2

FRANTIŠEK KAVKA

An Outline of Czechoslovak History

Scanned / Transcribed by
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm
http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php

AN OUTLINE OF CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY

KIBRISTA SOSYALIST
GERÇÉK LONDRA BURÓSU

SOCIALIST TRUTH JN CYPRUS

6 MAR 2013

An Outline of Czechoslovak History

BY FRANTIŠEK KAVKA, Ph. D.,

Professor at the Faculty
of Philosophy,
Charles University

ORBIS

PRAGUE

1960

CONTENTS

		Page
I.	At the Dawn of History	8
II.	The Great Moravian Empire: the Oldest State of the Czechs and Slovaks	16
III.	The Beginnings of the Czech State	24
IV.	The Czech State as a Central European Great Power	32
V.	The Hussite Revolutionary Movement	44
VI.	Attempts of the Feudal Oligarchy to Rule the Czech State (1437–1526)	54
VII.	Loss of National Independence (1526-1620)	60
VIII.	Under the Hapsburgs (1620-1918)	70
	1. The "Age of Darkness" and the National Revival (up to 1848)	71
	2. The Struggle for Czech and Slovak National Independence (1848-1918)	81
IX.	The Czechoslovak Republic (1918-39)	108
X.	The Czechoslovak People's Fight for Freedom (1939-45)	134
XI.	The First Ten Years of People's Democratic Czechoslovakia (1945-55)	146
	Chronological Summary	163
	Index	167
	Guide to the Pronunciation of Proper Names in Czech	172

I

AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

THE NATURAL SETTING for the historical development of the Czechs and Slovaks, two of the most closely-related West Slavonic nations, has been the three lands that form the present Czechoslovak Republic: Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The Czechs made their homeland in Bohemia and Moravia. The oldest Czech chronicler, Cosmas, writing at the beginning of the 12th century, noted that Bohemia was a region "surrounded on all sides by mountains which make up the borders of the country in such a remarkable way that at first sight it seems to be ringed round by one unbroken mountain-range . . . It is indeed strange, and one may judge how high this country lies, when it is seen that no river enters it but all streams, large and small, are contained in a big river called the Labe (Elbe) and flow into the North Sea." Bohemia and Slovakia are linked by Moravia, a country also shielded from the west, north and east by mountainous massifs. Only in the south does it open out into the Danubian lowlands along the river Morava, the valley of which (Haná) is one of the most fertile regions in Europe.

The country of the Slovaks–Slovakia–is further to the east and extends as far as the ethnic area of the Ukraine. The Carpathian mountains run right through it and only a small part belongs to the lowlands of the Danubian plain.

Thanks to their favourable geographical position, these lands were settled from the earliest times. The Scandinavian glacier stopped at the mountains on the northern border; the Alpine glacier at the Šumava mountain-range (which later became the Czech-Bavarian border). Bohemia and Moravia provided a refuge for the animals retreating before the glaciers which flooded the region and gave rise to luxuriant vegetation. Here in the early Palæolithic Age, some 200,000 years B. C., primitive man found an ideal hunting ground and hospitable refuge. The

plentiful fauna tempted the growing roving bands to a lengthy stay. Hunters established settlements here more extensive than any others in Central Europe. Moravia became a classical country of the later Palæolithic Age (about 70,000-10,000 B. C.): it was here that the largest Central European settlement of the period was discovered–the famous Předmostí u Přerova. These settlers proved themselves extremely skilled hunters, seeking out even huge animals like the mammoth, and developed physiologically into a higher type of man (*Homo sapiens fossilis*). And it is here that we meet with the first forms of artistic expression: small statues of a woman and of a mammoth, obviously designed for a particular cult (the "Venus of Věstonice" called after a settlement of mammoth-hunters in southern Moravia).

After the glaciers had permanently receded from the mountainous border regions, and typical fauna like the mammoth, rhinoceros and reindeer had also disappeared, these lands were covered with forests–a feature still characteristic of them–though the forest-bearing areas were considerably reduced in the course of time. Changed natural conditions forced the inhabitants to adopt a more reliable mode of living than the hunting of new kinds of game such as deer, wild boar or bear. They turned to cattle-breeding and agriculture. This great change in the history of mankind took place in the regions of what are today Bohemia and Moravia in the Neolithic Period (about 3,000 B. C.). The foundations were then laid for a more advanced agricultural civilization, characteristic of the whole Czech region, and on the lines of which the agricultural system of the Slavs was subsequently to develop. This agrarian population belonged, in neolithic times, to a huge agglomeration of the so-called Danubian people whose culture is preserved in the painted ceramics of the Dnieper-Vistula region and in the voluted ceramics* of Central Europe. The Danubian people must have been the

* Volutes are spiral-shaped scrolls used as ornaments.

oldest ancestors of the Slavs. They settled in the most fertile regions and formed clusters of villages bordering on one another. They built wooden, rectangular huts, of considerable size, with wickerwork walls typical of the period of clan society. The religious cult of woman reveals that it was still the period of matriarchy. Apart from agriculture, embracing cultivation of all the basic kinds of grain and legumes and cattle breeding, domestic crafts such as pottery and the weaving of plain cloth began to develop. In the late Neolithic Age the influence of the people from the south-east showed more strongly in the spread of the painted ceramics to Moravia. South-eastern Europe was then the centre of the most advanced European culture. In the Mediterranean area and around the Black Sea appeared the beginnings of what was later on to blossom into Hellenic culture.

Around 2,000 B. C. the smelting of ores, first of all of copper, made its appearance in the Czech Lands. The whereabouts of the domestic deposits were not known; ore and copper implements were imported, thereby developing a lively trade with other countries that involved further movements of population. The growing importance of cattle-breeding emphasized the primacy of men in work and thus prepared the way for patriarchy. In this period one finds the beginnings of inequality of ownership among members of clans: herds, which were acquired by individuals, came to be looked on as their property. Archæological finds clearly point to a social differentiation based on ownership. While some graves were poor and primitive, others were splendidly decorated tombs; there were also two kinds of dwellings: the more richly built set on the hills and the poorer in the plains and river valleys. This was the time of the first wars between individual clans and tribes, when the first invaders came to subjugate the old-established settlers.

The discovery of bronze as an alloy of copper and tin, and a more useful metal than copper, brought the Czech Lands into the foreground of European development during the Bronze

Age (about 1,400-1,000 B. C.), due to its rich tin ore deposits in the Ore Mountains (Krušné hory). The copper was imported from the Ægean area and indirectly from Egypt and Central Asia. Bronze implements were produced on a large scale and their superior quality aided the further development of agriculture and handicrafts. The ensuing gradual equalization of the technical level of the various clans and tribes that until then had maintained a separate existence served to unify the inhabitants more quickly.

In the Bronze Age the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia embraced three distinct ethnic groups: the people of Únětice (called after a place north of Prague, where a great number of bronze tools were discovered), the people of the barrows and the people of Lusatia.* The latter, also called the people of the urn fields (they cremated their dead and preserved the ashes in urns), became very important historically. In the middle Bronze Age they populated the north-eastern area and overflowed into it from the vast space between the Dnieper and the Vistula. They were solely an agricultural people and thus formed a connecting link with the old neolithic agricultural civilization. At the same time there came to southern Bohemia and Moravia from southern Germany the "people of the barrows" (so called because they used to erect huge barrows over the tombs of their chiefs, which are still to be seen in southern Bohemia), who were mainly engaged in grazing cattle.

In the course of clashes these ethnic groups intermingled one with the other. The process of unification reached its height in the Iron Age (from about 1,000 B. C. to the beginning of the Christian era). The invention of the smelting of iron ore, of which there were rich deposits in the Czech Lands, made it possible to produce iron tools and weapons on a bigger scale and brought a new impetus to handicraft and agricultural production.

* From the name of the country, Lusatia.

tion. The existing ethnic groups now stood out in clearer outlines. The Lusatian people gradually evolved into the original Slav inhabitants, the barrows people became the historical Celts or Gauls. The Celtic tribes, developing yet more quickly, formed their own "La Tène" culture* and temporarily overcame the original Slav population. In Bohemia the tribe of Boians gained the upper hand. Ancient geographers, whose interest was aroused in the countries of Central Europe at a time when the world began to sense danger from that quarter, therefore called the Czech land "the country of Boians"–Boiohemum, and this name, in its Latin form Bohemia, became its basic designation in the Germanic and Romance languages. Moravia was dominated by the Celtic tribe of Cotines (so-called by Tacitus), who probably extended their rule into Slovakia. Soon afterwards the Celtic tribes made their entry into European history by their attacks on the Roman Empire and reigned over a considerable part of western Europe. The fact that the Czech Lands were a part of the mature Celtic civilization had a beneficial influence on their further development: this period is thus sometimes termed "the golden age of Czech antiquity." The Celts contributed to the further development of agriculture of the original Slav population by a whole series of technical improvements (the iron ploughshare, rotary mills and the like).

The existence of towns (the "Celtic oppida," of which the best-known is Stradonice near Beroun), where the exchange of goods was already being facilitated by the use of money, testifies to the advanced level of handicrafts and trade. Indeed it seems probable that the Celts, while on Czech territory, reached the stage of introducing organized slavery.

At the end of the first millenium B. C. came the downfall of Celtic rule. The Czech Lands had been overrun from the north by the Germanic tribes of Marcomanni and Quadi

* According to the settlement of La Tène in Switzerland.

who annexed this territory temporarily to the empire of Marbod,* which, however, was of short duration.

The Germanic tribes made their way further south, holding out for a while only in the mountainous Slovakia. During the first century A. D. the Czech Lands and Slovakia entered the immediate sphere of influence of the Roman Empire, which in the Emperor Trajan's time (98-117) began building the well-known "limes Romanus," the line of fortresses running along the Danube as far as the Balkans and reaching into Czech territory with its military posts (the most northerly was in Mušov in southern Moravia, 33 miles north of the Danube, others being near what is now Bratislava). The native population came in contact with Roman civilization at these posts, especially as regards marketing. Slovakia became one of the bases for the German onslaught on the Roman defence line, which from 166 to 180 developed into the "Marcomanic war." In 172 the Roman legions under the leadership of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius carried a counter-offensive deep into Slovakia. It was here, on the banks of the river Hron, that the Roman Emperor, certain of victory, wrote in Greek the second book of his philosophical discourses, the *Meditations*. The still legible inscription by Roman legionaries on the rock under the castle of Trenčín bears witness to the campaign of the Second Roman Legion.

While the Roman Empire went on struggling with the Germans flooding down into the Czech Lands on their way south, the transformation of the old agricultural communities into historical Slavs was under way, reinforced by numerous migratory waves from the original Slav area between the Dnieper and the Vistula. The upheaval of the "migration of nations" in the second half of the 4th century brought several incursions by the Huns into the Czech Lands but in no way broke the continuance

* Son of a Marcoman prince educated at the court of the Roman Emperor Augustus.

of firm Slav rule over the territory in which they had lived from the remotest times. The oldest chroniclers wrote down folk legends, which recall days when there were many tribes on Czech territory (e.g. the Doudlebi and the Zlíčané), with their powerful fortresses. The names of such tribes have been preserved in some place-names. It was in the course of the struggles amidst which the weaker tribes succumbed and were absorbed by more powerful tribes into bigger and bigger entities that the Czech and Slovak nations were formed.

The process of unification of tribes which we have noted through the centuries was speeded up by external events, chiefly the invasion by the Avars of the Danube valley at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century. The Avars overran Slovakia, but met with resistance in the Czech Lands. Soon after 620 there had been an uprising of the tribes during which the rebels elected Samo as their king (according to the chronicle of Fredegar, the only source for these events, Samo was a Frankish merchant, but the name is obviously of Slav origin). The Avars' bids for supremacy were repulsed and a big tribal union (not yet a state) was created–the Empire of Samo. This tribal union became extremely powerful: its war with the Frankish king Dagobert ended in the overwhelming defeat of the Frankish empire in a great three-day battle at a castle of still unknown location, Wogastisburg. The centre of Samo's empire was most likely Moravia. It is possible that it extended into the territory of the Lusatian Sorbs in present-day Saxony and to Upper Austria, then also settled by Slavs. After Samo's death in 658 we know nothing further about the fate of his empire.

II THE GREAT MORAVIAN EMPIRE: THE OLDEST STATE OF THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE to bridge the gap between Samo's death and the middle of the 9th century, as far as political events are concerned, with anything but hypotheses. Economic and social development in the country led to the rise of a feudal order of society.

From about the middle of the first millennium the family system of the Slavs had been breaking up. The land was still the joint property of the communes, but its cultivation was carried on individually and the crops were appropriated by individuals. From this system it was but a step to that in which the land passed stage by stage into private ownership. Making use of their power the tribal chiefs seized the largest and best tracts of land and forced the remaining population, the free members of the communes, to work on it as serfs. For this purpose they had to surround themselves with armed forces which were to protect them also from attacks by other tribes. The foundations for the rise of a feudal state had been established.

At the end of the 8th century there is mention of the Czech Lands in the historical sources relating to the expedition of Charlemagne to the east. The powerful king of the Franks undertook many campaigns against the Avars and his armies passed several times through Czech territory. Archæological sources provide evidence that, by the 8th century, southern Moravia and western Slovakia had become economically stronger because there the unification of the tribes had proceeded more rapidly than in Bohemia. Large burial grounds, in which sharp contrasts are seen between the resplendent tombs of the ruling families and the humble resting-places of the common people, indicate that the bases of social classes had been laid. The early development of Christianity at the beginning of the 9th century proves how urgently the rulers of this region needed the ideological support of the Church, which would demonstrate that the rule of kings was "by the grace of God."

From about 830 there are entries in documents, chronicles and legends concerning the Great Moravian Empire ruled by the Mojmír dynasty, which had established its power over a West Slovakian principality ruled by Prince Pribina from Nitra. The growth of the Great Moravian Empire soon brought a clash with the Frankish feudalists. In 846 Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne, led a military expedition into Moravia and forced a change of rule by appointing Rastislav (846 to 870) to the princely throne. Rastislav, however, soon managed to free himself from the influence of the Roman-Frankish Empire and added to his territory further areas such as Bohemia and the lands of the Lusatian Slavs in present-day Saxony.

The East Frankish Empire (later Germany) found an ally in the Bulgarian khan Boris. These diplomatic manœuvres forced Rastislav to strengthen his position by turning to the Byzantine Empire, which, as successor to the Roman Empire, was the greatest power in the world at the time. The latest archæological researches have proved that the Moravian Empire had had very close cultural and economic relations with Byzantium long before this. The political alliance was now to be based on the Byzantine Church (at this time there were considerable conflicts between Rome and Byzantium, though it had not yet come to an open split). The influence of Byzantium was to be strengthened by a new mission to bring Christianity to Czech territory, which was expected to be more effective than preceding ones in that it would undertake to spread Christianity and to conduct religious services in the Slavonic language. This move was prompted not only by considerations of foreign policy–to weaken the Bavarian mission–but also of internal policy: to quicken the Christianization of the subject people and thereby strengthen the princely rule.*

* The latest excavations, especially at Mikulčice and Staré Město in Moravia, the results of which are still under study, will probably yield new knowledge as regards the history and culture of the Great Moravian Empire. According to these findings, a Christian mission from Bavaria, perhaps the so-called Irish-Scottish, was on the territory of the Empire long before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius.

In 863 there came to Moravia two brothers, Constantine (who later assumed the name of Cyril) and Methodius, both Greeks from Salonica who knew the Slavonic language and were experienced in mission problems. They composed a special Slavonic alphabet (the Glagolitic alphabet) and translated the most important liturgical texts into the Slavonic tongue spoken around Salonica (the Old Bulgarian language, which philologists term Old Slavonic). Since the differences existing among the Slavonic languages at that time were small, it was fully understood in Moravia as well.

It seems that by his inclination to Slavonic Christianity Rastislav aimed also at strengthening his influence over other Slavonic tribes in Central Europe. According to the contemporary Slavonic legend about St. Cyril, his message to Byzantium declared: "Our people have rejected paganism and already observe Christian law. But we have no teacher who can teach us the true Christian faith in our own language, so that other countries, seeing this, may follow our example." In this way expression was given to the great principle of the equal rights of nations and of the equal status of their languages. The right to conduct religious services in the national language, which was put into effect by this Slavonic mission, enabled the widest sections of the people to have a share in the then highest cultural values. Shortly afterwards Otfried Weissenburg recalled the Moravian example to the Franks: "Why should the Franks shrink from singing the praise of God in Frankish?"

The Great Moravian Empire reached the peak of its power under Svatopluk (870-894). Its borders were enlarged by the territory of the Slavonic tribes in Silesia, perhaps including the Cracow region and a part of what was to become Hun-

gary (Pannonia), an area also populated by Slavs. Thus a great West Slavonic power came into being. It had the independent archbishopric of Moravia headed by Methodius, and use of the Slavonic liturgy was sanctioned by the Pope. The seat of the prince and the archbishop, Velehrad, became renowned far and wide. Attacks made on the Empire by the East Frankish feudalists and their allies were of no avail. Svatopluk refashioned the Empire's foreign policies as conceived by his predecessor. He endeavoured to gain support not from the Byzantine empire but from the Papacy in Rome, which at that time was not on friendly terms with the East Frankish empire. The price paid for this alliance was the sacrifice of the Slavonic liturgy in which the Pope saw a dangerous reminder of the political aspirations of Byzantium. The pupils and adherents of Methodius were expelled from the country and the door was opened to the use of Latin in Church services. Meanwhile the Slavonic liturgy had become so deeply rooted that it was impossible to remove it completely, and it survived in Bohemia until the 11th century.

After the death of Svatopluk, whose name had become deeply engraved on the memories even of the neighbouring peoples whether German, Russian or Greek (in the 10th century the Byzantine Emperor and historian Constantine Porfyrogenetos paid enduring tribute to his fame), the Empire was shattered from within by forces whose origin is not precisely known. The border regions began to fall away from the previously unified state structure. Finally the increasing attacks of the Hungarian tribes, which had broken into the Danubian plain, brought catastrophe: in 903-906 the Great Moravian Empire ceased to exist and its heritage passed to the new feudal state which had arisen in Bohemia.

The Great Moravian Empire was the oldest West Slavonic state, associating not only the Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia and

Slovakia, but also the Lusatian Sorbs and Poles (in Little Poland), and through the Slavs in Pannonia linking up with the southern Slavs. It was the first State common to both Czechs and Slovaks.

Within the Empire arose the oldest of all Slavonic cultures. Its language, Old Church Slavonic, into which the Bible and works of Byzantine literature were translated and in which original works such as legends and ecclesiastical hymns were written, became for a considerable period (until the end of the 11th century) the oldest common written language of all the Slavs. Ranking as a third international language together with Latin and Greek, its authority was confirmed by its adoption in Moravia as the language of the Church. The invention of the Slavonic alphabet and the raising of the vernacular to the level of a literary language pointed to the independence of Slavonic culture, despite its connections with Byzantium. Such independence in the matter of language was unprecedented elsewhere. For a long time to come Latin, which gave no expression to particular national characteristics, remained the cultural language of the rest of Europe.

The fall of the Empire had fatal consequences for the history of the Slavonic peoples in view of the separation of their western and southern branches caused by the Hungarian invasion.

After the collapse of the Slavonic mission in Moravia (885) Slavonic culture spread partly to Bohemia, but especially to Bulgaria, to the Southern Slavs and to Russia. In Bulgaria there was a new growth of Slavonic literature at the beginning of the 10th century and before long a second Slavonic script was created–the Cyrillic. The southern Slavs still use this script today and from it also arose the Russian alphabet. The growing differentiation of Slavonic languages brought with it the natural consequence that Old Slavonic became in time a dead language,

that is, the official and above all the ecclesiastical language, which is still used in the Orthodox Church.

The Great Moravian Empire was the source of the traditions of the Czech State and kingdom: Svatopluk, in the historical sources, was referred to as "rex." The Czech State became the inheritor of the Moravian Empire, the foreign policy of which had often been marked by aggressive ambitions.

III

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CZECH STATE

THE CZECH STATE, having its centre in Bohemia, dates from 895 when the Bohemian tribes broke away from the Moravian Empire and placed themselves under the ecclesiastical authority of the see of Regensburg in Bavaria. At that time the Czechs dominated the great majority of the other tribes occupying Bohemia and Moravia. They lived in the central part of the country and based themselves on the powerful castle of Prague. Accordingly the Czechs gave their name to the whole of the country, and it passed into all the Slavonic languages. At the head of this victorious tribe was the family of Přemysl, tracing its origin to the mythical Přemysl the Ploughman and the prophetess, Princess Libuše, as described in the ancient folk legend which was recorded by the chronicler Cosmas (and given enduring expression in Smetana's opera "Libuše").

Of the first Přemyslides we know most about Prince Václav (Wenceslas) 921-929. Václav, an ardent Christian proselytizer, was assassinated during the struggles for the throne. The Catholic Church, which gave its support to the young feudal dynasties of Europe by raising their important members to sainthood, as in the instances of Charlemagne, Louis, Stephen and others, treated Václav in the same way. Numerous legends about his life soon made his name known throughout Europe, the evidence of which is seen in the familiar English Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas," the churches consecrated to St. Wenceslas in Denmark, Poland, Germany, Italy and elsewhere, and also in the use of Wenceslas as a Christian name which from Spain and Portugal spread to South America (it is commonly found in Argentina). The sanctification of Václav made him soon after his death, according to the faith of the time, the heavenly protector of Czech independence, the Czech national patron. The picture of Václav therefore appeared throughout the Middle Ages on the emblems of Czech

state sovereignty such as the seal, coins, battle standards and the St. Václav crown, while church hymns to his praise had an official character.

In the reign of Boleslav I (929-967), who usurped the throne from his brother Václav, there developed a great struggle with the Holy Roman Empire, which tried to turn the Czech State into an imperial Mark. This relentless conflict with the powerful Emperor Otto I lasted fourteen years and ended with the defeat of Boleslav. Under Boleslav I the territorial development of the early Přemyslide State was completed, comprising Bohemia, Moravia, Cracow and perhaps Silesia and Lusatia as well, thus extending almost to the same limits as those of the Great Moravian Empire. Soon afterwards the formation of the Czech State was completed by setting up an independent Church organization in the form of a bishopric, instituted in 973 in Prague under Boleslav II (died 999).

The reigns of the two Boleslavs saw the culmination of the first rise to power of the Czech State. Relying on the friendship of the mighty Kievan State to the east, it proved its ability to survive and defended its independence against the hazardous onslaughts of the German Empire which, among its northern neighbours, led to the subjection of many Slav tribes in the Elbe valley. The visible symbol of its economic strength was the valuable silver coin (the dinar) minted in great quantity for the lively foreign trade especially with the Baltic seaboard, where a great number of Czech dinars have been found. But the brisk trade attracted merchants from the east as well to "whitestoned Prague," as it was called by the first of its foreign admirers whose testimony has come down to us, the Arab traveller Ibrahim Ibn Jacob, who visited Prague about the middle of the 10th century. According to him Bohemia was "the best of all the northern countries and the richest in food."

The cultural life of the Czech State in the 10th century was founded on the rich heritage of the Slavonic culture of the

Moravian Empire, as is evident from the highly cultured Přemyslide court (Prince Václav, for instance, could read and write in both Latin and Greek), differing so markedly from the rudimentary level of many contemporary European courts. It was a time when the old Slavonic literature in the Czech Lands flourished, but of this only fragments have been preserved. The most important of these is the Slavonic legend of St. Wenceslas from the middle of the 10th century, composed by a native author. From the end of the same century probably dates the popular hymn "Lord, have mercy on us–Kyrie eleison," which throughout the Middle Ages was a kind of Czech anthem. In this period Czech culture also strongly influenced Poland and Hungary. Besides Slavonic culture, looking towards Byzantium, the Latin culture of Rome, centred on the Benedictine monasteries, made rapid headway, mainly in the arts. Evidence of this is seen in the remains of the Romanesque structure of Prague Castle, particularly in those of the famous 10th-century rotunda of St. Vitus and in the superbly illuminated "codex of Princess Emma," the wife of Boleslav II.

During the 10th-12th centuries the remainder of the peasantry passed into serfdom. The basic means of livelihood of the population was a mature agricultural system, mainly crops and cattle-raising, which from the point of view of technique in no way differed from the agricultural methods of other Central and West European countries. Handicraft production, still closely linked with agriculture, was of little consequence. The serfs delivered to their feudal lords the produce of the fields, which had been leased to them under temporary tenancy and might of course be arbitrarily revoked; they performed *corvée* on the lands of their masters; paid taxes to the princes and tithes to the church. Their personal freedom was minimal. Resistance to the nobles, according to the sources available, was limited to minor struggles. By the end of the 12th century the Czech nobility had established firm control over the ownership

of land. Landed property that had originally been leased out to them by the princes only as a temporary fief, in return for service in the army or the state administration, now steadily passed into their own hands. In the course of this process the Czech nobles became divided into a higher nobility (lords) and a lower (knights and squires). From the 13th century on a very considerable part of the land, except for that belonging to the Prince, was owned by the Church, especially the monasteries, which the princes richly endowed for their services in strengthening the state power. From the very beginning the German element made itself felt amongst the feudalists of the Church.

The increasing power of the nobility, both secular and spiritual (abbots and prelates), weakened the position of the Prince. His increasing dependence on various groups within the nobility became especially apparent during the more and more frequent struggles for the throne, when different groups of nobles pressed the claims of their candidates from the princely Přemyslide family even as concerned the Holy Roman Empire.

The struggles for the throne were often due to the old custom that the princely throne was inherited not by the eldest son of the ruler but the oldest member of the dynasty (i. e., by seniority). The Princes often tried to reverse this arrangement in favour of their heirs; the nobility looked on it as an opportunity for strengthening its power. The conflicts springing from this confusion made it possible for the Roman Emperors to interfere in the internal affairs of the Czech State. The history of the 10th to 13th centuries is a long record of unrelenting struggles against the aggressive German feudalists bent on subjugating the Czech State. However, in the long course of alternating victories and defeats, they failed to destroy its existence, though from time to time they did force it into a condition of dependence on their power. The ties with the Empire were strengthened by the fact that the Roman Emperors needed the help of the Czech princes in their aggressive foreign policy, especially in

Italy, and granted them various privileges. The royal title which Prince Vladislav II received in 1158 applied only to himself. He was granted it for the assistance given by Czech soldiers during the besieging of Milan on behalf of the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa. The hereditary title of king for Czech rulers was acquired by Přemysl I first of all from King Filip (1198). By exploiting the dispute as to the succession in the Holy Roman Empire, in 1212 he obtained from the newly elected King Friedrich II the recognition of his royal title in the form of the Golden Sicilian Bull. Following an old tradition and as a symbol of his power the Czech King was given a new coat-of-arms–a silver lion on a red field–which with small changes is preserved in the Czechoslovak State emblem to this day.

On the whole, the Czech State had no obligation to the Holy Roman Empire other than that of giving it more or less active support in foreign policy. In domestic affairs the Czechs were entirely independent: the laws of the Empire did not apply to them, the Czech State had its own currency, its own sovereign territory and protected frontiers, and if the dynasty died out, the Czech nobility freely elected Czech rulers. From the 13th century the Czech rulers enjoyed an important political status in the Empire because they came to rank first in the college of seven electors that had the right of electing the German king.

The decisive factor in the subsequent history of Czechs and Slovaks was that Slovakia did not become part of the Czech State. At the beginning of the 11th century, Slovakia became a unit of the multinational Hungarian State and remained so up to 1918. The consequence was a considerable delay in the development of the Slovak nation. Hungarian feudalists came to Slovakia and mixed with the Slovak nobility, which gradually became denationalized. Thus Slovak national culture and the Slovak language did not have the favourable conditions for growth such as obtained in the Czech Lands, and depended solely upon the support of the broad sections of the people.

From the 11th century Slavonic culture in the Czech Lands gave ground before the predominant Latin culture of Rome. Apart from the Latin legends about local saints, its finest achievement was the excellent literary work, the Latin *Chronica Bohemorum* by Cosmas (died 1125), describing Czech history from its mythical beginnings up to the year of the author's death. Only fragments of the popular literature written in Czech have been preserved, of which the most important is the *Hymn of St. Wenceslas,* in honour of the saint, evidently originating in the 13th century.

The development of Romanesque architecture, in particular of the basilica type, was characteristic of the period. Of the basilicas the best-known is St. George's, whose two slender spires have become a permanent feature of the Prague skyline. The Romanesque rotundas in Znojmo (in Moravia) and Řip, the four Prague rotundas and others have been preserved. Apart from church architecture, Romanesque is found in the border strongholds of the princes and in a number of houses preserved in Prague. Evidence of the skill of an unknown architect in the 12th century was the building of the first stone bridge over the Vltava river in Prague, known as Judith Bridge, that well served the needs of the city's trade for over 170 years before being replaced in the 14th century by Charles Bridge, which stands to-day. Of Romanesque sculpture only fragments have been preserved, such as the tripartite relief in the St. George Basilica in Prague. The generally high quality of artistic achievement is seen in the Czech silver coins, among the most handsome of any minted in Europe at the time, pointing to the existence of excellent schools of engraving, and in the cameos on the royal seals.

Little of Romanesque painting has come down to us: outstanding are the admirable frescos in the 12th-century chapel at Znojmo and some illuminated manuscripts.

IV THE CZECH STATE AS A CENTRAL EUROPEAN GREAT POWER

AT THE BEGINNING of the 13th century the country entered upon an era of substantial economic development, based on improved agricultural methods. The number of cattle increased, their draught capacity was put to better use, new implements such as the iron plough began to be used more and more, the three-field system of land cultivation (by dividing the fields into three parts and rotating the processes of spring and autumn sowing and of letting the land lie fallow) was generally adopted, and the area under cultivation increased at the expense of the inland forests. The newly-won soil had been first cultivated by the local serfs. But the very arduous labour of clearing and burning off forests could not have been carried on without engaging the workers' interest more directly in the labour. The nobility achieved this by granting the colonized land to those who cultivated it as a hereditary holding subject to certain payments. New and freer relations between the serfs and their feudal lords on the basis of the so-called emphyteutic law (also known as the "German" law since it had been granted first of all to the German colonists invited from the neighbouring German countries for cultivation of the border districts, because there were not enough local inhabitants to cope with the task). The expansion of agricultural output and the opportunities for marketing its produce eventually made it possible to substitute feudal money rents for forced labour and payments in kind, since it suited the feudal lords and, for the most part, the serfs as well.

These developments were made possible by further profound economic and social changes in feudalism. Growth of agriculture led to the creation of surplus products, and thus arose the need for an equivalent development of the handicrafts. The feudal lords and their peasants wished to exchange their agricultural products for manufactured goods. The village craftsmen could

Nástin dějin angl. 3

not satisfy their growing demands. Considering the level of technical development at the time, the growth of the handicrafts was possible only by specialization in the crafts, which in fact began to take place. The specialized crafts, however, could not be contained within the framework of the village: the craftsmen, in search of a wider circle of consumers, came to the towns where, under the protection of the castles, markets had existed for a very long time, which foreign merchants, too, made use of. The peasants from far and near brought their produce to these markets and thus the towns grew into centres of handicraft production and trade. During the 13th century fifty new larger towns were added to the older cities (which had originally sprung up around the centres of princely power), such as Prague, Brno, Olomouc, Hradec Králové and Znojmo. The rulers, anticipating possibilities of new sources of income, supported the growth of new towns, took them under their protection and, in return for money payments, granted them various privileges, principally civic freedom for the burgesses, a monopoly of handicraft production and trade, and the right to build city-walls. The growth of so many towns in Bohemia and Moravia in the first half of the 14th century had no parallel in Central or Eastern Europe. A dense network of towns, making it possible for the individual economic areas to be mutually connected, recalls the Netherlands and Flanders. The real power of government in the gradually established self-governing communities got into the hands of a small section of the richest merchants and handicraftsmen, the patricians. From the beginning of Czech history trade had been taken over by German merchants who had steadily driven out the Oriental merchants. Consequently the patricians ruling over the Czech handicraftsmen were themselves Germans, especially since they had been continuously strengthened by a new influx of German merchants, supported by the rulers.

The Czech nobility looked with displeasure on the growth

of the towns because they realized that the ruling house would thereby be strengthened. The fact that the government of the towns was in German hands provided a useful pretext for a sharp, strongly anti-German criticism of the policy of the Přemyslides in the first Czech Chronicle (known as *Dalimil's Chronicle*), at the beginning of the 14th century.

The expansion of trade made it necessary to mint an increasing number of valuable coins, involving a greater output in the extraction of precious metals. While gold-washing and gold-mining were not on a large scale, the Czech Lands became famous following on the discovery of large deposits of silver. The construction of big mines in Jihlava and Kutná Hora lured crowds from the whole of Central Europe. In silver production the Czech Lands took first place in Europe at that time. The mining law of Jihlava of 1249 was taken over by nearly the whole of Central Europe as the most mature legal norm, which drew upon many of the principles of Roman law. The mining legal code of King Václav II dating from 1300 was translated into Spanish as late as the 16th century, and some of its regulations were later on embodied in the mining laws of the Spanish colonies in America. The currency reform in 1300 created a new monetary unit–the Czech or Prague *groš*–which due to its quality became a favoured means of payment both at home and abroad.

The economic growth of the Czech Lands created the basis for a strong feudal monarchy, which tried to assume the position of a great power in Central Europe. Czech princes began interfering in the internal affairs of the German empire, especially when after the fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty a long interregnum (1254–1273) occurred and the power of the Emperor declined. The Czech State became especially important during the reign of King Přemysl II (1253-1278), whom the Germans called Ottokar II. He annexed to his kingdom the dukedoms of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, so that his

sovereignty extended to the Adriatic. He tried to exert pressure on Poland by building outposts on the Baltic coast, where he took part in several campaigns of the German Knights against Lithuania and where he founded the town of Königsberg (the present Kaliningrad) as a base for maintaining his power. In order to make this extensive territory secure, Přemysl II tried to gain the crown of the Roman Empire, but his candidature was unsuccessful. The Imperial princes and the Pope were, too, afraid of the power of this "gold and iron king," as he was called by his contemporaries. Similarly the powerful Czech feudalists did not care to see a strong ruler accede to the throne. Instead there was elected an unknown man of the house of Hapsburg, Rudolf, whom one might have expected to be no more than a puppet in the hands of the nobles. Rudolf Hapsburg cleverly made use of the tension between the Czech nobility and the King and went to war with Přemysl II, who was forced to forfeit his conquests (the Austrian territories becoming up to 1918 a hereditary holding of the Hapsburgs) and finally met his death on the battlefield. He was celebrated even by German poets as an outstanding hero of his time, and a lasting monument was fashioned for him by Dante in the *Divine Comedy* (in the seventh canto of the *Purgatorio*) where in several verses he is described as one of Dante's great contemporaries.

A powerful Czech kingdom was created under Přemysl's son Václav II (1278-1305), for whom Dante found a less favourable estimation, describing him rather as a sly diplomat than a fighter. Václav made use of the conflicts among the Polish feudalists and managed to get himself elected to the Polish throne. When in 1301 the house of Arpád died out in Hungary he gained for his son the Hungarian crown as well. Even then the papal curia did not favour Czech policy, and put up its own candidate for the Hungarian throne, a member of the Anjou dynasty ruling in Naples and Sicily. Václav resisted the papal policy by concluding a treaty of alliance with the French King

Philip the Fair, the first Czech-French treaty in history. War between the supporters of the rival kings of Hungary followed, in which Václav II preferred to relinquish Hungary in an effort to save Poland. However, even there the Přemyslide dynasty did not last much longer and came to an end with the death of Václav III, the last descendant, in 1306.

The growth of the Czech State during the reign of the last of the Přemyslides could also be seen in cultural life. It was the time of the rise of chivalric culture. Czech, itself a popular language, became the literary language. The opposition of the Czech nobility to the German colonists and outstandingly to the German town patricians contributed considerably to the enhancing of the importance of Czech. Apart from the fragments of the Czech legends, the best work in Czech literature of this period was the epic poem about Alexander the Great (the *Alexandreis*) by an unknown author at the beginning of the 14th century, and the already mentioned *Czech Chronicle* of Dalimil, written in verse. This became favourite reading, as many extant manuscripts prove. Czech literature of the period excelled in religious and love lyrics. Naturally in many literary forms Latin remained predominant: one instance was the impressive and voluminous description of the period of the last Přemyslides in the so-called *Zbraslav Chronicle*. Many German *Minnesänger*, such as Meister Sigeher and Reinmar von Zweter, one of the greatest German poets of the time, also lived at the Přemyslide court and they repaid the hospitality by the writing of poems commemorating Václav I (died 1253). Přemysl II had at his court one of the foremost German epic writers, Ulrich von Eschenbach, and Václav II was host to the famous Heinrich von Meissen, also known as "Frauenlob." Gothic art made its appearance in the Czech Lands in many ecclesiastical and secular buildings. The power of the nobility was reflected in the building of many castles, a number of which have been preserved. Some of the royal castles became very prominent architectur-

ally, as, for instance, those at Zvíkov, Písek and Bezděz. In music the secular influence was reflected in the court singers of the *Minnesang* and in the development of instrumental music for dancing.

The four-year struggle for the Czech throne from 1306-1310 had enabled the nobility to gain still greater power. Finally John, of the West European Luxemburg dynasty, whose father Henry VII had been Emperor, was elected king. On coming to the throne he was compelled to grant the Czech nobility a series of privileges which throughout the Middle Ages became their "Magna Charta," the most important of which was the right of collecting taxes. From this period on the nobility began to play a clearly independent role in political life which found expression in the Diet, where, however, the towns as yet were not represented. The reign of John of Luxemburg (1310-1346) was marked by the growing power of the nobility and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The King spent most of his time in warring adventures outside the country and looked on the Czech kingdom only as a source of revenue, entrusting the government to the feudal oligarchy. In his attempts at territorial conquest he crossed the Alps and took possession of several North Italian towns before being driven out. He supported the Order of German Knights in their aggressive designs against Poland and helped France against England in the Hundred Years' War, in the course of which he was killed at the battle of Crécy in 1346. During this period the Czech State acquired the Cheb region, a number of Silesian principalities and Upper Lusatia as permanent additions to its territory.

In Slovakia also the 13th and 14th centuries were a period of economic development. The extent of arable land was of course considerably smaller in view of the mountainous nature of the country. Settlement on the land increased, particularly in the second half of the 13th century following the savage Tartar invasion. In comparison with Bohemia, the growth of

towns was much slower. Alongside the older towns like Bratislava, Nitra, Trnava, new ones grew up, such as Košice, Prešov and a number of mining towns. In Slovakia, too, great deposits of silver and gold were discovered and important mining centres such as Banská Štiavnica, Banská Bystrica and Kremnica sprang up, availing themselves of Bohemian mining regulations. The Slovak mines became the basis for the wealth of the Hungarian kings, who began to mint both silver and gold coins (the forint). At the beginning of the 14th century, in the period of the feudal oligarchy, the wealthy magnate Matúš Čák became ruler of western Slovakia, establishing in his castle of Trenčín a miniature royal court and maintaining absolute rule until his death in 1321. Only later did the Hungarian King Charles Robert (died 1342) manage to renew his authority over Slovakia. Cultural life in Slovakia was less developed than in Bohemia due to its general historical situation. It was centuries before Slovak emerged as a literary language and meanwhile Czech served as the written language. In the arts the Romanesque style persisted in Slovakia until well into the 14th century, and hence the transitional style of Roman Gothic is represented here to a far greater extent than in Bohemia (e.g. in Banská Štiavnica and in Krupina). Gothic came to its peak of development in the 14th century in Bratislava, Zvolen, Prešov and elsewhere.

The second half of the 14th century saw a further economic development of the Czech Lands, particularly in handicraft production and mining. In a number of towns a flourishing weaving industry arose (e.g. in Jihlava and Brno), exporting to the east and south-east of Europe (Poland, Austria, Hungary and the Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia). In mining Kutná Hora predominated, becoming in size and architectural importance the second city in the kingdom after Prague. Foreign trade expanded particularly during the reign of Charles I (1346-1378), the son of John of Luxemburg, who realized the long-coveted dream of the Czech kings of becoming Holy Roman

Emperor (as Emperor his title was Charles IV). Prague, as the seat of the Imperial Court (which it continued to be until 1400, when Charles's son Václav was dispossessed of the Imperial crown), became one of the foremost cities of Europe, among which, in view of its impressive natural site and imposing architecture, it was reckoned one of the most charming in Europe. By means of his several marriages and his financial policy Charles extended the borders of the Czech State by the remaining part of the Silesian principalities and Lower Lusatia, giving it the form that it continued to have until 1635. Other territories which it had annexed were soon lost, such as Brandenburg and a number of Imperial fiefs extending as far as Nuremberg.

In 1348 Charles founded a university in Prague, the first in all Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, which became a great national centre of learning. It is to be noted that the university was established as a Czech and not as an Imperial institution. Czech became not only the literary language in all fields, including theology and learned writings, where Latin had prevailed, but was also accepted as an official language in the Imperial administration and in that of the nobility and of the towns. In the time of Charles's administration foundations were also laid for German as a written language, which attained its final form in Luther's writings at the beginning of the 16th century. The development of the Czech language, which had no parallel in Central Europe and was comparable only with that of Italian and French, was greatly assisted by the writings of Tomáš (Thomas) of Štítné (died 1401), a philosopher who popularized theological writings in Czech, and of John Hus.

Hus gave the written language popular roots and created a new orthography, which in its main outlines is used today. The coming into use of Czech as a national language made culture more accessible to the lesser nobility and the burghers. In literature the older forms, as seen in the Czech legend about

St. Catherine, were on the decline, while the religious and the love lyric were at their best, and the religious drama and satirical works made a new appearance. In writings on law, travel and in lexicography the Czech language was used, and came to its full flowering in the Czech translation of the Bible towards the end of the 14th century. At the beginning of the 15th century the famous work of mediæval German prose, *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen,* was written by Johann von Saaz.

The second half of the 14th century brought a quickening of cultural contacts with other countries. On the one hand students came to Prague university from neighbouring countries, such as the German provinces, Poland, Austria, Hungary and Southeast Europe, where no such institution existed (the university of Cracow was founded in 1364, that of Vienna in 1365, and that of Leipzig in 1409). On the other hand cultural relations with France and Italy were rapidly growing. In this the main impulse was of course the orientation towards French culture on the part of the Luxemburg dynasty, which brought many French artists into touch with Bohemia. One of the foremost figures in contemporary French literature, the poet Guillaume de Machaut, was in the service of King John and celebrated his memory. Charles IV brought to Bohemia the French architect Matthias of Arras, who began the building the cathedral of St. Vitus on the site of the Prague Castle. The members of Charles's court came into even closer relations with the growing humanist movement in Italy. In 1356 Charles's court was visited by the poet Petrarch, and six years earlier by the Roman politician Cola di Rienzo. While these Italian visitors did not find sympathy for their political aims, they aroused interest in the humanist movement. Concerning the cultural atmosphere of Charles's Court Petrarch wrote: "I confess that nowhere have I found less barbarism and more humanism than at the Court of the Emperor and among the distinguished men surrounding him. They are truly outstanding and highly cultivated persons,

whose gentle and pleasant behaviour is such that they might be sons of Greece." With England, too, cultural links were established when Charles IV's daughter Anna (celebrated as the "Good Queen Anne") became the wife of Richard II. In painting contacts with Italian and French art, combined with Czech traditions, gave rise to works of panel painting which were unequalled in Europe of the time, as, for instance, the work of the Master of Vyšší Brod, the Master of Třeboň, and Master Theodoric. Distinguished work was done in sculpture, such as the collection of busts of members of the dynasty and court from the workshop of Peter Parler placed in the triforium of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. In architecture many impressive works, such as St. Vitus Cathedral, the cathedrals of Kutná Hora, Sedlec and Kolín, Karlštejn Castle and others, were built and may still be admired today.

V

THE HUSSITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

TOWARDS THE END of Charles's reign shadows began to fall across his powerful empire. Economic development had reached a level which in the given circumstances could not be surpassed. The capacity of agricultural production and the town markets, in particular, within the framework of the existing methods of cultivation, was stretched to the limit. The rising demands of the nobility could be met only by worsening the lot of the common people. The unbounded financial ambitions of a Papal Court were an even more influential contributing factor to the symptoms of crisis. While Charles IV relied upon the Pope in matters of foreign policy, he helped to swell the Papal income and claims to revenue in the Czech Lands when he strengthened the Church's position by establishing an archbishopric in Prague in 1344. At a time when the financial demands of the Papacy found no satisfaction in western Europe, it concentrated its attention on the Czech Lands with their rich silver mines. The ecclesiastical offices were changed into a permanent source of income for the Papacy, since they were filled subject to the making of money payments. These facts, together with the deteriorating position of the feudal population on the Church estates (the prelates demanded the more from the serfs the more they themselves had to deliver to the Papacy), brought about demoralization within the Church, since the financial capacity of applicants for ecclesiastical offices carried more weight than their moral qualities. In the 14th century the Church owned more than one-third of the land: the financial policy of the Papacy therefore affected a considerable part of the serfs directly and incensed the remainder by supporting abuses that cast doubt upon the proclaimed divine mission of the Church. Since in addition a large part of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries were German, resistance to the Church took on a national colouring. Similarly in the towns the burghers

were stirred up both by the unprecedented trafficking in Church ritual and by constant levies and the molesting of begging monks. The German patriciate, moreover, acted as the zealous ally of the Church and suppressed the Czech craftsmen in their attempt to gain a share in town administration.

Thus both in the towns and in the country, where the lesser nobility felt itself oppressed, there arose a vast tide of opposition to the Church, which was in fact greater in extent amongst the common people. With the growth of the Hussite revolutionary movement this mounting opposition turned against the oppressive system of feudalism as a whole.

It was from the common people that the Hussite movement gained its fighting zeal, while a comprehensive ideology was given it by the lesser clergy, which by the end of the 14th century had begun to indict the Church's lust for property and the dissolute conduct of the hierarchy. For this reason the work of John Wycliffe met with a great response. In the first years of the 15th century the leader of the opposition to the Church was the Rector of Prague University Jan (John) Hus (about 1371-1415) who believed that the decline of the Church was due to its excessive aggrandisement. He taught that so long as the Church was not deprived of its property, no reform would be possible either of the Church itself or within society as a whole: "The dogs fight over the bone. Take it away from them and they will stop."

It was characteristic of Hus that by contrast with Wycliffe he presented his teachings in person before his congregation in the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague and urged that they be put into practice. While Hus's views suited the interests of the burghers and lesser nobility in the first instance, they were also supported by the broad sections of the people who saw in the secularization of Church property the beginnings of the struggle against oppression in general. In 1412, when Hus denounced the sale of indulgences, an open clash occurred between the

Church and his supporters, in which the people became thoroughly aroused. King Václav IV (1378-1419) came to the help of the Church and three journeymen active in the struggle against the sale of indulgences were executed. Deprived of the King's support, Hus was then compelled to leave Prague. He withdrew to Kozí Hrádek in southern Bohemia where under the protection of his supporters from the ranks of the lower nobility he preached to the country people and wrote his masterpieces in the Czech language (particularly the *Postilla*), and his *De ecclesia* (in Latin), in which he sharply criticized the Papacy and the whole Church community. He also participated in the final preparation of the Czech translation of the Bible.

In 1414 the Church Council met in Constance in order to re-establish the Church's authority, which had become gravely threatened by the scandalous spectacle of three contending Popes. Hus was also summoned to the Council. Although he was himself convinced that in the presence of the highest representatives of the Church he would be able to expound and defend his teachings, they for their part had no intention of entering into argument with him. Without having established that he had in fact sinned against Holy Writ, the Council demanded that he recant his opinions. Upon his refusal he was burned at the stake on 6 July, 1415.

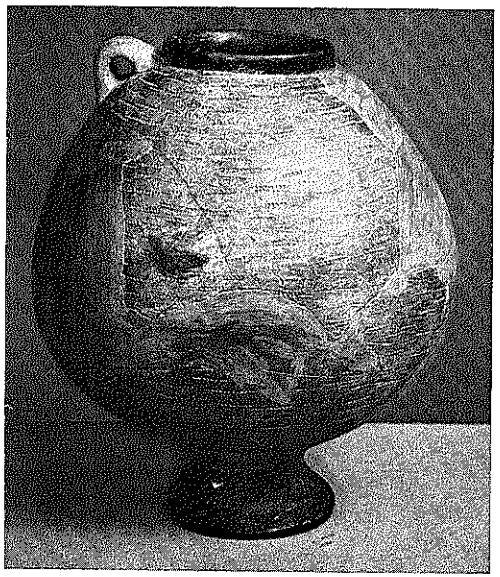
The death of Hus stirred up profound agitation throughout the Czech Lands and was felt as an affront to the whole nation. It demonstrated clearly that the path of negotiation was now closed and that the only alternative was the way of armed struggle. The symbol of the movement, apart from Hus's name, was the chalice. The Hussites had introduced the receiving of Holy Communion in both kinds by the lay population, whereas in the Catholic Church only the priest partook of the chalice at mass. In the countryside the people began to assemble in remote places, mainly on hill-tops, where they received the chalice and listened to the words of the popular preachers that

the time was now at hand "when there will be neither master nor king and the people will dwell together as brothers and sisters." The revolutionary wave swept the towns as well. When King Václav tried to put down the revolutionary upsurge in Prague, the people, led by the priest Želivský, attacked the Town Hall on 30 July, 1419, hurled the city fathers out of the windows and took over the government of the city. The German patriciate and hierarchy were driven out of Prague and other towns following its example and their property was confiscated. Similarly in the country there were attacks on monasteries, which the nobles utilized to lay hands on Church lands. The death of King Václav in 1419 from a stroke due to his troubled state of mind was generally taken as a portent of the fall of the old order and the coming of the "Kingdom of God."

While in Prague the revolutionary acts of the town poor were constantly impeded by the equivocal attitude of the burghers who, out of fear for their property, were seeking to negotiate with the Church and with the heir to the throne, Václav's brother Sigismund, King of the Germans and Hungarians, in the countryside the common people in 1420 set up the new revolutionary centre of Tábor in southern Bohemia. Here were laid the foundations of a new society in which the visions of the "Kingdom of God" were to have been made real. All feudal privileges were abolished, all people were declared equal, property was made communal, and both administrative and military "captains" (officers) elected by popular vote. This programme was carried out in other south Bohemian towns as well (e.g. in Písek and Vodňany). In Tábor, for the first time in world history, the attempt was made to create a classless society. The attempt was doomed to failure simply by the fact that neither the economic nor the political pre-requisites for its success existed.

While the country and the town poor aimed at bringing the feudal social order to an end, the burghers and the lesser nobility

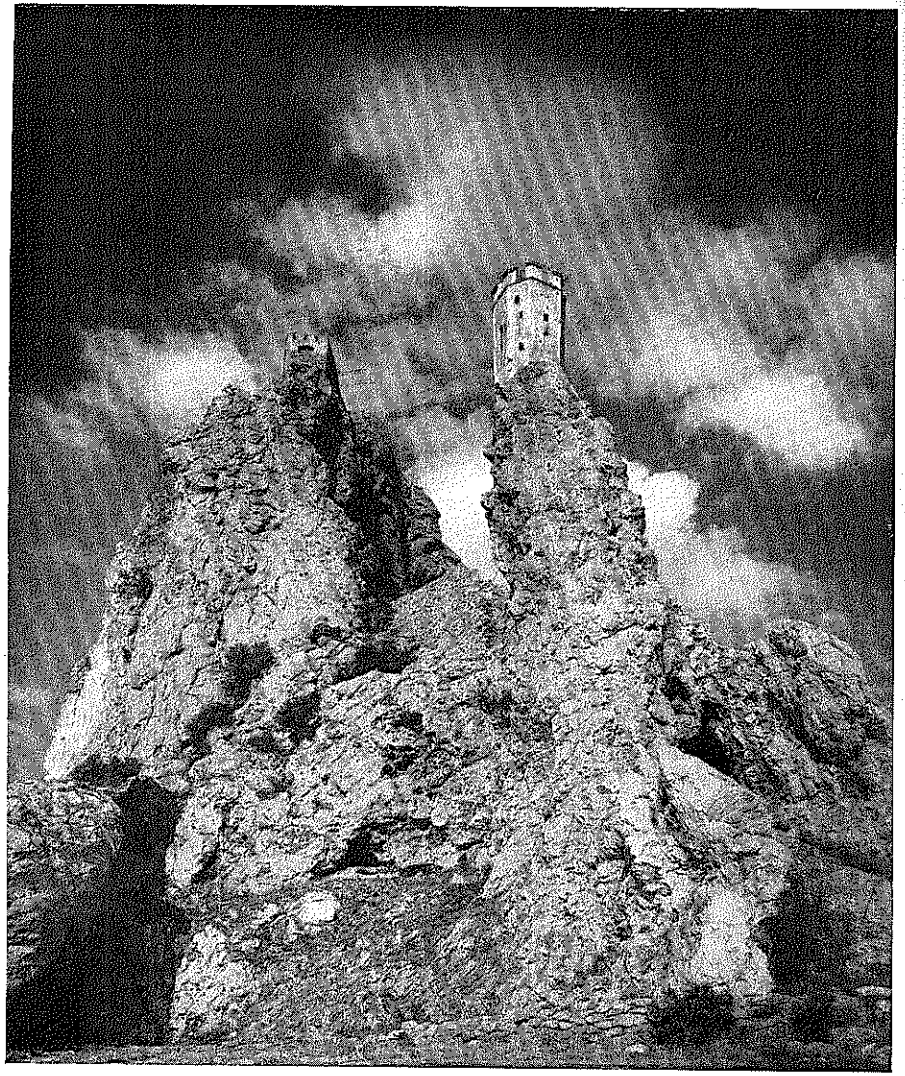
1 The famous Venus of Věstonice from the Stone Age (80,000-10,000 B.C.), found in Moravia



2 Celtic limestone
sculpture
(Western Bohemia)

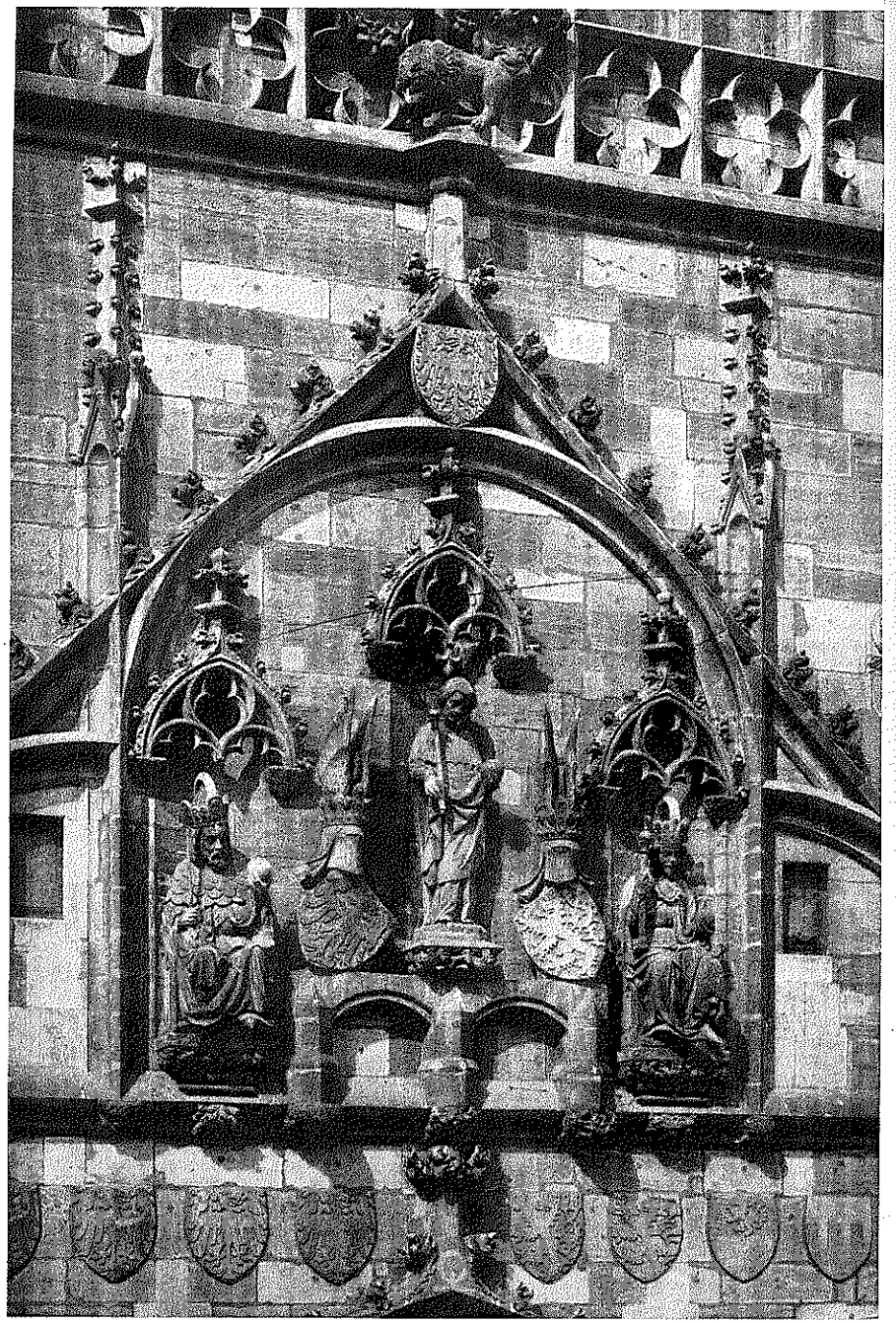
3 Jug from
the Neolithic Period
(Šurany in Slovakia)

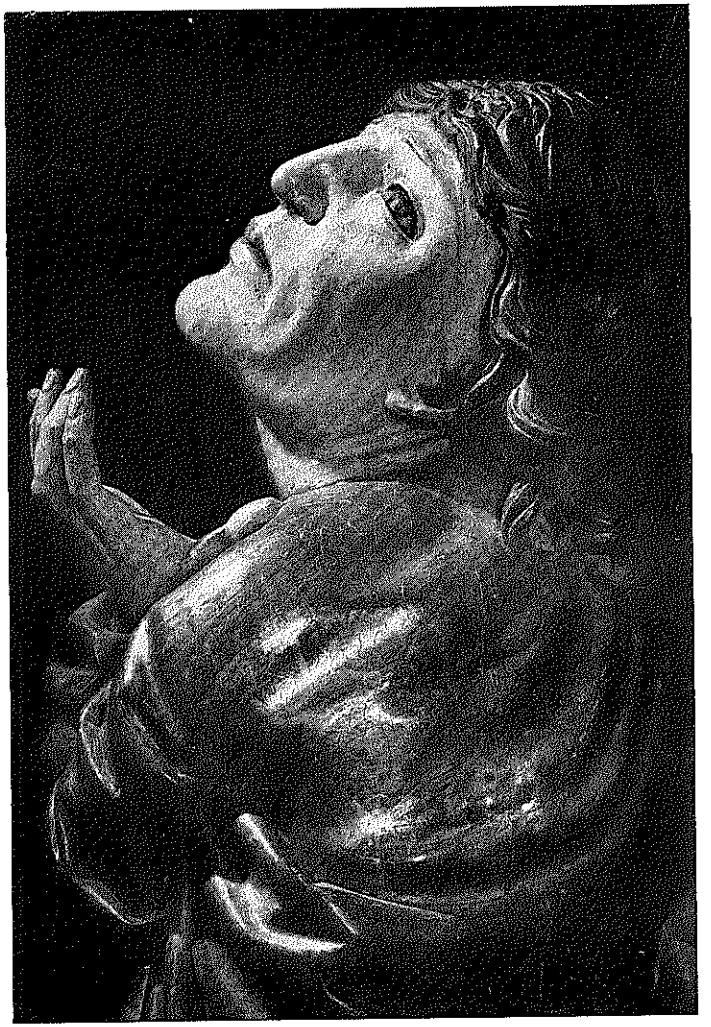
4 Slavonic jewels
from *circa*
9th century
(Duchcov in Bohemia)



5 The Castle of Devín near Bratislava (Slovakia)
probably from the period
of the Great Moravian Empire

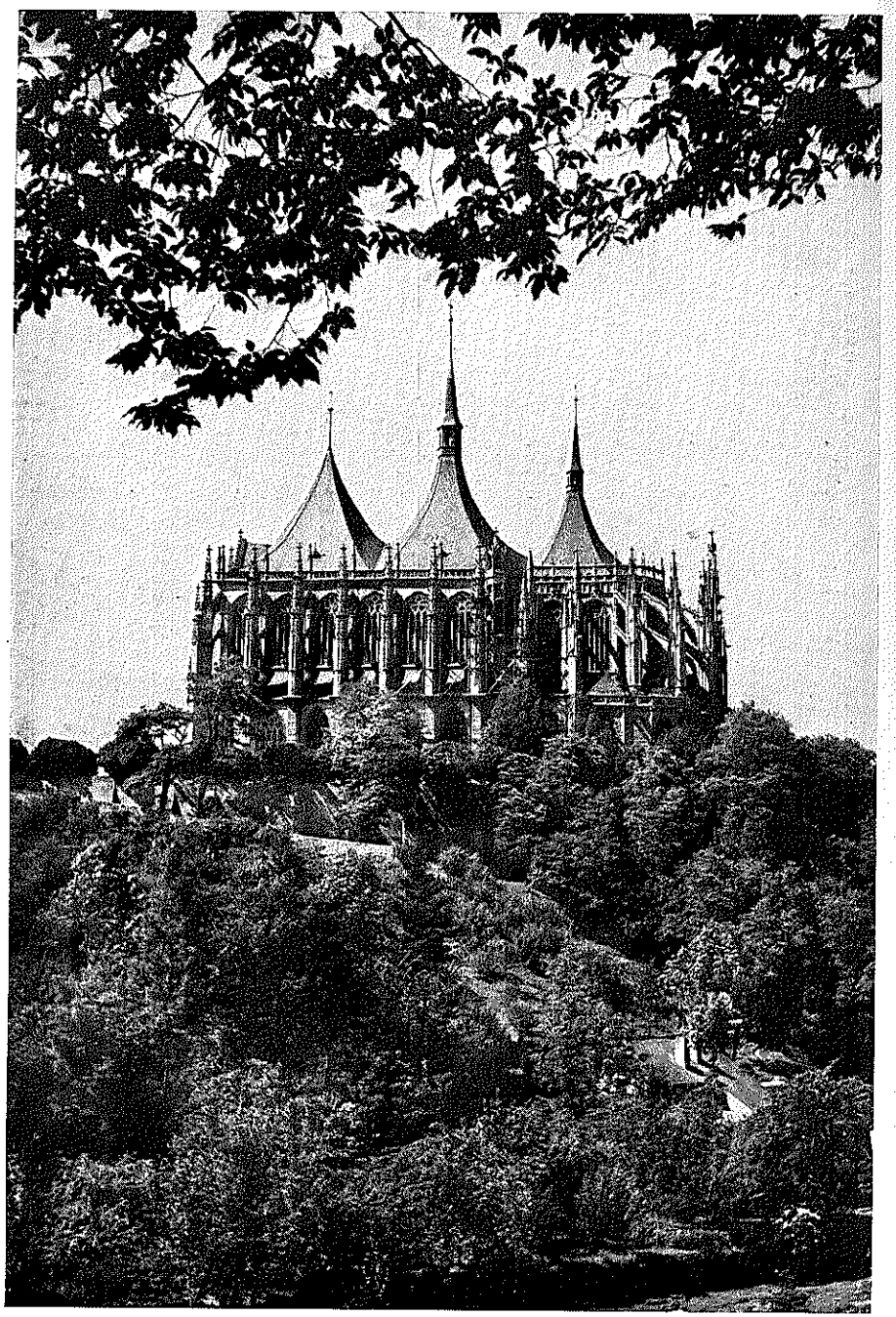
6 Interior of the Romanesque Basilica
of St. George, Hradčany, Prague

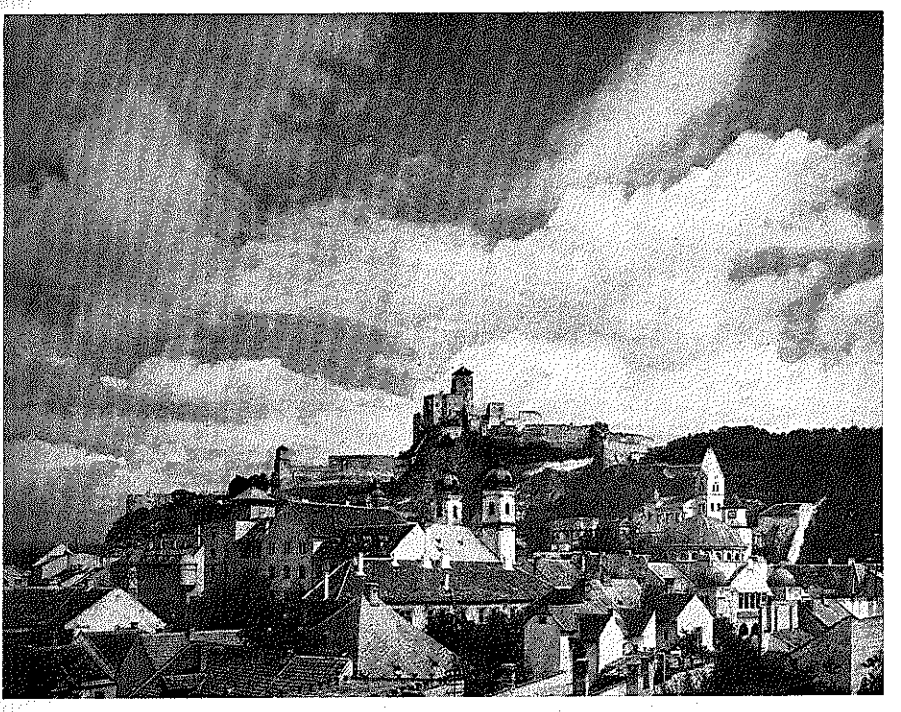




7 Detail from the Gothic Old Town Tower
on Charles Bridge in Prague.
On the left is the statue of Charles IV,
on the right that of Václav IV.

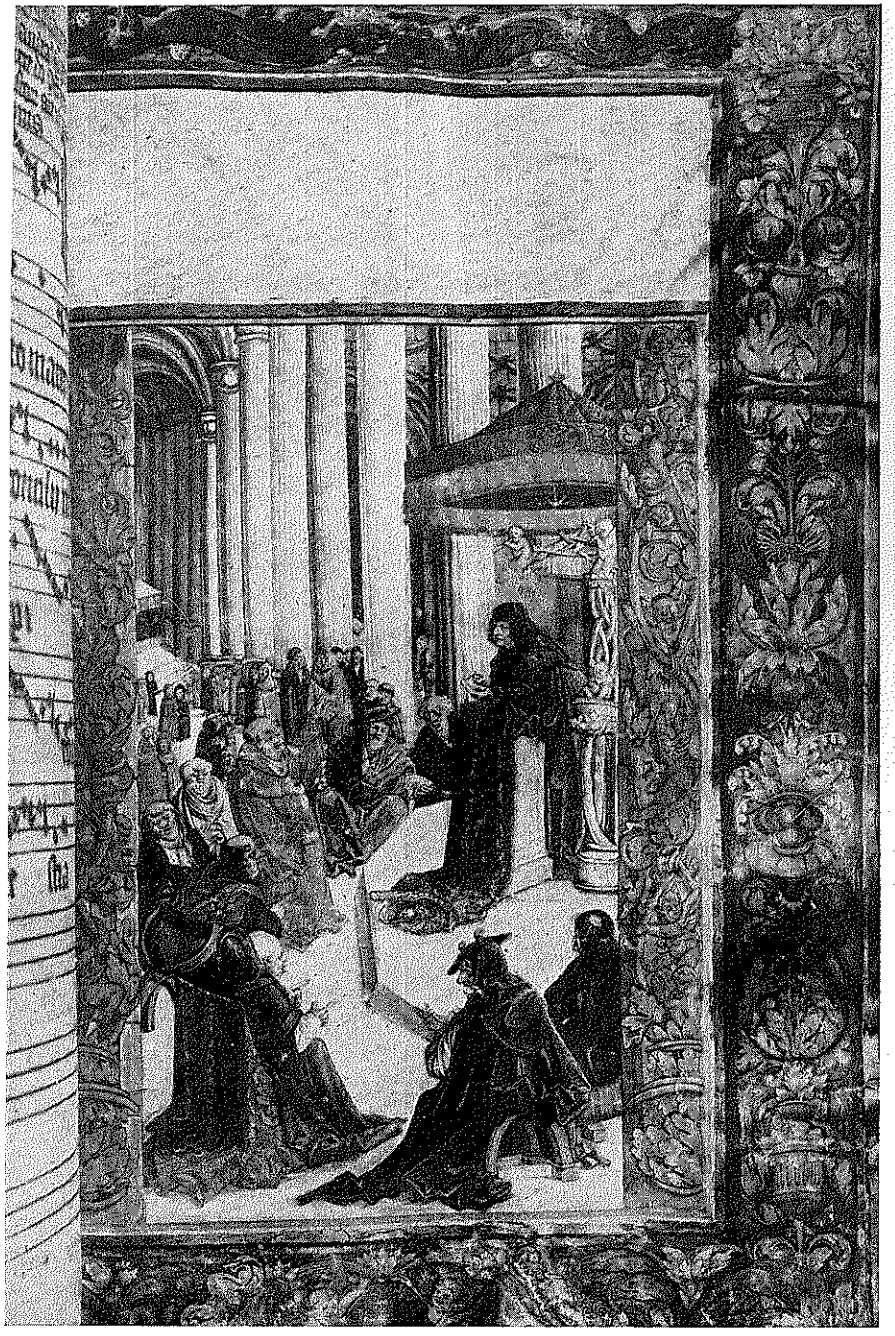
8 Detail of the wooden statue of an apostle
from the Gothic altar of Master Pavol
in the Church of St. James, Levoča (Slovakia)

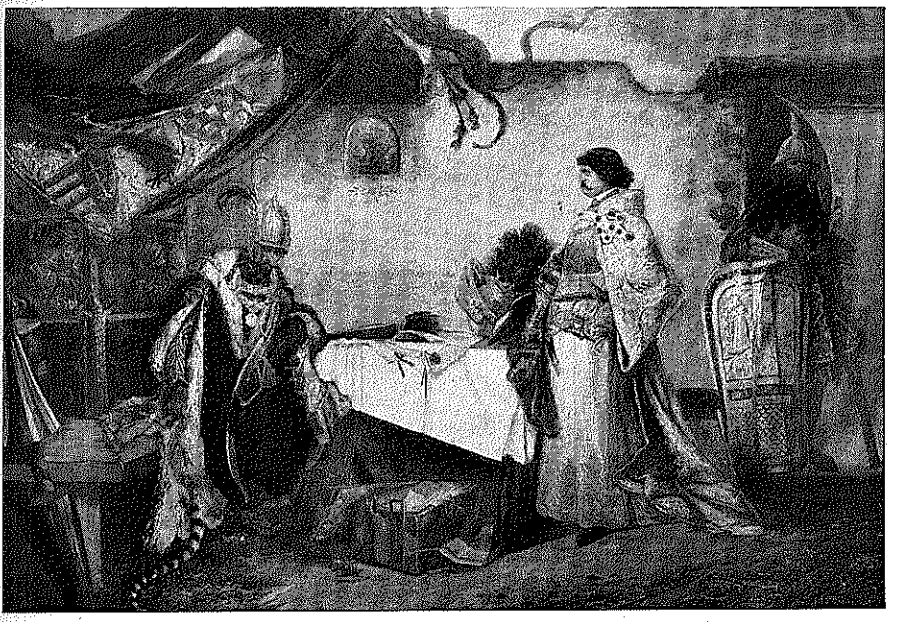




9 Gothic church of St. Barbara
in Kutná Hora
(central Bohemia)

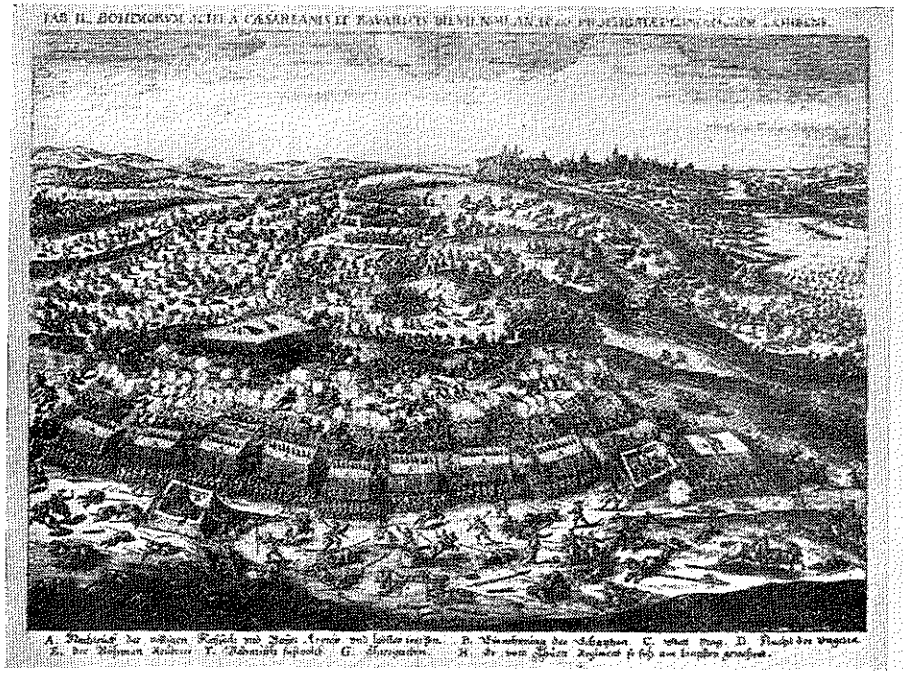
10 The Castle of Trenčín,
seat of the Slovak magnate
Matúš Čák
(14th century)

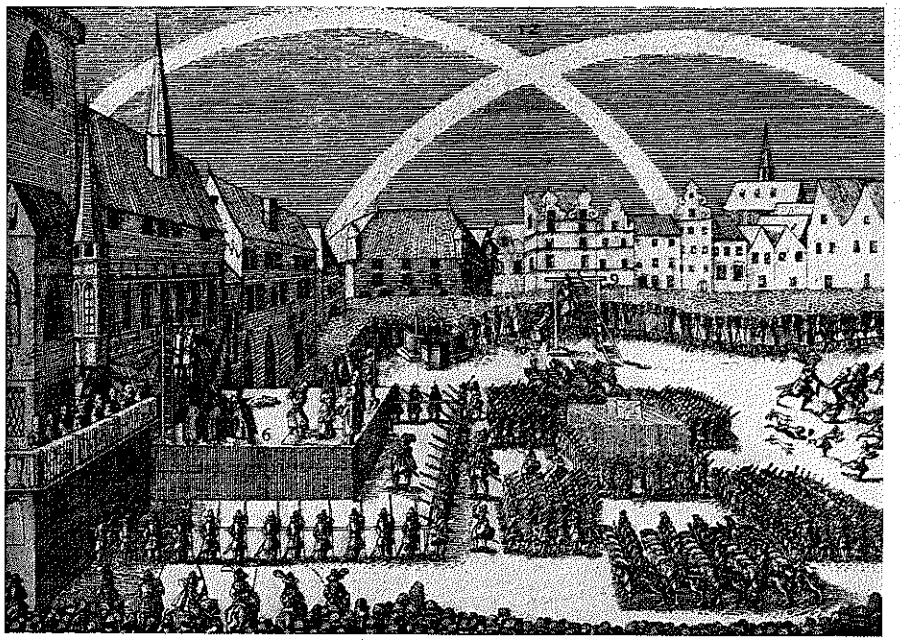


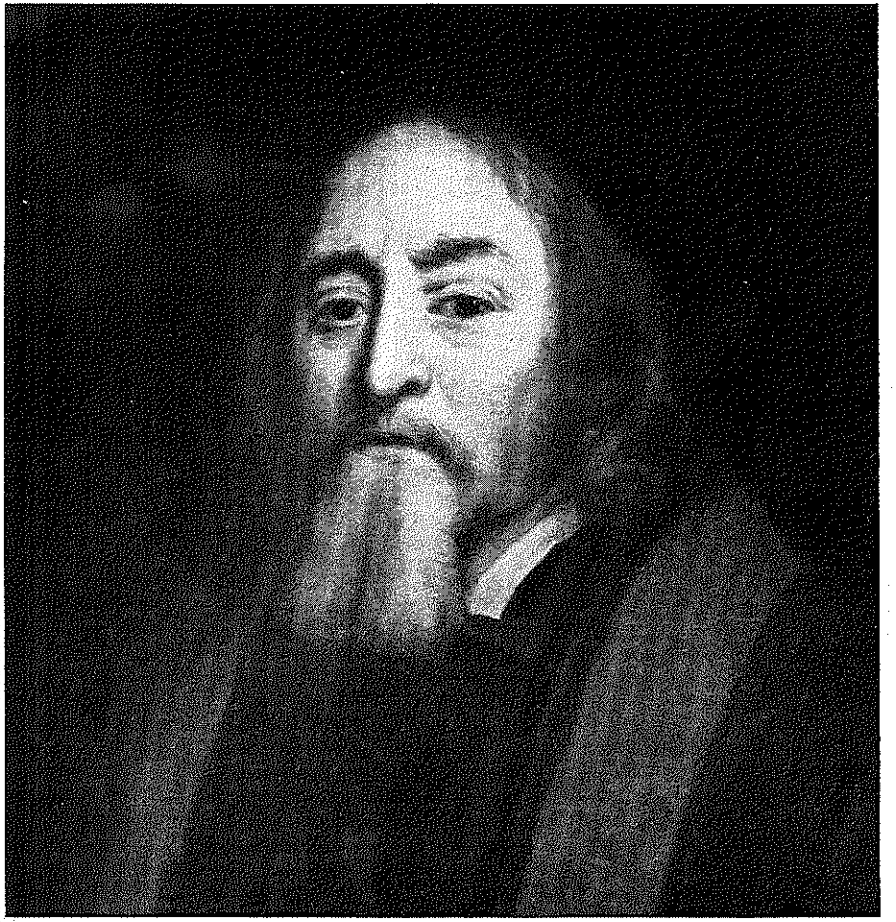


11 Hus before
the Council of Constance
(from the Litoměřice
hymn book
at the beginning
of the 16th century)

12 Mikoláš Aleš:
The meeting
of the Czech King
Jiří of Poděbrady (right)
with the Hungarian King
Matthias Corvinus







13 The Battle of the White Mountain
near Prague (1620)

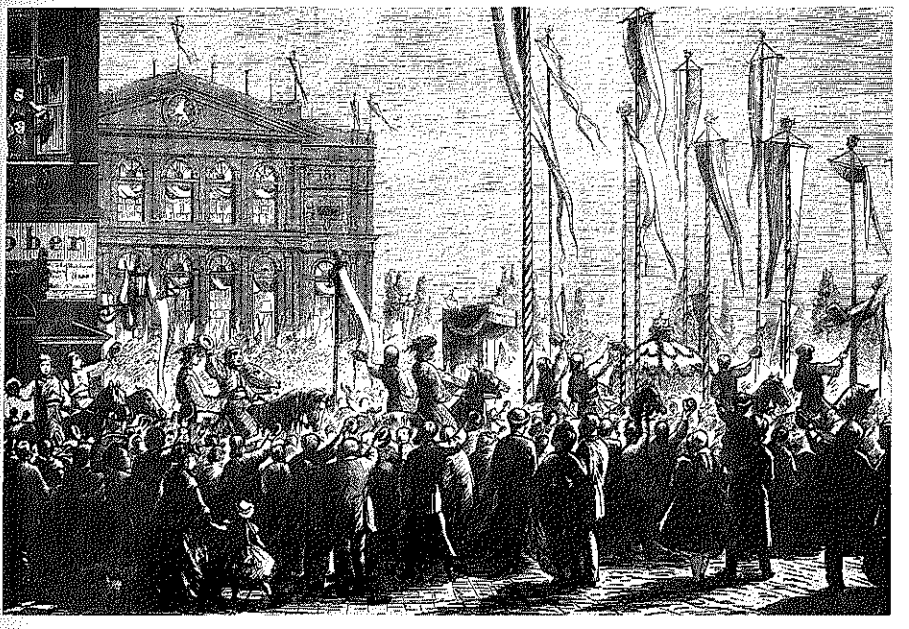
14 Execution in the Old Town Square, Prague,
of the 27 leaders of the Revolt
of the Czech Estates
against the Hapsburgs (1621)

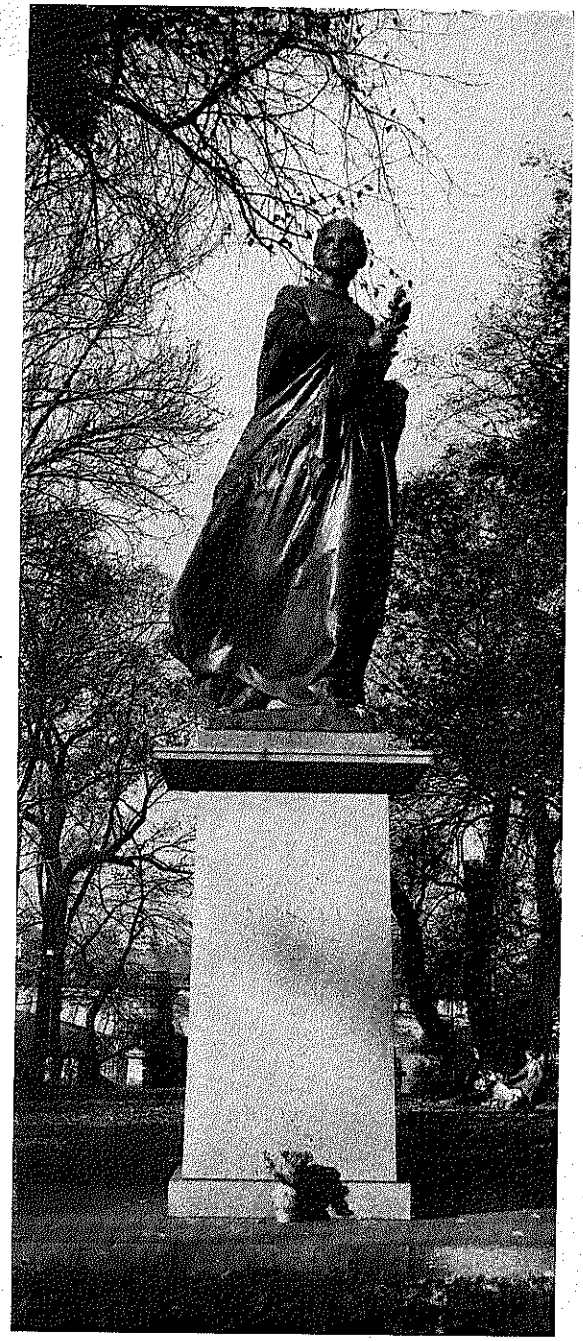
15 Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius) (1592-1670),
founder of modern educational theory
(by Jurisen Ovens)

16 The revolutionary
year 1848.
Fighting between
the people
and the Austrian Army
in the Lesser Town
of Prague

17 Laying the foundation
stone of the National
Theatre, May 16, 1868.
Ceremonial ride past
the site
in folk-costumes
of the Haná region.
(By permission
of the Museum
of National Literature)

18 National Theatre
in Prague
(completed in 1883.
architect Josef Zitek)





19 Monument to the writer Božena Němcová on Slavonic Island in the river Vltava, Prague, by the sculptor K. Pokorný (1956)

were content merely with securing certain essential reforms. Their programme was laid down in the *Four Articles of Prague,* demanding mainly the secularization of Church property, permission to receive Communion in both kinds, the right to a free and unrestricted interpretation of the Bible, and the general punishment of "mortal sins," by which were meant not merely the moral vices but also Church abuses of whatever nature. In contrast to the revolutionary path followed by the common people, the burghers and lesser nobility sought to secure recognition of their gains through negotiation. But when Sigismund, confident of victory, rejected any kind of negotiations, they were left with no other course than to join with the popular forces in defending the country.

In 1420 the Pope and Sigismund proclaimed a crusade against the Hussites in which some 100,000 mercenaries from all over Europe, mostly Germans, took part. Pillaging and laying waste as they went, the crusaders moved towards Prague. On Prague's appeal for assistance, armed units hurried there from Tábor and other parts of Bohemia. At the battle of Vítkov Hill the united revolutionary forces, led by Jan Žižka of Trocnov, won a costly victory, in which the Hussite womenfolk also played their part. The victory was commemorated by naming the site of the battle Žižkov. Following their defeat the interventionist armies dispersed in ignominy.

Between 1420-1431 the Pope and Sigismund organized five crusades against the Hussites, all of them failing miserably. The Hussite warriors, in their battles with the crusaders, did not know the meaning of defeat. Unlike the enemy, not only were they full of conviction in their just cause but they also began to use new methods of warfare. Žižka organized a peasant infantry in masterly fashion and was the first to make use of light fieldpieces in open battle (until then artillery had been used only in besieging fortresses). The foot-soldiers defended themselves against the armoured cavalry of the feudalists by

means of fortified waggons, linking them, if need arose, by chains and swiftly setting up their waggon-forts, behind which they could open fire, anywhere in the field. Another advantage of the Hussite armies was their unusual mobility, their surprise tactics and their skilful exploitation of terrain. Proof of the exceptional quality of organization of the Hussite forces is to be seen in Žižka's military regulations, which included detailed directions for every army unit and enabled the common soldiers to have a voice in decisions of the military command. The famed invincibility of the Hussite armies struck such terror in the hearts of the crusaders that in the final encounters such as at Tachov (1427) and Domažlice (1431) the latter no sooner heard the rumble of the approaching waggons and the singing of the Hussite battle hymn "Ye Warriors of God" than they took to flight. Until his death in 1424 Žižka stood at the head of the victorious armies, although in the final years he had lost the sight of both eyes. He was staunch and unwavering in his advocacy of the Four Articles of Prague, and by his opposition to any kind of dealings on the side with Sigismund he won the respect of the common people who rallied behind him. Not without reason is Žižka compared with the great leader of the English Revolution, Oliver Cromwell.

During the years 1421-1422 the burghers and lesser nobility managed to oust the representatives of the poor from the leadership of the movement and to get the Four Articles adopted as the common programme, once it became apparent that the communal ownership of property in Tábor could no longer be maintained. Since the burghers, particularly in Prague, and the Hussite nobility had substantially achieved their objectives (expulsion of the German patricians with confiscation of their property, secularization of Church property and burgher representation in the Diet), they showed more and more readiness to come to terms with Sigismund and the Church, even at the cost of a compromise. On their part the Church and Sigismund, having

suffered fresh defeats by the Hussite forces under the command of the no less talented general, Prokop the Great, and faced with Hussite incursions deep into German territory as far as the Baltic with their revolutionary incitement of the discontented populace against the Church, abandoned all hope of crushing Hussitism by force of arms.

Thus in the end the Council, meeting in Basel in 1431, was compelled to open negotiations for a truce. What the Church had denied Hus it had now to grant the Hussites: it was forced to negotiate on the basis of "equal among equals" and to defend its own doctrines by argument. Its prestige in consequence suffered a severe blow. Its sole hope now lay in the possibility that in the course of the negotiations it would be able to bring about a split in the Hussite ranks and exclude the field armies under Prokop the Great from a voice in the decisions reached. In secret deliberations the Council arrived at a compromise separate peace settlement with the right wing of the Hussite movement, known as the *Compactata of Basel.* Of the Hussite programme the Church conceded only its recognition of the chalice, while Sigismund promised that in property matters the *statús quo* would remain, namely, the secularization of Church property and the confiscation of that of the German patriciate. On the basis of this programme a coalition was formed between the Council and the Hussite right wing against the field armies which rejected any kind of compromise. At the battle at Lipany in 1434 there was an armed clash between the two wings in which the field armies were decisively beaten. Nothing now stood in the way of a final settlement both with the Church and with Sigismund, who finally in 1436 came to the Czech throne, only to die a year later. The Basel *Compactata* became the law of the land and provided the legal basis for the existence of the Calixtine Church. While the Calixtines were declared to be "faithful sons of the Church," yet as well as having their special forms of church ritual, such as the receiving of the chalice and

worship in Czech, they refused to submit to papal authority and thereby put themselves beyond making any payments to Rome.

Since it so seriously undermined the Church's authority the Hussite revolutionary movement played an important part in creating conditions for the solution of problems such as secularization and formation of national churches that confronted the Reformation in 16th-century Europe. The Hussite programme therefore met with a great response abroad: in Germany where there were active adherents of the Hussites like Johann Drändorff, Peter Turnow and Friedrich Reiser, and where there were uprisings in Bamberg, Passau and Magdeburg; in France, where a revolt broke out under Gilles Mersault in 1423 in Tournai (Picardy), basing itself on the Four Articles of Prague; in Poland and in Hungary. The Hussites also had evident links with the Lollards* in England. One of the most outstanding Hussite personalities was Peter Payne (known in Bohemia as "Engliš"), an Englishman who escaped to Bohemia from the Inquisition. In the Czech Lands, despite its final defeat, Hussitism improved the lot of the serfs and the town population by abolishing all payments to the Church, especially tithes and Church dues. The Hussite movement likewise put a temporary stop to the crisis of the lesser nobility, which bettered its position at the expense of the Church's property, and brought great political gains to the burghers, who were granted representation in the Diets and achieved a privileged position unparalleled in Central or Eastern Europe.

Hussitism was of the greatest importance for the history of Czech education, since its schools gave the common people access to instruction and culture. The school in Tábor educated both boys and girls, which in the Middle Ages was unheard-of; the language of instruction was not Latin, but Czech. Hussitism

* A religious sect which raised social demands and whose members were persecuted as heretics.

further enhanced the significance of the Czech language and literature written in Czech. In the end Czech was adopted for the Church liturgy from which it had been excluded, gaining a status in the eyes of the faithful such as had been enjoyed in the Catholic Church only by Latin. The use of Czech as an official language also became more established, and by the end of the 15th century it was able to serve as the diplomatic language of Central Europe. In branches of literature such as poetry and theological writings the peak of development was reached, exerting considerable influence abroad, particularly in Poland. In music also, notably in the chorale, impressive progress was made.

The Hussite revolutionary movement, since it was so deeply rooted in the whole of Czech life, became the starting-point for the people's democratic struggles and the source of its revolutionary traditions. In view of the great response it aroused in Slovakia, Hussitism marked a significant stage in the establishing of closer contacts between the Czech and Slovak nations.

VI ATTEMPTS OF THE FEUDAL OLIGARCHY TO RULE THE CZECH STATE

1437-1526

THE STRUGGLE for the throne after the Luxemburg dynasty died out in 1437 smoothed the way to power for the feudal oligarchy. Several of the great noble families who had enriched themselves during the Hussite period (even the Catholic nobility took over Church property to "protect" it), prominent among whom were the South Bohemian Rožmberks, tried to take complete control of the country's political life.

This tendency was temporarily halted when Jiří (George) of Poděbrady was elected to the Czech throne (1458 to 1471) from the ranks of the Czech nobility and tried to build up a strong royal government, relying on the towns and the lesser nobility and so standing against the policy of the class of his origin. Further support for his government came from the national Calixtine church. But his statesmanslike work was threatened by the Holy See, which abolished the Compactata and declared new crusades against the Czechs, enlisting in its service the Hungarian King Matthias. The nobility supported the foreign interventionists who, however, failed to win any decisive victory and were eventually repulsed. On the other hand King George, a skilful diplomat, gained the growing sympathies of the other European nations embittered by the Pope's policy which, in face of the imminent Turkish danger, forced into war the two countries in possession of the greatest military forces at the time. Favourable attention was given to King George's project for a League of European Princes, who were to settle their disputes not by war but through negotiations before the League's Court, the members of which were to have been the French King, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Doge of Venice and the King of Castille. This League deprived the Holy See of its decisive status and was nipped in the bud by the popes. At the French Court it was looked upon with favour, and King Louis XI concluded a pact of amity with George.

Petr Chelčický (died 1460) gave expression in his teaching to the frustrated hopes of the country poor who had expected Hussitism to do away with all the burdens of feudalism. Chelčický in his Czech writings condemned the entire feudal system with unusual sharpness. Basing himself on the Gospel, he rejected all use of force and called for a "spiritual fight" and passive resistance only. The depth and genuineness of the original teachings of Chelčický claimed the interest hundreds of years later of Leo Tolstoy. Chelčický's followers in 1457 formed the *Unity of Czech Brethren,* which separated from the Calixtines and established itself as an independent church. To begin with it rejected any active struggle whatsoever, preached moral self-improvement and ignored all institutions of state power. Its members were predominantly small tradesmen and poor peasants.

After the death of Jiří of Poděbrady the struggle for the Czech throne continued between the Hungarian King Matthias and the Polish Prince Vladislav of the Jagellon dynasty who had been elected Czech king by a majority of the nobility and burghers. The rivalry between the kings made it possible for the lords to strengthen their position by joining one or the other party. The situation was finally settled only by the death of Matthias in 1490, upon which Vladislav was also elected king of Hungary. Thus the Czech Lands and Hungary were united in a joint State until 1918. One of the positive results of this union was still closer relations between Czechs and Slovaks, which led to a greater influence of Czech culture on Slovakia.

The weak government of the Jagellon kings Vladislav II (1471-1516) and Ludvík (1516-1526) was taken advantage of by the feudal lords to extend their rule over the entire Czech State. All high offices were held by members of a handful of the most powerful families. The big nobles launched an attack on the political status of the burghers and tried to expel them from the Diets. While their efforts proved unsuccessful, the burghers

had to give up many economic advantages, thereby considerably undermining their position. The feudal lords began establishing on their estates more and more breweries and fish-ponds, and taking up sheep-breeding, mining of precious metals and trade. This situation led to the levying of new duties on the subject people and restricting their personal liberty, especially by forbidding them to move. At the end of the 15th century the common people rose in revolt more than once against this oppression but were put down on each occasion.

The King's rule was in fact only formal. When in 1526 Ludvík had to face the attacks of the Turks, he was left in the lurch by the nobility of both countries, and was defeated and perished in the battle of Mohács on the South Hungarian border. Once again the Czech and Hungarian thrones were left vacant.

The most important event in the cultural development of this period was the introduction of the printing press. In the Czech Lands it came to be used very early, and the first Czech printed book was produced in 1468. By 1526 at least five big printing houses were in existence, and the first Czech printers had made their appearance. In 1515 the first Czech newspapers were published, as yet irregularly and rather like information pamphlets on particular events. Due to the defeat of the Hussite revolutionary movement the humanist movement had not become so extensive as in other countries. A characteristic feature of Czech humanism was its insistence upon systematic use of the Czech language in literature, due partly to the now decisive cultural influence of the burghers. Viktorin Kornel of Všehrdy was the best-known of the contemporary Czech humanists. Czech literature had links with the great legacy of the Hussites, but the creative arts faced a more complicated situation. Panel painting no longer held pride of place in European art and the Dutch School now predominated. The

genre of the "beautiful madonna" was replaced by a burgher type of madonna, corresponding to the taste of the town population who increasingly sponsored the creative arts.

In architecture the Late Gothic style prevailed, seen at its best in the work of Benedikt Rejt, who completed the Church of St. Barbora in Kutná Hora and built the Vladislav Hall in the Prague Castle, and Matouš Rejsek, architect of the Prašná brána (Powder Tower-gate) in Prague. The Hussite influence was noticeable in music, especially in the popular chorale, which was so well-developed that it influenced the melodic structure of the German Reformation songs. Musical compositions were preserved in many magnificent hymn books.

The closer contacts between Slovakia and the Czech Lands strengthened the position of Czech as the written language of the Slovaks, while at the same time elements of the Slovak popular language passed into written Czech. The oldest Slovak literary manuscript dates from 1479. The foundation of the university in Bratislava in 1467 (*Academia Istropolitana*) encouraged the development of Slovak culture and held an important place in the humanistic tradition in Slovakia; even though it ceased to exist in 1490. Slovak Gothic reached its crowning glory–apart from the Church of St. Elizabeth in Košice–in excellent sculptures in wood, such as the works of Pavol of Levoča. The Renaissance appeared much earlier in Slovakia, for instance at Bardejov, than in the Czech Lands.

VII

LOSS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

1526-1620

THE AUSTRIAN HAPSBURGS took advantage of the threat to Central Europe by the Turks and the willingness of the nobility to shift the burden of the anti-Turkish wars on to the shoulders of a joint ruler. The election of Ferdinand I (1526-64) to the Czech and Hungarian thrones created, together with Austria, a multi-national monarchy, which remained in existence until 1918. Ferdinand I tried to make use of the rich economic resources of the Czech Lands to support the aggressive foreign policy of a dynasty that not only carried on war with France and with the Empire's Protestant princes (Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish King was Ferdinand's brother), but also included in its sphere of interest territories such as the Netherlands, Spain and the American colonies, all of which formed a part of the world empire of the Hapsburgs "over which the sun never set." These enterprises had nothing in common with the interests of the Czech State, and resistance soon came from the burghers and nobility, as well as from the peasantry, who had to pay the ever-increasing taxes. Ferdinand raised opposition also by his plans to make the country Catholic again. In Bohemia not one-tenth of the population was Catholic. In the neighbouring lands of the Czech crown (Moravia, Silesia, Upper and Lower Lusatia) the Catholic Church was stronger, but Lutheran doctrine worked against it. The consequences of Ferdinand's plans of re-Catholicization were that any anti-Hapsburg resistance assumed the form of a fight for religious freedom. While the Utraquist Church discredited itself by its compromised attitude, the Unity of Brethren, which abandoned the original teachings of Chelčický to become a church of the nobles and burghers, came into the foreground together with the Lutherans.

The ensuing War of Schmalkalden, in which the Protestant princes of the Empire took up arms against the Hapsburgs, in-

cited the first anti-Hapsburg revolt in the Czech Lands in 1546-47, under the leadership of the Czech burghers. The rising failed, and Ferdinand took advantage of his victory over the burghers by abolishing their greatest gain from the Hussite period–freedom of political status. The towns were placed under royal surveillance and their standpoint in the Diet was subordinated to the will of the King. The economic power of the towns was also restricted.

The defeat of the towns in 1547 was a great economic and social victory both for the Hapsburgs and the nobility. From the middle of the 16th century the nobles expanded their enterprises on the big estates, and so further worsened the lot of the peasantry. Besides breweries, the construction of huge fish-ponds in the region of Třeboň and Jindřichův Hradec in southern Bohemia, was greatly developed. The latter still hold their place in the present-day Czech economy, and, in view of their quality, Czech carp have been exported throughout Europe. In 1547 the basic work of Jan Dubravius *De piscinis* was published which spread the fame of the Czech fishing industry abroad. About the middle of the century begins the period of the large-scale production of light beer (made from wheat) in breweries set up on the nobles' estates. In Eastern Moravia sheep-breeding began, and in the border areas the nobles mined silver and tin. At the beginning of the 16th century huge deposits of silver were discovered in Jáchymov, which soon overshadowed Kutná Hora. Here was minted the famous silver coin called in German *Joachimsthaler*, from which is derived the designation common throughout Europe and America: thaler–dollar. While handicraft production stagnated, being restricted by the guilds, cloth manufacture increased: Czech, Moravian and Silesian cloth found its way into Poland, Russia, Austria, Hungary and the Balkans. Even greater success was achieved by the North Bohemian, Lusatian and Silesian linen, which by way of Leipzig began to reach overseas markets. Linen

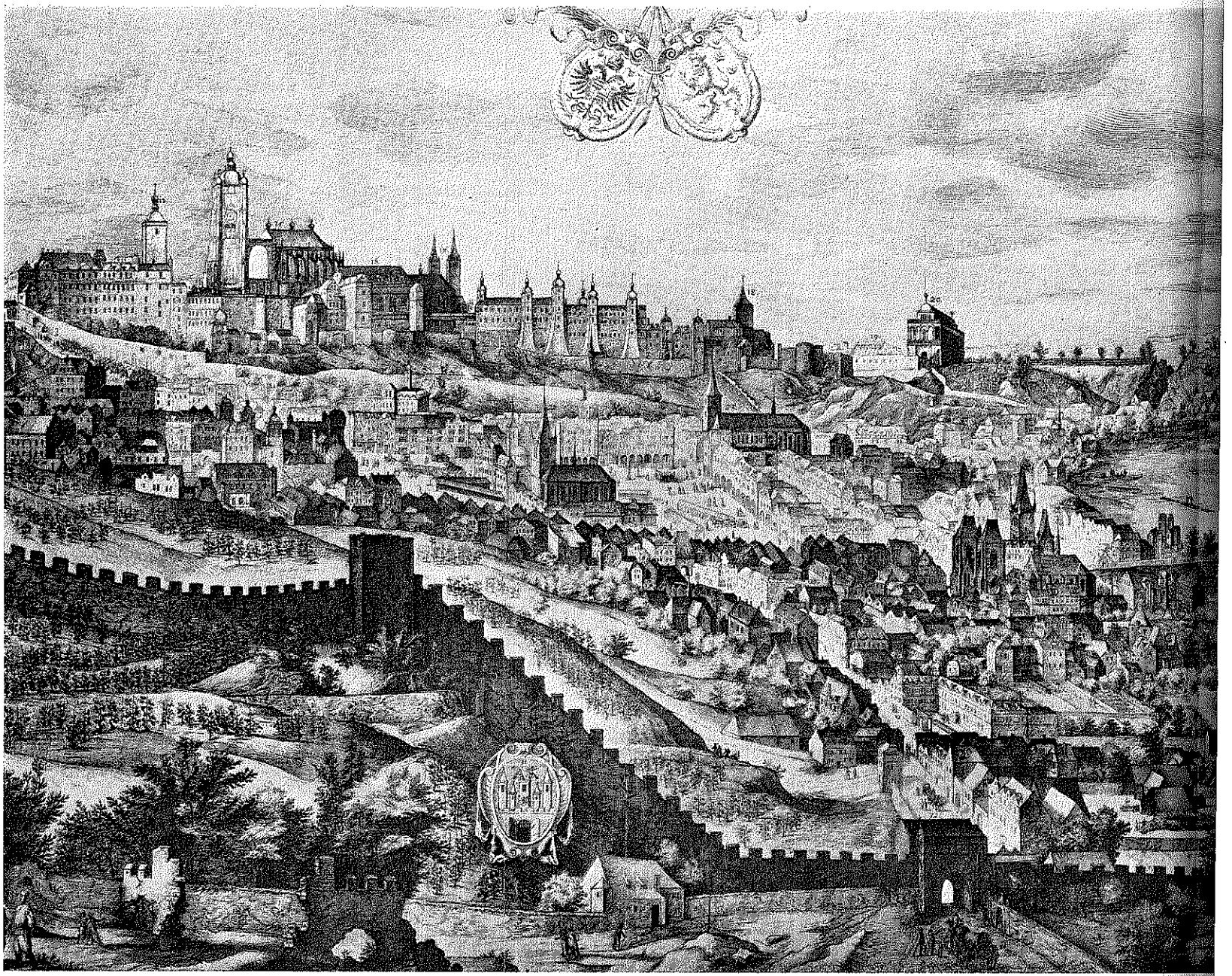
production was freed from the restrictions of the guild so that one can now speak of the beginnings of manufacture (what is called the putting-out system depending on the work of weavers in their own homes). Moravian hats were exported in large quantities to eastern and south-eastern Europe. The iron industry also developed outside the guild system, especially after the construction of the first blast furnaces about 1600, which facilitated continuous smelting.

In Slovakia Hapsburg rule meant devastating wars between Ferdinand and the Hungarian King-elect Zápolya. Under pressure from the German patriciate, the Slovak towns sided with the Hapsburgs, and the nobility with Zápolya. The Hapsburgs were able to hold only the western part of Hungary and Slovakia, so that for nearly 200 years Bratislava was the capital of Hapsburg Hungary (Buda, the real Hungarian capital, was occupied by the Turks in 1541). Slovakia bordered in the south on the Turkish empire and the population suffered from Turkish raids and from looting on the part of the Hapsburg soldiers. Particularly distressing was the position of the wage-workers in the Slovak mines, where with the participation of capital invested by the Fugger and Thurzo families the mining of silver and copper reached a peak at the transition from the 15th to the 16th century. Insufficient wages caused a huge uprising of the miners in Banská Bystrica in 1526, which was the greatest revolutionary event since the time of the Hussites and which was followed by further struggles throughout the 16th century. The common people more and more embraced Protestantism, which the Hapsburgs tried to suppress both in the Czech Lands and in Slovakia by calling in the Jesuits. However, Lutheranism was readily supported by the nobles, who were quite in favour of the confiscation of Church property.

The beginning of the 17th century saw a crisis within the dynasty regarding the succession to the throne. In Hungary there occurred a big revolt led by Prince István (Stephen)

Bocskay and the long war with Turkey was in progress. The brother of the Emperor Rudolf II, Matthias, took advantage of this situation and in attempting to usurp the throne unleashed a civil war. The anti-Hapsburg Protestant nobility forced the harassed Rudolf II (1576-1611) in 1609 to acknowledge religious freedom, and thus gained opportunities for carrying out lawful opposition to the Hapsburgs. The role of the Czech Lands in relation to the Austrian Hapsburgs was similar to that of the Netherlands vis-à-vis the Spanish Hapsburgs. Throughout Europe the Hapsburg régimes were weakening, and attempts to suppress the Czech opposition movement led to the anti-Hapsburg revolt (1618-1620), which became the prologue to the Thirty Years' War.

The Czech revolt began on May 23, 1618, with the defenestration of the governors Martinic and Slavata (in 1612 the Hapsburgs had finally transferred their Imperial seat from Prague to Vienna). This incident served as the signal for a general uprising. A government of thirty directors was elected for the administration of the Czech Lands, Jesuits were expelled from the country, and the Hapsburgs were declared dethroned. The insurgent army led by Count Jindřich Matyáš of Thurn in 1619 stood before Vienna but did not win a decisive success. The head of the Protestant Union in Germany, Frederick of Palatinate, was elected Czech King (1619-1620). Since he was the son-in-law of King James I, help from the English King was expected. The revolt was primarily an affair of the nobility, concerned only with the struggle for state power; the burghers were not fully drawn into it, and the less so the wider sections of the common people whose demands were not met. From the outset it depended on assistance from abroad. However, the English failed to help, the Netherlands alone gave certain financial aid, while Gábor Bethlen of Transylvania and the Prince of Savoy, Victor Emmanuel, sent military help. The lack of money, due to the indifference of the towns, did not



7 Prague
n 1606:
Hradčany
nd the
Old Town
from
he chronicle
f Agidius
adeler)

PRAGA
MVLTAVIA FLVVIVS

allow the nobility to build up an adequate army of mercenaries. On the other hand the Hapsburgs could rely on the great financial resources of Spain and the Pope. The rebel armies were defeated at the battle of the White Mountain near Prague on November 8, 1620; Prague surrendered, and Frederick of Palatinate fled the country. The revolt was quickly suppressed, but the great European conflict it had ushered in now passed beyond the borders of the Czech State to merge into the Thirty Years' War.

The defeat on the White Mountain was a fatal day in Czech history since it led to the final destruction of national independence. The Czech Crown Lands became Hapsburg provinces in which the will of the rulers was the only law. The remaining rights of the towns were abolished, and the influence of the nobility, especially at the court, was strengthened. For the first time since the Hussite movement the power of the Catholic Church was restored, and it again took over its estates. Catholicism was declared the only state religion, to which the serfs were bound to adhere. The free population (i.e. the nobility and the burghers) were given a choice: they had either to become Catholic or to leave the country as soon as possible. The German language was declared equal with Czech. However, because the majority of the offices after the battle of the White Mountain were filled by Austrian or German nobles, the Germans soon gained supremacy. In 1621, as a deterrent, twenty-seven leaders of the revolt were executed in the Old Town Square in Prague, and all who took merely an indirect part in it had their property confiscated. Nearly three-quarters of the land was thus confiscated and the victorious Hapsburgs gave it or sold it very cheaply to the Austrian, German, Italian and Spanish nobles (e.g. the Schwarzenbergs, the Mansfelds, Colloredo, Piccolomini, Huerta, Buquoy and others) who had helped to suppress the rising of the Czech Estates. A considerable part of the Protestant nobility fled or emigrated, and then served

in the Swedish armies in further fights against the Hapsburgs. The burghers were impoverished by the confiscations and many went abroad rather than become Catholics. Since the furthering of culture depended mainly on the burghers, their emigration was a very grave set-back to Czech cultural progress.

A primary characteristic of 16th-century cultural life in Bohemia was the hegemony of the burghers. Czech literary humanism culminated in the 16th century in the work of a prominent Czech Brother, the writer Jan Blahoslav (1523 to 1571) and in the careful new Czech translation of the Bible from the original texts in the *Kralice Bible*, dating from the end of the century. Interest in purification of the Czech language led to the publication of a series of grammars and dictionaries. In contrast with the Renaissance in Western Europe, belles-lettres, the most characteristic literary product of the burgher class, did not flourish, and neither did poetry, which was the pride of the contemporary Polish Renaissance; literature was mainly scientific (historical and natural science, legal, economic, technical), and was written in Czech and Latin. It reflected the interest of the burghers in the study of Nature, and in the observation of production and its utilization. Georg Agricola found inspiration and material in Jáchymov's mines for his *Twelve Books on Mining and Metallurgy* published in 1556, achieving a world-wide reputation. The greatest Czech natural scientist of this century Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek (died 1600) published the first Czech herbarium, was the first in the Czech Lands to advocate Copernicus' heliocentric system and became the founder of meridian astronomy. He attempted to measure the exact area of and to map Bohemia. Interesting progress was also made in medicine. The first known dissection was performed at the beginning of the 17th century by Jan Jessenius, Rector of Charles University (executed in 1621). The high level of the cultural life in Prague, which at the time of the reign of Rudolf II again became the capital of the Holy

Roman Empire, attracted many foreign scientists to the city. At the court of Rudolf there lived the famous Danish astronomer Tycho de Brahe, who thought highly of Hájek's research, and also the German astronomer and mathematician Johannes Kepler, who during his work in Prague established his first two laws regarding the movement of the planets.

The development of literature was made possible by the existence of excellent printing-houses, of which the publishing house of Jiří Melantrich especially gave Czech book production a high standard.

The Renaissance style developed, chiefly in architecture, into the "Czech Renaissance" of the Czech and Moravian towns (Prachatice, Telč, etc.), which still win admiration with their picturesque squares and arcades. At the court and in the service of the feudal lords were mostly Italian architects, who created many castles such as Pardubice, Litomyšl, Opočno, Český Krumlov, Jindřichův Hradec and Bučovice. Prague was adorned with the summer residence of Belvedere and the Míčovna (Ball-game Hall) at the Prague Castle. In music the popular church choir yielded to literary brotherhoods given to vocal polyphony. The most important composer in the polyphonic style of the Netherlands School was Kryštof Harant of Polžice (died 1621), author of polyphonic motets and a mass for five voices. The popular tradition of the Hussite chorus was maintained especially by the Unity of Czech Brethren, and a series of hymn books with popular choruses were printed. During the 16th century over 70 such hymn books were published in the Czech Lands in about 150 editions and nearly 100,000 copies, pointing not only to the high level of the popular chorus but also to that of cultural life as a whole.

In Slovakia as well as in the Czech Lands the burghers were prominent in 16th-century cultural life. Czech culture strengthened its influence because the Czech language became the church language of the Slovak Reformation and hand in hand with it

went the dissemination of Czech theological writings, especially of the Czech Bible. In the last quarter of the century printing houses were founded in Slovakia, in Trnava, Bardejov, Banská Bystrica, and Bratislava. The burghers were enthusiastic builders and hence many Slovak towns were enhanced by attractive Renaissance architecture, as in Banská Bystrica, Levoča, and Banská Štiavnica.

After the defeat of the Czech Estates' revolt many prominent writers emigrated, such as Pavel Stránský, who while in exile wrote his book *On the Czech State* (translated into many European languages); Pavel Skála of Zhoř, chronicler of the revolt of the White Mountain, and, above all, one of the greatest figures in Czech cultural history, the famous pedagogue and philosopher Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius; 1592-1670). Comenius was one of the last bishops of the Unity of Czech Brethren, and laid the foundations of modern education in such works as *Didactica magna, Informatorium, Orbis pictus, Ianua linguarum reserata,* and others. He taught that schools must be open to all without discrimination as to social status or sex, and that education should be founded on practical and visual demonstration, the gradual gaining of knowledge and elimination of the use of force. While Comenius had no chance of practising his educational plans in his mother country, he was able to do so at least partially while a guest in England, Sweden, and in the Netherlands, where he died in Naarden. The excellent Czech engraver, Václav Hollar, also lived and worked abroad, mainly in England.

The forced emigration of a considerable part of the Czech nobility and burghers, together with the influx of foreign, mostly German burghers and nobles, paved the way for the gradual denationalization of what remained of the nobility and burghers and ultimately for their Germanization during the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The Czech language and culture persisted only among the common people of the countryside.

VIII

UNDER THE HAPSBURGS

1620-1918

(1) The "Age of Darkness" and the National Revival (up to 1848)

DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618 to 1648) the Czech Lands were many times terribly devastated by warring armies. Hunger and plague followed in the wake of the horrors of war. The population of the Czech State was reduced by a half, to one and a half million. The once prosperous lands were changed into a scene of destruction, and their area was diminished by the cession of Upper and Lower Lusatia to Saxony. It was the serfs upon whom the affliction mainly fell. Those who survived suffered under feudal burdens which had been imposed upon them. Statutory labour was increased up to several days a week because the nobility, enriched by confiscations, founded estates for growing grain for export. The small landholders had been ruined economically by *corvée* duties that had left them no time for work in the fields. The personal liberty of the peasants was now limited practically to a minimum, so that one may speak of a new enslavement of the serfs, the "second serfdom." The Hapsburgs, in constant need of more money for the upkeep of the armies, levied heavier taxes on the population, while the peasantry sank still further in the scale through the unprecedented violence with which they were converted to Catholicism by the Jesuit order. The ensuing period is indeed justly termed "temno": the age of darkness.

The Czech Lands recovered very slowly from the misery of the Thirty Years' War. At the end of the 17th century appeared signs of a new economic development. While agriculture stagnated (the yield of statutory labour on the big estates could not surpass certain limits since it was enforced by the most brutal means), the rest of production began to expand anew.

VIII

UNDER THE HAPSBURGS

1620-1918

(1) The "Age of Darkness" and the National Revival (up to 1848)

DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618 to 1648) the Czech Lands were many times terribly devastated by warring armies. Hunger and plague followed in the wake of the horrors of war. The population of the Czech State was reduced by a half, to one and a half million. The once prosperous lands were changed into a scene of destruction, and their area was diminished by the cession of Upper and Lower Lusatia to Saxony. It was the serfs upon whom the affliction mainly fell. Those who survived suffered under feudal burdens which had been imposed upon them. Statutory labour was increased up to several days a week because the nobility, enriched by confiscations, founded estates for growing grain for export. The small landholders had been ruined economically by *corvée* duties that had left them no time for work in the fields. The personal liberty of the peasants was now limited practically to a minimum, so that one may speak of a new enslavement of the serfs, the "second serfdom." The Hapsburgs, in constant need of more money for the upkeep of the armies, levied heavier taxes on the population, while the peasantry sank still further in the scale through the unprecedented violence with which they were converted to Catholicism by the Jesuit order. The ensuing period is indeed justly termed "temno": the age of darkness.

The Czech Lands recovered very slowly from the misery of the Thirty Years' War. At the end of the 17th century appeared signs of a new economic development. While agriculture stagnated (the yield of statutory labour on the big estates could not surpass certain limits since it was enforced by the most brutal means), the rest of production began to expand anew.

We may call the period between 1680 and 1781 in the Czech Lands that of manufacture. The basis of textile production consisted of linen, cloth and cotton manufactures, which began to export their products to distant markets abroad. These textile manufactures flourished especially after 1740 when the Hapsburg-Prussian conflict led to the loss of Silesia, well-known for its textile industry, and when the Hapsburg government tried to find a substitute in the more intensive development of other countries, particularly Bohemia. The Czech manufacturing enterprises made use of money wages, not the *corvée,* and also of the division of labour and of simple machines. Division of labour made it possible to take advantage of the unskilled work of women and even children. Besides the textile industry, glass manufacture made striking progress, especially following the invention of new cutting techniques and of Bohemian crystal. Thus was laid the basis for the world renown of Bohemian glass, which in the first half of the 18th century established its command over the foreign market in place of Venetian glass. The textile and glass manufacturing was located mostly in the mountainous border districts, which had been re-colonized after the Thirty Years' War by several waves of settlers, mostly Germans. Since the low fertility of the soil prevented any further development of agriculture in these mountain regions, the inhabitants were best suited for work at home. Old traditions in such work and a good supply of water power from the mountain streams for the first machines were also important factors. The textile industry took its rise in northern Bohemia in the foothills of the Krkonoše (Giant Mountains) and the Krušné hory (Ore Mountains); the glass industry developed out of the already existing enterprises in North Bohemia. At the end of the 18th century the export of Bohemian glass somewhat declined, but the invention of stained crystal at Jablonec-on-Nisa (North Bohemia) at the beginning of the 19th century opened a new phase of successful development.

Along with mercantilist principles the Hapsburg government supported manufacturing production, since it brought great income to the Imperial treasury. During the so-called enlightened rule of the absolutist monarchy of Maria Theresa (1740 to 1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790) a series of progressive measures were taken to support industry, such as the abolition of toll and customs duties within the State. The basic obstacle thwarting its development, however, was serfdom which bound the great majority of the population to agriculture and to the feudal lords. Thus it was primarily the nobility who could undertake manufacturing since only they had at their disposal the necessary resources of labour. At the same time advantage had to be taken of the initiative of the merchants who were the owners of capital and of other promoters in the smelting, glass and mining industries.

In the end the downfall of serfdom was brought about by the Czech serfs themselves. The unbearable oppression caused more and more peasant revolts. During the Thirty Years' War these were limited to certain estates, but in 1680 a big revolt embraced a considerable part of Bohemia and forced the Hapsburg government to issue measures for the mitigation of *corvée,* which proved to be ineffective. In 1775 the biggest revolt of the serfs, in which Hussite traditions were to be seen, took place. The rising was suppressed, but it shook the monarchy. Under the pressure of these events Joseph II issued his decree on the abolition of serfdom; feudal servitude, however, i. e. submission to the feudal lord and the *corvée,* continued. In 1781 Joseph also proclaimed his Edict of Toleration which authorized the practice of the Lutheran and the Calvinist faiths in addition to Catholicism, thereby making it possible for the non-Catholic craftsmen and manufacturers to reside in the territory of the monarchy without fear of religious persecution. The series of reforms made during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II culminated in the abolition of serfdom, and in consequence the

Hapsburg empire changed into an absolutist state similar to that of 18th-century France. A centralized administration and a legally trained bureaucracy were established, together with a powerful army and police. Since the Hapsburg empire was a multinational State, the negative feature of these reforms was their Germanizing tendency which sought to have only the German language recognized.

The abolition of serfdom and the Edict of Toleration had far-reaching effects on both the economic development of the Czech Lands and the progress of the Czech nation. The Czech Lands became the most industrialized part of the monarchy. An ever-growing number of people went into industry, and this transfer was accompanied by further far-reaching changes. The State now had to arrange for new forms of education. In 1806 the Technical School, founded in Prague in 1707, was changed into a Polytechnic. An influx set in from the countryside into the Germanized towns, where members of the Austrian bourgeoisie had established new manufactures, and thus the Czech element began to be strengthened not only as a producer but also as a consumer. A new Czech bourgeoisie and intelligentsia came into being, and they responded to the Germanizing efforts of the government by strenuous efforts to revive the Czech language and culture in the face of its previous period of decline.

In Slovakia the beginnings of capitalist production were considerably delayed as compared with the situation in the Czech Lands. Such retarding lay at the door of the Hapsburg government, which deliberately permitted Hungary to remain only an agrarian appendage of the Empire. The nobility, too, came in for a share of the responsibility, concentrating as they did merely on manufactures within their estates, where they employed mostly serfs in the form of statutory labour. Serfdom in its crudest forms took root in Slovakia and the whole of Hungary far earlier than in the Czech Lands. In Slovakia serfdom differed but little from ancient slavery and, after the defeat of the

Dózsa revolt in 1514, was codified in the Verböczy code (*opus tripartitum*). Since the nobility did not support the growth of manufacturing, the abolition of serfdom in Hungary in 1785 met with no understanding on their part and remained only on paper. The subsequent backwardness of Hungary is to be traced partly to this fact. The position of the Slovak population worsened after the suppression of the revolt led by Count Imre Thököly of Kežmarok in 1677-1678. This meant for Hungary what the battle of the White Mountain had meant for Bohemia. The Hapsburgs proclaimed their hereditary right to the Hungarian throne, abolished the old Hungarian constitution and launched a ruthless counter-reformation. This re-Catholicization affected also the majority of the Slovak population and intensified its suffering. During the rule of Maria Theresa and Josef II there were attempts at Germanization, and as in the Czech Lands they met with the resistance of the already growing national consciousness and its early efforts to formulate a written Slovak language. Of great importance for the growth of the Slovak intelligentsia was the foundation of the Hungarian Catholic University in Trnava in 1635 and of the Evangelic Lyceum in Bratislava, which from the close of the 18th century became the centre of efforts towards a national revival.

At the end of the 18th century the Hapsburg monarchy became one of the most ardent fighters against the French revolution. The ruling circles were in such fear of the revolution that they tried by all means to prevent any favourable reaction to it among the people. At that time the secret police was established, whose function was to maintain absolute order and follow any expressions of disagreement with government policy. The period of Leopold II (1790-1792), Franz I (1792-1835), and Ferdinand V (1836-1848) is that of the most severe reaction, identified with the name of Count Metternich who helped to establish the regime. Hand in hand with it went a determined policy of Germanization which introduced German

as the only language of instruction in schools and even enabled it to take the place of Latin in the universities. However, thanks to the zealous efforts of unnumbered patriots, the Czech language and culture was not to be stifled by these measures.

The Czech national movement expanded as a result of further great changes in the social and economic life of the country. In the early years of the 19th century the industrial revolution began its course in the Czech Lands. The transition from manufacture to large-scale factory production, in which the introduction of the steam engine played a decisive role, began first of all in textile production and a little later in the food and heavy industries. The manufacturing enterprises owned by the nobles gradually ceased to exist and in their place were set up the factories of the bourgeoisie. From England came new machines, especially for the printing of textile fabrics, which replaced the labour of many workers. The industrial revolution intensified the division of labour in various branches and had a considerable impact upon communications. In 1832 a horse-drawn railway opened up from České Budějovice to Linz in Austria, the first on the European continent. It was constructed by František Antonín Gerstner who soon afterwards, in 1837, built the first railway on Russian territory, from Petrograd to Tsarskoe Selo. The future, however, belonged to the railway operated by the steam engine. In 1839 transport began on the Vienna–Břeclav–Brno railway, and in 1841 the line was extended from Břeclav to Olomouc and further to Bohumín and Bochnia in Galicia. In 1845 the line Prague–Olomouc constructed by the Czech engineer Jan Perner was opened, and in 1851 the line Prague–Podmokly–Dresden. In 1827 the cousins Veverka won fame by their improvement of the plough, in 1827 Josef Ressel invented the ship's screw, and Josef Božek in 1815 constructed a steam-powered vehicle and steamboat (1816). The industrial revolution called new cities into life: apart from Prague the greatest

and most industrialized city was Liberec in northern Bohemia. Between 1780 and 1840 the population of the Czech Lands (i.e. including Moravia) grew by more than 60 per cent and amounted to 6 millions.

Large-scale industrialization brought to the fore new social classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Amongst the proletarians the Czech were in an absolute majority, whereas in the cities there was an overwhelming German majority, the Czech bourgeoisie being mainly in the provinces. Besides the conflict between the feudalists and the subject people and that between the feudalists and the burghers, strife now arose between the bourgeoisie and the workers. The prevailing causes were low wages, low living standards and, at a time when machines were more and more in use, unemployment of a part of the workers, which brought about a revolt against machinery and attempts to destroy it. These disturbances reached a culminating point in 1844 in Prague and Liberec, but were ruthlessly suppressed.

Culture played an important role in the Czech and Slovak national revival. Prominent in the endeavours to raise the status of the Czech language were the important philologists Josef Dobrovský (died in 1829), who laid the foundations of modern Czech grammar, and Josef Jungmann (died in 1847), who gathered together the rich vocabulary of both Old and contemporary Czech in his Czech-German dictionary. *The Royal Czech Society of Sciences* founded in 1784 in Prague became the centre of intellectual life. The Czech national revival was strengthened by contacts with the Russian nation and by a knowledge of the Slavonic world and culture, the credit for which goes mostly to Dobrovský. In historical studies the most prominent were the Slovak Pavol Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861), the founder of Slavonic archæology, and the greatest Czech historian, František Palacký (1798 to 1876). Throughout his work Palacký demonstrated the part Slavonic peoples had taken in the creation of European culture

and traced out the meaning of Czech national history in his monumental *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia.* Josef Procházka (1749-1820), a distinguished anatomist and physiologist and a professor at Charles University in Prague, excelled in the natural sciences, and his handbooks of physiology were translated into many languages at the beginning of the 19th century. Jan Evangelista Purkyně (1787-1869) was a scientist of world renown in biology and physiology, being the founder of the cell theory.

The first real creators of the new Czech literature were the poets Jan Kollár (died in 1852), František Ladislav Čelakovský (died in 1852), and the romantic poet Karel Hynek Mácha (died in 1836), whose lyrical-narrative poem *May* belongs among the best works of Czech 19th-century poetry and has been translated into a number of European languages.

The new Czech theatre and its outstanding dramatist Josef Kajetán Tyl (died in 1856) strongly influenced the national revival.

From the middle of the 17th century baroque became predominant in art, and was replaced at the end of the 18th century by classicism, whereas rococo never struck roots in the Czech Lands. The great accumulation of property in the hands of the nobility and the Church made possible the substantial growth of baroque architecture, which gave a special character to the towns and countryside, and especially to Prague. The baroque buildings were for the most part the work of foreign architects, mostly Italians. Prominent among the secular architecture were many Prague palaces such as those of Wallenstein and Černín. A large number of baroque churches were built, in Prague especially the church of St. Nicholas in Malá Strana (the Lesser Town), the Loretto church in Hradčany, and the Břevnov monastery. Giovanni Santini and Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer were the greatest masters of baroque

architecture. Most distinguished among the sculptors were Matthias Braun (who did some of the statues on Charles's bridge and the sculptures in Kuks) and Ferdinand and Jan Brokof; among the painters Karel Škréta, Peter Brandl, Jan Kupecký and Vavřinec Rainer. Very significant was the foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague in 1799, as the highest school for graphic artists.

While literature was being silenced by the official policy of Germanization, and the fine arts were represented to a certain extent in the Czech milieu by invited foreign artists, it was Czech music that gave true expression to the culture of this period. The international reputation of Czech music dates back to the 18th century, when Czechs proved that they were not only masters of the various musical instruments but also composers and the forerunners of musical classicism. František Xaver Brixi, a contemporary of Haydn, was one of the few who were able to compose within the country. Many other Czech musicians had to leave the country for financial reasons and became famous abroad. The Benda family was well-known in Berlin, and one of them, Jiří Antonín Benda (died in 1795), became a founder of musical melodrama, realizing Rousseau's idea, and took part also in the development of "Singspiel." In Mannheim Jan Václav Stamic (died 1757) and František Xaver Richter (died 1789) became the predecessors of the Viennese classicism of Haydn and Mozart. Both grew up under the influence of the musical performances given at the castle of Jaroměřice in Moravia, where the exceptionally talented František Míča (died 1744) lived. In Italy Josef Myslivečeк (died 1781), known as "Il divino Boemo" and whose works influenced the young Mozart, became famous as a composer of opera. No wonder that the mature Czech musical public, above all in Prague, was better able to appreciate the genius of Mozart than Vienna

itself. His *Marriage of Figaro* was welcomed with such ovations that Mozart gratefully composed for Prague audiences a new opera, his famous *Don Giovanni,* which he himself rehearsed in Prague and conducted in 1787. Memorable work was also done by Czech musicians in Vienna, among whom were such talented composers as Vojtěch Jírovec, Pavel Vranický, Leopold Koželuh and the prematurely deceased Hugo Voříšek (1825), regarded as the predecessor of Franz Schubert. Antonín Rejcha (died 1836) was well-known as a musical theoretician and his handbooks of composition were used through Europe up to the second half of the 19th century. In 1811 the Conservatoire of Music was founded in Prague.

The Slovak national movement created its own written language. In 1790 Antonín Bernolák based his grammar on the dialect of West Slovakia. It was at this time that the first works of Slovak prose were written and in the 1830's the poetry of Ján Hollý (died 1849) was published, celebrating Slavonic antiquity. The greatest Slovak poet of this time, Jan Kollár (died 1852), wrote in Czech, but his collections of folk-poetry were of great importance for the further development of Slovak literature. Slovak drama, too, made its appearance in the work of Ján Chalupka (died 1871). The young Slovak intelligentsia grouped around the Protestant Lycée in Bratislava headed by Ľudovít Štúr (1815-1856), the organizer of the Slovak national movement, turned away from the existing Slovak written language, and in 1843 created a new standard written form on the basis of the central Slovak dialect which is still in use today. The success of this reform was assured by the excellent poetry created by Štúr's generation, culminating in the work of Andrej Sládkovič (1820 to 1872) and Janko Král (1822-1876). Scientific work was concentrated at the University in Trnava and at the Lycée in Bratislava.

(2) The Struggle for Czech and Slovak National Independence (1848-1918)

From the 1830's on obvious signs of crisis in the absolutist regime began to appear. The German, Czech, Hungarian, Slovak and Polish (in Galicia) bourgeoisie were dissatisfied since, as essential accompaniments of feudalism, many hindrances to the full development of free enterprise were still in existence, such as a backward agriculture, the *corvée,* and the still valid guild regulations. They were galled by the fact that political power still rested exclusively in the hands of the nobility. The Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie were driven against the Hapsburg regime because they belonged to suppressed nations that had been denied basic national rights, their own schools, and the recognition of Czech and Slovak as official languages. Despite the strict control of public life by the Austrian police and censorship, the principles of West European liberalism continued to spread and culminated in the demands for a constitution, political representation of the burghers in the Diets, elections by universal suffrage, and the abolition of serfdom. The Czech bourgeoisie, in a further demand for national equality, stood for "Austro-Slavism," i.e. it was convinced that the Austrian empire was the best guarantee for the preservation of the Czech nation against the pressure of the German bourgeoisie. It was emphasized that the Hapsburg monarchy had an absolute Slavonic majority and that it ought to be Slavonic and not German-Hungarian. The historian František Palacký and the journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský (died 1856) were public advocates of Austro-Slavism. The growing resistance of the common people to the Hapsburg regime now placed it in a critical position. Since the financial collapse of 1811 it had been unable to disentangle itself from serious economic difficulties, which it tried to surmount by imposing

unbearable levies. The 1831 revolt of the serfs and the town poor in eastern Slovakia helped further to undermine the stability of the monarchy.

At the beginning of the 1840's the Czech Lands passed through a serious economic crisis. The most developed industry–the textile–was threatened by foreign competition, especially from England, so that it could not offer an adequate living to the numerous factory workers. The backward system of agriculture, restricted by feudal ties, was unable to adopt capitalist production methods and hence could neither satisfy the demands of the growing population nor supply enough raw material to industry.

The common people were most affected by the rising cost of living. The workers suffered from unemployment due both to the introduction of more and more efficient machines and to the falling-off in factory orders. When the below-average harvest of 1847 disappointed hopes that the cost of living would be reduced and factories again began to discharge workers, nothing could calm the storm. In January 1848 there was revolution in Italy; in France on February 23rd the government of King Louis Philippe was removed and a republic declared. News of these upheavals served to hasten the Czech revolution.

A radical bourgeois group, which included the well-known writers, Karel Sabina, librettist of Smetana's operas, Josef Václav Frič, Emanuel Arnold and others, inspired by the revolution in France, adopted revolutionary democratic ideas and did not stop short of the ideal of a socialist republic familiar to them from the works of the Utopian socialists Louis Blanc, Saint-Simon and others. These radical democrats were conscious of the intolerably low living standards of the working classes and wished to help them. As soon as the February events in France became known, they began to instigate the people to action. They summoned an important meeting of the people of Prague for March 11, 1848, at the hall of

St. Wenceslas' baths in order to decide on the sending of a petition to the Emperor. The participation of tradesmen, workers, and students pointed to the predominance of the popular element, which, however, was not so skilful and ideologically prepared as to be able to defend its programme culminating in demands for the right to work and the abolition of *corvée* without compensation. Under the pressure of the liberal bourgeoisie and some representatives of the nobility, the programme included in the petition was deprived of all radical social content and in the foreground were placed national demands such as the introduction of Czech in offices and schools and the establishment of Czech self-governing institutions. The liberal bourgeoisie gained predominance also in the St. Wenceslas Committee* which was established as the executive organ of the revolutionary movement, and rested content with the unclear promises sent to them by the Emperor Ferdinand V in reply to the petition. Soon afterwards Vienna rebelled and brought about the fall of the absolutist regime, the dismissal of Metternich and the declaration of a Constitution, the term given to the brief Government statement promising basic civil rights to the whole population and the calling of an elective constitutional assembly.

The revolutionary movement in Bohemia was not limited to Prague: in the country the serfs refused to fulfil *corvée* duties and to make money payments; in some parts they went as far as taking away the land of their masters. These events occurred spontaneously, without any system, and in isolation. The radical democrats did not succeed in arousing the country to a resolute and united fight for the removal of all feudal burdens. Thus the liberal bourgeoisie was able to give to the movement as a whole in increasing measure an exclusively national character. The policy of the German bourgeoisie was aimed at the creation

* From the name of the hall in the St. Wenceslas public baths, where it was established.

of a Great German Empire, of which the Czech Lands were to become a part and which would link up with the tradition of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation."* The Czech bourgeoisie naturally feared that it would be engulfed by the economically stronger German bourgeoisie and therefore rejected these demands. The German bourgeoisie in the Czech Lands replied to this attitude by leaving the central revolutionary organ–the National Committee, which had sprung from the enlarged St. Wenceslas Committee. Thus the revolutionary movement was divided into two camps–the Czech and the German.

A similar schism occurred in Slovakia. The national endeavour of the Slovaks met with the opposition of the Hungarian bourgeoisie when the victorious Hungarian revolution declared by the law of 11 April, 1848, without regard for Slovak feelings, that Hungarian should be the only official language in Hungary. Thus a wedge was driven between the common front of the Slovaks and Hungarians against the Hungarian reactionary forces which the latter skilfully exploited.

The Czech liberal bourgeoisie, afraid of the proletariat and the possibility of a revolution of the peasantry, tried to compromise with the nobility and the Hapsburgs, assuming that such manœuvring would be rewarded by the granting of their national demands. The pan-German and pan-Magyar efforts to rule over the Austrian Empire provided grounds for the calling of the "Slav Congress" in Prague, conceived by Ľudovít Štúr, of representatives of the various Slavonic nations in the Hapsburg monarchy (besides the Czechs and Slovaks, there were the Galician Poles, the Ukrainians in north-east Hungary, the Croats and Serbs in Hungary, and the Slovenes in Austria).

This Congress was held between the 2nd and 11th of June,

* The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806.

1848, in an atmosphere of growing uneasiness caused by the arrival of the Austrian general Windischgrätz in Prague, where he was supposed to "keep order." W i n d i s c h g r ä t z, as a pronounced adherent of reaction, was unacceptable even to the Czech liberals and his arrival was the final provocation. The conflict between his army and the Prague revolutionary movement was not long in coming and ripened into the Prague revolt of 12-17 June, 1848. The city, where many barricades had been erected, rose against the Austrian army: there was bloody fighting during which Windischgrätz ordered his artillery to shell Prague. The first to appear on the barricades were the workers, students and craftsmen; it was the liberals and the National Guard (the armed units of the liberal burghers) who failed the people's hopes. The many liberal publicists who did not urge revolutionary means but lulled their readers into false expectations of a peaceful solution of the conflict also had a fatal influence. On many provincial estates, too, upheavals occurred. Armed contingents composed of the urban and country proletariat, were sent to help Prague, only to be intercepted by the Imperial army and wiped out.

The Slav Congress was dispersed and the rebellion bloodily suppressed. Nevertheless it proved that the revolutionary spirit of the Czech people had not been stifled by the Hapsburgs and that the people were determined to fight by force of arms against their oppressors. Although the government in Vienna took the full possible advantage of its victory (cancelling preparations for elections to the Czech Assembly, allowing elections to the Imperial Diet only and dissolving the National Committee) it did not dare to go too far in provoking the popular masses. It recalled Windischgrätz, and the leaders of the revolt were not too severely dealt with. Even the Hapsburg Government perceived that there were many problems which had to be solved if it was to stay in power. Foremost among these was serfdom and the *corvée,* which were agitating the countryside. On

7th September, 1848, the Austrian *Reichstag* passed a law, proposed by a member of the German liberal left, Hans Kudlich, which abolished serfdom and all existing dues in money and in kind. Thanks to the votes of the Czech liberal deputies, the *corvée* was abolished on a basis of compensation: the peasantry were placed in debt for many years to come, while the feudalists gained the capital they needed to change their half-feudal estates into capitalist enterprises. The Diet failed to carry out its primary task of promulgating the Constitution.

In October 1848 there was revolution in Vienna and the Parliament fled to the Moravian town of Kroměříž. Only a handful of the radical democratic deputies stayed behind; the majority of the Czech deputies who belonged to the right went to Kroměříž where they took a stand against the Vienna revolution. The Czech liberal representatives always thought that the interests of the Czech nation were identical with those of the dynasty and the Emperor and that their services to the Hapsburgs would be rewarded by the acknowledgement of Czech national rights. They failed to see that Czech national interests were irrevocably linked with the revolutionary movement. The Viennese revolution was drowned in blood by Windischgrätz, and Ferdinand V resigned. Franz Josef I (Francis Joseph, 1848-1916) ascended the throne and dissolved the Kroměříž Parliament before it had approved a new constitution, even in a moderate form. Instead of this constitution the Emperor alone, without the consent of the Parliament, issued the severely emasculated "Decreed Constitution."

The Hungarian revolution, which was the most radical and to which the whole of Europe looked, was also defeated. Under the leadership of Lajos Kossuth a republic was declared and the Hapsburgs deposed. By its wrong handling of the national question the Hungarian revolutionary movement alienated the Slavonic inhabitants of Hungary, the Slovaks and Croats. The Slovak national movement, led by a group of Protestant and Catholic priests, on May 10th, 1848, in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš proclaimed its national and political demands. It asked for the establishment of a Slovak Diet alongside the Hungarian, the introduction of Slovak schools and the recognition of Slovak as an official language in Slovakia. The revolutionary government in Budapest responded by declaring martial law. The leaders Štúr, Hurban and Hodža had to flee the country. It was at that time that the song composed by Matúška "Lightning Flashes over the Tatra," now part of the Czechoslovak national anthem,* became popular in Slovakia as a protest against Magyarization. This situation was seized upon by the Hapsburg government to make the Slovaks some fine promises regarding their national emancipation programme, promises which, however, the government did not intend to fulfil. Yet the government's goal was attained: the Slovaks were ultimately driven into a fight against the Hungarian revolution. Thus isolated, the revolution was suppressed by the Hapsburgs in August 1849 with the help of a Russian army sent by the Tsar Nicholas.

The Czech liberal politicians suffered a complete defeat by the dissolution of the Kroměříž parliament, and revealed at the same time how questionable their procedure had been. The radical democrats again began to incite people against the government. The new opposition was headed, among others, by the famous Czech journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský, who had originally supported the programme of the liberal bourgeoisie led by Palacký, although he disagreed with him on many questions. After the defeat of the liberals he threw all his weight against the counter-revolutionary policy of Vienna. His opinions differed from those of the radical democrats in that he did not see the social implication of the whole struggle and, above all, did not understand that a new class, the workers, had entered

* The first part of the national anthem, "Where Is My Homeland," was composed by František Škroup in 1834.

into politics. Influenced by the ideas of the Russian revolutionary anarchist M. A. Bakunin, the radical democrats in May 1849 prepared a plot against the government. The conspiracy was betrayed and its leaders, Josef Václav Frič, Karel Sabina, Emanuel Arnold and others were condemned to many years in prison.

At the end of 1851 the "Decreed Constitution" was abolished and the Hapsburg dynasty once again installed a non-constitutional system personified in the chief minister Alexander Bach, whose name is used to characterize the regime as "Bachist absolutism." Censorship was again introduced, police surveillance made stricter and all freedom of political expression made impossible. The administrative, judicial and financial system was reorganized, and a state administration was created, many elements of which survived until 1945. The huge police apparatus and the large army put the monarchy heavily into debt. The weakness of the regime appeared in 1859 in the war with the nationally revived Italy, which ended with the defeat of the Hapsburgs. Loss of the war caused the fall of Bach, but did not bring about a relaxation of absolutism. The need for new financial resources to save the catastrophic situation forced the Hapsburg government to make political concessions to the moneyed classes, and in return the bourgeoisie asked for political power.

In 1860 Franz Josef I was thus forced to give up absolutism and in February 1861 he declared a constitution by means of which the bourgeoisie achieved partial power. An Imperial Council (Reichsrat) was established with considerable legislative powers. However, the conservative landed nobility and the German *haute bourgeoisie* still had the upper hand. Elections were organized according to a system of *curiæ* (electoral colleges), i. e. voting rights were granted on the basis of the amount paid in taxes. There followed a noticeable easing of tension in public life. The new press law made possible the publication

of a whole series of Czech papers of which the most important was *Národní listy* (the National Paper) supporting the radical wing of the so-called National Party, which split into the conservative "Old Czechs" headed by Palacký and Rieger and the more progressive "Young Czechs" led by Josef Sladkovský and Julius Grégr. Important societies were now founded such as the gymnastic and physical training association *Sokol* (the Falcon) in 1862.

The National Party had in its programme federalization of the Austrian Empire on the basis of renewing the historical rights of the Czech Crown–what was termed "Czech State Law." Czech affairs were to be administered by a Czech Parliament and a Czech national government. This idea, which ignored the principle of natural law and was clearly expressed in the book *The Idea of the Austrian State* (1865) by Palacký, the leading politician of the National Party, disturbed the alliance of the Czech and the Slovak national movements since the Slovaks were unable to appeal to the historical-legal justifications. The Old Czech wing of the National Party sought to fulfil this programme with the assistance the big landed nobility and the first Czech industrialists; the Young Czechs on the other hand focussed their attention on the peasants, artisans and intelligentsia. By contrast with the Old Czechs, they did not agree with the tactics of passive resistance as the means of realizing the programme and later on, in 1874, they formed their own independent party.

In 1866 war broke out between the Hapsburg Monarchy and Prussia. Responsibility for the conflict lay with Prussia in her desire to play a leading role in the German Union of which Austria was a member. In face of the crisis the Government opened negotiations in order to gain the support of the Czech and Hungarian deputies who were in opposition in Parliament. While the Hungarian representatives refused any form of assistance as long as their demands for self-government and for

national freedom were not met, the Czech deputies again remained loyal to the Monarchy and fully supported the landed nobility. The war ended with a crushing defeat of the Austrian armies at Hradec Králové in eastern Bohemia in July 1866, and the capitulation of the Hapsburgs. Austria was driven out of the German Union in which Prussia now became dominant, thus laying the foundations for the new German empire established following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

Apprehensive of further actions on the part of the Hungarian nobility and bourgeoisie, the Austrian Government complied with the demands not of the Czech but of the Hungarian deputies. In 1867 the Monarchy was divided into two parts: one consisting of all Austrian territory west of the river Leitha (i.e. the Czech Crown Lands, Austria and Galicia) and the other of territory beyond the Leitha (i.e. the Hungarian Crown Lands). Thus was established the system of dualism which found obvious expression in the official title of "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." The Hungarian nobility and bourgeoisie received their own Parliament and government: apart from foreign policy, finance, and some other functions that were administered jointly, power rested in their own hands, which they used for their chauvinistic policy against the non-Hungarian nations, especially the Slovaks. In Slovakia severe measures of Magyarization were introduced. Slovak schools, in so far as they had been set up after 1848, were closed and the only Slovak organization for national culture, *Matica Slovenská,* founded in 1862, dissolved. The fact that the Slovak intelligentsia could be educated only in Hungarian schools once again retarded cultural progress in Slovakia.

The new constitutional arrangements of the Monarchy found expression in the *December Constitution* of 1867, which remained valid up to the end of the regime in 1918. This constitution introduced the political arrangements current in West

European countries such as the right of assembly and association, freedom of religion, press, education, and the like. However, it did not remove some feudal survivals such as the privileged position in the national economy and policy of the big estate owners to whom the major part of the land belonged, the political influence of the Emperor, the Imperial family and the nobility, especially in the army and in foreign policy, and the great influence of the Catholic Church on the development of culture and education. The remnants of feudalism were more marked in Hungary, where the delayed development of capitalism had made the bourgeoisie weaker. Nonetheless the December Constitution in essence gave legal expression to the victory of the capitalist order in Austria-Hungary.

The establishment of dualism and with it the supremacy of the German bourgeoisie in all Austrian lands west of the Leitha meant a *débâcle* for the policy of the Czech bourgeoisie and its efforts at federalism. In its struggle against the stronger German bourgeoisie it relied on the precarious alliance with the nobles standing in opposition to the latter. In view of the laws of historical development, it was defeated even with these allies because 1867 marked the legal acknowledgement of the triumph of capitalism in Austria-Hungary.

The second half of the 19th century brought a further advance in industrial development in the Czech Lands. Its characteristic feature was the growing predominance of the engineering over the textile industry, which caused a further expansion of towns. As compared with the rather small increase in population of Liberec with its textile industry, there was a striking growth of Plzeň (Pilsen), which became the second largest city in Bohemia, and in the Prague suburbs of Žižkov, Vinohrady, Smíchov, and Karlín: that is, of places where the first engineering works were founded. At this time the foundations were laid of large enterprises that are still in existence, such as the Ringhoffer works in Smíchov, producing rolling stock, Daněk in

Karlín (later called the Czech-Moravian Kolben-Daněk) manufacturing machines of all types, and the Škoda works in Plzeň. The sugar industry expanded and from the 1860's began to penetrate foreign markets. In Brno engineering works were also established, and there was a great growth of industrial enterprise in other fields, especially in railway construction. During the boom of 1867-1873 banking underwent considerable expansion: in 1869 the first Czech bank, the *Živnostenská banka,* was founded and others, together with joint-stock companies, followed. In business enterprise it was German capital that predominated. The crash on the stock exchange in 1873 interrupted economic development and touched off an economic crisis which lasted up to 1879. The weaker enterprises went bankrupt, capital became more concentrated and German capital in particular took advantage of this situation. The financially strong engineering works resisted the crisis by stepping up exports to eastern and south-eastern Europe, to Turkey, India and South America. A series of new enterprises sprang up, such as the Křižík corporation in 1881 which was the first to furnish electrical equipment and construct electric railways. In 1886 the Škoda works established the first foundry and commenced production of guns and armoured turrets. The development of engineering was made possible by the growth of the iron works and coal mines in the Ostrava-Karviná and Kladno coal fields. Coal from the Most and Falknov districts was now exported, mainly to Germany. The population of the Czech Lands had risen by about 1890 to approximately 9 millions. Even the rapid development of industry in the Czech Lands could not support the increased population in view of the unsatisfactory agricultural conditions, foremost among which was the need for land reform. The peasants, who made up four-fifths of the total number of small landowners, held only 12 per cent of the land, and the remainder belonged to the big estates and huge latifundia of the nobles. Capitalist agricultural production

was carried on almost exclusively on the estates; the small landowners increased their productivity only gradually. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that small landowners adopted the rotation instead of the three-field system of soil cultivation, while artificial fertilizers and agricultural machinery were hardly ever used.

In this situation, the rate of emigration, especially to the United States of America, was high: from 1857 to 1890 over half a million people left the Czech Lands. And from 1870 the decline in the birth-rate became a permanent feature until 1946.

The rise of Prussia and its victory over France disturbed the Hapsburg ruling circles and forced them to open negotiations with the Czech politicians, who after 1867 resumed passive resistance by refusing to take part in the Parliament and the *Reichsrat.* The Czech opposition was limited to negotiations with the Monarchy and the reactionary politicians, and once again took refuge behind the authority of the conservative nobility. The result of the 1871 negotiations were the so-called "fundamental articles," by which the existing dualism was to be changed into a kind of triple division of powers. A Czech legislative assembly and Czech government were to be established, which in the person of a Czech chancellor would represent the Czech Lands in the Imperial government. Only matters pertaining to the Monarchy as a whole were to be brought up at the *Reichsrat.* But these "fundamentals" were not given effect to because of the strong opposition from the German and Hungarian bourgeoisie and of the pressure in foreign policy of Prussia and Tsarist Russia. The failure of the Czech settlement spelt the final defeat of the constitutional policy. The bourgeoisie had proved itself incapable of solving the basic problems involved in the further political development of the Czech nation.

From the 1860's on the political demands of the Czech workers were voiced more and more insistently. The primary objective of their struggle was to secure the right to vote from which they were debarred by the existing electoral laws. The laws regarding the right of assembly and of association facilitated the formation of the first political organization of the working class and publication of its first journals. From Germany the stimulus of the workers' movement founded by Ferdinand Lassalle encouraged the forming of working-class societies, while the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels exerted a steadily growing influence. In 1868 the German workers of Liberec in Bohemia set up the first Social Democratic organization in the whole of Austria. At the end of the 1860's the workers of Prague were still under the influence of the bourgeoisie, especially of the Old Czech Party, which tried to distract them from political activity by means of "self-help" co-operatives. The Young Czech Party on the other hand endeavoured to win the workers for constitutional nationalism. In 1873 the Social Democratic programme was published in the *Workers' Journal;* and in 1874 at the congress in Neudörfel, with the participation of delegates of the Czech workers, the Austrian Social Democratic Party was founded, which strongly influenced the development of the Czech workers' movement.

The fact that most of the industrial enterprises were in the hands of the German capitalists focussed the attention of the Czech workers on the national struggle. However, on April 7, 1878, the Czecho-Slavonic Social Democratic Workers' Party was founded. The rise of the workers' movement throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire so alarmed the ruling circles that they decided to change their tactics. It had become evident that it was necessary to make concessions to the bourgeoisie of the various nations of the empire in order to enlist their support for the new Government's policy of opposition to the growing working-class movement. Such was the task of the new government of Prime Minister Count Taaffe (1879-1894), the most reactionary and long-lived of all Austrian governments. The Czech bourgeoisie also agreed to participate in this Government following the granting of some limited concessions, such as the division of Prague University into independent Czech and German institutions in 1882, and the recognition of the equal status of Czech and German as official languages in foreign relations.

After the foundation of the Czecho-Slavonic Social Democratic Workers' Party the Austrian Government began a severe persecution of the workers' movement, so that the conferences and congresses of the Social Democratic Party had to be held in secret. At the end of the 1880's the Government acknowledged the futility of trying to suppress it, the persecution was relaxed and from then on the Social Democratic Party was more or less legal. In 1888 at Hainfeld in Lower Austria a national congress was held which reached a complete unity of ideas and programme on the part of the Social Democrats of all the nations in Austria. The congress, however, avoided any solution of the national question, which proved very unfavourable to the further progress of the revolutionary workers' movement in Austria-Hungary.

The German bourgeoisie realized that it did not have the strength to maintain its power in the Czech Lands and sought to save its position at least in the predominantly German-speaking border regions where it tried to create a special province of German Bohemia. This idea (the so-called "Points of Agreement") was acceptable as far as Czech political parties were concerned only to the Old Czechs, who, as a consequence, were simply surrendering the Czech population of the border areas to Germanization. In the embittered atmosphere of the national struggle this attempt brought a complete political *débâcle* upon the Old Czech Party, and in the 1891 elections they were in the

true sense of the word swept from the political scene. Thus the attempt at a Czech-German settlement was completely wrecked.

Czech cultural life, especially education from the lowest to the highest levels, shared in the general progress of the nation from the middle of the century. Compulsory eight-year school attendance was introduced by the laws of 1868-1869, so that illiteracy was reduced to a minimum. The renewal of the independent Czech university made it possible to train a highly qualified Czech intelligentsia and to make further advances in Czech science. In higher education and scientific research, the Czech Technical University in Prague now became an independent institution, while the year 1890 saw the establishment, alongside the existing Royal Czech Society of Sciences, of the Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Around the middle of the century many literary works of distinction made their appearance, including *Grandmother* by Božena Němcová (died 1862) and the collection of ballads *A Garland* by Karel Jaromír Erben (died 1870). While artistic prose and drama did not rise above the average, Czech poetry achieved a high level in the work of Jan Neruda (died 1891), Svatopluk Čech (died 1908), Josef Václav Sládek (died 1912), and Jaroslav Vrchlický (died 1912). The latter two were skilled translators from several languages and thus helped considerably in making contacts between Czech and world literature. In contrast to the former exclusive interest in German literature, there was now a more intimate knowledge of the great works of French, Italian and English literature; Czech prose writers were influenced especially by the classical Russian novel.

The theatre was a most important influence in shaping the new Czech culture. The first task was to erect a theatre building which could properly serve the national needs. A big national collection was organized and out of its proceeds was built the National Theatre in Prague, which bears the inscription "The

Nation unto Itself" above its stage. Shortly after its opening in 1881 the National Theatre was completely destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt by a national collection in 1883. Its neo-renaissance style architecture is the work of the Czech architect Josef Zítek (died 1909), while nearly the whole younger generation of artists took part in the decoration of the theatre. One of the greatest figures in Czech art was Josef Mánes (1820-1871), a master of genre-painting. Following his example, Mikoláš Aleš (1852-1913) turned to the traditions of popular art and the literature of the revival, and, in depicting scenes from the life of the people and from Czech history, he gave artistic expression to the strivings for national independence and to the Slavonic sympathies of the nation. The Czech landscape painters, such as Josef Navrátil, Adolf Kosárek, Julius Mařák and Antonín Chittussi did excellent work, influenced by French art; in portraiture and still-life Karel Purkyně was outstanding. Jaroslav Čermák and Václav Brožík were prominent painters of historical scenes. The history of 19th-century Czech sculpture is dominated by the great achievement of Josef Václav Myslbek (1848-1922).

In the 19th century Czech music, associating itself with the tradition of Czech classical music of the 18th century, made striking progress. Attention was concentrated on creating a national opera. The first Czech opera was *The Tinker* by František Škroup produced in 1826 (Škroup composed the already mentioned song and national anthem *Where Is My Homeland*). However the greatest credit in this field goes to Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884), who composed eight mature operas, the best-known being *The Bartered Bride, Dalibor, Libuše,* and *The Kiss.* Also well-known is his symphonic music, such as the cycle of symphonic poems *My Country,* chamber music (the string quartet *From My Life*) and five piano compositions, especially the *Czech Dances.* Antonín

Dvořák made Czech music renowned throughout the world. His symphonic compositions, like the *New World* and *London* symphonies, his cantatas and other works, have become a permanent part of the international repertoire. Even after Smetana the opera stood in the foreground of the artistic work of several composers; Dvořák himself composed several of them, the most well-known being *Rusalka*. Less known abroad is the work of Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900) who wrote operas and symphonic music (the trilogy of melodramas *Hippodamia* with J. Vrchlický's libretto). The founder of Czech æsthetics and of Czech musical science was Otakar Hostinský (1847 to 1910).

Slovak culture developed in much more difficult conditions, deliberately suppressed by a brutal policy of Magyarization. In Slovakia the law of 1868 about the setting up of national schools remained merely on paper: illiteracy was not removed and the general level of education could not be raised, which handicapped the growth of the Slovak workers' movement. Slovak secondary schools were abolished in 1873, and no more than one per cent of the students at Hungarian universities were Slovaks. In such a situation the chief task of Slovak literature was the struggle to keep the Slovak language and culture alive. From the 1870's the outstanding figure in Slovak literature was the poet Pavel Országh-Hviezdoslav (1849-1921), whose work was imbued with sympathetic understanding for the Slovak working people, and Martin Kukučín (1860 to 1928), a writer of realistic prose. The majority of Slovak painters and sculptors came to study at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague. Prominent among them was Peter Bohúň (died 1879) with his portraits and studies of the Slovak folk-costume, and Josef Božetech Klemens (died 1883), also an excellent portrait painter. Ladislav Dunajský (died 1904) was a prominent sculptor; Bohúň, Klemens and Dunajský became the founders of the national trend in Slovak

art. By contrast with conditions in the Czech Lands, little progress was made in music, though Slovakia was rich in folk-songs. Only in church music and the chorale was there any significant achievement.

At the turn of the century industrial development in the Czech Lands entered a new stage characterized by what is termed the second industrial revolution. Its basis was the utilization of electrical energy and the internal combustion engine in industry, the introduction of automatic machine tools and the increasing use of chemical processes in production. At this time there was a very marked expansion of the engineering industry, placing the Czech Lands among the first countries of Europe in this branch of production. The foundations of the motor-car industry were laid relatively early. In 1899 the Czech firm Laurin and Klement in Mladá Boleslav started to produce motorcycles–the first in Central Europe, and in 1905 a Czech motorcycle won an international contest in Dourdan in France. In the same year this firm became the first motor-car factory in Austria-Hungary; later on car production in Mladá Boleslav was taken over by the firm of Škoda. The Kopřivnice factory was the first to manufacture a Czech car as early as 1897, though serial production did not get under way until 1906. Foundations were also laid for the production of cars of an original design–the Tatra. In 1907 the First Czech-Moravian engineering factory (later called the Czech-Moravian Kolben-Daněk in Prague) built another factory for the production of Praga cars. Emil Kolben founded in 1896 in Prague a big electro-technical enterprise, which commenced production of electrical wagons and power station equipment for export to the whole of Europe. In 1903 the enterprise of František Křižík built the first electric railway in Bohemia. The locomotive factory Czech-Moravian, founded in 1889, and the previously mentioned Ringhoffer works in Prague

engaged in the export of railway wagons, now began to export railway engines. There was a rapid increase in the production of machinery for factories of the food industry (sugar refineries and breweries), and textile factories and in the output of agricultural machinery. These industrial advances were speeded up by the expansion of the metallurgical industry, where Siemens-Martin furnaces now came into use. The Czech Lands accounted for over 60 per cent of the total production of Austria-Hungary.

Concentration of capital and formation of the first monopolies and cartels were typical features of the overall economic development: industry now came under the sway of finance capital. In its turn Czech capital, after having finally gained the upper hand in the Czech Lands (although German capital was still powerful and West European capital in general had a considerable influence), began to outgrow the borders of the monarchy and directed itself towards export to the less developed countries, mainly to eastern and south-eastern Europe. In consequence it bound itself even more closely to the aggressive foreign policy of the Monarchy in these countries. By establishing branches in Vienna, Černovice (in Bukovina) and in Trieste, Živnobanka became a banking concern on a European scale.

The predominance of industry in Bohemia was expressed in the figures showing the relation between different categories of employment. In 1910 the population rose to over 10 millions, of whom only 36 per cent were employed in agriculture and the remainder in industry, transport, trade, etc.

The situation was different in Slovakia, where–as in the whole of Hungary–industry developed very slowly, and the share in it of the heavy machine industry was very small. The slow rate of industrialization may be seen from the fact that, at the beginning of the 20th century, 22 % of the three million Slovaks were employed in industry, transport and trade, and in 1910, 35 %.

The figures indicated above show that by the 1890's the working class (though still unenfranchised), had become an

important force in the Czech Lands. The great strength of the labour movement was first shown in the mass demonstrations of May 1, 1890, while from that year onwards large-scale strikes forced the reduction of working hours in mines and other industries. From 1893 the workers' movement, led by the Social Democratic Party, fought chiefly for universal suffrage. In 1897 the government was forced to carry out at least a partial electoral reform, adding a fifth *curia* (electoral college) to the previous four, a general one, where those who did not pay high enough taxes, that is the workers, could vote. Of the 425 deputies, only 72 were allotted to this *curia*, and the voters of other *curiæ* could also vote here, that is the landed gentry, the rich bourgeois and well-to-do small landowners who were enfranchised in other *curiæ*. While in the gentry's *curia* the election of one deputy required only 59 voters, in the workers' *curia* more than 74,000 voters were necessary. All the bourgeois parties set themselves against the demand for universal suffrage.

The new Government of Count Badeni made some concessions in education and other fields, mostly concerning use of the language, in order to quieten the dissatisfaction of the Czech people with the pro-Austrian policy of the deputies in the Young Czech Party. The importance of these language regulations was greatly exaggerated by the resistance they evoked from the German nationalists, who seized on them as a pretext for making anti-Czech demonstrations and obstructions in the Vienna *Reichsrat* thus forcing the Badeni government to resign. Finally, in 1899 the Thun Government had to revoke the language regulations, with the result that the German obstruction in the *Reichsrat* was now replaced by that of the Czech deputies, and Czech nationalists set about making street demonstrations. The disturbances caused by the Badeni language regulations are characteristic of the complications of nationality in Austria-Hungary, which could not be solved within the Monarchy and which served to demonstrate its internal disintegration.

The Social Democrats underestimated the importance of the national question in the fight against nationalism, and the Czech bourgeoisie took advantage of this weak spot. The Young Czechs, seeking to drive a wedge in the unity of the workers' movement from the nationalist standpoint, created in 1897 the National Socialist Party, which misused the national feeling of the workers for agitation against other nationalities. By means of demagogic declarations to the effect that the internationalism of the Social Democratic workers made them traitors to the nation, the National Socialists won over part of the workers to their side. Fears that social democracy would penetrate the countryside caused the Young Czech Party to lose a group of big estate owners who founded the Agrarian Party. Several clerical parties also sprang up, while the Progressive Party, founded in 1900 by T. G. Masaryk, Professor of Philosophy at Charles University and a prominent figure in political life, gained popularity among the intelligentsia. In contrast to other bourgeois politicians, Masaryk saw the deepening conflicts within capitalism and tried to prevent social revolution by means of reforms. Chiefly by his book *The Social Question* he influenced the leaders of the Social Democratic Party to accept his idea of reforms instead of the social revolution in accordance with Marxist teachings. He fought against the Austrian policy of suppression of the Slavonic peoples and against clericalism.

From the 1890's political life in Slovakia also fell into several groupings. The Social Democratic Party, which included the Slovak workers, was not established until 1890, due to the retarded industrialization of Hungary. Most of the Slovak workers were in Budapest, Bratislava and Košice. It was in Budapest that the first Slovak workers' newspapers were published, while the Slovak Social Democratic Party was founded in Bratislava in 1905. There were three bourgeois political parties in Slovakia: the Slovak National Party comparable to the Young Czech

* By using the filibuster and deliberately disturbing the proceedings.

Party, the clerical Slovak People's Party, led by Andrej Hlinka, and The Voice Party,* similar to Masaryk's Progressive Party.

The struggle for universal suffrage entered into its final stage in 1905, strongly influenced by the Russian revolution of the same year which greatly stimulated the working-class movement. In 1907, after huge demonstrations and strikes, and in the end under pressure of a general strike, the Austrian Government granted universal suffrage in Austria-Hungary by decree. The first parliamentary elections on the basis of universal suffrage considerably altered the political strength of the Czech and Slovak parties. The Social Democratic Party won a majority of votes in the Czech Lands, the Young Czechs lost their leading role, being also overtaken by the Agrarian Party, while the conservative parties failed completely. In Slovakia Hlinka's clerical party gained the lead, while the Social Democrats were numerically weak.

Common fears of the mass movement of the workers brought the Czech and German bourgeoisie together. While the wider sections of the people demanded political independence for the Czech Lands, the Czech bourgeoisie was conscious of its close ties with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which offered an advantageous and extensive market, with opportunities of capital investment in the backward parts of the Monarchy in Hungary, Galicia and the Balkans, to which the aggressive Austrian foreign policy aspired. Therefore the Czech bourgeois parties in the Imperial Parliament voted for the military proposals and war credits, because the extension of the existing markets by war was to their advantage. Before the war even Masaryk defended the possibility of solving the Czech problem within the framework of a federated Austria, although in foreign policy he differed from the Vienna Government. The leaders of the Social Democrats also wished to maintain the Austrian Monarchy.

* Named after its newspaper, *Hlas* (The Voice).

The World War of 1914-1918, in which Austria-Hungary took its place alongside imperialist Germany because of its expansionist interests in the Balkans, confronted the Czech nation with historic responsibilities. The majority of Czech politicians believed in the victory of the Monarchy and therefore supported the Government. However, a part of the Czech bourgeoisie led by the Young Czech politician Dr. Kramář, openly took the side of Tsarist Russia. Many Czechs and Slovaks who fought with the Austrian army on the Russian front crossed over to the other side and let themselves be taken prisoner in expectation of the moment when they would be able to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Russians against the Hapsburg Monarchy. Another part of the bourgeoisie was aware of Russia's weakness and relied on the Western powers, England, France, Italy and the United States of America. It was in this field that T. G. Masaryk, Eduard Beneš and the Slovak, M. R. Štefánik, began their activities. By way of demonstrations, strikes and other mass forms of struggle, the Czech working class put itself at the head of the social and national liberation movement. However, its Social Democratic leaders, incapable of properly grasping the nature of national and social relations and under the influence of the Austrian Social Democrats with their policy of preserving the Austro-Hungarian State, took a passive stand. Even the massive opposition to the Government and the war, which grew out of the wartime hunger and suffering from 1916 onwards, was not taken advantage of by the Social Democratic leaders. A series of demonstrations in the industrial areas of Plzeň, Ostrava, Vítkovice and Prostějov in 1916 and the following year were bloodily suppressed, claiming 23 lives in Prostějov.

The Western powers directed their struggle chiefly against Germany as the main competitor; there was no intention of destroying Austria-Hungary. That the policy of the United States, which entered the war in 1917 on the side of the Entente,

did not differ in this respect may be seen from the well-known Fourteen Points of President Wilson at the beginning of 1918, in which no mention was made of any abolition of the multi-national Hapsburg State. The tenth Point stated: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

Meanwhile other events occurred which greatly influenced the downfall of Austria-Hungary. In 1917 the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, by setting up a Government of workers and peasants and proclaiming its decree on peace and the right to self-determination, including secession, of all nations, stirred the masses of the people to a new struggle for national and social emancipation. In January 1918 came the great general strike in which 150,000 workers in Prague took part. The strikers demanded an end to the war, the conclusion of peace, the right to self-determination for the Czech nation and the declaration of a Republic. The celebrations of May 1918 took the form of a vast political demonstration in which banners were carried inscribed "A Socialist Nation." In Slovakia, too, the working people became more radical in mood; at an important rally of Slovak workers on May 1, 1918, in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš a resolution was adopted which, alongside the usual demands of the workers, called for the uniting of the Slovak and Czech nations in one state. Under the influence of the October Revolution more and more Czech and Slovak soldiers refused to fight for Austria-Hungary. In February 1918 marines of the Austro-Hungarian navy, including many Czechs, mutinied in Boka Kotor (then Cattaro) and flew the red flag from the admiral's flagship, the St. George. In the same year in May there was a mutiny of a Slovak regiment in Rimavská Sobota and of a Czech regiment in Rumburg. Soldiers who were being transported to the front deserted and went into hiding in the forests. On the Austrian fronts the collapse had set in.

In 1918 the Western Powers made preparations for armed intervention against the new-born Soviet State. It appeared that they might make use of the considerable military strength of the Czechoslovak legions which had been formed in Russia from emigrants and war prisoners of Czech and Slovak origin and which fought together with the Russian armies. Representatives of the Czech emigrants in the West readily agreed to put the Czechoslovak legions at the disposal of the intervention. And thus in May 1918 nearly 50,000 Czech and Slovak soldiers became involved in the fight against the Soviet Government. They succeeded in mastering the Trans-Siberian railway and opening a front on the Volga. Despite initial successes, the legions did not achieve the ultimate goal of the occupation of Moscow. In the course of the fighting many legionaries came to realize that they were not fighting for the interests of the Czech and Slovak people, and that the struggle against the Russian revolution was being waged on behalf of the Western capitalists. In all, nearly 10,000 of them, mainly left-wing Social Democrats, left the legions and went over to the Red Army, fighting side by side with it against the White Guards and the interventionist forces. (Among them was Jaroslav Hašek, author of *The Good Soldier Schweik.*) At the end of May 1918 they called a meeting of their representatives in Moscow and founded the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Russia.

The war was now coming to an end. The Czech bourgeoisie was well aware of what would happen if the revolutionary-minded masses were to overthrow the government. Therefore bourgeois leaders decided immediately to take over the leadership of the liberation movement, which could no longer be restrained, and prevent it from realizing socialist objectives. In July 1918 the National Committee began to operate as the supreme organ of the resistance movement; it included Social Democratic delegates and a representative of Slovakia. The overwhelming majority of the Czech working people did not

agree with this policy of submission to the bourgeois parties and in September 1918 formed their own organ, the Socialist Council, composed of the left-wing Social Democrats and the National Socialists. The Socialist Council called a general strike on October 14, 1918, which culminated in the demand for an independent socialist Czechoslovak Republic. But the National Committee strongly intervened and forced the Socialist Council to submit to its leadership. When on October 28, 1918, the report reached Prague that the Austrian Government had accepted President Wilson's peace terms (the Fourteen Points), it was generally taken to mean that Austria-Hungary had capitulated. Following an agreement made directly with the Vienna Government, the National Committee took over power in the name of the new state. Similarly in Slovakia representatives of the bourgeoisie formed a Slovak National Council, which assembled in Martin on October 30, 1918 and proclaimed the union of Slovakia with the Czech Lands.

The proclaiming of Czechoslovakia as an independent State took the representatives of the Western Powers by surprise and compelled them to recognize it as a *fait accompli.* With the fall of the Austria-Hungary, an independent Czech State, to which Slovakia was joined, was restored after the lapse of three centuries.

The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic marked a great advance in the life of the Czech and Slovak nations. It was brought about by the revolutionary upsurge of the working people, encouraged by the October Socialist Revolution. Formation of the Czechoslovak Republic enabled Czechs and Slovaks to live together in the same State, an aim for which both nations had long fought. On the other hand the struggle for liberation of the working class and the common people in the Czech Lands and Slovakia had not yet come to an end. The Czech and Slovak workers soon realized that they had to continue their efforts until full emancipation, not only national but also social, had been achieved.

IX

THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

1918-1939

THE FALL of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy ushered in a new economic and political situation in Central Europe. Czechoslovakia was the most important of the successor States that arose from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire. It inherited three-fourths of Austro-Hungarian industry, and its exposed geographical position in Central Europe gave it strategic importance. Although the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie took power in the new State by means of the revolution of October 28, 1918, the scope and strength of the international revolutionary movement was a constant threat to bourgeois authority. Therefore the chief endeavour of its representatives was to assure Czechoslovakia a solid international foundation as soon as possible. In this respect the interests of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie coincided with those of West European governments. France was the first to recognize in the new State an important agent for her own power politics in Central Europe, and therefore she supported the territorial and other demands of the Czechoslovak delegation at the Paris Peace Conference held at the beginning of 1919. On the whole the territorial demands were granted and the boundaries of the Czechoslovak State, which had just been proclaimed a republic, were finally laid down in the peace treaties. Since the ruling circles of Western Europe considered Czechoslovakia "an island of peace and order" to be used as a buffer against Soviet Russia, and against the revolutionary movement in Central Europe in general, they readily annexed to the Republic the territory of the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine, inhabited by people of Ukrainian nationality, the majority of whom wished to join the Soviet Ukraine. Thus the area of Czechoslovakia measured approximately 140,000 square kilometres, with a population of about fifteen millions of whom only about ten millions registered as Czech or Slovak nationals. The remainder belonged to national minorities, the largest being the

German (3,250,000) and the Hungarian (almost 700,000), and the rest Poles and Ukrainians. Characteristic of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy was its anti-Soviet bias, which contrasted sharply with the pro-Soviet attitude of the general public.

From the very beginning the Czechoslovak State was faced with serious economic problems, particularly those connected with the export of manufactured goods and the importing of raw materials. With the loss of former ample markets in Austria-Hungary and with the pressure of competition from technically developed countries, the Czech bourgeoisie was in a difficult situation. It sought to find a way out of its difficulties at the expense of the bourgeoisie of the former dominant nations (the German and the Hungarian) by attempting to seize a part of their economic privileges, and at the expense of the workers' living standards. An important economic measure was the domestication of shares, made necessary by the whole development up to that point. While, as already stated, more than 75 per cent of Austro-Hungarian industry was established on Czech territory, the share companies having control over this industry were concentrated in Vienna. The chief reason, however, for domestication was not merely to effect a transfer of industrial centres, of trade and transportation enterprises to Czechoslovak territory, but to wrest economic influence from Vienna and strengthen the position of the Czech bourgeoisie. Domestication brought immense capital to the leading Czech banks, chiefly the Živnobanka, which became the strongest financial group in the country.

A further measure was the currency reform of 1919, which freed Czechoslovak currency from the depreciated Austrian money. This measure was accompanied by sharp deflationary policies which, like the property tax then incorporated into law, were carried out in a way that enriched the capitalists and laid heavy burdens on the working people.

Czech capitalists also tried to penetrate the markets of south-

eastern Europe. On the other hand, West European capital began to enter Czechoslovakia on an increasing scale, and loans and credits that were granted made the Republic still more dependent politically on the Allied Powers.

Another great problem was the agrarian question. Some 30 per cent of the agricultural land and forests in Czechoslovakia belonged to a handful of big estate owners. This caused unrest in the countryside. There were fears that the revolutionary ferment in rural areas would join with the revolutionary movement among the workers. Therefore all the bourgeois parties raised the demand of land reform, in order to satisfy the small farmers' land hunger. Fears that the revolutionary movement in the country would unite with that of the towns grew more acute as the workers became more radical and at the Twelfth Congress of the Social Democratic Party in December 1918 forced the adoption of a resolution demanding the confiscation of large estates, mines, big industrial enterprises and banks.

The years 1918-1920 were a period of struggle for controlling the direction in which the Czechoslovak State would develop. By extending automatically the National Committee, the Provisional National Assembly was established. It elected the first coalition government, in which all political parties (including the Social Democrats) took part, headed by the representative of Czech finance capital, Dr. Karel Kramář. T. G. Masaryk was elected the first President of the Republic.

In view of the revolutionary mood of the workers and agricultural population, the government was forced to manœuvre considerably and make numerous concessions. It permitted certain democratic liberties to become law (freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly and the right to strike, the eight-hour day, protection of tenants, state unemployment grants, health insurance, and the like). Chief of these was the bill presented to Parliament regarding land reform, by which nearly

ten million acres were to be taken from the large estate owners. The maximum that could be retained by the former owners was 370 acres of farm land or 617 acres of forest; the remainder was to be distributed among small farmers. In addition to these concessions, however, the Kramář government strengthened the bureaucratic state apparatus, particularly its armed sections such as the police and gendarmerie. Contrary to their original promises that a militia on the Swiss pattern would be established, haste was made to build an army, with the help of the French Military Mission (until 1925 the chief of staff was a French general).

The revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia received a new impetus when the Hungarian Soviet Republic was formed in March 1919. In June of that year the workers in Prešov (eastern Slovakia) proclaimed the Slovak Soviet Republic. On the initiative of the Western powers, a campaign of intervention against revolutionary Hungary was begun, with Czechoslovakia and Rumania participating. The Hungarian Soviet Republic was defeated, and with it the Slovak Soviet Republic.

But in the municipal elections of June 1919 in the Czech Lands the people demonstrated their opposition to the policy of the Kramář government. The bourgeois parties were defeated and the socialist parties gained a majority. It was expected that they would carry out the basic demands of the people, at least the socialization of key industries. The Kramář Government resigned and the right-wing Social Democrat Vlastimil Tusar was charged with forming a new government. This government betrayed the hopes placed in it: Tusar formed a coalition with the Agrarian Party, left the most important governmental posts in the hands of the bourgeoisie (such as the Ministries of the Interior, Agriculture and Finance) and generally followed the policies of the previous government. Above all, Tusar prevented the nationalization of capitalist enterprises, which the workers had demanded. In answer to this move by

the right-wing leadership of the Social Democratic Party, a Marxist left wing was established as an independent movement in the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and declared its support for the principles of the Third Communist International. Its leaders were Dr. Bohumír Šmeral, Josef Haken and Antonín Zápotocký.

It was not until the beginning of 1920 that the government presented for Parliament's consideration the draft of a constitution. The Constitution, when adopted, was a fresh disappointment for, while it did formally assure liberty and democracy for all, it preserved untouched the private ownership of industrial enterprises and banks. The promises that the Constitution would also provide for socialization of the most important means of production remained unfulfilled. Nor, of course, was the long-standing demand for the right to work included. On the basis of the new Constitution, the first elections to the National Assembly were set for April 1920, which resulted in defeat for the bourgeois and victory for the socialist parties. Nevertheless, Tusar, again charged with forming a Government, had no intention of giving up the principle of coalition and of collaboration with the Agrarian Party. His declaration of policy was a mockery of all pre-election promises. It was obvious that a test of strength was drawing near.

The leftist forces were now strengthening their positions throughout the country. The victorious advance of the Red Army into Poland in the summer of 1920 greatly stimulated the revolutionary movement and brought it to a peak. When the government tried to join in the campaign against Soviet Russia, mass demonstrations forced it to proclaim neutrality. But as soon as the Red Army's offensive on the Polish front had halted, the bourgeoisie, together with right-wing Social Democrats undertook anti-democratic measures.

At the suggestion of President Masaryk, the Tusar Government resigned and left the way clear for the nomination of

a caretaker government. At the same time the right-wing leadership of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party postponed the party congress when they saw that two-thirds of the delegates supported the left wing, and that they would not be able to put through their policies at the congress. The elections already held to select delegates for the congress, in which the left had won a majority, were cancelled and the members favouring the Communist International were expelled. But the leftists were not intimidated by this attack, founded their own press organ, *Rudé právo* (Red Justice), and in September 1920 the congress was held. The left-wing formed an independent party and the majority of the members of the Social Democratic Party joined its ranks. The bourgeoisie considered the time ripe for attack, and early in December 1920 a provocation was staged. On instructions from President Masaryk, the police occupied the headquarters of the Social Democratic left-wing, the People's House in Prague (now the Lenin Museum). The left-wing leadership responded by declaring a general strike which spread throughout the Republic and in which nearly a million workers participated. In many places the strike grew into an actual fight for power by the working class (in the Kladno region and Oslavany). The Government used armed force to fire on the workers and break the general strike. Hundreds of working-class representatives, among them Antonín Zápotocký, who led the strike in Kladno, were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. In this way the struggle to determine the direction in which the Czechoslovak State was to develop ended in favour of the bourgeoisie.

The lesson the workers drew from this defeat was that they could win only if their struggle was led by a truly revolutionary Marxist party, and from these experiences the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was born. It was established in May 1921, and the greater part of the former left-wing of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party joined, while the left-wing

elements of other workers' parties representing minority groups joined in October 1921. The Communist Party was established as a mass party, overcoming the splitting of the workers' movement into national groups. In the summer of the same year it was admitted to the Communist International.

The victory of the bourgeoisie in the years 1918-1920 meant that the Czechoslovak government continued to be dependent on France and supported her bitterly anti-Soviet policy. When the Little Entente was formed in the summer of 1920 (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia), Czechoslovakia was the decisive influence. The Little Entente was formed originally as a barrier against the victorious Soviet armies advancing in the struggle against the Polish army of intervention. On the other hand it was aimed against the endeavours of Germany and Hungary to revise the peace treaties. It was also dependent on France and strengthened her influence in Central and Southeastern Europe.

In the period 1921-1923 the Czechoslovak economy met with a sharp crisis, which affected mostly the coal and iron industries. By the end of 1922 only three or four of the 27 blast furnaces in the whole of the Republic were working. During this economic crisis there came a further concentration of capital and strengthening of the power of the strongest groups in the banking oligarchy, particularly the Živnobanka, at the expense of German and Hungarian capital. As the competitive struggle sharpened, the Czech bourgeoisie also succeeded in weakening the bourgeoisie of Slovakia. The economic crisis meant complete disaster for the weak industry of Slovakia, many branches of which died out completely (e.g. the iron foundries in Krompachy were shut down and the workers dismissed). This ruthless anti-Slovak policy was the seamy side of the misguided official theory of "Czechoslovakism," according to which there was no special Slovak nation but only one Czechoslovak nation using two languages.

The strengthening of the Czech bourgeoisie's positions was also shown in the way the land reform was carried out. Of the ten million acres which were supposed to be distributed to the small farmers, 5·7 millions were returned to the former owners, and of what remained about 1,556,780 acres were distributed among small and middle farmers in plots of two and a half acres each, while 2,000 large estate owners and capitalists were granted the so-called "remainder estates," each 247 acres in size. The owners of these estates then supported the policies of the Agrarian Party. Some farmers had to turn to tenancy, which bound them to the big estate owners.

The bourgeoisie took advantage of the economic crisis of 1921 to 1923 as a good pretext for an attack on the living standards of the people. Wages were reduced on the average by 20 to 30 per cent, and the number of unemployed rose to 440,000. State unemployment grants were reduced, and in 1921 a law was passed putting into effect the "Ghent system," which transferred to the trade unions the payment of relief formerly administered by the State. The unorganized workers consequently received no relief whatever. Opposition to this policy was broken by the most brutal methods; in Krompachy, Slovakia, in 1921, for example, four workers were shot dead during a workers' demonstration. Reactionary circles gained courage, especially after Mussolini's fascist coup in Italy in 1922. The new coalition Government with the leader of the Agrarian Party Antonín Švehla as Prime Minister, supported by the Social Democrats, secured the passing of a law for the defence of the Republic in 1923, aimed chiefly against the Communist Party. The law was a *de facto* violation of the Constitution, since it considerably limited freedom of the press, public criticism of governmental policy and the right to trial by jury. But in the face of big popular demonstrations that showed the strength behind the Communist Party, the Government did not dare to proceed to its dissolution as they had originally intended.

In the period 1924-1929 the post-war economic crisis in Europe was surmounted. This temporary stabilization of capitalism was accompanied by a struggle for markets and thereby a deepening of the contradictions among the different capitalist States. There was a great concentration of forces on the anti-Soviet front, when, at the instigation of the Western Powers, chiefly by means of the Dawes Plan credits provided by the United States Government, German imperialism was revived. The Locarno Conference of 1925 was an expression of these tendencies. The Locarno Agreement, which stabilized the German borders in the West, freed the hands of Germany for expansion to the East against the Soviet Union and meant a defeat for French diplomacy. It also marked a heavy blow for the foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Government: the Republic's borders were placed in jeopardy while the dominant influence of France in Europe was replaced by that of the United States and Great Britain. The Czechoslovak ruling circles were thus compelled to manœuvre cautiously and strive for closer ties with Great Britain, as well as for improved relations with Germany. Czechoslovakia attempted to balance her less favourable situation by her zeal in anti-Soviet campaigns, in which she also had a material interest, since she was delivering arms to the neighbours of the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet military preparations in international politics were veiled by the spreading of pacifist illusions, conspicuously by President Masaryk himself.

The economic boom in 1923-1929 brought with it a great advance in Czechoslovak industry. The development of the armaments industry (the Škoda Works in Pilsen and Zbrojovka in Brno), placed it among the first in all Europe; the engineering industry, mainly motor-car production, greatly expanded. New, large-scale enterprises also appeared in light industry, such as the Baťa shoe works in Zlín. The industrial enterprises, in which about 25 concerns held 80 per cent of the capital, were more and more dominated by finance capital, the decisive positions being

held by the three large banking groups concentrated around the Živnobanka, the Czech Discount Bank and the Agrarian Bank. The financial oligarchy exerted direct influence on the Government; directors of the Živnobanka often became ministers of finance.

The economic boom and the sharp struggle for markets posed knotty problems for industry. The relentless advance of German industry now ousted Czechoslovakia from her previous positions in south-eastern Europe and forced her to look towards overseas markets. One of the chief means of economic competition used by Czechoslovakia to maintain her markets was dumping, carried on at the expense of the working people. While unemployment decreased, the general living standards of the workers did not rise; rather they constantly tended to fall. Throughout the entire boom period the capitalists held the workers' wages down to approximately the same level as that to which they had been reduced during the post-war crisis period. The decline in living standards was also caused by a rise in prices of the most important foodstuffs. The large estate owners and rich farmers sought to find an advantageous way out of their difficulties by imposing "agrarian duties" on cheap American and Argentinian grain, thereby reducing its importation and maintaining a monopoly on the domestic market. The introduction of these duties led to a rise in the prices of grain and flour products and to a worsening of the position of the small and middle farmers.

In strikes and in struggles against the high cost of living the growing influence of the Communist Party was fully evident. It became the second largest party in the country in the elections to Parliament in 1925 (with 934,000 votes, as compared with 970,000 polled by the largest party, the Agrarian Party). The Social Democrats, defeated in the elections, tried to recover their influence among the masses by not taking part in the government coalition of 1925-1929, which, among other things, passed a law impairing social insurance. The new Government,

the "gentlemen's coalition," was formed exclusively from the bourgeois parties, including even the bourgeois parties of national minorities. It tried to take advantage of the temporary ebb in the revolutionary tide, caused by the rise in prosperity, to strengthen their position in the state. But the coalition lasted only until Czechoslovakia experienced the impact of the great economic crisis.

The economic crisis of 1929-1934, which began with the crash on the New York stock exchange in October 1929, disrupted the whole economic system of the world, and its disastrous consequences (the sharp decline in production, mass unemployment and disruption of foreign trade) brought changes in the international situation. Above all, the authority of the Soviet Union rose, for it was the only country unaffected by the crisis. Its prestige increased chiefly in the countries which felt themselves threatened by the growth of revenge-seeking tendencies in Germany, particularly after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Like the French, the Czechoslovak Government strove for better relations with the Soviet Union, especially when the Little Entente gradually fell apart. The result of this new course was the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Union by the Czechoslovak Government in June 1934.

The economic crisis did not reach its climax in Czechoslovakia until 1933 (when production fell to 60 per cent of the 1929 figure), whereas in the other capitalist countries it had been reached in 1932. Specific local conditions intensified the effects of the crisis. A primary factor here was the less advanced technique and rationalization of industrial production than in the more mature capitalist countries, particularly Germany, which was Czechoslovakia's greatest competitor in its most important foreign markets, particularly in the Balkans. Another factor was the low purchasing power of the workers which considerably narrowed the domestic market. The depression was also deepened here, as compared with Western countries, by the

relatively large share of agriculture in total production, together with the fact that agriculture had been in a condition of crisis ever since 1927. Therefore the decline in production was also greater than in other capitalist countries. The most serious consequences were felt in the textile industry–the most important branch of light industry–which had held first place in foreign trade. The decline in foreign trade also led to a restriction or a stoppage of production in all branches of the export industry. The crisis struck Slovakia even more disastrously because of its greater technical backwardness.

The economic crisis brought about a profound decline in the living standards of the working people. According to official statistics, unemployment reached almost a million, affecting primarily the working class, which also suffered from a sharp decline in the wage ratio. Hardest hit were Slovakia and the German border regions of the Czech Lands, where most of the export industry was concentrated. The economic crisis also severely affected the small and middle farmers because of the sharp decline in the prices of their products which could not be offset by higher productivity on the basis of mechanization and rationalization of production, as was possible on the large estates. The ruinous consequences of the crisis were also felt by craftsmen who fell victim to the competitive struggle of the larger industrial enterprises, as did other sections of the workers.

The domestic political situation grew worse because of sharpening controversies over the national question. In Slovakia the unrest and poverty of the Slovak working people was misused by the Catholic People's Party, headed by Andrej Hlinka, which spread anti-Czech chauvinism and paved the way for setting up an autonomous fascist regime. Intensification of the nationalist movement in Germany aggravated separatist tendencies among the German minority in Czechoslovakia, although the German and other anti-fascists fought against such a trend. The Swastika Movement won over a large part of the German

working people to its ranks, since they were dissatisfied with the national and social policy of the ruling circles. Similar tendencies were seen among the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

Despite the conflicting interests of different groups within the bourgeoisie, their common basis remained fear of the working class. Their programme, therefore, envisaged the suppression of the working-class movement, a ban on the Communist Party and the formation of a right-wing, semi-fascist government. These tendencies, represented on the one hand by the increasing activity of the fascist wings in the bourgeois parties, and on the other by a strengthening of the openly fascist parties, continued to assert themselves despite the fact that from the time of the Parliamentary elections in 1929 the right-wing socialist parties had again participated in the government. The new Government, formed in 1932, had already embarked on a policy of downright fascization. An enabling act was passed, severely restricting the rights of Parliament and giving the Government a free hand in the most important questions; the law on extraordinary measures was strengthened, empowering the Government to quell the slightest "unrest"; freedom of the press was restricted; the Communist press was confiscated and the Party itself almost forced underground. After its Fifth Congress in 1929, when a new Central Committee was elected with K l e m e n t G o t t w a l d at its head, the Communist Party headed the huge strike movement which was the workers' answer to the attempts of big capital to solve the crisis at their expense. The movement culminated in a huge strike of the North Bohemian miners in the Most brown-coal basin in 1932, caused by the sharp drop in the miners' living standards and by dismissals from work. Its significance was not confined to Czechoslovakia, for this was the first time that other sections of the working people, such as the small tradesmen and shopkeepers, took their stand solidly on the side of the workers. Together with the Revolutionary Trade Unions, the Communist

Party of Czechoslovakia organized strike campaigns on a large scale. At the same time it won more and more authority even outside the working class by leading the great popular movement against the fascist-like measures of the Government and in defence of democracy. It was the first to warn against the mounting danger of fascism after the Nazi putsch of 1933, calling on the whole people to fight for the preservation of democratic rights.

When the Nazi Government came to power in Germany, Czechoslovakia's international position grew considerably worse, for the Nazis openly declared themselves in favour of a forcible revision of the Versailles treaties, and hence for changes in the Czechoslovak boundaries. The Government was thus forced to take measures to protect the Republic. Guided by France's example, it concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union in May 1935. But at its request the Soviet Union's aid was linked with the condition that France would also offer aid. In this way the Czechoslovak Government tried at all costs to maintain its orientation towards the Western Powers. But reactionary circles in England, France and the United States, in an attempt to make use of German imperialism against the Soviet Union, actively supported the Nazis. Thus the treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union had become a vital interest of the Czechoslovak people: the only problem was to see that it was genuinely carried out, despite the opposition of reactionary bourgeois groups.

The economy recovered from the crisis very slowly. Before the pre-crisis level had been reached, symptoms of a new one arose. Heavy industry, thanks to the demand for armaments, did exceed the level of 1929 production, but light industry was struck by a new crisis in 1937. Foreign trade did not attain half its 1929 volume. Consequently unemployment remained high, while real wages were far below the 1929 level. The years of constant deterioration in the living standards of the ordinary

working people so sharpened their dissatisfaction that the bourgeoisie felt less and less able to govern by the old methods. While one part of the governing group (called the "Castle Group," after the Prague Castle, the residence of the President), made up of Social Democrats and National Socialists under the leadership of Masaryk and looking towards England and France, saw the solution in a partial withdrawal of democratic rights and a strengthening of the state administration, another, the most reactionary wing, headed by the Agrarian Party, called for the installation of an open fascist dictatorship on the German model. Of course plans such as these involved the complete subjugation of Czechoslovakia to Hitler Germany.

The danger of fascism grew constantly from 1934 on. But in Czechoslovakia, with so many nationalities, it was not possible to form a single fascist party. There were several centres of fascism: Hlinka's Slovak Catholic Party, Henlein's Sudeten German Party, a strong fascist wing in the Agrarian Party, and a few independent Czech fascist groups. Fascist elements began to terrorize the working class movement and progressive opinion generally, but concentrated their efforts primarily against the Communist Party. But in the parliamentary elections of 1935 Czech fascist groups suffered defeat, and the Communist Party emerged the fourth largest party (coming after the Social Democrats). By contrast, the Slovak and German fascist movements were strengthened. The Sudeten German Party succeeded in gaining the votes of the great majority of the German population and became the strongest party in the Republic, although the Communists and anti-fascists did their utmost to head off the fascist threat. Czech reactionaries now realized that they must turn to these groups, and the Agrarian Party entered into negotiations with the Henleinists about forming a governmental coalition.

Faced with the immediate danger of fascism, the Communist Party gave unswerving leadership to the anti-fascist and pro-

gressive forces and appealed for the formation of a popular front which would unite all anti-fascist elements and take over the government. The need for a popular front became particularly evident towards the end of 1935, when President Masaryk resigned because of illness after having served three terms in office. A schism then appeared in the camp of the ruling parties. The right wing, which included the leadership of the Agrarian Party, the so-called National Unification Party, the businessmen's parties and other groups, without regard to the wishes of their partners in the coalition (Social Democrats and National Socialists) put forward as their candidate Professor B. Němec. In order to secure his election they wanted to join not only with the fascist groups outside the government, but also with the Henleinists. The other group, i.e. the leadership of the Social Democrats and of the National Socialists, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Beneš, took a vacillating stand. The Communist Party, which set out single-handed to organize campaigns among the workers in the factories, managed to get a number of expressions of protest from the rank and file of the Agrarian Party, and aroused such a storm of opposition that at the last moment the right-wing bloc disintegrated and Dr. Beneš, as the candidate of the democratic forces, was elected President with the help of Communist votes. Thus failed the attempts of the group that even then had proclaimed the slogan of "come to an agreement with Hitler," and was ready to let him subjugate Czechoslovakia. The democratic bloc had demonstrated its superior strength. Yet its weak spot was revealed in that it did not have an adequately organized basis: because of the opposition of the right-wing socialists, a popular front government could not be formed.

Czechoslovakia's situation became especially critical when in March 1938 the forcible *Anschluss* of Austria to the German Reich occurred. Soon afterwards the leader of the Sudeten German Party, Konrad Henlein, acting on secret instructions from Hitler, announced publicly in Karlovy Vary his own and his followers' allegiance to Nazism, and came out with a programme for such broad autonomy that its realization would have meant the *de facto* dissolution of the Czechoslovak Republic. Henlein's bullies then began a reign of unbridled terror in the border regions. In Slovakia Hlinka's party also launched a campaign for autonomy. The huge popular demonstrations against these attempts, however, showed that the common people were determined to defend the independence of Czechoslovakia. This was seen most strikingly when on May 21, 1938, a partial mobilization was ordered, in view of reports that the Reich's armed forces were carrying out troop movements near the Czechoslovak borders, and that the danger of a German attack was imminent.

The possibility of defending the Czechoslovak Republic side by side with the Soviet Union did not suit the interests of the Western Powers, which were willing to sacrifice Czechoslovakia and thereby help Nazi Germany in its plans for an anti-Soviet crusade. Originally Hitler had reckoned with the necessity of seizing Czechoslovakia by military force. Since, as was shown later by such sources as the statement of General Halder, a member of the German General Staff, Hitler in 1938 was not yet strong enough to defeat the splendidly equipped Czechoslovak army standing behind well-fortified borders, he did not plan the attack to occur until 1943 or 1945. But when he saw that the Western Powers were willing to give Czechoslovakia up without a fight, he changed his plans and launched his campaign immediately. In order to prepare the ground for him, the Western Powers sent a mission to Czechoslovakia, headed by Lord Runciman, which clearly supported Henlein's claims and which was intended to induce Czechoslovakia to capitulate. The Czechoslovak government did in fact yield to the demand for relinquishing the border regions, populated for the most part by German nationals, which had been decided on

at the first meeting of the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain with Hitler in Berchtesgaden. At the second meeting, in Godesberg, Hitler came out with new territorial demands, this time in favour of the Polish and Hungarian fascists. The representatives of Great Britain and France conveyed these demands to the Czechoslovak Government, which, for fear of public opinion, it did not dare to accept immediately. Only after the Anglo-French ultimatum (in which these Powers also refused assistance to Czechoslovakia in the event of a German attack), and on the pretext that it was impossible to oppose Nazi Germany alone, did the Government capitulate. England and France even threatened Czechoslovakia that, if she did not accept Hitler's demands, she would be considered the aggressor. In actual fact this "isolation" of the Republic was only a specious argument, for the Soviet government had announced its decision to abide by its obligations as an ally–provided the Czechoslovak Government so requested–even in the event that France, also bound by a treaty of alliance with Czechoslovakia, should refuse aid. But these offers were not accepted. Apprehensive of working-class power, and in order to maintain their class domination, the ruling circles preferred to sacrifice Czechoslovakia's independence. The Government headed by President Beneš made its surrender without convening Parliament, which alone was empowered by the Constitution to decide on changes in the state boundaries.

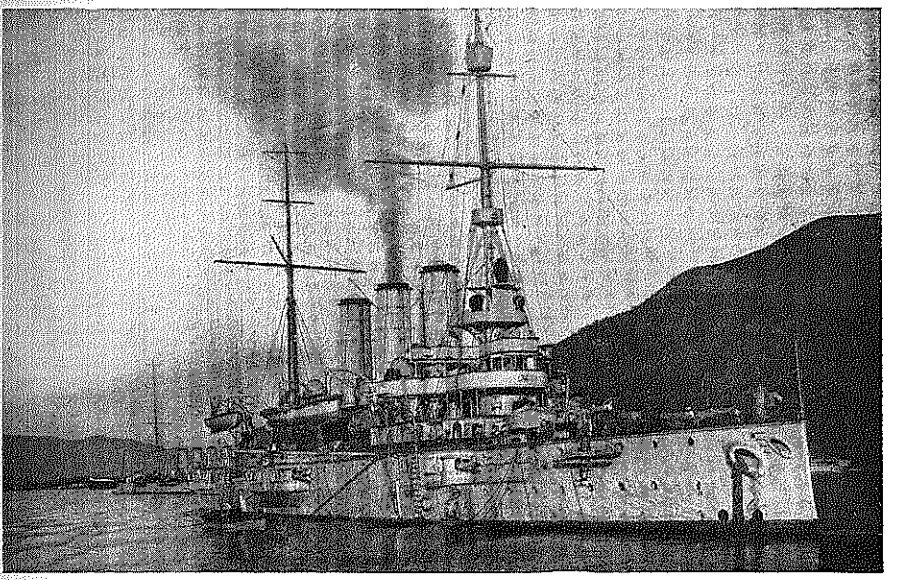
The actual putting into effect of the capitulation was another matter, in view of the determined opposition of the people. Huge popular demonstrations and the general strike of September 22, led by the Communist Party, forced the Government to back down. The Czechoslovak people demanded that the Republic be defended against Hitler. At that fateful moment one saw revealed the consequences of the policy of the right-wing Social Democratic and National Socialist leaders in preventing the formation of a popular-front government of all anti-fascist

forces called for by the Communist Party. At the decisive moment a popular front government did not take over; instead the capitulationists remained in power, hiding behind the puppet Government of General Syrový. The new Government ordered a general mobilization, which was excellently and enthusiastically carried out. But this was only a manœuvre to distract attention from the succeeding negotiations, culminating on September 29, 1938, in the conference of Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain in Munich, without Czechoslovak representatives. The conference recognized all the territorial demands of Nazi Germany, thus giving sanction to an unparalleled violation of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty.

The immediate consequence of Munich was the relinquishing of further territory. Těšín was annexed by Poland; southern Slovakia and part of the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine were occupied by Hungary. Hundreds of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks in the annexed territories passed into the hands of fascist terrorists. Czechoslovakia lost more than a third of her territory and population, nearly 40 per cent of all her industry, not to speak of the loss of strategic borders. Although the new borders were alleged to coincide with nationality lines, they were in fact established so as to make the country as powerless as possible, economically and militarily. Munich meant the delivering of Czechoslovakia to the sphere of influence of Nazi Germany. The ruling circles of the higher bourgeoisie, headed by the leader of the Agrarian Party and new Prime Minister, Beran, took advantage of the Munich catastrophe to establish a fascist regime. Immediately after Munich, in October 1938, an order was issued banning the activity of the Communist Party, which was forced underground. The bourgeois parties, including the National Socialists, merged in a single fascist party of "National Unity," the Social Democrats formed the "National Labour Party" which collaborated with the regime in power. All that was progressive now faced persecution. President Beneš re-

signed in October 1938, after the failure of his conception of foreign policy, and the reactionaries put their candidate, Dr. Emil Hácha, in the President's chair. But among the common people the fascist regime found no support.

Despite the willingness of the Czech upper bourgeoisie to come to an agreement with Berlin, the German imperialists did not give up their final goal: occupation of the entire truncated Republic. In this they were guided both by the interests of German monopolies and by strategic motives (preparations for war against Poland and the Soviet Union). To achieve the break-up of the Republic the Nazi Government made use of the fascist movement in Slovakia and in the remnant of the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine, as well as its agents among the remaining German minority groups in Prague and in the Jihlava, Ostrava and Brno areas. By provoking conflicts and open fights between these groups and the authorities, they sought to create the impression that anarchy had broken out and that the Government was incapable of ensuring the safety of citizens of German nationality. German intervention in the interest of European "peace and order" was therefore "justified." The situation first came to a head in Slovakia. At the conference in Žilina in October 1938, with all the bourgeois parties in attendance, Hlinka's fascist party headed by Jozef Tiso seized power in Slovakia. Representatives of the Social Democratic Party, not admitted by Hlinka's adherents to the Žilina conference, gave their consent afterwards. Only the Communist Party opposed this imposing of fascism upon Slovakia, and continued its fight for liberty by underground resistance. In view of the disturbances provoked by the Slovak separatists, the Czechoslovak Government in March 1939 declared martial law in Slovakia. The Slovak fascists asked the Berlin Government to assist them, and at Hitler's suggestion the so-called Slovak State was set up on March 14, 1939. A day later, on March 15, President Hácha, without any constitutional power to do so, signed an agreement

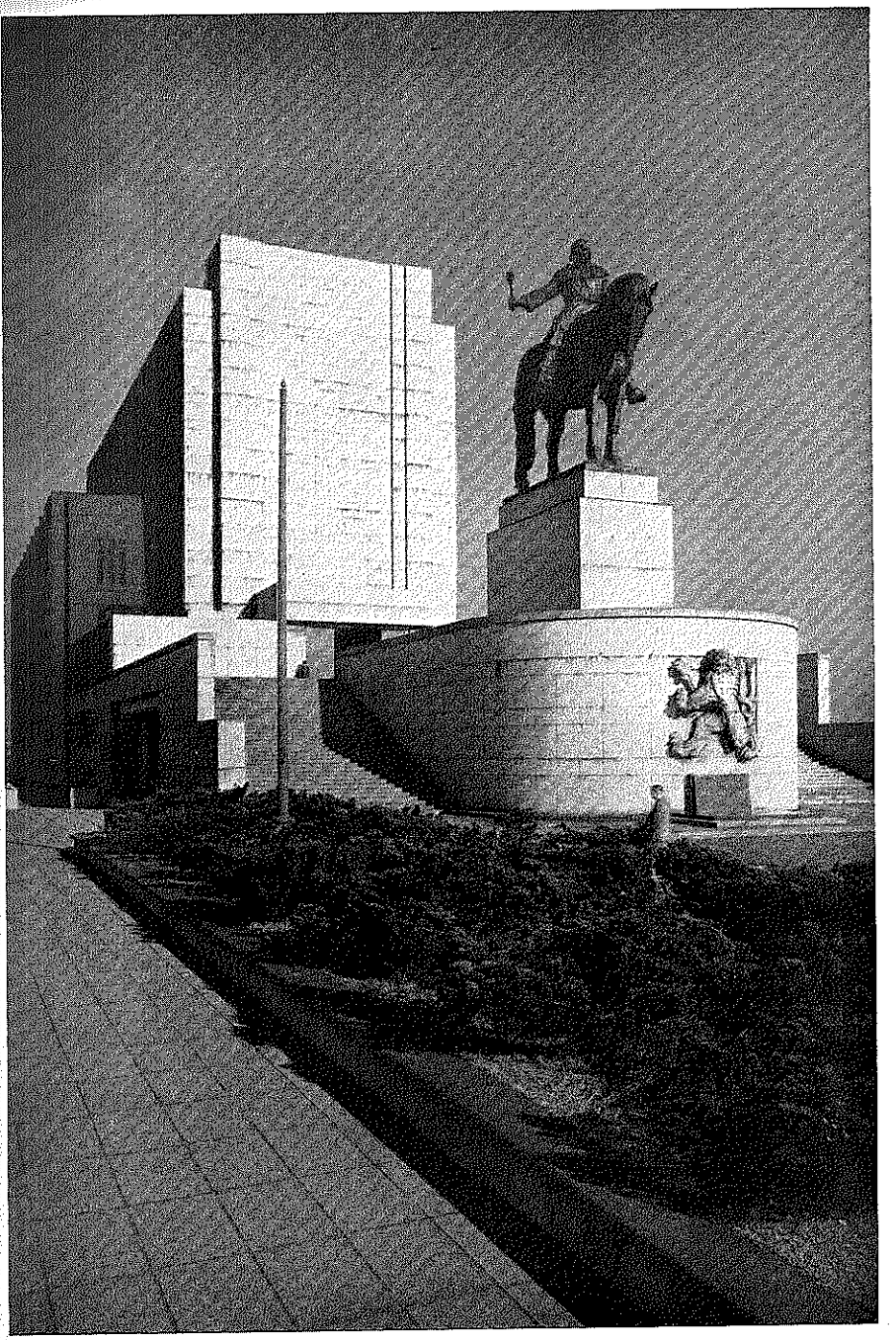


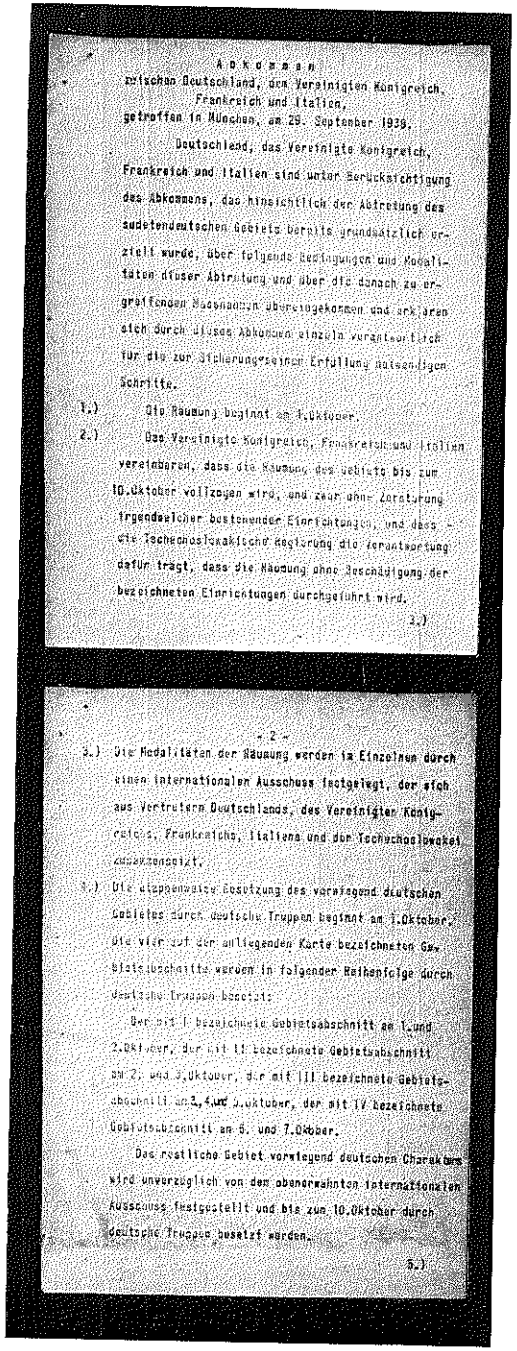
20 The cruiser "St. George" whose crew began the mutiny of the Austro-Hungarian Navy in Kotor (February 1918)

21 Execution of participants in the mutiny in the Austro-Hungarian Army at Rumburg (May 1918)

22 Prague workers demonstrating
for "A Socialist Nation,"
May 1, 1918

23 National Memorial
on Vítkov Hill, Prague
(architect J. Zázvorka, 1929-1932)
with the statue
of the Hussite commander,
John Žižka of Trocnov
(by B. Kafka)





A b k o m m e n

zwischen Deutschland, dem Vereinigten Königreich, Frankreich und Italien, getroffen in München, am 29. September 1938.

Deutschland, das Vereinigte Königreich, Frankreich und Italien sind unter Berücksichtigung des Abkommens, das hinsichtlich der Abtretung des sudetendeutschen Gebiets bereits grundsätzlich erzielt wurde, über folgende Bedingungen und Modalitäten dieser Abtretung und über die danach zu ergreifenden Maßnahmen übereingekommen und erklären sich durch dieses Abkommen einzeln verantwortlich für die zur Sicherung seiner Erfüllung notwendigen Schritte.

1.) Die Räumung beginnt am 1.Oktober.

2.) Das Vereinigte Königreich, Frankreich und Italien vereinbaren, dass die Räumung des Gebiets bis zum 10.Oktober vollzogen wird, und zwar ohne Zerstörung irgendwelcher bestehender Einrichtungen, und dass die Tschechoslowakische Regierung die Verantwortung dafür trägt, dass die Räumung ohne Beschädigung der bezeichneten Einrichtungen durchgeführt wird.

3.)

- 2 -

3.) Die Modalitäten der Räumung werden im Einzelnen durch einen internationalen Ausschuss festgelegt, der sich aus Vertretern Deutschlands, des Vereinigten Königreichs, Frankreichs, Italiens und der Tschechoslowakei zusammensetzt.

4.) Die etappenweise Besitzung des vorwiegend deutschen Gebietes durch deutsche Truppen beginnt am 1.Oktober. Die vier auf der anliegenden Karte bezeichneten Gebietsabschnitte werden in folgender Reihenfolge durch deutsche Truppen besetzt:

Der mit I bezeichnete Gebietsabschnitt am 1.und 2.Oktober, der mit II bezeichnete Gebietsabschnitt am 2. und 3.Oktober, der mit III bezeichnete Gebietsabschnitt am 3.,4.und 5.Oktober, der mit IV bezeichnete Gebietsabschnitt am 6. und 7.Oktober.

Das restliche Gebiet vorwiegend deutschen Charakters wird unverzüglich von dem obenerwähnten internationalen Ausschuss festgestellt und bis zum 10.Oktober durch deutsche Truppen besetzt werden.

5.)

Text of the agreement concluded in Munich between Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy on September 29, 1938.

Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, taking into consideration the agreement which has been already reached in principle for the cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory, have agreed on the following terms and conditions governing the said cession and the measures consequent thereon, and by this agreement they each hold themselves responsible for the steps necessary to secure its fulfilment:–

(1) *The evacuation will begin on the 1st October.*

(2) *The United Kingdom, France and Italy agree that the evacuation of the territory shall be completed by the 10th October without any existing installations having been destroyed, and that the Czechoslovak Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installations.*

(3) *The conditions governing the evacuation will be laid down in detail by an international commission composed of representatives of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia.*

(4) *The occupation by stages of the predominantly German territory by German troops will begin on the 1st October. The four territories marked on the attached map will be occupied by German troops in the following order: The territory marked No. I on the 1st and 2nd of October; the territory marked No. II on the 2nd and 3rd of October; the territory marked No. III on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of October; the territory marked No. IV on the 6th and 7th of October. The remaining territory of preponderantly German character will be ascertained by the aforesaid international commission forthwith and be occupied by German troops by the 10th of October.*

(5) *The international commission referred to in paragraph 3 will determine the territories in which a plebiscite is to be held. These territories will be occupied by international bodies until the plebiscite has been completed. The same commission will fix the conditions in which the plebiscite is to be held, taking as a basis the conditions of the Saar plebiscite. The commission will also fix a date, not later than the end of November, on which the plebiscite will be held.*

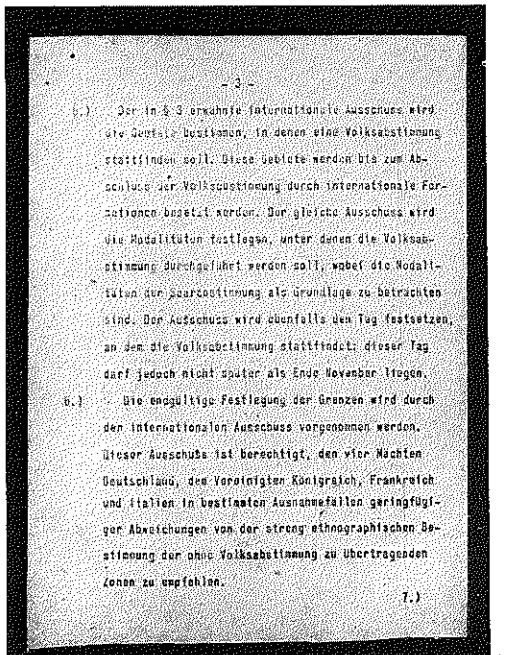
(6) *The final determination of the frontier will be carried out by the international commission. This commission will also be entitled to recommend to the four Powers–Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy–in certain exceptional cases minor modifications in the strictly ethnographical determination of the zones which are to be transferred without plebiscite.*

(7) *There will be a right of option into and out of the transferred territories, the option to be exercised within six months from the date of this agreement. A German-Czechoslovak commission shall determine the details of the option, consider ways of facilitating the transfer of population and settle questions of principle arising out of the said transfer.*

(8) *The Czechoslovak Government will within a period of four weeks from the date of this agreement release from their military and police forces any Sudeten Germans who may wish to be released, and the Czechoslovak Government will, within the same period, release Sudeten German prisoners who are serving terms of imprisonment for political offences.*

Adolf Hitler
Édouard Daladier
Benito Mussolini
Neville Chamberlain

Munich, September 29, 1938.

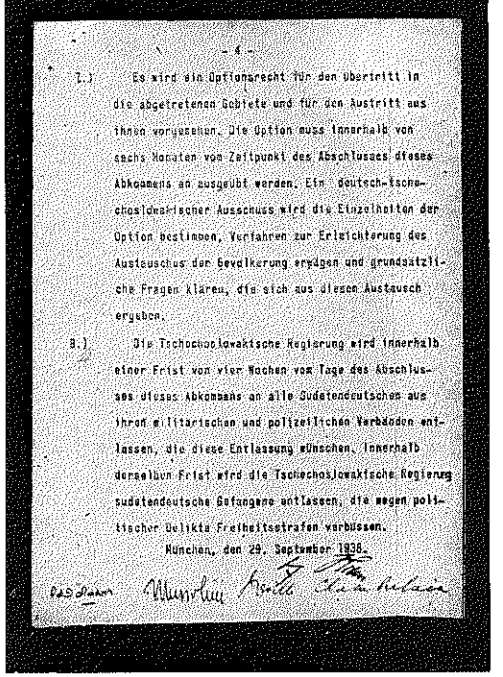


- 3 -

6.) Der in § 3 erwähnte internationale Ausschuss wird die Gebiete bestimmen, in denen eine Volksabstimmung stattfinden soll. Diese Gebiete werden bis zum Abschluss der Volksabstimmung durch internationale Formationen besetzt werden. Der gleiche Ausschuss wird die Modalitäten festlegen, unter denen die Volksabstimmung durchgeführt werden soll, wobei die Modalitäten der Saarabstimmung als Grundlage zu betrachten sind. Der Ausschuss wird ebenfalls den Tag festsetzen, an dem die Volksabstimmung stattfindet; dieser Tag darf jedoch nicht später als Ende November liegen.

7.) Die endgültige Festlegung der Grenzen wird durch den internationalen Ausschuss vorgenommen werden. Dieser Ausschuss ist berechtigt, den vier Mächten Deutschland, dem Vereinigten Königreich, Frankreich und Italien in bestimmten Ausnahmefällen geringfügige Abweichungen von der streng ethnographischen Bestimmung der ohne Volksabstimmung zu übertragenden Zonen zu empfehlen.

8.)



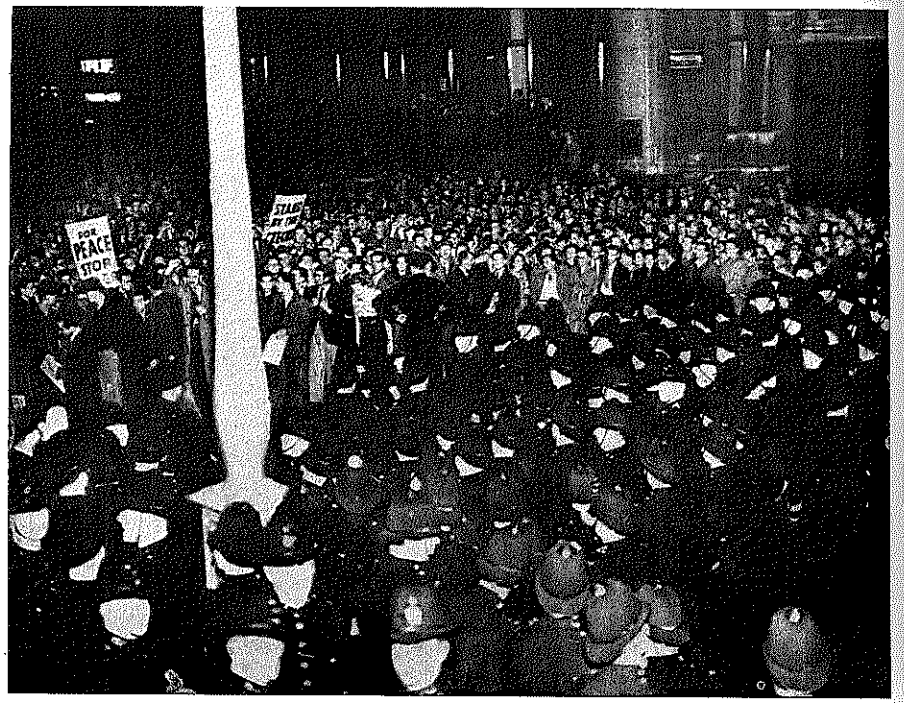
- 4 -

1.) Es wird ein Optionsrecht für den Übertritt in die abgetretenen Gebiete und für den Austritt aus ihnen vorgesehen. Die Option muss innerhalb von sechs Monaten vom Zeitpunkt des Abschlusses dieses Abkommens an ausgeübt werden. Ein deutsch-tschechoslowakischer Ausschuss wird die Einzelheiten der Option bestimmen, Verfahren zur Erleichterung des Austausches der Bevölkerung erwägen und grundsätzliche Fragen klären, die sich aus diesem Austausch ergeben.

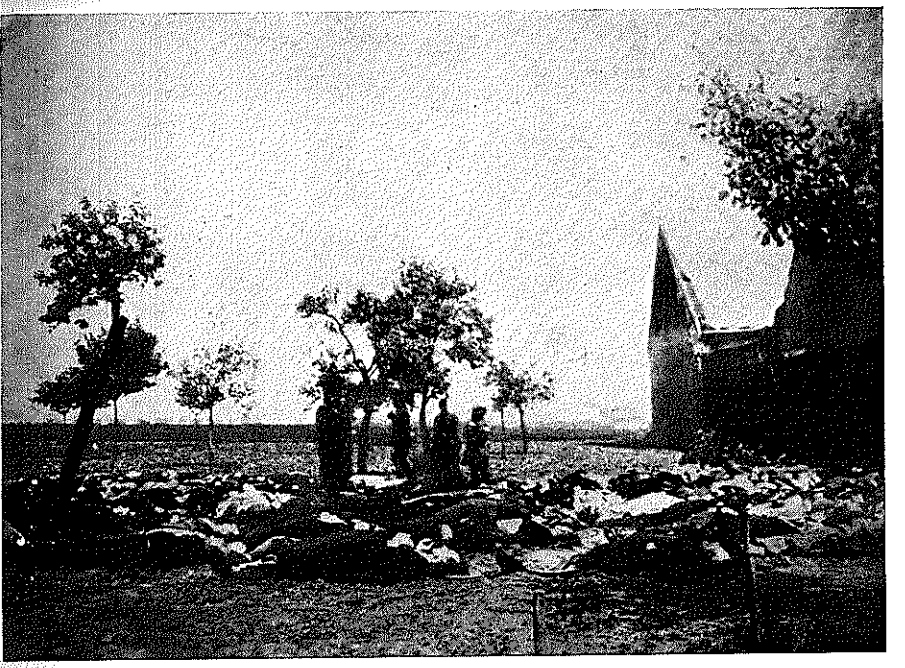
2.) Die Tschechoslowakische Regierung wird innerhalb einer Frist von vier Wochen vom Tage des Abschlusses dieses Abkommens an alle Sudetendeutschen aus ihren militärischen und polizeilichen Verbänden entlassen, die diese Entlassung wünschen. Innerhalb derselben Frist wird die Tschechoslowakische Regierung sudetendeutsche Gefangene entlassen, die wegen politischer Delikte Freiheitsstrafen verbüssen.

München, den 29. September 1938.

Für Adolf Hitler

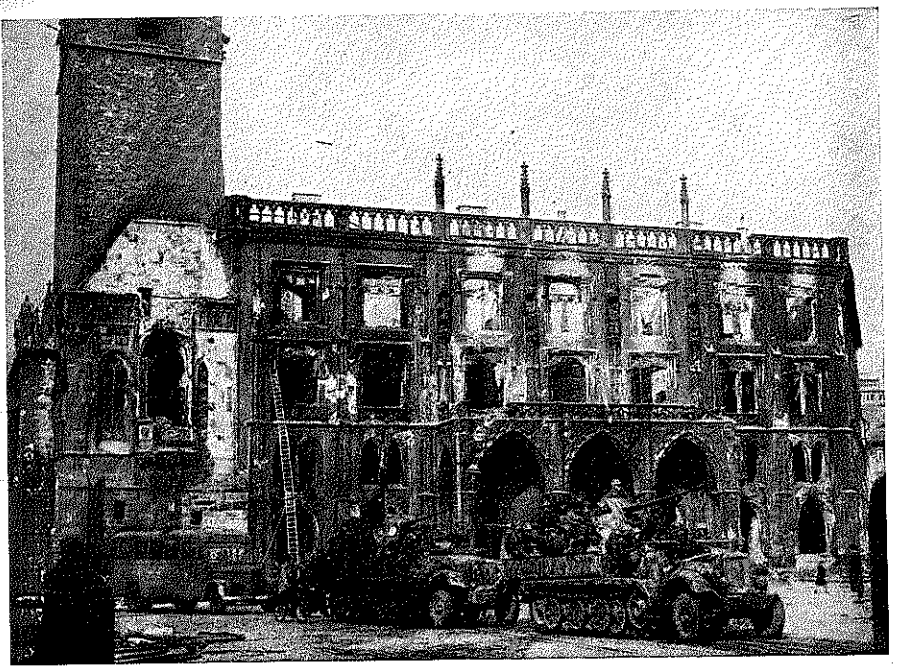


25 Demonstration
of the British people
in Whitehall, London,
September 26, 1938,
calling for aid
to Czechoslovakia
against Hitlerite
aggression

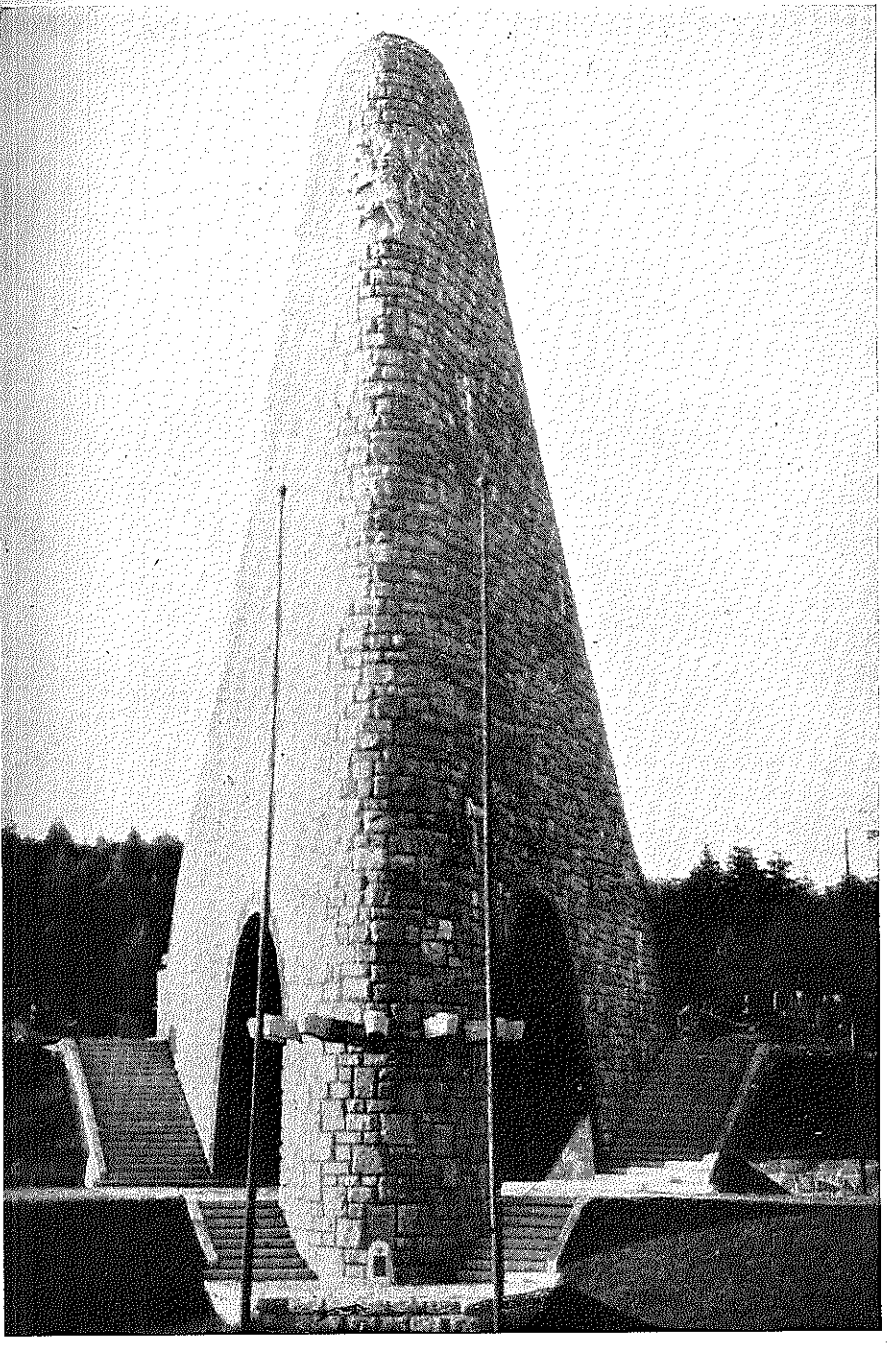


26 Male population
of Lidice
shot by the Nazi police,
June 10, 1942

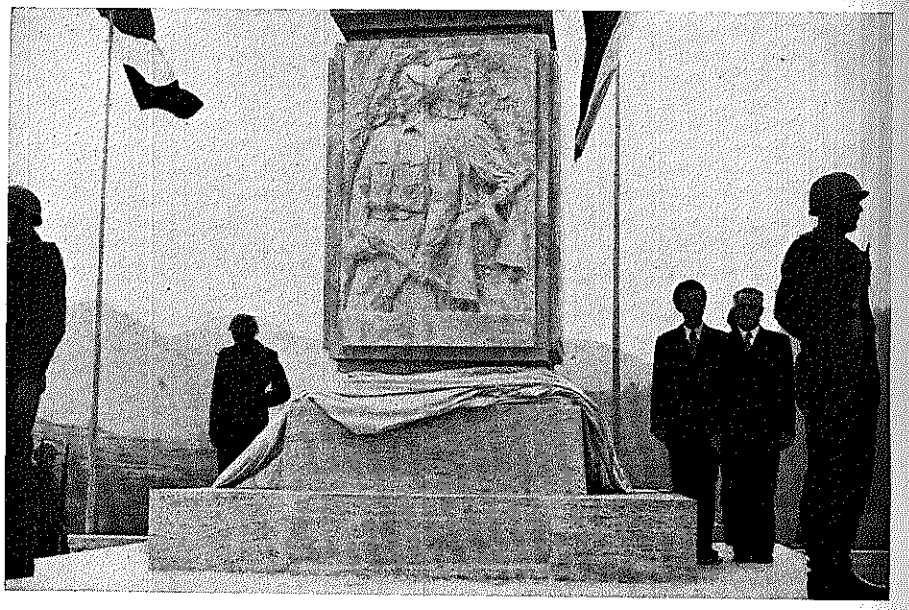
27 The Prague Rising
of May 1945
against the Nazis.
German artillery
in retreat
before the Soviet Army.
(In the background
the Prague Old Town Hall
destroyed by Nazi shelling)



28 First meeting of Slovak partisans
with the Soviet Army
in the Carpathians (winter 1944)

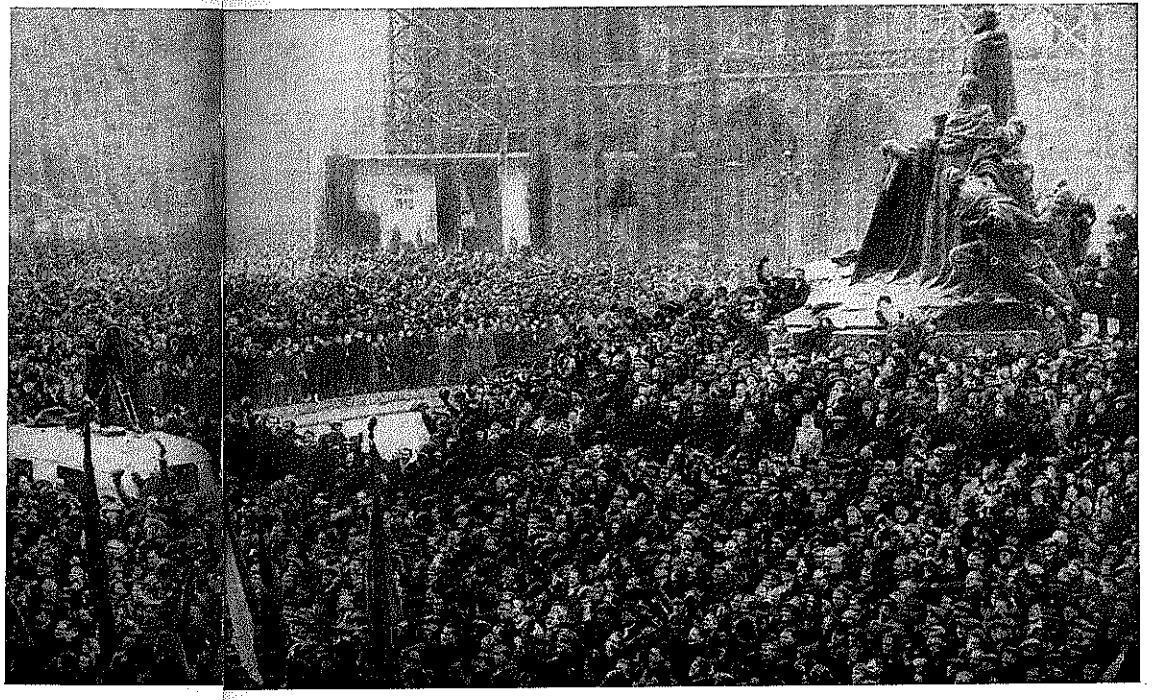


29 Monument to the heroic Czechoslovak
and Soviet soldiers who fell fighting
for the liberation
of the Republic at Dukla Pass (eastern Slovakia)

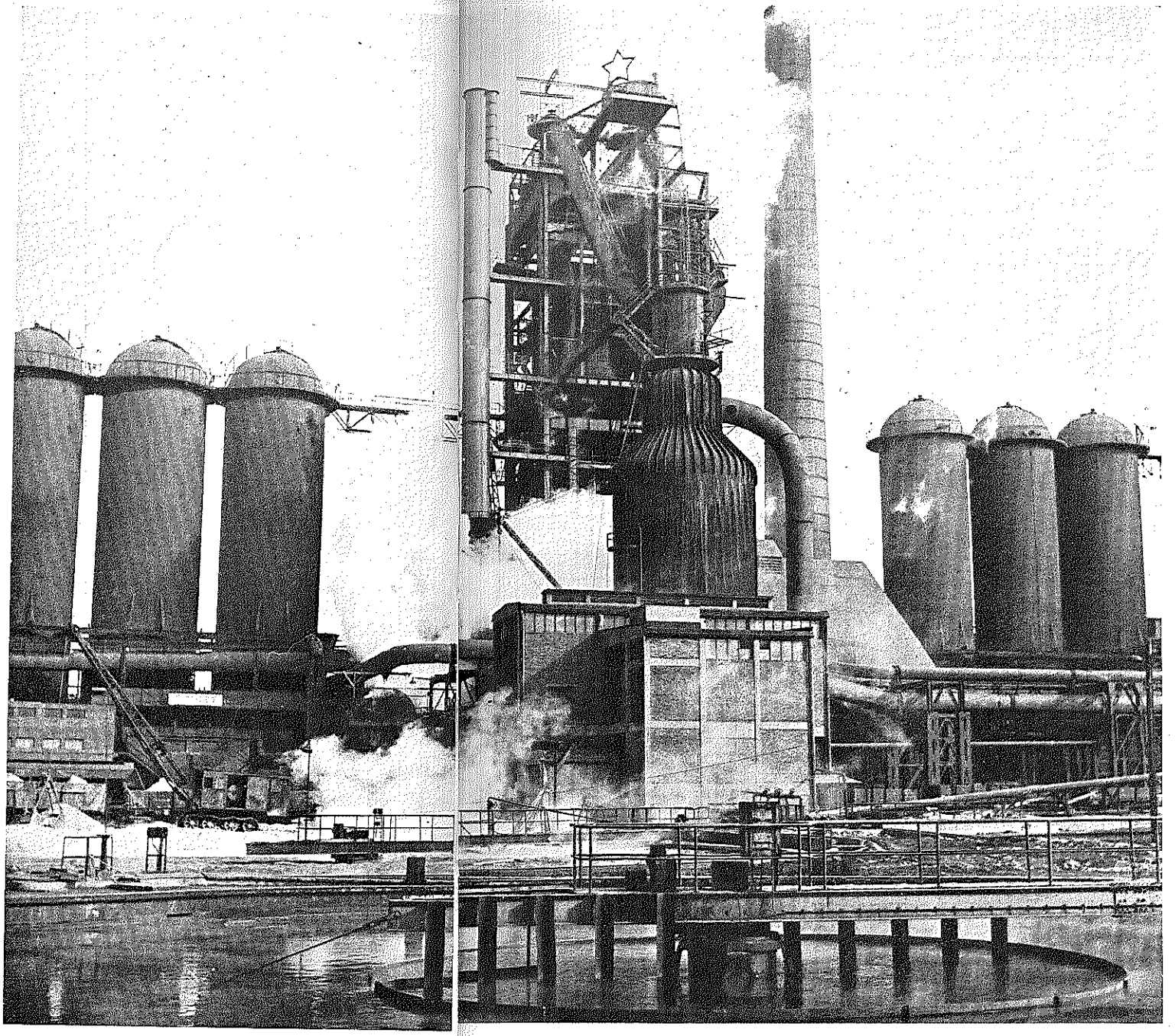


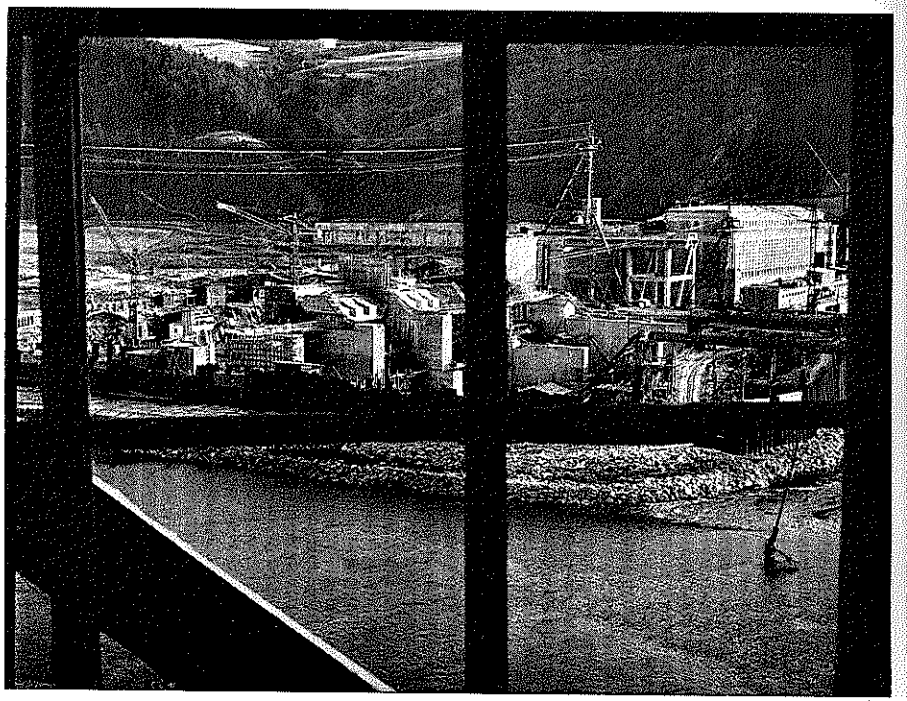
30 French Government delegation
at the unveiling in 1956 of the memorial
to the French partisans
who took part
in the Slovak National Rising of 1944

31 Klement Gottwald addressing
a vast assembly of the people of Prague
in the Old Town Square
during the February events
(February 21, 1948)

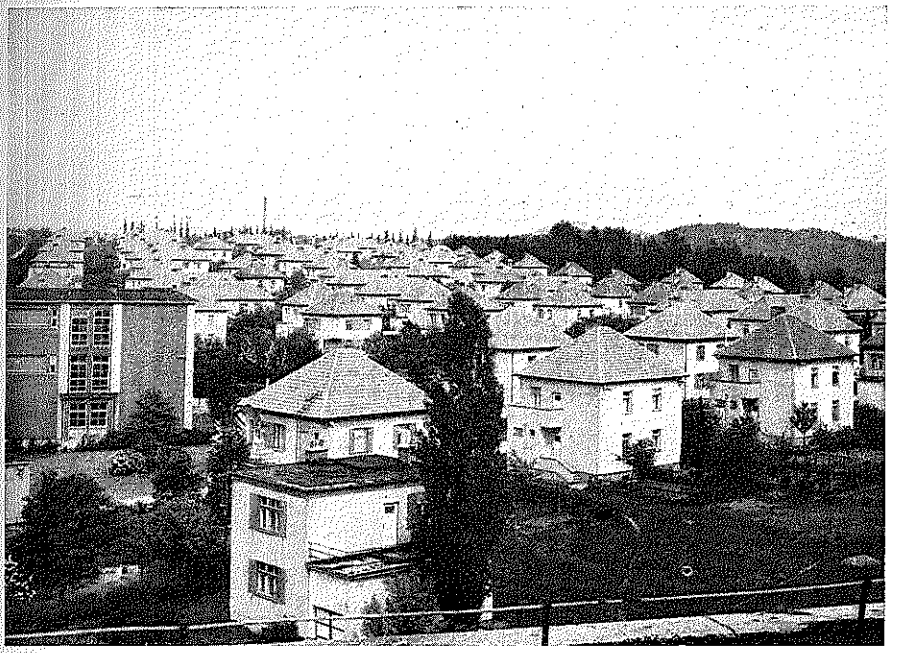


32 One of the blast furnaces of the Klement Gottwald New Iron and Steel Works at Kunčice near Ostrava, built during the first Five-year Plan

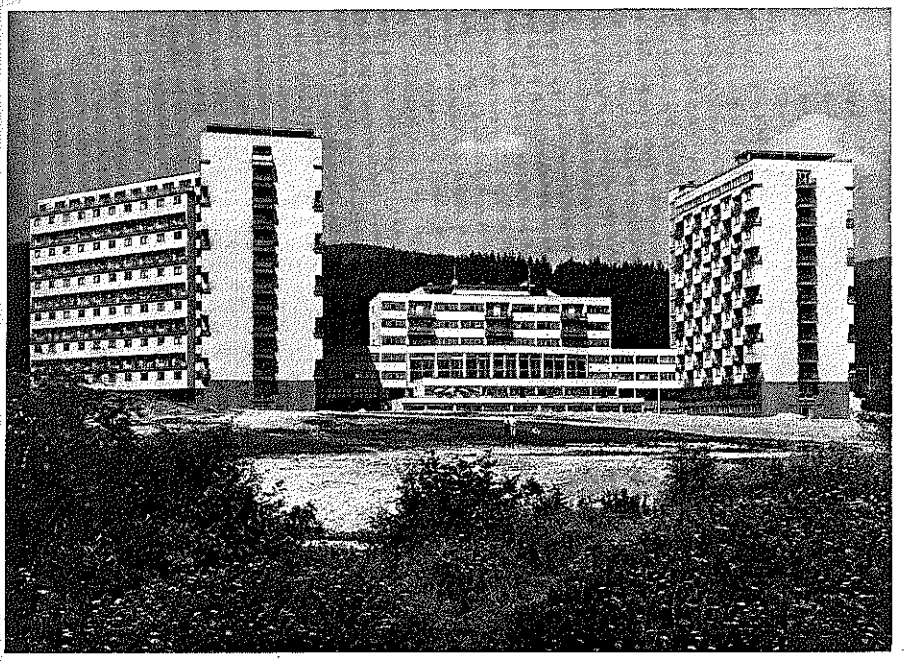




33 One of the new dams
on the river Váh
(Slovakia)



34 A new housing settlement
in Partyzánske (Slovakia)



35 Workers' apartment house
in Litvínov
in the Most brown-coal fields
(architect Ing. Hilský)

36 Prague session
of the World Peace Congress
in the building
of the Czechoslovak
National Assembly,
April 24, 1949

in Berlin which put "the destiny of the Czech people in the hands of the *Führer* of the Great German Reich" and established the so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Czech Lands were occupied by Nazi troops, and the working people enslaved to the Nazi regime. The Trans-Carpathian Ukraine and part of eastern Slovakia were occupied by Horthy's Hungary. The Western Powers, under the pressure of public opinion, did protest against this aggressive act by the German Government, but they nevertheless gave *de facto* recognition to the occupation. Only the Soviet Government refused to recognize the new situation in Central Europe.

The creation of the Czechoslovak Republic and the first twenty years of its existence had far-reaching significance in the development of Czech and Slovak science and culture. After centuries of suppression the Czech language again became the official language (in Slovakia the official language was Slovak), while national culture was no longer under the tutelage of Vienna. Education made great progress. Important for the development of science and technique was the opening of new universities in Brno and in Bratislava, new colleges of technology and agriculture, a college of veterinary science, of mining, and others. In a number of fields work of world renown was carried on, as for instance, in Oriental studies, polarography, and some branches of medicine. An indication of scientific progress was to be seen in the scale of publication of books and magazines.

Among Czech prose writers, Karel Čapek (died 1938) gained a world-wide reading public with his travel books *Letters from England* and *Travels in the North,* his novels *The War with the Newts, Krakatit,* his drama *R. U. R.* and others; the satirical novel by Jaroslav Hašek (died 1923), *The Good Soldier Schweik,* became famous. Reportage was raised

to a distinguished literary level by Egon Erwin Kisch (died 1948), author and journalist, who wrote in German. Czech poetry flourished in the works of a number of distinguished poets: Petr Bezruč, Jiří Wolker, S. K. Neumann, Fráňa Šrámek, Josef Hora, Jaroslav Seifert, Vítězslav Nezval and others. The development of art found a reflection also in artistic criticism and the history of art. The most significant figure in these fields was F. X. Šalda (died 1937). Outstanding as historian, musicologist and leading cultural figure was Zdeněk Nejedlý. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of artists, poets, writers and critics were, in the years 1918-1938, passionate defenders of progressive trends, and many joined the Communist Party, such as Zdeněk Nejedlý, S. K. Neumann, Vítězslav Nezval and others.

Czech music maintained its high reputation throughout the world through the works of some great composers such as Leoš Janáček (died 1928) with his operas *Jenufa, Katya Kabanova, The Adventures of Fox Sharpears,* Vítězslav Novák (d. 1949), Josef Suk (d. 1935) and Suk's pupil Bohuslav Martinů (died 1959) with his opera *Comedy on the Bridge,* and others. Among the performing musicians who made Czech music famous beyond the country's borders were the renowned violinists František Ondříček (died 1922) and Jan Kubelík (died 1940), the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra (founded in 1896) with its conductor Václav Talich (b. 1883), the string quartet Czech Quartet, and opera singers such as Karel Burian (died 1924), Ema Destinnová (died 1930) and Otakar Mařák (died 1939). The Czech violin school of Otakar Ševčík (died 1934) won response far beyond the confines of the Republic.

The development of art was complicated; it reacted sensitively and individually to the inspiration of contemporary paint-

ing in western Europe. An example of this was the painting of Václav Špála (died 1946) and Emil Filla (died in 1953), Otakar Kubín (b. 1883–known in the West by the name of Othon Coubine), Josef Čapek (died in 1945), Jan Zrzavý (b. 1890) and others. Important graphic work is that of Max Švabinský (b. 1873).

Outstanding works of sculpture were created by Ladislav Šaloun (died 1946), creator of the Hus monument in the Old Town Square in Prague, František Bílek (died in 1941) and Jan Štursa (died 1925).

The formation of the Czechoslovak Republic had even more far-reaching significance for the development of cultural life in Slovakia, which had hitherto lain under Hungarian oppression. In view of this, national liberation efforts came even more into play here than in the artistic production of the Czech Lands. Critical realism was fully developed in the works of Martin Kukučín, J. G. Tajovský and Janko Jesenský. The novels of Peter Jilemnický (died 1949) were also of the greatest importance; Ján Smrek became a distinguished poet. A number of artists attempted to create an individual Slovak national style, making use also of modernist art in Western Europe. Among these were Ľudovít Fulla (b. 1902), Mikuláš Galanda (died 1938) and Koloman Sokol (b. 1902). A new generation of Slovak musicians, thoroughly trained in Czech music schools, now came to the fore, among whom should be mentioned the composer of Slovak songs, Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (died in 1958), and of instrumental music, Mikuláš Moyzes (died 1944). The founding of the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra in Bratislava in 1920 substantially assisted in the further development of Slovak national music.

After the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the first Slovak university was established in Bratislava in 1919. Czech professors helped at first to train a new Slovak intelligentsia, whose numbers were inadequate at the time of the university's foundation. Scientific progress was seen, apart from the university, in the reviving of *Matica Slovenská*, and the founding in 1926 of the Šafárik Learned Society, which became the supreme scientific institution in Slovakia.

X THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM 1939-1945

IN THE SO-CALLED "PROTECTORATE" of Bohemia and Moravia power was in the hands of the German occupying forces. The Protectorate government was merely an administrative organ: real power rested on brutal terrorism. The barbarous methods of the Nazi dictatorship, the outrages committed by the secret police (Gestapo), the special courts, the concentration camps and gas chambers primarily affected the working people. At the same time the Nazis tried to Germanize the cultural and economic life of the country. The larger industries were engulfed by the German monopolies, agriculture was plundered through an excessive export of foodstuffs. The *haute bourgeoisie* and big estate owners were the chief support of the Hácha regime. Besides the working class which, together with the small and middle farmers, represented the prime moving force of resistance and which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, took the leading role in the national liberation movement, other forces in the anti-fascist struggle were drawn from the petit-bourgeois and the middle sections, and from among the intelligentsia. The activity of the Communist Party was guided by the leading members of its Central Committee, headed by Klement Gottwald and Jan Šverma, who worked in Moscow. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, anti-Nazi demonstrations were organized from the very beginning of the war. In the course of these common struggles a broad national front was welded together. Such actions convinced European public opinion that the Czechoslovak people had nothing in common with the policies of the quisling government. There was a striking international response to the demonstrations of the students, in November 1939. In retaliation the Nazis closed all Czech universities on November 17 and deported thousands of students to concentration camps. After the war, November 17 was declared International Students' Day. Persecution was aimed chiefly against members of the Com-

munist Party, 25,000 of whom laid down their lives in the national liberation struggle.

In the so-called "Slovak State" fascism ruled. A new Constitution was adopted, establishing a corporative regime and depriving the workers of the right to their own independent trade union organization. On the other hand, the Catholic Church was given unlimited rights; since it had a great ideological hold over the common people, the priest became a pillar of the State. The Slovak economy, enriched through the confiscation of Czech and Jewish property, was going through a genuine boom period. The armaments enterprises employed half the industrial manpower. In September 1939, the Slovak Government entered the war against Poland side by side with Hitler Germany. But this policy aroused the dissatisfaction of the people, and there were expressions of resistance in many places in the Slovak army. The underground Communist Party of Slovakia, formed after the disintegration of the Republic in the spring of 1939, headed the struggle against the ruling regime for a liberated and democratic Czechoslovakia.

The policy of concessions to Hitler Germany, carried out by Great Britain and France, had one central aim–to drive Germany into war with the Soviet Union. It was thought that both countries would thus be weakened and the positions of the Western powers strengthened throughout the world.

Czechoslovak bourgeois exiles, assembled in France and Britain, identified themselves with this policy. As early as the autumn of 1939 they had founded the National Committee in France and had begun organizing military units among the Czechoslovak citizens who had fled and among those who had settled abroad. After the fall of France in 1940 the Committee moved to England and became the Czechoslovak Provisional

Government, the decisive influence in which rested with President Beneš. The West European governments did recognize this Government, but gave no guarantees that Czechoslovakia would be reconstituted within the pre-Munich boundaries. This did not come about officially until August 5, 1942.

The Provisional Government in London directed its policy towards securing positions of power for the bourgeoisie after the war. Like the Western powers, it assumed from the outset that the Soviet Union would emerge from the war as a considerably weakened country. In order to carry out these plans it was necessary, among other things, to limit the resistance of the people to the occupying forces, especially since the resistance was led by the Communist Party. Therefore London Radio constantly appealed to the Czech and Slovak people to wait for orders and for the time being not to enter into armed operations. The Government had similar aims in respect to the foreign military units in the West. In Government-in-exile circles in London, there was talk that these troops were only a "symbol" and not intended for fighting at the front, but for occupying the country and "restoring order" after victory had been won. Therefore special courses were held in Great Britain for Czechoslovak officers to enable them to take over the functions of district *hejtman*.*

Furthermore, these military units were not actually sent to the front until the end of the war at Dunkerque. (Members of the air force, on the other hand, were in action from the beginning of the war.)

During this period President Beneš held negotiations with the Polish emigré government headed by Sikorsky about forming a Czechoslovak-Polish federation, which, after the war, was to become the cornerstone of a power bloc aimed against the U.S.S.R.

* The district h e j t m a n was the chief agent of the bureaucratic state administration, taken over practically without change by the pre-Munich Republic from the Austro-Hungarian régime.

On the other hand the conception of the struggle for liberation worked out by the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which during the war was centred in Moscow, was fundamentally different from that of the London emigré Government. The Communists, as has been said, from the very beginning of the occupation carried on an uncompromising struggle against the occupying forces. They were not concerned merely with liberating the Republic. Even at that time the decision was being made whether Czechoslovakia should again be a bourgeois-democratic state after the war, or whether the people would begin to build socialism. The experiences from the time of Munich and of other periods had demonstrated that only when the working people came to power could there be a guarantee that Munich would never be repeated, that there would never be another March 15, 1939.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union. In hard battles the Soviet Army showed itself to be the only force equal to the task of halting the German aggressive armies which had up to that point been victorious in Poland, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece, Belgium, Holland and France. But in December 1941 the "Blitzkrieg" was stopped before Moscow. In the very first days of the war the Western powers joined the Soviet Union to form a coalition against Germany. Fears of the constantly strengthening position of Germany and its partners were stronger than the opposition to a socialist regime in the Soviet Union. The changed international situation also induced the Provisional Government in London to modify–at least outwardly–its anti-Soviet attitude. In July 1941, this Government was recognized by the Soviet Union as the legal government of Czechoslovakia, which considerably strengthened its position. On July 18 of the same year, the Soviet Government concluded a treaty of mutual assistance

which provided that Czechoslovak armed forces would be established on the territory of the Soviet Union. There was also great significance in the fact that the Soviet Union recognized the pre-Munich boundaries, which the Western powers had as yet hesitated to do.

After war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, there were acts of sabotage in Bohemia and Moravia, which enraged the occupationists. As a result Reinhart Heydrich was sent to Prague to replace Konstantin von Neurath as *Reichsprotektor,* and increased the terrorism still further. Therefore the London government organized the assassination of Heydrich in the summer of 1942. It was generally welcomed as an act of revenge and had a big effect on international public opinion. Of course it meant immense losses within the country, for the Nazis undertook extensive reprisals. The action that aroused the greatest indignation among the world public was the massacre of the inhabitants of the Czech village of Lidice. The open consent of the "State President" Hácha and the Protectorate government to these Nazi crimes showed them up as enemies of the nation, and lowered still further the influence of this government on the Czech people. The Czechoslovak State Council in London was forced in this connection to issue a declaration to the effect that the actions of the Hácha government in Bohemia and the Tiso government in Slovakia were a betrayal of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The terror that was let loose greatly harmed the underground organization of the Communist Party, whose Central Committee was discovered and liquidated. By the autumn of 1942, however, a new underground leadership had been set up. Losses in Communist ranks (here we must recall the execution of the distinguished writer and critic, Julius Fučík) were also caused by the fact that only the Communist Party organized active

resistance, while the underground organization directed by the London émigré government mainly engaged in conveying information.

The victorious advance of Soviet troops after the Battle of Stalingrad stirred the Czechs and Slovaks to more and more revolutionary sentiments. In 1943 the first partisan units began to be formed and to operate. The struggle against fascism fostered and consolidated the National Front, in which the anti-fascist forces were joined, and the backbone of which was the working class. Its leading element, the Communist Party, had been strengthening its organization ever since the spring of 1944, by establishing underground resistance groups. The Protectorate government, and the Czech bourgeoisie supporting it, had on the contrary become completely compromised by their subservient attitude toward Nazism.

The new successes of the Soviet Army completely destroyed the legend of the superiority of the Nazi forces. The prospect that the defeat of Germany and the liberation of Central Europe would be the work of Soviet arms became a closer reality. Under the pressure of these events the Government in London was forced to base the international political position of Czechoslovakia on the Soviet Union. Therefore the *Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Co-operation* was concluded on December 12, 1943. The people's resistance movement and the Communist Party were influential in giving effect to the treaty.

The resistance movement also gathered strength in Slovakia, where the Tiso government had entered the war against the Soviet Union without the support either of the people or even of its own army. Hence, when Czechoslovak troops that had

been fighting alongside the Soviet Army against the Nazi army distinguished themselves in the battle of Sokolovo in 1943, soldiers of the Slovak army went over to the Soviet side and joined the Czechoslovak Unit. In this way, the unit grew so large that in the spring of 1944 it became the Ist Czechoslovak Army Corps.

The advance of the Soviet Army into Polish territory in the summer months of 1944 brought to a head the political crisis of the so-called Slovak State. The state structure was shaken, and the partisan movement took on mass proportions. On August 29, 1944, the Slovak National Rising broke out. Partisan brigades occupied the most important centres in central Slovakia and were joined one by one by the military garrisons. The Communists at the same time founded the National Committees and organized the local national militia. The rising was joined by Soviet and Allied soldiers who had escaped from German prisoner-of-war camps and linked up with the Slovak partisans. The Soviet Union supported the rising directly by sending officers as commanders of partisan brigades, and by furnishing armaments, ammunition, food and other material by air. But it afforded greatest assistance by initiating the Carpathian offensive which tied down considerable enemy forces. After heavy battles in the Dukla Pass, the Soviet Army entered Czechoslovak territory on October 4, 1944.

A detachment of French partisans distinguished themselves during the Slovak Rising, particularly in the battle near Strečno on the Váh River, many of them laying down their lives in the common struggle against fascism. The Czechoslovak Government set up a monument in memory of their heroism at Strečno; a French Government delegation attended the ceremony of unveiling this monument in 1956.

The government of the Slovak State called for German SS units immediately the rising started, but they did not succeed in crushing it with any blitz attack. It was not until the end

of October 1944 that Nazi troops were able to put down the revolt over the greater part of Slovak territory. Partisan warfare, however, continued in the mountains until Slovakia was completely liberated by the Soviet Army.

The Slovak National Rising was of great importance, for the people of Slovakia had shown the whole world that they were unwilling to fight against the Soviet Union, that they wanted to liquidate the fascist Slovak State, and that they stood for a reconstruction of the Czechoslovak Republic.

In the Czech Lands, especially from the summer of 1944 on, the campaigns of the resistance movement became more and more effective. Partisans disrupted railway connections and hampered Nazi troop movements. During the Slovak National Rising many Czechs crossed the Slovak boundaries and joined the liberation forces, with the result that the death sentence was threatened for illegal crossing of the frontiers. Early in April 1945 Soviet troops, after liberating Slovakia, set foot on Moravian soil.

While the country was being liberated, the National Committees were of great service in helping the advancing Soviet Army. Immediately their areas were liberated, they took power into their hands. Similarly the Works Councils led the workers in defending their factories from destruction by the retreating German army.

The development of events forced the Government-in-exile in London, headed by President Beneš, to go to Moscow in the spring of 1945 and enter into negotiations with representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party concerning the formation of a new government and changes in internal political relationships following liberation. Representatives of the bourgeoisie

were forced to abandon their original plans to revive the pre-Munich, capitalist Republic and had to reconcile themselves to the fact that the working class, led by the Communist Party, would be the guiding force of the nation.

On April 4, 1945, in Košice (eastern Slovakia) a new Government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks was established, where for the first time in Czechoslovak history the decisive factor was not the bourgeoisie. Until Parliamentary elections could be held, the Government was to be based on the principle of parity, constituted of representatives from all political parties which had not betrayed the interests of the Republic or collaborated with the Nazis. These were the Communist Party, the Catholic People's Party, the National Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Slovak Democratic Party. Zdeněk Fierlinger, Social Democrat, became Prime Minister, and Klement Gottwald, chairman of the Communist Party, first Deputy Prime Minister. The new Government then declared its policy, known as the *Košice Government Programme,* the Communists having had a decisive voice in drawing it up. The programme expressed the fundamental demands of the national and democratic revolution. It proceeded from the concept of the complete equality of both nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks. It laid the foundations of a new foreign policy based on alliance with the Soviet Union. It declared the national committees to be the new organs of state power. The property of the occupying forces and of those members of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie who had supported that regime, was to be confiscated and put under national administration. A ban was placed on the activity of fascist parties.

The resistance movement in Bohemia reached its peak towards the end of April and the beginning of May, 1945. The Czech National Council, which had been formed as the highest body

of the resistance movement, based itself on the Košice Programme.

Judged by the results of the battles and the path of retreat chosen by the German Army, Prague was evidently to be the last line of defence of the disintegrating Hitler armies. News of the defeat of the German troops in Berlin raised the militant mood of the people to such a pitch on Saturday, May 5, that there was no force capable of holding back the Rising. The Communist Party gave the order for attack. After the first shock the Nazis launched a counter-attack: a number of buildings, among them the ancient Prague Town Hall, were shelled by German artillery, while tanks drove through the streets. The people set up barricades against them and fought heroically against superior forces. Prague Radio, which had been seized by the insurgents, called for help, and other occupied towns joined in the Rising.

During these days American Army units entered Western Bohemia. The German occupation forces and representatives of the Protectorate government tried to save themselves by negotiating for the occupation of the Czech Lands by American troops. The Soviet Command, realizing the seriousness of the situation and the danger which threatened Prague from the German troops, speeded up a regrouping of their armies operating near Berlin, and, by forced marches, tank troops reached Prague in the early morning hours of May 9. Thus the city was saved from destruction, and its people enthusiastically welcomed the Soviet troops. The plans of the German command had been thwarted, and in the next few days the remaining parts of the country were liberated. Czechoslovakia was reconstituted as a free and democratic republic.

XI THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1945-1955

THE PERIOD OF FASCIST OCCUPATION was the gravest crisis in the modern history of the Czechoslovak people. It laid bare social and political relationships within the country, showing up in their true light the position and the role of the various social classes and political parties. In 1945 came the victory of the national and democratic revolution whose driving force was provided by the common people under the leadership of the working class. The country now became a People's Democracy, a government of the National Front, which was at that time composed of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and of that part of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie that had to a greater or lesser degree participated in the resistance movement. In accordance with the Potsdam Conference decision concurred in by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the German population of the Republic which had caused great suffering to the Czech nation at the time of Munich and during the occupation, and which created the danger of a new fifth column, was now removed from the country, with the exception of anti-fascist Germans who were not affected by the decision. The border regions were re-settled by people from within the country. The financial, industrial and agrarian *haute bourgeoisie,* whose monopoly status in the pre-Munich Republic had dominated more than two-thirds of industry and together with foreign capitalists had exercised a decisive influence on the policy of all governments, was deprived of economic and political power by the national and democratic revolution. The reactionary role of this class and its betrayal of the nation, culminating under the occupation, was now made clear.

The main ally of the working class were the small peasants. Their hunger for land had not been satisfied under the pre-Munich Republic, and could be satisfied only by the working class when it came to power.

In the autumn of 1945 the nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, mines and big industry in accordance with the demands embodied in the Košice programme was carried out. In this way more than 50 per cent of industry passed into the hands of the people, while more than 1,700,000 hectares of land was distributed among 170,000 small and medium farmers and agricultural workers, which meant considerable improvement to their situation.

The outcome of these measures, whose prime mover had been the Communist Party, became evident in the first parliamentary elections held in May 1946. The Communist Party polled 38 per cent of the votes cast and became the largest party in the Republic. Together with the Social Democrats it commanded a narrow majority in Parliament. President Beneš entrusted to its chairman, Klement Gottwald, the formation of a new government.

On June 8, 1946, the new Government, in which the parties of the National Front were represented in accordance with the electoral results, presented its programme to the newly elected Constituent National Assembly. Its chief aim was within two years to prepare a new constitution that would consolidate the gains of the national and democratic revolution, chiefly the instituting of the national committees, nationalization and the new relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Further, the programme asked for the legalization of the *Two-year Economic Plan* for 1947-1948, the main aims of which were the removal of war damage, an increase in industrial production by 10 per cent over the pre-war figures and a rise in living standards. Prominent points in the programme included the industrialization of Slovakia, tax reform in favour of the workers, social security and health insurance for all sections of the working people, a new education act and regional re-organization. This programme of reconstruction was approved unanimously by the Constituent National Assembly. The pre-war level of industrial

production was reached in 1947, within two and a half years after liberation. The pre-Munich Republic, after the first world war, had taken eight years to attain this goal.

The growing success of the reconstruction aroused the resistance of the reactionaries, who were unwilling to face the loss of their privileged position. This trend became evident also in some parties of the National Front, which were joined by many persons belonging to parties that during the occupation by their collaborationist actions had sided with the enemies of the Republic, and were now prohibited. During the work on the new constitution both in the Government and in Parliament it became clear that the reactionaries did not wish to include the revolutionary provisions originally approved by all the parties of the National Front. The reactionary forces increased their pressure in questions of foreign policy as well, seeking to weaken the alliance with the Soviet Union and prevent the conclusion of a treaty with People's Democratic Poland. The efforts of the extremists were revealed above all during the poor harvest of 1947, brought on by a severe drought. They saw in the ensuing difficulties an opportunity to reverse the country's political development. The big estate-owners and rich farmers withheld their supplies of grain, and showed their hand by their slogan: "The worse it gets, the better for us." They blamed the Communists for the difficulties caused by the failure of the harvest. In these circumstances Prime Minister Klement Gottwald turned to the Soviet Government for assistance. His request was granted and Czechoslovakia received the required grain at a low price. The danger of famine which had threatened the country was averted. The Communist Party proposed to grant the small landowners at least partial compensation for losses due to the failure of the harvest by means of a new tax to be imposed on the millionaires. The non-Communist parties in the Government, including the right-wing Social Democrats began by rejecting this proposal, but when the Communist Party appealed

to the people, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party had to bow to the popular pressure and thus the "millionaire tax" was in the end approved in Parliament.

Reactionary tendencies also showed themselves in Slovakia, where the enemies of the people's democratic regime, making use of the Democratic Party leadership, fomented anti-Czech feeling and, by causing endless disputes as to the competence of the Slovak national organs and the Government of the Republic, tried to prevent the carrying out of Government measures in Slovakia. In accordance with a secret agreement in the spring of 1946, the Democratic Party made it possible for the clerical fascist circles of the banned Hlinka People's Party to make their way into the state administration on a large scale. The conspiracy plotted against the Republic by Slovak reactionary forces in alliance with certain foreign interests was now revealed. The congress of industrial works councils met in Bratislava and demanded the resignation of the Board of Commissioners (which functions as a government in Slovakia), while the Slovak peasants, who in the 1946 elections had been swayed by the demagogy of the Democratic Party, now turned away from it and favoured the Communist Party of Slovakia, which had persistently stood by the demands of the small and middle farmers, especially regarding the new land reform. The joint efforts of the workers and peasants now led to the formation of a new Board of Commissioners, capable of effectively carrying out the people's will.

Meanwhile the reactionary forces, whose influence in the non-Communist parties of the National Front had been strengthened, bent all their efforts on bringing about a government crisis. They tried to give effect to purely demagogic proposals, such as an excessive increase in the salaries of state and public employees and a blanket raising of pensions, which would have stepped up prices, undermined the stability of the currency and brought on inflation. The intention was to exploit the difficult situation

thus created to stage a *putsch* that would open the way for a restoration of capitalism.

The Communists forewarned other parties against actions which in the end would be certain to turn against them and prepared themselves for the parliamentary elections to be held in May 1948 by striving to fulfil the Two-Year Plan and by carrying out the Government's programme. They made their election slogan "To win the majority of the nation," and the workers, realizing that the Communist Party stood for the defence of their interests, entered its ranks in large numbers. When the reactionaries saw that the elections would certainly bring a Communist majority, they sought, with the example of 1920 in mind, to pass executive power on to a caretaker government which would conduct the elections to their advantage.

On the other hand the workers demanded further nationalization and a new land reform. On the initiative of the united trade union movement a Congress of Works Councils was to be convened in Prague on February 22, and on February 28-29 a Congress of Peasants' Committees, in order to consider these demands. Apprehensive of the growing popular movement, the reactionary circles speeded up their plans for a *putsch*.

On February 17 the ministers of the National Socialist, People's and Slovak Democratic parties, headed by Dr. Zenkl, Mgr. Šrámek and Dr. Kočvara respectively, broke up the meeting of the Government, taking as their pretext some minor questions of personnel in the National Security Corps, which in no way belonged to the competence of the Government, but to the Minister of the Interior. On February 20, twelve ministers submitted their resignation, which had been previously agreed upon in secret with President Beneš, while fourteen ministers continued in office. It was agreed that the President would not accept the ministers' resignation, and that they would put forward new conditions on the basis of which they might eventually participate in the Government, and that in the

handling of the crisis the Communists should as far as possible be driven out of the Government. The President was then to have nominated either a government of non-communist ministers or, if that did not succeed, to have appointed a caretaker government which had already been selected. This caretaker government would then have engineered the elections so that the Communists might lose their influence. The reactionaries counted on the support of the right-wing Social Democrats and on certain groups that they had organized in the army and in the National Security Corps.

For its part, the Communist Party turned to the people. A mass rally was called on February 21 in the Old Town Square in Prague at which the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald, reported on the reasons for the government crisis. The assembled hundreds of thousands of people voted in favour of a resolution addressed to President Beneš which asked that he accept the resignation of the reactionary ministers and that the Prime Minister supplement them by new members true to the programme of the National Front and determined to serve the interests of the People's Democratic Republic. President Beneš, however, refused to offer a clear explanation regarding the resignation of the ministers.

On Sunday, February 22, the Congress of the Works' Councils was held at which Klement Gottwald spoke. After the statement of the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Antonín Zápotocký, a resolution was proposed demanding further nationalization of enterprises with more than 50 employees, the nationalization of all wholesale trade, foreign trade, department stores, drug production, building enterprises, publishing houses, hospitals and sanatoria. Further, the resolution urged that the social insurance bill be made law without delay and that the proposal of the Central Council of Trade Unions for a practicable temporary adjustment of the salaries of state civil and public employees be put into effect. The Congress ex-

pressed its solidarity with the peasants' demands for a new land reform and to endorse all these demands a one-hour token strike was declared to be held in all enterprises and offices on Tuesday, February 24.

The reactionary parties had done all in their power to ensure that their various members attending the Congress as delegates would vote against the resolution. Yet when it came to a vote, despite all their efforts only ten out of 8,000 delegates opposed the resolution.

Meanwhile throughout the country Action Committees of the National Front were set up from the members of the parties that did not agree with the conduct of the reactionary ministers. A Central Action Committee of the National Front was established, and on it were representatives of the Communist Party, the Social Democrats, the People's Party and the National Socialists. The revived National Front considered acceptance of the resignation of the reactionary ministers as the only means of a democratic, constitutional and parliamentary solution of the crisis.

On February 24 the one-hour token strike declared by the Congress of Works Councils took place. Workers and employees voted on the resolution of the Congress, and two and half million of them approved it.

The reactionary ministers now realized that they had become generals without armies, and that even their own supporters among the working people were leaving them. Their sole hope was that President Beneš, who was still hesitating, would not accept their resignation.

On Wednesday February 23 the presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent a letter to the President, in which it maintained its position and stated that it could not enter into negotiations with ministers who had tried to break up the Republic. During the afternoon vast crowds waited in Wenceslas Square in Prague for the decision of the President,

who had invited the Prime Minister to come to his office at 4 o'clock. On his return Gottwald announced to the assembled people that President Beneš had accepted all his proposals for a new government.

Despite his contrary point of view at the beginning, President Beneš thus helped to strengthen the workers' and farmers' power in the country. He did not depart in the least from the law and the Constitution of the Republic. He was a realist in that he was able to weigh his own and his party's power and the strength of the working people. He weighed them and bowed to the will of the majority.

In Slovakia the February events were similar to those in the Czech Lands. On February 26 the all-Slovak Action Committee of the National Front was established while changes were being made in the leadership of the Democratic Party, which, reorganized as the Party of Slovak Revival, was taken over by men who had not collaborated with the former Hlinka fascist organization and was purged of reactionary elements.

On March 10th, at a session of the Constituent National Assembly, Prime Minister Klement Gottwald made a statement of policy on behalf of the new government of the revived National Front. This declaration included among its main principles the implementation of the most important part of the preceding government's programme, which due to the sabotage of the reactionary ministers, had not been fulfilled. It also envisaged specific new objectives which the Government wished to attain before the elections, some of them put forward by the national Congress of Works Councils and trade union organizations and by the Congress of the Peasant Committees. High on the list stood the nationalization of capitalist enterprises of whatever kind having more than 50 employees, and the compulsory purchasing of all estates of over 50 hectares (123 acres), of all land bought for speculation, and the allotting of it to working farmers. Discussion of the Government's policy declaration

took up the rest of March 10 and continued on the following day. Of the 300 deputies in the Assembly 251 were present, and of these 230 (106 Communists and 124 deputies of other parties) cast their vote in favour of the declaration of the Government of the revived National Front. The chief task of the Constituent National Assembly was the final preparation of a constitution, which was approved on May 9 and officially promulgated on June 9, 1948.

The *Constitution of May 9* gave legal expression to the fact that the Czechoslovak Republic is a People's Democracy engaged in building socialism, a unitary state of two Slavonic nations enjoying equal rights, the Czechs and the Slovaks. The provisions regarding the Slovak National Council as the legislative and the Board of Commissioners as the executive organ of state power in Slovakia were an expression of Slovak equality of status, provided by the Constitution. Its provisions also guaranteed the right to work, the right to a just reward for work and the right to leisure. The economic system of the Republic was declared to be based on the nationalization of mineral resources, industry, wholesale trade and banking and on the ownership of land according to the principle that "the land belongs to whoever tills it." Private ownership of land up to an area of 50 hectares was ensured to the working farmers. The Constitution guaranteed the protection of small and medium-scale enterprise and the inviolability of personal property. It also guaranteed the complete equality of men and women: women were assured the same access to education as men and to all occupations, offices and awards, while the principle of equal pay for equal work was guaranteed. National, religious or racial discrimination in any form was banned. All schools were declared to come under state supervision and all citizens had the right to education. The Constitution legalized the National Committees (local, district and regional) as the local organs of state authority. Through these measures the principle that the people is the only source

of state power, written into the Constitution of the pre-war Republic, changed from a mere phrase into reality.

On May 30 elections were held to the National Assembly, and the revived National Front had a unified list of candidates. Opposition to the list was expressed by handing in a blank ballot. Over 90 per cent of all eligible voters took part in the election. Of the 7,200,000 eligible voters, 6,400,000 (89·3 per cent) cast their vote for the National Front, while 770,000 (10·7 per cent) handed in blank ballot papers.

On June 7 President Beneš resigned. On June 14 in the historic Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle Klement Gottwald was unanimously elected President of the Republic by the National Assembly. A day later a new Government was nominated without major changes having as Prime Minister Antonín Zápotocký, a trade union worker of long standing and a leading member of the Communist Party.

The unity of the working class was strengthened in the February struggles with the bourgeoisie. The rightist elements among the Social Democrats were revealed to be working against the interests of the people, while the left wing supported the policy of the Communist Party. As a consequence in June 1948 the Social Democratic and the Communist parties joined forces, and thus after many years the working class was politically re-united.

The two-year plan of reconstruction having been successfully completed, the Republic set out to realize its first *Five-Year Plan* (1949-1953). Its task was basically to change the structure of industry by means of preferential development of heavy industry, especially engineering. The expansion of heavy industry created the necessary foundation for the development of the whole economy on a socialist basis, for the equipment of industry, agriculture, transport and other enterprises with modern technique. On such a basis a rise in labour productivity and in the material and cultural living standards of the working

people was assured. A rapid economic development of Slovakia, eliminating its backwardness and raising it to the level of the Czech Lands, formed an important part of these changes, for only in this way could the equality of both nations be made real. The five-year plan laid also the bases for the socialist reconstruction of the village. Agricultural output still lagged considerably behind that of industry, since large-scale production in the pre-war Republic had been limited to the big estates, and was unable to meet the growing needs of industry and the whole population. Moreover, the resources of mechanization and modern agricultural technique could not be taken advantage of on the small farms: the only choice, as shown by the Soviet experience, was gradually to unite the individual farms in agricultural co-operatives.

The first Five-Year Plan was successfully completed, including the basic purpose of developing heavy industry and engineering. Industrial production in 1953, having attained its planned objectives, was double that of 1929, the year of maximum production in the pre-war period, while production per head increased two and half times, outstripping even a great power like France in this respect. Especially satisfactory was the industrialization of Slovakia, where industrial production increased 4·5 times compared with 1937. Agricultural co-operatives were established in nearly one-half of all villages and, together with the state farms, cultivated about a half of the total farm land. The planned economy removed unemployment and considerably increased the purchasing power of the population. In view of these good results it was possible in June 1953 to carry out a monetary reform, abolish rationing and introduce a free market.

While the years of the Nazi occupation brought a severe falling-off in cultural life, the period after 1945 was marked by an unusual advance in science, art and education generally.

Many more schools were established and the number of students admitted to the university rose very considerably. New scientific and research institutes were founded under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Czechoslovak Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

A major share of the credit for the promotion of science is due to the President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Academician Zdeněk Nejedlý (born 1878). Of his great contribution to the nation's learning the most distinguished works are his history of the Hussite chorale, the studies of the composers Bedřich Smetana and Zdeněk Fibich, the *History of the Opera in the National Theatre,* a book on V. I. Lenin, numerous literary studies (e.g. on Božena Němcová and Alois Jirásek) and *The History of the Czech Nation* (in preparation).

In literature there was an artistic maturing of the great poet Vítězslav Nezval (died 1958) in his post-war poetry (including the well-known *Song of Peace*), of the novelist Marie Pujmanová (died 1958) in her *People at the Crossroads, Playing with Fire* and *Life Against Death* and of the writer Václav Řezáč (died 1956) in his novels *Fall In* and *The Battle.* Of the younger generation the most prominent names are Jan Drda (born 1915) with his stories *Silent Barricade* and novel *A Town in the Palm of Your Hand,* Karel Ptáčník (born 1921) with his novel *Born 1921,* Jan Otčenášek (born 1924) with his novels *In Full Stride, Citizen Brych* and *Romeo, Juliet and the Darkness,* and Pavel Kohout (born 1928) with his play *A Love Like That.*

Among modern Czech writers a special place of honour is held by Julius Fučík (1903-1943), the heroic fighter against fascism executed by the Nazis. His *Report from the Gallows,* written in a Nazi gaol, is the most translated of Czech books: up to 1957 it had been translated into 71 languages in 35 countries, and published in 157 editions. Fučík's journalistic writings and literary criticism are also estimated very highly.

In the field of art the best results have hitherto been achieved by artists capable of basing their work on traditions of long standing: in sculpture, Karel Pokorný (born 1891), Karel Lidický (born 1900) and Vincent Makovský (born 1900); in painting, Karel Svolinský (born 1896) and Adolf Zábranský (born 1909); and in graphic art, Cyril Bouda (born 1901).

Czech music after 1945 did not fall short of its pre-war reputation. The composers best known abroad are Alois Hába (born 1893) and Václav Dobiáš (born 1909). As to concert-hall performances, pride of place goes to chamber music ensembles like the Smetana, Vlach and Janáček quartets, the wind quintet and the Czech Nonet.

Czech films such as *The Emperor and the Baker, John Hus, New Fighters Shall Arise, Born 1921, Invention of Destruction* and *The Wolf's Lair* have won awards at a number of International Festivals and been appreciated by audiences in many lands. The puppet films of Jiří Trnka (born 1912), who was well known before the war as an illustrator, have further enhanced the standing of the cinema.

In post-war Slovakia the progress of culture has kept pace with that in the Czech Lands and in some fields pushed ahead. Of Slovak writers and poets we may mention the writer František Hečko (born 1905) with his novel *Wooden Village,* Katarína Lazarová (born 1914) with her novel *Wasps' Nest* and the poets Vojtech Mihálik (born 1926) and Milan Lajčiak (born 1926).

There are painters like Martin Benka (born 1888), Ladislav Guderna (born 1921) and Mária Medvecká (born 1914), graphic artists like Vincent Hložník (born 1919) and Orest Dubay (born 1919), and the sculptor Rudolf Pribiš (born 1913).

Some excellent Slovak films like *Native Land* and *Fourty-four* have recently been made.

In music the compositions of Eugen Suchoň (born 1908), such as *Krútňava,* and of Ján Cikker (born 1911), with his operas *Jánošík* and *Beg Bajazid,* are internationally known. The Slovak Philharmonic has established itself as a fine orchestra.

When the outstanding statesman Klement Gottwald died in March 1953, Antonín Zápotocký was elected President of the Republic, and the task of forming a new government was entrusted to Viliam Široký, a prominent figure in the Slovak Communist movement. After the 1954 elections for the National Assembly, in which the candidates of the National Front were successful, the new Government continued in office.

During 1954-1956 the chief political and economic problem was to overcome certain difficulties in the country's development that had not been solved during the first Five-year Plan. First of all, there was the serious disproportion between socialist industry and agriculture, for despite all that had been achieved, agricultural production remained basically at the pre-war level and was thus a serious obstacle to a more rapid rise in living standards. Therefore the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party in June 1954 adopted as the chief directive for the further building of socialism the attaining of a balance in the development of the national economy, on which any future rise in the living standard would rest. This was the main responsibility of the economic plans for 1954 and 1955, which were to prepare the way for the second Five-year Plan (1956-1960). The directives were discussed at the state-wide Conference of the Communist Party in June 1956, which also provided a stimulus to the carrying out of further measures of democratization in public life. The Czechoslovak economy was charged with the task of increasing production per head so as to overtake and surpass even the most developed capitalist countries. The second

Five-year Plan was a great step forward in the attaining of this goal.

Under the People's Democratic Republic there has been an unparalleled economic, political and cultural advance. The Republic's security has been assured by strong alliances and friendly association with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other People's Democracies. Czechoslovakia continues to do all in its power to extend and deepen friendly economic, scientific and cultural contacts with non-socialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

If we review the whole course of Czechoslovak history, we see that certain dominant motifs constantly recur: the unyielding struggle for national survival, the passion for social justice, the urge for democracy–in the economic and social as well as in the political sense. To the quest for these noble aims the most famous periods of the national history have been dedicated: the Hussite movement, the national revival of the Czechs and the Slovaks culminating in the Revolution of 1848, and the revolutionary working-class movement of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the People's Democracy of Czechoslovakia these objectives find their realization: the age-old fight for national independence has been won, the working people are assured of constantly improving living standards, the right to work is guaranteed and the grim threat of unemployment and hunger banished, and the people have become the real rulers of the country.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

600 Samo's Empire (624-659).

800 The Great Moravian Empire. Mojmír I (830-846); Rastislav (846 to 870); Svatopluk (871-894). Beginnings of feudalism in Bohemia.

900 Fall of the Great Moravian Empire *circa* 906. Formation of the early feudal Czech State: Prince Václav (921-929); Boleslav I and II (929 to 999); establishing of bishopric in Prague (973).

1000 Slovakia attached to Hungary during the reign of Istvan I of Hungary (995-1038); the Czech Prince Vratislav II gains the royal crown (1085). Slavonic literature and culture supplanted by Latin. Development of Romanesque style in art.

1100 Struggles of the Czech State for independence from the Holy Roman Empire. Strengthening of position of the Czech nobility (importance of hereditary ownership of land).

1200 Economic development in the 13th century (colonization, growth of towns, silver mining). Aggressive policy of Přemysl II (1253-1278); conquest of the Alpine territories; the Czech State as a great Power. Václav II (1283-1305).

1300 Czech dominion in Poland and Hungary. Dying out of Přemyslides (1306). Accession of Luxemburg dynasty (1310-1437). King John (1310-1346). Silesia and Lusatia annexed to the Czech State. Establishment of archbishopric in Prague (1344). Charles I (1346-1378). Foundation of the University in Prague (1348). Progress in all fields of Czech literature (Tomáš Štítný). Flowering of Gothic art. Prague one of the foremost cities of Europe. Charles becomes Holy Roman Emperor.

1400 Václav IV (1378-1419). Jan Hus (d. 1415) and the Hussite Revolutionary Movement (1419-1434). Jan Žižka of Trocnov (d. 1424); foundation of Tábor (1420); Prokop the Great (d. 1434); Sigismund of Luxemburg (1436-1437). Jiří of Poděbrady (1458-1471). Crusades against George by the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus. Petr Chelčický (d. 1460). Foundation of the Unity of Brethren. Polish Jagellon

dynasty (1471-1526). Rise of the Czech-Hungarian State (1490). Beginnings of Czech humanism. Late Gothic.

1500 Rule of the feudal oligarchy under the Jagellons. Struggles between nobility and burghers. Austrian Hapsburgs elected to Czech throne (1526-1918). Anti-Hapsburg movement of burghers suppressed (1547). Spread of Lutheranism. Development of burgher culture (humanism and the Renaissance). Cultural activity of the Unity of Brethren. Jan Blahoslav. Fights with the Turks reaching to the borders of Slovakia.

1600 Rudolf II (1576-1612) transfers seat of the Holy Roman Empire to Prague. Opposition of Protestant nobility. Decree on religious freedom (1609). Anti-Hapsburg revolt of the Czech Estates (1618-1620) and its defeat at the battle of the White Mountain (1620). Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Loss of Lusatia to Saxony (1635). Forcible re-Catholicization. Swedish armies in the Czech Lands. Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius; d. 1671). Hapsburgs invite foreign nobility to the country. Mass revolt of Czech serfs (1680). Beginnings of manufacture in the Czech Lands. Baroque art.

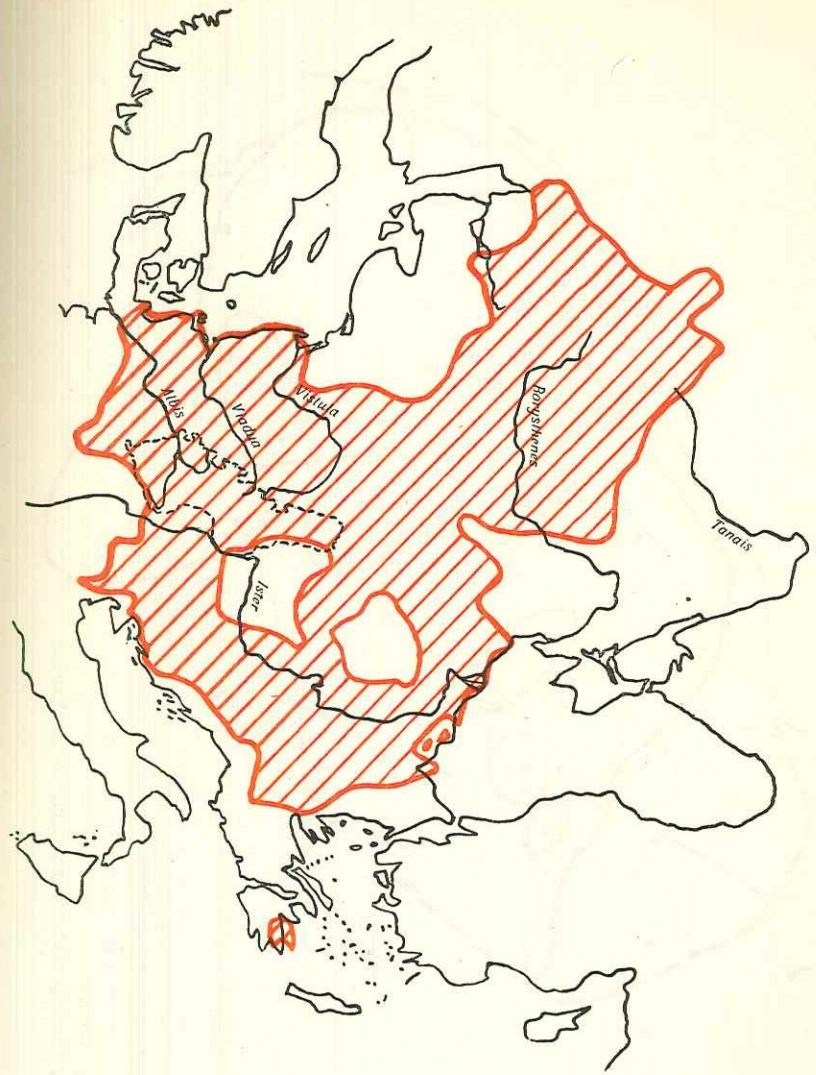
1700 Absolutist monarchy of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790). Growth of textile production and glass manufacture. Silesia lost to Prussia (1763). Large-scale revolt of serfs in the Czech Lands (1775). Abolition of serfdom (in the Czech Lands, 1781; in Hungary, 1785) opens the way to further development of capitalism. Rise of bourgeoisie and proletariat. Germanizing policy of Hapsburg Government. National movement in the Czech Lands and Slovakia. Czech music becomes known abroad.

1800 Napoleonic Wars (1801-1813). Metternich's reactionary absolutism in the Hapsburg Monarchy. Beginnings of industrial revolution. Progress of national movement in the Czech Lands and Slovakia. Rise of Slovak literary language. 1848 revolution in the Czech Lands and Slovakia. Franz Josef I (1848-1916) and the absolutist regime. Defeat of Austria in the war with Italy (1859). Beginnings of a constitutional regime, 1860. Defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866. Creation of a dualist Austria-Hungary, 1867. Magyarization of Slovakia. Growth of workers' revolutionary movement. Foundation of Czecho-Slavonic Social Democratic Workers' Party, 1878. Development of heavy industry and engineering in the Czech Lands in the second half of the 19th century. Beginnings of the second industrial revolution. Literary and cultural achievements in the second half of the century. World-wide recognition of Smetana and Dvořák.

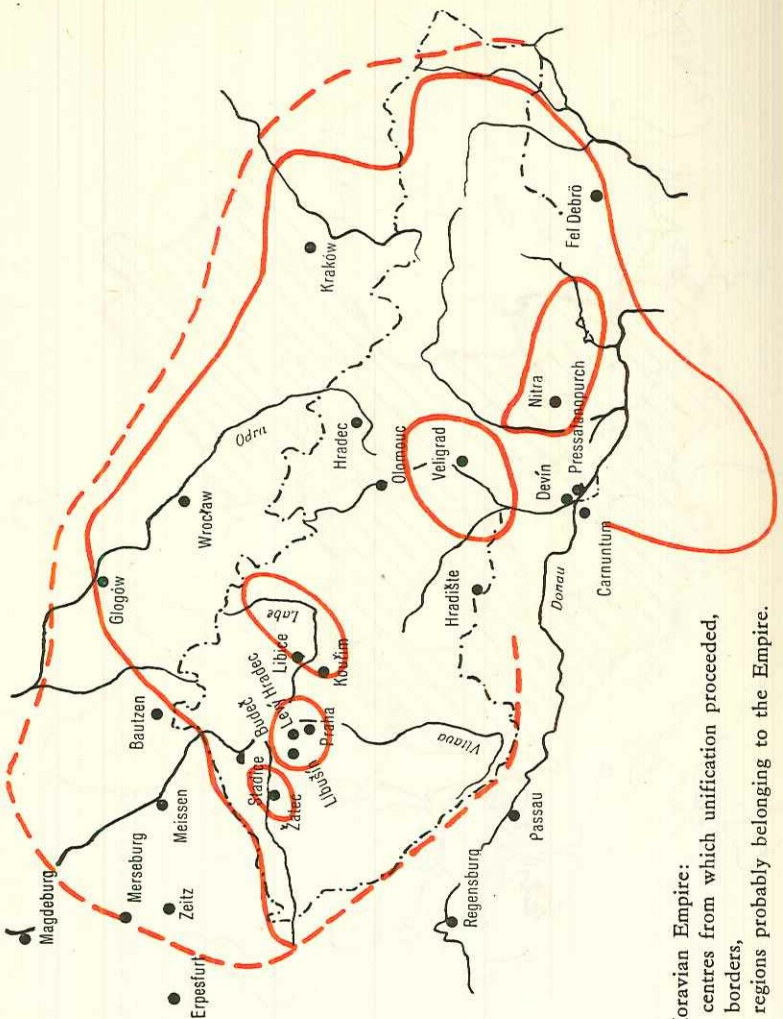
1900 Struggle of workers for universal suffrage. Influence of Russian Revolution of 1905. Winning of universal suffrage (1905-1907). The first World War (1914-1918): collapse of Austria-Hungary and establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, October 28, 1918. Struggle over trend of further development of the Republic (1918-1920): victory of bourgeoisie. Foundation of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1921). Impact of world economic crisis (1929-1934). Conclusion of Treaty of Alliance with the USSR (1935). Growing danger of fascism (in German-populated areas of the Republic and in Slovakia). Rise of Nazi movement led by Konrad Henlein: attempts to separate border regions from the Republic. Munich Agreement of the Four Powers, September 29, 1938.

Setting up of the "Slovak State" (March 14, 1939) and occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Nazi Germany, known as the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" (March 15, 1939). The second World War (1939-1945). Czechoslovak Government-in-exile in London. Conclusion of treaties with the USSR (1941, 1943). Slovak National Rising (August 1944). Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Prague Rising of May 5, 1945.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as mainstay of new Government of the National Front. Its victory in the parliamentary elections of 1946. Government of Klement Gottwald (1946-1948). Failure of February putsch of the bourgeois parties (1948). First Five-year Plan (1949-1953).



Slav settlements in the 10th century: regions of Europe settled by Slavonic tribes.



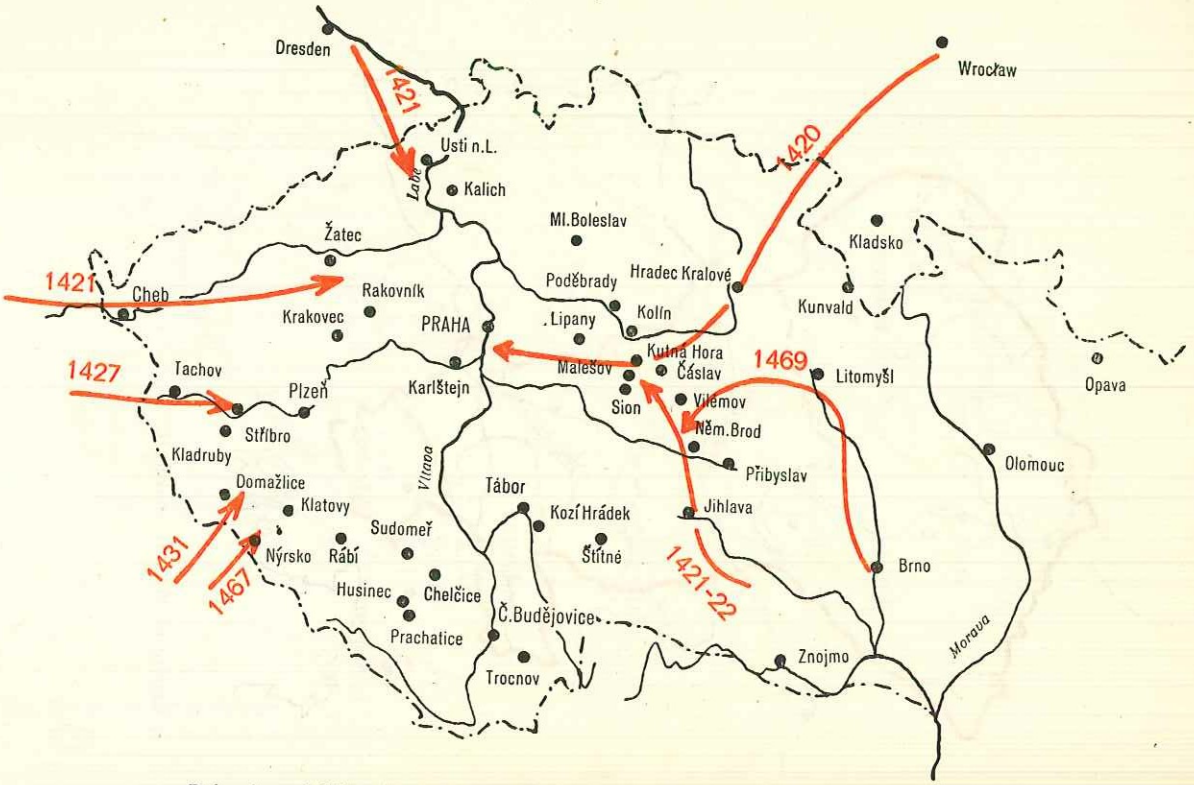
The Great Moravian Empire:

centres from which unification proceeded,

borders,

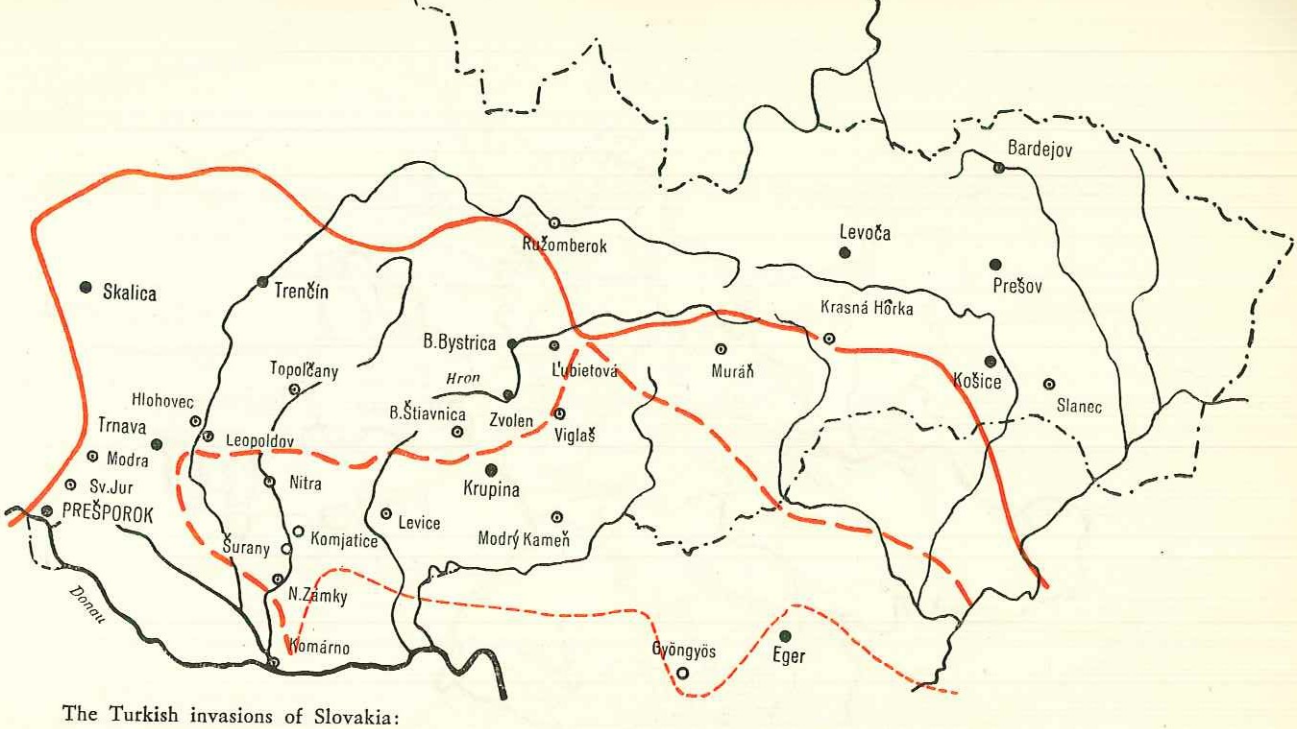
regions probably belonging to the Empire.

The Empire of Přemysl Otakar II.



Bohemia and Moravia in Hussite times, showing the routes of the invading crusaders.

The Hapsburg Empire in 1526.



The Turkish invasions of Slovakia:

- ● fortified towns
- ⊙ large castles
- ○ smaller fortresses

- ——— extent of Turkish occupation in the 17th century
- – – – extent of Turkish occupation in the 16th century
- ----- borders of the Ottoman Empire.

Disintegration of Austria-Hungary in 1918.

INDEX

Academy of Fine Arts 79
Agricola, Georg 66
Aleš, Mikoláš 97
Arnold, Emanuel 82, 88
Avars 15

Bach, Alexander 88
Bakunin, M. A. 88
Benda, Jiří Antonín 79
Beneš, Dr. Eduard 104, 124, 126, 127, 137, 142, 148, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156
Benka, Martin 159
Beran, Rudolf 127
Bernolák, Antonín 80
Bethlehem Chapel 46
Bezruč, Petr 130
Bible of Kralice 66
Bílek, František 131
Blahoslav, Jan 66
Bohúň, Peter 98
Boians 13
Boleslav I 26
Boleslav II 26
Bouda, Cyril 159
Božek, Josef 76
Brandl, Peter 79
Braun, Matthias 79
Brixi, František Xaver 79
Brokof, Ferdinand 79
Brokof, Jan 79
Brožík, Václav 97
Burian, Karel 130

Čák, Matúš 39
Čapek, Josef 130
Čapek, Karel 129
Čech, Svatopluk 96
Čelakovský, František Ladislav 78
Celts 13
Čermák, Jaroslav 97
Chalupka, Ján 80
Chamberlain, Neville 126, 127
Charlemagne 17
Charles I (IV) 39, 40, 41, 45
Chelčický, Petr 56
Chittussi, Antonín 97
Cikker, Ján 160
Compactata of Basel 51
Constantine (Cyril) 19
Constitution of May 9, 155
Cosmas 9, 30
Cotines 13
Council of Constance 47
Cromwell, Oliver 50
Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences 96
Czech National Council 143
Czech Philharmonic 130
Czech Quartet 130

Czechoslovak Academy of Agricultural Sciences 158
Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 158
Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Co-operation 140

Daladier, Edouard 127
Dante 36
Destinnová, Ema 130
Dientzenhofer, Kilian Ignaz 78
Dobiáš, Václav 159
Dobrovský, Josef 77
Drändorff, Johann 52
Drda, Jan 158
Dubay, Orest 159
Dubravius, Jan 62
Dunajský, Ladislav 98
Dvořák, Antonín 98

Engels, Friedrich 94
Erben, Karel Jaromír 96

Ferdinand I 61
Ferdinand V 75, 83
Fibich, Zdeněk 98, 158
Filla, Emil 130
Five-Year Plans 156, 160, 161
Four Articles of Prague 49
Franz I 75
Franz Josef I (Francis Joseph) 86, 88
Frederick of Palatinate 64
Frič, Josef Václav 82, 88
Fučík, Julius 139, 158
Fulla, Ľudovít 131

Galanda, Mikuláš 131
Gerstner, František Antonín 76
Gottwald, Klement 121, 135, 143, 148, 149, 152, 154, 156
Grégr, Julius 89
Guderna, Ladislav 159

Hába, Alois 159
Hácha, Dr. Emil 128, 139
Hájek of Hájek, Tadeáš 66
Haken, Josef 113
Halder, General 125
Hašek, Jaroslav 105, 129
Havlíček-Borovský, Karel 81, 87
Hečko, František 159
Henlein, Konrad 123, 124, 125
Heydrich, Reinhart 139
Hitler, Adolf 119, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128
Hlinka, Andrej 103, 120, 123, 125, 128
Hložník, Vincent 159
Hodža, Michal Miloslav 87
Hollar, Václav 68
Hora, Josef 130
Hostinský, Otakar 98
Hurban, Jozef Miloslav 87
Huns 14
Hus, Jan 40, 46
Hviezdoslav, Pavel Országh 98

Ibrahim Ibn Jacob 26

Janáček, Leoš 130
Jesenský, Janko 131
Jessenius, Jan 66
Jilemnický, Peter 131
Jirovec, Vojtěch 80
Jiří (George) of Poděbrady 55
Johann von Saaz 41
John of Luxemburg 38, 39
Joseph II 73
Jungmann, Josef 77

Kepler, Johannes 67
Kisch, Egon Erwin 130
Klemens, Jozef Božetěch 98
Kočvara, Dr. 151
Kohout, Pavel 158
Kolben, Emil 99
Kollár, Jan 78, 80
Komenský (Comenius), Jan Ámos 68
Kosárek, Adolf 97
Kossuth, Lajos 86
Košice Government Programme 143, 148
Kozí Hrádek 47
Koželuh, Leopold 80
Král, Janko 80
Kramář, Karel 104, 111, 112
Křižík, František 92, 99
Kryštof Harant of Polžice 67
Kubelík, Jan 130
Kubín, Otakar (Coubine Othon) 130
Kudlich, Hans 86
Kukučín, Martin 98, 131
Kupecký, Jan 79

Lajčiak, Milan 159
La Tène culture 13
Laurin and Klement 99
Lazarová, Katarína 159
Leopold II 75
Lidice 139
Lidický, Karel 159
Lipany, the battle of 51
Ludvík Jagellon 56, 57

Mácha, Karel Hynek 78
Makovský, Vincenc 159
Mánes, Josef 97
Marcomanni 13
Marcus Aurelius 14
Maria Theresa 73
Martinů, Bohuslav 130
Mařák, Julius 97
Mařák, Otakar 130
Marx, Karl 94
Masaryk, T. G. 102, 103, 104, 113, 114, 117, 123, 124
Master of Třeboň 42
Master of Vyšší Brod 42
Master Theodoric 42
Matica Slovenská 90, 132
Matúška, Janko 87
Matthias of Arras 41
Matthias of Hapsburg 64
Medvecká, Mária 159
Melantrich, Jiří 67
Mersault, Gilles 52
Methodius 19
Metternich, Count Klemens Wenzel 75
Míča, František 79
Mihálik, Vojtech 159
Moyzes, Mikuláš 131
Mussolini, Benito 127
Myslbek, Josef Václav 97
Mysliveček, Josef 79

Navrátil, Josef 97
Nejedlý, Zdeněk 130, 158
Němcová, Božena 96
Neruda, Jan 96
Neumann, Stanislav Kostka 130
Neurath, Konstantin von 139
Nezval, Vítězslav 130, 158
Novák, Vítězslav 130

Ondříček, František 130
Otčenášek, Jan 158

Palacký, František 77, 81, 87, 89
Parler, Peter 42
Pavol of Levoča 58
Payne, Peter 52

people of Lusatia 12
people of the barrows 12
people of the urn fields 12
people of Únětice 12
Perner, Jan 76
Petrarch 41
Pokorný, Karel 159
Přemysl I 29
Přemysl II 35, 36
Pribina, Prince 18
Pribiš, Rudolf 159
Procházka, Josef 78
Prokop the Great 51
Předmostí u Přerova 10
Ptáčník, Karel 158
Pujmanová, Marie 158
Purkyně, Jan Evangelista 78
Purkyně, Karel 97

Quadi 13

Rainer, Vavřinec 79
Rastislav 18
Reiser, Friedrich 52
Rejcha, Antonín 30
Rejsek, Matouš 58
Rejt, Benedikt 58
Ressel, Josef 76
Řezáč, Václav 158
Richard II 42
Richter, František Xaver 79
Royal Czech Society of Sciences 77
Rudolf II 64, 66
Runciman, Lord 125

Sabina, Karel 82, 88
Šafárik, Pavol Jozef 77
Šalda, František Xaver 130
Šaloun, Ladislav 131
Samo, Empire of 15
Santini, Giovanni 78
Schneider-Trnavský, Mikuláš 131
Seifert, Jaroslav 130
Ševčík, Otakar 130
Sigismund of Luxemburg 48, 49
Široký, Viliam 160
Skála, Pavel of Zhoř 68
Škréta, Karel 79
Škroup, František 97
Sládek, Josef Václav 96
Sládkovič, Andrej 80
Sladkovský, Josef 89
Slovak Academy of Sciences 158
Slovak National Rising 141-2
Slovak Philharmonic 160
Šmeral, Bohumír 113
Smetana, Bedřich 97, 158
Smrek, Ján 131
Sokol, Koloman 131
Špála, Josef 130
Šrámek, Fráňa 130
Šrámek, Mgr. Jan 151
Stamic, Jan Václav 79
Štefánik, Milan Rastislav 104
Stránský, Pavel 68
Štúr, Ľudovít 80, 84, 87
Štursa, Jan 131
Suchoň, Eugen 160
Suk, Josef 130
Švabinský, Max 131
Svatopluk 19, 20, 22
Švehla, Antonín 116
Šverma, Jan 135
Svolinský, Karel 159
Syrový, Jan 127

Tajovský, J. G. 131
Talich, Václav 130
Thököly, Imre 75
Thurn, Jindřich Matyáš of 64
Tiso, Jozef 128
Tomáš of Štítné 40
Trajan 14
Trnka, Jiří 159
Turnow, Peter 52
Tusar, Vlastimil 112, 113
Two-Year Economic Plan 148
Tycho de Brahe 67
Tyl, Josef Kajetán 78

Unity of Czech Brethren 56

Václav, Prince 25
Václav I 37
Václav II 35, 36, 37
Václav III 37
Václav IV 40, 47, 48
Velehrad 20
Veverka 76
Vladislav II 29
Vladislav II (Jagellon) 56
Vořišek, Hugo 80
Vranický Pavel 80
Vrchlický, Jaroslav 96
Všehrdy, Viktorin Kornel of 57

White Mountain, battle of 65
Wilson, Woodrow 105, 107
Windischgrätz, Alfred 85
Wolker, Jiří 130
Wycliffe, John 46

Zábranský, Adolf 159
Zápotocký, Antonín 113, 114, 152, 156
Želivský, Jan 48
Zenkl, Dr. Petr 151
Zítek, Josef 97
Živnostenská banka (Živnobanka) 92, 110, 115
Žižka, Jan 49, 50
Zrzavý, Jan 131

GUIDE TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES IN CZECH

The stress is always on the first syllable. The accent ′ placed above a vowel indicates length:

á = aa, é = ee, etc.

Otherwise:

c = ts
č = tch
ě = je
ň = nj
ř = rsh
š = sh
ů = long u
z = voiced s
ž = voiced sh

Dr. FRANTIŠEK KAVKA

AN OUTLINE OF CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY

Orbis - Prague
1960

Translated from the Czech by Jarmila and Ian Milner
Cover design and lay-out by Miloslav Fulín
301/02
D 583 461

Price 10 Kčs

©