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From the Editor

Hugh L. Agnew

It is with some relief during these pandemic times that I can introduce the current, Volume 2, number 2 (New Series) of *Kosmas*.

In this issue, we have contributions from new faces and familiar friends. We begin with an article by Zdeněk David in which he returns to one of his favorite subjects, the Bohemian Reformation—this time to explore its connections with England, and especially the various reformed churches, in particular the Anglican church, as well as the Catholic church in the British Isles. His account brings into focus the ways in which reformed churchmen in England (mis)understood their Utraquist contemporaries and the role of Jan Hus. Next, Hana Waisserová unpacks a literary detective story detailing the search for the provenance of a literary treasure owned by a Nebraska family whose ancestors came over from Moravia. Their prized possession was a printed Postil but it was missing the title page. Waisserová identifies the family's prized possession as a Postil printed in Czech in the sixteenth century, but not directly from the pen of Jan Hus.

Jumping into the twentieth century, Mary Hrabík Šámal brings the next instalment of her father, Martin Hrabík's, memoirs, covering his experiences after sentencing and during confinement in Germany, and covering the light and dark moments of those difficult years. That first-hand account is followed by another rare publication of documentary importance, an English translation of a short story by Eda Kriseová, "The Gates Opened," which is preceded by a thorough introductory essay by Hana Waisserová. The translation is presented in facsimile as a document of its time, prepared as it was by the translators for Kriseová to present in public, and marked in her own handwriting with reminders for English pronunciation and other presentation notes. James Peterson's recounts the challenges faced by the Czech Republic and Slovakia as they search for the proper policies to ensure their security in a Europe affected by the Russian actions in Crimea and Ukraine, as well as the changing winds blowing from Washington towards NATO.

In his essay "A Librarian's Manifesto," David Chroust takes on the challenges of a globalizing world from the perspective of his profession, arguing that the new technologies and opportunities they bring pose new and important challenges to librarians—but also tremendous new opportunities to internationalize the research and perspectives of the scholars who depend upon their work. The indefatigable Miloslav Rechcigl provides another of his research compendia of genealogical information about Czechs abroad, this time focusing on our neighbor to the north, Canada. Finally, four book reviews by Mary Hrabík Šámal, Milada Polišenská, Louis J. Reith, and Tracy A. Burns close out this particular issue.

In closing may I wish all readers and supporters of *Kosmas* continued health, and may we all come through this pandemic and the other challenges we face successfully!

ARTICLES

Religious Contacts with England during the Bohemian Reformation¹

Zdeněk V. David

While there were contacts between Bohemia and England from the very start of the Bohemian Reformation, the subsequent course of religious development diverged in the two countries, often drastically. It was only after the Elizabethan Settlement of the ecclesiastical issues in 1563 that the English or Anglican Church at last firmly embarked on the religious middle way that the mainline Utraquist church of Bohemia had pursued—initially between Rome and Taboritism—since the 1420s.² Hence, there are three stages in the process from the standpoint of the Utraquist church. Initially, during the first century after the onset of the Bohemian Reformation, the ideas of John Wyclif (c.1330-1384) obtained a strong, but mixed reception. Second, during the thirty years after the onset of the English Reformation its course swung—from the Utraquists' point of view—from unacceptable conservatism to unacceptable radicalism and back (1534-1558). Only after 1563, until the suppression of the Utraquist church in 1620, did the two churches pursue a parallel course along the middle road (*via media*) between Rome and Heidelberg/Geneva.

This study attempts for the first time to place two hundred years of religious contacts between England and Bohemia into a single continuum. The central thesis of this study is the proposition that the Utraquist church's negative imaging in historical literature primarily stemmed from its distinctive religious orientation. The middle way ran initially against the ingrained principles of the chief protagonists emerging from the Reformation era (post-Tridentine Catholicism and fully reformed Protestantism), and then, more importantly for our times, against the later ingrained conventions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century secular historiography, favoring a more or less determinist unhesitating progress from Catholicism to Protestantism to Secularism.³ Nevertheless, the Utraquist Church made a

¹ This paper was originally presented at the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice International Symposium (BRRP 12), Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences ČR, Prague, June 15-17, 2016. It is partly based on my previous studies: "Bohemian and English Reformations Compared," in *Contributions of the Moravian Brethren to America*, ed. Zdeněk V. David (New York: Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, 2008), 7-16; "Hus a anglická homiletika: Beda Ctihodný a Wyclif v Husových českých spisech" [Jan Hus and English Homiletics: The Venerable Bede and Wyclif in Hus's Czech Writings], in Petr Hlaváček, ed. *O felix Bohemia! Studie k dějinám české reformace. K poctě Davida R. Holotona*, Europeana Pragensia 5 (Prague: Collegium Europaeum, 2013), 59-80; and *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 2003.

² Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 18-32.

³ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

fundamental theological contribution in the field of ecclesiology, akin to that of the Church of England. Like the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, Utraquism stood out as a model of a national church, emerging in the milieu of distinctly Western Christianity, and with a traditionalist emphasis on the antiquity and historical continuity of its doctrines and institutions.

Early Contacts of the Bohemian Reformers with England

John Wyclif

Aside from the later formal resemblance of the two churches, there were in fact concrete historical links between Czech and English religious thought, particularly on the issue of papal authority, as early as the turn of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century. Above all, the writings of Wyclif—superimposed (often awkwardly) on indigenous Bohemian ideas of religious reform—had an undeniable influence on Hus and his colleagues in the area of ecclesiastical governance (much less, if any, on their eucharistic concepts).⁴ Even in the assessment of Wyclif, the positions of mainstream Utraquism seem to have paralleled those of the later English Reformation. As Anthony Kenny notes:

In the latter part of Henry VIII's reign Wyclif's anti-papalism was congenial to those in power, but his Eucharistic doctrine remained anathema. ... On the same day as Edward Powell was hanged for protesting against the King's rejection of Papal authority, the Lutheran Doctor Barnes was burnt for denying transubstantiation.⁵

Wyclif's influence evidently also strengthened the Bohemian reformers' opposition to monasticism and ecclesiastical landholdings, as it had apparently done in England during the Peasant Rebellion of 1381.⁶

While the University of Paris had likewise played a role in shaping the ideas of

⁴ Gordon Leff, "Wyclif and Hus: a doctrinal comparison," in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 105-125; Paul de Vooght, "Huss et Wiclif," *Hussiana* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1960), 1-6; Katherine Walsh, "Wyclif's legacy in central Europe in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century," *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 5 (1987), 397-417; and David R. Holeton, "Wyclif's Bohemian fate: a reflection on the contextualization of Wyclif in Bohemia," *Communio Viatorum* 32 (1989), 209-22, with a masterly contrasting portrayal of Wyclif and Hus, 217-19. There was even a legend that Wyclif sought refuge in Bohemia to avoid persecution in his own homeland; see James P. Carley, "'Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas'," in Helen Barr, and Ann M. Huchison, eds., *Text and controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, Essays in honor of Anne Hudson. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 184.

⁵ "The accursed memory," in Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times*, 160.

⁶ Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), Ch. 2.

the early Bohemian reformers,⁷ there were special reasons for the development of the intellectual links between Bohemia and England, and primarily between the University of Oxford and that of Prague, the oldest in Central Europe, established in 1348. The outbreak of the Great Schism in 1378 diverted Czech students from Paris, obedient to the Avignonese popes, to an England that maintained its loyalty to the popes in Rome, as did Wenceslaus IV, the King of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Emperor. Contacts increased with the preparations for a marriage in 1382 between the English King Richard II and Anne, Wenceslaus IV's sister. A scholarship for Czech students was established at Oxford in 1388.⁸ The later reception of Wyclif's theological views, dating to the beginning of the fifteenth century, largely coincided with the return of the young Jerome of Prague from Oxford in 1401. The available stock of Wyclif's theological writings substantially increased thanks to the labors of two Czech scholars who spent the year 1406-07 at Oxford, and were apparently in contact with the Lollards, the English followers of Wyclif.⁹ Interestingly, certain of Wyclif's writings can be found in Bohemia rather than in England; Anne Hudson points out that this should not be surprising. Rather it was surprising that any of Wyclif's writings did survive in England, where they had been subject to systematic burning.¹⁰

Having read Wyclif's philosophical works earlier, Hus began to study the English reformer's theological writings by 1408. As Oakley notes:

In the next half-dozen years, by his borrowings from those works, his propensity for expressing some of his own views in Wycliffite language, and his willingness even to defend in public some of the condemned Wycliffite propositions, he set his feet on the path that led to his condemnation by the Council of Constance in 1415

⁷ Vilém Herold, "The University of Paris and the Foundations of the Bohemian Reformation," BRRP, 3:15-24.

⁸ Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979), 195; English early reformers found an inspiration to translate the Bible into English from lectionaries translated into Czech and German and brought from Bohemia to England by Ann; see Ctirad V. Pospíšil, *Husovská dilemata* (Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2015), 160-161.

⁹ Oakley, *Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, 196-97. See also Anne Hudson, "From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and His English Followers in Bohemia," in Anne Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writing* (Burlington, Vt.: Aldershot, 2008), II, 642-647; idem, "Which Wyche? The Framing of a Lollard Heretic and/or Saint," in idem, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Burlington, Vt.: Aldershot, 2008), XIV, 234-235. The work of the two Czech copyists, Faulfiš and Kněhnic, has been useful in dating and interpreting Wyclif's treatise *De dominio divino*, see Anne Hudson, "Wyclif's Works and Their Dissemination," in idem, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Burlington, Vt.: Aldershot, 2008), I-7, 9.

¹⁰ Anne Hudson, "Opera omnia: Wyclif's Works in England and in Bohemia," in Michael van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, eds., *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 51-52.

and his subsequent burning as a heretic.¹¹

A prime example of Hus's use of Wyclif's term with his own (actually opposite) meaning was his speaking of the church as "community of the predestined" [*universitas praedestinatorum*], while his actual understanding of the church coincided with the orthodox "community of the faithful" [*congregatio fidelium*].¹² He entirely omitted Wyclif's reference to the Church "as a congregation of the predestined and the foreknown" from his translation of Wyclif's *De simonia*.¹³ Similarly, he spoke in a Wyclifite manner of the body of Christ (after consecration) as bread, while adhering firmly to the doctrine of transubstantiation.¹⁴ In addition to the Eucharistic tenet of remanence, Hus eschewed Wyclif's other innovative doctrines anticipating the Protestant stance.¹⁵ Recently, Ctirad V. Pospíšil considered it paradoxical that, while rejecting Wyclif's heretical ideas in theology (especially remanence), Hus clung so firmly to Wyclif's ideas in the fields of philosophy and ecclesiastical politics (especially castigating moral lapses of the clerical establishment).¹⁶

Yet, at its core Hus's relationship with Wyclif was not particularly complex or enigmatic. He felt a deep kinship, even affection, for Wyclif as long as the evangelical doctor stayed within the orthodox fourteenth-century agenda seeking to purify the Church. In 1408, he even stated that he wished to share a post-mortem existence with Wyclif.¹⁷ In his cautious approach to Wyclif's theology, however, Hus was influenced by his favorite teacher at the University of Prague, Štěpán of Kolín, whom he calls "the most fervent zealot for his homeland."¹⁸

¹¹ Oakley, *Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, 198. On Hus's expressing own ideas in Wyclifite terminology, see also S. Harrison Thomson, ed. in Jan Hus, *Magistri Joannis Hus: Tractatus de ecclesia* (Boulder, Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1956), ix.

¹² Paul de Vooght, *L'hérésie de Jean Huss*. 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1975), 2:525.

¹³ Pavlína Rychterová, "Theology Goes to the Vernaculars: Jan Hus, 'On Simony', and the Practice of Translation in Fifteenth-Century Bohemia," in Michael van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, eds., *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 240.

¹⁴ Gordon Leff, "Wyclif and Hus," in ed. Kenny, *Wyclif in His Times*, 119.

¹⁵ De Vooght, *L'hérésie de Jean Huss*, 2:832-833, 837. On the difference between Hus and Wyclif in the understanding of authority in the Church, see Enrico S. Molnár, "Viklef, Hus a problém autority," in *Jan Hus mezi epochami, národy a konfesemi*, Jan B. Lášek, ed. (Prague: Česká křesťanská akademie, 1995), 108-111.

¹⁶ Ctirad V. Pospíšil, *Husovská dilemata* (Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2015), 174-177. František Šmahel has wondered whether a certain reserve that Hus observed in avowing Wyclif's theological views was not motivated by his desire to avoid inquisitorial attention, see František Šmahel, *Jan Hus* (Prague: Argo, 2013), 263.

¹⁷ See James P. Carley, "'Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas,'" in Helen Barr, and Ann M. Hutchison, eds., *Text and controversy from Wyclif to Bale* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 181, n.73.

¹⁸ "...zelator patrie ferventissimus..." see Michal Svatoš, ed., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*. Vol. 1: 1347/48-1622 (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), 145.

Robert Grosseteste, Venerable Bede, and the Lollards

Among his English contacts, Hus is also known to have corresponded in 1410-1411 with two of Wyclif's disciples: Sir John Oldcastle and Richard Wyche. To the latter, he wrote: "I am thankful that Bohemia has under the power of Jesus Christ received so much good...from the blessed land of England."¹⁹ Displaying his knowledge of English ecclesiastical history in his famous appeal of 1412 from the pope's judgment to that of Christ, Hus cited as a precedent Robert Grosseteste's defiance of Innocent IV in 1253 in refusing to appoint the pope's nephew to a lucrative benefice in England.²⁰ As indicated by surviving copies of Grosseteste's works in Prague from the early fifteenth century, Czech scholars showed a significant interest in his teaching during the Bohemian Reformation.²¹

Aside from the medieval theologians, Wyclif and Grosseteste (c. 1170-1253), Hus showed substantial interest in English patristic literature, mainly in the writings of Venerable Bede (672-735). In Hus's Czech sermons (*Česká sváteční kázání* and *Česká nedělní postila*) among his references to Church Fathers, only the quotes

¹⁹ "Petam orationis auxilium, et regracier, quod de benedicta Anglia tanta bona per tuum laborem prestante Ihesu Christo domino Boemia iam suscepit." *M. Jana Husi korespondence a dokumenty*, ed. Václav Novotný (Sbírka pramenů českého hnutí náboženského ve XIV. a XV. století, 14, 1920), 84. For a recent thorough attempt to unravel the obscure and complicated history of Richard Wyche, see Anne Hudson, "Which Wyche? The Framing of a Lollard Heretic and/or Saint," in idem, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Burlington, Vt.: Aldershot, 2008), XIV, 221-237, on his correspondence with Hus, referring also to Jakoubek of Stříbro, see *ibid.*, XIV, 229-232. On Wyche and Oldcastle, see also; M. Aston, "Lollardy and Sedition, 1381-1431," *Past and Present*, 17 (1960), 1-44; Christina von Nolcken, "Richard Wyche, a Certain Knight, and the Beginning of the End," in Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond, eds., *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), especially 143; Maureen Jurkowski, "Lollard Book Producers in London in 1414," in Helen Barr, and Ann M. Hutchison, eds., *Text and controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 214.

²⁰ Jiří Spěváček, *Václav IV, 1361-1419* (Prague: Svoboda, 1986), 448-49; Novotný, *M. Jana Husi korespondence a dokumenty*, 135. In a way, it could be argued that Grosseteste's focus on scaling down the pretensions of the papacy and insistence on moral reform was more reflective of the ideological thrust of mainline Utraquism, than the more extreme views of Wyclif which found acceptance in the more transient radical trends, above all, Taboritism.

²¹ Václav Koranda, *Manualník*, ed. J. Truhlář (Prague, 1888), xvi-xvii; Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, "Die Insel der Gläubigen?" in *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter: Mit einem Ausblick auf das 20. Jahrhundert und einem Beitrag über religiöse Intoleranz im nichtchristlichen Bereich*, Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien, 7, ed. Peter Segl (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993). 264. Concerning Grosseteste, "Wycliff's model in so many ways," see also Pamela Gradon, "Wyclif's *Postilla* and his Sermons," in Helen Barr, and Ann M. Hutchison, eds., *Text and controversy from Wyclif to Bale*. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 76-77.

from Augustine and Jerome exceed those from Bede.²² His Czech writings contain a total of fifty-three substantial citations from Bede.²³ Some quotes, in fact, fittingly support desiderata of the Bohemian Reformation, such as the insistence on the freedom of preaching, and the opposition to the burning of heretical books. Others, Hus attributed to Bede erroneously or questionably, such as a support for lay communion *sub utraque*, harsh denunciation of clerical corruption, and an insistence on the limitation of the pope's magisterial authority.²⁴ Scholars have found evidence that these references were later insertions into Hus's text, most likely by Jakoubek of Stříbro. In other instances, Hus appears to use Bede as a point of departure to introduce Wyclifite materials. The knowledge of, and the interest in Bede's writings continued after Hus during the Bohemian Reformation. Thus, Jakoubek of Stříbro referred to Bede in 1414 as an authority on lay communion *sub utraque* in his treatise of 1414, "O Boží krvi."²⁵ Even Jan Želivský referred to Bede in 1419 in his sermon on the Third Sunday after the Trinity, concerning Luke's Gospel (15:1-10).²⁶

Subsequently, still in the fifteenth century, Wyclif's teaching affected the Bohemian Reformation through Lollard sources. A particular Lollard input entered through Peter Payne's contributions to Taborite theology that—in contrast to mainstream Utraquism—stood closer to Wyclif than to Hus.²⁷ Active relations are likewise documented by surviving copies from fifteenth-century Bohemia of writings by English Lollards that are not currently to be found in England, with the manner of their transmission from Oxford to Prague remaining rather enigmatic.²⁸

²² Zdeněk V. David, "Nationalism and Universalism in Ecclesiology: Utraquists and Anglicans in the Latter Sixteenth Century," in BRRP 9, *Filosofický časopis: Special Issue* No. 1 (2014), 198-220.

²³ Zdeněk V. David, "Hus a anglická homiletika: Beda Ctihodný a Wyclif v Husových českých spisech" [Jan Hus and English Homiletics: The Venerable Bede and Wyclif in Hus's Czech Writings], in Petr Hlaváček, ed. *O felix Bohemia! Studie k dějinám české reformace. K počtě Davida R. Holetona*, Europeana Pragensia 5 (Prague: Collegium Europaeum, 2013), 66-67.

²⁴ Ibid., 74-77.

²⁵ Jakoubek ze Stříbra, *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická díla* [Two Old Czech Utraquist Works], Masarykova univerzita v Brně, Filozofická fakulta, Spisy, no. 379, eds. Mirek Čejka and Helena Krmičková (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2009), 58-59. The editors trace Jakoubek's reference to Beda Venerabilis, "Homiliae," in Jacques P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, 221 vv. (Paris, 1844-64) 94:col. 74-75.

²⁶ Jan Želivský, *Dochovaná kázání z roku 1419* [Extant Sermons from 1419]. Vol. 1, ed. Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), 223, line 282; see also 270.

²⁷ Ralph Hanna, "Dr. Peter Partridge and MS Digby 98," in Helen Barr, and Ann M. Hutchison, eds., *Text and controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 42-47, 58-59. See also William R. Cook, "John Wyclif and Hussite theology, 1415-1436," *Church History*. 42 (1973), 339-40; Betts, *Essays in Czech history*, 236-46.

²⁸ Anne Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 31-42; idem, *The premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 8, 264-6, see also Anne Hudson, "Opera omnia: Wyclif's Works in England and in

Another major piece of evidence of the contacts with the Lollards is the martyrdom of an Utraquist emissary to them, Pavel Kravař, in Scotland in 1433.²⁹ As noted, however, the Lollards had more in common with the radicals of the Bohemian Reformation than with mainstream Utraquism.³⁰

The Middle Period, 1534-1558: Dismaying Phenomena of Early English Reformation

When we advance a century later to the beginning of the English Reformation, the Utraquist church of Bohemia had already existed for one hundred years. The opening stages of the English Reformation presented the Utraquist theologians in Bohemia with a rather confusing picture of constantly changing religious scenery. A departure from papal obedience under the Act of Supremacy (1534), stipulated a separation from Rome. This was followed by a partial reaffirmation of Roman practices under the Statute of Six Articles (1539) that accepted transubstantiation, opposed lay chalice, and mandated auricular confession. Subsequent, Lutheranizing tendencies of Archbishop Thomas Cramer (1489-1556), led to a distinctly Protestant orientation under Edward VI (1547-1553), when the Six Articles were repealed (1547) and replaced by Cramer's 42 Articles in 1552. Finally, a brief but virulent Counter Reformation followed under Queen Mary and Archbishop Reginald Pole (1500-1558) from 1553 to 1558.³¹

Veneration of Thomas More and John Fisher

At that time, the Utraquist Church was defining itself against Luther's teaching largely under the theologians Bohuslav Bilejovský (ca. 1480-1555) and Pavel Bydžovský (1496-1559). Opposing Luther's radical departures from the traditional medieval norms of theology and liturgy, their stance was unsympathetic to Henry VIII's and Cranmer's religious policies, especially the complete break with the papacy. The stance of these Utraquist theologians on ecclesiastical reform

Bohemia," in Michael van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, eds., *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536* (Turnhout: Brepols), 2013, 55, 66; and Hudson, "From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and his English Followers in Bohemia," in idem, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Burlington, Vt.: Aldershot, 2008), II, 642-657.

²⁹ On Pavel Kravař, see Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia, Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 67; see also John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, vol. 1-2, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. David Laing. (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1846), 1: xxv-xxix.

³⁰ Anne Hudson, "Lollardy and Eschatology," Alexander Patschovsky and František Šmahel, eds., *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, Internationales Kolloquium, Prague, September 1-4, 1993 (Prague: Historický ústav, 1996), 108.

³¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York: Viking, 2004), 198-201, 255-58, 280-86.

was closer to the Humanistic Catholicism of Desiderius Erasmus (1469-1536) and his followers. Paradoxically, it also brought them into sympathy with the archenemies of Henry's and Cranmer's reforms—Thomas More (1478-1535) and Bishop John Fisher (1469-1535). The views of More, and also his fellow martyr John Fisher, were, in fact, in harmony with, and partly under the influence of, Erasmus,³² and they both belonged to the circle of his correspondents, usually called the Erasmians.³³

It is, therefore, not entirely unexpected that—because of their own endorsement of papalism, albeit minimalist—the Utraquist theologians should feel sympathetic to the two English martyrs. In More's and Fisher's liberal ecclesiology they could recognize kindred reformist spirits. More and Fisher, in fact, literally gave up their heads for the pope as the chief of the sacramental system in the Western Church, while they wished to abolish his role as the monarch of an ecclesiastical state. (Fisher, moreover, shared with the Utraquist theologians, particularly with Bydžovský, an interest in the liturgy of the Eastern Church.) In sum, More's and Fisher's liberal Catholicism resembled that of the Utraquists, and made understandable their eulogy by Bydžovský in *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, his major treatise dealing with the religious history of England.³⁴ Similarly, another prominent Utraquist author, Simon Ennius Klatovský, expressed a warm appreciation of More in the introduction to his own translation of Robert Barnes's *Kroniky*, containing biographies of the popes.³⁵

Bydžovský's Reliance on Venerable Bede and Cardinal Pole

In view of the Venerable Bede's popularity in late medieval Bohemia, it is not surprising that Bydžovský would turn to Bede in his *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum* to support the case for a limited papalism. To bolster the idea of the Papal foundation of the English Church he chose to rely on the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, written by the Venerable Bede around

³² Ernest E. Reynolds, *Thomas More and Erasmus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965). On Erasmus' influence on Fisher, see James Kelsey McConica, "The English Reception of Erasmus," in M.E.H.N. Mout, H. Smolinsky, and J. Trapman, eds., *Erasmianism: Idea and Reality* (North-Holland, Amsterdam; New York: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1997), 41-46.

³³ On Erasmianism, see Cornelius Augustijn, "Verba valent usu: was ist Erasmianismus?" in Mout, Smolinsky, and J. Trapman, eds., *Erasmianism: Idea and Reality*, 6-11.

³⁴ Pavel Bydžovský, *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum, quibus Deus suam ecclesiam exomare sicut syderibus coelum dignatus est* (Prague: J. Cantor, 1554), f. B2r, B3v. On More's and Fisher's opposition to the late medieval ecclesiastical *Befehlsstaat* see Brendan Bradshaw, "The Controversial Sir Thomas More," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), 563-564. More, in particular, has been called "a papal minimalist" in John Guy, *Thomas More* (London: Arnold, 2000), 201.

³⁵ Robert Barnes, *Kroniky. A životů sepsání nejvrchnějších Biskupů Římských jináč Papežů*, trans. Simon Ennius Klatovský (Nuremberg: Woldřich Nejber and Jan Montán, 1565), f. 195v.

731-36. Following Bede's account, Bydžovský highlighted the missionary zeal of Pope Gregory I the Great, in dispatching his emissary Augustine (later Archbishop of Canterbury) in 597 to convert the Anglo-Saxons and to establish an ecclesiastical organization for them.³⁷

More unexpectedly, however, it is almost certain that for his excoriation of the radically antipapal character of the English Reformation under Henry VIII in *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, Bydžovský—without acknowledgement—relied on a treatise by Reginald Pole, the prominent figure in the brief Marian Counter Reformation in England. The Bohemian connection was strengthened by the support Pole was given by the Habsburg dynasty, especially by Emperor Charles V, who wished to redress Henry's injury to his aunt Queen Catherine and her daughter Mary.³⁸

Moreover, despite his unfortunate role under Queen Mary, Pole was actually an adherent of Catholic humanism of the Erasmian type.³⁹ During his exile in Italy he had attracted the group of Italian *spirituali*, including Cardinal Gasparo Contarini and the poetess Victoria Colonna, who sought a liberalization of the institutional church.⁴⁰ Pole himself adhered to a Catholic humanism, seeing much that was correct in Luther's theory of salvation. He belonged among Erasmus's correspondents. Had he not missed the papal election by a single vote in 1549, the Council of Trent might have exuded more the spirit of Vatican II than that of Vatican I.⁴¹

Like Bydžovský in his treatise, Pole in *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* sharply attacked Henry for his claim to the status of the Supreme Head of the Church. Pole addresses Henry, "With the ruin of your kingdom, with the slaughter and murder of the very best men...you had made a clear path for yourself to the title of supreme head of the Church in England. Nothing more ignominious could ever have been imagined than this pretentious title."⁴² Like Bydžovský, Pole attributed

³⁶ A modern bilingual edition is available in Bede, The Venerable, Saint, 673-735, *Baedae Opera historica*, with an English translation by J. E. King (London: W. Heinemann Ltd.; New York, G. P. Putnam's sons, 1930).

³⁷ On Augustine of Canterbury see, for instance, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922 (henceforth cited as *DNB*), 1:727-729.

³⁸ "Pole Reginald," *DNB*, 16:36.

³⁹ David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, 294-295.

⁴⁰ Francesco Gai, *L'attesa del concilio: Vittoria Colonna e Reginald Pole nel movimento degli "spirituali"*. (Rome: Editoria Università Elettronica, 1997).

⁴¹ Thomas F. Mayer, "'Heretics be not in all things heretics': Cardinal Pole, His Circle, and the Potential for Toleration," in *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Toleration before the Enlightenment*, eds. John C. Laursen and Cary J. Nederman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 107-124. For Pole's correspondence with Erasmus, see Erasmus, *The Correspondence*, 11:314-317.

⁴² Reginald Pole, *Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church*, transl. Joseph G. Dwyer. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1965, 288, see also 39, 209; Bydžovský, *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A2v-A3r, A3v; for reference to "Suffenus," see *ibid.*, f. D2r.

animal passions to Henry. Discussing what epitaph the King might deserve on his tomb, he suggested that of Sardanapalus: "I had done those things that satiated my passionate desires" which, according to Aristotle, "might better have been inscribed on the tomb of a cow rather than upon the tomb of a king."⁴³ In addition, for Pole as for Bydžovský, the martyrdom of More and Fisher is the central theme.⁴⁴

Finally, a survey of English influences on the thought of the Bohemian Reformation during the turbulent phase of the English Reformation in mid-sixteenth-century Bohemia, should note that the interest in Bede covered not only his *Ecclesiastical History*, but also his exegetical and homiletical works. In particular, Bohuslav Bílejevský, in his *Bohemian Chronicle* (1537), referred to Bede's discussion of St. Luke's gospel in the context of affirming the seven sacraments. Bede's commentaries on the New Testament were available in his *Opera*, published in Paris in 1521, of which the second volume covered the gospels, including that of Luke.⁴⁵

Misunderstanding: Utraquism and Anglicanism, 1563-1620

It was only after the Elizabethan Settlement of the ecclesiastical issues in 1563 that the English or Anglican Church at last firmly embarked on the religious *via media* that the mainline Utraquist church of Bohemia had pursued since the 1420s. In England, this involved the repeal of Queen Mary's Counter-Reformatory legislation, on the one hand, and the restoration of Henry's Act of Supremacy in 1558, on the other hand. The process was crowned by the adoption of the equivocal 39 Articles in 1563. The main architects of the Settlement were the theologian John Jewel (1522-1571), and the Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575, 1559-1575), followed by the Archbishop John Whitgift (ca. 1532-1604, 1583-1604) and the theologian, Richard Hooker (ca. 1554-1600). Hooker offered an ultimate

⁴³ Pole, *Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church*, 288. "Sardanapalus... was the legendary last king of Assyria, who according to the ancient account was the 30th and most dissolute of a line of effete sovereigns." *Encyclopedia Americana*, 30 vols. (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1994), 24: 260; Bydžovský, *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A3r.

⁴⁴ For instance, Pole, *Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church*, 38, 259-263; Bydžovský, *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. B2r-B3v. On the relationship between Bydžovský and Pole, see also Zdeněk V. David, "Utraquism and the Elizabethan Anglicanism, an Imperfect Parallel: Bydžovský on Erastianism," *BRRP* 10 (2015), 337-341.

⁴⁵ Bohuslav Bílejevský, *Kronyka církevní*, ed. Josef Dittrich [Jozef Skalický, pseud.] (Prague: Fetterl z Vilden, 1816), 99; Beda, *Venerabilis Opera Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri, Secvndvs Operum ... Tomvs, in quo subsequentes continentur eiusdem Commentarii. In Euangelium Marci Lib. IIII ... In Euangelium Lucae Lib. VI ... In Acta Apostolorum Lib. I ... Expositio nominum locorum in Actis contentorum, siue eiusdem, siue alter[us] auctoris ... In Epistolas Catholicas ... In Apocalypsim B. Ioannis Apostoli ... Premisso verborum sententiarum[ue] insignium indice lierario.* ([Paris]: Badius Ascensius, 1521); new edition in Bede, the Venerable, *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, Pars II: *Opera exegetica*, Vol. 3: *In Lucae Evangelium expositio*; In *Marci Evangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols, 1960). See also DNB, 2:103; David, *Finding the Middle Way*, 15.

justification of the Anglican establishment in his multivolume *Ecclesiastical Polity*.⁴⁶

Hence, after 1563 until the suppression of the Utraquist church in 1620, the two churches shared not only the grim view of what they considered the foibles of the Roman Church, but also the implied hope of its salvageability. On the issue of the authority of Church Fathers—unless a writer clearly contradicted statements of the Scripture, both supported the Christian authenticity of the recognized corpus of not only patristic, but also scholastic literature. Like the Utraquists, the Anglicans recognized their own continuity with the medieval church, as it existed prior to the imposition of the papal monarchism. Another similarity between Utraquism and Anglicanism was a moderation in theological discourse that can be attributed to the centrist theological positions. In addition, Utraquists, like the Anglicans, did not embrace an ideal of moral perfectionism or rigorism, and as a result they encountered harsh criticism from the religious radicals among their compatriots, respectively the Brethren and the Puritans.⁴⁷

Because of this sharing of the *via media* between the Utraquists and the Anglican Church during 1563 and 1620, it appears paradoxical that the two churches had little contact or even mutual knowledge of each other, although relations between Bohemia and England substantially increased in the period culminating in the Bohemian Uprising of 1618.

Czech Radicals Imaging the English Reformation

Except for the translation of John Jewel's *Apologia*,⁴⁸ the interest in English religious thought in Bohemia seemed focused on the outright Protestant or Puritan trends, appealing to the Lutherans and the Brethren. This was in part a result of availability. While continental Protestants had only limited interest in the authentic Anglicans, they favored the English nonconformists, and even printed or reprinted their writings in places like Geneva. The Continental dissemination facilitated the effect of such literature on Bohemia's Lutherans. While the Czech Lutherans conscientiously subscribed to the tenets of the Augsburg Confession, as well as to the teachings of Luther and Melancthon, their theological apologetics and

⁴⁶ MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 289, 382-389. On Parker as the founder the Anglican *via media*, see "Parker, Matthew," *DNB*, 15:257. On Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, see "Whitgift, John," *DNB*, 21:134.

⁴⁷ Zdeněk V. David, "Bohemian and English Reformations Compared," in *Contributions of the Moravian Brethren to America*, Selected Papers from the Conference of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, June 8-10, 2007, eds. Zdeněk V. David and Petro Nungovitch (New York, 2008), 7-16.

⁴⁸ John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, *Apologia, to jest: Dostatečná Obrana Víry a Náboženství Církví Englických* (Prague: Danyel Karel z Karlspergka, 1619), translation of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, *An Apologie, or Answer in Defense of the Church of England* (London: Reginalde Wolfe, 1562, reprinted New York: De Capo Press, 1972).

devotional literature tended to deviate from this standard and to rely in a considerable degree on England's nonconformists.

The use of English nonconformist sources was exemplified in the treatise *Kšaftu Večeře Páně* (1613) by the Czech Lutheran, Zacharyáš Bruncvík, who relied, for an explication of Wyclif, on the works of Laurence Humphrey (1527-1590), a Marian exile.⁴⁹ Significantly, Humphrey's Protestant leanings made him clash with such conservatives in the English Church as Archbishop Parker and John Jewel, particularly over the highly symbolic and emotionally charged issue of liturgical vestments.⁵⁰ Otherwise Bruncvík cited from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* on Wyclif, from a list of fifteen notable Lollards gathered in a publication he called *Catalogus testium veritatis*, and again from Humphrey (on the burning of Wyclif's books in Prague in 1410). The Lollard inventory included figures familiar from the early stages of the Bohemian Reformation, such as Ricardus With, Joannes Oldecassel, and Petrus Payne.⁵¹ Bruncvík displayed an even broader knowledge of English religious radicalism in his *Zrcadlo Kacířství* (1614). He relied largely on such English sources (in Latin) to demonstrate that mainline Protestantism either had not embraced ancient and early medieval heresies, as charged by the Roman Church, or if it did so, such teachings were not really heretical but orthodox. The Czech Lutheran referred to the Oxonian Puritan, Robert Abbot, and even to James I's *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1609) on the issues of the Antichrist, and false prophets.⁵²

Bruncvík repeatedly cited another Puritan, William Whitaker, as well as his own old favorite Humphrey, on the nature of the church and religious rituals. The special relevance of these writers to Bohemia stemmed from their polemical sallies at Edmund Campion's *Rationes decem*. As will be explained in a subsequent section, Campion had spent seven years at Jesuit colleges in Brno and Prague (1573-

⁴⁹ Zacharyáš Bruncvík, *Testamenti nostri Iesu Christi pia et fida assertio. To jest: Kšaftu Večeře Páně svatá Starožitnost, Pobožná posloupnost, dlouhověká až právě do dne soudného trvanlivost: V níž z nařízení Kristového, z učení evangelistského a apoštolského, z doktorů a sněmů osvícených, z kanonu a práv duchovních, z historií církevních, a nejvíce našich českých, etc. Náboženství naše podobojí pravé Katolické, Křesťanské a Starožitné, mocné, patrné a bez falše, od času Krista Pána, až do našeho věku, posloupně se dokazuje a dovodí* (Prague: Matěj Pardubský, 1613), 113. He refers to Laurentius Humfredus, *Contra Edmundi Campiani rationes*, evidently citing from Laurence Humphrey, *Iesuitismi*, 2 vols. (London: Henricus Middletonus, 1582-1584).

⁵⁰ See "Humphrey, Laurence," *DNB*, 10:246; John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 52.

⁵¹ Bruncvík, *Kšaftu Večeře Páně*, 115; see also *ibid.*, 113 (ref. to Foxe), 122 (ref. to Humphrey).

⁵² Zacharyáš Bruncvík, *Pravitatis et impletatis haereticarum pia et fida ostensio. To jest: Zrcadlo Kacířství: Do něhož kdo zdravě nahlídne, Allegata, u Doktorů Církve vykázaná, přeběhne, pozná, že my Katolíci pod obojí nevinně, a bez náležitého vši Svaté Říše vyslyšení od některých se kaceřujeme* (Prague: Matěj Pardubický, 1614), f. A8r, C2r, D4v, D6v.

1580),⁵³ and his important work, *Rationes decem*, had appeared twice in Czech translation early in the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ While Laurence Humphrey criticized Campion in *Iesuitismi*, William Whitaker published his *Ad decem rationes Edmundi Campiani Jesuite, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanae ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei, responsio* (London: Vautrollerius, 1581).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Bruncvík resorted most frequently to the also puritanically inclined Matthew Sutcliffe, and to the low churchman, Bishop Thomas Morton, for their wide-ranging inventory of real or putative past deviations from the true Christian faith.⁵⁶ He featured Morton's anti-Roman polemic, *Apologia Catholica* (1606) as one of his main sources on the title page of his *Zrcadlo Kacířství*.⁵⁷ It was typical of the radical leanings of his English sources that Humphrey, Morton, Sutcliffe, and Whitaker, according to him, all vouched for Calvin's Christian orthodoxy.⁵⁸

More generally, Czech Lutherans showed a lively interest in the devotional works of the Puritan William Perkins (1558-1602). Among his writings the lengthy *Anatomia conscientiae* appeared in Prague in Czech translations by Jiří Oekonomus

⁵³ David, *Finding the Middle Way*, 280-282.

⁵⁴ The Czech translation of *Decem rationes* appeared in two editions as Edmund Campion, *Spis krátký Edmunda Kampiana Societatis Jesu, Theologa a Mučedlnika Božího, ktrý ne tak dávno pro víru S. Katolickau smrt ukrutnau podstaužil: Vznešeným Doktorům a Mistrům učení Oxonienského a Kantabrigienského podaný* (Prague: Jiřík Nygrin, 1601); and as Edmund Campion, *Wšech Pikartských, Luteryánských, i jináč zrotilých Prevvykantů, Hostides. To jest: Deset podstatných příčin, kterýchž jistotau, velebný kněz, a zmužilosrdnatý Mučedlník Edmund Kampian, z Tovaryšstva jména Ježíšova pohnut jsa, vše víry Ržímské Odpůrce, k zjevnému před Englickau Královnu, o Víru potýkáni, pobídl; Jim se pak z brlochu na světlo vyjiti nechtělo* (Olomouc: Jiř. Handle, 1602).

⁵⁵ On this controversy see also Thomas M. McCoog, "'Playing the Champion:' The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission," in Thomas M. McCoog, ed., *Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1996), 133-134.

⁵⁶ He relied on the following of Matthew Sutcliffe's works: *De Catholica, Orthodoxa, et vera Christi Ecclesia* (London: Reg. Typog., 1592), *De Monachis, eorum Institutis et Moribus* (London: per E. Bolifantum, 1600), and *De Missa Papistica, variisque Synagogae Rom. Circa Eucharistiae Sacramentum Erroribus et Corruptelis* (London: A. Islip, 1603), see Bruncvík, *Zrcadlo Kacířství*, f. A7v, B5v, B7v. Sutcliffe subsequently acted as a sponsor of the New England colonies, "Sutcliffe, Matthew," *DNB*, 19:176. In *Zrcadlo Kacířství*, Bruncvík has 49 references to Sutcliffe, 41 to Thomas Morton, 35 to Whitaker, and 17 to Humphrey.

⁵⁷ Thomas Morton, *Apologiae Catholicae, in qua paradoxa, haereses, blasphemiae, scelera, quae Jesuitae et Pontificii alii Protestantibus impingunt, fere omnia, ex ipsorum Pontificiorum testimoniis apertis diluuntur*, 2 vols. (London: J. Norton, 1606). "Morton, Thomas," *DNB*, 13:1061, cites the opinion of Morton as "belonging to that class of episcopal divines who differed in nothing considerable from the rest of the reformed churches except in church government." On the Calvinist links of Bishop Morton, see also Alexandra Walsham, "Vox Piscis; or the Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation Past in Caroline Cambridge," *English Historical Review*, 114 (1999), 592.

⁵⁸ Bruncvík, *Zrcadlo Kacířství*, f. C4r.

of Chrudim, Jan Regius of Žatec, and Simeon Valecius of Louny between 1610 and 1620.⁵⁹ As also noted earlier, Czech Lutherans shared the outrage of the English nonconformists over the alleged Gunpowder Plot of 1604-1605. Abraham Scultetus, preaching in honor of Frederick of Palatinate's coronation as Bohemian King on October 24, 1619, praised the Crypto-Lutheran Archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, who in repentance burned his right hand by which he had signed a statement approving of the mass.⁶⁰

English Radicals Imaging the Bohemian Reformation

The English interest in Bohemia seemed to mirror the Bohemian focus on English religious radicalism. It centered on Taboritism and tended to (mis)perceive Hus and Jerome as Proto-Protestants. The appreciation of Utraquism as a *via media* seems to have been lost.⁶¹ Already Henry VIII had considered Luther another Hus, speaking of a worm, which metamorphosed into the dragon of the Bohemian sect.⁶² The Unity of Brethren and other Bohemian radicals with international connections also tended to display a misleadingly radical visage of the Bohemian Reformation in their contacts with England. Thus a Bohemian disciple of Luther, Ulrichus Velenus, upset Bishop John Fisher in 1521 by denying Peter's residence in Rome. Writing a book against the "impudent" Bohemian, Fisher granted him, by singling him out: a distinction, which he otherwise bestowed among foreign theologians only on Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Luther, and Johann Oecolampadius.⁶³

⁵⁹ William Perkins, *Anatomia conscientiae. Aneb pobožné rozbírání a vysvštění svědomí lidského*, trans. Jan Regius, (Prague: Karel Karlsperk, 1620); William Perkins, *O opuštění Boží*, trans. Jiřík Oeconomus, (Prague: Daniel Sedláčský, 1610); William Perkins, *Traktát trojí krátký, ku potěšení zarmoucených kajících lidí*, trans. Simeon Valecius (Prague: Matěj Pardubský, 1613); William Perkins, *Traktát velmi platný a užitečný*, trans. Simeon Valecius. (Prague: Matěj Pardubský, 1616).

⁶⁰ Jiřík Dykastus (Miřkovský), *Postylla: nebo Kázání krátká na evangelia svatá*, 2 vols. (Prague: Jiřík J. Dačický, 1612), 1: 25; Abraham Scultetus, *Vysvětlení žalmu XX v Valdsaxu* (Prague: Daniel Karel z Karlsperka, 1619), f. E1r, E2r.

⁶¹ Concerning such misjudgments see Zdeněk V. David, "The Strange Fate of Czech Utraquism: The Second Century, 1517-1621," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 646.

⁶² Gustav Kawerau, *Hieronymus Emser: Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationsgeschichte* (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1898), 41.

⁶³ Edward Surtz, *The Works and Days of John Fisher: An Introduction to the Position of St. John Fischer (1469-1535), Bishop of Rochester, in the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 8-9; Ulrichus Velenus [Oldřich Velenský of Mnichov?], *In hoc libello grauissimis, certissimisque, & in sacra scriptura fundatis rationibus uarijs probatur, Apostolarum Petrum Romae non uenisse, neque illicit passum, proinde satis friuole, & temere Romanus Pontifex se Petri successorem inactat, & nominat* (Basel, n.p., 1520); there is also a German translation which was probably published in Augsburg, 1521, under the title *In disem Büchlin wirt in mancherlay tapffern beständigen und in der Scrifft gegründeten Ursachen klärlich bewert, das der hailig Apostel Petrus gen*

Later on, the more radical confessional statements were more frequently translated and circulated outside Bohemia. While a Utraquist Confession appeared in one Latin translation in 1539,⁶⁴ the quasi-Lutheran Bohemian Confession of 1575 enjoyed three German (1584, 1609, and 1610) translations and two Latin ones (1614 and 1619).⁶⁵ Outside observers probably viewed the latter document as a reflection of the real religious situation in Bohemia rather than as a flawed attempt at an ex post facto Lutheranization of an essentially High Church Utraquism. Confessional statements by the Unity of Brethren, published in Latin in 1511, 1538, and 1573, attracted even more attention.⁶⁶ This is attested, among others, by the inclusion of the 1573 Confession into the prestigious international compendium, *Harmonia confessionum fidei, Orthodoxarum, et Reformatorum Ecclesiarum* (Geneva, 1581). Ironically, even Richard Hooker provides an illustration of this distortion. Instead of recognizing the Utraquists as kindred theological champions of the *via media*, in his one reference to the “Bohemians” in the iconic *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, he lumps them together with the Lutherans, particularly the Saxons, citing from the Bohemian Confession on the rites of repentance.⁶⁷

In addition, the enthusiastic embrace of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs by the Puritan John Foxe’s (1516-1587) could not but contribute to an unwarranted radicalization of Bohemian Utraquism’s image. He assigned Hus a stellar role in

Rom nicht komen noch alda den Tod gelitten.... See also A. J. Lamping, *Ulrichus Velenus (Oldřich Velenský) and his Treatise against the Papacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 152-157.

⁶⁴ *Artykulowe a snessenij Kněžstva pod obogij Spuosobau: Leta Bozijho MDXXXIX*. The document is held, as *Articuli Conciliabuli sub utraque specie communicantium*. Bohemice et latine. S.l., 1539, in Wien, Österreichische National Bibliothek (24 M 56).

⁶⁵ Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Česká konfesse: Její vznik, podstata a dějiny* (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost, a umění, 1912), 672-681.

⁶⁶ Jaroslav Bidlo, “O Konfessi bratrské z r. 1573,” *Sborník prací historických k šedesátým narozeninám Jaroslava Golla*, ed. Jaroslav Bidlo and others (Prague: Historický klub, 1906), 246-278; Rudolf Řičan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, trans. C. Daniel Crews (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Church in America, 1992), 100.

⁶⁷ Hooker, *The Folger Edition of the Works*, 3:46-47; see also vol. 6: 265-66, 855. Bohemian Confession is cited from *Harmonia confessionum fidei, Orthodoxarum, et Reformatorum Ecclesiarum*, ed. Salnar de Castres (Geneva: Petrus Sanctandreas, 1581), chapter 5.8 “Ex Bohemia Confessione,” p. 143; contained also in *An Harmony of the confessions of the faith of the christian and reformed churches*, edited by J. F. Salvart (Cambridge: Thomas Thomas, 1586), 219. A second and last edition of this trans. appeared in London in 1643, see *The Harmony of Confessions: Exhibiting the Faith of the Churches of Christ Reformed*, trans. and ed. Peter Hall (London, 1842), p. ix. On the history of the original compilation, *ibid.*, pp. xi-xvii. The text of the Bohemian Confession was also included in *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei* (Aurel: Allobr, 1612), see *ibid.*, p. xviii, and “Confessio Bohemica Prior,” and “Confessio Bohemica Posterior” in *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, ed. H. A. Niemeyer (Leipzig, 1840), *ibid.*, p. xx-xxi. – The famous Jacques B. Bossuet, Catholic bishop of Meaux, also seems to have considered it authoritative; see his *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes*, 3 vols. (Paris: Pichard, 1821), 1:13.

his *Actes and monuments*, the first English version of which was published in 1563. Chiefly under the influence of Foxe, the Puritans appropriated Hus so convincingly that the Anglican polemicists habitually included him and Jerome of Prague in the company of Proto-Protestants, such as the Albigensians, the Waldensians, the Taborites, and Wyclif.⁶⁸ Alexandra Walsham points out that a similar fate met the moderate John Frith, who has been characterized as “the forerunner of the liberal element in later Anglican thought,” yet under Foxe’s influence was transformed into “a confessional mascot” of radical Puritans.⁶⁹

Though the new Anglican bishops gradually shifted to staunch support of the Elizabethan settlement of *via media*, promoted by Archbishop Parker, some of them, especially Edmund Grindal (1519?-1583), and to lesser extent John Jewel (1522-1571)—who had brought with them Calvinist sympathies from their German exile during Queen Mary’s reign—tended to support to a degree Foxe’s religious and historical views.⁷⁰ Even more in Foxe’s favor was the desire of the English church and state to combat the inroads and the claims of the Roman Church. In fact, the English government and the anti-Puritan bishops were willing to tolerate or even unleash Puritan propaganda when it suited their purposes. As a case in point, during the Campion affair, Puritan writers were free to generate particularly stern propaganda against the Jesuits. This involved not only Laurence Humphrey and William Whitaker, but also William Charke and Walter Travers.⁷¹ Above all, Foxe himself was chosen by Grindal, Bishop of London since July 1559, to preach a Good Friday Sermon at St. Paul’s Cross “On Christ Crucified,” following the papal bull excommunicating the queen in 1570.⁷² As a mark of high favor for Foxe’s historical views, the new edition of his *Acts and Monuments* (1570) “was ordered by the Convocation of Canterbury to be placed in all cathedrals, and many parish churches also acquired it.”⁷³

English Catholics Imaging the Bohemian Reformation

Moreover, the advocates for the Roman Church played an important role in depicting the Bohemian religious reformers as extreme radicals, thus contributing to the distorted image of the Utraquist Church. English Catholic theologians in the second half of the sixteenth century, like the determined critic of Elizabethan

⁶⁸ See John Foxe, *Fox’s Book of Martyrs: The Acts and Monuments of the Church*, ed. John Cumming, 3 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), 1:823-945.

⁶⁹ Walsham, “*Vox Piscis; or the Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation Past* in Caroline Cambridge,” 601-602.

⁷⁰ “Foxe, John,” *DNB*, 7:585.

⁷¹ See Peter Lake and Michael Questier, “Puritans, Papists, and the ‘Public Sphere’ in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context,” *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 624-625.

⁷² “Grindal, Edmund,” *DNB*, 8:705.

⁷³ “Foxe, John,” *Encyclopedia Americana*, 30 vols. (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1994), 11:680-81.

Anglicanism, Thomas Stapleton, joined in the denunciation of the heresy of the Bohemians, linking it with the influence of Wyclif.⁷⁴

Let us, however, focus on the most distinguished of these critics, Edmund Campion, the English Jesuit and martyr. Sent to Bohemia from Rome, where he entered the Jesuit order in 1573, Campion spent a year in Brno at the novitiate; then he taught at the Jesuit College of St. Clement in Prague for six years, first rhetoric, then philosophy.⁷⁵ While in Prague, Campion was in touch with Archbishop Brus, who would occasionally consult him on administering the *sub una*, who were a minority in Bohemia in a similar proportion as the Catholics in England. He ordained Campion to priesthood at the beginning of September 1578. After the ceremony, Brus is said to have declared: "All kinds of evil invaded Bohemia because of Wyclif, an Englishman; now the Lord has furnished us with another Englishman who would heal the wounds inflicted on the Bohemians by Wyclif."⁷⁶ During Campion's last Easter in Bohemia in 1579, Brus chose him as a preacher in St. Vitus Cathedral for Holy Thursday.⁷⁷ Less than a year later, in early March 1580, Campion left Prague via Rome for a mission to England, where he met his martyrdom, hanged as a traitor at Tyburn on December 1, 1581.⁷⁸

Campion returned to the 1518-21 view of the Roman Curia, voiced by Eck and Aleandro, and linking Hus organically with the Protestant Reformation. The Roman apologists then tended to denounce the relatively moderate Hus more severely than the later authentic Protestant Reformers. Thus Luther's opponent, Johannes Cochlaeus, would refer to Hus in 1549 as worse than the pagans, the Turks, the Tartars, or the Jews. Hus has been called the King of Hell's general with Luther and Calvin as his officers. Indeed, it appears that the curia in the late sixteenth century viewed Bohemia as the fountainhead of the entire Protestant Reformation.⁷⁹ Campion similarly argued that the spiritual ancestry of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin

⁷⁴ For instance, Thomas Stapleton in 1565; see his "Letter to Queen Elizabeth," in Bede, the Venerable Saint, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, transl. Thomas Stapleton, ed. Philip Hereford (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935), xl-xli.

⁷⁵ Antonín Rejzek, *Blahoslavený Edmund Kampián, kněz Tovaryšstva Ježíšova, pro sv. víru muččeník ve vlasti své* (Brno: K. Winiker, 1889), 92-93, 98, 103.

⁷⁶ McCoog, ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, 112. See also Rejzek, *Blahoslavený Edmund Kampián*, 150; Edmund Campion, *Spis krátký Edmunda Kampiana Societatis Jesu, Theologa a Mučedlnika Božího, který ne tak dávno pro víru S. Katolickau smrt ukrutnou podstaupil: Vznešeným Doktorům a Mistrům učení Oxonienského a Kantabrigienského podaný* (Prague: Jiřík Nygrin, 1601), f. C10r.

⁷⁷ See also Rejzek, *Blahoslavený Edmund Kampián*, 169.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 191-97.

⁷⁹ Johannes Cochlaeus, *Historiae Hussitarum libri duodecim* (Mainz: Franciscus Behem, 1549), 94; Arnošt Kraus, *Husitství v literatuře, zejména německé*, 3 vols. (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1917-1924), especially, 1:172-174; Jindřich Ondřej Hoffman, *Zrcadlo náboženství* (Prague: Impressí akademická, 1642), f. A2v. For nuncio Camillo Caetano's view of Bohemia as where the Protestant 'evil took its beginning', see Karel Stloukal, *Papežská politika a císařský dvůr pražský na přelomu XVI. a XVII. věku* (Prague: Řivnáč, 1925), 156.

is to be sought in Hus and in Wyclif. Thus, Hus's credentials were not qualitatively different from those of earlier heretics, like Acrius, Iovian, Vigilantius, Heldvidius, the Iconoclasts, Berangarius, Valdenses, and Lorhard, from whom Luther, Zwingli and Calvin "borrowed or begged certain poisonous parts of their own heretical teachings."⁸⁰

English Roman Catholics perpetuated the tradition of Hus as a heretic into the seventeenth century. Richard Bristow (1538-1581), director of the seminary at Rheims, went so far as to maintain that Hus, as well as Wyclif, exceeded in their heresies even the standard Protestants, particularly when they denied the right to sinful individuals to hold either secular or ecclesiastical offices. Luther denounced Hus: "Non recte faciunt, qui me Husitam vocant," and Melancthon accused Wyclif of many errors.⁸¹ Robert Parsons (1546-1610), a Jesuit missionary and controversialist—like Bristow—linked Hus with Wyclif on the issue of denying the right to rule to those sovereigns who were in sin. Moreover, he stressed that this doctrine had been condemned by the Council of Constance as heretical.⁸² The views of the two English recusants were echoed by the French Roman Catholic, Florimond de Remond (1540-1602), a lawyer and historian, who denounced Hus in his *Histoire de la naissance, progrès et décadence de l'herésie de ce siècle* (Paris, 1605) as a pupil of Wyclif and a heretic, who was justly put to death in Constance.⁸³

It is relevant to note that, as in the case of Utraquism, the skewed image of Anglicanism as an outright heretical movement, was also partly due to the propagandists for the Roman Church. In this connection Richard Montagu argued in his *Gag for the New Gospel? No: A New Gag for the Old Goose* (1624) that the Catholics were charging the Church of England with doctrines "raked together out of the lay-stalls of deepest Puritanisme, as much opposing the Church of *England*, as the Church of *Rome*."⁸⁴

Mutual Misperception

Because of this mutual misunderstanding, Anthony Milton relates a poignant episode, which—albeit dating from the post-1620 period—evidently reflected a long-term Anglican viewpoint. An almanac, published in London for 1631 by William Beale replaced several medieval saints in the Prayer Book Calendar by Foxe's Lollard Martyrs, Wyclif, Savonarola, as well as Hus and Jerome of Prague. An Anglican critic, John Pockington, condemned the work as "a calendar... wherein

⁸⁰ Campion, *Spis krátký Edmunda Kampiana Societatis Jesu*, f. C4r-v.

⁸¹ Richard Bristow, *A briefe treatise of diverse plaine and sure wayes 1574* (Ilkley, Eng., 1974), 162 a-b.

⁸² Robert Parsons, *A treatise of three conversions, 1603-1604*. 3 v. (Ilkley, Eng., 1976). 1: 98.

⁸³ Kraus, *Husitství v literatuře zejména německé*. 1: 241; Florimond de Remond, *Husitského v Čechách kacířství počátku, zrůstu, a pádu vejtah* (Prague, [1777]), 35-36, 44-45.

⁸⁴ The italics are Montagu's, see Richard Montagu, *A Gagg for the New Gospel? No, a New Gagg for an Old Goose* (London: printed by T. Snodham, 1624), f. *2v. See also Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689*, 81.

the Holy Martyrs and Confessors of Jesus Christ...are rased out, and Traitors, Murderers, Rebels, and Hereticks set in their roome.”⁸⁵ The relatively insular character of Anglicanism—contrasted with the international orientation of Puritanism—also may partly explain the problem of obtaining accurate information about mainline Utraquism. There was a definite tension between internationalism and localism in English religious history of the early modern period.⁸⁶ Moreover, Bohemia’s religious affairs had to compete for English attention in the early seventeenth century with other parts of Europe such as Poland.⁸⁷

The image of the outright Protestant character of Bohemia in the sixteenth century persisted in English literature into modern times. Thus a British traveler in Bohemia in 1837, George R. Gleig, commented that in 1564-1620 large proportions of the people became “avowedly Protestant, and adopted, some the Augsburg Confession as their standard of belief—others, the opinions of Calvin.” Yet, he was aware of the existence of the Utraquists, since he mentioned that prior to 1564, the Compactata “protected the Utraquists alone.”⁸⁸

An analogous misperception seemed to have characterized the Utraquist view of Anglicanism as a more radical phenomenon than it really was. While the Lutherans honored Thomas Cranmer and the Marian martyrs, the Utraquists, as mentioned earlier,⁸⁹ went in the opposite direction to celebrate Thomas More and John Fisher, as evident from the writings of Pavel Bydžovský and Šimon Ennius Klatovský.⁹⁰ Henry VIII’s full break with the papacy—compared with the Utraquists’ merely partial one—undoubtedly played a role here. As noted earlier, ironically, the two English martyrs, who literally lost their heads for the pope, were themselves severe critics of the papal monarchism of the late Middle Ages. While upholding sacramental papacy, they actually shared the Utraquists’ aversion to the heavy-handed papal quasi-governmental jurisdiction.⁹¹ There were other

⁸⁵ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 314, see also 89, 293, 301, 303, 305-306..

⁸⁶ See *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c.1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12-15.

⁸⁷ See Michal J. Rozbicki, “Between East-Central Europe and Britain: Reformation and Science as Vehicles of Intellectual Communication in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,” *East European Quarterly*, 30 (1997), 401-419.

⁸⁸ George R. Gleig, *Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, Visited in 1837*, 3 vols. (London: J. W. Parker, 1839), 2:322.

⁸⁹ See also David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists’ Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, chapters 5 and 10.

⁹⁰ Pavel Bydžovský, *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum, quibus Deus suam ecclesiam exornare sicut syderibus coelum dignatus est* (Prague: J. Cantor, 1554), as noted earlier, is largely devoted to the martyrdom of Fisher and More; Barnes, *Kroniky. A životů sepsání nejvrchnějších Biskupů Římských jináč Papežů*, f. 195(v).

⁹¹ Bradshaw, “The Controversial Sir Thomas More,” 563-564, and the works he cites, Brian Gogan, *The Common Corps of Christendom: Ecclesiological Themes in the Writings of Sir Thomas More* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), and Edward Surtz, *The Works and Days of John Fisher:*

misapprehensions, based on exaggerated notions of English Reformation's radicalism. In a letter to Rudolf II of July 3, 1599, Archbishop Berka compared England to Heidelberg as a hotbed of Calvinism.⁹²

Thus, in contrast to the Unity of Brethren and the Puritans, the Utraquists and the Anglicans evidently lacked sufficient incentives to learn more about each other. Although never explicitly repudiating Christian ecumenicism or catholicity, a distinct national insularity seemed to lead the Utraquists, as the Anglicans, to surrender the field of international contacts largely to their fully reformed compatriots.⁹³

Deconstructing Utraquism and Anglicanism

While sharing a common religious *via media*, Utraquism and Anglicanism came to share a negative image in both early modern and modern historiography. Initially, their intermediate position brought them into conflict with the chief protagonists emerging from the Reformation era (both post-Tridentine Catholicism and fully reformed Protestantism). Subsequently and more importantly, their failure to undergo a "lawful" transformation from Catholicism to full-fledged Protestantism (as a prelude to an eventual secularism) appeared to violate the proper course of historical development, as interpreted in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. This view had no use for intermediate religious positions that defied that pattern of progress.⁹⁴

As a result, modern historiography has been reluctant to recognize the authenticity, or even the very existence, of the religious middle way. In the Bohemian case, this process gave birth to a concept of the largely Lutheran Neo-Utraquism and required a disassembly of Utraquism by positing its "other" as an "Old Utraquism." The latter was portrayed as virtually indistinguishable from Roman Catholicism and often presented as a subterfuge, designed to stave off the impact of the Protestant Reformation.⁹⁵ The Church of England was subject to a similar questioning of its integrity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

An Introduction to the Position of St. John Fischer (1469-1535), Bishop of Rochester, in the English Renaissance and Reformation (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

⁹² *Sněmy české od léta 1526 až po naši dobu*, vols. 1-11, 15 (Prague: Zemský výbor, 1877-1941), 9:682-683.

⁹³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 99.

⁹⁴ In his idiosyncratic standpoint, František Palacký held that in the course of historical development the Providential design, depended on the antithetical interactions between biblicist Protestantism and unreformed Catholicism, each embodying one of the essential poles of the Christian faith: reason and authority; František Palacký, *Obrana husitství*, tr. and ed. František M. Bartoš (Prague: Blahoslav, 1926), 33-34. Thus even for him the religious centrism of the *via media* was not only irrelevant, but anti-historical.

⁹⁵ Hrejsa, *Česká konfesse: Její vznik, podstata a dějiny*, for instance, 4; his "Luterství, kalvinismus a podobojí na Moravě před Bílou horou," *Český časopis historický* 44 (1938), 483-5.

centuries. Some historians saw the Ecclesia Anglicana as an incoherent assemblage of Crypto-Puritans and of Crypto-Catholics, and the existence of true Anglicans or Proto-Anglicans was questioned. Thus Arthur G. Dickens has similarly minimized the role of real Anglicans or proto-Anglicans in Elizabethan England in favor of the relative extremes of Puritanism and Roman Catholicism: "Parker and Jewell were in very real sense forerunners of the 'balanced' Anglicanism of Hooker, yet even so the vast majority of Elizabethan Englishmen were either Roman Catholics or Anglican Puritans."⁹⁶ Patrick Collinson chimed in speaking of the Elizabethan settlement: "...it is not easy to identify very many Anglicans who were positively attached to those features of the church that distinguished it from other churches of the Reformation..."⁹⁷

The assertions that in the late sixteenth century there were no real Utraquists, only Lutherans ("Neo-Utraquists") and Romanists ("Old Utraquists") in Bohemia, thus found a parallel in English historiography. Thus, a process of historiographic bisection has appeared as the professional hazard of those traveling on the middle road, flanked by Rome and the German Reformation.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Arthur G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2d ed. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 368.

⁹⁷ Patrick Collinson, "Puritans," *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3:366.

⁹⁸ For additional discussion of the relationship between Utraquism and Anglicanism, see David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*.

Concerning a Manuscript from a Moravian Immigrant's Trunk: Postil by Johann Spangenberg (1557)¹

Hana Waisserová

Prologue

Upon a visit to the Czech and Slovak National Museum and Library in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, dedicated to Czech and Slovak immigrants, my imagination was triggered by an artifact: a trunk that a Czech migrant had brought on the transatlantic passage, which later found a home in the Great Plains. The trunk serves as a physical memento reminding visitors of the physical aspects of the immigrants' overseas journey. The trunk would limit the number of possessions that an individual or a family could take on their long journey into the unknown. What were the bare essentials which late nineteenth or early twentieth century Old Country immigrants brought with them? If we were in their place, what would we pack? We need to remember that the trunk was rather limiting compared to today's travelling luggage, whereas voluminous clothing and bedding occupied more space. The museum curator assists the imagination and reconstructs what such a suitcase would contain—dresses, shirts, a shawl, bedding, perhaps a piece of soap, a comb, a family photograph (if any existed at the time), paper and pen or pencil to write letters... Last but not least, there would always be space for a book or a Bible written in the immigrant's native language to serve as a symbolic link to keep alive the wisdom and memories of ancestors in the old homeland. Books were the precious links that families would keep and pass on in order to maintain the family religion and preserve their cultural identity. Can such an item as this volume narrate a family history? Can it reveal facts about a family's past, their religion, their practices, their ethical and moral codes, or any political and religious pressures that the family might have faced prior the journey? In other words, can the history of a book be the history of a family or a community?

The particular volume, which is of concern in this article, can certainly do that. In Nebraska, a family of Czech ancestry possesses a precious and unusual family artifact—an antique early-modern book, which was passed down in the family from generation to generation as their most precious treasure, a book that is much older than most carefully investigated family genealogies. The book has neat calligraphy and prints, leather binding, and comprises more than a thousand pages, though the first batch of pages is missing. The inside of the cover bears a pencil-written date: 1542. There are no title pages, no forewords, and no introductory chapter(s). The

¹ This research would not have been possible without the professional expertise of Dr. Stephen Lahey, to whom I need to express my gratitude. I am also grateful for the research funding from Classic and Religious Studies, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Last but not least, I also need to express my gratitude for help to determine the exact edition to Mgr. David Mach from National Library, and to Reformation historian Dr. Louis Reith for his professional advice and assistance in polishing this manuscript.

family lore tells that they kept it hidden in order to avoid purges of Protestant literature; they believe it was placed in dough, then baked and kept in a huge loaf of bread, hidden in an old chimney and buried underground to prevent its destruction. Finally, having saved the book, the family brought it with them on their long passage over the Atlantic Ocean, and so it ended up in Nebraska in their possession. The family is aware of their ancestors having come from a Moravian Protestant community, yet they wonder who the author could be?

The family chronicle, drafted in 1959 by Rose Štěpán Herink and Dorothy M. Štěpán, reconstructs the family history: the Štěpán family lived around Kuklík, near Nové Město na Moravě, and was a proud Evangelical family. Those who took the Bible along for the passage journey were Joseph Štěpán, and Antonie Vašíková, who married in 1874. In the Old Country, they made their living by weaving, carpentry, and farming. Since life was hard, they were seeking freedom of religion and freedom from military conscription as they sailed across the Atlantic in the spring of 1893 with seven children (ranging from 16 years to 18 months). They took along a trunk (which is still kept in the family possession), which contained bedding and clothes, and the family Štěpán Bible: bound in leather, twelve inches long, nine inches wide, and four inches thick. They sailed from Bremen, Germany, and after six weeks they arrived at New York (often seasick, fed on watery soup, and entertained by an accordion played by Luis, 12), took a train to Chicago (where they bargained their restaurant bill down from \$12 to \$7, and could not find a place to sleep because, since the world fair was taking place at that time, all available accommodation was taken). From Chicago they travelled to DuBois, Nebraska to join their father's brother, who had sailed two years earlier. They arrived there on June 26, 1893, with the trunk and a debt of \$300. Father Joseph started to work as a trackwalker for one dollar a day, eventually obtaining a farm to feed his large family. They retained their Protestant faith, and proudly embraced John Hus's legacy.

In 2014, the Štěpán family, immensely proud of this historical treasure, approached Dr. Stephen Lahey, a specialist on early modern and Hussite theology, in order to determine the manuscript's authorship and learn more about the family history through the manuscript. The whole manuscript was digitized by the University of Nebraska-Lincoln libraries. As an instructor of Czech, with some experience in similar projects,² I was fortunate to join Dr. Lahey on a fascinating detective journey of examining the precious publication. Through close reading and transcribing, by the elimination of various other postils, and finally by closely examining the actual print and markers, with final help and the expertise of archivist David Mach from the Czech National Library in Prague we were able to determine the authorship, and the exact edition. It was two years of an exciting research

² The research project concerned a bibliography of Vergil manuscripts published prior to 1850, and the current holdings in Central and Eastern European libraries. It was led by Professor Craig Kallendorf at Texas A&M University, and it was published in 1998.

journey. The early modern volume, written in early Brethren Czech, was identified as a Czech translation of a postil by Johann Spangenberg, published in 1557.³

Introduction

In historical perspective, the text was created and published a half century after Christopher Columbus had landed in the New World (1492), during the Golden Age of Bohemian Literature, making the text nearly as old as the New World's known history. Such a text was published and distributed at times when the intellectually lively and polemical Bohemian Kingdom was recovering from the loss of the flourishing prosperity and stability of Charles IV's reign; when the Bohemian lands were also recovering from the losses and isolation caused by the Hussite wars; at a time when the Renaissance and Humanism ignited a Reformation which changed Europe. In 1526 the Habsburgs took the Bohemian throne from the weak Louis the Jagiellonian, who could not follow King George of Poděbrady's efforts to unify the internally divided country. The ruling royal family of the Catholic Habsburgs was dealing with the legacies of the Hussite Reformation and the more recent influence of Martin Luther gradually introducing Catholicization and Germanization, while the nobility and clergy fought for the recognition of their religious confessions. Spangenberg's Postil was published at a time marked by ardent polemics among Catholics, Utraquists⁴ and other religious fractions. Unlike Martin Luther, the Postil's author Johann Spangenberg is hardly mentioned in major Czech literary histories, though his works were much translated and widely available throughout early modern Central and Southeast Europe, and were very popular with Czech readers until the nineteenth century.⁵ Spangenberg's Postil was so popular and relevant, that the Štěpán family brought the book with them to the New World when they sailed in the spring of 1893.

Nevertheless, even though he was much overshadowed by Martin Luther, Johann Spangenberg seems to have received a sudden wave of interest recently. This lesser known German Lutheran writer is being published again after centuries of silence, inasmuch as a few of Spangenberg's works have recently been translated into English, such as the Postil entitled *The Christian Year of Grace: The Chief Parts of Scripture Explained in Questions and Answers* (2015), or the Postil's attachment *Booklet of Comfort for the Sick, And About the Christian Knight* (2007); excerpts from his Postil were published online (2011).⁶

³ Brethren Czech was the orthography used in publications from the mid sixteenth century, and for this particular volume.

⁴ The Utraquists were a Hussite denomination, who believed that believers should receive Holy Communion in both forms (*sub utraque specie*) as bread and wine.

⁵ This is true of the earliest histories of Czech literature such as that by Josef Jungmann, or more recent standard treatments by Jaroslav Vlček or Jan Mukařovský.

⁶ T.G. Mayes. Trinity 7: From Johannes Spangenberg Postil. Translated from Johannes Spangenberg, *Postilla. Das ist: Gründliche und deutliche Auslegung Derer Evangelien und Episteln/ so in den evangelischen Kirchen auf alle Sonn- und fürnehmste Festtage durchs gantze Jahr/ Pflegen Öffentlich Abgelesen zu Werden* (Nürnberg: Johann Andreae Endters

What qualities of Spangenberg's work made it so popular among his contemporaries—popular with religiously divided Bohemians, popular with families who kept his work for centuries, popular with the Štěpán family who took the postil on a transatlantic journey to Nebraska, or popular in contemporary Anglophone religious discourse? It is clear that Spangenberg's Postil and his other works attracted much contemporary interest, and are appealing even to a twenty-first century audience.

Postil Publishing in Europe and in Bohemia

Lutherans receive much credit for developing sixteenth century postilography: they were known to have used these texts to spread popular piety among the public, even among those who had little education. Nevertheless, sixteenth-century Catholics and Lutherans alike produced a great numbers of postils—it was the Golden Age of postilography. Unlike pamphlets, limited by region and chronology, postils became widely popular across Europe in the course of several centuries. Postils were handed down from generation to generation, representing “the most influential literature in circulation in early modern Germany.”⁷

Postils simplified and reformulated the biblical message so that it could be widely understood by all at a time when older forms of Christianity were fading away, to be replaced by new perceptions and concepts of God and his relations with the world. Popular religion and piety aimed to strengthen the faith—and the Reformation was on its way. In Luther's day, postils became one of the major tools of the Reformation. They were widely spread due to the invention of the printing press. Postils integrated the old faith and Scriptural messages in schools, villages and communities during the time of “biblical humanism”.

The term postil comes from Latin *post illa*, serving as a traditional term for collections of sermons on biblical texts and Bible commentaries for Sundays and religious festivals in the church year; the texts followed the annual cycle of sermons, either as homilies or as formal sermons. Postils as a genre were known since the eighth century, but due to their function and nature, they became very popular after the invention of Johannes Gutenberg's printing press around 1450.⁸ Postils were meant either for silent home reading or for public readings, or as church sermons. In general, postils were used as a great source for general education about cultural

seel. Söhne, 1683), 522–528. Translated by Benjamin T. G. Mayes. Published online at <http://www.historiclectionary.com/2011/08/trinity-7-from-johannes-spangenbergs-postil/> Accessed on May 11, 2016.

⁷ John M. Frymire. *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 156.

⁸ Petr Voit. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a 19. století*. (Praha: Libri, 2006), 710. The early printers in late fifteenth-century in Europe were busy re-editing and printing postils. By the end of the century, *Postilla super epistolae et evangelia* (1472) by a Dominican cleric, Guillelmus from Paris, was apparently re-edited about a hundred times in various European printer shops; or *Sermones Discipuli* (1474) by Johann Herlot from Köln was re-edited about fifty times.

history; they provided geographical and cartographical education; they provided guidance on issues of ethical and moral conduct for families and communities, and in general gave advice on how to be a good Christian. This particular postil was written in a light and simple tone, which indicates that it was meant for general audiences, perhaps even for youth, which happens to be the case. Its uncomplicated language and question-answer format was one of the reasons for this postil's popularity. Nevertheless, even though the Štěpán family was most likely a Protestant Evangelical family, we know that some of the Lutheran postils were popular even among Roman Catholics, and vice versa. However, Spangenberg's Postil stresses in particular how to be a good Protestant, and how to avoid the delusions of the Papacy. Since postils were understandable to common men and to young people, not only to the learned, many families would probably have had a copy—since Spangenberg's Postil was published in no fewer than seven Czech editions in Nuremberg and Prostějov in 1546, 1557 and 1566. Due to the nature of the book, it is highly understandable that families would keep such a book among their prized possessions, inasmuch as it served as a general textbook that would also comply with family religious affiliation. Lastly, when postils became popular in German lands and throughout Europe, the Czech Lands were not left behind.

Among Czech postils, the most important one was composed by John Hus. It was finished in 1413, but appeared in print much later. It was published in Nuremberg in 1558 (one year after our particular edition of Spangenberg's Postil, and by the same publishers, using the same fonts, edited by Mathias Flaccius Illyricus, who had published Hus's Latin works earlier, see Appendix 2 below).⁹ Interestingly, in his introduction to the first edition, Flaccius Illyricus wondered at how little attention the Czech nation had paid to the works of the divine man [Hus] and how neglected were his works concerning the practices of the godless clergy.¹⁰ Nevertheless, this particular edition is of great interest to our postil project—Spangenberg's edition uses the same fonts, designed and made by the German Master known as MS (standing for Melchior Schwanzenberg),¹¹ that were used in Hus's Postil prepared for publication by Flaccius Illyricus.¹²

Other popular non-Catholic Czech postils were written by Petr Chelčický (1522),¹³ Jakoubek ze Stříbra, and Jan Rokycana.¹⁴ We quickly dismissed Catholic

⁹ Hus's Postil's was entitled *Postila na evangelia, kteráž se čtou přes celý rok* (Nuremberg 1563). The second edition, published ten years later, and it included *Epistolas* by Jakoubek ze Stříbra.

¹⁰ Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, 710.

¹¹ Even though MS is not recognized in other sources, *Knihopis* (1963) by Ed. Horák recognizes Schwanzenberg as the MS designer. (*Knihopis* 1963, p. 116)

¹² Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, 710.

¹³ Petr Chelčický. *Kniha výkladuov spasitedlných na čtení nedělní celého roku* (Praha: 1522). It became the oldest Postil published in the Czech lands. Chelčický was largely inspired by these Czech reformers: John Hus, Tomáš Štítný and Matěj of Janov.

¹⁴ Francis Dvornik. *The Slavs between East and West*. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University, Slavic Institute, 1964), pp. 287-8. Rokycana was the main representative of

postils by Tomáš Bavorský, Tomáš Rešel, Sebastian Berlička (1618), and Václav Steyer (1691); though considered Brethren postils by Ondřej Štefan (Ivančice 1575), and by Jan Kapita (Kralice 1586).

The fate of the Czech Lutheran postil by Martin Zámorský (Jestkovice? 1592), illustrates the impact of printing bans on Reformist Lutheran texts. The book was being published in secret in three locations in Moravia, and it was sought after and destroyed by the censors, until it was finally published and preserved abroad (Dresden 1602, and Leipzig 1602). Following a similar fate, the Czech Lutheran postil by Bohuslav Bepťák Vysokomýtský unfortunately did not survive at all. Nevertheless, there were some evangelical postils printed before 1620 (the Battle of White Mountain) such as postils by Jiří Dikastus (Praha 1612), Jakub Petrozelinus (Praha 1613), Václav Slovacijský (Praha 1613), Blažej Borovský z Borovna (Hradec Králové 1617), and Matouš Konečný (Hradec Králové 1618).

Regarding Lutheran postils and Reformation literature in translation, besides Spangenberg (first edition in Prostějov 1546), there were postils in Czech by Anton Corvinus (Strasbourg 1536, Prague 1539), Christopher Fischer (1577,¹⁵ and Prague 1589), Lukas Osiander (Prague 1589), Aegidius Hunnius (Dresden 1628), and the much delayed translation of Johan Arndt (Frankfurt 1643, Bratislava 1776). Needless to say, Catholic postils were translated as well, without encountering the restrictions and censorship. After 1620, there were also numerous Jesuit postils by local and foreign authors alike.

Nevertheless, at times pro-reformist texts, including Lutheran postils, had to be published in secret (mostly in Moravia), since they were sought out and destroyed by the Emperor Ferdinand's censorship from 1524, which also forced Bohemian Neo-Utraquists to go into exile or to suffer house arrests. From 1547, censorship applied to imported books, and in 1567 Ferdinand's successor, Maximilian (1564-1576), imposed a ban on Nuremberg publishers, forbidding them to publish in Czech. It was also forbidden to import Lutheran books published in Czech into the Czech kingdom.¹⁶ These bans brought Utraquists and Bohemian Brethren together, and both showed great approval for Lutheran postils. When pro-Lutherans were exiled, a few editions of Evangelical postils in Czech were published in Dresden or Leipzig. When the Brethren were forced into exile, they continued publication in similarly inclined publishing houses abroad, such as in Dresden or Zittau in Germany.¹⁷

conservative Utraquists. His Postil reflected much of John Hus's teaching, and it was pro-Reformation and patriotic in spirit.

¹⁵ Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 710. No copies of this edition have been preserved.

¹⁶ For publishing bans, see Josef Jakub Jungmann. *Josefa Jungmanna Historie Literatury České, Aneb, Saustavný Přehled Spisu Českých: S Krátkau Historií Národu, Oswicení a Jazyka*. 2. vyd ed. (Praha: Kommissní kněhkupectví F. Řivnáče, 1849).

¹⁷ Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 710.

The Religious Landscape at the Time of Spangenberg's Postil

Fourteenth and fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia did not escape the religious battles of the Hussite period. The Czech lands' geographic proximity to the Western world eased the spread of the Humanist and Renaissance changes affecting religious life, so the Reformation was certain to influence Bohemia with its ongoing religious struggles, even though Bohemia was rather isolated from the centers of the Humanist movement. The significance of Lutheranism in Bohemia was also foreshadowed by the efforts of King George of Poděbrady (1458-1471). As the leader of the Utraquists, he diminished the influence of radical Hussites, brought the country out of its isolation, and worked hard to repair the religious havoc. Eventually, he gained Catholic and papal support, and re-opened a sphere for Humanistic and Reformation ideas, which recognized the Hussite reformist past. With such complexities in the Bohemian past and European present, the Czechs and Moravians favored Luther's messages in the early sixteenth century. Most sympathetic were the Utraquists, who were not given a fair share of power or papal recognition as Catholics despite the 1485 Compacts (religious freedom decree), renewed in 1512. The Utraquists became demoralized, unlike the Brethren (the third largest religious group), who restructured and democratized their church organization in response, and energized their community, while the Utraquists split, leaning either toward the Catholics or toward the Brethren, while the radicals favored Lutheranism for its progressive humanism and its attack on the Papacy.

Luther also recognized Hus's legacy and publicly accepted his teaching.¹⁸ This relation can be illustrated by a popular anecdote: Wycliffe brought the sparks, Hus lit the candle, and Luther lit the torch, which caught the fire from the candle. With the flaming torch of Lutheranism in proximity, Bohemian Utraquists entered into disputes with conservative Utraquists, who were still in majority. Naturally, the conservatives were seeking to ally with Catholic Roman Church. Luther, in response, sent a letter in 1531 to the Bohemian nobles, urging them to remain faithful to their Hussite legacy, and not to befriend Rome.¹⁹ Luther's message also attracted Brethren, who shared similar stances towards Roman Catholics; nevertheless, the Brethren were not to be identified as Luther's followers. The Utraquist fraction most in agreement with Luther's reforms labeled themselves as Neo-Utraquists. Eventually, they were exiled from Prague in 1524, while the conservatives and the Brethren were respected because of the still-valid Compacts.

In the following years, Ferdinand I (1526-1564), who strongly opposed the Reformation, had to face the growing union of radical Utraquists with the Brethren, who developed relations with German reformists. Forming the opposition, they were supported by the Bohemian Estates. In response to this situation, Ferdinand executed four opposition leaders, confiscated their properties, and persecuted the Bohemian Brethren (many of them left for Poland). The Utraquists, however, did

¹⁸ Luther initiated publication of Hus's *De ecclesia* in 1520.

¹⁹ Jaroslav Vlček. *Dějiny české literatury*. 2. doplněné vydání. (Praha: L. Mazáč, 1931): 373-5.

not submit to Rome. In 1555, Emperor Charles V of Germany issued the Peace of Augsburg (seen as a loss by Ferdinand and the Papacy), dividing the country between Protestants and Catholics.²⁰ One year later, after the abdication of Charles V, Ferdinand eased his restrictive measures against the Brethren and Protestants in general, and they became more active in both Bohemia and Moravia. Nevertheless, to promote Catholic and Jesuit education, Ferdinand established the Jesuit College of Prague, as a rival to Charles University, a Neo-Utraquist stronghold. Ferdinand's successor, Maximilian II (1564-1567), though known for his sympathies for Lutheranism, stood firmly by his father's policies regarding religious freedom. Upon request, he refused to grant the Bohemian Estates similar religious freedoms as those granted by the Peace of Augsburg; eventually, he disregarded the Compacts, granting no recognition of any other religion except Roman Catholics and Utraquists—like the Brethren and the Lutherans. In 1558, the Brethren and the Lutherans were forced to close their churches in Bohemia (but not in Moravia).

In response, the Neo-Utraquists proposed a new union with the Brethren – to form a Czech Protestant Church, though some Brethren leaders, like Jan Blahoslav, would oppose the union. In 1575, the Neo-Utraquists proposed a *Confessio Bohemica* to Maximilian, in which they made concessions to some beliefs of the Brethren. The confession was largely shaped by Lutheranism and was based on the Augsburg Confession of 1555. Maximilian had to agree, although he negotiated certain compromises and appointed regional superintendents. The Utraquists thus divided into pro-Catholics and anti-Catholics, while the Brethren were left out entirely and were not recognized as a distinct denomination. In following years, Maximilian's successor, Rudolf II (1576-1612), in religious matters relied heavily upon the Jesuits, and Catholic nobles, who still constituted a religious minority in Bohemia. The Utraquists, divided among themselves, joined the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, or the Czech Protestant Church. The Brethren, still unrecognized, did not join—they were largely split between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Meanwhile, the Counter-Reformation was gathering force, aiming at the Brethren and the Neo-Utraquists. The Spangenberg Postil would have to be hidden.

Czech Humanism and the Golden Era of Czech Literature

During the era when Spangenberg's Postil was printed in seven editions within a few years, Humanism and Renaissance had a major impact on Europe in fundamental ways, also finding their way to Bohemia. Czech Humanism and its fast-developing print culture signified the Golden Era of Bohemian Literature (in the second half of the sixteenth century). Czechs scholars learned of the Italian Renaissance and the Reformation, and opened up channels of communication and exposure to European arts and sciences—and the book culture. Soon the printing press arrived in Bohemia from Nuremberg. The first printing press appeared in Pilsen, closely followed by presses in Prague, Litomyšl, Mladá Boleslav, Kutná

²⁰ The regional Estates and Lords could dictate the religion to their subjects.

Hora and the Moravian towns of Náměšť, Ivančice and Kralice. Nevertheless, some of the earliest presses in Brno, Olomouc, Náměšť, and Prostějov did not print any books in Czech until later (if still in existence), printing Italian, German and Latin works in translation while books in Czech were also printed in Nuremberg and in Venice.

Czech printed production of the early sixteenth century included translations, as well as original works of law, science, and philology, books of psalms and hymns, historiography, travelogues and belles lettres. The most prominent publishing press was operated by Jiří Melantrich and his son-in-law Daniel Adam of Veleslavín.²¹ Melantrich learned of printing in Nuremberg, Basil, and Prostějov (with Günther, who published the first Czech edition of Spangenberg *Postil*). Newly established printers soon published exquisite copies in Czech, Latin, German and Greek, competing against the printers of Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Köln and Venice. Most famously, learned Adam Veleslavín of Prague produced leading editions, becoming the iconic representative of the Golden Age of Czech literature. The scope of Veleslavín's publishing interests extended for beyond religion. As a true humanist, he published chronicles,²² religious and geographical books, translations, works on Czech lexicography, and other texts appealing to a contemporary Bohemian audience. Veleslavín was also an ardent Utraquist, and a secret supporter of Luther and the Brethren. As a professor at Charles University, he inevitably was closely linked with the growing popularity of Luther's popular piety and radicalism. The University and publishing presses absorbed and reacted to the new energy in polemics, philosophizing and moralizing which is reflected in contemporary writing. Pamphlets and various religious texts were concerned with defending various dogmas, while reflecting on new ideas of Humanism and the Reformation (yet many of them disappeared and were not kept as family treasures, unlike postils).

As mentioned, Humanism and Lutheranism grew in popularity at Prague, especially at Charles University, whose faculty studied in Wittenberg—the nexus of Luther's teaching, sought out by the Utraquists and the Brethren alike. It is not surprising that pro-Lutheran authors like Spangenberg were widely translated, and popularly read. The growing interest in German universities and their debates encouraged lively polemics among all fractions of Bohemian society—the Utraquists (who represented the majority), Roman Catholics, the Brethren and the Lutherans (often associated with Utraquists). Luther's message was echoed in print culture. Priests, educators, pastors and other groups took advantage of the new print culture.

²¹ Melantrich (publishing 1551-80) is a family name associated with book-publishing till today.

²² Vlček, *Dějiny*, 502-6. Most importantly, the *Chronicle of Václav Hájek z Libočan* became the most popular historical text. Nevertheless, the Chronicle was criticized for its belletristic nature that which overshadowed and changed the historical narrative, and failed to recognize and appreciate the legacies of the Czech reformers, John Hus and Jerome of Prague, as crucial Reformation figures.

About Spangenberg and his Postil

The Nebraska copy of the Štěpán's Postil²³ edition should have included forewords by Martin Luther, by Johann Spangenberg,²⁴ and by the translator Jan Stráněnský.²⁵ The particular 1557 Nuremberg edition also includes Fifteen Sermons on the Dead. The book is written in the form of basic and frequently simple questions, followed by simple answers, aiming to cultivate piety in daily lives and beyond. Since German postils grew in numbers, it is generally assumed that Lutherans "invented" the postils. Before Luther's time, postils were known as *plenaria*, and the actual term "postil" became widely used with Luther's Postil, though Luther's Postil was not translated into Czech (other texts were). Instead, postils by Johann Spangenberg, Anton Corvinus, Christopher Fisher, Lukas Osiander and, later Aegidius Hunnius, were translated and published in Czech. Luther and his Wittenberg circle took great advantage of the new print culture, and circulated their popular ideas via texts, publishing a wide variety of them, though postils proved timeless. Postils would reiterate ancient biblical knowledge and help to relate it to everyday life by means of explicatory answers: "Without the printing press, the awakening and integrating of an evangelical piety, based upon the central idea of the Reformation, would not have been possible."²⁶

Johann Spangenberg (1484-1550), known as a Protestant preacher and "the reformer of Nordhausen,"²⁷ was a contemporary of Martin Luther; in fact, they were born five months apart. Spangenberg was one of the most popular postil authors published in Lutheran era,²⁸ though the postil was of great length, inasmuch as some editions included advice to the sick on how to prepare for death and the afterlife (over 1000 pages) and it must have been expensive to purchase over cheaper shorter

²³ *Postylla Česká. Anebo Waykladové na Epistoly a Euangelia, Nedělnij y také Swatečnij přes celý Rok Z Latinského a Neměckého Jazyku w Český přeložená: Nynij pak w dobrý Pořádek a w gednu Knijhu vwedená Tak yakž tayž Pořádek Cýrkw Křestianská Od Prwnij Neděle Adwentnij až do Poslednij Neděle po Swaté Trogicy zachowáwa / K vžitku Mládeži Křestianské W způsob Otázek složená a Sepsaná: Od Jana Sspangenbergského: Někdy Slawného Kazatele w Cýsařském Městě Northauzu. K nijžto přidáno gest Patnáctero Kázanij o Mrtvých Těljch y také LX. Příkladuow z Pijse m Swatých wybraných: Zě se Těla Mrtwá magij pochowáwati Wsse od téhož Jana Sspangenbergského Sepsáno.*

²⁴ Spangenberg's foreword is dated March 10, 1542. This date explains the handwritten date in pencil on the inside of the book cover.

²⁵ Jan Stráněnský translated the Postil by Johann Spangenberg (first published 1546) and Postil by Johann Hoffmaistr (1551).

²⁶ Robert Kolb. "Introduction". In *Spangenberg, Johann. The Christian Year of Grace: The Chief Parts of Scripture Explained in Questions and Answers*. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2015), 11.

²⁷ Kolb, "Introduction", 12-15.

²⁸ Spangenberg was popular along with Caspar Huberinus, and Anton Corvinus. Corvinus's Postil was short, and became popular even among Roman Catholics. Spangenberg's Postil was very popular with Austrian Crypto-Protestants. (See Frymire, John M. *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*. Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2010.)

volumes. Spangenberg attended schools in Göttingen and Einbeck, and earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Erfurt in 1511. In Erfurt, he must have met with Luther, since Luther was teaching there at the time. He also joined a group of Humanists promoting "Biblical humanism."²⁹ Later, Spangenberg worked at various schools as rector, pastor and preacher, most notably at Nordhausen, which attracted pro-Lutheran clergymen. He is also known to have been active in local schools, which gave him the incentive to compose a postil for the youth as an educational text. He was known as an energetic proponent of the Reformation in his writing, pedagogy and service, and kept on corresponding with other pro-Lutheran clergy and scholars of Luther's Wittenberg circle.³⁰ A number of his works were translated into Czech,³¹ and his writings were widely popular. In his introduction he explains:

I was not of the opinion that I could improve on Doctor Luther's hard work, but I want to motivate young Christians to practice [reading] the Holy Scripture, the Holy Gospel, which is the power of God that saves all who believe. Therefore, I admonish all whom God has appointed to be the heads of households to give their children and servants practice by using these questions and answers every day at the table.³²

Spangenberg is known to have been a personal friend of Martin Luther, who also wrote a foreword for the Postil. Further in his introduction, Spangenberg refers to his "beloved" Martin Luther, as well as to other contemporary postil authors Johann Brenz and Anton Corvinus. Besides the Postil, he also produced a series of various educational and popular texts promoting Lutheranism in Germany.

In his preface to Spangenberg's Postil, Luther urges friends, brothers, priests and pastors to read, but to make sure to obtain a proper understanding (so as not to be like repetitious parrots) with help from those who could understand (he gave credit to Spangenberg). Luther also urged all to be vigilant in difficult times, and he warned against the Papacy³³ for distorting messages of the Scripture, encouraging the exercise of personal responsibility to learn and carry on the truth: "*Protož milí přátelé, bratří, faráři a kazatelé, modlete se, čtěte, učte se a buďte pilní. V pravdě vám pravím, že nemá dáno býti místo lenosti, dřímotě a spaní,*" [Therefore, beloved

²⁹ Kolb, "Introduction," 12.

³⁰ Kolb, "Introduction," 12. Kolb also mentions that there was no biography of Spangenberg available for 300 years.

³¹ Václav Pumplrla. *Knihopisný slovník*. (Praha: Filosofický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2010), 1032. For example: *Funffzehen Leichtpredigt, so man bey dem begrenbis der verstorbenen, in Christlicher Gemein thun mag; Neu Trostbüchlein für die Kranken und wie sich ein Mensch zum Sterben bereien soll; Postille in vier Theilen für junge und einfältige Christen*, and others.

³² In Kolb, "Introduction", 15f From Spangenberg's expansion of the *Small Catechism* of Luther: *Des kleinem Catechism kurtzer begriefft und der Haustafel*. Halle, 1542.

³³ Throughout his Postil Spangenberg uses judgemental expressions such as "*pokrytečí papeženci*", pointing at "distorted and hypocritical" papacy, as mentioned in Luther's introduction.

lords and brothers, pastors and preachers, pray, read, study and be diligent. Truly I say to you; there is no time for loafing, snoring, or sleeping.]³⁴ He also uses powerful animal metaphors, comparing the ignorant and lazy priests and educators to parrots and cows.³⁵

However, although he came out of Luther's circle, but did not use such vivid language and flowery metaphors, Spangenberg became one of the most popular postil authors. The question-answer format became an easy dialogue that was popular with pastors and other audiences alike. In this way, Spangenberg helped his contemporaries to comprehend the biblical messages, while writing in an informative and skillful format that incorporated necessary educational information. In this sense, Spangenberg is also remembered for his involvement with primary and secondary schools as a writer of textbooks.

The printed form would spread the texts out, to be read easily in various school and public gatherings. His postils were widely translated and read across southeastern Europe, even being reprinted until the nineteenth century. His Postil appeared fifty-six times in print in German, seven times in Latin, seven times in Czech, and three times in Dutch.³⁶

Nuremberg Publishers and the Translator Stráněnský

It is general knowledge that printing was introduced into Bohemia from Nuremberg. The first printing presses were established in Pilsen (1468), and soon after in Prague. At first the local press production could not match up with more experienced master editions from abroad, nevertheless, soon well-trained printing apprentices would establish similar craftsmanship in Bohemia and Moravia. The Štěpán's Postil edition was published by Ulrich Neuber and Johann vom Berg in Nuremberg. Both were master printers who were known to be working closely at the time of the postils' publication (between 1542-1563), and were recognized for publishing over 300 non-Catholic texts, and for issuing a great number of Czech translations, including publication of Hus's Postil in 1563. Berg was known as an ardent Lutheran who received his printing training in Ghent and Paris. Neuber and Berg also published Hus's collected works, together with texts by Jerome of Prague and numerous pamphlets in Czech.³⁷

Taking a closer look at the life and activities of the translator of the Postil, Jan Stráněnský (1517-1585), helps us to comprehend the book culture at the time when Spangenberg's Postil was printed. Stráněnský himself was an Utraquist (inclined to Lutheranism). He was also a translator, a publisher, and a town administrator. Although he was known as an Utraquist writer, Stráněnský also translated a

³⁴ From the "Foreword by Dr. Martin Luther". *Postil 1575*. (Olomouc copy) Adapted into modern Czech by Hana Waisserová.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Kolb, "Introduction", 17.

³⁷ Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy, 710*. Edited by Matthias Flaccius Illyricus. Jerome of Prague was Hus's friend, who was executed in 1416.

Catholic text by Fridrich Nausea.³⁸ In his lifetime, he must have been a practicing Catholic as well, prior to his Utraquist period. Stráněnský was in conversation with numerous intellectuals, printers and writers of his time, including the famous Prague publisher Jiří Melantrich.³⁹

Stráněnský is known to have lived in Počátky, and he worked for the Estates of Jindřichův Hradec since 1545. At Hradec, the Catholic clergy recognized Utraquists, and started to serve “*podobojí*,” since 1564, carrying out the Compacts. Even though Czech Utraquism was recognized until 1620 (The), it ceased to be recognized and practiced by the local Estates in 1605, when Catholicism was reintroduced by them. Regarding Stráněnský literary works, he published 12 original works and 8 translations from German, of which two were postils (Spangenberg and Hofmeistr). Stráněnský’s books must have been popular at his time, and they were published and read even into the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

Notes on the Czech Edition, and its Orthography

While trying to determine the authorship, we were working with the following facts: Postils were becoming a popular genre with the early book printers, but since few Czech postils were published in the sixteenth Century, we ruled out the best known Czech postils and considered this book to be a possible postil in translation, inasmuch as the most popular sixteenth Century postils in Czech were German Reformation postils in translation. Clearly, we also ruled out a well-known postil by Martin Luther, as Luther was not translated into Czech.⁴¹ We also ruled out the numerous Catholic postils in translation.⁴²

Since Johann Spangenberg was a contemporary of Martin Luther, and a very popular author of a postil for youth, our suspicions were confirmed—the Štěpán family owns a postil by Johann Spangenberg: *Postylla Česká. Anebo Waykladové na Epistoly a Evangelia. Nedělní y také Swáteční přes celý Rok z Latinského a Německého Jazyku v Český Přeložená*.⁴³ This particular edition was published in Nuremberg in 1557.⁴⁴ The interesting fact is that four different editions of

³⁸ *Kázání křesťanská s krátkými vejklady na všecka evangelia* (Leipzig: 1539; in Czech Praha: 1561).

³⁹ Jan Muk. “Tomáš Rešl z Jindřichova Hradce a Jan Stráněnský z Počátek, spisovatelé staročestí”. *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností československých v Praze*. Ročník XXXV. Řídí Josef Pelikán. (Praha: Státní tiskárna, 1927), 123-133.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The most popular postils were not by Martin Luther. Instead, popular Czech postils of the sixteenth century were by Johann Spangenberg.

⁴² Catholic postils were numerous due to the political developments. Beside Czech authors such as Tomáš Bavorský, most Catholic postils were published after the Battle of White Mountain. The translations were mostly from German and Polish.

⁴³ In the National Library online catalogue at <http://aleph.nkp.cz>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

⁴⁴ The Spangenberg Postil was a truly popular read in its time. The Czech reeditions were: 1543, 1546, 1553, 1557- 3 reeditions. For detailed description see *Knihopis*, ed. Horák, 1963, p. 111-117. Even though the Štěpán’s copy is miraculously well-preserved (bearing in mind the damage it suffered in the rough hiding conditions), it was missing its title page, all three

Spangenberg's postil are also dated 1557. That year, three editions were printed outside of the Czech Lands in Nuremberg and one in the homeland in Prostějov.⁴⁵

In order to read the Postil, one needs an understanding of contemporary orthography, and book printing. The manuscript is an example of an early version of so-called Brethren orthography, nevertheless it retains numerous features from the earlier Hus diacritics. Since this era embraced the Golden Age of Bohemian Literature, the literary boom signifies a parallel in linguistic and literary developments in style, lexicology, syntax, morphology and orthography. The manuscripts display inconsistent orthographies, especially from the end of the fifteenth century, to the end of the sixteenth century, although the press of Adam Veleislavín along with Bible of Kralice, is considered a linguistic standard of texts. Formal Czech used in Prague educated circles became the codified language norm after the time of Hus, and was adopted over local dialects.

The Brethren orthography derives from earlier diagraphic orthography (a well-developed systemic orthography),⁴⁶ while largely accepting the principles of diacritic orthography as employed by John Hus.⁴⁷ Hus's diacritics introduced acute marks for long vowels (the *virgule* later called *čárka*), marks for soft consonants (*punctus rotundus*—a dot above a letter,⁴⁸ later replaced by *háček* ˇ). Hus's diacritical reform was introduced as an effective system for replacing the earlier digraphs. Nevertheless, Hus's proposal took time to find its way into the language, since it was not favored by conservative scriptwriters, who were often geographically isolated. Another fact to consider is that, thanks to the Hussite period texts in Czech were slowly replacing the previous Latin or German texts, and many scriptwriters were accustomed to writing only in Latin or German.

Nevertheless, with the invention and spread of printing presses, and exposure to wider audiences, the language became modernized, lost its archaisms, and was

forewords, dedications, and various other pages, including the final pages. The quest to determine the exact edition was a bit of a detective work after all. The inner page of the hardcover copy includes handwritten dating 1542, which most probably refers to the dating of Spangenberg's Foreword, and it was written down prior to the loss of the front pages and later mistaken for the date of publication. This particular edition exists probably in 9 copies including the Štěpán's copy. The best-preserved copy is in the Olomouc Scientific Library (*Vědecká knihovna*)—its front pages are attached as appendices.

⁴⁵ See *Knihopis* 15577, 15578, 15578a and 15575. (p.111-17). This fact illustrates that the projects were carried out by particular printers and publishers, and by their apprentices. Kašpar Aorg, who was in charge of the Prostějov publication, was himself an apprentice with Jan Günther, who published the 1546 Prostějov edition.

⁴⁶ This orthography was an alternation of Czech orthography that used various diagraphs for non-Latin sounds, and did not distinguish between long and short vowels, resembling Polish orthography using ligatures (e.g. *cz* for *č*, *ss* for *š*). It followed the early modern Latin alphabet, as it did not distinguish *j* or *g*, *v* and *w*.

⁴⁷ Jan Hus, *De Orthographia Bohemica*, 1406. Hus's codification also suggested using the Prague dialect as the standard for modern written Czech

⁴⁸ Some of Hus's revolutionary diacritics gave inspiration to other Slavic orthographies, e.g. the *punctus rotundus* is retained in contemporary Polish (*ś*).

simplified in order to be understood by wider audiences. Printed texts were also known to resemble sermons and speeches. Printing presses spread quickly, and replaced isolated scripting centers and schools, centralizing these diverse textual sources. While a scribe could write one text like the Spangenberg Postil in two years, a printing press produced a large number of copies. Gradually, toward the end of sixteenth century, printing presses settled on the Brethren orthography. An exemplary text from this period is the Bible of Kralice (1593), which was a Bible translation by the Czech Brethren, though there were various codified versions of it by Jan Blahoslav, Jan Roh, and others. Here the *punctus rotundus* was replaced by the *caron* (háček), vowel digraphs changed, *v* replaced *u* (at the beginning of the words), *g* is used instead *og*: *j*, *y* is used after *c*, and the conjunction *i* (and) was written as *y*. This orthography was in use until the end of eighteenth century and beginning of nineteenth century when Josef Dobrovský codified modern orthography.

As was already mentioned, Spangenberg's Postil represented a popular style which captured the orthographic transition between Brethren orthography (or so-called Bible Kralická style) and earlier Hus diacritic orthography. Through the text, there are many differences and inconsistencies, as if the printers oscillated between either or. Even though our particular edition was printed in a press operated by Germans, one must remember that the press specialized in Czech texts. This fact might explain numerous inconsistencies, since the text is over a thousand pages long, printers might have been using earlier typesetting plates. For example, the spelling of frequently used words alternates greatly: the word God is spelled *Buoh*, *Búh* or *Bůh*; *punctus rotundus* is sometimes kept, sometimes it is replaced with *caron* (háček ˇ), to mention but some examples (see appendix 4, below).⁴⁹

Summary

The Spangenberg Postil was widely distributed, written in a popular catechetical question-answer form, while taking full advantage of the print culture. Its author, Johann Spangenberg, who belonged to Martin Luther's circle, reached a general audience, and his work revealed him to be a good pastor and teacher at the same time, providing not only timely needed messages of biblical humanism and popular piety, but also providing general education via the incorporated information. He was able to explain biblical concepts, while resonating with timely advice in persuasive tones.

His text found great response in Bohemia, where Roman Catholics, Utraquists and Brethren alike were inspired by revolutionary Lutheranism. The German printing press in Nuremberg, promoting Hus's legacy, produced attractive and well-

⁴⁹ *š* goes back to *ſſ*—most probably it was difficult to place *háček* ˇ over taller letters for the printers; *ll* stands for so called hard *l*, *l* stands for so called soft *l*; inconsistent system of accents for vocals, *í* – as *ij* (it was more visible and distinguishable from *i*), *û* appears for the first time (replaces *ó*—e.g. *kón* – *kůň*, earlier *kuoň*), *ou* stands for *au*, *g* stands for *j* if mostly in the beginning of the word, *y* stands for *j* if at the beginning or the end of the word (eg. *gey* – transcribed as *jej*), after *c*, *s*, *z*, not *i*, but always *y*, double *ss* retained before *t*, etc.

crafted editions of Spangenberg in Czech, and it found its audience, despite censorship. Postil publishing in Bohemia was largely influenced by contemporary ordinances. As the Spangenberg Postil was printed during the reign of Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I (1526-1564), contemporary events influenced its release, distribution and reception. Since Prague University displayed many pro-Lutheran sentiments, the Catholic emperor founded a Catholic University in 1556, and invited the Jesuits of Rome to reinforce re-Catholicization. He also introduced book censorship, which forced publishers to publish non-Catholic texts in secret. Since translations were published abroad, especially in Germany, in 1547 he also introduced censorship and the banning of Lutheran books published outside the country. Local publishing houses were allowed to publish only Latin works, cosmographies, and legal codes but no religious texts except Catholic ones. Even though the Postil could have been distributed when written, in the later era of the Jesuit influence it must have faced intense censorship and had to be kept in hiding as heretical literature. It was Spangenberg's Postil that introduced the genre of the postil into Bohemian literature, and served as one of the most important religious outreach texts despite silence in Czech literary history. Nevertheless, this case study seems to demonstrate the immense importance of the text for individuals and families who were considerate of observing their religious and daily practices, and it reveals the general historical circumstances of the Štěpán family's religious history.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Title page of 1557 edition of Spangenberg's Postil



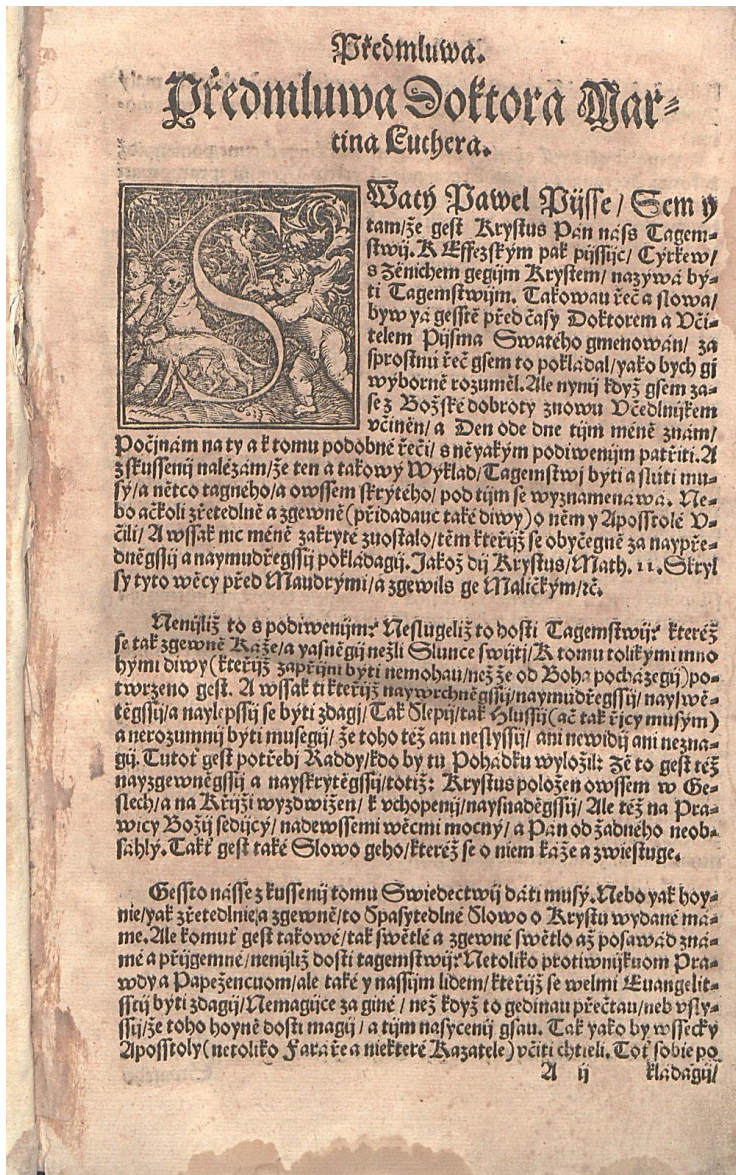
The missing title page from the Štěpán family Postil. This image is from the best-preserved copy of the same edition held in *Vědecká knihovna Olomouc* (Scientific Library Olomouc).

Appendix 2: Title page of 1564 edition of John Hus's Postil



Title page of Hus's Postil, prepared for publication by Flacius Illyricus using the same fonts, designed by the German master known as MS (for Melchior Schwanzenberg) as our Spangenberg edition. (National Library, Prague)

Appendix 3: Foreword to the Postil by Martin Luther



The foreword by Martin Luther, missing from the Štěpán family's copy of the Spangenberg Postil. (National Library, Prague).

Appendix 4: Transliteration/Transcription table for the Štěpán Postil⁵⁰

Litera in the text	Stands for sound
Ij (j)	í
au	ou
ſſ	š
w	v
v	u
g	j
g with dot or háček, and more often g	g
Ay, ey, oy	Aj, ej, oj
t with punctus	k
cž	c
cž	č
rž	ř
uo	ú
tc	c
ou	au
y	j
zi	ž
d with punctus rotundus	ch
Ch with punctus rotundus	Ch (plain ch stands for ch as well)
ee	é
◦ (at the end of the word)	ho
ie	ě

⁵⁰ Table adapted from Porák, Jaroslav. *Humanistická čeština: Hláskosloví a Pravopis*. Vyd. 1 ed. (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1983). Transcribing the Postil posed serious challenges: there are numerous inconsistencies, spelling variations (e.g. *Buoh, Bůh*), word divisions at the end of the lines, capitalization, vowel accents, endings (*skutkuow* as well as *skutků*). Initial capitals were hard to decipher, there were unclear letters, missing letters and missing patches.

Memoir: Part II: From Trial in Berlin to Zuchthaus in Hameln an der Weser (1942-1945)

Martin Hrabík

What came before: *Martin Hrabík (1904-1992) was born in a small southern Bohemian village between Klatovy and Domažlice. From his teenage years on, he was active in the Republican Party of Smallholders and Peasants, commonly referred to as the Agrarian Party. It was the single largest political party in inter-war Czechoslovakia. In 1935, he became the secretary-general of its youth section, Dorost, which had about 100,000 members and was the largest organization of its kind in inter-war Czechoslovakia.*

On March 15, 1939, Hitler forced the Czechoslovak President Emil Hácha to sign an agreement that placed Bohemia and Moravia under the protection of the Third Reich. The next day, German forces occupied the Czech Lands. The leadership of the National Unity Party, Hrabík among them, visited President Hácha to protest the creation of the Protectorate and resigned. Then, a new formation, Národní souručenství, replaced the two parties. Hrabík, no longer in public life, started his underground anti-Nazi activities.

The Gestapo arrested him on May 28, 1940. He was interrogated in the Petschek Palace and sent to Terezín. Later, Hrabík was transferred to prisons in Dresden, Zwickau, Plauen, and Gollnow.

Trial in Berlin, February 11 and 12, 1942

After I had received my indictment, I was put into a transport to the Berlin court. To my great amazement, the guards seated me next to the accused Zdeněk Maloch. We had both read the charges against us and were taken aback at the mistake of our transporters. (Accomplices were not to meet before their trial so that they could not conspire on their defense.) Dr. Maloch was an attorney. I surprised him by asking him how serious did he consider my offense. He thought for a long time and finally said: “You are charged with two grave transgressions: illegal activity and contacts with foreigners. Your offense is made more consequential because you have worked with people who closely co-operated with those in contact with enemies of the Third Reich.” That made me think how reluctant, in Dresden, Judge Preussner had been to include in my protocol that my financial support for Kahánek after he left Poland for Bucharest was for humanitarian reasons.¹ Then, Dr. Maloch insisted that I tell him my non-professional opinion of his offense. I said to him: “It depends, whether your reports passed on to Schneeberger will be considered as direct aid to the enemy.”

Then, Dr. Maloch told me about his group. This was the first time that I learned about the activities for which I was about to be tried. (I “owed” Judge Preussner my

¹ Martin Hrabík, “Memoir: Part I: From Arrest to Pre-Trial Detention (1940-1942),” *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, New Series, 1, no. 1, (Spring 2018): 90-91.

inclusion in the group. He obviously wanted to make my lot harder.) Schneeberger had assembled this group; his lover Emilie Obertelová was employed by the Belgium Consulate. From her, he found out that a courier with mailbag was sent once a week to Brussels. Private mail was added routinely to the official correspondence. In Belgium, the personal letters were posted to their destination. The anti-Nazi cell in Prague used this secure and uninterrupted means to communicate with the Czechoslovak resistance in Paris. I do not know how this channel was betrayed, whether the Nazis discovered it in the course of their interrogations or their Paris occupation.

During my journey through the Nazi jails and concentration camps up to February 11 and 12, I had never met anyone associated with my alleged crimes, except for Maloch mentioned above. Now, we were all here together. Fear, terror, uncertainty, and dread oozed from the prison atmosphere, walls, and hallways and seeped into us. Besides that, it was the same old routine: only the soup was waterier and the slice of bread, thinner.

There was, however, one surprise for me. In walking through a corridor on the way to the mandatory recreation, I was suddenly face-to-face with one of my illegal contacts. In January 1940, Ing. Eman Pluhař had introduced him to me as Ing. Miklena and asked that I help him place a transmitter with one of my friends. This was to facilitate communication with our resistance center in London.

I immediately thought of my friend Dr. Vladimír Salač,² a Prague attorney, who lived at 17 Mezibranská Street. At my recommendation, Vlád'a (Vladimír) had become the legal counsel of *Mladý Venkov*. We also shared a love of hunting. He was a frequent guest at my parent's home in Vilov, and I at his Prague apartment. I set out with Miklena. The Salačs received us warmly, and Bětula, as we called Běta Salač, graciously offered us refreshments, but as soon as we entered, we realized that our mission was for naught. Miklena and I looked at each other and silently agreed that we could not place a secret transmitter in a half Jewish family. At that time, the Nazi persecution of Jews was already in full swing. We quickly made our excuses saying that we merely want to say "hello" while in the neighborhood. Thanks to God, thanks to the Czech Terezín guard Froněk and mainly thanks to the efforts of her husband, Běta was not among our Jews who were sent to be incinerated and starved to death in the Third Reich's most flagrant crime. She and her son survived. After the war, Dr. Salač successfully defended General Josef Ježek³ in the trial of members of the Czech Protectorate government.

After we ran into each other in a corridor of the Alt Moabit Prison, I never saw the underground agent Miklena again. The Nazis executed him. The memory of our

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ Josef Ježek (1884-May 10, 1969), Czech General of Gendarmerie, served as Minister of Interior in the government of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Nazi occupation. He was relieved of his duties as the Interior Minister in January 1942 for refusing to swear loyalty to the Reich. After the war, in 1945 and again in 1947, Ježek was tried for his activities during the Protectorate. He was acquitted and set free. The Communist regime tried him again in 1954. This time he was convicted for espionage and treason and sentenced to imprisonment for 25 years.

last meeting, nevertheless, remains deep in my heart. The look in his eyes told me that he had not betrayed me to the Gestapo.

My wife Mařenka⁴ found out about my trial during her visit to Gollnow. She then asked my friends in Prague for help. Dr. Josef Černý,⁵ the former Minister of Interior and Josef Šámal,⁶ an editor of *Venkov*, came to her assistance. To find an attorney allowed to plead before the Peoples' Court in Berlin was not easy. Eventually, they did find Dr. Böhm, who belonged to the handful of lawyers permitted to appear before this Court. He agreed to represent me and asked for 35,000 korunas, which Dr. Černý paid him in advance. (Dr. Černý and his wife, Helena, née Švehlová, financially supported my family during the entire war.)

In wartime Berlin, Šámal through the intercession of his tailor, Josef Kubat, found my wife a place to stay with the Stuchlíks—a family which had renowned couturier salons in Prague and Berlin. Kubat's daughter was married to Stuchlík's son. These good Czech people not only provided Mařenka lodging but also various assistance for which they refused to accept any remuneration. Mařenka arrived in Berlin several days before my trial and visited Dr. Böhm in his office. She brought various personal references and testimonials. He refused them all, saying: "Fortunately, your husband did not confess to very much, and his accomplices said little about him." He continued: "By no means, should we ever make him an important personage. He was employed in a professional capacity by the Provincial Association of Domestic Animal Husbandry." Throughout the trial, Dr. Böhm remained faithful to this tactic.

We never found out how he arranged that Mařenka could stand in the hallway as they led us from the waiting cell into the courtroom. After my return home on June 7, 1945, we reminisced how we were not allowed to embrace or kiss—not a single touch. We could only exchange a few whispered words. Through the half-

⁴ Marie Hrabíková (1913-2018) was called Mařenka by her family and friends.

⁵ Josef Černý (1885-1971) served in the Czechoslovak Parliament during the entire duration of the first Czechoslovak Republic. He was Minister of Interior from 1934 to 1938. A leading politician of the Agrarian Party, he among the main leaders of the Party of National Unity after the Munich Agreement. In 1946, Černý was tried and found innocent of collaboration with the Nazis. He left Czechoslovakia in 1948. The same year he was elected chairman of the Republican (Agrarian) Party in exile. He held this post until his 1971 death. See Jaroslav Rokoský, "Josef Černý: Agrární, ministr vnitra (Part I)," *Štřední Evropa: Revue pro Středoevropskou kulturu a politiku*, 13 (June 1997): 71.66-78 and "Josef Černý: Okupace, Kolaborace, Exil (Part II)," *Štřední Evropa*, 13 (Sept.-Oct. 1997): 72-73, 152-164.

⁶ Josef Šámal (1906-1971) a Czech journalist worked his way to be an editor of *Venkov*, the Republican (Agrarian Party) organ. In 1938, he became the editor in chief of the daily *Večer*. In exile after 1948, he lived in France and the United States. See also Miroslav Král, "Josef Šámal—novinář Republikánské (agrární) strany zemědělského a malorolnického lidu," *Podbrdsko: Vlastivědný Sborník středního Podvltaví*, 21 (2014). Josef Černý, "K úmrtí redaktora Šámala," *Novina*, 1967, No.2:1-2; Eduard Dellin, "Odešel věrný přítel—Archivař Čsl. agrarismu," *ibid.*, 2-3; Marie Tumlířová, "Za Josefem Šámalem" *ibid.*, 3 and Martin Hrabík, "Hrst vzpomínek," *ibid.*, 4.

opened door, my wife then could follow the proceedings of the first Senate of the Berlin People's Court.

The guards put us, the accused, into a holding cell. Its gloominess and walls covered with scratched and written testimonials from prisoners condemned to death evoked dread and hopeless anxiousness. Hardly anyone spoke. Those of us who knew each other were taken aback at how emaciated their friends were. Messages, sad but also resigned and defiant, seemed to jump from the walls and permeate the atmosphere of the cell.

Then, they took us into the Court chamber and lined us up in the order of the charges. We were seated facing the judges. As they entered, we were ordered to rise. At the head, was Dr. Otto Thierack,⁷ who later served as the Reich's Minister of Justice. The judges included several high Nazi functionaries, a general of the SS among them.

The President of the Court began the proceeding and gave the word to the prosecutor, who read the indictment. Unfortunately, I left for exile in such a hurry that this document remained in Prague. All I can remember is that it dealt with espionage, assistance to the enemy, and high treason. After this, the prosecutor asked for the sentences: Dr. Emil Schneeberger, a Prague attorney, the death penalty; Dr. Zdeněk Maloch, the director of coal industries in the Protectorate, the death penalty; Anna Volmanová, a daughter of an industrialist, fifteen years at hard labor; Martin Hrabík, an officer of the Provincial Association of Domestic Animal Husbandry, five years at hard labor; Emilie Obertelová, employee of the Belgian Consulate, three years at hard labor; Jan Lažanský, director of a natural gas plant in Pilsen, three years at hard labor.

As the prosecutor asked the death sentences for Schneeberger and Maloch, officers quickly handcuffed them. After the prosecutor's speech, the presiding judge asked if the accused wished to say anything. They called on us in order.

Dr. Schneeberger had his speech prepared in Czech and German. He began in Czech. Citing international law and customs that governed the civilized world, Dr. Schneeberger denied the Court's jurisdiction as it was based on an illegal accord gained by threats and terror. You compelled President Hácha, Schneeberger told the Court, to agree under duress to the establishment of the Protectorate. That this occurred when your army was already occupying our territory, and the two heads of state were meeting in your capital city proves the illegality of this so-called treaty and President Hácha's signature on it. The Czech Government never ratified Hácha's agreement. After his return from Berlin, it resigned in protest and dissolved the parties of National Unity and Labor. They then, at President Hácha's behest, merged into the umbrella organization, Národní Souručenství. The Protectorate that was forced upon us has steadily narrowed the competence of our government and

⁷ Otto Thierack (1889-1946) Nazi Party member and jurist became Reich Minister of Justice in August 1942. His tenure is marked by a debasement of the law, prosecution of the regime's "enemies" and speeding up the execution of those condemned to death. Thierack committed suicide in 1946 before he could be brought to justice at the Nuremberg Trials.

its institutions. Your closing of the institutions of higher learning, imprisonment of hundreds of students, and restrictions placed on secondary schools began to lower the education level of our people. Your illegal seizure of our industry has diminished our country's economic productivity as well as vitiated its economic sovereignty.

The accused, in his unusually compelling speech, rebutted both the Court's jurisdiction as well as the legal basis of the charges. Schneeberger did not deny that he had acted against the Third Reich. He also took full responsibility for Obertelová's actions. She was a victim of her love for him, Schneeberger insisted, and he and he alone should have to answer for her underground activities.

The charges, as well as our fellow defendant's extemporaneous defense, left us all dumbstruck. Dr. Schneeberger's speech raised us from the depth of humiliation to an unprecedented height. To this day, it remains the most powerful emotional experience of my Nazi fighting days.

Schneeberger's bi-lingual speech took a long time. The Court ordered a recess, and we were taken to the common cell. As we were led there, I caught a glimpse of Mařenka and Mrs. Maloch, who was an Austrian German. The sight of us, emaciated, upset both women, but seeing her husband in handcuffs deeply shocked Mrs. Maloch.

The guards brought us a cold lunch and left us unattended. Dr. Schneeberger told us: "With my speech and deeds, I have said farewell to my life. Don't any of you dare follow my example."

As they led us back to Court, the wives saw us again, and their presence gave us a measure of courage before our sentences were pronounced. During the afternoon session, Dr. Thierack asked Dr. Maloch if he had any objections. For Dr. Maloch and his lawyer, a desperate struggle to save the accused's life began. The Court allowed Mrs. Maloch to consult with her husband and his counsel. Maloch himself, as well as his attorney, pleaded with the tribunal. All afternoon, Dr. Maloch remained handcuffed.

The sentences were announced the next day, i.e., February 12, 1942. In the morning, Volmanová was up first. When asked if she had something to say, she rose to her feet and proclaimed: "I am weak. I will not survive this long sentence!" My turn was next. The prosecutor had suggested a five-year sentence. As the judge made his inquiry, my attorney quickly advised me: "*Sagen Sie nichts!*" I listened to him and said nothing, but silently, I was grateful for his effective and tactical defense. Neither Obertelová nor Lažanský had any objections.

The judges left to deliberate. Upon their return, we were again instructed to rise, and the sentences were delivered. Dr. Schneeberger received the death penalty and was stripped of all honors. Dr. Maloch's and Anna Volmanova's sentences were reduced to twenty and ten years at hard labor, respectively. Martin Hrabík was to serve five years. Although the sentences of Emilie Obertelová and Jan Lažanský remained the same, i.e., three years at hard labor, they were to be reduced by time served. So ended our day in Court.

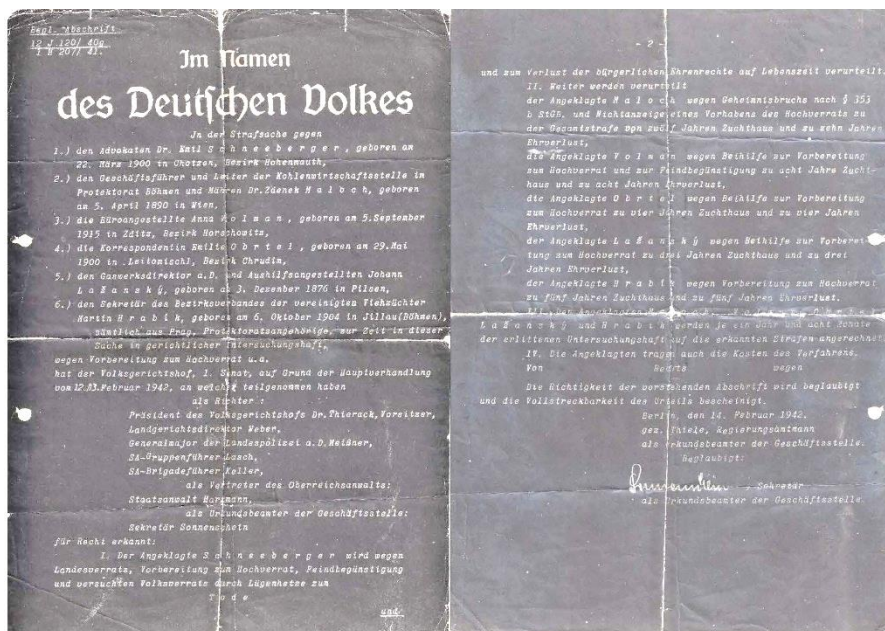


Figure 1: Official Verdict of Martin Hrabík's trial

Remembering those who did not return

We were returned to our cells. Dr. Schneeberger to one from which he was, in four weeks, taken to the gallows. Here, I want to remember others who did not come home after the war. Among them was Karel Kraus with whom I was confronted in Dresden,⁸ Miklena, whom I last saw in Berlin,⁹ and Josef Jošta, who was the liaison between Vojtěch Holeček,¹⁰ the editor-in-chief of *Národní listy*, and Rudolf Beran.¹¹ I saw Jošta during one of my transports, and he told me about how the

⁸ Hrabík, *op. cit.*, 87.

⁹ See p.3.

¹⁰ Vojtěch Holeček (1891-1969) served with the Czech Legion in Russia during World War I. He was the editor in chief of *Národní Listy* from 1935 to 1940. In World War II, he was imprisoned in Buchenwald.

¹¹ Rudolf Beran (1887-1954), the chairman of the Agrarian Party, served as Czechoslovakia's Prime Minister from January 11, 1939, to March 15 of that year when the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established. He held the same office in the Protectorate until April 27, 1939, when he resigned. Afterward, he maintained contacts with the Protectorate officials and at the same time supported the anti-Nazi underground. The Gestapo arrested him in May 1941. He was tried and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment, which was later changed to house arrest. After the War, the Communist-led government charged him with collaboration with the Nazis and sentenced him to 20 years at hard labor. He died in prison. See Jaroslav

Gestapo officer Fleischer tortured Beran during interrogations. First, the officer put a hat on Beran's bald head and proceeded to beat him furiously with a telephone directory. I asked: "Why the hat?" "So that a hard blow on the temple would not kill him," Jošta replied. "They want to keep Beran alive so that, for propaganda purposes, they could stage a show trial."

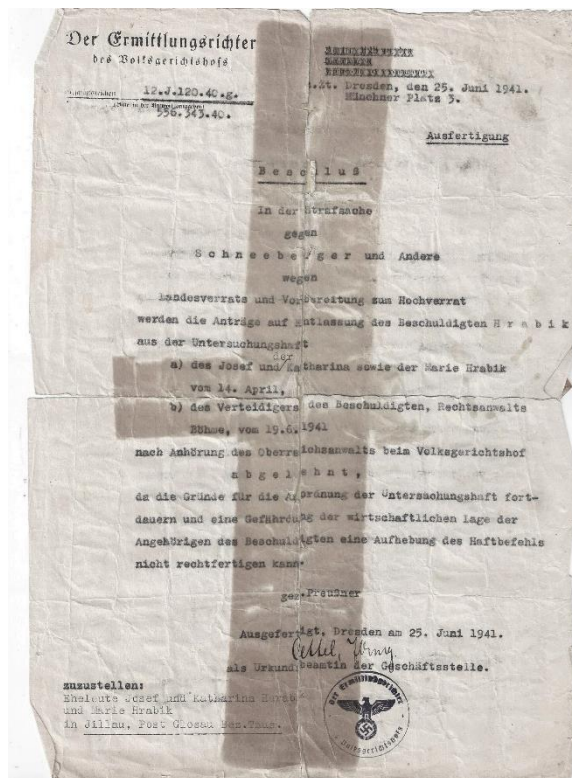


Figure 2: Official denial of plea for Martin Hrabík's early release from prison. It was submitted by his wife and parents.

Jews, even if they were reformed or non-believers, passed muster. I tried to argue with him, but both my knowledge of philosophy and the German language were inadequate to the task. Out of the blue, Lažanský interrupted the discussion: "Shut that bastard up! Don't let his prattling annoy you. He wants nothing else but your piece of bread! Kick his ass and give the bread to me." Lažanský's outburst attracted the attention of other German prisoners. Lažanský quickly summarized the gist of

Transport to the Hameln Zuchthaus

No one from our group, except Lažanský and me, was transported through Hanover; however, in the prisoner section of the train, there were non-political German prisoners. Lažanský, a completely senile old man with only one wish, to eat to his fill, sat on one side of me. On the other, was a German prisoner who suddenly made himself known. He told me that he had lived in Philadelphia in the United States and taught foreign languages. Rather than to divulge what possessed him to leave America to return to Nazi Germany, he began a long and wide discussion about Kant, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and then passed on to religion.

Besides Moses, none of the

Rokoský, *Rudolf Beran a jeho doba: Vzestup a pád agrární strany* (Vyšehrad: Ústav pro Studium Totalitních Režimů, 2011).

the conversation. Looking “our philosopher” in the eyes, they asked him: “Why did you leave America to come to accost little girls in our parks?” “I promptly answered the Party’s and Führer’s call,” replied the condemned “sexual delinquent.” Too late, did he realize that Hitler’s justice mercilessly exterminated people of his ilk.

The large hall of Hanover’s train station, which our transport reached at the end of February 1942, was a beehive of activity. Prisoners from all parts of Germany were transported there and then sent to various prisons to serve their sentences. A while later, the guards announced that soup was being served. I got up, my head started to spin, and I passed out. Lažanský took his, and my cup and left me lying on the floor. He collected his and my meal. In his hungry senility, he ate them both. At a distance, a nearby group of young Czech prisoners from Pole u Brna observed this. They gave me first aid and revived me with several spoons of soup from their own cups. Old Lažanský mumbling “I could not help myself” began to weep. Later, I met with this group (Beneš, Štefl, Dr. Kusý, Lorenc) in Hameln. Where Lažanský was taken, I do not know. I doubt very much that he survived. Hunger had made a wreck out of him.

Beginnings in the *Zuchthaus* in Hameln an der Weser

Traveling through Hanover, I finally reached the *Zuchthaus* (penitentiary) in Hameln an der Weser. Only later did I meet the small group of Czech prisoners already there. My civilian clothing was taken away, and I was given the striped prisoner uniform. I looked like a circus clown. It would have been difficult to escape in this get-up. One was immediately recognizable.

The very next day, I reported to the prison workshop where I was assigned to the detail under guard Strauss. A young German criminal was assigned to teach me how to make the felt slippers that were manufactured there. My instructor had first been imprisoned as a juvenile. Subsequently, he divided his time between prison and the outside world. He had fulfilled his assigned *pensum* (quota) by noon and then worked for gain, either money or tobacco. He did this either with the tacit consent of the guards or behind their backs. We worked from seven in the morning to six at night with a short break at noon. The next day, I was to fulfill the *pensum* on my own. I had nothing that could be bartered. Not only did I have too few slippers; on top of that, my offerings were also misshaped and utterly unsellable. Strauss began to spit and hurl insults at me. He called me “*Schweinhund*” and other colorful names. Then, he threw the slippers on the ground, stamped at them, and yelled: “Punishment!” Afraid, I started to tremble, but the guards did not beat convicts. At least that remained from the practices of the old judicial system. Instead, at dinner, when I presented my bowl, Strauss ordered: “half portion.”

I do not know who freed me from this hell where chastisement was to deprive the starved of food. Perhaps it was the old *Werkmeister*, who had the reputation of being strict with the real criminals and allowing work outside the prison walls even for us, political prisoners. I was assigned to the cobbler division that manufactured boots for the *Wehrmacht*. My job was to keep precise records of the materials delivered, to whom they were issued and the finished products. At the onset, all

went like clockwork! Everything in the cobbler shop was better than in the one where the felt slippers made. Although the skills required for my new job were not exactly my forte, the guards nodded with satisfaction when I presented them my charts with numbers entered neatly into columns—all in my very best handwriting. I did this work under the watchful eyes of a guard. Suddenly, this idyll ended. We were short, two pairs of boots. We counted; we searched, and we recounted again and again. The guard started sweating, so did I. Someone has absconded with the footwear. It could not be a prisoner because they were carefully searched upon their departure; it had to be a guard. I became anxious, although I had had no part whatsoever in the theft.

Pure luck delivered me from this unpleasant situation. The authorities were asking for men to fill in craters that unexploded Allied bombs had made. No one from my cell volunteered except me. Although I was in no way involved, I wanted to rid myself of any responsibility for the theft of the leather and boots. Also, I believed that the German pyrotechnicians had disarmed the bombs beforehand. When the group of Czech prisoners in Hameln found out what I had done, they sent me a message that they doubted my sanity. What they failed to grasp was how desperate I was to be out from the gloomy prison walls.

Wertheim

During the next day's roll call, a small gray-haired man came forward and called: "Hrabik." He asked: "Where are your shoes and knapsack? In what are you going to carry your bowl and spoon?" This was in front of the gate but still within the prison. I was the only one not correctly equipped for outside work. Blume was jealous of his free time and unhappy that he had been called back to work. He continued: "If the institution has not prepared you as it should, you will have to come as you are." Then, he proceeded with his usual introduction: "I am chief guard Blume, retired, one of the best shots in the Hanover region. If any of you attempts to escape, you will be gunned down mercilessly. *Gleichschritt marsch!*"

We set out. My slippers made marching difficult. A little less than an hour later, we reached the Wertheim factory, and I started work immediately. Here oats, powdered potatoes, and yeast were added to cut hay and straw. The mixture was then steamed, baked, and canned into square containers. The content of five wagons was thus reduced to one. The Wehrmacht needed to save space on trains transporting the essential feed for the horses now used on the eastern front. Most of Blume's detail was charged with the unloading of the wagons. The hay and straw came in large packages, which prisoners had to move to the cutting room ramp. They also transported paper bags of dry yeast, and potatoes flakes, as well as the oats in more solid containers, to the storage room. Blume also sent two or three convicts to the cutting room to move the hay and straw from the ramp to the cutting machines which civilian workers and Poles serviced.

The Poles had a better position than we did. As political prisoners, we were only one rung above the Jews, whom the Nazis designated to be eradicated mercilessly. The Poles wore the letter "P" on their lapels, the nationalities of the

Soviet Union, the letter “O” and the Jews, a star of David. The Czechs who had volunteered to work in the Reich had no outward designation. The Poles and the Soviet nationalities lived in camps; they had limited freedom of movement but were not prisoners.

Blume lined up the prisoners according to a list in his notebook. They were to unload the wagons, which arrived at irregular intervals. The guard stood next to the train, and the convicts, in the designated order, were to carry the sacks of dehydrated potato flakes to the storage area where two convicted criminals piled them into high rows. One of these men was a thief and the other, Michaelis, a murderer. The sign above his bed read “*Totschlag*.” Shortly, after the Nazi came to power, he had volunteered to be a guard at a concentration camp. In a fit of anger, Michaelis had struck an inmate so hard that the victim never got up again. Because at this time, the Nazi interned only German citizens, the sentence was ten years in the penitentiary. The two other prisoners who loaded the bags unto our wheelbarrow were also Blume’s confidants. Blume had a fit if someone failed to return from the bathroom promptly. Whenever we needed to use the facilities, we had to stand at attention and say: “*Herr Wachtmeister*, I request permission to relieve myself.” Screaming and swearing followed. Woe to him who did not return into his assigned place. Upstairs, Blume yelled and hurled insults; downstairs, in the storage room, the confidants often administered blows. I quickly learned that I must follow the rule. Cost what it cost, I was always to be at the place that Blume’s notebook had assigned me.

The first day, my feet were sore from the slippers. I was, however, given the honor of “licking the pot.” I could eat whatever remained after all had received their portion, and a ladleful thickened with potato flakes was added. After months of deprivation, my stomach was full. Even now, so many years later, I can barely imagine the all-pervasive desperate hunger of those days.

A disaster befell me on the way back to the *Zuchthaus*. My shrunken stomach could tolerate the sudden surfeit of food. I began to vomit not only on myself but also on the inmate marching next to me, Domakowski. Imprisoned for a minor crime, he was from the German-Polish border and spoke both languages. Both, he used to curse me. His tirade ended with: “You, Czech swine! When I get you alone, I’ll kill you!” Blume yelled: “*Mund halten!*” That ended the matter. Domakowski never did carry out his threat. During our last months in Hameln an der Weser, he became my friend.

On the way back, Blume always tried to discourage us from picking up the cigarette and cigar butts, as well as chewing tobacco, stowed about the road: “I cannot allow this,” he said. “You do not know who had these butts in his mouth beforehand. He could have had tuberculosis or been a pervert full of syphilis.” The moment the remains of a cigarette or something of this ilk appeared, the first-row prisoners dove for it. In too much of a hurry to get home, Blume did not write them up; thus, this became an additional tobacco ration.

One day, when I was pilling up sacks in the cutting room, Blume decided that this would be my permanent job. There I met Frank, an older Polish worker, who was on good terms with the boss of this particular area. Frank (whose last name I have forgotten) lived in the Polish camp, but he had his own room, a nine PM curfew

and could receive letters from home. I arranged with him that my wife during her visits could leave a package with food and tobacco with him. Frantisek cleverly chose an unremarkable meeting place, whose location I would whisper to Mařenka. The meeting was hazardous. They could not be seen together. As long as I worked in Wertheim, this channel worked and was helpful.

During the chaos that ensued after the Americans liberated us, I gained access to my dossier. Blume's first entry read: "The work output of Martin Hrabík, prisoner number 500/41, is good." When my wife and parents petitioned for a reduction of my sentence, he added: "Martin Hrabík, prisoner number 500/41 is a good worker, but he knows very well how to hide his views. I consider him a Czech nationalist. For this reason, I recommend that this plea not be granted."

In the common cell, I met a German butcher sentenced for an economic crime. Every day, he left the prison to work in a cheese-making factory. He could sneak out cheese only by smearing a thin layer on his legs above the ankles and his underwear. As soon as the cell doors closed, hungry prisoners gathered around him and peeled the cheese from his hairy legs. He was released before the war's end and corresponded with me after my return to Czechoslovakia. When in 1948, I was fleeing through Germany, I regretted that I had left his address in Prague.

Suddenly, for no discernible reason, the authorities transferred me from Wertheim to a squad that worked outside. This change ended the contacts between Frank and my wife that I had worked so hard to establish.

At this time, chance also altered my sleeping arrangements. As punishment, I was transferred from the common cell. The leader, non-elected, of course, there was Warnecke. His former employment had been to feed cattle in one of Germany's African colonies. The sign on top of his bunk read "Animal torturer." He had been arrested and tried for attempting sexual intercourse with a cow. Warnecke, a small nervous man, took out his perversion by torturing older prisoners. He forbade the flushing of the toilet after eight in the evening. If one had to answer an urgent call of nature, Warnecke would hit the old man on the back. Also, Warnecke could not tolerate snoring. He ran from one end of the cell to the other, clicking his tongue. When he managed to silence one corner, the concert would start in another. Warnecke could not sleep.

I slept next to him and most probably was snoring. (From my Pankrac days, my ability to sleep deeply and soundly had not deserted me.) I felt a sharp pain in the ribs. Warnecke was kicking my emaciated side. Half asleep, I jumped up and thoroughly beat Warnecke up. He called the guards who punished me by transferring me to a small solitary confinement cell. Because I only slept there, I ended up liking it there and stayed until the end of my confinement in Hameln an der Weser.

Working outside and at the Concordia Foundry

Gradually, I learned the whereabouts of other Czech prisoners. With their help, I became part of a group assigned agricultural work outside of the jail. A Czech prisoner, Krelec (the name is a pseudonym) was our benefactor. He either had

volunteered or was assigned to work in the Reich. A former employee of a publishing house in Brno, the able Krelec was employed in the office that distributed food ration cards to foreigners (people with either an “O” or “P” on their lapel) working in Magdeburg. He found himself in a whirlpool of possibilities for manipulation, bribery, and the black market dealing and could not resist the many temptations. Krelec also loved the dance halls and spent lavishly in nightclubs. While Hitler called up younger and younger men to fight at the various fronts, a flourishing and wild nightlife thrived in the city. There were many women and few men. Krelec made sure that the champagne flowed freely. An arrest, trial, and the *Zuchthaus* in Hameln an der Weser followed. Krelec spoke German perfectly and was industrious: thus, he became an influential favorite of his guards who preferred criminals to political prisoners. The errors of his youth notwithstanding, Krelec was a good Czech. He was ashamed that unlike us, he was where he was because he had committed a crime. Indeed, he tried to help us whenever he could. Krelec managed to get the guards to choose a few of the Czech prisoners for outside work. We needed this after our assignment in Wertheim had ceased unexpectedly.

Krelec’s guard, with one exception (about that later), did not have good work for us. We were first assigned to the group hoeing vegetables and beets for a stingy farmer at the edge of town. He passed some money to our guard, who obliged by inventing a contest for us. We were lined up at one end of a long beet field and had to race to hoe the row. First prize was one whole buttered slice of bread; the second and third, half slices. The next morning the farmer’s chicken had not laid many eggs. Before our guard had finished his negotiation with the farmer, we ran to the coop, the barn, and other places, collected the eggs, cracked them open and drunk them raw. The following day was worse; we were to drain the latrine of the camp, which housed women from East European countries that Germany had conquered. With a bucket attached to a rope, we scooped up the excrement and poured it into a cart. One of us was then tethered to the front of the cart, and the others pushed from behind. We emptied it in the dung heap of the avaricious farmer.

At lunch, I witnessed an unforgettable scene. I was with my friend Beneš, who had been an official in the Brno city administration. Hunger had so ravaged Beneš’s tall, athletic frame that the teeth in his mouth were loosened. My friend asked whether we could wash our hands in a nearby puddle. The guard looked at him incomprehensively as if Beneš had fallen to earth from the moon and answered in the prison jargon: “No well! No pump! No handwashing!” So, we ate our less than appetizing meal amid the horrible stench. As we returned through town, people holding their noses fled to the other side of the street to be downwind from us. Our guard walked behind us, carrying a heaping full bag—a reward for his service to the farmer.

Krelec, fortunately, was able to get me transferred from this commando to one helping with the threshing in Verhazen, a village in the vicinity. This time, Stratl, an old guard, accompanied our squad. He was a smiling elderly man and excellent musician, who had a hard time yelling loudly, “forward march!” as we passed the windows of the prison’s director. Immediately, we knew that he did not belong to the group of guards who had served in the SS units at the front, been wounded and

now continued their service by watching us. With Stratl, we marched to and from Verhazen singing.

Arriving in the village, we were amazed when the retiree invited us into the house, placed us around the table, and sat at the head with the guard next to him. Then, the lady of the house served breakfast. Our eyes could not believe the amount of food—coffee, milk, syrup, oatmeal, and enough bread. Immediately, we regretted that we had eaten breakfast in prison. At lunch, we received not only good soup but also meat, and an endless array of side dishes. As soon as the men bringing our lunch *Eintopf* from the prison were out of the farm gate, we threw it into the pig's trough. In two days, we finished at one farmer's and went on to the next. Entire Verhazen observed mankind's old and beautiful custom of helping each other with the threshing. The farmers were away in the army, so the retirees took their place. If there were no man available, the lady of the house did the honors.

Our work for these good people seemed to us as a journey into an unknown beautiful world full of love, goodness, and forgiveness. The village Verhazen remains in my memory as an "oasis," a lighthouse of humaneness in a sea of enmity, war, and human cruelty. Too bad, that this idyll ended in two weeks. We, however, did not return our hosts' kindness in kind. Krelec let us know that Stratl had chickens at home and that we were to fill the lunch bucket with grain from the threshing machine. In the evening, the professional thieves among us filled the pail without anyone noticing. On the way back, we stopped at the guard's house to deposit this booty. We regretted our theft, but it was due to extenuating circumstances.

Another time we were to gather and store potatoes, beets, and turnips. I was piling up turnips at the Freistunde Inn when a group of prisoners marched by. They looked at me and with their eyes, begged for the turnip. I scooped up the vegetables, shook my shovel, and three or four rolled out. Several of the passing-by prisoners immediately and quickly retrieved them. The guard was also swiftly at my side. Fortunately, my pleas did not fall on deaf ears. He did not report my hungry fellow inmates or me.

Then, I was assigned to a work detail which filled the craters made by Allied bombs. Using anti-bomb artillery and airplanes, the Nazis protected important military and industrial objects very well. Since the bombers had to drop their load somewhere, they did so in civilian areas. In this instance, they bombarded Hameln's garden suburbs rather than Hannover.

I was happy in late 1944 to be transferred to the Concordia Foundry. It made steel plates of various thickness for a variety of products ranging from tanks to razor blades. The work in Concordia was difficult and dangerous. My first job was pouring the molten steel into forms to make cogs. I was weak. Well aware that even the smallest spill of the burning lava could be a deadly accident, I could not stop my legs from trembling. After several days, I was given another job. To produce first quality steel, this foundry used Silesian coal, which a one-track railway brought to the ovens. Our job consisted of cleaning the ovens. We had laboriously to chisel away the spilled steel.

Everyday life in the Hameln Zuchthaus

Although I had to spend several weeks in concentration camps, i.e., in Terezín and Holzen where we were marched to escape the burning Hameln, I did not belong to those dragged into the camps without a trial. As long as they did not have the words. “Return not desired,” in their paperwork, they lived in concentration camps unlike those of us imprisoned for anti-Nazi activity and tried by people’s courts and sentenced to prison—like regular criminals. We had different rules for packages from home, correspondence with family. The rules were strict and often violated by the prison administration.

The administration permitted visits based on the prisoner’s work output. In the course of my incarceration, my wife visited me eight times. Mařenka was able to come twice to Hameln with my sister Marie. After her very last visit in 1944, my wife returned to Prague with great difficulty. The Allies controlled the skies. Fearing that low flying bombers would strafe the train, the passengers had to disembark and seek shelter several times. Mařenka and I did not see each other until I came back to Prague after the war.

Thanks to Krelec and Václav Jirů, the Czechs in the *Zuchthaus* found a way of communicating. Krelec was influential with the older guards and Jirů became friends with an older German Communist prisoner. Because Hitler had imprisoned the German Communists much before us,¹² they had occupied key positions in the prison kitchen, bakery, and offices. *Wachtmeister* Hartmann, a graduate of a medical course, ruled over the prison first aid station and hospital. Dr. Kusý, an officer of the Czech army medical corps, worked under Hartman and suffered much humiliation and a veritable hell due to his superior’s ignorant and unprofessional commands and undertakings. Two orderlies, Flemish thieves, had dominion over the hospital. They stole the milk and food allotted to the gravely ill. Hartman took their word in everything over that of Dr. Kusý, whom he hated. We were all afraid of being sick, and terrified of being sent to the hospital.

Final days in Hameln

I was working in Concordia, which was well camouflaged against air attacks except those of the strafers. By the end of 1944, the allied planes controlled the area. One day the alarm was sounded. Like the others, I ran into the cellar. A shot from a machine gun whizzed through the skylight just past my head and lodged itself into the cement wall immediately behind me. The next time, I made sure that I was not in the vicinity of the skylight.

¹² German Communists, along with Socialists and trade unions, were the Nazis’ earliest opponents. Their persecution began in earnest after the 1933 Reichstag fire for which the Nazis blamed them. Hitler’s first concentration camp, Dachau, was built to imprison Communists.

Through a fellow German worker, I had managed again to establish contact with Mařenka. Right before an alarm went off, he told me where he had hidden a piece of bread and cigarettes for me. We had had drills on what to do in a raid. Lights were shut off; we were to dash to the cellar deep underneath the factory. I decided to use this opportunity to pick my illicit provisions on my way to the basement. I tripped, fell through the steel girders, and plummeted to the bottom of a deep cement mold. Luckily, the form was awaiting the liquid molten mixture empty. In the corner, there was a steel ladder welded to the side. The fall through the steel girders had severely injured me; I was bleeding, and I panicked. In about



Figure 3: Solitary confinement cell in the Zuchthaus Hameln an der Weser. Source: Vaclav Jirů, Šesté Jaro. Prague: Vaclav Petr, 1946

a half-hour, the all-clear sounded. The lights were turned on. The workers began preparations to fill the mold. I started to yell: "*Hilfe! Hilfe! Hilfe!*" Someone lowered a light; they saw me, pulled me out, and handed me over to the guard. It was one of the old guards like Blume, but he did not have the same personality and behavior: he was a kind and mild man. The guard took me to the factory's civilian first aid station where they provided me the necessary medical care. I was wincing with pain but said not a word until the guard declared that he had to take me to the hospital. I began to insist that I felt well. He thought for a while and then said: "Since you are not too visibly wounded in the face, I'll try. If you are not better by morning, I'll have to send you to the hospital." I thanked him and was relieved when upon our return to the Zuchthaus, there was no

filcunk, a strip-search.

My solitary confinement cell, *eincilka* as we called it in our Czech jargon, was so small that only convicts working outside the prison were allowed to occupy it. Even now, when the jail was severely overcrowded, the authorities did not place another prisoner there. The cell had a bed attached to the wall, a bucket serving as

a toilet. The glass windows, which could be opened only a little to provide ventilation, had bars. I was so injured, particularly my shoulders, that I could not take down the bed that hung on the wall. The acute pain prevented me from sitting. I spent the entire night standing leaning against the wall and dozing off and on. When I reported for duty the next morning, the good guard not only did not send me to the hospital but also found easy work for me. I was to shovel coal into a basement furnace. When someone passed by, I pretended to throw full shovels into the fire. In fact, it was only half-full shovels. Usually, I threw coal in by the handful.

The potato flakes in Wertheim and the occasional additional slice of bread had strengthened my healthy body. I felt better day by day. A doctor's exam upon my return to Prague determined that I had developed gelatinous masses in my shoulders. Since none of the Czechs worked in my group, they did not know of my injury. During my recovery, fleas and lice tortured me continually. The penitentiary up to the second half of 1944 had been clean. Bedlinens, underwear and shirts had been laundered regularly. As the American army approached Hameln an der Weser, new transports of Nazi prisoners arrived daily—it seemed the Nazis still believed that a miraculous victory was at hand.

Before my injury, every evening, I caught all the fleas and lice. First, I eliminated the former and then the latter. The shy fleas, the pot-bellied females and lighter-colored males, jumped long distances and were best caught with a finger moistened with saliva. The less mobile lice were easy to find because they hid in the folds of clothing and as well as the linen and were less mobile. The nits' invisibility made them the most dangerous. The pain from my injured back became worse and worse, as did the fleas, lice, and nits. I could not bend over. During my entire convalescence, I remained a helpless victim of these accursed insects. We finally did get rid of them when the liberating American army using DDT deloused not only the million-strong army but also millions of poor wretches imprisoned in Nazi camps. After the war, DDT was banned because it was harmful to human health.

Conditions at the prison keep on deteriorating. The Third Reich became smaller and smaller as the Allies invaded the European continent. The Germans started retreating from both the Eastern and Western fronts. Not only military but also the supporting personnel began to withdraw from the Eastern front. After the English, and American forces had entered German territory, transports of Nazi prisoners from endangered Western localities descended upon the Hameln *Zuchthaus*. The authorities packed every nook and cranny with prisoners. To make more space, many rooms were cleared out, even the areas reserved for religious services.

We had spent a sad Christmas. After the bombing, only the nave of the church remained standing. Christmas mass was celebrated there. The two prisoners served as altar boys and attended the priest. Two guards with machine guns stood in high places where they could see and threaten the entire congregation.

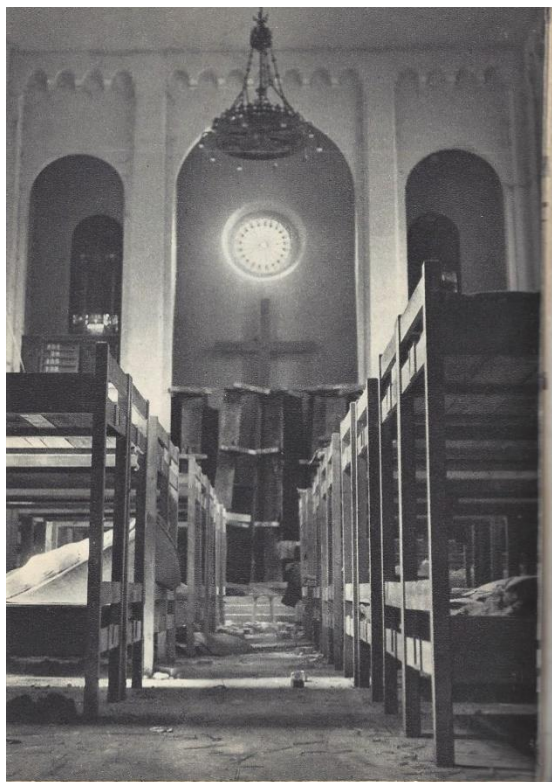


Figure 4: Chapel in the Zuchthaus Hameln an der Weser. Source: Source: Václav Jirů, Šesté Jaro. Prague: Václav Petr, 1946

Nobody ever tried to flee from the church. During the three years that I served more than half of my sentence in Hameln, only one prisoner attempted to escape. He hid on the roof, and the guards shot him down. We were all ordered to walk past his emaciated dead body. None of us Czechs knew who he was.

[To be continued]

Translated and edited by
Mary Hrabík Šámal

Eda Kriseová and her Prophecy of the Velvet Revolution: “The Gates Opened” (1984)

Hana Waisserová.

This is an introduction to a story, “The Gates Opened,” which serves as a memento of a restrictive regime that banned freedom. It also shares a hope and vision that the gates would open someday—and all would be liberated (despite the chaos and lack of natural order). The story was written in 1984 (sharing a strong symbolic value with George Orwell’s masterpiece). Eda Kriseová shares this anecdote: Around 1984, she wanted to stop writing about the mental institution where she was working, while regularly providing a story to the underground monthly *Obsah*, and many of her stories were set in the mental asylum. This story thus seems to close this one line of imagination offering the grand finale—when the gates opened. In Eda Kriseová’s own words: “Perhaps, it was an allegory for the forthcoming 1989—perhaps it was a prophecy. The whole country turned into a madhouse, and everyone was able to be free and be freely mad. Humankind went crazy in those days—so the story continues.”¹ This introductory essay is followed by an artifact: a typed translation of the *samizdat* story that had not yet been published. Later, the *samizdat* Czech version was extended and published by Sixty-Eight Publishers in Toronto in 1991, and finally in *Mladá Fronta* in Prague in 1994.² This English translation was never published, but it was presented at public readings. A similar fate and complicated textual history is shared by much *samizdat* writing. However, this unpublished translation serves as a fascinating artifact illuminating some of the absurdities of dissident writers’ lives, for various reasons: typed texts were a witness of the physical strains of the unpublished literary culture. Typists actually damaged their fingers by having to hit the keys hard enough to type six to twelve carbon copies at once. Eda Kriseová would type the first version for “*kvartály*” (literary meetings nicknamed by Ludvík Vaculík), and she confessed that she was extra aware of the length of the story, as she had to re-type it and bring the copies for the meeting of the circle of the writers in the required number of copies. It was hard and even frustrating to get it done. For example, if she inserted the carbon paper incorrectly between the onionskins, it would mistakenly copy the text on the back of the sheet and spoil the whole batch. Therefore, the text is not only a powerful memento, but also a powerful physical artifact. Originally, it was typed for *samizdat*. Gerald Turner translated the story into the English version presented here. Eda Kriseová edited this typed copy of the English version for a public reading in front of an English speaking audience. (As noted, the Czech version was extended and published in the exile publishing house, and eventually in Prague.) She marked the English translation for practical reasons—as notes to herself on pronunciation and pauses for easier public reading.

¹ In private correspondence in October 2018.

² Eda Kriseová, *Co se stalo—*, (Toronto: Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1991), Eda Kriseová. *Co se stalo—: 1981-1987*, 1st edition in Czech Republic, (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1994).

Eda Kriseová joined Vaclav Havel to the Castle since the very beginning as one of his top administrators, and both alike were eventually again able to publish in their own country!

Introduction

Eda Kriseová lived a good part of her life behind the Iron Curtain. In many ways that felt like living in a barred madhouse and wishing that “the gates would open,” as they had opened during the short thaw in the late 1960s that led to the Prague Spring. During that time she traveled to Turkey, Japan, and Israel as a volunteer on development projects and as a social journalist, which helped her to comprehend both democracies and developing worlds alike—the world outside the Soviet buffer zone. During her travels and at work, she encountered various scenarios of social justice, compassion and social responsibility—values that are central to her stories, since those values were not nourished under socialism and its “life in a lie” that was bursting with many paradoxes, injustices and restrictions.

During the political and cultural awakening of the Prague Spring and under the shadow of the high hopes of the Prague Spring, she left *Mladý svět*, one of the leading journals, although she was an award-winning social journalist for her work there. She was invited to join the most progressive intellectual platform, which helped to shape the views of many Czech people, and which hastened the Prague Spring pro-reform movement: *Listy*. This magazine was banned half a year later, in April 1969.³ Soon after that, Kriseová was blacklisted. This meant that no one would publish her articles; journals and newspapers stopped communicating with her. She became one of the “forbidden ones” and was denied any work for some time; she became alienated professionally and publicly. Yet these difficult times happened to become major formative moments in her life, inasmuch as she refused to compromise her moral integrity despite all the pressure. That attitude stayed with her for the rest of her life and helped her to navigate through troubled waters later on. Learning her lesson from the Czechoslovak totalitarian experience, she never developed a tolerance for populism, demagoguery, and lies; she maintained her lifelong solid civic attitudes.

From Journalist to Novelist Writing about a Mental Asylum

During the early phase of the writing ban, she felt devastated and frustrated. First, she became a victim of the regime’s need to target artists and intellectuals, who gave voice to freedom and reflection. Ivan Klíma, himself a persecuted journalist and writer from the same intellectual circle,⁴ summarized the era and the attack on intellectuals and culture in this way:

³ The last piece she was working on when *Listy* was banned was an article on the death and legacy of Jan Zajíc, who self-immolated himself in protest, following the example of Jan Palach.

⁴ They both published in *Listy*, and joined the *Obsah* circle later.

The early seventies were a turning point for both powers-that-be and for Czech culture. The regime decided to break those who, in their eyes, represented the culture, even at the cost of destroying the culture altogether. For their part, the members of intellectual élite decided that they would rather be destroyed than have anything to do with this indelibly tarnished power.⁵

Eda Kriseová was included among this group. In this sense, Kriseová stresses the need for personal connections and networks that made life bearable. She was a part of the regular writers' gathering of the *Obsah* circle,⁶ which helped her to stay creative and keep on writing. The gatherings were also a great escape from the manual jobs that many intellectuals had. Over the years, they would gather for readings, home theater, home lectures, seminars, exhibitions, and concerts organized in their apartments, or in other unconventional spaces.

Yet, in the aftermath of the crushed Prague Spring there were other journalists and intellectuals who were undecided or intimidated, who were willing to signal that they approved of the Soviet Invasion, in order to preserve their jobs. The regime needed the support of intellectuals in a land with civilized and intellectual traditions:

The appearance of being cultured and civilized is particularly important in the Czech lands, where centuries of national and cultural repression have made culture and especially literature popular and highly respected. The powers-that-be needed poets to cloak their intentions and actions in verse. They even needed Archimedes in whose circles they could enmesh people. But they needed them pliant, or even broken... The powers-that-be were usually able to win over a part of the intellectual elite through promises, bribery, concessions and sometimes even by force.⁷

Eda Kriseová shared the surprising advantage that she didn't even have to deal with the dilemma of being compromised, because—as a result of her previous working experience and her prominent profile—she would not even have been asked to join a paper or receive other professional job offers. She came to terms with the fact that her career as a journalist was over.

⁵ Klíma, Ivan. "Culture versus Totalitarianism." *The Spirit of Prague: and Other Essays*. Granta: New York (1994): 111.

⁶ This underground magazine was the most prominent underground cultural platform, published from the beginning of 1980s until 1989, in about fifty or hundred copies. It was initiated by circle of Ludvík Vaculík and writers around *Petlice* (Padlock) samizdat edition. It published poetry, short stories, essays, feuilletons, translations, and various articles on history, music, and politics. Among contributors were Petr Kabeš, Jan Trefulka, Milan Uhde, Ivan Klíma, Ludvík Vaculík, Alexandr Kliment, Karel Pecka, Miroslav Červenka, Eva Kantůrková, Sergej Machonin, Lenka Procházková, and Věra Jirousová. Václav Havel was soon imprisoned for four-and-half years; thus, he could not participate for long.

⁷ Klíma, Ivan. "Culture versus Totalitarianism." *The Spirit of Prague: and Other Essays*. Granta: New York (1994): 111.

Being “a class enemy” meant no work for a while, and that she and her family faced material hardship. She even remembered times when they could not afford a little slice of ham for their small daughter, since her husband, Josef Platz, was still a student in film studies, and she was unable to keep her promise that she would be the one to earn their living, allowing Josef to finish his studies. Nevertheless, like other intellectuals who did not wish to compromise, she somehow had to get by and reinvent herself in order to add meaning to her suddenly evaporating professional life. Nevertheless, those in “the moral ghetto” also expressed solidarity, helped each other out, and soon created a support network that would reach out to the persecuted and their families.

Writing was empowering, and helped the crushed writers who were working at odd and manual jobs not to feel broken; it helped Eda Kriseová to communicate with other intellectuals and a secret readers’ network, and it provided her with purpose. In her public existence, she was surrounded by fear, anxieties, and compromises; many had their hopes crushed, and were skeptical about the possibility of change. People became trained to be afraid, distrustful, and suspicious of each other, passive, and many had withdrawn into their private sphere. Eda Kriseová did not wish to join such a mode of living. She, like other intellectuals, needed to retain her voice, her space, to lead a meaningful life. She mentioned: “Any day lived in a decent way was a victory over the regime.”⁸ Similarly, she used writing as her private space, which has all the freedoms that the outside world was lacking. She confessed:

Writing saved my life because it gave a sense of purpose to my life... I am happiest alone—when I can feel connected to life, connected beyond religion. When I am able to reconnect with the basis of life, and to create. When I can write.⁹

Creative writing became “a room of her own” for Eda Kriseová, a safe space in which she could speak her unbroken voice, where she could be true to herself, where she felt connected. Writing provided her with the space in which she could live in the truth, where she could feel detached from the so-called “life in a lie” that was taking place in the world around her. In her writing, she also projected her realities, visions, observations and reflections. Life in a mental institution became her topos for some time, and it culminated with “The Gates Opened.”

In “The Gates Opened,” she projects the paradoxes of living in a barred institution, such as the misery of a socialist employee like the chief doctor opposing the freedoms of patients, the paradoxes of loveless marriages and people’s restrictive lives in a restrictive regime that opposes the outlets of love and pockets of freedom within the institution. She suggests that a change of seasons may come one day—as in the dream that the gates have actually opened, creating a powerful image of freedom, yet the chaos that would replace the restrictive order.

⁸ Linková, Marcela, and Nadá Straková. 2017. *Bytová revolta: jak ženy dělaly disent.*

⁹ Interview with Hana Waisserová, summer 2016.

Writing Mad House

Eda Kriseová started writing fiction (shifting from journalism) at a time when she took refuge in the mental hospital outside of Prague where "The Gates Opened" takes place. She joined the large mental institution with about five hundred patients that was located in the former monastery of Želiv. The hospital was severely understaffed, and there were about forty patients assigned to each nurse. She was a volunteer, someone the patients could talk to. She was then twenty-eight years old. This experience with patients would be decisive for the future direction of her life. She confessed:

There were many serious cases. Some people spent twenty, thirty, or forty years there. I wanted to help them, but they helped me much more. First, I thought I would write social journalism, but that was nonsense, because I was not about to be published. So I started to write short stories about these completely forgotten people, the poorest of the poor. But it was very difficult; it was completely different to become a writer from being a journalist. The patients helped me a lot; they were like sources of surrealist poetry. They were creative and productive. They were old, and they would not be cured by the new kind of psychopharmaka. They unlocked my fantasy.¹⁰

Paradoxically, Eda found herself liberated in a place full of control, with bars on its windows, as she faced a new reality. Though she felt stripped of her freedom of expression, and stripped of the freedom to travel, paradoxically, she discovered a new sense of freedom in the imagination of those patients of the mental hospital. She was inspired by the patients, and she reinvented the meaning of her existence despite the omnipresent bars, prohibitions, locks and fences. She revitalized her sense of humanity and compassion, and she felt needed as well. Her first collections of short stories¹¹ reflect on her patients and their life stories. She remembers the time and its paradoxes: "Writing became my rescue island; it became my psychotherapy, and it helped me to overcome the worst moments of my life. Writing became an island where nobody can reach me, and only I can spoil the experience."¹²

This new existence provided her with renewed purpose—she transformed herself from a published journalist into an unpublished writer (one who was eventually officially banned for twenty years). Earlier, she even tried to approach other publishing houses outside of Prague, but her name was too well-known. Eventually, she had three written manuscripts in her drawer before publishing the first one underground.

It took several years to establish the underground publishing scene. Ludvík Vaculík, her former colleague from *Listy*, asked her to provide her manuscripts for

¹⁰ Interview with Hana Waisserová, summer 2016.

¹¹ Eda Kriseová, *Křížová cesta kočárového kočího*. (Brno: Atlantis, 1990); Eda Kriseová, *Sluneční hodiny*. (Brno: Atlantis, 1993).

¹² Interview with Hana Waisserová, summer 2016.

the underground publishing press *Edice Petlice* (Padlock Editions).¹³ Each “edition batch” had about seven carbon copies, since a typewriter could not produce more.¹⁴ Her texts circulated among a handful of underground Czech readers, and eventually they were smuggled out of the country, and published in German in Switzerland, and in Czech in exile publishing houses abroad. The general Czechoslovak readership was not aware of her writing, since she enjoyed no promotion, recognition, or public readings. She even wrote two children’s books (*Terezka a Majda na horách*; *Prázdniny s Bosonožkou*) that were published underground and in London, and then smuggled back into her own country!

Becoming a Dissident

*You do not become a “dissident” just because you decide one day to take up this most unusual career. You are thrown into it by your personal sense of responsibility, combined with a complex set of external circumstances. You are cast out of the existing structures and placed in a position of conflict with them. It begins as an attempt to do your work well, and ends with being branded an enemy of society.*¹⁵

—Václav Havel

Eda Kriseová matches well with Havel’s understanding of a dissident, as one who does not become a dissident overnight—it is a gradual journey. Eda Kriseová became a dissident and was persecuted not for being vocally anti-Soviet, but for wishing to speak in her own uncensored voice. She was persecuted for her wish to enjoy the right of free expression. She notes: “I was sentenced to be a dissident. It was not my choice. When I was banned, and I started to publish with underground publishing houses, my books were smuggled across borders, and I became truly illegal.”¹⁶

Dissidence certainly meant violation of the unwritten social contract with the regime and the resulting isolation, yet the dissidents also attained a certain sense of

¹³ In the samizdat *Petlice* Press (1972-1990), Eda Kriseová published twelve texts: *Křížová cesta kočárového kočího* (no. 91, 1977), *Sluneční hodiny* (no. 119, 1978), *Perchta z Rožmberka aneb Bílá Paní* (no. 125, 1978), *Pompejanka* (no. 144, 1979), *Klíční kůstka netopýra* (no. 167, 1979), *Ryby raky* (no. 248, 1983, and no. 311, 1985), *Prázdniny s Bosonožkou* (no. 287, 1984), *Sedm lásek* (no. 310, 1985), *Bratři* (no. 312, 1985), *Arboretum* (no. 352, 1986), *Terezka a Majda na horách* (no. 367, 1987), *Co se stalo...* (no. 375, 1987). Re-editions of Eda Kriseová’s texts were published in other underground publishers such as *Krameriova Expedice* (1978-1990; organized by Vladimír Pistorius), and in *Expedice* (1975-1990; organized by V. Havel).

¹⁴ Eda Kriseová mentioned that some typists had the tips of fingertips and nails hurting from typing hard to get all the copies through, and typists such as Zdena Ertlová were harassed by the police.

¹⁵ Václav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless,” translated by Paul Wilson, *International Journal of Politics*, 15/3-4 (Fall-Winter 1985-86): 63.

¹⁶ Interview with Hana Waisserová, summer 2016.

moral authority, comfort and even joy that derived from their status as a dissident. Dissidents were forced to reinvent their own world, with their own special rules for human hierarchy, solidarity and social relations that allowed them to lead somewhat "normal lives" even while surrounded by "the abnormal." This ability is sometimes labeled "the moral superiority" of dissidents; today it makes them distant from the majority, or they are perceived as some sort of moral elite (that differs from those who moved in the "gray zone" and others).¹⁷ Though dissidents' moral credit is undeniable, yet dissidents such as Eda Kriseová have lived largely outside of institutional structures, distant from the public that learned to adapt for years. As many Czechs negotiate the past, and even justify their need to distance themselves from the dissidents, in this regard it is important to give enormous credit to women dissidents for creating a sense of normality for their families and friends. Moreover, as known from dissident narratives, women were apparently more crafty, intricate, adaptable, enduring, and performed better in active daily operations of lives in dissent in order to escape the attention and surveillance of the police—as women understood well the power of "life in truth."

Eda Kriseová explained the philosophy of life that helped her to keep going:

I think life is something so precious that you are not allowed to let it be limited, to follow any limitations. I mean voluntarily. Of course, you can be put in prison, or worse things could happen. But still you may feel free. And I think to live a life and not to be satisfied with it is a great sin.¹⁸

Being at peace with one's life is true for many other active dissidents as well. Living in the underground shaped and formed the lives of dissident women, and it pushed women to the limits, while providing them with newly defined space, a sense of solidarity and a sharing between men and women who happened to be together in the same boat. Paradoxically, some women rediscovered their full potential, even though they were *personae non gratae* who were denied public recognition, constantly harassed, persecuted and ostracized, and surrounded by fear and public hostility. Nevertheless, as with other dissidents, Eda Kriseová appreciates the solidarity of belonging to a persecuted yet eventually active and creative community that nourished sophistication, friendship, human decency, solidarity, knowledge, the arts, and striving to live in the truth.

When the Gates Opened

When "the gates" actually opened, Eda Kriseová was right in the middle of it all. In 1989, she joined the newly formed Václav Havel government for two-and-a-

¹⁷ The "gray zone" refers to the majority that managed to live rather normal lives, and would be positioned neither as active communists, nor as dissidents in opposition. See Jiřina Šiklová, Káča Poláčková-Henley, and Gerald Turner, "The "gray zone" and the future of dissent in Czechoslovakia," *Social Research* (1990): 347-363.

¹⁸ Michael Long, ed. *Making History: Czech Voices of Dissent and the Revolution of 1989*. (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), p. 69.

half-years as Secretary for Pardons and Paroles, and she witnessed much great energy, yet also much chaos, injustice, and many high hopes. Afterward she passed the office on to professional administrators and became a freelance writer. She has always remained a very active and engaged citizen, actively working toward civil society—she became a popular writer and public intellectual. In addition to those roles, she is a European, a cosmopolitan, and has travelled widely—as an unofficial cultural ambassador of Czechoslovakia and Europe. Her writing is universal, worldly, yet deeply personal and humane. As a former dissident, she doesn't like to be considered as part of institutionalized structures, and political parties, although she is regularly invited to many public readings, gatherings, campaigns, conferences, and talks, where she stimulates debates. Many of her readers frequently contact her, and her books enable many readers—of all generations—to identify and appreciate truth in their own lives. She has consciously been making a difference. As she confessed soon after the fall of the Iron Curtain, “My life has nothing in the middle, only heights and depths. It's a pendulum. I wonder what will come next. I very much miss writing and being alone. Now I could actually be earning some money for writing!”¹⁹

Besides publishing again, Kriseová was also able to fulfil her earlier passion for travel, and she has travelled to and written texts set in other European countries, in India and Africa.²⁰ She is not sorry for her experience—she has lived in interesting times, and she has a lot to write about; she has much to offer in her writing—a space in which she exercises and nurtures freedom and spells out her mature sense of deeply humane femininity, solidarity, and responsibility. In her latest texts, she reflects and meditates on the meaning of life, and on the significance of being a woman who has the ability to cultivate a spiritual and moral life. Her writing transcends current gender gaps, and traps. She is the model for today's grassroots movements as one who is able to inspire many on how to be a good citizen of the open society, on how to have a voice, as well as how to create and cultivate civic communities.

¹⁹ Eda Kriseová, “Czechoslovakia: Velvet Intuition, Interview with Eda Kriseova, Advisor to Vaclav Havel,” with Jill Benderly, *On the Issues Magazine*: Fall 1991, accessed April 20, 2017, http://www.ontheissuesmagazine.com/1991fall/benderly_fall1991.php.

²⁰ Eda Kriseová, *Čísi svět*. (Praha: Prostor, 2011); Eda Kriseová, *Necestou slečny H. a dnešní Afrikou*, (Praha: Prostor, 2010).

The Gates Opened

Eda Kriseová

About the author: Eda Kriseová studied journalism at Charles University, Prague, and became a reporter and editor of *Mladý svět* and *Listy*, two popular progressive journals on the eve of the Prague Spring. She has also travelled extensively, worked as a volunteer on projects for developing countries, and lived in a kibbutz in Israel. After the Russian invasion of 1968, the world was closed down for her, as was her profession: Kriseová was banned from publishing and was blacklisted; she naturally joined Prague's intellectuals in opposition—so called dissidents. Unable to get a job, she retreated out of Prague and worked as a volunteer in a small community mental hospital and started writing short stories, eventually publishing her works in underground literary revues and samizdat press, and in translation in the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, and Czech exile publishing houses. In 1989, during the Velvet Revolution, Kriseová was a member of the coordinating committee of Civic Forum (Občanské fórum), and she joined Václav Havel in his presidential office. She led the Department of Pardons and Paroles, but then resigned along with Havel prior to the Velvet Divorce and returned to writing and travelling. Since then, she has been a freelance writer, and public intellectual. Eda Kriseová's texts are found in many prestigious anthologies in English and German; her short stories and novels, including a biography of Václav Havel (1991; 1993), have been translated into seven languages. In 1991, after "the gates opened" the original version was expanded and it was first published in Czech in Toronto in the Škvoreckýs' *Sixty-Eight Publishers* in 1991, and finally in the Czech Republic in 1994. The English version has never been published. The translation copy presented here is from Eda Kriseová's personal archive, and it is unique for its typeset and additions. It seems to exist only in one copy, and we were unable to find the Czech original for the translator. Thus, consider this translation as unauthorized, as we were unable to trace the original version that would allow the translator to authorize his translation. Nevertheless, it is an authentic document and it serves as a powerful artifact for the reasons mentioned in the introduction. What better occasion to publish this prophetic story in *Kosmas* than in commemoration of the fall of the Iron Curtain "when the gates finally opened," which meant many authors like Eda Kriseová and Václav Havel could finally be published in their own country officially.

Eda Kriseová:

The Gates Opened

It was autumn. The roses were still in bloom, but the buds on the chestnut trees were already ^{beginning} shiny in the bright autumn sun. The nice thing about autumn is that things begin all over again before they are even finished. It is not until January that stiffness and ^{paralysis} paralysis sets in and spring feels further off than it did in November.

The ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ has yet again put off moving into his new house for the winter. He also postponed it last autumn on account of the first increase in the price of heating-oil. And this year it went up again so he is staying in his cosy service ^{apartment} flat, where one of the patients, thank goodness, loads the boiler with bad brown coal. The ^{Chief Doctor's} ~~Superintendent's~~ wife suffers. She would sooner live in town somewhere and have a social life as in her younger days, but she knows she won't leave here alive. Seeing ^{that} her husband had dragged her off to this jungle, she at least made him build her a house out of a foreign magazine. You may as well die of hard work as anything, the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ would repeat to himself as he lugged a ^{big} ~~barrow~~ ^{wheelbarrow}-load of cement, threw sand into the cement-mixer or gave a hand to the bricklayer. The patients would stare through the fence at the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ slogging away and were unable ^{to} ~~not~~ help him as it was against the rules. Patients are strong and physically fit, the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ is thin and he can no longer ^{straighten} ~~straighten~~ up on account of a slipped disc. He looks forward to death as a release and stays behind in the clinic until late at night. The ^{Chief Doctor's} ~~Superintendent's~~ wife complains that they have no family life. She sleeps alone in the marriage bed with a water-bottle to keep her warm. Towards morning, when the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ has fallen

asleep, his wife kicks the cold water-bottle in his direction as she no longer wants it. The ^{Chief Doctor} Superintendent then struggles with the icy monster until morning when the alarm-clock comes to his rescue and once more as always the actual nature of the monster is revealed.

The ^{Chief Doctor} Superintendent only stays home when his favourite daughter Danuška comes down from university. Danuška bundles her parents into her car, sitting them both in the back to stop them hassling her, and drives at sixty miles an hour along narrow lanes lined with apple trees. Her mother ^{hag's} bites her hankie and the ^{Chief Doctor} Superintendent, I'm afraid to say, squeals with fright at every bend and begs Danuška to slow down; but she just tells him off for being late and making them miss the beginning of the film. The ^{Chief Doctor} Superintendent must put up with it; he must put up with his entire life, and sometimes it strikes him that putting up with things is much braver than fighting back. And yet those who fight are regarded as heroes while those who put up with things are thought of as cowards.

It had been like this ever since a new nurse appeared on the ward and the ^{Chief Doctor} Superintendent dusted down the wings he had long ago put away in the garden shed. The wings had been ^{fouled} fouled by the ^{hens} hens and pigeons but he gave them a cleaning, ^{preened} preened them and straightened out the feathers. And it looked as if he was about to unfurl his old wings and soar beak first into the sun when the nurse persuaded him to let them know at home what he was planning. His wife took leave of absence and they spent a long time analysing their marriage until there was no love left. Why couldn't he love her instead of a nurse who had had no qualms in taking a man away from his wife and a father away from his grown-up children. The ^{Chief Doctor's} Superintendent's wife promised to be nicer to him and she was. She increased her dose of amatory altruism and

he, ^{guilt stricken} guilt-stricken, ^a hung his wings up in the garden-shed ^{red} for the last time. It set him more firmly against the new house and the life he would live in it for his own good until he died. It is the only way he will achieve, in his wife's words, spiritual integrity and peace of mind.

Things in the madhouse went on just as before. Mr Hora, one of the patients on the ^{admiral} toughest ward, attacked a doctor as she came along the corridor after collecting her salary. He ripped up her purse with her pay because he ^{wouldn't} can't stand synthetics. He had already ripped many a nurse's blouse and ruined leatherette slippers.

Alena, one of the ^{psychologists} psychologists, fell in love with her colleague Mirek. She explained that her relationship with him was compensation for the one she had not managed to live out with her father. She's dependent on her father, that's her problem. Mike is dependent on his mother, that's his problem. His problem could be solved by her playing the maternal role, but that wouldn't solve her problem. What scope would she have for ^{revolution} ^{her problem} abreaction of her childhood dependence?

I asked her if Mirek loved her and ^{if} she loved him and she burst into tears. That showed me how unhappy she was and maybe why she was professionally engaged in creating human happiness.

The social worker came here that evening and I was pleased to see her. It ^{gets} is dark at six and the night is long. It is almost as if the house could not wait for dusk in order to come alive. During the day it is quiet and peaceful but at night I hear footsteps, knocking, ^{shuffled} stifled laughter, the sound of ^{groping} groping along the walls and ^{squirming} squirming. Sometimes a guitar plays of its own accord. Outside a little owl ^{imitates} emits a banshee wail. I open the window and yell ^{yell} "shush", but it won't leave me.

I poured her a glass of wine. She is just the person I

wanted to see. She tells me that the ^{Chief Doctor's} ~~Superintendent's~~ best friend came from Prague to see him, a man by the name of Pergl, who pretends he has gone mad. The ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ admitted him to his ward for the time being, and now Pergl is settled in and doesn't want to leave. The presence of his best friend is an embarrassment for the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~, but Pergl begs him ^{to} fervently not to have him transferred as he is supremely happy in our establishment. He has already weeded all the ^{gardens} ~~rockeries~~ out of ^{the} ~~sheer~~ gratitude and raked up all the leaves. He wants to hear nothing about his work or his family. He says that the family is an instrument for the exploitation of man ~~by~~ man and he never wants to go back to civilian life again.

"Let him stay here", the social worker urged the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~, who was coming under pressure from the family. "He's happy here. The nurses are pleased to have someone normal here. Everyone's happy, Doctor, especially Pergl. Surely you wouldn't want to spoil it for them?"

The ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ kept Pergl, ~~on~~ But each morning he wakes up with the thought: Lucky Pergl.

And so we go on chatting until late and the social worker complains to me that the madhouse is running out of tablets and every other day some patient ends up not getting his particular drug and that sets him off. Reactions to ^{tranquilizers} ~~atacetics~~ are very individual and totally unpredictable. It's the same with therapy: there's just no convincing some patients and they refuse to cooperate. There was wide-eyed Naděnka trying to teach the sexual deviants how children are born. She spent two hours carefully explaining it all to them and then some ^{deviant} puts up his hand and says the rest of them might have been born the way Mrs Naděnka explained, but he was brought by the stork. Naděnka patiently pointed out how that was impossible and why and the

patient seemed convinced. And then a few days later Naděnka was reading the diaries | that the patients have to write | and what did she find? The deviant had written: Today Mrs N. explained to us how we were born. But it doesn't apply to me. The stork brought me to the maternity hospital in Brno. Mummy told me so and she must know, | seeing she was there.

"Wouldn't that drive you round the bend?" the social worker asked. "^{futile} ^{utterly} Futile, utterly futile. | That's why I often have a read of Ecclesiastes." ^{chirping}

I had a dream in which the madhouse ^{ran} totally out of tablets. The patients had eaten the whole lot | and there was no further delivery. First the patients from the women's section invaded the men's wards, breaking down the doors, pulling out the bars and using everyone ^{was} of any use. And straight away they made themselves some children to boost our numbers.

I was always saying to the psychiatrists - not in the dream, of course - that sexual abstinence must worsen the patients' condition. It stands to reason. The psychiatrists agreed with me but nothing was done about it. So far as I recall, they only put up with one couple: Marie and Curly the Philosopher. They were allowed to go to the woods together. They used to make love there like deer and slugs and hedgehogs.

In the dream Curly was still alive and Marie was beautiful. They locked themselves in the ward and had no taste for revolution. Lovers are no threat to any system and ^{vice versa} vice versa. I expect that people who get involved in politics are mostly the sort | that don't know | how to love and the unhappiest are the ones who make revolutions and want to change a world | which they are not happy in.

I was aware it was a dream, but I was unable to dispel it. Not that I wanted to really. On the contrary. I would go on

adding new ideas and each would develop of its own accord. It was one of those early-morning half-^{g/B}waking dreams that I like best.

Mr Poláček, who had a life-long fear of women, stormed the town-hall with a hand-picked guard and appointed himself to the supreme office. He declared new laws and forced the guards to invade the homes of peaceful country folk and persuade the ^{populace} populace about the need for change. They all said yes and then rushed off to buy ~~in~~ food because they ^{surmised} surmised that hard times were on the way. Meanwhile Mr Poláček sent off ready-made, pre-stamped ^{stamped} letters to the UN and the presidents of the leading powers, informing them about the creation of the new state and requesting recognition and entry into Western organisations. He laid great stress on human rights. Mr Hrdlička, the postmaster, loyal to every state, read the letters and confiscated them. He regarded it as his professional duty to read letters and help people. He had always disposed of ^{anonymous} anonymous denunciations ^{denunciations} ever since the Occupation. He knew all there was to know about every citizen but never used it. It was his conviction that ^{filth} filth should be cleaned up, not spread around. We've had enough evil, he would always say, when it looked as if better times were on the ^{horizon} horizon. And then he would look around to see where the storm might be coming from.

Mr Horáček launched an ^{assault} assault on the town-hall, but when it failed he captured the radio at least, and in ^{ingratiating} ingratiating tones he called on citizens to ^{assemble} assemble on the convent square. He made them all sorts of promises. They would have turned up had they not been afraid that Poláček might find out. So they waited at home to see how things would turn out and refused to get involved.

Mr Horá, the patient who can't stand plastic, rushed around

the village exposing and destroying anything that was made from synthetic material. If he saw a plastic drainpipe he would wrench it out of the wall. He broke the nightlight-holders in the graveyard, ^{to} tore the roofs off sheds and porches and destroyed ^{highlight} bakelite door-knobs and handles. He burnt the washing on the washing-lines if it was synthetic. He really let himself go in the village dump: he gathered up all the plastic bags from the trees and fields where they had been blown ^{into} in the wind. He burnt the ^{polythene} polythene and bakelite and a thick pall of greasy smoke rolled over the countryside. If his fit lasts and he has enough stamina the hopes are he will rid the area of plastic.

Mr Skála took over the post of director of the psychiatric hospital where the only remaining patient was Mr Pergl. Pergl called the patients back, urging them not to go anywhere because things were worse outside. They took no notice and the pre-war patients were rudest of all to him. He got no lunch and they didn't even bring his supper. He went to the kitchenette and found a dry crust of bread. He ate it and went to bed in his cold bedroom, where he lay waiting for his wife to find out and come ^{to} and collect him.

I was walking along an avenue of pollarded lime-trees in my dream when I met them. First in line was Mr ^{Fish} Ryba who had gone mad on account of fish. He would always be jerking his arms and the upper part his body as if holding a fishing rod and landing a catch. He had emptied the contents of the larder into the river and refused to speak to anyone because they were biting, so they locked him up in the madhouse. Now ^{Fish} Ryba was running straight for the river.

Eliška, who had lain motionless for years, now saw that no one was going to wash, comb or feed her any more, so she slipped out of bed, did a few exercises, and set off in search of a

husband.

They moved here and there on my closed eyelids, dressed in all sorts of clothes. There was a shortage of ^{blous.} corduroy ^{bebe's d'nyoi} trousers, so they wore them in turns for going out on walks or going to vote every four years. Most of them left ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ their tracksuits or pyjamas. Those who had won and were wearing trousers were a motley crew. There was no mirror in the hospital, so the small, fat ones had overlong trousers rolled up at the bottom and they held them up with their hands as there was never any string to be found in case someone used it to hang himself. The tall, thin ones had their trouser bottoms just below their knees. They didn't know their names or ages and had no notion of the difference between a river and a pond or who was the leader of the country either now or before. Those who yearned for power advanced across the fields and fanned out through the woods in all directions. I expect they thought all roads led to the capital.

Růženka Marešová, who had always adored the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~, thumped on the door of his office demanding love in terms too specific to report here. In any case, the ^{Chief Doctor} ~~Superintendent~~ was not within. Disguised as a patient in a navy-blue track-suit, he had ^{trick suit} abandoned hospital and home. And he too was running through the fields and woods to somewhere far away, whither his wife had spirited the greatest love of his life. Would she still be waiting for him perhaps?

^{slow} The gates of the madhouse remained wide open. Some of the ^{pillaged} patients pillaged, others raped, but what was that compared to the Hussites? ^(Crusejdas)?

My dream started to dissipate and ^{lose} ~~lose~~ momentum. It looked as if I'd have to run off somewhere and save the situation somehow. I opened my eyes and sat up in bed. I could see the

low white ceiling and on it a clear white light and thought I was dead. I was relieved that it was behind me now, but then I looked out the window and saw that the first snow had fallen. All around the building was a ^{pristine} white ² layer; no footprints led in or out. It was a sign to me that the ~~other~~ ^{former} had been a dream. Otherwise they would have been here already.

Translation by A.G.Brain

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Searching for Security: Defense Policies of the Czech Republic and Slovakia before and after the Ukrainian Crisis

James W. Peterson

What defense policies did the Czech Republic and Slovakia devise before and after the tumultuous events of 2014? Russia both exploited and fomented the take-over of Crimea in the spring of 2014, and there was considerable concern about its influence penetrating further west into Europe. Although an actual incursion into Central Europe was unlikely, Russia's shadow loomed large over its neighbors. Its military maneuvers along its western borders, economic tactics, and propaganda spewing cyber practices threatened NATO's Central European allies. Those who had been part of the Warsaw Pact felt especially vulnerable.

Further, the statements by the eventually victorious Republican candidate Donald Trump during the 2016 American election campaign reverberated in the region. His early months in office continued to raise European concerns about defense matters and even the solidarity of NATO itself. He demanded that alliance members to adhere to the standard of spending 2% of their GDP on defense, and he was slow to endorse the critical Article 5 of the NATO Charter, which ensured military protection for any member state should it be invaded.

Also, the flow of refugees from the troubled Middle East continued to perplex the nations of the region. Hungary erected a wall to stop that in-migration, while the Czech Republic and Slovakia were reluctant to accept the quota of refugees that the European Union (EU) had mandated. Some West European liberals were critical of the Central European reliance on borders and commitment to a "striving for boundedness" that the western part of Europe had thrown off.¹ The German elections of September 2017 demonstrated that the issue of the infusion of "too many" bedeviled all European states. After 2014, public opinion in most European countries showed a division between those favoring inclusion and exclusion of the newcomers. The question created new political parties and, indeed, agendas.²

For the Czech Republic, there was the additional issue of the extent of its role in the region. One observer described it as an internal "hesitation between the role of a small state and a medium power."³ Certainly, Slovakia suffered from the same issue of self-perception even to a higher degree.

The Czech Republic and Slovakia modified their defense policies to deal with the new international environment. Analyzing these measures through the prism of public policy theory provides the scholar deeper and more complete understanding. In particular, policy analysis can spark insights about the burden of past defense policies, the presentation of new options, and projection into the medium and long-range future. In their classic text, *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis and Alternatives*,

¹ Dace Dzenovka, "Coherent Selves, Viable States: Eastern Europe and Migration Refugee Crisis," *Slavic Review*, 76:2 (2017): 299-300.

² *Ibid.*, 305-306.

³ Ladislav Cabada and Šárka Waisová, *Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in World Politics*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011).

Michael E. Kraft and Scott R. Furlong offer three approaches to policy analysis: scientific, professional, and political. Each approach illuminates a crucial feature of defense policymaking and analysis.

Scientific approach to foreign policy

The scientific approach provides a systematic way to do “problem analysis” of previous policy decisions and actions.⁴ That perspective contains a careful analysis of what did and did not work, a sharp focus on problem definitions and operational measures, an emphasis on the causes of current policy dilemmas, and perhaps a search for costs and benefits of alternatives considered as well as paths taken.⁵ Both the Czech Republic and Slovakia developed white papers on defense strategies in the 2012-17 timeframe; furthermore, each country has at least one study that predates the Ukrainian/Crimean crisis and one that post-dates it. Thus, it will be possible to locate changes and continuities in the scientific analysis of short- and medium-term military needs in light of the new defense policy challenges.

Czech defense strategies

The 2012 document, entitled “The Defense Strategy of the Czech Republic,” outlined goals that could meet the needs of the moment. The strategists had planned on revising that set of goals in ten years. Given the urgency that the Crimean crisis engendered, they did so in 2017. They also authored another analysis in 2015, “The Long-Term Perspective for Defense 2030.” Collectively, these three papers set the parameters of the Czech defense policy in the years between 2012 and 2017.

The 2012 “Defense Strategy” bases Czech military policy on the assumption that most threats will be non-military. Czech territory, citizens, and interests were not likely to be endangered, although “sudden shocks” could change the scene for the Czech polity. Nevertheless, the white paper did reflect the shift in American foreign policy embodied in American President Barack Obama’s “Pivot towards Asia.” The document emphasized the need for Europeans to assume greater responsibility for their future defense. For the Czech Republic, there was a corresponding obligation to develop its capabilities and rely less on international initiatives.

In light of those understandings, the “Strategy” based Czech defense policy for the medium-range future three pillars: a commitment to the allies, improved military capabilities, and increased attention to national defense. To the Czechs, the first pillar was of paramount importance. Their national defense system, because they were members of NATO, was intrinsically intertwined with that alliance. The second pillar consisted of improving the Czech military’s land and air resources capabilities. Specifically, the Czechs would contribute to a land battalion task force

⁴ Michael E. Kraft and Scott R. Furlong, *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis and Alternatives*, (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2013), p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 151-162.

or its air force equivalent with troop rotation occurring after six months. In addition, the country would participate in a multinational task force for up to twelve months. To meet the vital “high readiness” standard, the Czechs would be in both the NATO Response Force (NRF) and the EU Battle Group (EU-BG). The NRF was a product of the NATO Summit in Prague in November 2002. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, it provided the alliance with a tool that it could utilize quickly in a crisis. Similarly, the EU-BGs, a component of the alliance’s Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), are prepared for dispatch whenever the need arises, and they consist of 18 units of 1,500 military personnel each. Although they reached full capacity in 2007, they have not yet seen action. The third pillar required paying more attention to national defense and creating the Active Reserves.⁶ In sum, Czech defense thinking in 2012 focused less intensely on the need to prepare for a military conflict, but it clearly emphasized the linkages to the regional and global international partners that could help defend Czech national interests.

The Ukrainian crisis greatly influenced the long-term perspective document that the Czech defense strategists wrote three years later. The conclusion that future military conflicts would occur more frequently and with little or no warning was a noticeable change in the 2015 paper. This particular expectation ranked first on the list of the twelve “predominant trends.” Previously, the analysts had expected short-range threats to be non-military. The Ukrainian crisis of 2014 and the expectation that Russia would increase its defense expenditures spawned new concerns and priorities. Future imperatives of the Czech command structure included a “rapid build-up capability” that would enable the Czechs to be of assistance in unexpected developments. Although this particular document purported to set defense policies for the next fifteen years, the conflicts of 2014 encouraged the strategists to note that it might be necessary to hold reviews every four years.

The 2015 document also deals with new issues. It recognized the threat implicit in the massive movement of populations that the large flow of refugees into Central and West Europe presented. The focus on NATO preparedness was an expected fulcrum of Czech defense planning; nevertheless, the inclusion of references to “EU responsiveness” was notable. Additional priorities included dealing with “intentional misuse of the media,” ability to set up task forces on short notice, preparation for urban warfare, and an emphasis on particular Czech niche operations that were valuable to the western military alliance during the Afghan and Iraq wars. Such components included Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) units, field hospitals, and air support through helicopter missions. Importantly, in that connection, the 2015 “Long-Term Perspective” called for Czechs to team up with the British to work towards a joint CBRN defense brigade command to buttress land forces operations.

Specific details were also an integral part of the long-term defense perspective. The strategists expected that the air force would have two aircraft that could be sent for operations abroad. Further, deployment of the helicopter air force would serve

⁶ “The Defence [sic] Strategy of the Czech Republic, 2012,” <URL: www.army.cz, 2012>, accessed September 14, 2019.

the needs of Special Forces units as well as contribute to the Integrated Rescue Unit. Czech defense planners in 2015 asserted that they needed a target sum of 50 billion crowns or more by 2020. They added that more funding might be required. Expenditure of 1.4% of GDP by 2020 would be a way station towards meeting the NATO goal of 2.0%. The planners called for an updating of weapons systems and proposed that 20% of defense expenditures focus on this need. They also insisted that the realization of their recommendations required the curtailing of growth in personnel expenditures. The authors of the document stated that costs for the personnel improvements should never exceed 50% of the entire defense budget. Although the strategists worried about the declining number of military recruitment age persons, they recommended building up the Active Reserve to at least 5,200 soldiers at any given time.⁷

Like the previous white papers, the 2017 defense strategy plan exemplified a scientific approach to policy planning. The Czech Defense command structure and forces were to work with the collective defense systems of NATO and the EU to stabilize “volatile regions.” “Hybrid operations,” such as the cyber-attacks that Russia might direct against NATO and EU, received special attention. In that regard, western alliance priorities would include strengthening of the NATO Response Force (NRF), a more visible “Enhanced Forward Presence in the East” (eFP), as well as a “tailored Forward Presence” (tFP) along the southeast alliance border. While the eFP established four new multinational battalions in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, the tFP provided additional security for the Black Sea Region. Czechs should, of course, continue contributions that would enable NATO to use forces quickly for mutual defense under Article 5 of the NATO Treaty, but they should also maintain the ability to resist an attack on their territory in accord with Article 3. Article 5 required that all alliance partners come to the support of any member subject to attack, while Article 3 called upon each partner to develop its own military capabilities to resist an attack.

The 2017 white paper, like its 2012 predecessor, articulated general responsibilities in tune with the same three pillars. This time, the Czechs were more forthcoming about when they would reach the goal of spending 2% of their GDP on defense. Earlier, they had revealed at the 2014 Wales Summit that they would achieve this target within ten years.

Czech goals remained firmly linked to its alliances: the NATO defense planning process continued to be the driving force behind Czech planning, and EU needs were said to be “in tune with” Czech priorities. As Russian hostilities vis-à-vis Ukraine increased the dangers to north-east Europe, the alliance enacted measures to protect that area, especially Germany. The Czechs supported these initiatives. The Czech Republic and Germany agreed to set up a Czech brigade that included both countries’ forces. Visegrad connections were also recognized. The strategists considered the defense of Poland a high-ranking priority. The security of this fellow Visegrad participant was beefed up through changed priorities for the

⁷ “The Long-Term Perspective for Defence [sic] 2030,” <URL: www.army.cz>, 2015, accessed September 14, 2019.

Multinational Corps Northeast (MNC-NE) based in Szczecin, Poland. The MNC-NE had played a significant role in Afghanistan before 2015, but it shifted its focus to the three Baltic states and Poland in that year.

Before the Ukraine-related outburst of activity, the Czech planners expected that they could defer capacity improvement for “intensive combat operations” because a long warning would precede any military engagement. However, after 2014, the emphasis was on the ability to build up “wartime capabilities” in short order, in case war broke out overnight. Plans called for an increase in the armed forces by 5,000, a sharp contrast to the overall number of a total of 24,162 in the 2015 planning document.

Slovak Defense Strategies

Slovak defense planners, like their Czech counterparts, authored several white papers on defense. They wrote one in 2013 and another in 2016. There was a sharp increase in calls for readiness during the three years that elapsed between them. The authors in 2013 noted how the economic recession of the previous few years had weakened the military policy of the small country, but the 2016 document called for the upgrading of capabilities and preparations to cope with crises. Explicit references both to the Russian threat and to the importance of collective security linkages with multinational actors such as NATO were the hallmark of the more recent document as were the multiple references to the importance of strategic planning as the fulcrum of progress.

The 2013 White Paper stated that there had been a “stalemate in the transformation of the armed forces,” and this was particularly sad in the year of the twentieth anniversary of the creation of the Slovak Republic as well as of its independent armed forces. Although transformation to a professional army without conscription had occurred several years earlier, the military had later experienced cuts in its personnel and rank structure. The document expressed hope that, by the end of 2015, the defense budget would not fall below 1% of the GDP. In addition, the authors of the document called for an increase in defense spending in 2016 as well as in the following years.

The white paper was blunt about concrete problems that the expected “rationalization of structures” would soon entail. Examples abounded. Slovakia was meeting the expectations of neither NATO nor the EU—a subject of many discussions among all concerned. Career development needed attention, for ranks were aging, and retirements were frequent. The number of professional soldiers had fallen to 85% of full strength. The ending of conscription in 2006 had enabled the development of a professional army, but a strong Active Reserve was essential if new defense challenges to the Republic were to present themselves; however, these supplements to the regular military had suffered a decline since 2006. In addition, many skills, such as foreign language competence, sorely needed improvement.

Consequently, the authors of this white paper called for an upgrade in several fundamental areas of the defense sector. For instance, there was a plan to achieve the following official goals under the program heading of their “Political-Military

Ambition” by 2024. As previously noted, the percentage of GDP devoted to defense would increase in 2016, but the document also called for a steady upgrade later. By 2024, the target year, the report recommended, combat unit strength should increase by 20%, Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear (CBRN) protection units by 15%, and reconnaissance/intelligence capabilities by a full 70%. This model called for an additional 32,000 personnel that would be equal to six brigades. Moreover, many military facilities were in bad shape, and the plan suggested that 180 out of a total of 400 be abandoned. The document also advised better communication with the general public, which doubted the need for a vibrant military and needed to be convinced that Slovakia did face genuine security threats.⁸ In sum, one year before the Russian incursions into Ukraine, the Slovak defense planners in a nearly prophetic way systematically recommended the upgrading of defense capabilities.

The next white paper, written in 2016, was a direct consequence of the 2014 events in the Crimean Peninsula and later in the eastern part of Ukraine. Ethnic Russian groups there had taken military action that Moscow had welcomed and supported. Consequently, the control of Crimea switched from Ukraine to Russia, while a permanent “freeze” took place in the eastern Donbas region. In the introduction to the 2016 document, Minister of Defense Peter Gajdoš called for an immediate focus on “readiness and war-fighting capability.” Writing in the same publication, Chief of the General Staff General Milan Maxim advocated more training to enhance the interoperability of military units of different nations. He saw this as a requirement of Article 5 of the NATO Charter.

The 2016 white paper acknowledged that the uncertainty in the east would continue to affect Slovak security concerns. Russia's interactions with Ukraine, as well as Moscow's growing hostility toward NATO and the EU, would indirectly impact Slovak interests and require a more watchful posture from its defense leaders. In addition to the “rise of instability in the east and south of EU borders,” the white paper noted repeated challenges from terrorists and the masses of immigrants traveling north in the direction of Slovakia.

In response, the Slovak defense planners called for deeper coordination of their national crisis response system with that of the western military alliance as a whole as well as that of its individual members. Slovak defense leaders continued to work with Poland to develop the NATO Counter-Intelligence Center of Excellence. The defense strategists also sought to reduce Slovak dependence on Russian technology. For example, they suggested that the purchase of the Russian-built MIG-29 fighter jet be halted. On a broader scale, strategists also decided to create a NATO Force Integration Unit that would enable Slovakia to offer host nation support to allied forces stationed on its soil. They also averred that they needed to overcome negative attitudes about the military that were held by the non-defense sector, an objective set in 2013 but not achieved.

Besides, the 2016 white paper recommended more substantial financial contributions to NATO. In 2016, Slovakia, like twenty-two out of the twenty-eight

⁸ “White Paper on Defence of the Slovak Republic, 2013, <URL: www.mosr.sk>” 2017. Accessed September 26, 2019.

NATO members, had not achieved the required 2% of its GDP standard for defense spending. However, in the preceding few years, the Slovaks had exceeded their own expectations in this regard. In 2013, they had expressed the wish that, by the end of 2015, that percentage did not drop below 1%. However, in 2015, the amount had increased to 1.1%. Such an increase had not been projected earlier, but it had become a necessity in the wake of the 2014 events; moreover, the planners expected it to reach 1.6% by 2020. Also, by 2026, the goal was for new expenditures to be 20% of the defense budget, a plus for innovation, and upgraded technology. Thus, in the future, Slovakia would be playing a more substantial rather than a diminishing role in the western alliance.

The scientific approach to the analysis of defense challenges took a step forward in 2016 from what it was in 2013. In 2017, their announced defense strategy would become the inspiration for a new draft of “The Military Strategy for the Slovak Republic.” They would consider this 2017 document to be a conceptual one that could animate a long-term “Development Plan” that would carry them up to the year 2030.⁹ Such a systematic approach offered hope for a more credible defense policy that would provide greater security for the Slovak people in an increasingly threatening environment.

The Czech Republic and Slovakia, despite their differences in size, showed significant commonalities and minor dissimilarities in their strategic planning documents. In terms of practical defense planning for crises, they both valued the connection with NATO and the EU. The pre-2014 planning documents for both nations underplayed the chances of a substantive military challenge in the short run. In later papers, both states upgraded the priority of planning for actual military conflicts. The Czech Republic and Slovakia understood the difficulty and the need to increase the proportions of their overall budgets devoted to defense and hoped to upgrade their percentages. In the end, both realized that defense policy was not the top priority for their populations and became even more committed to changing that perception after the earth-shaking events of 2014.

The two countries’ geographic location and industrial development accounted for the differences in their priorities. Slovakia was positioned further to the east and feared that Russian aims would extend west beyond Ukraine. In other words, those aims might include Slovak territory. Consequently, while the Czechs looked to Germany for future connections and projects, the Slovaks planned for firm linkages to Poland. Because their country was more extensive and their industry more varied and developed than Slovakia’s, the Czechs provided military niche capabilities that were more fully developed and even realized.

⁹ “White Paper on Defence of the Slovak Republic, 2016.” www.mosr.sk, 2017. Accessed September 21, 2019.

Professional Approaches to Defense Policy Implementation

The professional approach aims to analyze policy alternatives for solving public problems.¹⁰ It synthesizes research and theory to grasp consequences and alternatives. This approach evaluates the practical effect of programs and suggests ways in which political decisions can be implemented.

Both countries had been working for several years towards the goal of possessing a professional military force. Nearly a decade before the Ukrainian crisis, both had ended conscription and moved towards a volunteer force. This momentous step in January 2005 terminated a practice that in the Czech Republic extended back to 1865.¹¹ Slovakia's army became an all-volunteer force in 2006. Consequently, for both countries, the construction of a robust Active Reserve was necessary for the strength and flexibility required in case of unexpected military challenges. Consideration of alternatives centered in large part on the size of the defense budgets and its effect on the professional army.

After the split of Czechoslovakia into two states, the percentage of the Czech Republic's GNP devoted to defense dropped sharply, from 2.61% in 1993 to 1.03% in 2015. No doubt, the 1993 figure is a holdover from the Cold War when defense preparedness was paramount. Pressures from the Soviet Union and the perception of an American-led western threat compelled Czechoslovakia to contribute "generously" to the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO). After 1968, the Czech military frequently engaged in exercises with Soviet troops and other WTO allies, such as East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Those exercises required a full military capacity and a development of multi-faceted defense capabilities. By the mid-1990s, fear of a revival of the Cold War dissipated, and no apparent overwhelming enemy was on the horizon. Hence, the proportion of GDP devoted to defense noticeably dropped between 1995 and 1997.

The anticipation in 1998 that the Czech Republic would become a full partner in NATO the next year added a new external variable to domestic considerations of what the appropriate defense budget should be. From 1998 to 2003, the Republic met and even slightly increased the alliance's expected standard of 2% of the country's GNP. The period from 2004 to 2016, however, shows a relentless decline in Czech defense spending. In those years, the Czechs met the NATO standard only in 2005 when they were participating in NATO-led operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan as well as in other international engagements. The low point in security preparedness came in the 2014-2016 years when the proportion that the Czechs devoted to defense was 1.03 % of their GNP, almost half of what NATO expected.¹²

Belatedly and in broad outlines, the pattern of Slovak defense spending resembled the Czech one, but the Slovaks did face a unique challenge. They had to establish a Ministry of Defense, for the Czechoslovak organization had handled

¹⁰ Michael E. Kraft and Scott R. Furlong, *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*, (New York: Sage/CQ Press, 2013), pp. 129-30.

¹¹ "Professional Army," www.army.cz, 2017. Accessed October 14, 2019.

¹² www.army.cz, December 22, 2016.

their security needs in the past; nevertheless, their defense spending remained slightly above the 2% quota from 1993 through 1997. Their expenditures were at this respectable level because they represented the residual spending of the Cold War period and its immediate aftermath. Their defense spending only slipped slightly by 2009. Slovakia had prepared for its eventual NATO membership by a radical reform in 2001, which included a constitutional amendment that permitted deployment of Slovak troops abroad. When it formally joined NATO in 2004, Slovak defense spending was 1.9 % of its GNP. Reflecting the 2008 recession, the Slovaks reduced their defense budget in 2009 and the years that followed. For example, in 2011, they committed only 0.97% of their GNP to defense.¹³ The cuts in the two countries' defense spending were substantial: between 2003 and 2013, defense spending in the Czech Republic declined by 40% and in Slovakia by 30%.

These smaller allocations resulted in significant changes in the structure of the defense expenditures. Czech disbursement for equipment and infrastructure declined sharply, while spending on personnel in 2013 rose to 52.1%, from the 48.2% that it had been in 2005. Such change made less money available for the modernization of the military. In Slovakia, this pattern was even more pronounced. There, an increase in personnel spending from 50.9% to 74.1% severely reduced the funds available for the improvement of equipment and infrastructure capabilities.¹⁴

Army size suffered as many adjustments occurred in the 2009 to 2011 period. The Czech leadership decided to pull most of its troops out of the Kosovo mission. Reductions also occurred in the Czech Air Force and the Joint Forces command stationed in that former Yugoslav territory. As the Slovaks cut their 2009 defense budget, they canceled plans to buy transport aircraft and put off several modernization programs. Further, in 2011, they prioritized only four of the ten tasks, which their defense strategists had recommended. Also, they reduced key individual staff positions from eight to three and discussed postponing the replacement of land armament and equipment that was past its life cycle.¹⁵

It is fair to ask why all of these defense figures and trends mattered for relatively unthreatened small states in the center of Europe. After meeting NATO standards in the years surrounding Czech and Slovak accession to the alliance, there were many years before and after that event that the extent of their, as well as other new alliance members', defense spending did not seem to matter. However, American challenges in fighting wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq peaked in the 2007-09 period, and the United States began to feel the financial burden. The reluctance of the recently admitted members to contribute fully, in keeping with NATO standards, did prompt President Barack Obama's Secretary of Defense

¹³Zdeněk Kříž and Martin Chovančík, "Czech and Slovak Defense Policies since 1999: The Impact of Europeanization." *Problems of Post-Communism*, 60/3 (2013): 57; Jeffrey Simon, *NATO and the Czech and Slovak Republics: A Comparative Study in Civil-Military Relations*, (New York: Roman & Littlefield. 2004), p. 169.

¹⁴ Jakub Kuřčák, "The V4 Countries and the Impacts of the Austerity Cuts on their Defense Spending and Armed Forces," *Obrana a strategie*, Vol. 2014, No. 2 (2014): 35-48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Robert Gates to reprimand them and to remind them of the need to increase defense spending. Similarly, during the 2016 American presidential campaign, Republican Candidate Donald Trump, at times, asked why the United States should defend, through NATO, countries that were not contributing on their own very much to defense. He did not specifically refer to the 2% alliance benchmark, but no doubt sought to convey the impression that some NATO members were not doing enough.

Despite the trend to cut modernization of equipment and infrastructure, as well as the reduced size of the military, the Czech Republic and Slovakia found ways to continue their meaningful contributions to NATO and the European Union: they coordinated their armed forces and developed “niche” capabilities. As the two states moved towards setting up professional armies by 2007, they also chose the same date for achieving the compatibility of their armed forces. The 2006 Army Reform of the Czech Republic mentioned this goal, as did the Slovak Republic Army Model of 2010. They also made coordinated professional decisions to participate in several missions. For example, in February 2002, they sent a battalion to Kosovo that included 400 Czechs and 100 Slovaks. In March of the same year, they based a joint Czech-Slovak-Polish peacekeeping unit in Slovakia.¹⁶ Thus, for the Czechs and Slovaks, joint planning was a reality a full decade before the outbreak of the Ukrainian/Crimean/Russian Crisis of 2014. Besides, the two countries also focused on the creation of specialized units or “niche capabilities” that could provide useful and practical assistance. These included Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear (CBRN), medical, and helicopter units for the protection of facilities and rescue of the wounded as well as airport security.

The proof of the high regard for the professionalism of the Czech and Slovak military came in 2015 when the Czech Republic's General Petr Pavel was appointed Chairman of the NATO Military Committee. General Pavel was the first soldier of the former Warsaw Pact nations to serve at this post. In this capacity, he was the senior military adviser to the NATO Secretary-General as well as to the North Atlantic Council.¹⁷

Impact of Political Approaches

The Czech Republic and Slovakia have chosen to align themselves with the values and goals of the West. Thus, the two Central European countries have engaged in NATO's and to a lesser degree in the United Nations and the European Union's military activities. The practical implementation of this defense policy requires political decisions that involve choices of, participation in, and organization of armed exercises and deployments.

The two countries have repeatedly joined in military exercises on their soil and abroad. For both, hosting NATO's Ample Strike in 2016 and 2017 became the most significant activity of this ilk, but many other exercises have included Czech and/or Slovak units and personnel. Ample Strike exercises last 2-3 weeks in the fall and

¹⁶ Simon, *NATO and the Czech and Slovak Republics*, pp. 254-256.

¹⁷ <URL: www.army.cz>, October 12, 2017

improve skills in coordinating air controllers, aircraft crews, and land unit commanders.¹⁸

Participation in global deployments entails a specific political choice, one that centers on concrete policy steps that placed Czech and Slovak military units in challenging settings. Both nations lost military personnel as a consequence of their cooperation. With NATO and the EU. The Czech Republic and Slovakia were particularly active in the American-led wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Both are part of the “new Europe” that American Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld found to be more hospitable than the “old Europe” to American initiatives that encompassed the needs and priorities of the West in general.

Czech Military exercises

Many of the exercises that the Czech Republic undertook were NATO-sponsored; some were conducted under the auspices of the European Union, the United Nations, and other international organizations. Each year in early September, the Czechs hold Ample Strike, on their territory. In 2014, this exercise included 12 NATO member states and 1,400 participants, of which 1,100 were Czechs and 300 from other nations. The project focused on enhanced coordination among pilots and air traffic controllers and more assistance to military specialists dispatched to conflicts in areas such as Afghanistan. All NATO members and partners were present at the 2015 exercise. Partner participants are countries on a path to NATO membership, but they have not yet been admitted as full members. Of the 1,200 participants, 900 were Czechs and 300 foreigners. Again, close air support by pilots for ground controllers was the top priority. The 2016 exercise was more extensive in overall numbers: with 1,500 Czechs participants, but the foreign component remained the same, 300. Seventeen nations were involved, and the mission remained the same as in previous years. Finally, in 2017, the exercises included 1,300 soldiers from eighteen countries, and the Czech contingent also included 200 Reservists. Practice in air-to-air refueling and communications with ground unit commanders were added to the usual activity list. Thus, the Ample Strike exercises over four years possessed consistency and considerable NATO involvement.

Additional exercises were held within the Czech Republic. For one week in June 2014, Strong Campaigner, an entirely Czech undertaking, was conducted. There, 5,000 Czech military personnel took part in the 4th Brigade Task Force plans to prepare for NATO operations. For the Czech Republic, 2015, the year immediately after the Crimea-Ukraine crisis was the high point of hosting military exercises. In May 2015, the Czech Air Force hosted Lion Effort for nations that used the Gripen supersonic. This exercise's primary goal was enhanced coordination between the Gripen and various national units on the ground. Vigorous Warrior occurred one month later and was an official Program entitled International Medical Exercise. Teams from fifteen allied countries tested the ability of an

¹⁸ <URL: www.army.cz>, October 14, 2017

International field hospital to respond to a dangerous biological agent attack. There were 200 Czech trainees involved as well as 150 soldiers from foreign countries. Later in the same month, five alliance members and the United States participated in the Tobruq Legacy via an air link. In this case, all 500 airmen had roles in the ground-based air defense. During the following year, HRADBA 2016 took place with 1,100 Czech Active Reserve personnel involved. These men received additional training to maintain readiness for actual deployment as well as for assisting the police. In 2017, the Czech Fourth Brigade Task engaged in Plumed Serpent, a two-week exercise. These activities moved it closer to official certification as part of the Fourth Rapid Deployment Brigade. In 2007, under NATO specialist supervision, this group prepared to deploy to Lithuania and Latvia, two former Soviet Republics endangered after the 2014 Russian incursions.¹⁹ Gradually, the Czech Republic became more and more deeply engaged in hosting international exercises on its territory.

Moreover, Czech troops participated in key military exercises outside of the country. Many of these occurred in 2015. That summer, Czechs traveled to Hungary to take part in Capable Logistician, which involved 1,700 personnel from twenty-six countries and eleven international organizations. This exercise concentrated on logistics and emphasized the provision of services and equipment to combat units. At about the same time, Noble Jump, which consisted of 2,100 soldiers from nine NATO countries, took place in western Poland. The troops prepared for high readiness in battlefield conditions. The Czech contingent there numbered 150 troops and 50 vehicles. In August 2015, Germany was the site of Allied Spirit, a relatively large exercise of 4,500 soldiers. The goal of the eight NATO countries involved was to “enhance readiness” for executing a joint ground operation. Finally, Trident Juncture took place in the fall of 2015 in Spain. The Czechs sent 250 military operatives to be part of a large group of 36,000 men. This exercise was to prepare for crisis management outside the NATO countries’ orbit.²⁰ Again, the heavy scheduling of military exercises outside the Czech Republic occurred in 2015, the year after the Ukraine crisis.

In sum, the creative response to the Crimea events consisted of preparation for military action, and the year 2015 was filled with many varied and useful operations. Even though Czech political leaders downplayed the prospects of a Russian threat to their Republic, the defense sector was preparing for the eventuality of a more threatening situation. Political debates about the proper defensive response to an enhanced Russian threat took place between the Czech political and defense communities. At the same time, political decisions helped determine the exercises’ location and their participants.

¹⁹ <URL: www.army.cz>, October 2017

²⁰ <URL: www.army.cz>, October 14, 2016

Czech deployments

Although both countries sent their soldiers on international missions throughout the globe, the Czech deployments were more considerable in scope and more varied in the kind of services they provided than the Slovak ones. The Czech mission in Afghanistan was extensive and relatively diversified. Units included field hospitals, helicopter units, Special Forces, training personnel, airport protection, and assistance with Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). Czech military involvement began a little more than six months after the 9/11 attacks and continued at least through 2017.

Initial Czech support consisted of medical assistance on the battlefield and in dangerous areas. The first Czech operation included dispatch of 269 military personnel who were part of the Sixth and Eleventh Field Hospitals. Their stay lasted from 2002 through 2003, and an 11-person field surgical team replaced them in the first part of 2003.

From 2004 to 2007, the Czech involvement pointed in several different directions. There were 350 Czech soldiers stationed at Kabul Airport with responsibility for ordnance disposal and meteorological work.²¹ The Czechs staffed a field hospital unit at the airport and transported those injured in combat. Also, their fifth contingent helped to inoculate Afghan children against several diseases. The 601st Special Forces Group from Pardubice in the Czech Republic spent several months on patrol in the mountains of Fayzabad. This unit consisted of 120 persons.²² From early 2005 until the end of 2007, six hundred Czech troops contributed to the German PRT in Fayzabad,²³ and they also worked with Danes to protect the base and its transport vehicles. In 2007, a group of thirty-five soldiers joined a British unit, which was responsible for equipment in the Helmand Province.²⁴ Finally, after March 2004, two hundred soldiers worked to rebuild the Logar PRT.²⁵

After 2007, the Czechs continued to provide valuable military resources that were usually of a specialized nature. They contributed six hundred fifty-eight men to staff the field hospital and a chemical detachment at the Kabul International airport. From 2008 to 2009, Czech protection contingents consisted of two rotations of 63 soldiers, each in Uruzgan. Their helicopter units were active from 2009 to 2011. Overall, 700 personnel were involved. Their Special Forces returned to Afghanistan from mid-2011 to mid-2012 with two rotations of 100 each. Moderately sized contingents worked in Wardak Province in 2012 and 2013 training and mentoring the Afghan military police and other forces. A Military Advisory Team of 59 soldiers was active at the same time in Wardak, while another group of 64 was stationed in Logar Province. Czech contributions in Logar over the

²¹ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 20, 2016.

²² James W. Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism: Organizational Expansion and Mission Transformation*, (New York: Continuum, 2011), pp. 92-94.

²³ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 20, 2016.

²⁴ Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism*, p. 90.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

2008 to 2013 period were quite impressive, for more than 2,500 served there. A number of the soldiers had performed several tours of duty as part of that group.²⁶

Then the Obama Administration technically phased out the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan at the end of 2014. However, they maintained a smaller NATO force there to help preserve stability in 2015 and after. During this transitional time after January 1, 2015, Czechs continued to take part in the NATO renamed operation Resolute Support Mission (RSM). Their 14th Task Force came in with 264 personnel at the very end of 2016, and their mission centered on the protection of the Hamid Karzai International Airport. Several units played a role in that operation. They included a Military Police Protection Unit, the Twentieth Air Advisory Team, the Eighteenth Field Surgical Team, and a Deployable Communications Module. Czechs were also stationed at the Headquarters in Kabul and Bagram.²⁷ Given that the post-2014 NATO mission in Afghanistan was overwhelmingly American in composition, the Czech roles were striking, for expectations for contributions by NATO allies were by then much lower.

The West's concern over Iraq long preceded the invasion of March 2003. The Czech involvement in the United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq was a continuing project from the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991 to the American-led invasion in 2003. The Czech engagement numbered 320, and the Czechoslovak Army dispatched them there in 1991. The Army of the Czech Republic then took over that UN responsibility in 1993. Involvement after the beginning of the second Iraq War in 2003 centered again on a Czech niche capability of a field hospital. From the beginning of the war until the end of 2003, the 526 soldiers from the Seventh Field Hospital were available in Basra to offer medical assistance to the wounded. From December 2003 until the end of 2006, a large number of Czech Military Police took part in six rotations in the area of Shaibah. Four hundred twenty-three Czech soldiers took part in the National Training Mission-Iraq (NTM-I) in Baghdad from 2003 to 2008. This was the NATO alliance's only official operation in Iraq, and it entailed the training of Iraqi soldiers and police.²⁸

The results of this involvement were impressive, for Czech units provided needed skills on the critical issues of self-defense and border patrol for Iraq. They assisted in the training of 12,000 Iraqi police officers in 2003-06. On this project, nearly 100 Czech soldiers worked at Al Shaiba base near Basra with British and Danish military units.²⁹ Czechs also cooperated with the Iraqi National Army and National Police at the Basra Airport. They built a new military academy in Baghdad and sold Czech airplanes to the Iraqis. Also, they assisted with T-72 tanks and the NP-1 Aircraft.

After the 2011 withdrawal of forces, outside involvement in Iraq was temporarily limited, but specialized assistance by outside powers resumed in 2014

²⁶ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 20, 2016.

²⁷ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 22, 2016.

²⁸ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 20, 2016

²⁹ Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism*, p. 117.

after the renewal of the ISIS threat. The Czech Republic promised to provide 35 Czech airmen from the end of 2016 until late December 2018. The group would include pilots, ground technicians, and instructors. The unit would train Iraqis on the L-159 ALCA aircraft that the Czechs had supplied. A Field Surgical Team, which included surgeons, anesthetists, middle-level medical personnel, and other specialists, also went to Iraq. This group would work with an American field hospital of ROLE 2 level.³⁰

The Czech authorities have recently deployed their soldiers to many other parts of the world. For instance, the Czech military presence has also been active in the Middle East. Czechs took up additional operational responsibilities in Iraq at the beginning of August 2016. Rotation of teams was the practice until the end of 2018. They advised the Iraqi Air Forces and ground forces on flying and maintaining military aircraft. It was necessary to obtain supportive resolutions from both chambers of the Czech parliament to provide this service.

Since November 2009, three military officers have been stationed in Sinai. The expansion of that mission in 2013 called for the Eighth Air Force Unit of the Army of the Czech Republic to utilize eighteen personnel in monitoring overflights in the region. In Israel, the Czechs have three posts in the command structure that monitors the Israeli-Syrian border, an operation that has existed since 1974. The soldiers work in Israeli territory and rotate on an annual basis.

The Czechs have also undertaken military missions in Europe. Since 1999, nine Czech military officers are stationed in Pristina, the capital city of Kosovo. Two officers are assigned to Bosnia-Herzegovina: one works with the Management Storage Unit and the other with a unit focused on weapons of mass destruction. Five Czech military officers are part of the Sophia Operation, whereby the EU endeavors to halt illegal African migration to Europe.

The Czech military is also engaged in Africa. Czechs participated in their first naval mission in Somalia, with three Czech officers positioned at its home base in the United Kingdom at Northwood Operation Headquarters. These small groups rotate every six months. The Czechs sent 25 soldiers to Mali as part of the 601st Special Forces Group in April 2013; they halted this involvement at the end of 2016 but kept one soldier there later.

Further, the Czech Republic, as a member of the UN, the Organization for Security and Cooperation Europe (OSCE), and the EU, took part in several peacekeeping missions under their aegis. Eight Czech personnel served in these operations: three in the Congo, two in Kosovo, and three in the Central Africa Republic.³¹ While the Czech representation is often small, their manifold commitments do demonstrate that their values are in tune with NATO, EU, and UN expectations.

³⁰ <URL: www.army.cz>, December 22, 2016.

³¹ <URL: www.army.cz>, September 14, 2017.

Slovak military exercises and deployments

Slovak troops have also participated in NATO exercises. Their soldiers were included in the Ample Strike exercise in 2014, 2015, and 2017. The purpose of this training was to prepare them to improve the coordination of military operations that encompassed aircraft crews, air controllers, and land unit commanders. Participation in the Tobruk Legacy also enhanced the Slovaks' specialization of aiding ground personnel responsible for air defense.³² In 2017, Slovakia hosted a Chemical Biological Radiological Nuclear (CBRN) exercise named Toxic Valley, during which the participants from ten NATO countries received training with genuine chemical weapons.³³ During the same year, Slovakia also held a seven-nation conference to work on joint responses to natural disasters. Participants included four NATO members who had been part of the Warsaw Pact, the United States, Austria, and Ukraine.

Like their Czech counterparts, the Slovak authorities deployed troops to Afghanistan, Iraq, and other crisis areas. Their contributions to Operation Enduring Freedom began on August 19, 2002, with the arrival of a Slovak engineering group as well as several airport experts. Their job was the restoration of the damaged Bagram Airport. Utilizing equipment that they had brought, they worked with American and Italian troops to repair the takeoff and landing areas.³⁴ At the end of 2005, 40 Slovak soldiers switched over from the U.S.-led Operation Enduring Freedom to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). At that point, most allied troops in Afghanistan were under the umbrella of the alliance, but many remained solely under American command. Near the end of the war, all soldiers technically came under NATO command. The Slovaks linked up with an engineer-mine clearance unit that was part of an engineering company of the Kabul Multinational Brigade.³⁵ In addition, Slovakia sent 17 engineers to assist with construction projects at Kabul Airport.

Activity continued apace in the 2007-09 period in various locations. In 2007, the Slovak command dispatched health specialists to work with the Czechs in their field hospital in Kabul. In the same year, they sent 47 troops to join with the Dutch in Uruzgan Province and increased that number to 125 during the following year. In that province, Slovaks worked primarily at Camp Hadrian. Slovakia sent 50 troops to that location in 2009 and upgraded the number to 240 by the end of the year.³⁶ Slovakia found in medical support a niche that blended well with the efforts of other allied forces.

Operation Iraqi Freedom was a magnet for Slovak troops, as well as for many other western allies. The soldiers had assisted in UN efforts for a dozen years before the American-led invasion in 2003. Slovaks participated in a Guard Contingent with

³² <URL: www.army.cz>, October 14, 2016.

³³ <URL: www.mosr.sk>, October 12, 2017.

³⁴ <URL: www.med.gov.sk>, December 28, 2016.

³⁵ <URL: www.med.gov.sk>, December 28, 2016.

³⁶ Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism*, pp. 98-99.

specific responsibility for creating a stable environment for Kurds and Shiites by allowing humanitarian workers protection to carry out their mission.³⁷ After March 2003, a Slovak Engineering Company of 150 operated in the Polish sector between Basra and Baghdad. Poland managed a group of troops from 21 countries, and the Slovak engineers there contributed to mine clearance, pyrotechnics, and weapons disposal.³⁸ From 2003 to 2004, the Slovak group had 70 soldiers, whose duties consisted of monitoring chemical, radiation, and biological risks. Four of their number, however, were assigned to surveillance patrols.³⁹ Despite the multiple challenges in Iraq, Slovak specialists and engineers continued to serve there and produce useful results.

Slovak forces have contributed to the rapid reaction forces of both NATO and the EU. Moreover, they have played a role as well in international crisis response situations and in programs that would provide citizen protection in case of a terrorist attack within the Slovak Republic. Between 1993 and 2012, they contributed to more than thirty such missions on three continents. In 2012, about 590 soldiers participated in such deployments. The number of soldiers has been relatively stable, except for the low point from 1998 to 2001. The number of soldiers in these roles reached a high of nearly 800 and gradually dipped to the 2012 figures. Usually, the Slovaks deployed were part of other missions, and whole units were not sent into those international settings. Despite the gradual decline in the number of soldiers deployed abroad in the decade after 2002, the cost of sending them to foreign locations gradually increased.⁴⁰

At times, the Slovak contributions to the NATO Response Force (NRF) and EU Battle Group (EU BG) have been considerable. Participation in the former gradually rose from four in 2006 to 789 in 2008, but involvement tapered off from 2009 to 2011. Slovaks contributed to the EU BG only in 2009 and 2010, and they sent 442 persons in 2009 and 346 in 2010. Interestingly, there was no Slovak soldier in the NATO Response Force (NRF) in 2010, the high point year of contributions to the EU unit. Perhaps, defense planners were mindful of the cost of these operations and concluded that the actual use of the troops in a crisis would put too much pressure on their Ministry of Defense Budget.⁴¹ Slovakia began an important commitment of twenty-five of its military personnel to Iraq at the end of October 2017. They were assigned to the NATO Training and Capacity Building project (NTCB-I). The Slovak troops were not on a combat mission but were to assist in “demining and repairs of Soviet-era military equipment.”

Given the number of crises that heated up in the early years of the twenty-first century, the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic responded creatively to the need for military exercises and foreign deployments. Despite the death of four Czechs killed in a “green on blue” shooting and one suffocated in a landslide, the

³⁷ <URL: www.med.gov.sk>, December 28, 2016.

³⁸ <URL: www.med.gov.sk>, December 28, 2016.

³⁹ Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism*, p. 124.

⁴⁰ “National Defence System,” <URL: www.mosr.sk>, 2012, pp. 13-19. Accessed September 21, 2019.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

two states remained reliable western allies in most difficult situations. “Green on blue” shootings are particularly hard to prevent, for they involve an attack on NATO soldiers by uniformed Afghan soldiers and police who are apparently working with them in the same military unit. They reacted to the political pressures from international and transnational outside organizations, but they also tried to mesh their commitments with domestic economic and political needs. Each country’s Ministry of Defense gave consistent and positive responses to international and regional requests but also adjusted their involvement to what their economies and populations could support.

Conclusion

Czech and Slovak defense policies included a mix of strategy statements, official national security perceptions, budgetary considerations, and deployments. In that sense, they were classic examples of expectations of public administration theory as well as the related topic of policy-making. Strategy statements and white papers were in tune with the scientific approach to the analysis of defense policy. The Russian annexation of Crimea and incursion into Ukraine occurred in the middle of budgetary downturns as public and political pressure in the Czech Republic as well as in Slovakia pressed for cuts in defense spending after being admitted to NATO. Nevertheless, the defense professionals did construct reasonable alternatives in handling critical questions such as the size of the military itself and the structure of defense expenditures. Political considerations and needs entered the discussion as well, and it took creativity by all actors involved to factor them into participation in military exercises and deployment. Thus, all three components of a key public administration theory about policymaking were part of the discourse within the defense communities. The best outcome would be a mix of theory and practice in ways that support the security of two smaller Central European states that sense a new danger in the post-2014 atmosphere but are removed from any immediate tripwires.

Glossary of Abbreviations

CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
eFP	Enhanced Forward Presence
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
MNC-NE	Multinational Corps-Northeast
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRF	NATO Response Force
NTCB-I	National Training and Capacity Building-Iraq
NTM-I	National Training Mission-Iraq
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
RSM	Resolute Support Mission
tFP	Tailored Forward Presence
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization

ESSAY

Internationalizing Our Research and Perspectives: A Librarian's Manifesto

David Chroust

We are living in an information revolution. Like all revolutions, it is changing our world and us so much and in so many ways that we cannot yet understand and adapt to it all. One change is the revolution in access to global media and scholarship. It has swept away all the barriers to the world's production of culture and knowledge and left only the language barriers still standing. We can now read, watch and listen to the print and audiovisual media and scholarship in another country, because digitization has put them on the Internet. In most countries, journalists and scholars do not write or speak in English, and if we understand—or want to understand—their language, then we can liberate ourselves from sources and perspectives in English: we can see and understand the world and what happens in it in another language and from the perspective of another language community. But how many students, researchers and citizens realize this?

The possibilities for academic and other librarians to imagine and develop new forms of relevance for themselves on their campuses, across disciplines, in their communities and nationally are enormous. Librarians could help everyone to (1) better understand and imagine the transnational information revolution, (2) internationalize their own research and perspectives, and (3) discover and develop their multilingual selves and reach. By education and training, librarians are more diverse than most other professions and disciplines: besides a master's degree in library and information science, librarians have bachelor's and often graduate degrees in all kinds of other subjects. They are prepared, alone or with each other, to work across disciplines, languages and countries, and they have many ways to find and serve their audiences, from reference service for individuals to presentations, workshops, subject guides and other in-person and online formats and programming for groups.

We can always find new relevance in all the space that lies beyond the limits that social groups and society impose on how they seek knowledge and on their outlook on the world. Many such limits come from ethnocentricity, and librarians can help us see our ethnocentricity, what it does to us, and the diverse knowledge we could find beyond it. In America, we may overlook or dismiss our ethnocentricity: it's a large country with much diversity and an ideology of its own exceptionalism, a superpower in a global civilization that relies on the English language, the American dollar and a Washington consensus of institutions and norms for international and local organization, policy, relations, justice and development around the world.

How could ethnocentricity be possible in such a country? And why would it matter? Librarians are in the best position to help all kinds of people arrive at such questions and see answers to them. *Time* is the leading American news magazine, read at libraries, grocery stores and airports. Its content is mostly about America, with very little about the rest of the world. On the other hand, the British *Economist*

covers the entire world every week in sections titled "Asia," "China," "United States," "The Americas," "Middle East and Africa," "Europe" and "Britain."

In our cars and traffic jams, where we spend so much time in America, we listen to National Public Radio. Here we also learn much about America and very little about the rest of the world. On the other hand, the European Broadcasting Union at www.ebu.ch is a portal to 73 public radio and television companies in 56 countries! (Click "EBU Members" at bottom of page.) One of them is *Český rozhlas* in the Czech Republic. If we search for nothing in its online search window (www.rozhlas.cz) by putting our cursor there and hitting "Enter," we get everything: 1.2 million documents, including 0.5 million audio files. We can search this enormous archive, which grows every day, by keyword and by any of Czech Radio's 1,180 past or present programs. We can download what we like to our mobile devices and listen to it while we drive, wait and do other things that leave our minds mostly free to learn about Europe, Russia and the world. "Svět ve 20 minutách" (The world in 20 minutes), a daily program, tells us about several important stories from online media in other countries near and far. "Knihy, na které vám nezbyl čas" (The books you had no time to read) is a weekly radio essay, each one about an important book from a philosopher, social scientist, culture critic or public intellectual in Europe, America, Russia or elsewhere. "Hudba ze zapadlých vesnic" (Music from lost villages) explores world music every week. Czech Radio is much more open to the world than America's National Public Radio, maybe because it serves a country where the border and another language are never more than 86 miles away.

Librarians can bring such contrasts into view, contrasts between the domestic and Anglophone information sources familiar to us in America, and those abroad and in other languages; contrasts between the sources we and the communities and authorities around us would turn to, and the sources that would never occur to us. The spectacle of such contrasts disturbs our ideas and habits as students and citizens who seek to inform ourselves and to understand some subject. It challenges us to question everything and to broaden our thinking. Librarians can achieve such effects and relevance even if they point out sources in languages that we cannot read or understand, because mere awareness of such sources and ideas of what they may offer us, even if imperfect, is enough to shake our complacency, raise our sense of relative deprivation, and maybe even motivate us to become more ambitious in our information-seeking and to learn other languages.

Liberation is always a powerful generator of relevance, all the more so in times of information revolution. We can connect libraries and our practices of librarianship to liberation, and what more empowering kind of liberation could we offer and attempt than liberation from our own American ethnocentricity? We can offer (1) discovery of mass media, scholarship and other information sources now online elsewhere in the world and in other languages, and (2) criticism of the impressive discovery tools in our libraries, from library catalogs to article and other commercial databases, which we tend to admire for their scale and expense and not criticize for their ethnocentricity. To see how this kind of agenda might work and what it could produce, we try it out here on two subjects, both of them large,

contested and unfolding: (1) Germany and migration, and (2) Russia and its mass media. Germany is the largest country (by population) and economy in the European Union. Russia is the largest country in the world (by land area) and is both part of and apart from Europe and the West. Both countries loom large among the world's cultures and in the global economy, international relations and controversies from mass migration to information wars. In America, perceptions of Germany and Russia, and reporting on them, are not free from the effects of past and present conflicts, differences, alliances, migrations and relations.

Germany and Migration

In 2015, migration to Germany became a global “event,” something so big and dramatic, it becomes part of our visual memory of our times and changes the times we live in, like the fall of the Berlin Wall a generation before or 9/11 in America. Suddenly, as many as 20,000 people a day came to Germany on trains and in great columns on the march across the Balkans. Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans from refugee camps in Turkey, and then a more and more diverse part of humanity from South Asia and the Balkans to Eritrea and North and West Africa. Hungary's premier, Viktor Orbán, struggled to keep them out with force, laws and a border fence, but in Berlin chancellor Angela Merkel decided in August to let them all in. *Willkommenskultur*, the “culture of welcome,” prevailed in Germany until New Year's Eve, when mobs of young, mostly North African men surrounded and sexually molested German women, and Merkel made a March 2016 deal with Turkey that ended the mass migration but may not last. Meanwhile, migration unsettles the European Union: its states reassert border controls over free movement, East Europeans defy Brussels and refuse to accept migrants, while West Europeans struggle with radical Islam and how to integrate their growing Muslim populations, Europeans East and West turn to far-right and populist politics, and Britain exits the Union.

To study what happened, we and our librarians might turn to something like Academic Search Ultimate, a “full-text, scholarly database of more than 12,000 journals (10,900 peer-reviewed) in almost every academic discipline.” Here we search for “Germany” and “emigration and immigration” as subject terms and get 761 results. Impressive! But only 30 (4%) are in German. The top source periodicals for our results are the *New York Times* (56), *Economist* (48) and *International Migration Review* (34)—and not a single item from *Der Spiegel*, Germany's leading news magazine, is in our result set.

Yet *Spiegel* is full of writing about our subject, much of it English, and almost all content in its online edition and archive (www.spiegel.de) is free. Here we can see the scale of the 2015-2016 migration to Germany, month by month and in total, in four articles from June-September 2016, with graphs based on statistics from the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), Germany's federal office in charge of migration. The articles include “Neue Asylzahlen: Bamf schafft immer weniger Asylentscheidungen” (New asylum numbers: BAMF making fewer asylum decisions), “Rekordzuwanderung 2015: 2,1 Millionen Menschen kamen nach

Deutschland" (Record immigration 2015: 2.1 million people came to Germany) "Infografik: So haben sich die Flüchtlingszahlen entwickelt" (Infographics: how refugee numbers have evolved), and "Innenminister de Maizière: 2015 kamen 890.000 Flüchtlinge nach Deutschland" (Interior minister de Maizière: 890,000 refugees came to Germany in 2015). Photographers offer another kind of perspective in images: Steffen Osterkamp on Berlin's old immigrant-and-counterculture quarter, "Kreuzberg in den Siebzigern: Die Bronx Berlins" (Kreuzberg in the seventies: Berlin's Bronx), and Mehmet Ünal on the 1960s guest workers, Germany's first non-European immigrant wave, "Türken in Deutschland: Kismet vor der Kamera" (Turks in Germany: destiny in front of the camera). Both photo essays appeared in *einestages* (Someday), *SpiegelOnline*'s social-history series.

Reporting, essays and other narratives abound on migration in all its aspects, from origins, journeys and smugglers to deportation, integration and the generations of people with *Migrationshintergrund* (migration background), now one-fifth of all Germans. In "'Turkified': Why I Can Never Be a Proper German," the English version of her 2013 essay, *Spiegel* reporter Özlem Gezer reflected on her own experience. On the endless torture of different people asking the same offensive questions, like the "good-looking" guy at a party who marveled, at 9:30 pm, that she was "allowed to stay out so late," when she was 23: "It didn't matter that my Hamburg accent was more authentic than his. It didn't matter that he had only just moved from his Turk-free small town to Hamburg's Reeperbahn—a street that my guest-worker grandfather had already strolled 50 years ago." On "'Tarzan German,' which is what Turks call it when Germans speak bad German to them." On teachers and peers who always engaged her in debates about problems and politics in Turkey, as if that was her home. And on her father, who said, "The Germans have Turkified our children, not us."

Of course, the bias in *Spiegel*, along with most German media and elites, is favorable to migrants. *Spiegel* writes about migrants who seek or achieve success in schools and workplaces but not about criminal migrants or migration as a problem. It routinely blocks readers from commenting on its stories about migration, and it vilifies or ridicules critics of migration (Viktor Orbán, Horst Seehofer). A reputable online journal with the opposite bias, critical of migration, is *Junge Freiheit*, which deplores the intolerance of a post-1968 liberal Germany. In "Schüler verweigert Moschee-Besuch—nun drohen 300 Euro Bußgeld" (October 2016), *Junge Freiheit* wrote about a seventh-grader in Rendsburg, Schleswig-Holstein, and his parents, who refused to send him on a field trip with his world cultures class to the local mosque and were fined 300 Euros by the school. The mosque was listed as radical by Germany's federal authorities, the parents were atheists who wanted no "religious indoctrination" for their son, and their attorney, Alexander Heumann, vowed to take the case to the highest court: "It cannot be that Germany's schools remove crucifixes, because they offend one student, and at the same time impose fines, because a seventh-grader doesn't want to go to a mosque."

Just these few examples are enough to show what a shame it is that nothing from *Spiegel* shows up in our result set from Academic Search Ultimate. So, where

could our search find stories from *Spiegel*? We turn to the international Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, with entries on over 300,000 periodicals, including *Spiegel* and *Junge Freiheit*, but Ulrich's identifies no abstracting and indexing databases for either of these German weeklies. We can also use Ulrich's to search for German periodicals about migration, but the keyword "migration" in advanced search, limited to language of text "German," finds just two, both refereed: for *Movements: Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung* Ulrich's again gives no abstracting and indexing databases, and for *Zeitschrift für Migration und Soziale Arbeit* it's three De Gruyter Saur databases, which are not common in American libraries. Yet the biggest, Internationale Bibliographie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur (IBZ), contains 3.3 million records from over 11,000 journals in 40 countries and over 40 languages. We also cannot rely on Ulrich's to find all relevant journals, even academic, peer-reviewed ones: in February 2017 Ulrich's still had no entry for *Zeitschrift für Flüchtlingsforschung*, published by Nomos for the Netzwerk Flüchtlingsforschung, an association for research on refugees.

We see how easily we can demonstrate ethnocentricity in Academic Search Ultimate and our other article abstracting and indexing databases, so venerated in American libraries, an ethnocentricity we can also explore in the Ulrich's Periodicals Directory. We can explain how intellectually dangerous this ethnocentricity is: even if the students and citizens who come to our libraries cannot read German, it's dangerous for them to rely on article databases that leave out the rich offerings from German periodicals when the subject is Germany! And we can lead our audiences out of this ethnocentricity to *Spiegel*, IBZ and other periodicals, publications, bibliographies, databases and other information sources in Germany and available to us online. All this is quite a prospect and program for new relevance.

Russia and Its Mass Media

In February 2014, the Euromaidan Revolution overthrew the elected government in Kiev—and relations between the West and Russia. Russia blamed the West for the revolution and suspected NATO's intentions, then incorporated Ukraine's strategic and mostly Russian-speaking Crimean autonomous republic and supported separatists in Ukraine's Donbass region. The United States and European Union accused Russia of aggression, held it responsible for the destruction of an airliner full of Dutch and Australian passengers, moved their armed forces to Russia's borders in the Baltics and Poland, and sought to punish and isolate Russia with economic sanctions and other penalties. Rhetoric, actions and attitudes on both sides seem stuck for many years to come.

Rhetoric and attitudes have much to do with mass media, which voices and influences them. Walter Lippmann already warned us about this in the 1920s. If we rely on American and English-language media, as the students and citizens who come to our libraries do, we could easily come to imagine mass media in Russia as a mere arm of the state, with no independence or diversity, and its content and

offerings as mere “propaganda,” “disinformation” or “fake news.” Much scholarship on today’s Russia (an exception is Richard Sakwa) would reinforce such an image for us. This is how the Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs, part of the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, titled its November 2014 conference: “Reassessing Putin’s Russia: Tsarist Dinosaur, Failed State, or 21st Century Predator?” Prominent schools and institutes affect our perceptions and imaginations with the names they give their conferences and programs, and this one may encourage us to vilify its subject but hardly to approach it with balance, objectivity and an open mind.

If we wanted to do our own research, we might again turn to Academic Search Ultimate and search for “Russia” and “mass media” as subject terms. The result set is 542 articles, and this time more of it is from our country of interest: 120 results (22%) are from the *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, which “presents a selection of Russian-language press materials, carefully translated into English ... without elaboration or commentary, and [so] state the opinions and views of the original authors.” Almost all the other results come from Anglo-American mass media and academic journals, led by the *Wall Street Journal* (28 results), *New York Times* (24), *Transitions Online* (21), *Europe-Asia Studies* (16) and *Economist* (12). Results published since 2014 number 124 (23%). Our result set may not be diverse or current enough to satisfy us.

As an alternative to databases like Academic Search Ultimate, libraries can offer, or at least make their audiences aware of, Russia’s electronic library of scholarship in all disciplines at elibrary.ru. Not only is access free (upon registration) to anyone in the world, but the scale of elibrary.ru is enough to forever remind us of how much we are missing and to inspire us to reimagine and internationalize our research and perspectives: 26 million articles and publications by 827,980 authors in 1.6 million issues of 60,125 journals and 3.3 million books and book chapters. Of the journals, 14,824 (25%) are published in Russia, 5,594 of them in digital full-text, 4,721 of these with open access. Of the books and book chapters, 0.7 million (21%) are in digital full-text in elibrary.ru. Over 1.8 million registered users in 125 countries open 90 million abstracts and download 12 million full-text articles per year in elibrary.ru. Only 1,225 users are in the United States.

If we search elibrary.ru for “сми Россия” (mass media Russia) in titles, abstracts and keywords, our result set is 2,583 publications, almost five times bigger than in Academic Search Ultimate. Of these results, 1,480 (57%) are full-text PDF files for us to freely download, and 764 (30%) were published since 2014. We can search in English, since Russian publications commonly appear with keywords in both Russian and English, and for “mass media Russia,” our result set is 1,601 publications. We can also search for all kinds of other terms and obtain the following result sets: информационные войны (information warfare, 3,139 results), информационное общество (information society, 23,911), телевидение России (Russian television, 514), телевизионная журналистика (television journalism, 178), просветительские or познавательные телепередачи (educational television programs, 11), региональное телевидение (regional

television, 340), цифровое вещание (digital broadcasting, 577), цифровые медиа (digital media, 373).

In America, Russian media troubled *Time* magazine enough to become a cover story in March 2015: "Putin's On-Air Army." It was a polemic against the "Global News Network RT," which Moscow correspondent Simon Schuster called "Conspiracy TV." At the *Economist* in London, Russia editor and émigré Arkady Ostrovsky, whose *Invention of Russia* (2015) is a history of Russian television since the 1980s, criticizes domestic state television in Moscow. True, state control has advanced in the Putin era and coverage of America, Europe and Ukraine is one-sided on Rossiia 1, the state media holding company VGTRK's television channel. But Russian media remains diverse in its loyalties and content, and it is vast, online, free and useful. The daily one-hour news edition at 8pm on Rossiia 1, and the channel's news documentaries and talk shows (like Vladimir Solovlev), may be aligned with the state on the West, international affairs, domestic critics and many other topics, but they are still worth seeing for that very reason, along with big television events every year, like the president's March live studio session to answer questions from ordinary Russians, his December press conference, the Valdai Discussion Club or the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum. Critics and critical media we can see also, from the Новая газета newspaper's online university, where the monocled public intellectual Andrei Zubov lectures on Russia's past and present, to the Friday interview show on the regional online television company Открытый канал in Saratov, where Communist parliamentarian Valerii Rashkin speaks out against official corruption.

Russian television online is a vast source for learning about Russia and the rest of the world. The 8pm news on Rossiia 1 is often about everyday life, culture, history, technology and localities, with stories on the problems of residents in Soviet-era apartment blocks, birthday profiles and obituaries of prominent people in all fields and their accomplishments, and stories on innovative, iconic or ordinary workplaces and projects, like new medical facilities, the Uralvagonzavod tank factory in Nizhnii Tagil, the project to build a bridge across the Kerch Strait to Crimea, or a farm or cottage industry somewhere. In a five-minute segment from September 2015 on 2,000 years of Derbent, we see this ancient city on Russia's Caspian coast and hear an archaeologist, museum director, tour guide, Muslim cleric, elderly resident and cognac manufacturer tell us about it, each in his own accented Russian in this ethnically most diverse of Russia's 85 regions and republics, Dagestan, which Czar Peter the Great took from Persia in 1722. Scholars from Russian academia often speak and debate on the many national and regional television channels. On Спас, the Russian Orthodox Church channel, we can find 768 episodes so far of the world history program Час истины, where a host questions two scholars of the place and time in question for fifty minutes in a cozy old reading room.

Librarians and Languages

Librarians can help people to see reasons and ways to learn other languages and use all that's online in other countries for their own needs, learning and contributions to our common welfare on this small planet. Librarians already devise, use and teach the languages of subject headings, name headings, keywords and other metadata. Language teachers they are not, but they know and can find resources to make progress easier for (self-)learners. Resources like the online text-to-speech engine at www.acapela-group.com, where we can choose a native speaker in 23 languages, write or paste a text, even just a name or book title, and hear it spoken. With Acapela we can attune ourselves to the sound of a language and learn to pronounce it, and these easy steps can motivate and make us confident enough to then go much farther or even master the language. "English is not sufficient to meet the nation's needs in a shrinking world," wrote the American Academy of Arts & Sciences in its online *State of Languages in the U.S.: A Statistical Portrait* (2016), yet "[b]y several measures, the United States has neglected languages in its educational curricula, its international strategies, and its domestic policies." One in five Americans now speaks a language other than English at home, and the other four seldom learn one to proficiency in school. What if we helped them all to make other languages a part of their everyday lives and learning?

Librarians could do that with their own diversity, availability to all people and professional knowledge of information resources. They can discover and demonstrate written, audiovisual and bibliographic information resources online elsewhere in the world, from the *Economist* and *Spiegel* to Russian and German television to IBZ and elibrary.ru, for the full range of benefits, from awareness and motivation to use, for people prepared and not yet prepared to use them. They can empower people with the endless multiplier effects that come from internationalizing the information resources we imagine, seek and use. Why rely on National Public Radio when we can use the European Broadcasting Union and other portals to hear a hundred other public radio companies and perspectives elsewhere in the world? And librarians can bring their bibliographic languages of headings and keywords to the national languages we may know: they can train our sense for productive new search terms in what we read, like *Ostbeauftragte der Bundesregierung* (Federal commissioner for the East), Göttinger Institut für Demokratieforschung (Göttingen institute for the study of democracy) and Sozialschmarotzer (stereotype of migrants as "social parasites") in the *Spiegel* article on xenophobia in eastern Germany, "Fremdenhass in Ostdeutschland." The information revolution is international and in all the world's languages, and librarians can revolutionize their own relevance by helping people to see and use the prospects it offers us.

RESEARCH MATERIALS

On the Track of Czechs in Canada

Miloslav Rechcigl

There have been only a few publications about Czechs in Canada. Interestingly, they all seem to begin with Prince Rupert, son of the last elected King of Bohemia, Frederick V of the Palatinate, and of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of King James I of England.¹ He was born in Prague in 1619, and became an exile with his parents only one year later, after the battle of the White Mountain. Although he had no impact on Czech history, he was supposed to make considerable impact on North America. As a Charter member of the Hudson's Bay Company, he gave his name to all the Company's lands drawing into Hudson Bay—"Rupert's Rupert Land"—and later to Prince Rupert in British Columbia. He never even set foot on Canadian soil!

The claim was also made that Stephanus Parmenius, "whose Slovak origin is beyond question," was the first Slovak to arrive in the New World, while accompanying Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his exploratory voyage to Newfoundland in 1583.² No evidence has ever been found to substantiate his Slovak identity.³ To make it more credible, some amateur historians came forward with the suggestion that his original name was Štítnický. According to the authoritative evidence, Parmenius, whose real name was Istvan Paizson, was of Hungarian origin and came originally from the city of Buda.⁴ So far, there is no evidence of any Czechs being in Canada in the seventeenth century.

Eighteenth Century Visitors and Colonists

Moravian Brethren

It is generally accepted that Moravian Brethren were the first immigrants from the Czechlands who entered Canadian territory.⁵

¹ John Gellner and John Smerek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 49-50; Josef Cermak, *It All Began with Prince Rupert. The Story of Czechs and Slovaks in Canada*, (Toronto: Atelier IM Publishing, 2005).

² Konstantin Čulen, *Dejiny Slovákov v Amerike*. Bratislava: Slovenská liga, 1952, vol. 1, p. 23; Martina Tybor, "The Slovak Presence in America up to 1890," in *Slovaks in America. A Bicentennial Study*. (Middletown, PA: The Slovak League of America, 1978), pp. 3-4.

³ Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr., "The First Slovaks in America," in: *Czechs and Slovaks in America*. Boulder, (New York: East European monographs distributed by Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 69-73.

⁴ David B. Quinn, "Parmenius, Stephanus," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 531.

⁵ Stanley J. Marsik, "Moravian Brethren Unitas Fratrum and American Indians in Northwest Territory," *Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, 9, No. 1-2 (Summer – Winter 1990), pp.47-74.

According to the official account, the first permanent mission in Canada was the Labrador Mission, founded in 1771 at Nain, on the Northern Coast. It was established with financial assistance from Moravian congregations in Britain. Following the settlement at Nain, other mission stations were founded at Okak in 1776 and at Hopedale in 1782, to the north and south of Nain respectively.⁶

The mission at Nain was presumably the spiritual child of Matthew Stach (1711-1787), a native of Suchdol, Moravia.⁷ In Greenland, before their departure for Labrador, he had trained the men who ultimately succeeded. He had imbued these men with the principles on which the Moravian communities in Greenland were run, so much that the early Labrador missions were replicas of Stach's. In 1752, while he was in London, Stach intended to go to Labrador that year, but the Labrador plan failed and Stach went to Greenland instead. Next year he went to England under instruction to escort a missionary named Matthew Kunz (1722-1774),⁸ originally from Moravia, to Labrador and bring another one, Brother M. Ballenhorst, back.

In 1771, there are records of several Moravian Brethren of Moravian heritage residing in Labrador, for example John Schneider (1713-1785),⁹ of Suchdol, his wife Elizabeth (née Oertel) of Potštát and Joseph Neisser (1722-1793), from Žilina. In 1775, another Moravian Brother of Moravian heritage,¹⁰ appeared there, namely John Samuel Liebisch (1739-1809). Liebisch left an interesting memoir about his stay in Labrador, which follows.¹¹

John Samuel Liebisch's Activities in Labrador

"On February 15th, I was ordained by Bishop Spangenberg, a Presbyter of the Brethren's Church, and on the following day, we set off, by way of Zeist, for London. After a stay of seven weeks in that city, during which time I endeavored to acquire some knowledge of the English language, we set sail for Labrador on April 24th, with several other Missionaries, and till June 24th we had a very favorable voyage. But then we met with serious obstacles. Immeasurable ice-fields surrounded our vessel, and impeded her progress, till on the 3rd of July, Captain Wilson resolved to steer into the midst of the masses of ice—hoping to find a passage by which we might gain the coast. He immediately informed me of his resolution; it appeared to me a rash attempt, such as could not be made without exposing our lives to the most [213] imminent danger. Nor could I forget, that the

⁶ *The Moravians in Labrador*, (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1835); J. W. Davey, *The Fall of Torngak, or, the Moravian Mission on the Coast of Labrador*. (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1905).

⁷ He and his cousin Christian Stach went sent as missionaries to Greenland in 1733. He baptized the first Eskimo convert, Kajarnak in 1740.

⁸ A native of Suchdol, Moravia, he was ordained Deacon in 1760. After leaving Labrador he was sent as a missionary to Tranquibar, E.I., where he died.

⁹ He was ordained Deacon at Bethlehem, PA and later Presbyter at Nain, Labrador in 1773.

¹⁰ Both of his parents were born in Moravia.

¹¹ *Periodical Accounts*, Vol. 19[1848], pp. 209-12, 273-77.

same captain had commanded the vessel which had been wrecked the year before Nain and Okkak, when the Brethren Brasen and Lehman had lost their lives. The urgent remonstrance which I made proving of no avail, we set out on our adventurous course. For 18 successive days, our lives were in constant jeopardy, huge masses of ice being driven against the vessel, and sometimes hemming her in on all sides; so that, as far as the eye could reach, neither open water nor land were to be seen from the mast. The sailors, being incessantly at work, and enjoying little or no sleep, were completely exhausted, and not infrequently gave vent to their indignation in the most violent manner. We Brethren took our full share in the arduous exertions which our perilous situation demanded; and most of our nights were spent pushing off the ice-blocks by means of long poles, in order to prevent them from striking against the vessel. During these 18 days of hardship and peril, we were continually engaged in prayer, and in commending ourselves to Him who alone could help us. Imminent danger and merciful deliverance followed each other in rapid succession. The deliverances we experienced were frequently of so striking nature, that the captain and sailors were constrained to acknowledge the hand of the Lord.

On July 22nd we were, for several successive hours, in a situation of extreme peril. The ice was driven against the ship by a violent gust of wind, and pressed against her with such force, that she was raised above the water and thrown on one side. The crashing of these enormous masses of ice was enough to appall the stoutest heart; vessel and crew appeared doomed to inevitable ruin. In this situation of indescribable anguish, we fixed our eyes on the Lord, while the sailors were wringing their hands in despair; and He, in whom we placed our trust, sent help and deliverance, when all hope seemed gone. The ice which had accumulated beneath the vessel broke asunder; a new gust of wind dispersed the masses around us; and great was our joy when, on trying the pumps, we ascertained that there was no leak. On the following day, we found a suitable harbor, surrounded and sheltered by rocks, where we could cast anchor. From July 23rd to the 29th we enjoyed a season of refreshment and repose, of which we stood in great need, after the dangers and hardships of the preceding days. The flood bringing daily a considerable number of haddocks within our reach, and the islands around us swarming with eider-ducks, we had no lack of fresh provisions. On July 30th, we steered along the coast in the direction of Nain, but had still several storms to weather before we reached the place of our destination. In the course of our adventurous voyage, we occasionally sailed over hidden rocks, which we frequently did not discover till we had passed them. It was as if an angel of God had stood at the helm and guided our course. A violent storm compelled us to seek shelter in the beautiful Machovik Bay, near Avertok, where we arrived in safety, after passing over several sunken rocks. It was here, on August 7th, that we had the great pleasure of seeing the first Esquimaux. He came on board, told us the names of all our European Brethren and Sisters at Nain, and appeared to feel a great affection for us. At our request, he readily consented to accompany us as our pilot to Nain, and immediately fetched his wife, with whom he resided on a [214] small island in the neighborhood. A few days afterwards, we received visits from several Avertok Esquimaux, who, at that time, were still

distinguished by their terrific appearance. The 16th of August was the happy day, on which, after a voyage of 17 weeks, marked by countless dangers and deliverances, we arrived in safety at Nain, where we were cordially welcomed by our dear Brethren and Sisters.

Shortly after my arrival, I made the painful discovery, that there was not that spirit of brotherly love prevailing among the different members of the missionary family, which is so essential to an efficient cooperation in the Lord's service, and to this state of things I could not help attributing, to a considerable degree, the mournful fact, that the preaching of the gospel had produced but little fruit among the Esquimaux. I made it an object of daily prayer to our Saviour, that He would purge away this old leaven, by enabling us to "love each other with a pure heart, fervently," and that He would graciously bestow upon us a new measure of faithfulness and zeal for the prosecution of our labors among the Esquimaux. Nor was this, my earnest supplication, offered in vain. At the very first missionary conference, at which we met together, the spirit of brotherly love pervaded our ranks, and the presence of the Lord was powerfully felt among us. We were animated by the same feelings on several subsequent occasions, when assembled to discuss various subjects connected with our missionary calling. After these seasons of spiritual refreshment, we applied ourselves severally to our allotted work with renewed alacrity and zeal.

We were, at that time, much engaged in building, and, since each one of us cheerfully exerted himself to the utmost of his abilities, we were able to accomplish a considerable amount of work in a comparatively short space of time. In 1776, a new station having been established at Okkak, we were busily employed at that place, in erecting a mission-house, which, by dint of strenuous and united exertion, we had the pleasure of completing before the close of the summer of the same year. The difficulties we had to contend with were certainly great and numerous, but the Lord, in whose name we had undertaken our task, graciously enables us to overcome them.

On February 19th, in the same year, we had the favor to baptize the first adult Esquimaux at Nain, who received the name of Peter. It was likewise no small encouragement to us to observe, that several other natives had been brought under the awakening influences of the Holy Spirit, and evinced an anxious concern about the salvation of their souls.

In May 1778, I visited Okkak for the first time. The ice-track being good, and the weather favorable, my first journey, in a sledge drawn by dogs, was very interesting and agreeable. At Okkak, I was delighted with the favorable prospects which this new station appeared to present; for our Brethren had already succeeded in acquiring the affection and esteem of the surrounding Esquimaux. In the sequel, I was obliged to visit Okkak several times, both in summer and winter. On one of my journeys, I was subjected to no small endurance from the unfavorable state of the weather, being compelled to spend several days and nights in a snow-hut, and this, together with various labours exceeding my strength, produced a weakness of body, of which I felt the effects for a considerable period.

In March 1782, I made an attempt to visit Okkak in company of Br. William Turner. This journey, from which we were obliged to return without attaining our object, was attended with so many narrow escapes and merciful interpositions of Divine Providence, in the midst of the most imminent dangers, that it will never be effaced from my memory.

In the course of the following month, I renewed the attempt, and succeeded in reaching Okkak, where I was greatly refreshed, on witnessing the grace of God manifestly prevailing among the Brethren and the converts gathered through their instrumentality from among the heathen. From that time, however, I was subject to attacks of illness, so frequent, that I found it quite out of my power to continue these official visitations, and was compelled to apply to our Elders in Europe for permission to retire from the service. My request being granted, I left Labrador after a service of eight years, and proceeded by way of Hopedale—which settlement had been established the year before—and St. John's, in Newfoundland, to London, where we arrived on October 28th, and remained till November 26th, resting from the fatigues of our voyage in the midst of our Brethren and Sisters. On my arrival at Barby, I received a call to fill the vacancy in the Elders' Conference of the Unity, occasioned by the departure of Br. Fries. The appointment to so important and responsible a post was as unexpected, as the conviction of my utter insufficiency was deep and clear; and yet I did not feel at liberty to decline it. In child-like reliance on the Lord's gracious help, I entered on the discharge of my new functions, residing at Barby with the other members of the Board of Direction till 1784, when I removed with them to Herrnhut."

Moravian Community at Fairfield

A few decades later Moravian missionaries from the US founded an Indian mission in Upper Canada, at Fairfield on the Thames River. The Moravian Indians at Fairfield, and later New Fairfield (also called Moraviantown), were Delaware who had been earlier converted in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In spring 1791, Zeisberger transported Indians in boats to what is now Amherstburg, Ontario. From there they later marched inland, to a site on the north bank of the River Thames, in Kent County, twenty miles above Chatham, and sixty miles below where the city of London was to be founded 34 years later. The party, 151 strong, arrived at that spot on May 3, 1792, and immediately set to work building a church, a school, and the log houses of a village which they named 'Fairfield', but which soon was locally known as 'Moraviantown.'

Fairfield got its charter in 1793, which allotted approximately fifty thousand acres of the surrounding land as a reserve for the Moravian Indians. Governor John Graves Simcoe came to visit the following year, stopping overnight on a journey to Detroit. He was duly impressed and commended them for their thrift and industry.

The idyll of Fairfield did not last for long. It was destroyed by yet another War, this time that of 1812.¹²

Other Visitors and Colonists

Thaddeus Haenke

Thaddeus Haenke (1761-1817), born in Chřibská, Bohemia, a noted botanist, physician and explorer, was part of an expedition which went from Acapulco, Mexico to Canada. On August 12, 1791, the expedition, having sailed south along the coast, arrived in Nootka Sound (B.C.) where Pedro de Alberni was in charge of the Spanish settlement of Santa Cruz de Nutka. Here Haenke enlarged his collections, classifying specimens according to the Linnaean system. His results form the oldest systematic ordering and cataloguing of the botanical species of present-day western Canada. Haenke was disappointed in his relatively small collection of plants; he could not find many species distinct from those of Europe, but he did discover a great number of conifers which differed from European varieties, and also found that the natives used spruce beer as an effective antiscorbutic. While he was in Nootka Sound Haenke continued his observation of the coastal Indians and recorded some of the music of the local Nootkas. The expedition left Nootka Sound on August 28 and reached Acapulco in mid October.¹³

Solomon Family

In 1759, Ezekiel Solomon (1735-1808), a native of Berlin, of Bohemian ancestry, was among the first Jewish merchants to go to Montreal, Canada, at the time of the British occupation. Solomon was a partner with Chapman Abraham, Gershon Levy, Benjamin Lyon, and Levi Solomons, who were originally army purveyors and who later figured prominently as pioneer fur traders in Michigan. Solomon helped raised funds for the Shearith Israel Congregation in Montreal. It opened in 1760. It was the first Jewish Congregation in Canada. In 1761 Solomon went to Fort Michilimackinac, today's Mackinaw City in Michigan. He was captured by the Indians during their 1763 massacre, but gained his freedom by being ransomed. He was a partner of the Mackinaw Company enterprise, which was organized in 1779 by some 30 traders and companies and which is believed to be the first example of a department store operation in the United States.

William Solomon (1777-1857), born in Montreal, Upper Canada, of Bohemian ancestry, was the fourth child of Ezekiel Solomon, who had come to New France from Berlin during the Seven Years' War and acted as a supplier to the British

¹² The Battle of the Thames or of Moraviantown was fought a little west of Fairfield, on October 5, 1813. The Canadian commander General Henry Procter was defeated and the Americans pursued him for some fifteen miles, and then returned, to burn Fairfield to the ground.

¹³ Donald C. Cutter, "Haenke, Tadeo (Tadeáš, Thaddeus)," in: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), Vol. 5.

Army. By the mid 1790s, William was working in the interior as an employee of the North West Company, and he evidently lived for some time with his parents on Mackinac Island, Michigan. Solomon supported his growing family by working at Michilimackinac, on Mackinac Island, as a clerk for the merchant Joseph Guy and occasionally by doing some interpreting, since he had learned several Indian languages. After war broke out between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, a force assembled by Captain Charles Roberts swiftly descended upon Mackinac Island and captured the fort and town for the British on July 17, the first military action of the war and a source of some satisfaction to Solomon. By February 1814, he had secured a position with the Indian Department as an interpreter at 4s. 6d. per day. Along with Jean-Baptiste Assiginack and a few others, Solomon was one of the interpreters kept on at Drummond Island as part of the peacetime garrison, which included the Indian Department establishment under the superintendence of William McKay.¹⁴

DeWolf Family

In 1656, Balthazar De Wolf (ca 1620-1696), a native of Sagan, Silesia, came to Hartford, CT, settling at Wethersfield, CT and in 1668, removing to Lyme, CT. In the eighteenth century, three of Balthasar's descendants: Simeon from Lyme, Nathan from Saybrook, and Jehiel from Killingworth, followed the Connecticut families who had moved to Nova Scotia in 1760 to take over the lands from which the Acadians had been removed in 1755.¹⁵ The three De Wolf families, assigned 500 acres each at Grand Pre in the township of Horton on the north side of Cornwallis, kept only the best of these Grand Pre lands and moved westward along with several other families to a little creek which joined Cornwallis River near its mouth.

Mud Creek, as it had been called since the time of the Micmac Indians, provided at high tide a channel for vessels to nose their way into a tiny harbor and land their cargoes of rum, molasses, oranges, and nuts from the West Indies and to load potatoes, which the farmers hauled in carts from the nearby farms. Mud Creek became a thriving village with prosperous farms, trade with the West Indies, shipbuilding along the creek, and stores and small manufactories. When Nathan De Wolf's second son Elisha married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Ratchford in 1779, he built a commodious house a mile or more west of Mud Creek. After he had entertained the Duke of Kent (later the father of Queen Victoria) on the occasion of the Duke's journey from Halifax to Annapolis in 1794, the house was known as Kent Lodge. The house still stands and new owners have had it restored to its eighteenth-century character.

¹⁴ David Arthur Armour, "Solomon (Solomons), William," in: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol. 8.

¹⁵ Esther Clark Wright, "A Note on the De Wolf Family of Nova Scotia. See: file:///C:/Users/Miloslav/Downloads/9024-9096-1-PB.txt%20(3).pdf

It was two of Elisha's granddaughters who protested that they found it embarrassing at boarding school to say that they came from Mud Creek and demanded a more dignified name for the village. Whether it was Judge Elisha himself or his son Elisha, the postmaster, who suggested the name Wolfville is not known, but it was the postmaster who took the matter up with the Postmaster General of Nova Scotia and had the name Wolfville recognized in 1830. A boys' school had been started at the village; and in 1838, the Baptist Association founded Acadia College, now an independent university of 3,000 students.

Judge Elisha's eldest son, William, remained a farmer, but two of William's sons, John Starr and James Ratchford, entered into the shipping business, probably in Halifax under the aegis of their uncle Thomas Andrew Strange De Wolf and ultimately became large ship owners in Liverpool. Both married in Liverpool. James Ratchford De Wolf was the first Mayor of Birkenhead. His family apparently did not wish to carry on the shipping business, for his will, which I happened on last week, directed that all his ships should be sold. John Starr De Wolf founded the firm of J. S. De Wolf and Company, and it was his son Thomas Andrew De Wolf whose Pacific ventures are related. Thus it was that the grandson of a Wolfville farmer was associated with far away islands in the Pacific.

Tom De Wolf was only one of many Wolfville grandsons to venture into distant places. It is one of the interesting facets of life in this pleasant town on the hillside overlooking the Cornwallis River and Minas Basin that sons and grandsons of Wolfville families are still venturing to far distant places and into varied enterprises. Their return to the home of their fathers keeps us in touch with the world beyond.

Elisha DeWolf (1756 -1837), Saybrook, CT, was a judge and political figure in Nova Scotia. He represented King's County in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1793 to 1799 and from 1818 to 1820. He was the son of Nathan DeWolf and Lydia Kirtland, and moved to Nova Scotia with his family in the 1760s when they were granted land there. In 1779, he married Margaret Ratchford. He served as High Sheriff for King's County from 1784 to 1789, also serving as postmaster, customs collector and justice of the peace. DeWolf was also assistant judge in the Court of Common Pleas. He lived in Horton (later named Wolfville in his honor).

James Ratchford DeWolf (1787-1855), a native of Horton, N.S., was a merchant and political figure in Nova Scotia. He represented Liverpool Township from 1820 to 1830 and Queens County from 1830 to 1836 and from 1840 to 1843 in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. In 1810, he moved to Liverpool, where he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Freeman. He established a company there with his father-in-law and two other partners. From 1825 to 1840, he operated his own business. He died in Liverpool in 1855.

Thomas Andrew Strange DeWolf (1795-1878), a native of Horton, N.S., was a merchant and political figure in Nova Scotia. He represented King's County in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1837 to 1848. In 1817 or 1818, he married his cousin Nancy Ratchford. He was named to the Executive Council in 1838 as Collector of Customs. DeWolf also served on the Board of Governors for Acadia College. His son James Ratchford Dewolf became a physician.

James Ratchford DeWolf (1818-1901), a native of Horton, N.S., became a physician and asylum superintendent. In 1866 he served as president of the Medical Society of Nova Scotia. A founding member of the society in 1854, he had been secretary for four consecutive terms from 1855. He was also professor of medical jurisprudence at Dalhousie College from 1871 to 1875

Wollman

Before 1787, Antoine Wollman (1753-1815), a native of Prague, married Therese Dalpe (1756-1836) of Quebec. He died at L'Acadie, Quebec Province, Canada. No further information about him could be found.

American Loyalists in Canada

Among the descendants of Augustine Heřman and Frederick Philipse (discussed in an earlier issue of *Kosmas*) were a number of loyalists, some of whom sought refuge in Canada after the American Revolutionary War. Several selected personalities among the latter are presented below.

Sir Frederick Philipse Robinson (1763-1852), born in Highlands, NY, descended from Frederick Philipse, was a soldier, who fought for Britain during the American War of Independence. His father was a Virginian who moved to New York, marrying a wealthy heiress of the Philipse family of Bohemian ancestry. On the conclusion of peace he went to England. He subsequently took part in the War of 1812 and commanded a brigade at the unsuccessful Battle of Plattsburgh. In 1813 and 1814 he commanded a brigade under Wellington in Spain. He was a provisional Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1815. Afterwards he was governor of Tobago, and he became a general in 1841. He died in Brighton, England.¹⁶

John Robinson (1762-1828), born in Highlands (Hudson Hills), near New York City, third son of Beverley Robinson and Susanna Philipse, and grandson of John Robinson, former president of the Council and administrator of Virginia, was a descendant of Frederick Philipse.

He was a merchant and political figure in the pre-Confederation Province of New Brunswick, Canada. He represented the City of Saint John in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick from 1802 to 1809 and from 1810 to 1816. At the start of the American Revolution, he enlisted in the Loyal American Regiment, a loyalist regiment organized by his father. Around 1786, he settled in the valley of the Saint John River. Robinson was named sheriff for Queens County. In 1787, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of George Duncan Ludlow. A few years later, he established himself as a merchant in Saint John. Robinson did not run for reelection in 1809 but was elected to the legislative assembly in an 1810 by-election. He served as acting deputy paymaster general during the War of 1812. He was chosen as Speaker for the Assembly in 1813 following the death of Amos Botsford and

¹⁶ "Frederick Philipse Robinson," in: *Wikipedia*, see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Philipse_Robinson.

served until 1816 when he was named provincial treasurer. In the same year, he was named mayor of Saint John. In 1818, he was named to the New Brunswick Council. In 1820, he was named to the board of directors for the new Bank of New Brunswick and became president. Robinson resigned from the Council in 1826 but continued as mayor and province treasurer until his death in Saint John in 1828.¹⁷

Lt. Col. Beverley Robinson (1754-1816), was the eldest son of Col. Beverley Robinson and Susannah Philipse. He married Anna Dorothea ("Nancy") Barclay, daughter of the Rev. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church in New York and sister of Col. Thomas Barclay, a well known Loyalist. He settled at Nashwaaksis (Fredericton), New Brunswick, and held the appointments of clerk of the peace, clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, and Puisne Judge,¹⁸ York County, in 1785. There were six children: Beverley of New York; Morris, the founder of life insurance in North America; a daughter who married Alexander Slidell McKenzie of the United States Navy; Frederick Philipse, who became auditor general of New Brunswick; John, who was a lieutenant in the British army; William Henry, who became a major in the British army; and Susan, who married George Lee of the British army.

The Honourable Frederick Philipse Robinson of Nashwaaksis (1785-1877) became Auditor General of New Brunswick. He married Jane, the daughter of Dr. Adino Paddock, Surgeon to the Ordnance in this province. They had five sons and one daughter.

John Robinson, held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel with the 10th Regiment of Foot, married Eliza Maria Allaire.

The youngest brother, Hon. William Henry Robinson (1793-1848), married Lousia Millidge of Saint John.

John Simcoe Saunders (1795- 1878), a native of Fredericton, N.B., was a descendant of the legendary Augustine Herman from Prague, his mother being Arianna Margaretta Jekyll Chalmers. He was lawyer, legislator, and public servant and a judge of the Supreme Court and later chief justice of New Brunswick. John Simcoe Saunders' father had distinguished himself in the American Revolution as an officer of the Queen's American Rangers under the command of Colonel John Graves Simcoe; he consequently enjoyed the benefit of high official connections in England. Young Saunders was sent to school in England under the supervision of his maternal grandfather, James Chalmers, who had commanded the Maryland loyalists during the American Revolution. After a higher education at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, Saunders returned to Fredericton where he was called to the bar in 1817. Finding his profession unrewarding, he returned to London and studied law with the eminent pleader, Joseph Chitty. In 1828 he published *The law of pleadings and evidence in civil actions*, a work that enjoyed rapid sale and was reprinted several times in the United States. In New Brunswick there was a rumor, probably

¹⁷ T. W. Acheson, "Robinson, John," in: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, vol. 6.

¹⁸ A regular member of a court other than the court's chief judge or chief justice, or any ex officio member of the court.

caused by envy, that the work was really Chitty's, that for some unknown reason the teacher preferred to publish the book under the pupil's name. Sometime during this period Saunders married his first cousin, Elizabeth Sophia Storie of Camberwell, Surrey; they had a son and a daughter.¹⁹

Explorers and Adventurers

Julius von Payer (1842-1915), born in Teplice-Šanov, Bohemia, an American navigator and explorer, noted for the discovery of Franz Joseph Land, received his education in the military academy of Vienna. He entered the Army as Lieutenant in 1859, became professor of history in the military academy in 1865, and, being attached in the following year to the general staff, determined the altitude of most of the Austrian Alps. He accompanied the German expedition to the North Pole, under command of Captain Karl Koldewey, in 1869-70, and discovered in the interior of Greenland a range of mountains with summits 11,000 feet high. The results of the expedition are recorded in *Die zweite deutsche Nordpolarfahrt*, which Payer wrote in association with Koldewey. In 1872 he was given, in conjunction with Herr Weyprecht, the mission to ascertain if an open sea exists east of Spitzbergen, between Europe and America. They sailed from Bremen on June 13, 1872, on the steamship 'Tegetthoff,' but were imprisoned by ice-fields near Nova Zembla, and, after enduring great hardships, landed, in April, 1874, at Franz Joseph Island, where they were compelled to abandon ship. After performing a remarkable sledge-journey of 300 miles, they embarked in two canoes, and were in a state of great destitution when they met a Russian whaler, which carried them to Lapland, whence they returned by land to Vienna in July, 1874. Payer was retired from the Army the following year, and then lived in Frankfort, devoting his time to scientific researches. He also did several art works in oil of the arctic regions. He published *Die Expedition der Tegetthoff, Reise nach den Eisfeldern des Nordpols* (1876).²⁰

Heinrich Klutschak (1814-1866) was born in Prague and received his education at the Prague Technical University and at the Military Academy in Prague. Following five-year service in the Austrian First Artillery Regiment, he immigrated to the US in 1871. He then signed on a whaling ship to Repulse Bay where he had his first contact with the Canadian Inuit. For some time he worked as interpreter on board transatlantic steamers before he spent two years as a member of the Schwatka expedition (1878-80). The American Franklin Search expedition was led by Lieut. Frederick Schwatka from the Third US Cavalry Regiment. Klutschak volunteered as illustrator and surveyor. The main objective of the expedition was to find a cache of documents left by Franklin in a cairn, somewhere on King William Island. The documents were never found. Klutschak and his companions, however, found the remnants of the last survivors of Franklin's men. They also collected first-hand

¹⁹ W. S. MacNutt, "Saunders, John Simcoe," in: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), Vol. 10.

²⁰ Hermann F. Koerbel, in: *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, (New York-London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1598-1600.

memories of Inuit elders on the tragic fate of Franklin's party. The expedition became a milestone in the Arctic exploration history because of its total adoption of Inuit lifestyle that enabled travel across the Keewatin tundra during the dark wintertime with temperature well below zero. Within 11 months and 14 days, they mastered a sledge journey of 2,820 miles that surpassed any undertaken by white men previously. They reached most remote areas and were the first white men living among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, a Netsilk group of the Adelaide Peninsula. During the whole expedition, no fatalities, no severe injuries and no serious illnesses occurred. The Inuit diet, consisting of fresh meat, also prevented scurvy. The year after their return, Klutschak published his book, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos* (As Eskimo among the Eskimos), illustrated with his own accurate drawings. In 1881 Klutschak toured Austria and Germany, lecturing about the expedition and promoting his book. After a lecture, the Emperor Franz Josef I spontaneously honored Klutschak with a medal. In his last years, Kutschak suffered from tuberculosis and died prematurely in New York City at the age of 42. Klutschak Peninsula and Klutschak Point were named after him.²¹

Bohuslav Kroupa (1838-1912), born in Bohemia, was an illustrator who lived in Scotland. During his trip in 1872 he became very well acquainted with America and Canada. He made drawings wherever he went, in connection with his job for Sanford Fleming's expedition and which were later published in the book *From Ocean to Ocean*. Two years later he made another study tour through the US, Canada and Mexico. He went as far as the Hawaiian Islands and returned by way of Panama to New York. He described this trip in an extensive book, which was published under the title *An Artist's Tour. Gleaning of Travel in North and Central America and the Sandwich Islands. With Illustrations by the Author* (1940). He taught art drawing at the Edinburgh College in Scotland.

Anthony Fiala (1869-1950), born in Jersey City Heights, NJ, of Czech parents, was educated at Cooper Union and the National Academy of Design, New York City. In early life he was engaged in various employments—as lithographic designer, chemist, cartoonist, head of the art and engraving department of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1894-99), and correspondent for that paper while serving as a trooper in the Spanish-American War. In 1901 and 1902, he accompanied the Baldwin-Ziegler polar expedition as photographer. From 1903 to 1905, he was in command of the Ziegler Polar Expedition, reaching 824' north, discovered and mapped new islands and the greater part of Franz Jozef Archipelago. In 1914 Fiala accompanied Theodore Roosevelt on the Roosevelt-Rondon Scientific Expedition into hitherto unexplored parts of Brazil; he explored Papagaio River and descended Jurnena and Tapajos Rivers of Brazil.²²

Jan Eskymo Welzl (1868-1948), born in Zábřeh, Moravia, was a traveler, adventurer, hunter, gold-digger, Eskimo Chief and Chief Justice in New Siberia and

²¹ Verena Traeger, "Henry Wenzel Klutschak," in: *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, (New York-London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1098-1101.

²² Susan Barr, "Fiala, Anthony," in: *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, (New York-London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 613-615.

later story-teller and writer. He was known under the pseudonym Eskymo Welzl or the nickname Arctic Bismarck. He traveled through the Balkans and then Siberia, and the Novosibirsk Islands, where he spent some 30 years of his life. He lived among Eskimos in Yukon Territory. He wrote about his experiences in the popular book *Eskymo Welzl* (1928). Subsequently he left his homeland permanently and settled in Northwestern Canada where he died. The asteroid 15425 Welzl, discovered in 1998, is named in his honor.

Beginnings of Mass Migration

According to Gellner and Smerek,²³ corroborated by Cermak,²⁴ mass migration of Czechs to Canada had its start on the territory of today's Saskatchewan. Specifically, they referred to four Czech farm families, the Pangrács, the Juneks, the Doležals and the Skokans, who came in 1884, settling, in what was then, the District of Assiniboia (today's Saskatchewan). Actually, if one browses on the Internet, one finds that individual families appeared in other locations and, in fact, earlier. Below are some examples.

Joseph Kellner, born on January 5, 1824 in Všeruby, Bohemia, who later moved to Whiteland, Manitowoc Co., WI, must have resided in Beauport, Quebec around 1847, since in that year he was married there to Josephine Barber (born in 1821), also a native of Bohemia. Their daughter Elizabeth (1849-1983), was married to Thomas Zipperer (1843-1923), around 1870, in Whitelaw, WI and had with him 3 children.

Joseph Brannick, born in 1816 in Bohemia, with his wife and two children, John and Frank, decided in 1850 to emigrate to Canada. On the boat, they met Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig Snider (orig. Schneider) and their son and daughter. Because of the poor sanitation, plague broke out and Brannick's wife died and Mrs. Snider's husband suffered the same fate. Joseph Brannick later married Snider's widow.

Brannick's son Francis Brannick (1841-1927), after arriving in Canada in 1850, remained there. In 1887, he married in Albion, Ont. Martha Wolfe, with whom he had 7 children, all born in Keppel Township, Owen Sound, Ont.

As mentioned earlier, Joseph Brannick married Snider's widow, Mary Josephine, sometime after 1855 in Hamilton, Ont. He had two children with her, Joseph (born 1860) and Matthew (born 1868), both born in Ontario. They both were married and left descendants.

Catharina Haubuer (Haubner) (1831-1891), from Dachov, Bohemia, must have resided in Ontario, Canada by 1850, because she was married to Johannes Zant in Waterloo County in August of that year. They had together some 11 children, all born in the Ontario Province.

Matthias (Matěj) Pacha Pejša (1802-?), from Drhovice, Tábor, Bohemia, with his wife, Maria of Dražice, Tábor, moved to Canada in August 1854, bringing with them their large family of seven children. They apparently originally immigrated to

²³ John Gellner and John Smerek, *The Czechs and the Slovaks in Canada*, p. 61.

²⁴ Josef Čermák, *It All Began with Prince Rupert*, op. cit., p. 131.

Cleveland, OH, where their twins, Winslaus and Joseph Václav, were born in March 1854. Four more children were born to them in Woodstock, Ont., Canada and three additional ones in Sanilac, Michigan, to where they moved in May 1859.

Francis Sádlo (1811-1903), born in Bohemia and his wife Elenora Boda (1822-1895), also from Bohemia, must have resided in Canada at least since 1857, because their daughter Victoria was born there that year. They had another daughter Mary earlier, before coming to Canada, who was born in 1844. Two more children were born to them later in Canada, namely, Joseph (born 1861) and Francis (born 1862).

Phelix (Felix) Růžicka (1831-1906), of Pacov, Bohemia, and his wife Catherine (Katrine) Adams (originally Adamová) from Bohemia, must have lived in Oshawa, Ont., Canada around 1859, because their first child Catherine was born there. Other children followed: William (born 1861), Anastasia (born 1864), Francis (born 1867), Jerome (died), Emanuel (born 1874). By 1877 they resided in Spillville, IA, where their last child, Jerome was born that year.

Johan Wilfred Grog (1814-1887), of Vrchlabí, Bohemia, must have resided in Kingston, Ont. by 1859, because in November of that year he married there Charlotte Heasley (1840-1901), from Kingston. They lived in Kingston and had a large family of 14 children, all born there.

Wilhelm Labitzky (1829-1871), born in Bečov, Bohemia, was a noted violinist. He was son of Joseph Labitzky, "the Waltz King of Bohemia," trained at the Prague Conservatory of Music. He performed in Toronto in 1858 and settled there, shortly afterwards.

John Sepner (1838-1910), a native of Bohemia and his wife Margaret Nelsen Smith (1840-1904), whom he married in 1868 in Detroit, MI, must have resided by 1867 in Windsor, Ont., Canada, because around that time two of their children were born there. They remained living there and had altogether 8 children.

Anne Sarle (1847-1917), born in Bohemia, resided in Ontario by 1871, because she was married in Formosa, Bruce, Ont., on January 9 of that year, to Andrew Freiburger. They had, at least, 8 children together, born in Bruce, Ont.

John Sepner (1838-1910), of Bohemia, must have resided in Ontario, Canada by 1872 or earlier. His daughter Margaret was born there in 1872.

Francis Xavier Richter (1837-1910), from Frýdlant, Bohemia and his wife Lucy Šimla, resided in Cawston, B.C., Canada, at least since 1876, when their son Hans was born there. Hans Richter (1876-1961), with his wife Florence Gadberry, had at least 11 children, all born in Cawston, B.C.

Francis Richter was a pioneer settler, miner and rancher in 19th century Washington and British Columbia. At the age of 18 he emigrated to Texas, and after a misadventure where he was wounded and captured by Indians, following the lure of the gold rushes westward, he came to Rich Bar, Washington and with the take from his placer claim opened a small store and operated a small riverboat. Hearing of good grazing land northwards in British Columbia, he sold out his mine holdings in Washington and bought 42 head of cattle with a man by the name of King, and they drove them to the Cawston area south of the Keremeos which is located in the Similkameen Valley of British Columbia's Southern Interior in October 1864. He pre-empted land six miles (10 km) down the Similkameen Valley from Keremeos

and founded the “R” Ranch. He also worked for a while for the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Similkameen (Fort Keremeos). With his cattle business thriving he sold his the “R” ranch and started a new ranch on what is now known as the Richter Pass. In 1898, he purchased another property at Keremeos Centre, where he also operated a thriving store. In addition to an opulent new residence, Richter planted 30 acres (120,000 m²) of fruit trees on the new property, which was to become the foundation of the Similkameen’s still-thriving orchard industry and, alongside the Oblate priests of Okanagan Mission, is reckoned to be the founder of BC’s fruit industry. The house and the Richter household became social pillars of British Columbia society and important guests were common at the Richter ranch. Eventually the Richter holdings comprised 10,000 acres (40 km²) of land and 1,500 head of cattle.

Francis Skalitzky (ca 1820-1881), from Bohemia and his wife Johanna Blaschika, born ca 1822, resided in Ontario by 1877, when their daughter Maria Anna was born there that year.

Antone Haubner, born 1827 in Bohemia, must have resided in Bruce, Ont., at least by 1879, because on July 31 of that year he was married there to Sarah Shelley Koch (born 1831).

Angus Soucoup (orig. Soukup) (1851-1902), of Bohemia, by 1880 was married to Mary Jane Dobson (1861-1925) of Smiths Creek, Kings Co., N.B. They initially lived in Boston, MA, where their first 4 children were born. By 1889 they resided in Westmorland Co., NB, where 5 more children were born to them.

There may have been other Czech families who arrived in Canada in the early days of mass migration, but this will have to await future research. For families who followed in subsequent years, see the monographs by John Gellner and John Smerek²⁵ and Josef Čermák²⁶ mentioned above.

²⁵ John Gellner and John Smerek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in Canada*.

²⁶ Josef Čermák, *It all Began with Prince Rupert*..

BOOK REVIEWS

Rozmluvy s Antonínem Švehlou a o Švehlovi: Vzpomínky Agrárního diplomata Karla Mečíře. Historico-Kritická edice, (Conversations with and about Antonín Švehla: Reminiscences of the Agrarian Diplomat Karel Mečíř; A Historical and Critical Edition) Eduard Kubů and Jiří Šouša, ed. (Prague: Universita Karlova, Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2018), ISBN 978-80-246-4099-0 and ISBN 978-80-4150 (pdf), 348 pp.

In choosing the title, *Rozmluvy s Antonínem Švehlou a o Švehlovi*, the editors, Eduard Kubů and Jiří Šouša, suggest that the subject matter of their book belonged in the same category as that of another famous work. The editors were, of course, thinking of Karel Čapek's *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*.

The book under review consists of several discrete parts. A biography of Karel Mečíř, the Agrarian diplomat, follows the editors' introduction. The bulk of the work, 242 pages, is devoted Mečíř's reminiscences of his conversations with Antonín Švehla (1873-1933), the Agrarian Party leader and leading political figure in the two first decades of twentieth century Czechoslovakia. Švehla had a crucial role in the formation of the Czechoslovak state, served as the country's Minister of the Interior from November 1918 to September 1920, and as its Prime Minister from October 1922 to March 1926 and again from October 1926 to February 1929. The editors then assess the scholarly and popular works written about Švehla. The work continues with an editors' note and a reprint of an article detailing the fate under various regimes of a Švehla statue erected in the village of Říčany. An English section entitled "Summary" ends the book.

Karel Mečíř (1876-1947) began his university career at Prague's Karl Ferdinand University. He quickly abandoned his initial concentration in philosophy in favor of religious studies in Rome., which, too, did not suit him. He finally earned a law degree from the Prague institution. After short stints as a government employee and lawyer, Mečíř settled on a career in journalism. He eventually wrote for *Obrana zemědělců*, which later became *Venkov*, the official organ of the Agrarian Party. There he came into contact with leaders of the Party, especially the chairman, Antonín Švehla. Before the outbreak of World War I, the ambitious and capable Mečíř was sent as a foreign correspondent several times to the Balkans. He so impressed Švehla that he appointed him as one of the Agrarian Party's deputies to the Revolutionary National Assembly and later to the Czechoslovak delegation to the Paris peace negotiations. With the required qualifications, knowledge of several foreign languages, and international affairs, as well as the necessary social graces and organizational talent, Mečíř coveted a diplomatic post. Despite the diplomatic corps being Eduard Beneš's and President Tomáš G. Masaryk's jealously guarded preserve, Švehla secured Mečíř an appointment as the Czechoslovak ambassador to Belgium.

A public scandal ended this posting. Mečíř had an affair with Lalla Vandervelde, the wife of Belgium's Minister of Justice. Upon learning of her husband's infidelity, Mrs. Mečíř, along with her adult daughter, trashed the ambassador's rented quarters, made personal purchases at the embassy's expense

and left with valuable furnishings and household goods that did not belong to them. Beneš recalled Mečír and transferred him to Athens, where Lalla Vandervelde followed him. Finally, Beneš forced Mečír into early retirement and asked him to pay for the substantial damages. Mečír, however, was able to continue in his diplomatic career, but this time it was under the Agrarian Party's aegis. Švehla chose him in 1925 to serve as the secretary-general of the newly founded International Agrarian Bureau. In the late 1930s, he also undertook various diplomatic missions for the Party.

Despite his political, journalistic, and diplomatic activities, Karel Mečír found time to publish several novels, a play, and translations from Russian, Italian, and French. His publishers (Zemědělské Nakladatelství) and their agent (Knihkupectví Neubert), Kubů and Šouša note, were unlikely to have continued to bring out Mečír's works if they had not been profitable.

One of Mečír's works, which hereto had remained unpublished, is an account of his many and wide-ranging conversations with Švehla. Mečír did not conduct formal interviews with the Agrarian leader, nor did he make notes during their many talks. He, nevertheless, does insist that: "In the writing of these reminiscences, I am exceedingly careful that not a single word fails to correspond with what happened. I write as if I were testifying in court under oath (8)."

The editors' note that Mečír's memoir bears the earmarks of a first draft: "The work lacks the customary explanations found in monographs and, above all, the main protagonist did not sufficiently direct, supplement, and correct the manuscript (7-8)."

Mečír's reminiscences do give us a fuller portrait of Švehla, a public figure second only to President T. G. Masaryk in influence in Czechoslovak politics during the First Republic. Unlike Masaryk, Švehla wrote little and eschewed publicity. The memoir adds new depth and a human dimension to Švehla's portrait. It presents him as an apostle of agrarianism, an accomplished politician, as well as a man with a distinct personality.

Agrarianism, in its many facets, was the central theme of the Švehla-Mečír discussions. It was also the core of Švehla himself. It shaped his thinking and directed his political activities. Mečír writes:

If one describes Antonín Švehla as the leader of the Agrarian Party, it is saying too little about who he is and even less than about who he wanted to be. He desired to be the apostle of agrarianism, which to him was not merely a political movement but rather his *Weltanschauung*, a philosophy that permeated his entire being. It directed and manifested itself in all his thoughts, feelings, and actions. For him, the Agrarian Party was the natural consequence of agrarianism, but only one of its aspects, only one of its many parts (82).

The foundation of a nation, as well as that of a state, Švehla believed, was land. Its possession sustained them both, and without it, they would perish. "The first attribute of a genuine state," he stated, "are borders, in other words, a precise determination of the extent of its land (85)."

To Švehla, the relation of man to the soil is universal and eternal. To illustrate, Švehla related an incident from Emile Zola's *La Débâcle*. As a peasant plows his field, he reflects on the battle of Sedan raging several hundred meters away. The emperors of France and Germany have colossal disagreements with each other, but all this, the fighting and shooting, will pass. What will never vanish is the land. Always, it will need tilling, and people will want bread from it. The soil and labor will always give it to them.

Švehla's agrarianism also derives from his understanding of history—ancient and recent. The ability of the state to fulfill its most important obligation, to provide food for its citizens, depended on agriculture. The state must care not only for the physical well-being of its citizens but also for their mental and spiritual nourishment. The non-material needs of the citizens, too, were rooted in agriculture, for it led man to religion. First, men worshiped what they feared: natural phenomena and wild animals. When a wild animal was killed or died, it eventually turned to dust, but the agriculturalist saw vegetation die each winter, and grow and flourish the next spring. Isn't this the basis for the immortality of the soul, the beginning of religion? Religion, in turn, begot culture, art, music, architecture.

Švehla found evidence in recent history to buttress his arguments about the centrality of agriculture in the state. He cites the example of protective agricultural tariffs in Germany, which allowed its agriculture to survive and thus feed the country during the recent war. On the other hand, Švehla expressed great concern about the fate of Great Britain in World War I. According to him, it deliberately had destroyed its agricultural sector to be the supplier of industrial goods to its far-flung colonies, which were to supply raw material. When German submarines severely interrupted this exchange, Great Britain found itself in great danger.

Švehla also contended that the agriculturalists were uniquely qualified for political activism. Their profession taught them to plan ahead. At the same time, it demanded flexibility because unexpected events invariably come up. Moreover, the political party that represented agrarian interests was assured of a place in any future polity because people would always require food.

Ever the political realist, Švehla concluded that the agrarian parties should cooperate with socialist ones, who, like them, were a truly organized party. He explained to Mečír in 1907 when he was sending him to negotiate with the Social Democrats about a by-election:

Only they and we are founded on a specific worldview... They represent the worldview of the industrial worker and we that of the rural man working in agriculture. The future belongs to the two of us, so we will have to reach agreements, and the sooner we begin the better (83).

Also, as a shrewd strategist, Švehla was mindful of the need to reach all the fractions of the Social Democratic parties.

To be able to compete in the political arena, the Agrarians needed a mass organization and especially a press that would reach all those working in agriculture. According to Mečír, Švehla expanded the Party press to two popular

newspapers, *Cep* and *Večer*. He upgraded *Venkov*, the Party organ, to be a serious newspaper with extensive, even international coverage. By buying the publishing and printing machinery, Švehla made sure that the party press had solid financial footing.

Švehla's ambitions extended beyond his native land. As an apostle of agrarianism, he wanted to spread the word throughout the world. He had to postpone this ultimate goal because his nation urgently required his services. Mečíř insists: "But he never forgot this mission. In the meanwhile, he propagated agrarianism, so to speak in smaller measures. Because of this, he created the International Agrarian Bureau (110)." Švehla, before his death, saw the membership of the Bureau grow to include agrarian parties of the following countries: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, France, Holland, Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, Poland, Austria, Romania, Greece, and Switzerland.

So devoted was Švehla to this idea that he declared:

As soon as things are in order here, and I will no longer be needed, I will leave everything and go to America. The propagation of an idea as large as agrarianism needs a vast nation. A small state such as ours is not up to that task. America, where there are millions of farmers, there the work must begin. There I will go (110).

Švehla even began to study English for this end.

Mečíř shows us the agrarian leader as a skillful politician who handled well both challenging issues and personalities. First of all, Švehla chose his battles carefully. For example, despite Masaryk's wish for a separation of church and state, Švehla refused to take any step in that direction. Such a measure, he thought, would create an additional and unnecessary division in the new state that already had enough difficulties. Secondly, the agrarian leader possessed crucial leadership and organizational skills to achieve the results he desired. Mečíř discusses, at length, two instances where these attributes were evident. They are Švehla's organization of the 1909 strike of sugar beet growers against the processors' cartel and the establishment of Czechoslovakia as an independent and democratic state.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, sugar beet refineries were a cartel. The grower could take his crop only to his designated refinery. The refineries paid the owners of large establishments much more for their sugar beets than to those with small and medium holdings. Because they were dependent on the credit that the refineries advanced them, those with the smaller farms were not in a position to negotiate a better price for themselves. They needed the refinery's money to finance the next season's crop.

In 1902, the *Ústřední jednota českých řepářů pro Království české* (Central Association of Czech Beet Growers for the Czech Kingdom) was established. The next year, a similar organization was formed for Moravia. Švehla was deeply involved in the creation and growth of these co-operatives: he traveled extensively, made speeches, lectured, and turned into a demagogue when necessary. He also sought the co-operation of German beet growers, who had no organization of their own and large estate owners. The Association, which had had 1,300 members in

1902, in 1908, had 2,416 delegates attending its congress in Prague. Before advocating a strike, Švehla disposed of the main impediment to it. He found institutions and individuals willing to extend credit to the owners of more modest holdings. In March 1909, the Association announced that there would be no sugar beet crop planted. Faced with a full-blown strike, the refineries capitulated. In the collective agreement, the refineries accepted that the Association was the sole bargaining agent for the growers. They also guaranteed that the price for a unit of beets would be the same for all growers, and undertook to collect dues for the Association by deducting them from the sale amount. When asked about the last provision, Švehla explained: "If I had not included this in the collective agreement, the farmers would pocket the higher profits made from the sales, and I would be left to scrape, penny by penny, the money for the organization (78)." He also considered this economic organization as a means to engage the countryside in political action. Mečíř quotes Švehla:

Above all, the person living in the country is a man of genuine, concrete facts. Moral victories do not impress him. He must be shown that the organization did indeed bring him tangible benefits where he was suffering the most...The moment he saw that the organization helped him, he was more willing to enter into other organizations, even political ones (80).

Švehla's leadership of the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state and its democratic institutions also shows the same *modus operandi*: careful and realistic assessment of the situation, adroit timing, compromise when necessary, bargaining, and awareness of the political consequences. Despite his leadership, Švehla did not appropriate for himself the most prestigious position. He insisted that the first prime minister of the newly formed Czechoslovak state would be Karel Kramář.

Švehla handled political partners and opponents as adroitly as contentious issues. The agrarian leader as Prime Minister had the opportunity to come into contact with all of the First Republic's political elite. The memoir contains many anecdotes of these meetings and Švehla's astute assessments of these personalities. Mečíř *inter alia* mentions Karel Kramář, Jiří Stříbrný, Karel Pergler, and Eduard Beneš.

Most perceptive, however, are his observations about President Masaryk.

By all accounts, the university professor and peasant leader, who did not have a *maturita* certificate, met often and held each other in high regard. Masaryk had wanted Švehla to be his successor before the prime Minister's health made that an impossibility. According to Mečíř, Švehla prized most highly Masaryk's ability to analyze matters of state with the utmost logic and without allowing any emotion to intrude. He also appreciated that the President always kept his word. Nevertheless, Švehla was well aware of Masaryk's faults: his egocentrism and his bad professorial habit, i. e., the tendency to consider himself always the authority. Švehla explained:

It is quite tragic that this professor, who, during his entire career preached, "Do take anything on faith! Know!" has become to all an infallible oracle, an ultimate authority against whom there is no recourse. A man who, throughout his entire university life, had taught his students to demolish idols has himself become one. It is most tragic that he allowed this and permitted it to persist. Finally, it has had a detrimental effect on him (164-165).

Have you pointed this out to the President? Mečír had asked. Yes, Švehla answered, but it is not easy. Although the President can bear to hear the truth, it is best to present it to him wrapped in humor, to make it a joke.

Describing Švehla's personality, Mečír writes that he was, first and foremost, a political creature. He had, however, once contemplated another profession, as he told Mečír:

...I had to decide whether to devote myself to politics or the theater.... Have you ever considered...that on the stage an actor can make the audience forgets everything else? It hears and sees only him, and follows only his fate. In fact, he is its master. He controls it and can do whatever he wants with it. Ruling in the theater is like ruling in the state. In the end, I decided in favor of politics (111).

Mečír quickly hastens to correct the impression that the agrarian politician merely wanted to control and dominate others. In Švehla, this was intrinsically linked to a desire to serve the nation assiduously.

Money, as such, did not interest Švehla. He generously lent his to others and was careless in demanding repayment. His wife Bohumila, née Čechelská, and daughter, Helena, ran the farm and its affiliated businesses. Švehla drew upon the resources of his Party and its affiliated economic organizations to achieve his political ends. He was, however, scrupulous in not using public funds for his benefit. One example will suffice. When the government provided him free use of its official train carriage for his convalescence trip to the French Riviera, Švehla sent his daughter to the train station to defray the cost.

The walls lined with book-filled shelves at the Švehla residence surprised Mečír. A sight like this, Mečír would have expected at a professor's or scholar's house, not at an agrarian politician's! Belles lettres, economic, and political tomes found their place in the bookcases. Over time, the number of books kept increasing, although those in the last two categories grew at a faster rate than those dealing with literature.

Švehla read carefully and made notes in the margins. He did not judge literature by any political or party criteria. When he did once complain that Guy de Maupassant in his stories portrays the French peasant nearly as an animal, Mečír called his attention to *La terre qui meurt* by René Bazin and the books of Ewald Gerhard Seelinger. Švehla ordered their translations and publication in the *Venkov* literary supplement. Political literature comprised the bulk of his reading. Nothing written on that subject in Czech or German escaped his notice. He read history and

much admired the tactics of state builders such as Cardinal Richelieu and Bismark. Foreign affairs were not the focus of his interests, but Švehla paid much attention to them because he believed that agrarian parties and their leaders unwisely neglected them. He was one of the first Czechs to read Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and considered the then-dismissed work noteworthy.

Furthermore, Švehla maintained a keen interest in the fine arts. During his convalescence vacations, he spent much time in visiting art museums and could talk for hours about the Uffizi, Louvre, Prado, or London's National Gallery. He was also a collector and was especially passionate about fine porcelain.

His family and doctors attributed his early death to his nearly suicidal work habits. Several serious illnesses did not make him change his workaholic ways. He continued to labor tirelessly and usually late into the night. When he died in 1933, Švehla was only sixty years old.

The editors, consummate scholars, have supplied their work and especially Mečíř's reminiscences, with subtitles and copious footnotes to orient the reader. They identify the political actors, provide historical background, describe events, name literary works, and translate the Latin, German, French, and Italian phrases that pepper the text. Their erudition extends beyond the Czech/Czechoslovak into the European and American realm. The extensive footnotes make the *Rozmluvy s Antonínem Švehlou a o Švehlovi* intelligible to the reader who is not a specialist in the history of the First Czechoslovak Republic.

Šouša and Kubů also have included many photographs of persons and places as well as other illustrations. Many of these come from their personal archives, and others were collected from national, regional, and local museums and depositories. The frequent use of images not only adds visual interest but also helps the reader imagine a time past.

In the third section of the book, Šouša and Kubů discuss and evaluate works about Švehla. The oldest of these, *Antonín Švehla v dějinách Československé strany agrární*, written by Otakar Frankenberger and Josef Kubiček, gives a thorough account of the agrarian movement's rise and growth as well as Švehla's leading role in it. The book manages to eschew adoration in favor of decent restraint. After Švehla's 1933 death, many obituaries and memorials appeared. Of those, Marie Tumlířová and Antonín Paleček, Agrarian Party adherents, penned the most informative studies. Vlasta Štáflová, who specialized in books for adolescents, wrote a biography in the form of a two-volume novel, and Karel Čapek authored several perceptive texts. After the communist take-over in 1948, Švehla, a principal founder of the first Czechoslovak Republic and its democratic order, was erased from the history books. Only in 1989 did Vladimír Dostál publish the first post-World War II serious work about the agrarian leader, *Antonín Švehla: Profil československého státníka*. The book was brought out in New York. Its author relied on published sources, which he supplemented with the reminiscences of Czechoslovak exiles. The American historian Daniel E. Miller advanced the studies of this personality in his *Forging Political Compromise: Antonín Švehla and the Czechoslovak Republican Party 1918-1933*, a work based on archival sources. A Czech translation of the work was also published. *Hovory s Antonínem Švehlou (a*

o něm) presents a short compendium of various articles dealing with the Agrarian politician. Marie Zdeňková in *Antonín Švehla a Hostivař* takes a different tack; she combines civics with modern engaged regional reporting. Eva Broklová and Vlasta Qualgliatová, under the aegis of the Masaryk Institute, brought out a book about the correspondence between Švehla and Masaryk. In 2017, Eva Broklová published *Antonín Švehla: tvůrce politického systému*, a serious multi-disciplinary work which has elements of political history and political science. Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Czechoslovak state, Hutter published *Ze srdce a kamene: Pomníky Antonínu Švehlovi* by Marie Zdeňkova and Lukaš Berný. The book lists and describes the monuments that have been erected to the agrarian leader in the Czech lands and elsewhere.

A reprint of an article about the peripatetic fate of a statue of Švehla placed in Říčány follows the bibliographic chapter. The statue was erected there in the 1930s. The German occupiers ordered that all Švehla memorials (as well as other Czech patriotic monuments) be destroyed. Agrarian activists hid the statue in Prague and moved it back to its original Říčány place immediately after the war. When the Communists came to power, they too ordered the removal of all Švehla memorials. A group of young Říčány agrarians stole the statue and hid it in a well. The authorities did not find it or the culprits. In 1990, the “thieves” with some help removed the icon from the well. The statue was ceremoniously returned to its original place of honor in Říčány on October 28, 1990.

The introduction, Mečíř’s biography and reminiscences, as well as the bibliographic essays, are exemplary academic works, well-researched, documented, and presented. One cannot so praise the last two sections, the editors’ notes and “Summary.”

In the editors’ notes, Šouša and Kubů thank those involved in the production of their book and tell the provenance of the Mečíř manuscript. Before discussing this chapter, a personal note is in order. In the early 2010s, I brought the Mečíř memoir (in manuscript form) to Prof. Šouša during one of my visits to Prague. He was working on a biography of the diplomat, and I thought that it would interest him. We discussed in general terms what could be done with the manuscript. It was in the papers that I inherited from my father (Martin Hrabík) and am in the process of donating to the Czech National Archive. I had not heard about the fate of the manuscript until early 2019. Then, a copy of *Rozmluvy s Antonínem Švehlou a o Švehlovi* arrived in my Troy, Michigan, mailbox.

Šouša and Kubů in this penultimate chapter thank me profusely for making the memoir available to them. They also express their gratitude to Mrs. Marie Zdeňkova, the chronicler and documentarist of Prague 15, for her work on Švehla. Moreover, Šouša and Kubů here acknowledge the assistance of a long list of historians, archivists, and librarians.

Besides, Šouša and Kubů provide what they believe is the provenance of the Mečíř memoir. They had deduced from notes scribbled on the first page of the xerox copy that person’s unknown had brought the manuscript to France after 1948. It was then placed in my father’s papers and taken to the United States when he

emigrated in 1951. The memoir was given to a member of the Švehla family, the editors surmise, but they cannot ascertain by whom and when.

This account of the provenance is inaccurate. The first page of the manuscript was a xerox of the cover of the folder in which my mother had stored the memoir when she was putting my deceased father's papers in order. Being a thrifty Czech housewife, she placed it in an already used file. My father once had saved materials there that had to do with his 1948 to 1951 Paris stay. She crossed out with one large "X" the References to Paris. She wrote: "MEČÍŘ—Copy: We brought the original from Czechoslovakia and gave it to Švehla here—from Mr. Černý in Hostivař." My parents received the manuscript from the gentlemen mentioned above when they visited their homeland in 1990. He asked them to pass it on to the Agrarian leader's grandson, who lives in the United States. (Incidentally, he has the same name as his grandfather.) My father did as requested; however, he made a copy for his archive. I passed a copy of that copy to Prof. Šousa. Another error in the text, the editors have me earn my PhD at Fordham University. I received an M.A. from that institution. My PhD is from the Pennsylvania State University.

The last chapter, written in English and entitled "Summary," misleads the reader in two ways. First, it is not what its title promises—a synopsis of the book. It fails to mention several integral parts of the work, i.e., Mečíř's biography, the reprint, and the excellent annotated bibliographic essay. Moreover, the "Summary" is a translation into English of a part of the book's introduction. Nowhere is the reader informed of this fact. He can discover this only if he has read the introduction written in Czech.

Secondly, the translation leaves much to be desired. While its text always is grammatically correct, it is full of what in language studies is known as "false friends." The translator assumes that words that are identical or very similar in both languages have the same meaning. To mention a few, "*princip statku*" is translated as the "principle of a country estate." This makes English readers think authors are referring to the management of large-scale establishments, such as those of the landed gentry, but the writers were thinking of the management practices of farms regardless of their size. "*Intelligence a úřednictvo*" becomes "intelligence and office" rather than intellectuals and officials. Such constructions not only render the sections of the text awkward but also nonsensical or unintelligible. Also, the translator throughout often chooses English words that are inappropriate in the context. The non-Czech reader, who has only the "Summary" to guide him, may well decide that this excellent book is not worth deciphering or getting translated. What a pity, for he would be missing much.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, Profs. Šousa and Kubů have made a substantial contribution to Czech/Czechoslovak history. They have shown the personality, thinking, activities and influence of the man who had the lion's share in shaping the first Czechoslovak Republic. In *Rozmluvy s Antonínem Švehlou a o Švehlovi*, Eduard Kubů, and Jiří Šousa have achieved what they set out to do:

We want this work to be a reminder of the fact that at the birth of the new Czech/Czechoslovak state and the establishment of its democracy stood

not only T.G. Masaryk...but also A. Švehla.... In other words, a brilliant symbiosis of an academic's wisdom with a farmer's healthy common sense brought forth the Czechoslovak Republic (328).

Mary Hrabík Šámal
Troy, Michigan

Pavel Kreisinger, *Češi a Slováci v Austrálii v 1. polovině 20. století a jejich účast ve světových válkách*, (Prague: Academia, 2018). ISBN 978-80-200-2821-1, 400 pp.

Immigration to Australia belongs among the less examined fields in the history of emigration and exile from the Czech lands and Slovakia. This is evident in comparison to the immigration to the United States, which received attention even under communism. However, research at that time was possible only within the framework allowed by the communist regime, and therefore focused on emigration from the Habsburg monarchy. No research and objective interpretation was possible, particularly on issues related to the American support for Czechoslovakia's independence, to T. G. Masaryk's "action abroad," or to emigration and exile to the USA during the Cold war. Only the collapse of communism in 1989 made it possible to explore objectively and thoroughly the issues of immigration, emigration and exile.

The study of immigration to Australia before 1989 suffered under the same restrictions. After 1989, this research started later than that on immigration to America, struggled with fragmented sources, its supporting base was smaller, and overall it was more difficult.

In the research of immigration and exile to Australia, the Faculty of Arts of Palacký University in Olomouc has established itself as the first and only research center on the topic in the Czech Republic. Several important monographs and larger studies have been published here, especially *Český exil v Austrálii (1948-1989)* [The Czech exile in Australia (1948-1989)] by Jaroslav Miller, Jana Burešová and Miloš Trapl, published by Lidové noviny Publishing House in 2016. Pavel Kreisinger brings now a comprehensive monograph *Češi a Slováci v Austrálii v 1. Polovině 20. Století a jejich účast ve světových válkách* [Czechs and Slovaks in Australia in first half of the 20th Century and their participation in the world wars], published by Academia in 2018.

The author clearly defines three research questions: 1. did the Czechoslovaks in Australia support the first and second Czechoslovak resistance abroad? 2. Did the Czechoslovaks in Australia support the resistance abroad formally (e.g. financially), or physically (with arms in their hands)? 3. Did they make efforts to be admitted into the ranks of the emerging Czechoslovak army abroad, or did they join the Australian army?

The author successfully answered these research questions, but not only that—his book provides a large and telling picture of many individual life stories Czechoslovaks in Australia—Czechoslovak soldiers in the Australian army,

members of the expatriate community, and Czechoslovak consular officers in Australia.

The author defined his methodological approaches well using both qualitative and quantitative methods. His quantitative examination resulted in a number of useful tables, statistics and summaries. The monograph has seven main chapters and a number of subchapters. Beginning with a survey of Czechs and Slovaks in Australia before 1918, he then studies Czechoslovak-Australian relations between the wars. Following that is a discussion of the fate of Czechs and Slovaks in Australia from Munich to the Nazi occupation of March 15, 1939, and their situation from the Nazi occupation to the outbreak of the war in September 1939. Two further chapters explore the activities of the Czechoslovak Consulate General in Sydney during the war years and the activities of Czechoslovak honorary consulates in Australia during the war. A final chapter discusses the Australian Army and Czechoslovaks serving in it during the Second World War.

The book has an extensive accompanying apparatus, which includes a detailed overview of archival sources from archives in Australia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the USA, an overview of private collections related to the topic, and a review of published sources. There are also interviews, transcripts of the e-mail correspondence of the author, a very detailed bibliography, and an index of names and geographical locations. The citation apparatus is thorough and consistent. A rich photo documentation printed in excellent quality on good paper further enhances the value of the work, as does its meticulous editing and excellent design.

The knowledge of Australian history is generally not widespread in the Czech Republic, so the author includes concise overviews of general developments in Australia linked to the history of immigration and exile. Even the period up to 1914 quantifies and characterizes the expatriate community and brings to life the stories of immigrants, including scientific expeditions in which Czechs participated into the interior of Australia. Kreisinger researched in detail the participation of Czechs and Slovaks in the Australian army and of Czechs and Slovaks from Australia in the Czechoslovak legions, especially in France during the First World War. This is a valuable and so far unknown contribution to Czechoslovak military history.

After 1918, the relations between Australia and independent Czechoslovakia developed. The author describes the reaction to the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia in Australia, the process of establishing official Czechoslovak-Australian relations represented by the Consulate General in Sydney in 1920. He examines the personality and activities of the first Czechoslovak Consul General Jiří Viktor Daneš, an acclaimed traveler and professor of geography at Charles University. Kreisinger quotes extensively from the correspondence, travelogues and memories of Czechoslovaks who were involved in Czechoslovak-Australian relations during the First Republic. There were several interesting personalities among them. Besides Daneš, there is Emil Ballek, who originally worked at the Ministry of National Defense, but his interest in Australia brought him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was sent as an official to the Consulate General in Sydney. Daneš's Deputy Consul General Jan Emanuel Hajný, who, like Ballek, had served in the Australian army and Czechoslovak legions in France during the

First World War is also discussed. Kreisinger provides a number of interesting details about Hajný's career in the Czechoslovak Foreign Service: Hajný's work brought him to Tahiti and finally, for ten years (1928-1938), to the Consulate General in New York. Hajný resigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the communist coup in 1948 and stayed in the United States in exile. Kreisinger's research results help fill in a mosaic of Czechoslovak relations with the English-speaking world. Rudolf Kuráž, for example, served for eight years (from 1927 to 1935) as Consul General in Sydney, and he made a significant contribution to the history of Czechoslovak-American diplomatic relations during the First Republic. This connection remained unnoticed until now.

Kreisinger also pays close attention to the expatriate community. He describes the Czechoslovak Club in Sydney, which was active until Munich, examines the situation in the circles of Slovak emigration and presents the literary achievements of immigrants from Czechoslovakia, including memoirs of many of them. An interesting chapter is about the emigration of Czechs and Slovaks in the interwar period to a remote Tasmania.

Other topics worth noting include the visit of journalist Egon Erwin Kisch to Australia in 1934 and Czechoslovak trade with Australia in the interwar period. A very interesting subchapter on Australian-Czechoslovak relations (i.e. relations from the Australian perspective) and the activities of Australians in the Czechoslovak First Republic includes visits by prominent Australian politicians (Theodore Fink) and the interest of Australians in visiting President T. G. Masaryk (Mick Kirwan and others). Five Australians received the prestigious Czechoslovak Order of White Lion during the interwar period.

The chapter on Czechoslovak-Australian relations during the Munich crisis analyzes Australia's position, characterizes opinions of Australian politicians and places them in the larger context of the politics of Australia as a British dominion during the appeasement period. Kreisinger characterizes those few who actively sought to explain to the Australians the situation in Central Europe and spoke in support of Czechoslovakia. The most engaged activist was the Czech journalist and traveler Josef Ladislav Erben.

The author pays detailed attention to the refugees from Czechoslovakia fleeing Nazism to Australia, among whom the vast majority were Jews. The author clearly explains the establishment of the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, the interest of British dominions, especially of Australia, to receive refugees from Czechoslovakia and documents the many related difficulties. He also monitors the reactions of the expatriate community in Australia and the reaction of official Australian political circles and the business community to the events in Central Europe after the Munich *Diktat*.

Kreisinger highlights the important role of the vice consul Adolf Solanský in maintaining mutual Czechoslovak-Australian relations in the period between Munich and the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Solanský opposed the efforts of his superior, pro-Nazi-oriented Consul General Rudolf Asmis and de facto saved the office, later becoming the leader of the Czechoslovak resistance in Australia.

The core of the book is a thorough analysis of the activities of the Consulate General in Sydney from 1939 to 1945. Several subchapters examine a variety of important issues after the recognition of Czechoslovak government of exile in London by Commonwealth of Australia, the involvement of the Consulate General in Sydney in Czechoslovak resistance abroad, its cooperation with the Czechoslovak Government in Exile in London (which was extremely difficult due to the communication during the war), the recruitment of Czechoslovaks in Australia for the Czechoslovak army in British dominions, and the activities of Czechoslovakia military missions. Kreisinger offers a gallery of life stories interpreted on the basis of archival and other sources. The author's question whether the recruitment of volunteers among Czechs and Slovaks in Australia was a success or a failure is answered by the conclusion that, under given conditions, it was a success even if there were few volunteers in the Czechoslovak army. Kreisinger explains this by the fact that there was no Czechoslovak military attaché in Australia and that the expatriates mostly preferred to join the Australian Army. Kreisinger also offers interesting findings about the Czechoslovak Red Cross in Australia and about its help to the Czechoslovak resistance abroad.

The chapter on Czechoslovak Honorary Consulates in Australia during World War II addresses this often-neglected component of international relations. Kreisinger researched the activities of four honorary consulates—in Brisbane (Queensland), Melbourne (Victoria), Adelaide (South Australia) and Perth (West Australia). Kreisinger examines the staff, lives of honorary consuls and activities of the honorary consulates during the war, analyzed cooperation with the local expatriate community, including Czech-Slovak relations and the situation of Czechoslovak Germans.

Among them, there was a significant percentage of refugees from Nazism, including German and Austrian Jews, who originally escaped to Czechoslovakia and came to Australia on temporary Czechoslovak passports. Although they claimed Czechoslovak citizenship, they were considered a security risk in Australia and were interned in camps. The number of these individuals needs to be subject to further research. The author describes this chapter of Czechoslovak-Australian relations as controversial and points out that sometimes only a German looking last name was enough for the internment of an immigrant. Kreisinger documents several eloquent cases of shortcomings that occurred (including the internment of an escaped prisoner from the Dachau concentration camp), as well as the intervention of the Czechoslovak consulate in Sydney and of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs in exile in London at various situations.

The book culminates in the most comprehensive chapter, which focuses on Czechoslovaks in the Australian Army during World War II. First, it familiarizes the reader with the development of the Australian Army including the main political and military decisions and the major Australian figures of the time. Against this backdrop, the author concentrates on the history of Czechoslovak volunteers in the Australian army. He offers engagingly written life stories of individuals from the Czechoslovak expatriate community or refugees from Czechoslovakia, set in the broad context of Australian military operations during World War II including, for

example, the tragic story of J. F. Kopanica, who died in a death march from the Japanese prison camp in Sandakan to Ranau in the interior of Borneo.

The author also examined in detail the participation of Czechoslovak women in the Australian army. Unlike during the First World War when there was no participation of women from the Czech lands or Slovakia in the Australian army, Kreisinger identified three volunteering women—two Czechoslovak refugees and one expatriate—who served in the women's auxiliary units of the Australian Army. In addition, one Czechoslovak exiled woman served with Dutch troops in Australia. The author explains that these female auxiliary units were modeled after the British example and provides interesting biographical data about the volunteers. For example, doc. PhDr. Julie Moschelesová, who habilitated at Charles University in 1934 in the field of anthropogeography and enjoyed the sympathies of T. G. Masaryk, was the woman who served with Dutch units.

The author concludes by stating that the Czechs and Slovaks in Australia supported the first and second resistance abroad. Official contacts between Czechoslovakia and Australia were established in 1920; the expatriate community consisted before World War II of 300 to 400 people, mostly of Jewish descent. Kreisinger emphasized the work of Vice Consul Adolf Solanský, who began working with Edvard Beneš in exile in London and became a leading force of the Czechoslovak resistance abroad movement in Australia. The author also values the operations of honorary consulates. He affirms that soldiers who enlisted in the Australian Army mostly decided to stay in Australia after the war.

The book by Pavel Kreisinger is an excellent result of a difficult research effort, methodologically robust and interestingly written. According to the author, further research of several topics is needed. This self-reflection is to his credit and there is a hope that he will be able to carry out further research. It would be also useful to add the reflections and observations of women—both expats and exiles—about the events happening in their families in Australia (depending on the availability of sources). A study comparing the Czechoslovaks and, for example, Poles, in Australia and their participation in the world wars would also be highly interesting and important. This is a suggestion for further research, rather than a criticism of the present work.

This book can be recommended to anyone interested in the history of emigration and exile from the territory of Czechoslovakia, anyone interested in Australia, in military history and in diplomatic history.

Milada Polišenská
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Norman Eisen, *The Last Palace: Europe's Turbulent Century in Five Lives and One Legendary House*, (New York: Crown, 2018). ISBN: 978-0-451-49578-5. 403 pp.

It all started when Norman Eisen, newly appointed by President Barack Obama as United States ambassador to the Czech Republic, moved into his new diplomatic

residence in Prague in January 2011. Returning to the land that his mother had fled to escape the Holocaust, he was startled to discover a Nazi swastika hidden beneath each piece of furniture in his new home. This unexpected find ultimately encouraged Eisen to plan, research, and finally write his remarkable historical reconstruction of the past, a captivating and twisted tale about four of the remarkable people who had lived in the house before he moved in. Their story, according to Ambassador Eisen, is centered around one remarkable Prague mansion (the “last palace” of the book’s title) whose history runs parallel to the European and the Czech story of the entire twentieth century, mirroring as it does the birth of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Germany and Central Europe, the horrors of the Second World War and the attendant Jewish Holocaust, the short-lived liberation of Czechs and Slovaks in the Prague Spring of 1968, and finally the liberating Velvet Revolution of 1989.

Eisen’s creative historical reconstruction begins with the builder of “the last palace,” the optimistic Jewish financial baron Otto Petschek, who planned and built the 150-room mansion after World War I as a statement of his faith in Czechoslovak democracy, only to have that faith shattered in the late 1930s. Then came Rudolf Toussaint, the cultured but compromised German general who occupied the palace during World War II, then risked his life to save the house and Prague from destruction in 1945. Next came Laurence Steinhardt, the first postwar United States ambassador, who struggled to keep the palace out of Communist hands, even as he vainly fought to save the country from Communist domination. Finally came Shirley Temple Black, a childhood movie star who witnessed the crushing of the Prague Spring by Soviet tanks in 1968 and from that moment determined to return to Prague to end totalitarianism—which she accomplished as United States ambassador in 1989. Among the interrelated tales of each of these palace inhabitants, Eisen introduces the biographical odyssey of his own mother, a survivor of the Jewish Holocaust and a patriotic supporter of the first Czechoslovak state. Encapsulating what she had experienced in Auschwitz, she remarks to her son: “It’s a mistake to love a country. It can’t love you back” (5).

Otto Petschek, a Jewish banker and financial baron was responsible for planning and building “the last palace.” He had long harbored visions for a sumptuous palace in the Bubeneč section of Prague, inspired by his own interest in landscape architecture and travels to various European gardens and palaces. As the self-styled “King of Coal” immediately after World War I, he intended his creation to celebrate his optimistic faith. But in 1928, Otto’s money ran out, and his extended family bailed him out, but also put him on a budget. In order to save construction money, he utilized cheap building materials, disguised as the real thing, and cut corners by purchasing two authentic Louis XV chairs at an auction and then making thirty-two exact replicas. Amid rising Anti-Semitism and Communist-inspired labor unrest aimed at him and at his family, Otto Petschek passed away in 1934, just as his architectural masterpiece was finished. In May 1938, his wife and daughters fled the palace for Hungary “and then parts unknown” (101).

A potential new inhabitant was now waiting in the wings, Colonel Rudolf Toussaint, the German military attaché in Prague on May 21, 1938. Born into a

family of immigrants from France to Germany, he jumped at the opportunity to live in Prague and from there advise German legation officials back home. Ironically, the Petschek family bank, not far from the Prague railroad station, became the Gestapo headquarters in the city. After a brief assignment in Belgrade, Toussaint returned to Prague in October 1941 and claimed Otto Petschek's palace from the second of two Wehrmacht generals who had looted the palace to outfit their wives or girlfriends. The Germans meticulously inventoried what was left behind, as every piece of clothing or furniture was rubber-stamped with the *Reichsadler*, the Nazi regime's symbol. Toussaint kept all of the books in Otto Petschek's sumptuous library, including all his Jewish books. He had little sympathy for Reinhard Heydrich or other ideological Nazis. As the war was coming to an end in early May 1945, now General Toussaint had to sort out his allegiances. The Red Army was closing in on Prague from the east, and General Patton and the American Third Army were nearing Plzeň in the west. As commander of the German military forces in Prague, Toussaint cut a deal with the Czech resistance and the American forces—all German forces would leave Prague with light weapons, but would surrender to General Patton's Third Army, and the city would be spared. Eisen notes that the departing Toussaint told his astonished Czech listeners that the Germans had lost the war, "but we deserved it" (162).

Enter a new inhabitant for the Petschek palace, the newly-arrived United States ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Laurence Steinhardt, in July 1945. The Soviets had seized the palace in the closing days of the war, and "they had done more damage in a few days than had been sustained throughout six years of war" (178). Steinhardt fell in love with the damaged but still beautiful palace, and he spent most of his tour of duty persuading the Czech government to assign the building to the American government as a fitting ambassadorial residence. He also managed to enter into a dalliance with a wealthy Austro-Hungarian-Czech aristocratic lady, Cecilia Sternberg (who later wrote a distinguished memoir from her British exile). Eisen describes Mrs. Sternberg as "a dazzling beauty descended from the English entrepreneur who invented the modern torpedo . . . a fixture at parties across the city [Vienna], dancing the Charleston with the highest kick in the Austrian capital" (199). With the departure of American troops, and the Communist coup in 1948, Steinhardt realized that his days would soon be numbered, and he devoted those last months in office to assisting a dozen Czechoslovaks associated with the embassy to safer harbors in Western Europe and North America (including the Sternbergs).

For this reader, the highlight of Ambassador Eisen's highly entertaining historical memoir is his description of Steinhardt's "one last act of salvation: Operation Flying Fiancée" (236ff.). This was a scheme to smuggle Mila, the fiancée of one of the best embassy contacts who had already escaped. The young lady in question was disguised as one of five young women carrying flowers for the departing ambassador onto his plane—but Mila locked herself in the plane's bathroom behind the flowers, and only four ladies reemerged from the plane, eluding the state security agent on board. Surely Ambassador Steinhardt deserved a medal for his acts of diplomatic courage.

Shirley Temple Black is the fourth of Norman Eisen's significant inhabitants of Otto Petschek's palace. She had travelled to Prague in August 1968 to persuade the Czechoslovak government to join the International Federation of Multiple Sclerosis Societies. The American ambassador Jacob Beam and his wife greeted Shirley as a house guest. During that visit, Shirley had walked down to Wenceslas Square and observed the Soviet tanks on the streets. Years later, she was appointed by President Reagan as the American ambassador to Czechoslovakia, still a Communist state undergoing what was called "normalization" after 1968. When she returned as ambassador-designate in August 1989, Shirley presented her credentials to the president, Gustáv Husák, who told her that he and his wife had loved her old films and had seen them all. Eisen commends Mrs. Temple Black for her support of Havel and other Czechoslovakian dissidents and for the cause of a democratic government where it had been so long denied. He admires her courage in mingling with the crowds during the Velvet Revolution of November 1989.

Norman Eisen's account of his own three-year term as American ambassador (and also an inhabitant of Otto Petschek's palace) appears almost as an afterthought. Throughout the book, he has intermingled the moving story of his Jewish mother and Holocaust survivor, and how her story had influenced his own. He also provides a memorable illustration of Havel's advice to his question about how he should conduct himself as the new American ambassador: "You must be a *very* undiplomatic diplomat," Havel responded (344-345).

Ambassador Eisen's memoir is carefully footnoted (the notes appear in the back of the book, before the substantial index), and a checking of those notes indicates that the author has indeed devoted time to careful research of Czech and other archival and library sources in addition to diplomatic papers and secondary newspaper and periodical documentation—the author speaks of three years of research in more than thirty archives in multiple countries, after leaving his ambassadorship. But more importantly, he manages to tell a fascinating story in an exciting and simultaneously moving fashion. His attention to appropriate small details and appreciation for the ironies of history help to raise this book above the usual staple of diplomatic memoirs. Eisen's lively memoir is a vivid reminder that history is made by human beings, with all their quirks and human frailties, and that it is this unique uncertainty that helps to bring history alive for those of us who live after the historic events described in these pages.

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Jan Balabán, *Maybe We're Leaving*, trans. by Charles S. Kraszewski, (London: Glagoslav Publications, 2017). ISBN: 9781911414698. 166 pp.

Exhibiting a remarkable versatility in genres, Jan Balabán wrote works of fiction, drama, art criticism, and translation from English to Czech. He also was a regular contributor to the well-renowned Czech magazine *Respekt*. Balabán, whose

career began in the *samizdat*, was making a name for himself when he died in 2010 at the age of 49.

The key to understanding *Maybe We're Leaving* lies in its title. The twenty-one short stories in the book present various forms of alienation, not only of the protagonists but also of their parents, other relatives, and society as a whole. People are "leaving" into isolation rather than coping with life, creating a feeling of uselessness. The protagonists can not change their depressing lives for the better due to external and internal factors—they are trapped in their own worlds that are punctuated by a grim cheerlessness. The various characters want to "leave"—escape from their miserable lives and find a true home and self-identity with a clear purpose. Unable to move at all, they are caught in a web of misery. They cannot control their lives.

These stories take place after the fall of Communism and often reflect on that era in a negative way. The protagonists, though, do not see democracy as a time of happiness, either. Their lives are dismal, their surroundings bleak. The stories are philosophical with many biblical references and references to three works by Fyodor Dostoevsky. They are written from various points of view—some are dominated by the first person while others offer third-person perspectives. Characters sometimes make appearances in several stories, playing a background role in one piece and a central role in another.

Balabán shows his protagonists in everyday situations. They represent people readers could really meet or have already met at some point in their lives. The stories reflect the working-class world of Ostrava, the city in Moravia where Balabán lived most of his life. None of the characters is unique or extraordinary. They all represent the common man. Readers delve into worlds of emptiness and darkness, worlds of cruelty and hopelessness in a fractured society full of dysfunctional families and mechanical, soulless sexual activity. There is no real escape for these characters; they must face their trials and tribulations and try to overcome them. Life is testing them, and they must rise up to the challenge in this often harsh world.

The author explores his theme, the alienation of modern man, in all the *Maybe We're Leaving* stories. An analysis of "Ray Bradbury," "At the Communists," and "Diana" show how adroitly Balabán does this.

In "Ray Bradbury" Balabán deals directly with a perpetual sense of leaving or escaping in several ways. Although his parents (as well as others) often referred to Timoty by the diminutive, "Timik," they had named him after a character in "The Million Year Picnic" from Ray Bradbury's *Martian Chronicles*. In that sci-fi story, the parents fled Earth before it was destroyed. In Balabán's book, they wanted to escape the harsh reality of the world in general and the late 1960s Czechoslovakia in particular. The Vietnam War and the fear of a third world scarred their passion for music by Jimmy Hendrix and films promoting love. Then Russian tanks put a full stop to their dream when the Warsaw Pact armies crushed the liberal Prague Spring on August 21, 1968. Timik's mother tried to escape from the world later on, as demonstrated by the scars on her left wrist. Then a child, Timik was the one who found her in the bathtub with her wrist slit.

The focus of the story is on doctor-turned-patient, Karel Chudoba, Timik's grandfather, who does not want to escape reality. He wants to escape from his disease—he has progressive Alzheimer's and only occasional lucid moments. He lives with 18-year old Timik and Timik's mother at their house in the country because he cannot live alone. Dr. Chudoba is not truly at home in a place where he belongs. In the garden, he tells Timik that he wants to go home: "...a person has to return to where he belongs. Home. Even if that home isn't a welcoming one. And even if you had to return only to accept punishment, you've got to return..."(152). He tells Timik that their home is a small town in Galicia where he lived for several years long ago and that it is only several train stations away. Timik tells him they are home and leads him back toward the house. Thus, Dr. Chudoba can never go home and make amends before he dies because his disease controls him. He cannot find a path back to his true identity in his state of mental blindness. He is alienated from the real world.

The protagonist Leoš in "At the Communists" finally feels he has left his tumultuous past. He pops into a pub for a beer. It happens that the Communist Party owns this establishment, and black-and-white photos of Communist personalities decorate the walls. The atmosphere triggers harsh memories of his youth and his mother's control over him. Suddenly, everything he has achieved melts away into nothingness. He feels as if he is once again under his mother's control. A fervent Communist, his mother named him after Brezhnev and made him accompany her to political meetings and listen to Communist music in ten languages (60-61). Leoš had to sleep in the same room as his parents, and his mother wouldn't let him leave the room when they were having sex. He then considers all his success to be nothing but a "childish barrier" (61). Leoš loses his sense of self-identity and purpose that he had built up over the years and has become alienated.

However, he has the chance to find a sense of belonging in the world and overcome this sense of alienation when a stranger visits him and announces that she is his long-lost sister, Elena. Leoš had not known he had a sister. His mother had had a secret affair and had abandoned Elena. Meeting his older sister for the first time, he finds a kindred soul, smiling and laughing as he had before his sense of alienation had taken over. Through this newly found relative, he can regain his sense of self-identity, a sense of belonging, and a sense of freedom to live his life as he chooses. However, he ruins the opportunity by wondering if Elena could become his girlfriend even though they are related.

In the story "Diana," a young rector and his wife are packing up their car, moving from the rectory because the church where he worked did not draw many worshippers. Society has become alienated from religion. Hans, whose grandfather had lived in the house when he was a pastor, came for some of his grandfather's belongings that had been left in the attic. Hans remembers the house as having a friendly appearance when he spent time there as a child and remarks that now "the look of its deep, curtainless windows seemed tragic, rather; dark, like the eyes of a lunatic" (31). Even the rector's wife Marta mentions never feeling at home there during their seven-year tenure as they lived in a sort of alienation. For Hans, the attic is a special place of discarded objects, a room where he spent much time during

his formative years, preparing for sexual encounters. Hans and his brother used to jump from chimney bridge in the attic onto the pile of mattresses to practice how one day they would jump on women. Discarded objects included many porcelain bucks that his grandfather had received as confirmation gifts from worshippers. In addition to books, Hans decided to take some of the bucks with him—"those escaping with wounded legs" (35). The most significant object in the attic is his brother's drawing of the biblical Diana of the Ephesians. The large pencil sketch features her nude, intending for her to be a sexual symbol rather than a biblical figure. Hans considers taking the drawing with him but decides to leave it for next time—this way, he will have an excuse to come back. Hans cannot leave the house and his past behind. He cannot leave or escape from those years imagining the nude female body and sexual experiences. The house is a sort of home for him, one place where he feels he belongs, where he can escape into the past of a more simple time.

These three stories show the alienation of the characters as they wind up in a state of uselessness. In "Ray Bradbury," Dr. Chudoba has tried to flee back to the real world when he could take charge of his life. Even when surrounded by family, he is alone, lost in an illness beyond his control. Timik's mother also has tried unsuccessfully to escape from the real world. Leoš in "At the Communists," cannot escape his mother's influence even though she has been dead for some time. He is too selfish to make the most of the opportunity to free himself from his alienation by accepting Elena as a blood relative with whom he can have a platonic relationship. "Diana" describes how Hans retreats to the dusty world of the attic in his grandfather's house, going back to a time when he was innocent. Like the porcelain bucks with wounded legs that he takes with him, he has been wounded emotionally to such an extent that he has to alienate himself into the world of his childhood to find solace.

Maybe We're Leaving speaks to the modern era as Balabán masterfully crafted pessimistic stories that illustrate the emptiness of the characters' lives in a dismal, dysfunctional society. The author's artistry and perceptiveness have earned him critical acclaim. *Maybe We're Leaving* was dubbed Book of the Year in 2004 by a survey in the daily *Lidové noviny* and was nominated for the National Prize in Literature that same year. The existential work captured a Magnesia Litera Award for prose during 2005. The awards for *Maybe We're Leaving* are not the only recognition for Balabán's work. In 2010, readers of *Lidové noviny* designated his *Ask Your Father* Book of the Year. Balabán posthumously won the 2011 Book of the Year Magnesia Litera prize for that prose. A further mark of the high esteem for Balabán's work is that the Czech Republic's Ministry of Culture supported this translation of *Maybe We're Leaving* into English.

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Contributors

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Zdeněk V. David has been a frequent contributor to *Kosmas* and is a leading authority on the Bohemian reformation and its philosophical influences on the Czech national renaissance. He also explores the philosophical background of Tomáš G. Masaryk's political thought, as in his contribution to this issue. He is currently senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, where he was for many years the librarian. His book *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* was published in 2003, and followed in 2010 by *Realism, Tolerance and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening: Legacies of the Bohemian Reformation*.

Martin Hrabík (1904-1992) was born in a small southern Bohemian village. From a farming family, he became involved with the Czechoslovak Republican Party of Smallholders and Peasants, or the Agrarian Party, and was a leader of its youth wing. From 1938 to 1939, he was a member of the Presidium of the Party of National Unity. As this extract from his memoirs (translated and edited by his daughter, Mary Hrabík Šámal) tells, he was arrested in 1940 by the Nazi Gestapo for his underground activities and spent the war years in prison. After 1945 he remained outside of politics because the Agrarian Party had been banned according to the Košice Program. Foreseeing the Communist seizure of power, he left Czechoslovakia in February 1948, soon to be joined by his family. They lived in Paris for three years while Hrabík worked to try to reverse the Communist takeover. Eventually, the family immigrated and settled in Cleveland, Ohio, where Hrabík worked in the steel mills (as he used to say, the market in the US for exiled politicians was not hot) and was active in the local Czechoslovak community. In 1969, Hrabík succeeded Josef Černý as leader of the Agrarian Party in exile.

Eda Kriseová studied journalism at Charles University, Prague, and became a reporter and editor of *Mladý svět* and *Listy* shortly before the Prague Spring. She has also travelled extensively, worked as a volunteer on projects for developing countries, and lived in a kibbutz in Israel. After the Russian invasion of 1968, Kriseová was banned from publishing; she retreated out of Prague and worked as a volunteer in a small community mental hospital and started writing short stories, eventually publishing her works in underground literary revues and samizdat press, and in translation in the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, and Czech exile publishing houses. In 1989, during the Velvet Revolution, Kriseová was a member of the coordinating committee of Civic Forum (Občanské fórum), and she joined Václav Havel in his presidential office. She led the Department of Pardons and Paroles, but then resigned along with Havel prior to the Velvet Divorce and returned to writing and travelling. Since then, she has been a freelance writer and public intellectual.

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Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr. is one of the founding members and a past President of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU). He is a native of Mladá Boleslav, Czechoslovakia, who has lived in the US since 1950. In addition to enjoying a complete professional career as a biochemist, nutritionist and cancer researcher, he is an authority on immigration history from the territory of the former Czechoslovakia. He was instrumental in establishing the National Heritage Commission toward the preservation of Czech and Slovak cultural heritage in America. Among his many publications on Czech and Slovak topics are *The Czechoslovak Contribution to World Culture* (1964), *Czechoslovakia Past and Present* (1968), *Postavy naší Ameriky* (2000), *Czech American Historic Sites, Monuments and Memorials* (2004), *Czechoslovak American Archivalia* (2004), *Czech and Slovaks in America* (2005), and *On Behalf of Their Homeland: Fifty Years of SVU* (2008). In 2020 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic awarded him the Medal of Merit in Diplomacy for his contributions to advancing Czech-American relations.

Louis J. Reith received his doctorate in Reformation history from Stanford University (1976). His thesis, supervised by Lewis W. Spitz, Jr., was entitled *Prince Eberhard and His Preceptors: the Education of Princes in Sixteenth-Century Württemberg*. He served as rare book cataloger at St. Bonaventure University in upstate New York (6 years) and at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. (27 years). Since 2013, he has retired to Seward, Nebraska—keeping mentally fit by serving as substitute church organist, reviewing historical books for scholarly journals, cataloging the rare book collection of Concordia University in Seward and studying Czech language and culture at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln with Profs. Mila Šašková-Pierce and Hana Waisserová. As an active member of SVU, the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, he has served on the Board of Directors, and presented papers in the United States, Canada, and Europe on a variety of Czech and Slovak classical musical, historical, literary, and cultural topics. At the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Vancouver, British Columbia in 2016, he presented a paper on *The Golem of Prague as Inspiration for Superman and Popular Culture*.

Mary Hrabík Šámal, *Kosmas* Associate Editor in charge of book reviews, has retired from teaching at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. Her book chapters and articles on Czech, Slovak and East European politics, the dissident movement, women, and culture have appeared on both sides of the Atlantic in publications, such as *Cross Currents*, *Proměny*, *Osteuropa*, *East European Quarterly*, *Bohemia: Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinium* and *Kosmas*. She has maintained an active interest in Czechoslovak agrarianism, the subject of her Ph. D. dissertation, and co-edited along with Jiří Šouša and Daniel E. Miller, *K úloze a významu agrárního hnutí v českých a československých dějinách* (2001). She has also published translations into English from Czech, Slovak, and other languages. Šámal holds an M.A. in political science from Fordham University and a Ph.D. from at The Pennsylvania State University.

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Advice to Prospective Authors

Kosmas is an interdisciplinary journal devoted primarily to publishing scholarly research in all relevant fields on topics related to Czech, Slovak, or Central European affairs in general; research materials, memoirs, or creative writing (in translation or original) may also occasionally be published. Manuscripts submitted for review should normally be no longer than 25-30 pages, double-spaced, with one-inch margins. We publish references in footnote format, not in-text format, and prefer that you format your manuscript with footnotes. Book reviews should be from 500-700 words and formatted after the example of reviews printed here.

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