Communist one. The issues that the Council addressed often dealt with the public discourse that the Communist regime at home had framed either too dogmatically or silenced totally. In striving to liberate Czechoslovakia, the Council grappled implicitly, as well as explicitly, with the issues of complicity with the Nazis, the Communist take-over, the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks and the post-World War II treatment of the minorities.

Fighting Communism from Afar: the Council of Free Czechoslovakia is an important work, thoroughly researched, intelligently organized and lucidly argued. It fills a lacuna in the history of the Czech and Slovak nations. I can only wish, for the sake of future generations, that this work will not remain the only step, but merely the first, in the writing a full and unbiased history of Czechoslovakia.

Mary Hrabík Šámal

Contributors

Tracy A. Burns, a resident of Prague for sixteen years, has much experience as a journalist, creative writer, proofreader and editor. She publishes articles in Czech, Slovak and English. Her works in Czech have appeared in three dailies, in Reflex, in Respekt, in Literární noviny and in numerous other publications. Her writings in Slovak have been published in the daily *SME* and the former bi-weekly *Mosty*. Her articles in English have been printed in *The Washington Post*, *The Prague Post*, *Czech Business Weekly*, *Prague Leaders Magazine* and *Kosmas*. Her articles have also appeared on the Internet pages of Czech Radio.

Michael Cwach is a PhD student in ethnomusicology at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, where he is currently preparing his thesis, “The *pukl* and Chodsko: Aspects of linkage between a bagpipe and an ethnographic region.” While a student at the University of South Dakota and curatorial assistant at the National Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota he was selected to be a Fulbright U.S. Student Fellow (2003-2004) to the Czech Republic, where he studied aspects of the Bohemian bagpipe, its history, cultural significance and performance practice. He is a member of the folklore group, Blat’ácký soubor Ševětíň, where he performs on the *pukl*.

Zdeněk V. David is trained as a historian (PhD Harvard, 1960) and is currently librarian emeritus and Senior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C. With the late Robert A. Kann, he is coauthor of *The Peoples of the Eastern Hasburg Lands, 1526-1918* (1984). In 2003, he published a monograph, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, and his new book, *Realism, Tolerance, and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening*, was published in 2010.

Jelena Milojković-Djurić is a cultural historian, who taught at the Universities of Belgrade, Colorado and Texas A&M. She was elected a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy and Sciences and Arts in 2006. Her publications include seven books published by East European Monographs, Boulder and Columbia University Press and New Academia Publishing, Georgetown University, Washington DC. She has published four books in Belgrade, Serbia, as well as numerous papers in leading scholarly journals.

Eric Dluhosch, PhD, retired as Professor Emeritus from the MIT Department of Architecture in 2001. He left Czechoslovakia in 1949 and emigrated to Canada, where he completed his architecture studies at McGill University. Dluhosch practiced architecture in Montreal from 1960-1963 and moved to the USA in 1964. he has taught architecture at Ohio University, California Polytechnic University, Cornell and, ultimately, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Currently, he is researching and publishing material on

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Jan Klinka is a native of Prague. He studied at Charles University and at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, where he received a doctorate in psychology. He worked as a clinical psychologist for the British Columbia government's Forensic Services and in private practice until his retirement in 2005. His research interests include Czech literature, music, and Czechoslovak WW2 resistance.

Herbert Lowit was born in Teplice-Šanov and was active in the German anti-fascist movement until Munich. He served in the Czechoslovak Independent Armoured Brigade from 1941 to 1945. He took part in the siege of Dunkirk and was involved in the garrison's surrender in May 1945. He tried to build a post-war career in Czechoslovakia but upon his marriage in 1948, decided to settle in England.

Pavel Marek is a University Professor in the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the Palacky University in Olomouc (Czech Republic) and the Catholic University in Ružomberok (Slovak Republic). He is mainly interested in Czech history at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, the history of political parties and church history. He is the author of a number of papers and monographs.

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James W. Peterson is a Professor of Political Science and Head of the Department of Political Science at Valdosta State University in Valdosta, Georgia. His new book (March 2011) with Continuum is entitled *NATO and Terrorism: Organizational Expansion and Mission Transformation*. For many years he has edited the *Czech and Slovak History Newsletter* for the Czechoslovak Studies Association.

Francis D. Raška is Associate Professor of Modern History at the Institute of International Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. He has taught in the Department of American Studies since 2000 and has published widely. Among his publications are two monographs. The first is entitled *The Czechoslovak Exile Government in London and the Sudeten German Issue* (Prague, Karolinum Press, 2002) and the second bears the title *Fighting Communism from Afar: The Council of Free Czechoslovakia* (Boulder, East European Monographs, 2008). At present, Raška is working on another book dealing with the post-1968 Czechoslovak exile.

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Zdeněk Salzmann is a linguistic anthropologist and professor emeritus from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Among his several hundred publications is the textbook *Language, Culture, and Society: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*, soon to appear in its fifth edition.

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Karolina Slamová graduated from Ostrava University, Faculty of Bohemian Studies and Arts with a Master's Degree. She is currently working on a dissertation thesis focusing on Igor Hájek, a literary critic in British exile in the literary and cultural context of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s as a doctoral student of Ostrava University, Faculty of Bohemian Studies and Arts. Karolina Slamová teaches at the VŠB-Technical University of Ostrava at the Department of Foreign Languages as a senior lecturer.

Advice to Contributors

Kosmas is devoted primarily to scholarly research in all relevant academic disciplines within the humanities, arts, and sciences; memoirs or creative writing may be published in some cases. Ordinarily, manuscripts should be no longer than 25-30 pages, double-spaced. Book reviews should be 500-700 words in length. Manuscripts will not be returned unless postage is enclosed.

Manuscripts may be submitted in English, Slovak, Czech, French, or German, but an English translation must accompany any manuscript in a language other than English. *Kosmas* publishes only in English.

Manuscripts should be prepared in Microsoft Word with careful attention to diacritical markings. Each author should submit two paper copies of the manuscript along with a copy on a computer diskette. The entire text should be double-spaced, including block quotations and notes. Book titles and non-English words should appear in italics. Endnotes should be used rather than the "Works Cited" format. Transliterations of Cyrillic should follow the Library of Congress method. For all additional matters of style, the current edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* should be consulted.