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East European Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1

FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ (1798-1876): A CENTENNIAL APPRECIATION*

Joseph Frederick Zacek
State University of New York at Albany

The studies that follow were originally presented, along with others, at an international symposium to commemorate the centenary of the death of František Palacký, organized by me and held at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., in August, 1976. In all, twenty-five papers written by scholars from seven countries were presented, research papers and essays dealing with varied aspects of the life and career of the "Father of the Czech Nation."

Commemorative volumes have been published on the anniversaries of Palacký's birth and death in the past, notably in 1898, 1926, 1946 and 1968. The ten selections published here, however, comprise the first such cooperative effort ever published on Palacký outside the Czech lands. Some of the earlier collections included contributions by non-Czech authors–French, English, German, even American. Without exception, they were brief, general eulogies and reminiscences, quite unlike the serious scholarly treatments to be found here–in itself convincing evidence of how far the professional study of Czech history has come outside of the Czech lands, since Palacký himself launched the discipline. Like its predecessors, this anniversary work focuses on Palacký's major roles–historian, statesman, mainspring of the Czech "National Awakening"–but it is more candid, I think, in evaluating his performance in them and in assessing the lasting worth of what he accomplished. Svejkovská's detailed comparison of the Czech and German versions of Palacký's *History* is unique, and in the absence of a proper scholarly biography of the man in any language, the intimate treatments of his personality and private life

*This issue of the *East European Quarterly* comprises selected papers presented at an international symposium commemorating the centenary of the death of "The Father of the Czech Nation," held at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. on August 14, 1976. The papers have been edited by Joseph Frederick Zacek and the Czech translations are the work of George Svoboda.

(including his relationships with women) by Hoffmannová and Šubrtová are particularly welcome.

Although the one-hundredth anniversary of Palacký's death in 1976 was recognized as a "world cultural event" by no less a body than UNESCO, his own countrymen's celebration of it has been disorganized, belated, and rather indecisive. Most active was the National Museum in Prague, which sponsored a two-day program of lectures in May, 1976, some of which were published in its own journal, the *Časopis národního muzea.* The Museum also struck a commemorative medal, prepared a short film on Palacký, and coordinated various exhibits and ceremonies elsewhere—at Palacký's home and monument in Prague, his gravesite in Lobkovice, the Literary Archive of a the Museum of Czech Literature at Strahov, the State Central Archive, and Palacký University at Olomouc. A series of lectures was also presented by the venerable Historický klub in Prague.

As to publications, no official *sborník* has yet appeared, although one is reported in progress under the auspices of Charles University. As in the past, some of Palacký's smaller works have been republished, and some compendia of excerpts from his writings have appeared. An entire issue of the *Slovanský přehled* was devoted to articles about him, and a new guide to the Palacký and Rieger family papers in the Archive of the National Museum was compiled by Hoffmannová. I expect to prepare a critical inventory of all publications connected with the 1976 centenary when they have finally appeared and reached me, together with all other publications on Palacký which have appeared since mid-1968 (including the ground-breaking studies of Josef Válka and Josef Haubelt). Works that appeared before mid-1968 have been listed and discussed in the bibliographical essay included in my *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist*, which appeared in 1970.

For assistance in preparing this publication, my thanks, first of all, to Dr. George Svoboda, for preparing the original English translations of the papers submitted by Czech authors; to Professor Josef Anderle, for co-chairing the symposium; to the other fifteen authors whose papers, purely for reasons of limited space, could not be printed here; to the group of American colleagues who generously agreed to present (and in some cases to prepare) abridged versions of the papers of authors who could not attend the symposium personally; to the State University of New York at Albany, for funds to cover translation and typing costs; to Ms. Andrea Merényi, for her efficient typing of the difficult manuscript; and—not the least—to Stephen Fischer-Galati, for agreeing to devote an issue of the *East European Quarterly* to the "Velký Čech."

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FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CZECH NATIONALISM

František Kutnar
Charles University, Prague

Modern Czech patriotism and nationalism evolved under the specific political, socio-economic, and cultural conditions which arose in the Czech lands after the breakup of the medieval Czech state and the victory of the Habsburgs and the Catholic church in seventeenth-century Bohemia. The sovereignty of the Czech state gradually faded. In time, the nation lost its nobility and its creative cultural groups. The majority of the non-Catholic nobility emigrated. The language and the attitudes of the noble families which remained or came to Bohemia from abroad to seize estates inclined toward the principles of the Viennese government. German, the language of the governing classes, was also accepted by the church nobility and the wealthy urban population. In this way, the affluent townsmen attempted to reach the social and cultural level of the governing groups. Under the given circumstances, the nation consisted of rural serfs, urban artisans, tiny groups of intellectuals, and increasing numbers of the poor in towns and villages. In the new economic, social, and ideological milieu, the society and culture of the modern nation was formed by these groups. This long and difficult process manifested itself in different forms and with various degrees of intensity. Favorable stimulation was provided by the economic reconstruction after the Thirty Years' War and later by the economic and social reforms of Enlightened Absolutism, modern rationalism, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and the revolutionary movements of the first half of the nineteenth century. Czech national awareness, thought, and action reacted to these historical phenomena vigorously.

After the battle of White Mountain and the Thirty Years' War, the Czech population drew upon the older heritage of national thought. The period saw no abrupt or distinct decline of national consciousness and thought. Abroad, in culturally and politically developed Western Europe, the Czech emigration achieved the climax of Czech national thought. The continuation of the ideological level of the period before the Thirty Years' War was unbroken, but was enriched with new, progressive elements. The

classic definition of a nation by the educator Jan Ámos Komenský in his *Gentis felicitas* of 1659 can serve as evidence. The definition is remarkable in its conception of the components which constitute a national society and its theory of the bonds uniting the individual with the national totality. The succint Latin original of the definition is the following: "Gens seu natio est hominum eadem stirpe prognatorum, eodem mundi loco / velut communi domo, quam patriam vocant / habitantium, eodem linguae idiomate utentium et eodem iisdem communis amoris, concordiae et pro publico bono studii vinculis colligatorum multitudo."—"A nation is a great number of people born of the same tribe, living in the same place in the world (as in a common house which they call their country), speaking the same special language, united by the same mutual bonds of natural love, concord, and efforts for the common good."

Komenský clearly defines three objective elements of a nation: the unity or community of origin, territory, and language. However, they do not automatically form a nation as a higher, conscious social unit. A nation is the result of social relations and connections that originate in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. Komenský views a nation as a unit having a collective will and manifesting natural egotism in an effort to achieve the common good and prosperity. Komenský's approach to the existence of a social order based on the feudal privileges of the Estates was basically positive, even though he criticized it and tried to improve it. Naturally, he did not arrive at the concept of a national state. Komenský demanded of the ruler and the aristocracy that they use the national language. He saw in government by foreigners and the deprivation of the Estates of their liberties the end of national dignity and slavery.

Komenský's criticism of foreign supremacy and his condemnation of those Czechs who yielded meekly to the rule of foreigners and accommodated themselves to their arbitrariness reminds us of the work of a Jesuit, Bohuslav Balbín. This Czech historian analyzed the unfortunate economic, political, and cultural situation in Bohemia after the battle of White Mountain and the Thirty Years' War in his booklet *De regni Bohemiae felici quondam, nunc calamitoso statu* (1672), which is usually known under the title of its later, enlightened editor, František Martin Pelcl, as *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua slavonica, praecipue bohemica* (1775). The author condemned the administration of Bohemia, reaching the conclusion that the universal catastrophe of this country had been the result of rule by foreigners. Balbín's essay, a defense of the old Czech state and Czech language and a critical reaction to the reversal of fortunes in the country, to the rule of unenlightened absolutism, and to foreign

supremacy could not be published until more than a century after its origin.

Both of these educated representatives of Czech national and political thinking of the seventeenth century acknowledged the social values of the privileged nobility and clergy. However, Czech writers living at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the common people saw the social base of a nation in the gentry and peasantry. They recognized the serfs not only as the population source of a nation but also as the guarantor and the preserver of its language. A baroque booklet, *Obroviště mariánského atlanta* (1704), written in Czech by a country priest, Antonín Frozín, expressed this encouraging notion and conviction. Though devoted to the cult of Mary, the essay also manifested a firm hope in the future of the Czech nation and provided a description of the national situation in the country. The striking and numerous preponderance of Czechs over Germans and the fact that the nucleus of the population of Bohemia was formed by Czech farmers and laborers with a rising birthrate seemed to prove the assumption about the vitality of the Czech nation.

The economic, social, political, and cultural situation of the Czech nation deteriorated until the fifties of the eighteenth century. The Czech language was gradually suppressed in schools, in the administration of estates, towns, and the governing organs, and in the diet. The purity of the language also declined. While the narrow circle of intellectuals was diminishing, the usage of Czech became associated more and more with the town-poor and the serfs in the villages. The developing popular culture of these lower social groups of the population shows that Czech national thinking had faded out but did not vanish. In the Catholic milieu, national consciousness was nourished by a supernatural belief in divine help and in the divine origin of the "elected" Czech nation. Even the Enlightenment, at least in the beginning of its development, did not deny this notion, but added a rational explanation to strengthen it. During the second half of the eighteenth century, this cultural and ideological world of the serfs and of the poor became the source and the object of the Czech Enlightenment and the national revival.

This relatively quiet level of Czech national thinking was favorably disturbed by developments in international politics. The first external attacks were the three Silesian wars over the Habsburg legacy during the rule of Maria Theresa. A wave of moral indignation and social criticism of the estranged nobility arose when the Czechs, represented by townsmen, serfts, teachers, and priests, became aware of the catastrophic consequences of the wars. The nobility was blamed for neglecting the serfs and

for leaving them to the plundering enemy, while selfishly seeking to save itself.

The other condition festering growing patriotism during the second half of the eighteenth century can be found in the ideas of the Enlightenment and in the political pressure of the Enlightened state. Without these external factors, the wars could not have transformed the national thought, feeling, and will into a new composition. Enlightened despotism exercised its influence in two different ways. On the one hand, it loosened the bonds of the guilds and serfdom, interfered with ecclesiastical and manorial administration. In this way, Enlightened Despotism encouraged the formation of a new social structure and new urban elements which could become the social base for a new form of Czech patriotic thinking. On the other hand, the cultural policy of linguistic and educational centralism which replaced the national language by German in the administration and in schools affected Czech national thinking negatively. These negative aspects, however, demonstrated the importance of a national language for patriotism and strengthened the elements important for the formation of patriotism and national thought.

The political and economic doctrines of the Enlightenment, which began replacing the theological approach with state-oriented thinking, emphasized the positive worth of the urban and rural classes of workers. The old social and ideological framework focusing on the church, religion, and the hierarchy of a feudal society loosened. Intellectuals took on a significant place in the new social and ideological sturcture. They became the promoters, the chief champions and propagators of the national revival. The form of national thinking cultivated by the Czech intellectuals found receptive individuals among the Czech townsmen and the peasantry, spurred by general developments into a more profound social and ideological activity. As relations between these social groups advanced, patriotic thinking ceased to be the attribute of a limited number of educated individuals. Transformed into a kind of social movement, patriotism was accepted by a wide circle of people.

The origin of Czech patriotism was closely connected psychologically with widespread feelings of national and linguistic degeneration. This inferiority complex, embracing individuals as well as the collective mass, applied to everything Czech. The common people as well as educated individuals were painfully aware of the harsh reality of the fading cultural and ideological adherence to the national past, and of the fact that in world opinion the Czechs had ceased to present themselves as a vital nation possessing full rights. This complex was overcome in several ways.

National consciousness was strengthened by the assumption that the Czech language had once been a civilized language used by the higher social classes. It was argued that the Czech language had even surpassed other languages in its wealth of expression and the elegance of its vocabulary. The national complex of smallness and insignificance on the international scene was offset by the vast dimensions of the national and linguistic base of the Slavs. The greatness and antiquity of Czech history and national culture served as proof of the equality of the Czech nation with other European nations. Historical facts were employed to dismiss the old notion of the Czechs holding no rights to their own national existence because they had never created their own culture and had never possessed their own state. At this time, when the Czech state had vanished and Czech literature, science, and art had disappeared, only history, the political and cultural past of the Czechs, could act as a source of national hope and proof of national vitality. History assumed great value in remarkably affecting the national development. In this way, history and historiography became a vital aspect of national feeling and thought, thereby assuming an unusual social function.

The socio-political fiction and illusion of the positive feeling of the ruler toward the Czech nation led Czech intellectuals to formulate, from the 1770's on, political, linguistic, and cultural claims in various so-called apologies and in public speeches. The apology dedicated to Emperor Joseph II, in Czech, by the lexicographer Karel Hynek Thám in 1783; Josef Dobrovský's address to Emperor Leopold II during his coronation in Prague in 1791 and delivered at the meeting of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences; the inaugural address of the first Professor of Czech language at Prague University, František Martin Pelcl, in 1793; the articles written in 1790-92 by the journalist Václav Matěj Kramerius about the political successes of the anti-Habsburg opposition in Hungary; and the speeches written by the village mayor and peasant-annalist, František Vavák, for the coronation of Francis II in Prague in 1792 represented the climax of Czech patriotism and nationalism during the period of the French Revolution and the era of the Estates' opposition to Emperor Joseph II.

In spite of its many vigorous attacks against the alienated nobility, this generation considered the privileged classes a significant factor in the state and nation and attempted to persuade them to participate in the Czech national movement. The French Revolution, however, convincingly refuting the indispensable character of the privileged classes of a nation, generated a completely negative attitude on the part of the younger

generation of Czech patriots toward the nobility at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They regarded the people as the core of the nation and as the basic Czech national element. This notion was categorically proclaimed by the literary historian, Josef Jungmann, in his essay "Two Meditations on the Czech Language" (1806): "The Czech people exist. The nobility may speak Frankish or Chaldean (wiser aristocrats love the language of their people). The lords regard themselves as foreigners and the people hold them as such. The less they are loved by the nation, the less the aristocracy loves the nation"' During the turbulence of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, Jungmann's generation found a secure base in the national history and in a notion emphasising the coherence between the Czech nation and the great Slavic whole. Already a generation before, the historian Mikuláš Adaukt Voigt had expressed the notion that history forms the spine of national consciousness and provides the proof of an uninterrupted national existence. (See the preface to his *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler*, Vol. I, 1773. (Clearly, the strong anti-German orientation of Voigt's patriotism became a part of the Estates' opposition to Viennese absolutism and an ardent political expression of Czech nationalism.

The transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century marks a significant period in the development of Czech patriotism and nationalism. They reached a higher socio-political, cultural, and ideological form. Many new components of modern national thinking and feeling had accumulated, but a firm structural whole was still missing, and an integral program embracing the entire economic, political, and cultural activity of the nation remained to be formulated. The generation of the historian and politician František Palacký (1798-1876) was to accomplish these goals, basing itself on the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Realistically analyzing the international and domestic situations, this generation began a political struggle for the realization of national, political, and cultural ideals during the decline of feudal absolutism and the beginnings of the constitutional regime. Only a personality of deep moral certainty and responsibility and immense conceptual power, with a deep understanding of the past and the present, could learn, comprehend, revise, and complete the legacy of the past and bring Czech thinking to a world-level. Indisputably, Palacký was such a personality. As a representative of Czech national thought during the last period of the Czech national revival, he concluded the epoch and opened another era by formulating a purposeful national program. After more than two hundred years, he reintroduced the "Czech question" into the forum of European science and politics. The problem of Czech national existence was transformed into an international issue.

Only after Palacký had become a scholar and historian did he become interested in practical politics. There was, however, no distinct border-line between his scholarly methods and his political thinking. The origin of both activities was marked by two historical events of his youth, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Under their influence, Palacký came to the significant conclusions which directed his thinking. First, he conceived revolution to be a natural regenerative necessity for nature as well as for the human race. In his understanding, a revolution introduces fresh and powerful aspects into nature as well as society. Second, Palacký saw nations as collective units exercising their own will, intending to be not only passive objects within a state but also active factors in a commonwealth. In addition, Palacký believed that nations would break out of their chains by force if the authorities did not understand the trends of the period. Palacký understood the revolutionary tendencies of the politically and socially oppressed nations. In his judgement, this historical force was slated to change the world in the near future. Anticipating the infiltration of the Habsburg Monarchy by new political thinking, Palacký wanted his nation to prepare itself for this decisive period by developing itself culturally.

These reflections of Palacký about the state of European politics during the second half of the nineteenth century originated at the time when he wrote a critical essay, "The Origins of Czech Poetry," with Pavel Josef Šafařík. In perspective, it was directed toward a higher quality of Czech literature and scholarship and the independence of Czech thinking from foreign patterns, mainly German and French. The young generation that spoke out at this time was not satisfied with mere national existence. Its concern was the quality of this existence. In competition with other European nations, the Czechs were expected to express their equality by the independence of their thought. According to Palacký, the Czechs first had to learn to think independently and only then to speak their own language, since independence of thought is the foremost sign of national existence.

Palacký had no national prejudices. Refusing thoughtless acceptance and degrading imitation, he defended the integrity of the Czech character against foreign intrusions. He followed, as he used to say, the path "to introduce old Bohemia into new Europe and to domesticate Europe in her." This was one of the constants of Palacký's personality and of his political and scholarly thinking. His historical knowledge, also determining his political practice, was the other constant. In his principal work, *The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*, which was published in five volumes and in several versions between 1836 and 1875, Palacký

proclaimed the chief purport and meaning of Czech history to be the struggle between the Germans and Slavs. The ideological form of this conflict had been expressed in the struggle of Slavic principles of democracy, equality, and liberty with the principle of German feudalism, based on the distinction between the lord and his subject. During the revolution of 1848, Palacký introduced a program for a national federation in Austria. The modern function or "idea" of the Habsburg commonwealth as a protector of small Central European nations, and the notion of so-called Austro-Slavism, based on political cooperation between the Slavic nations in Austria, were the core of this scheme. A significant political essay, "The Idea of the Austrian State," in 1865, explains his plan. The program was at times accepted, at times criticized and refused. The outline advocated such decisive and even revolutionary changes in the Central European political structure that it is hard to conceive the political, constitutional, social, and cultural consequences to which its realization would have led and the effect it would have had on all of Europe.

Without an understanding of Palacký's conception of the developing trends of the past and present, it is impossible to understand his concept of the historical significance of the Czech nation and his program of Austrian federation. On the grounds of Hegel's idealistic dialectics and Schelling's principle of polarity, Palacký accepted the "eternal law of nature" and the notion that developments in nature and in society always assume the form of a polarity of forces. The idea that the world tends toward centralization, toward the formation of huge political and economic units, is confronted by its negation, the tendency toward the decentralization of the world. This decentralization is manifested by differentiation and evolution, by the individualization and liberation of nations, or as Palacký said, in the principle of nationality. The advancement of world centralization had been expressed, in Palacký's view, in the formation of the English political center in the West and the Russian center in the East. Considering the spheres of influence and the pressure of the two political centers, the continued existence of small nations seemed doubtful. Therefore, Palacký came to the conclusion that their integrity had to be insured in a Central European federation of small, independent, and equal nations. Federalization was the principle equalizing the contradictions of world centralization and decentralization.

Many of the propositions on which Palacký built his political construction were faulty, and his program was not realized. Palacký, taking into consideration European political developments, maintained that Austria, if transformed into a federation of small nations, was to be defended in

the interests of Bohemia, Europe, humanity, and culture. After the origin of Austro-Hungarian dualism and after the victory of Prussia in Germany, Palacký proclaimed that there would either be a federative Austria or no Austria at all. Palacký overcame his former skepticism regarding the independent political existence of the Czech nation and convincingly concluded: "We were before Austria and we will be after Austria." After the defeat of his Austrian-federation idea, Palacký formulated no positive program for Czech politics. The reason for this lay in the murky perspectives of the serious international conflict which was rising on the horizon, the shift of the axis of Central European problems from Vienna to Berlin, and the aggressiveness of Bismarck's Germany, whose clouds overcast the whole European continent.

Palacký understood and explained the national principle, i.e., the founding of independent national units, as a powerful historical agent which, since the period of the Napoleonic wars, had been transforming Europe and the world. He correctly estimated the growing effectiveness of this principle and its influence on developments not only in the nineteenth but also in the twentieth century, often assuming the form of violent overthrows and bloody catastrophes. The origin of modern Germany and the Italian states and the founding of national state units in the Balkans undoubtedly affected Palacký's views. The predominance of these political aspects caused Palacký, who was deeply interested in relations among nations, in the relationship between a nation and a state, and in the internal structure of a national entity, to underestimate economic and social forces in the historical process. Although Palacký realized the historical significance of modern national problems, he refused to predict their results or to judge their positive and negative aspects. Nevertheless, he correctly evaluated future trends. Palacký, who was aware of the strength and historical necessity of the national principle, considered all ideological or physical struggles directed against it as futile and expected that sooner or later any military conflict in Europe would assume the form of a national, tribal, internecine war.

Palacký considered the state only a form of organization, while recognizing the nation as the essential social organism, an element superior to the state. He understood, however, that political activity in a state is a manifestation of the national will and an indispensable condition of national vitality. In Palacký's view, relations among nations should be based on the idea of the natural rights of nations to existence. In this connection, Palacký stressed the principle of equality among nations, regardless of their relative size, population, and political and economic

power. There are no perfect or imprefect nations; in this sphere, nature recognizes no inferiority or superiority, no dominance or servitude. Therefore, Palacký demanded full national equality and equivalency, warning against undervaluing and overvaluing specific nations and the messianic notion about national predestination. Every nation should have its own government and ruler and be subject only to itself. Palacký considered relationships of supremacy and subjugation among nations, together with national expansion, the cause of hostilities and wars, an international evil, and a danger to common peace.

The internal social structure of a nation should be governed by the ideals of liberty and equality which from the time of the French Revolution had become familiar in European political and social life. In his search for the limits of the two principles, Palacký tried to curtail their negative aspects. Liberty, as a condition of prosperity and human dignity, can exist only in a symbiosis with moral and ethical values and must be accompanied by voluntary restrictions and justice. As an attribute of freedom, Palacký stressed morally responsible behavior based on the maxim, "Do not do to others that which you do not want to be done to you" (Kant's categorical imperative translated by Palacký into more understandable language). Liberty can be realized only in an organized society ruled by authority. The contradiction between the ideal of liberty and the principle of power, between reason and authority, can be overcome if authority is governed by reason and reason utilizes authority. This means that, in practice, governments should adopt appropriate reforms and changes to implement progress and avoid revolutions and violent changes.

The problem of equality and inequality assumed a more complicated form in Palacký's doctrine. Palacký, accepting natural differences in nature and society, asked whether or not their forcible abolition was necessary to reach true democracy. He considered complete equality of fortunes, jobs, and working conditions utopian. People have always been physically and spiritually different, craving for different goals and ideals, possessing different working and economic habits. In Palacký's scheme, equality can be realized only in political life: men can enjoy equal legal and political rights. As a liberal, Palacký considered the ideal of economic and social equality an illusion. However, he sought the leveling of economic and social discrepancies. In regard to the nobility, Palacký openly demanded the obliteration of all political, social, and economic privileges, since they were based on injustice and social coercion.

Palacký's conception of human relations in national and state societies clearly had a deep ethical core and content. In this sense, Palacký appears

as a deeply moral personality. As an historian and politician who worked with historical as well as contemporary facts and looked realistically at their nature, he was aware of conflicts inside human society. Palacký saw the struggle between good and evil, justice and injustice, reason and brutal instinct, the just and humane order and individual or collective despotism. At the highest level of his national, social, and political reasoning, Palacký stands as an ethical and religious man hoping for the final victory of righteousness, truth, and justice. Palacký's national thinking and his political program are a personal, structured whole, reflecting previous Czech spiritual development, the contemporary political situation, and careful regard for the trends of world activity. Greatness of construction, logical integrity, and a deep moral core are the indisputable attributes of Palacký's concept. In the nineteenth century, it became the cornerstone of Czech political and national thinking. Palacký's principles, which were accepted at times but also criticized or refused, became in a later period the source of Czech national ideology.

The case of Palacký the Czech historian and politician bears witness to the continuing positive and negative effects of national ideology in its various forms in history. Patriotism, nationalism, and integral nationalism are still strong determinants of world affairs, although the principles of social class and the class struggle have also shown their integrating and disintegrating strength. Modern nationalism is at present being intensively studied by various social sciences, though it is still necessary to use historical methods and to view the problem from an evolutionary perspective. The aim of such an analysis should be to recognize the social function and all of the positive and negative aspects of the national phenomenon. In the common interest of nations and states there must evolve a positive and constructive ideal of national consciousness which will accept the principles of mutual respect, tolerance, and full deference to national individuality as the fundamental ethical rule in relations among nations.

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PALACKÝ AT THE SLAV CONGRESS OF 1848

Lawrence D. Orton
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The Slav Congress which was held in Prague amidst the turnoil of that momentous year 1848 represented the first attempt of the Danubian Slav nations to formulate a joint response to the threat to their national well-being posed by German and Magyar nationalist policies. The congress, poised between stages of national renascence and political maturation, stands as a watershed in the modern history of the Slavs.[1]

Within a remarkably short time after the fall of the Metternichian pre-March order, two hostile national axes crisscrossed central Europe, one running from Frankfurt in the west through Vienna and Pest, the other from Poznań in the north through Prague and Zagreb. The first joined the liberal and radical advocates of greater German unity and Magyar independence; the second, the Slavs seeking to escape German and Magyar hegemony and distant bureaucratic rule. It was this mounting national enmity that engendered the Slavs' search for a common forum and program. The idea of convening a congress of Slav spokesmen was advanced in late April, 1848, in several quarters–in a public call by the Croatian liberal, Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski; in private correspondence to Prague by the Poznań democrat Jędrzej Moraczewski; and, especially, by the Slovak national leader L'udovít Štúr, who obtained backing in Prague from the Czech liberals. The various initiatives were linked by a common insistence on the need for the Slavs "to deliberate [forthwith] the means whereby their subjugators in Pest and Frankfurt could most easily, quickly, and surely be confronted."[2] At a meeting of Czech patriots in Prague on April 30, a committee was selected to guide the congress preparations, and a proclamation was approved, inviting all Austrian Slavs "possessing the trust of their peoples. . .to assemble in the venerable Slav and Czech city of Prague on May 31."[3]

Although František Palacký did not attend the first meetings of the Preparatory Committee, his presence was pervasive. (It is noteworthy that at its first meeting the committee approved the congress announcement contingent on Palacký's endorsement.)[4] Since April 11, the date of his celebrated reply to Frankfurt, in which he refused to become a member of

the Council of Fifty, Palacký had been recognized as the most eloquent spokesman for the Austrian Slavs' determination to resist the inclusion of their homelands in a German national state. Palacký's letter gave political expression to the concept of Austro-Slavism that had evolved from pre-March cultural Pan-Slavism. In his judgment, only an independent, federally structured, and politically reformed Austrian state could protect the smaller Slav nations–positioned between obscurantist tsardom and an alien German nationalist movement–from absorption by these stronger neighbors. For Austria to merge with Germany was in fact asking Austria to commit suicide and the Slavs to forego their quest for national equality.[5]

Palacký took little part in the congress preparations, being preoccupied with the affairs of the Bohemian National Committee which, by May, had acquired considerable political influence with Governor Leo Thun. However, at the suggestion of Pavel Josef Šafařík, who was in Vienna sounding out the official reaction to the congress plans, Palacký wrote a statement addressed to the Austro-Germans and the Magyars. The explanation affirmed the Slavs' loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy, disclaimed any Pan-Slav, separatist, or Russianist intentions, and emphasized the Slavs' determination to defend their just national and constitutional rights. Although he closely followed Šafařík's proposals, Palacký concluded his statement with his own candid assessment of the Slavs' aims:

> Thus our national independence and unity can only be served by the continuance of the integrity and sovereignty of the Imperial Austrian state. It is evident that this entire endeavor is of an essentially conservative nature and presents nothing that should disturb in the slightest our just and liberal-minded [*freisinnig*] non-Slav fellow citizens.[6]

Palacky's *Erklärung* was widely publicized in the non-Slav press.[7] But whereas this disclaimer of hostile intentions may have helped to reassure cautious officials in Prague and Vienna, it stimulated suspicions of a Slav conspiracy among Austro-German radical nationalists. Nevertheless, Baron Jan Neuberg, vice chairman of the Preparatory Committee, informed Šafařík that Palacký's statement "should paralyze any talk of Pan-Slavism."[8]

Grossdeutsch hostility to the congress plans centered especially on the person of Palacký. Since writing his letter of April 11, Palacký was identified as the leader of a band of Austro-Slav separatists who were determined to thwart German unity and "Slavicize" the monarchy with Russian

aid. In addition, German nationalists were outraged when the Austrian Ministerial Council on May 8 offered Palacký the portfolio of education. Palacký refused the appointment, but the news of the offer, which coincided with the announcement of the Slav Congress, bought furious protests in the Viennese press. Minister-President Franz von Pillersdorff was accused of patronizing the congress plans and of flirting with the politically ambitious Slavs.[9]

Despite the chorus of denunciation of Palacký and the Slavs in Vienna, Frankfurt, and Pest, Palacký himself continued to work behind the scenes in Prague to bridge the widening gap of mistrust between Czechs and Poles, which was becoming a major obstacle to the congress plans. Palacký introduced Prince Leon Sapieha (a Galician magnate and Prince Adam Czartoryski's brother-in-law) to the Bohemian nobleman, Count J.M. Thun, the titular head of the Preparatory Committee. By his own account, Sapieha left Prague with every intention of returning to attend the congress, as in fact he did. He was convinced that the Czech leaders wanted nothing to do with either Russia or with Russian-inspired Pan-Slavism.[10]

The rules and procedures formulated by the Preparatory Committee divided the congress into three regional/national sections: 1) Czechs and Slovaks; 2) Poles and Ukrainians (later joined by two Russians, no section having been allotted for them); and 3) South Slavs. Each section would constitute itself, choose its own officers, and designate sixteen representatives, who, with the designees from the other sections, would comprise the Plenary Committee. In addition, each section would nominate a candidate for the presidency. Just before the congress opened, the Plenary Committee would elect the president from among the three nominees, the other two becoming vice presidents.[11] The three candidates were: Prince Jerzy Lubomirski (Polish-Ukrainian section); Stanko Vraz (the Slovene Illyrian member of the South Slav section; it should be noted that Ljudevit Gaj did not attend); and Palacký (Czecho-Slovak section). On June 1 the Plenary Committee met and unanimously elected Palacky to preside over the congress. The only other Slav in Prague who rivaled Palacký in stature and respect as a likely candidate for president was the ethnographer Šafařík. Actually, the presidency was first earmarked for Šafařík, whose "extensive knowledge of all Slavic idioms" uniquely qualified him for the position; but when he declined, Palacký reluctantly (by his own account) accepted the office.[12] Be this as it may, Šafařík chaired the Czecho-Slovak section, where his contribution to the deliberations was as great as Palacký's.

The Slav Congress was officially inaugurated on June 2, the late arrival of some delegates having occasioned the delay. Palacký's eloquent opening address set the tone for the business ahead. He cited the renewed spirit of liberty, fraternity, and harmony which had drawn the Slavs together, and he charged the delegates to go forward with the task of securing equality and justice for their peoples. Palacký's remarks were carefully weighed; due gratitude was expressed to the "gracious" Emperor Ferdinand, under whose scepter the Slavs would surely attain a brighter future.[13] Despite conclusive evidence that only Slav languages were spoken in the congress sessions, several German press reports gleefully maintained that Palacký's keynote address was in fact delivered in German.[14]

Palacký's most effective contribution outside the formal meetings was in ironing out disputes and, later, in drafting the "Manifesto to the Nations of Europe." One example of his mediation concerned the changes in the congress program which were proposed by the chairman of the Polish-Ukrainian section, the Poznań democrat Karol Libelt, at a meeting of the Plenary Committee on June 5. The original agenda, a cumbersome document, was in the form of a series of discussion questions. The delegates felt that this program, since it could not be carried out in the time allotted for the deliberations, would have an undesirable effect on European opinion. Libelt's new program called for a "Manifesto to the Nations of Europe," a message to the emperor that would convey the Slav nations' individual as well as collective demands, and adopting a plan for the future federative union of the Austrian Slavs.[15] In all likelihood these changes had been worked out previously in private discussions between Libelt and the Czech leaders, especially Palacký and Šafařík.[16]

The "Manifesto to the Nations of Europe" was the only document that the congress had approved before Whitmonday, June 12, when the street fighting in Prague between students and workers and the Austrian military forces prematurely ended the congress deliberations. The Diplomatic Committee, headed by Palacký, held several meetings before agreeing on the text of the manifesto, most likely on June 10. The actual drafting was entrusted to Palacky, who drew on suggestions from Libelt, František Zach, Šafařík, and Mikhail Bakunin.[17]

In Palacký's final version, the manifesto stated the aims of the Slavs gathered in Prague. Recent revolutionary changes throughout Europe now impelled the Slavs–eighty million strong–to assume their rightful place among the peoples of Europe. The yoke of oppression "raised and defended by brute force in collusion with fraud and malice, is collapsing into dusty ruin under our eyes. A fresh vital spirit spreading over wide expanses

is creating new worlds: freedom of speech, freedom of action have at last become realities."[18] The Slavs, "among whom liberty was ever cherished," were determined not to embark on the course of oppression which had marred the history of the Latin and Germanic peoples:

> [The Slav] demands neither conquest nor dominion, but he asks for liberty for himself and for all others: he demands that liberty shall be unconditionally recognised as the most sacred right that man possessed. Therefore we Slavs reject and hold in abhorrence all dominion based on main force and evasion of the law; we reject all privileges and prerogatives as well as all political differentiation of classes; we demand unconditional equality before the law, an equal measure of rights and duties for all.

The manifesto then raised an even more vital concern: the desire for the free development of Slav nationality: "Not less sacred to us than man in the enjoyment of his natural rights is the *nation*, with its sum total of spiritual needs and interests. Even if history has attributed a more complex human development to certain nations than to others, it has none the less always been seen that the capacity of those other nations for development is in no way limited."

The manifesto denounced those nations which, in pursuit of their own aims, infringed on the just rights of other peoples to nationhood:

> Thus the German threatens many a Slavonic people with violence if it will not agree to assist in the upbuilding of the political greatness of Germany, and thus the Magyar is not ashamed to arrogate to himself exclusive national rights in Hungary. We Slavs utterly decry all such pretensions, and we reject them the more emphatically the more they are wrongfully disguised in the garb of freedom.[19]

The Slavs did not seek vengeance for these wrongs; they were prepared to "extend a brotherly hand to all neighbouring nations who are prepared to recognise and effectively champion with us the full equality of all nations, irrespective of their political power or size."

As for Austria's political future, the Slavs were determined that "the state must be fundamentally reconstructed, if not within new [geographical] boundaries, at least upon new principles." Foremost among these was the transformation of the imperial state into a "confederation of nations, all enjoying equal rights."[20] In this new union the Slavs envisaged "not

only [their] own salvation, but also liberty, enlightenment and humanity in general." The Slavs trusted that the European nations would recognize the justice of this new arrangement. But whatever the case, the Slavs were committed to defending their national well-being by all available means. The manifesto refuted the calumnious accusations which the enemies of Slavdom were spreading, especially the "bogey of political Pan-Slavism."

Turning to specific injustices, the Slavs protested the unjust partition of the Polish state and called on the "governments concerned finally to remedy this old sin."[21] The manifesto also demanded that the Hungarian ministry cease persecuting the Slavs and fully assure their just national rights.

In conclusion, the Prague Slavs proposed that "a general European Congress of Nations be summoned for the discussion of all international questions"; prophetically, they urged that this step be taken at once, "Before the reactionary policy of the individual Courts causes the nations, incited by hatred and malice, mutually to destroy one another!"

Among students of the Slav Congress, the manifesto has evoked disparate judgments. Its admirers, exemplified by the Czech historian Josef Macůrek, maintain that the manifesto went well beyond other liberal homilies of the day by its radical egalitarian spirit and supranational appeal, and was "an effective reply to the Germans and Magyars who abused and sneered at the Congress."[22] Other writers have been more critical. The Bohemian German historian Anton Springer, who witnessed the events of 1848 in Prague, pointed to the political naiveté and the contradictions of the document, such as the discrepancy between the radical urgency of the closing sentence and Palacký's cautious approach to reform within Austria.[23] Stanley Z. Pech has contrasted the idealistic depiction of a pacific Slav character, which contributed to the prevailing theme of Slav goodness and German evil that permeated the document, with the failure to weigh the social cause of oppression.[24] Most recently, the Czech historian Arnošt Klíma has maintained that "in contrast to Palacký's other writings of 1848, the manifesto was very general, insufficiently concrete," and for this reason was largely ineffectual, which, Klíma added, likewise reflected the fate of the congress as a whole.[25]

Essentially the manifesto reflected a compromise of the views advanced during the congress. Although specific political proposals were confined to the Austrian Slavs, the manifesto nonetheless expressed concern for the Slavs beyond the Habsburg borders. But any reference to the Russians was deliberately sidestepped to avoid adding fuel to charges that the Slavs were playing into tsarist hands.[26] Both the romantic theme of a common Slav

heritage and the primacy of the concept of national sovereignty derived from the pre-March writings of the Slav awakening. In issuing the manifesto, the Slavs sought to clarify their position to an uninformed–if not misinformed–European opinion.

Although Palacký had several alternative drafts at his disposal, the manifesto was stylistically and in subject emphasis his own creation.[27] Nevertheless, a German commentator for *Die Grenzboten* could not believe that this "liberal" manifesto was the work of Palacký: "[It] is completely foreign to the spirit of the Czech party. The manifesto aims at the bright plains of humanism, [while] the Czechs' policy looks back to the past . . . The language of the manifesto preaches peace among nations, but the entire policy of the Czechs . . .has been maliciously to incite the Germans to anger and hatred."[28]

On many issues Palacký's views did not differ significantly from those of his collaborators. Libelt's draft dwelled at length on the uniqueness of the pacific Slav character and the egalitarian basis of the primitive Slav communal life. He likewise projected a messianic role for the Slavs in a rejuvenated Europe. Libelt paid less attention to immediate political issues–the dangers stemming from the Germans and Magyars–than appeared in Palacký's final version. A teacher of philosophy by vocation, Libelt foresaw the triumph of a sort of Christian socialism wherein individual Christian love would guide the relations among nations as well.[29] As a manifesto, however, Libelt's draft was ill-conceived, bearing in the opinion of one observer "an uncomfortable resemblance to a political tract."[30] Moreover, Libelt's draft contained none of the specific proposals for social and economic reform which he had outlined in the new agenda of June 5.

Zach's suggestions covered many points raised by Libelt and anticipated Palacký's text. The previously politically scattered Slav tribes were rightly following the lead of the Latins and Germans in striving to attain political liberty, national equality, and union. Zach echoed the theme of an inherent egalitarian spirit among the Slavs, but, unlike Libelt, he scrupulously applied his suggestions solely to the affairs of the Austrian Slavs.[31]

Bakunin's proposal, on the other hand, was a messianic call for Slav unity. "The hour of deliverence has [at long last] sounded for the Slavs." Past internecine strife, which had caused the Slavs to fall victim to the German yoke, would cease as the Slavs came to share a newly discovered faith in their common destiny. But to guarantee this brighter future, Bakunin stipulated a series of stringent measures to maintain Slav union. The Slav nations would have to submit to a potentially coercive central

authority much of their individual national sovereignty. Like Libelt, Bakunin did not limit his remarks to the Austrian Slavs, though in the *Confession* he conceded that the Slavs might have to unite at first without Russia, while awaiting that country's early liberation from tsarist tyranny. It is not known to what extent, if at all, Palacký seriously consulted Bakunin's proposal, although Bakunin's first section markedly resembled passages in Palacký's final version of the manifesto.[32]

Much of the interest and controversy regarding the Slav Congress stems from its martyrdom to the cause of Slav unity and the disparate judgments that it has received from both contemporaries and later writers. These polemics have focused in no small measure on Palacký and his leadership of the congress. On two occasions Palacký, who generally refused to be drawn into press polemics, was compelled to defend publicly the congress and his role in it against the criticism of the victorious counterrevolutionary forces.

The first instance concerned the charges of Prince Alfred zu Windischgrätz, the Austrian military commander in Prague, that the congress was part of a far-flung Slav conspiracy and had directly contributed to the June uprising. During the uprising, Palacký had tried to mediate between the insurgents and the military; now, in the aftermath, Windischgrätz directed the Prague municipal police to keep a close watch on Palacký's activities.[33] Palacký, anxious to join his ailing wife in the country, had left Šafařík, Jordan, V.V. Tomek, and Josef Jireček the care of the congress records—those not seized by the military or taken by delegates in their hasty departure—and the task of issuing an account of the congress. But before he left Prague, Palacký wrote to Governor Thun, defending the congress and denying that it had led to the uprising.[34] Unfortunately, after the uprising Thun lost much of his influence in Prague and Vienna, and in late July he was replaced as governor. On the other hand, Windischgrätz, whose wife had been killed by a stray bullet on the first day of the uprising, was determined to establish the existence of a conspiracy and to bring the perpetrators to speedy justice. In the main, he centered his investigation on the Czech national party and the congress leadership. His efforts bore little fruit until he discovered among those arrested in the military dragnet an adventurous youth from Slovakia, who, it seemed, could divulge a fascinating tale of conspiracy.

Marcel Turánsky told his interrogators that in 1847, while studying in Prešov, he had become acquainted with several Polish émigrés who took him into their confidence. The Poles were in secret contact with a number of prominent Slavs, including František Palacký. Their common goal was

the creation of a "great Slavic Empire." Turansky was sure that in Prague the organization was headed by "a certain Palacký." He knew of letters Palacký had written to the ringleaders in Prešov, although he had not read them. The plans called for simultaneous revolts in 1850 in several Slav centers, including Prague, but when revolution erupted in Paris in February, 1848, the conspirators decided to advance the timetables.[35]

Windischgrätz's report on the June events, released on August 2, 1848, when the investigation was turned over to the civilian court authorities, gave full credence to Turánsky's unsubstantiated testimony. Though the names of the chief conspirators were known to the authorities, Windischgrätz conveniently refrained from citing them, allegedly so as not to prejudice the subsequent investigation.[36] From Vienna, where he was a deputy to the Imperial Parliament, Palacký, together with Prince Lubomirski, issued a categorical denial of the general's allegations and challenged him to make public the supposedly incriminating evidence.[37] In fact, Palacký did not learn that he was cited as a main conspirator by Turánsky until the following March, when Austrian Justice Minister Bach, in response to an interpellation by the Czech deputies at Kroměříž for release of the Investigatory Committee's files, merely read into the record a summary of Turánsky's testimony.[38] Bach's action incensed the Czechs, but their protests were ignored by Vienna when the *Reichstag* was dissolved on March 6.

The second incident that prompted Palacký to take a public stand on the congress followed the publication by a Czech newspaper in early January, 1849, of Mikhail Bakunin's inflammatory, anti-Austrian *Appeal to the Slavs.*[39] More precisely, it was a semi-official reply in the governmental *Prager Zeitung* to the publication in Bohemia of the *Appeal* that forced Palacký to speak out. The anonymous article in the *Prager Zeitung* was not so much directed against the *Appeal* itself as against the Czech liberals, apparently for failing to denounce the editors of the *Noviny Lípy slovanské* who had published the *Appeal* in Czech: "Will then no Czech raise his voice against such doings? Where are you, educators of the Slavs in Bohemia?" Seizing on Bakunin's proud identification as a "member of the Slav Congress," the author challenged by name the Czechs who had guided the congress–Palacký, Neuberg, Dejm, and Havlíček–to explain Bakunin's version of the congress and his role in it.[40] This attempt to compromise the Czech liberals by holding them responsible for their fellow congress member, Bakunin, was reminiscent of the charges leveled at the congress leadership by Windischgrätz in August, 1848.

In a public letter of January 22, 1849, from Kroměříž, Palacký, although refusing to be drawn into a direct polemic with the *Prager Zeitung*,

expressed his dismay that this official newspaper would use an unidentified author to stir up old national antagonism. In contrast to Karel Havlíček, who wrote an indignant and emotional reply, Palacký adopted a measured, professorial tone. Bakunin had impressed Palacký at the Slav Congress as a humane and open-minded individual, but after reading the *Appeal* Palacký could only assume that Bakunin had not been candid or that his views had recently changed. In June, 1848, Bakunin had stood for liberty and human happiness; now he spoke only of revolution. Palacký carefully noted the illogic in Bakunin's work and his misconception of the Slav Congress, which Palacký insisted contributed significantly to instilling in the Slavs the determination to preserve Austria.[41]

Palacký was faced not only with official criticism but was also the target of recriminations directed against his person by several embittered and disappointed forty-eighters. When in March, 1849, reports reached Bakunin that Russian forces had crossed onto Austrian soil to aid the imperial troops, who were supported by the Austro-Slavs, against the Magyar separatists, Bakunin drafted a second *Appeal to the Slavs.* This time he urged the Slavs to get rid of their treacherous leaders—the Croatian ban Jelačić, the Serbian primate Rajačić, and Palacký—who have "sold you out to the Austrian dynasty and Nicholas."[42]

Whereas conservatives like Leo Thun chided Palacký and the Czech national leadership for yielding the congress into the hands of the radical Poles,[43] the Poles denounced Palacký as a tool of the "Germanized nobility" and an enemy of Poland. For Jędrzej Moraczewski, "there was neither patriotism nor a burning commitment to liberty in Palacký; his habits and way of thinking were more German than Slav."[44]

In no one was the disappointment with the Slavs' failure in 1848-49 more tragically reflected than in L'udovít Štúr, who had labored untiringly in the spring of 1848 to spread the congress idea and promote a closer understanding among the Slavs. The intervening time led Štúr to reexamine his activities in 1848-49 and to renounce the Austro-Slav program which he had earlier supported. In his political testament, the posthumously published *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft,* he accused the Czechs of seeking to establish hegemony over the Austrian Slavs under the apparent leadership of the "knowledgeable and sedate but unimaginative and shortsighted Bohemian historiographer Palacký," but actually guided by "Bohemian aristocrats, Catholic priests, and their venal servants." In Štúr's judgment, the experience of 1848 had shown the utter bankruptcy of the idea of a Slav federation in German-ruled Austria. The sole viable course of action for the oppressed West and South Slavs was to entrust themselves to a union with tsarist Russia.[45]

When the Czecho-Slovaks and South Slavs lent active support to the Habsburgs against radical Vienna and Pest, Marx and Engels, who earlier had applauded the "democratic" Prague uprising, turned their full anger against the "Slavonian *dilettanti*," whose "anti-historical movement . . . intended nothing less than to subjugate the civilized West under the barbarian East, the town under the country, trade, manufactures, intelligence under the primitive agriculture of Slavonian serfs." Their "chief champion, . . . Professor Palacký, [was] himself nothing but a learned German run mad, who even now [could not] speak the Tschechian language correctly and without foreign accent." Engels accused the Czech and Croatian "Pan-Slavists [of] betraying the revolutionary cause for the shadow of nationality," which played directly into Russian hands. The Slav Congress, he concluded, "would have proved a decided failure even without the interference of the Austrian military."[46]

To the end of his life, František Palacký remained convinced that the Slavs' enemies had provoked the June uprising to disrupt the Slav Congress and compromise the newly formed Bohemian provincial government. In his Political Testament (*Politisches Vermächtniss*), he wrote: "I know of no event of our times which has had more fateful and damaging consequences for the nation than this Whitsuntide uprising."[47]

To be sure, the Slav Congress was only a brief episode in Palacký's long and varied political career. Its importance, nonetheless, was manifold: it was the first test of his political leadership of the Czechs and Austro-Slavs, and it served as a seedbed for the development of his views on the federal restructuring of the Danubian monarchy that he later presented at Kroměříž. Even after the late 1860's, when he came to doubt the chances for meaningful national reform in a German-dominated Austria, Palacký continued to prize the Slav Congress as a milestone on the road of the Slavs' political maturation.

NOTES

1. On the Slav Congress, see esp. the collection of documents edited by the Czech historian Václav Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848: Sbírka dokumentů* (Prague, 1958). Among older studies reflecting the national points of view of the major participating Slav nations toward the congress, see: (in Czech) Zdeněk V. Tobolka *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848* (Prague, 1901); (in Serbo-Croatian) Milan Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa 1780-1848* (Zagreb, 1924); (in Polish) Władysław T. Wisłocki, *Kongres Słowiański w r. 1848 i sprawa polska* (Lvov, 1927); (in Ukrainian) Ivan Bryk, "Slavians 'kyi zizd u Prazi 1848 r. i ukrains 'ka sprava," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka*, CXXIX (1920), pp. 141-217.

2. Jan Petr Jordan, *Aktenmässiger Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten Slavenkongresses in Prag* (Prague, 1848), pp. 10-11. The origins and preparations

for the congress are discussed in Václav Čejchan, "Ke vznifu myšlenky slovanského sjezdu roku 1848," Slovanský přehled, XX (1928), pp. 401-408; Richard G. Plaschka, "Zur Einberufung des Slawenkongresses 1848," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, CXXV (1966), pp. 196-207; and John Erickson, "The Preparatory Committee of the Slav Congress, April-May 1848," in Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling, eds., *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto, 1970), pp. 176-201.

3. The official, amended version of Štúr's announcement was dated May 1, 1848, and published in *Národní Nowiny*, May 5, 1848, No. 26, p. 103. It was translated into several Slav languages as well as German, and was widely disseminated in the press and as a broadsheet.

4. Minutes in H. Traub, "O přípravách k Slovanskému sjezdu v Praze r. 1848," *Časopis Musea království českého*, XCII (1918), p. 249.

5. Palacký's letter of April 11 was widely publicized in the Czech and German press. It is reprinted in the Czech (*Radhost* [Prague, 1871-73], III, pp. 10-17) and German (*Gedenkblätter* [Prague, 1874], pp. 149-155) editions of Palacký's writings. An English translation is in *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVI (April, 1948), pp. 303-308. For a recent assessment of the letter's importance, see Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill, 1969), pp. 80-85. On the evolution of Austro-Slavism, see esp. Václav Žáček, "K dějinám austro-slavismu rakouských Slovanů," *Slovanské historicke studie*, VII (1968), pp. 129-179.

6. Šafařík's suggestions were contained in a letter of May 3, 1848, to the Preparatory Committee, in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 65-66. Palacký's draft in German and the final copy are in the *Archív Národního musea* (Prague), fond: *Materiály Slovanského sjezdu v Praze 1848.*

7. The *Erklärung* was dated May 5, 1848, and first appeared in *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* (Prague), May 6, 1848, No. 31, and thereafter in the *Wiener Zeitung*, May 9, 1848, No. 129, p. 620, and also in the Czech press.

8. May 6, 1848, in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 70-71. Palacký also wrote to the anxious Šafařík on May 8, reassuring him that his suggestions were receiving careful attention. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

9. See esp. "Panslavismus vor der Thür," *Die Constitution*, May 9, 1848, No. 41, pp. 616-617; *Wiener Schnellpost*, May 13/14 and 20/21, 1848, Nos. 12/13 and 19/20, pp. 45-46, 78-79; and *Der Freimüthige*, Nos. 35-37, pp. 142-143, 152. See also R. John Rath, "The Viennese Liberals of 1848 and the Nationality Problem," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XV (October, 1955), pp. 227-239.

10. See Antoni Helcel to Palacky, May 13, 1848, in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 114-115; and Leon Sapieha, *Wspomnienia z lat od 1803 do 1863 r.*, ed. B. Pawlowski (Lvov & Warsaw, [1914]), pp. 225-226.

11. The congress rules were drafted by the Lusatian Sorb Jan Petr Jordan, who drew on suggestions by Šafařík. They were published in *Národní Nowiny*, May 30, 1848, No. 46, pp. 182-183; and as a broadsheet in several languages. They are reprinted in Czech in *Zpráwa o sjezdu slowanskem* (Prague, 1848), pp. 20-24; and in Polish in Žáček, *Slovansky sjezd*, pp. 218-220.

12. See Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtniss* (Prague, 1872), p. 9; and "Paul Joseph Šafařík: Ein biographisches Denkmal," *Österreichische Revue*, VIII (1865), p. 45. Allegedly the presidency was also offered, *pro forma*, to Count J.M. Thun, who had chaired the Preparatory Committee. Thun, purportedly suffering from gout, declined

in a letter to Palacký to be considered for the presidency. May 26, 1848, in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 86-87.

13. Palacký's opening address in *Národní Nowiny*, June 4, 1848, No. 51, p. 201; and *Zpráwa o sjezdu slowanském*, pp. 32-34.

14. See my "Did the Slavs Speak German at Their First Congress?" *Slavic Review*, XXXIII (1974), p. 518.

15. Protocol in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 284-289.

16. See Vaclav Žáček, *Čechové a Polaci roku 1848* (Prague, 1947-48), II, pp. 148-151.

17. Jordan, *Aktenmässiger Bericht*, p. 34; and Libelt to Palacký, June 8, 1848, in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, p. 361*n*.

18. Citations from English text, trans. William Beardmore, "Manifesto of the First Slavonic Congress to the Nations of Europe," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVI (April, 1848), pp. 309-313. The manifesto was published as a broadsheet in both Czech and German following the June uprising, and appeared contemporaneously in Polish, Slovene, Serb, as well as in German and Czech newspapers.

19. The manifesto also cited British refusal "to recognise the Irishman as an equal," though no reference was made to Russia's treatment of its neighbors.

20. Author's translation.

21. Of the three partitioning powers, only Prussia was singled out by name.

22. "The Achievements of the Slavonic Congress," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVI (April, 1948), pp. 330-334.

23. *Geschichte Öesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809* (Leipzig, 1863-65), II, pp. 336-339.

24. *Czech Revolution of 1848*, pp. 133-134.

25. *Revoluce 1848 v českých zemích* (Prague, 1974), p. 49.

26. The German nationalist newspaper, *Wiener Schnellpost*, June 17, 1848 (No. 47, pp. 189-191), charged that "Russian gold" and "Russian enticers" (*Lockpfeifen*) were covering Bohemia and the South Slav lands. Similarly, Kossuth's newspaper, *Kossuth Hirlapja* (July 14, 1848, No. 12, p. 51), in commenting on the manifesto, asked if the Slavs would ever cease their "incessant flirtation with Muscovite might." On the Russophobia of the Viennese liberals, see R. John Rath, *The Viennese Revolution of 1848* (Austin, 1957), pp. 253-255.

27. See Otakar Odložilík, "The Slavic Congress of 1848," *Polish Review*, IV, No. 4 (1959), p. 11.

28. "Prag und der neue Panslavismus II," 1848, Sem. 1, pt. 2, pp. 438-439.

29. Libelt's draft in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 361-365.

30. Pech, *Czech Revolution of 1848*, p. 135.

31. Zach's draft in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 365-368.

32. On Bakunin's proposals, see my "Bakunin's Plan for Slav Federation, 1848," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, VIII (1974), pp. 107-115. It is commonly believed that Bakunin put two separate proposals before the congress: a plan for Slav federation and his recommendations for the European manifesto. Most scholars have assumed that the latter have been lost, a view most recently reiterated by Josef Polišenský, "Bakuninův návrh se dodnes nenašel" (*Revoluce a Kontrarevoluce v Rakousku 1848* [Prague, 1975], p. 168). The only recorded mention of Bakunin's recommendations for the manifesto is found in a letter of June 9, 1848, from Libelt to Palacký that accompanied the former's own suggestions: "I enclose . . . a similar

[project] by Bakunin in French" (Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, p. 361*n*). In all likelihood, Bakunin's federative scheme and his recommendations for the manifesto are in fact the same document. In his later *Confession* (1851) to Tsar Nicholas I, Bakunin referred to only one proposal that he presented to the congress. Moreover, when Libelt's new agenda was unveiled in the Polish-Ukrainian section on June 7, Bakunin emphatically opposed issuing separate manifestos to the European nations and to the Slavs. He recommended issuing "a simple declaration of principles." Protocol in Wisłocki, *Kongres słowianski*, p. 116. Bakunin's proposal was first published in Polish in the Lvov daily *Dziennik Narodowy*, August 31 and September 5, 1848, Nos. 132, 136, pp. 554-555, 568.

33. See Otakar Odložilík, "Pokus o soudní vyšetřování Fr. Palackého r. 1848," *Národní Osvobození* (Prague), May 26, 1926, No. 143.

34. July 3, 1848, in *Gedenkblätter*, pp. 167-169.

35. Protocol of questioning on July 15, 1848, in *Státní ústřední archív* (Prague), fond: *Vyšetřovací komise 1848*, fasc. 52/2. Portions of Turánsky's testimony are reprinted in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, pp. 454-459. On the Turánsky affair, see my "The Investigation of the June 1848 Uprising in Prague: The Strange Case of Marcel Turánsky," *East European Quarterly*, VIII (1974), pp. 57-69. Palacký later rejected this accusation as pure fabrication (*Politisches Vermächtniss*, p. 12).

36. Windischgrätz's report was printed in *Prager Zeitung*, August 4, 1848, No. 30.

37. Their joint statement of August 10 was published in *Wiener Zeitung*, August 19, 1848, No. 227, p. 66.

38. *Verhandlungen des österreichischen Reichstages nach der stenographischen Aufnahme* (Vienna, 1848-49), V, pp. 342-345.

39. *Noviny Lípy Slovanské*, January 2-5, 2849, Nos. 1-4. See also Josef Kočí, "Česká politika a Bakuninův 'Hlas k Slovanům,'" *Slovanské historické studie*, X (1974), pp. 113-140; and my "The Echo of Bakunin's *Appeal to the Slavs* (1848)," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, X (1976), pp. 489-501.

40. January 19, 1849, No. 16.

41. "Nothgedrungene Erklärung," *Prager Zeitung*, January 26, 1849, No. 22; and in Czech, "Wynucené wyjádření," *Národní Nowiny*, January 27, 1849, No. 23, p. 89.

42. Printed in Václav Čejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 193-200. In his *Confession*, Bakunin later denounced "the pretensions of the Czech politicians," who at the Slav Congress had sought to rule a Slav-dominated Austria. V. Polonskii, ed., *Materialy dlia biografii M. Bakunina* (Moscow & Petrograd/Leningrad, 1923-33), I, p. 149. Cf. Václav L. Beneš, "Bakunin and Palacký's Concept of Austroslavism" *Indiana Slavic Studies*, II (1958), pp. 79-111.

43. *Betrachtungen über die Zeitverhältnisse, insbesondere im Hinblicke auf Böhmen* (Prague, 1849), pp. 96-97.

44. From Moraczewski's manuscript "O kongresie słowiánskim w Pradze, zebranym 31 maja 1848," in Žáček, *Slovanský sjezd*, p. 515. This passage on Palacký was deleted from the published version of Moraczewski's account of the congress: *Opis pierwszego Zjazdu słowianskiego* (Poznań, 1848).

45. Ed. Josef Jirásek (Bratislava, 1931), pp. 185 ff. Štúr's manuscript was first published in 1867 under the Russian title *Slavianstvo i mir budushchago*.

46. Friedrich Engels, *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, in *The German Revolutions*, ed. L. Krieger (Chicago, 1967), pp. 177-180. Engels' work originally appeared in the New York *Daily Tribune* in 1851-52 under Marx's name.

47. See pp. 9-14.

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PALACKÝ AND HAVLÍČEK: THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

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During the nineteenth century one of central Europe's more important, though lesser-known, political partnerships was that of František Palacký (1798-1876) and Karel Havlíček (1821-56). As the leading Czech liberals of their time, they contributed singularly to the formation of Austro-Slavism, the first modern Czech political program. In accord with that doctrine, they led the Czech struggle for the preservation and federalization of the Habsburg Monarchy and against the establishment of a Great German state. They also warned, with remarkable foresight, against the extension of Russian power into central Europe. Yet only a few scholars have examined their relationship in detail.

Judgments made in the last century by both admirers and adversaries of the two men have confused subsequent inquiries into their relationship. The Radical Democrat J.V. Frič, for example, saw little difference between them. Havlíček was strictly a junior partner of Palacky, and both were spokesmen for a middle class that was blind to social change.[1] Jakub Malý, an early historian of the Czech renascence, considered their relationship ambiguous. He accorded Palacký an important place in Czech politics, but categorized Havlíček as one whose attacks on his opponents hurt rather than enhanced the Czech political cause.[2] Later writers, such as Karel Tůma and T.G. Masaryk, wrote more positively. Tůma exonerated Havlíček from most of Maly's charges, while Masaryk explained how the two could develop contrasting political styles and tactics and still maintain their ideological unity. But these later analyses, in the two or three decades before World War I, were themselves controversial. Masaryk's supported a new, quasi-religious interpretation of the Czech national awakening which many historians considered untenable.[3] Tůma's served the occasionally spurious purposes of the Young Czech Party as it vied in the 1880's for leadership of the Czech people.[4]

Judged strictly by their backgrounds. Palacký and Havlíček would seem to be unlikely political collaborators. They were reared in small, homogeneous Czech towns, remote from the Austrian Empire's multinational cities. They received good educations, as well as strict religious upbringings (Palacký, Lutheran; Havlíček, Catholic). And they converted

to the cause of Czech nationalism after having, as adolescents, suddenly and dramatically rediscovered their Czech heritage.[5] But Palacký was twenty-three years older. He belonged to a generation of Czech leaders who began their careers before the nation had fully clarified its goals or even begun to think politically. These circumstances forced them not merely to espouse, but to contribute actively to the development of a culture that was still in its fledgling stage. Thus, while it was a striking personal achievement, Palacký's *History of the Czech People* (*Dějiny národu českého*) had the unique and salutary effect of stimulating an entire nation to rediscover its past. Knowledge of history in turn acquainted Palacký with the intricacies of constitutional law. This enabled him in the early 1840s to become an influential adviser to the Bohemian Estates, particularly on their legal relationship to the Crown.[6] By 1848, he had been a leader of his people for some years.

Havlíček, by contrast, was relatively unknown before the mid-century revolutions. A one-time seminarian, he had been expelled for excessive interest in things Slavic and had traveled to Russia (1843-44) to confirm his Russophile outlook. A seventeen-month residence in Moscow, however, dispelled his pro-Russian sympathies. Returning to Prague in 1845, he worked as a literary critic and spoke out intermittently against the Tsarist autocracy.[7] But it was only as a journalist in the immediate "pre-March" period that he achieved broad notoriety. By nature contentious, Havlíček engaged in numerous literary and political disputes during his public career. In time he also acquired anti-clerical and anti-aristocratic biases which led him on occasion to identify with the masses. None of these characteristics was present in the more reserved, statesman-like Palacký.

The two men first met in late 1845, through their mutual friend Pavel Josef Šafařík. It was a propitious meeting. Havlíček was seeking the editorship of a newspaper, following his polemics with Josef Kajetan Tyl over the use of patriotism in Czech literature; and it was on Palacký's recommendation that Havlíček became, in January, 1846, the editor of *Pražské noviny* (Prague News).[8] During the next two years the two men cooperated by opposing the Slovak "linguistic separatists," led by Ľudovít Štúr.[9] Finally, in 1848, what had been an occasional collaboration became a solid partnership based on the program of Austro-Slavism.

The significance of Austro-Slavism as a link between Palacký and Havlíček is that it demonstrates their agreement on a complex and, at the time, controversial point of ideology: that the Czechs had no political future outside Austria. Each man, reflecting largely personal experiences, wrote a classic analysis of the Austro-Slav creed. Havlíček's appeared

first, early in 1846, in a series of articles titled "Slav and Czech" (*Slovan a Čech*).[10] The continued existence of the Austrian Empire, he argued, was indispensable to the protection of Slav rights in central Europe. The Russians, long admired by many Czech intellectuals as potential liberators of central European Slavs, were an expansion-minded people who thought of other Slavs "in no brotherly fashion, but dishonestly and egotistically."[11] As such, there could never be an all-Slav unity, not even through a common literary language. Western and South Slavs, on the other hand, could and had to cooperate for their mutual benefit. Czechs and Croats especially, but Slovaks and Slovenes too, shared a common past within Austria and, more important, a readily definable community of present interests. Under the circumstances, none posed a danger to any of the others. The sole condition of Slav support of the Habsburgs was the decentralization and federalization of the Monarchy. That accomplished, a rejuvenated Austrian state of equal nationalities would grow in power, making even more secure the future of the Austro-Slav peoples.[12]

Two years later, in his celebrated letter to Frankfurt (April, 1848), Palacký reiterated Austria's need to exist. A universal Tsarist empire, he said, threatened all of the smaller peoples of central Europe.[13] And only the Habsburg Monarchy could thwart Russian expansionism. Consequently, he could not participate in the work of an assembly which sought Austria's destruction in order to create a liberal German state. The message was the same as Havlíček's, but Palacký's approach differed from that of his younger colleague. The latter had written two years before the fall of Metternich, when censorship precluded overt discussion of politics or engagement in political activities. His remarks had been primarily and necessarily philosophical. And personal. They stemmed from an experience of life in Russia which few Czechs, including Palacký, had had prior to 1848. This gave Havlíček's analysis, including his condemnation of the Slavophiles and Kollár's literary Pan-Slavism, a unique ring of authority, but one limited to its pre-revolutionary time.[14]

Palacký's letter, on the other hand, was a document of revolutionary urgency. Written after Metternich's fall and addressing concrete political issues, it was more of a plan of action, despite its apparent preoccupation with "principles." It also lacked the strident Russophobia of Havlíček's articles, for Palacký actually wished the Russians well, after warning against Tsarist imperialism.[15] Most important of all, Palacký showed himself a man of vision by placing events in Austria within the necessary and broader context of revolutions that were affecting other parts of Europe.

But if the two men differed on points of Austro-Slavism, they shared a comprehensive liberalism that bolstered their political compatibility. This

liberalism was two-fold: it derived from the Enlightenment, and from a perception of problems peculiar to Austria and the Czechs. In 1848 the Enlightenment tradition led all central European liberals to oppose absolutism as contrary to Natural Law. Accordingly, they stressed the need for a constitution to limit the authority of the ruling dynasty. Reason became the preeminent guide to truth and, if applied properly, would guarantee human progress.[16] Owing, though, to Austria's slow industrial growth (compared to western Europe's) and to her ethnic diversity, central European liberalism developed at least two features not found in its west European counterpart. It was not strongly *laissez-faire* in its approach to economics. And, among non-Germans at least, it sought guarantees of "nationality" as necessary complements to political freedoms, whether corporate or for the individual citizen.

Both Palacký and Havlicek blended freely the liberals' demand for political liberty with the narrower requirements of nationality. For Palacký, the key agent in all of history was the nation.[17] More than the individual, it nurtured the great ideas that gave purpose to life. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one such idea had been religious liberty, the primacy of conscience over ecclesiastical authority. And the Czechs had been the first to proclaim it, a century before Luther, in the Hussite movement. In the seventeenth century, the Czechs had waged a fierce, though unsuccessful, struggle for the preservation of their autonomy against the inroads of feudal Habsburg power. And in the nineteenth, together with other nationalities, they opposed the centralizing and Germanizing reforms initiated by Joseph II.

In each chronological period, Palacký detected elements of a Slav-German conflict which, he believed, gave Czech history a distinctive quality. The nation did not achieve its end unopposed. Rather, it engaged in a dialectic, faintly Hegelian to some scholars, where Germanic ideals confronted its own and where success was matched by frequent failures.[18] The process was a painful one, but it alone measured a nation's progress, just as it alone made progress possible.

Palacký saw the great nineteenth century contest as one between governments seeking to centralize power and nationalities striving to preserve their individuality. Political centralization was but a modern, secular counterpart to the pre-Reformation ideal of religious universality. And it was stronger than its antithesis, for it enjoyed the advantages of science and technology. Nationalities, by contrast, had limited resources and had been roused only recently to a sense of their worth, by Herder and other Romantics. Though they might strive for independence or for unification with kinsmen in other states, nationalities had

eventually to accept federalization as a compromise.[19] The alternative was subjugation to the dictates of their governments.

Havlíček, too, considered independence for the Czechs unthinkable and federalization the sole positive alternative: "At the present time," he wrote, "when immense empires have risen in Europe, total independence for us Czechs would be a naked misfortune. We would always be weak, dependent on others, . . . But in conjunction with the other Slavs of Austria, we can utilize as a distinct Czech kingdom every kind of autonomy and still enjoy the advantages . . . of a powerful state."[20]

Indeed autonomy, guaranteed constitutionally, could alleviate the Czechs' concern for their national integrity. And to Havlíček the unhindered development of nationality, particularly through an improved official status for the Czech language, was the greatest of all privileges. "To what end has English liberty benefited the Irish? . . . Wherever your language, your nationality, has no [specific] rights, you are oppressed in even the freest countries. Freedom of speech and press, to be sure, are the bases of many other freedoms. But where your language is barred from public offices and schools, . . . a greater freedom is taken from you than through the police and censorship."[21]

This did not mean that federal governments would have no important jurisdiction. Nor did it license unrestrained opposition to authority. As Chalupný points out, Havlíček regarded total, unabated opposition to the State as unnatural.[22] Government had a proper function that was regulatory. (Palacký spoke of a "strictly juridical state"–*stát pouze právní*.)[23] It was that agency which, through the application and enforcement of laws, had at all times to balance collective and individual rights, to curb "libertinism" without destroying that "independence natural to the human spirit."[24] This led Havlíček and Palacký alike to reject the negativism of west European liberals who, in distrusting most forms of government, sought maximum restrictions on governmental powers. At the same time, neither man subscribed to the "étatiste" school of liberalism. The latter, born in Jacobin France and with adherents as far east as Russia, considered the State not merely the chief guarantor but the ultimate source of liberty.[25] Under certain circumstances the State might actively prescribe forms of liberty rejected by an unenlightened citizenry. To Palacký and Havlíček, such an idea was inadmissible. Individual and national rights *per force* relected popular will and had first to be secured through a fixed rule of law. Only then could the State govern as an auxiliary power.

When revolution broke out in Prague on March 11, 1848, neither Palacký nor Havlíček became immediately involved. Like other liberals,

they distrusted the Czech and German radicals who dominated the first meetings at the St. Wenceslaus Baths and who, as members of the secret Repeal Club, had sought to link the end of absolutism to an early resolution of social issues.[26] On March 12, one day before the fall of Metternich, the radicals formed the *Svatováclavský výbor* (St. Wenceslaus Committee) to coordinate their challenge to the Crown. And shortly thereafter they dispatched a petition to the emperor, calling among others for equality of the Czech and German nationalities, freedom of the press and religion, guarantees against arbitrary arrest, and a restoration of the legislative and administrative autonomy of the Bohemian kingdom.[27] Liberals meanwhile publicized the need for a constitution and agitated for a broadening of the committee's membership.

It remained for Palacký's letter to signal, and partly cause, a major shift in the Bohemian revolution. At the middle of March, Czech and German liberals were united in their opposition to absolutism, but momentarily outmaneuvered by the radicals. By the end of the month they had gained control of the *Svatováclavský výbor* and reduced the radicals to a minority faction, only to divide along nationality lines. Palacký did not alone precipitate the split by writing to Frankfurt.[28] But in focusing attention on hitherto unexamined aspects of the *Anschluss* question, he underscored its complexity and thereby forced Bohemian German liberals to clarify their own positions.

Poet Alfred Meissner was the first to attack Palacký's stand. He denied that Austria could survive the revolution if transformed into a federation of equal nationalities. The "law of nature" was driving Germans to unite, in a *Bund* reconstituted along liberal, national lines. And that precluded the continuation of an Austria with traditional territorial and multi-national components.[29] Palacký's opposition to the political reorganization of central Europe was philosophically unsound. Further, it was an attempt to frustrate the inevitable.

Journalist Anton Springer spoke more to the issue of Russia. He agreed that Tsarist imperialism threatened central Europe, but saw it as a danger to Germans and Czechs alike. Would not a new Germany, more than a moribund Austria, deter Russian expansion? Certainly a united Germany would be economically more viable and politically and militarily stronger than a divided one. And it would guarantee Czechs nationality rights equal to those of the Germans, despite the former's inferior numbers.[30]

The fundamental historical rebuttal came from economics professor Franz Makowiczka. He rejected entirely Palacký's argument that

Bohemia's tie to the German *Bund* was purely dynastic and voluntary, and that it implied no obligation on the part of Czechs to participate in Frankfurt's deliberations. "Bohemia is indissolubly linked to Germany," he countered. "Her connection with Germany is as old as her history."[31] As far back as the fourteenth century, kings such as Charles IV already considered themselves more German than Czech; and by the beginning of the eighteenth century, under Joseph I, Bohemia was declared an inseparable part of the imperial lands. Voluntary association did not exist, and if it ever had, the distinction had become obscured by the time the Holy Roman Empire was transformed into the *Bund*, following the Napoleonic wars.[32]

Havlíček led the defense of Palacký, strengthening his own claim to leadership among Czech liberals. Writing in *Národní noviny* (National News), he admitted that Austria had been shaken by the revolution. Yet she might survive, he observed, because Slav support of her was constant, even if liberal German was not.[33] What confused the situation was the growing attraction of Frankfurt for certain Austrian government ministers. Unlike middle class German intellectuals, they did not regard Austria's demise as inevitable. To the contrary, they shared Metternich's dream of Austrian domination of all central European German states, and they realized that the goal would be frustrated if they ignored Frankfurt and its labors subsequently proved fruitful.[34]

These Austrian designs on the German Confederation, and even Italy, fostered, according to Havlíček, a serious misunderstanding of Austria's destiny. Two hundred years earlier the Habsburgs had ignored Wallenstein's warning that excessive preoccupation with the Protestant threat was jeopardizing Austria's ability to defend Europe's southeastern flank. The result was a second, nearly disastrous Turkish siege of Vienna (1683). Now in the nineteenth century, Austria was again acting against her true interests and mission–to serve as an "association of diverse peoples with equal dignity."[35] "O irony of fate! The Czechs are more Austrian than the Austrians themselves! We in Prague, we in Zagreb, have cared better and more persistently for your welfare [than have you, the Austrian government] . . . . Wallenstein fell, sacrificed to the Jesuits. But what did not happen two hundred years ago [Austria's disengagement from the *Bund*] can still be realized today."[36]

Throughout the spring and summer of 1848, Havlíček expanded his support of Palacký. By late April the Frankfurt controversy had split the bi-national *Svatováclavský výbor* into rival Czech and German organizations. Palacký became chief policymaker, Havlíček journalistic

spokesman, of the Czech-dominated *Národní výbor* (National Committee).[37] In May, Palacký helped to organize the Prague Slav Congress, to counteract Great German nationalism and Magyar separatism and to reaffirm Slav loyalty to the Monarchy. Convinced of the correctness of the policies that underlay the move, Havlíček endorsed the congress and publicized it enthusiastically in the press.[38] In mid-June, the Whitsuntide uprising forced an end to the congress, and both men condemned the revolt.[39] Armed insurrections invariably provoked military reaction, they believed, and were antithetical to stable, productive change. For that reason, too, they condemned the October student rebellion in Vienna and efforts by the anarchist Bakunin to topple all legally established European governments.[40]

Nevertheless, the two men gradually developed some differences, and in some areas the differences were more than incidental. Palacký, for example, had a sophisticated appreciation of almost all aspects of governmental reform. As the greatest Czech constitutional thinker of the nineteenth century, he recognized in 1848 the difficulties of drafting a constitution that would provide Austria the decentralization of authority demanded by revolutionaries and, at the same time, be acceptable to the Crown. In three constitutional drafts, he struggled to reconcile contradictions between the principles of "historic state-rights" (*Staatsrecht*) and "nationality," the most frequently mentioned criteria for determining the nature and scope of federalization.[41] As we know, he never resolved the problem. But his failure resulted more from factors beyond his control than from any lack of insight or from a lack of trust in him by authorities who appointed him to the imperial constitution-drafting committee.[42]

Havlíček, in his constitutional thinking, more closely resembled the average Austrian citizen. Sometimes interested, sometimes not, he was often confused. Already in March, 1848, he had warned that "constitution" was an evasive word, variously interpreted, and easily misunderstood.[43] Yet in commenting on constitutional issues, he favored first *Staatsrecht*, then "nationality," and sometimes both simultaneously, as the basis of Czech autonomy.[44] When finally in December, 1849, he endorsed Palacký's scheme for an Empire of eight autonomous ethnic units, he did so to revive an already dead revolution, rather than from a conviction that the plan was the best possible one.[45]

Other differences were due to contrasts in personality or to occasional disagreements over tactics. Palacký's temperament enabled him to get on well with most persons. Among his friends he counted Slavs and non-Slavs, bourgeois, aristocrats, and ecclesiastics. His zealous

participation in *Reichstag* debates, both in Vienna and Kroměříž (Kremsier), earned him some enemies. But most of his associates, friend and foe, respected him. Particularly attractive was his willingness to compromise, when purely ideological solutions to problems were impossible and when the need to be realistic did not require abandonment of principle. Thus in the wake of the Whitsuntide events he supported Leo Thun, governor of Bohemia, against the hated General Windischgrätz.[46] Thun was no champion of the Czech cause, but as a guardian of Habsburg interests he was preferable to the man who had crushed the uprising with great force and imposed martial law on Prague.

Havlíček's acerbic temperament, as noted earlier, involved him in numerous disputes. It affected, too, his journalistic prose, which was alternately blunt and simple, colorful and vulgar, designed as much to infuriate as to persuade his adversaries. Like Palacký, he served in the *Reichstag,* but made few speeches; and finding the haggling in the imperial assembly tiresome, he eventually resigned his seat (December, 1848).[47]

As for tactics, Havlíček could and did change them, at times dramatically. In April, 1848, during a meeting of the *Národní výbor*, he told poet Moritz Hartmann that, were the Czechs to be faced with certain domination by either Germans or Russians, he would prefer "the Russian whip to German 'freedom'."[48] And after 1848 he wrote to Palacký that the Czechs had acted too timidly by trusting the imperial government, while separatist Magyars and *grossdeutsch* liberals openly defied it.[49] Such statements resulted perhaps from the stresses of the revolution and did not necessarily reflect permanent changes of attitude. But they did contradict Havlíček's and Palacký's insistence on other occasions that political oppression transcends nationality and that opposition to absolutism requires moderation.

In the end, such dissimilarities were never so great as to disrupt the essential cordial relationship between Palacký and Havlíček. Even with the return of absolutism they maintained political contacts and strengthened their personal ties. In March, 1849, Palacký supported his colleague when Havlíček attacked Stadion's *Oktroi* constitution and was brought to trial in the first anti-press litigation of the Schwarzenberg era.[50] He did so again in January, 1850, when Havlíček was forced to halt publication of *Národní noviny*, in part for publicizing Palacký's own criticism of the government's centralization program (December, 1849).[51] Later, when Havlíček moved to Kutná Hora and established *Slovan* (The Slav), Palacký urged his friend not to close the newspaper

when government officials attempted to influence its editorial policy.[52] And he stood by Havlíček when the latter was arrested and exiled to Brixen in December, 1851.

The harsher absolutism of 1851-60 forced an end to even limited collaboration among revolutionaries. Separated physically and under police surveillance, Palacký and Havlíček reduced their contacts to infrequent exchanges of letters. This correspondence was largely non-political, but both men spoke occasionally of the failure of the revolution, and even of plans for the future. Late in December 1851, Havlíček confided to Palacký his intention to dramatize the deterioration of justice in Austria by satirizing the circumstances of his arrest.[53] And the following summer he wrote of his desire to escape to Serbia.[54] Palacký, in turn, urged his friend not to abandon hope of release and to spend his time writing a nationalistic novel which could counteract the resurgence of absolutism in the Czech lands.[55] Of these particular plans only Havlíček's satire of Austrian police practices–*Tyrolské elegie* (Tyrolean Elegies)– was ever accomplished. Declining in health for over a year, Havlíček died of tuberculosis in the summer of 1856. Palacký lived another twenty years, but his later political involvements were never extensive.

Neither man realized his goal of the federal reorganization of Austria. Each advocated tactics which, though justifiable, proved ineffective; for the Austro-Slavs' insistence on non-violence and on fidelity to the Habsburgs earned them a reward no different from that of the Magyars after Világos. Still, the two men's achievements were not inconsequential. Together they transformed earlier, amorphous Pan-Slav ideals into a narrower and more feasible program of reform. The result, Austro-Slavism, was not new. But Palacký's and Havlíček's approach to it was unique. They were the first to appreciate its full political application, as a means of reconciling liberty for individual peoples with the common good of a large, multi-national state.

Individually, Palacký contributed his constitutional labors and a moral leadership based on conciliation and his own irreproachable character. Not always the best politician, he was still the only person who in 1848 commanded the respect of all politically active groups in Czech society. Havlíček's special contributions were his early analyses of the Russian question, his constant support of Palacký, and his attempts through journalism to increase the political consciousness of apathetic citizens. It was the combination of a shared ideology and the application of different but mutually complementary individual talents that made the two men compatible, if not always successful, political allies.

NOTES

1. Josef Václav Frič, *Paměti* (3 vols.; Prague, 1957-63), I, pp. 305-06. The memoirs were published originally in 1891.

2. Jakub Malý, *Naše znovuzrození: přehled národního života českého za posledního půlstoletí* (3 parts in one volume; Prague, 1880), I, pp. 69, 74, 76.

3. Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Karel Havlíček: snahy a tužby politického probuzení* (Prague, 1904), pp. 268-90. Cf. Masaryk, *Česká otázka: snahy a tužby národního obrození* (Prague, 1908). For criticisms of Masaryk's interpretation see Arnošt Denis, *Čechy po Bílé hoře* (6 vols.; Prague, 1911), IV, pp. 301-02; and Zdeněk V. Tobolka's review in *Naše doba*, XI (1904), pp. 787-89. Also enlightening is the Masaryk-Tobolka polemic, "Havlíček skutečný a fiktivní," *Naše doba*, XII (1905), pp. 78-80, 237-40.

4. Karel Tůma, *Karel Havlíček: nejslavnější publicista českého národa* (Kutná Hora, 1885). The study was intended to help the Young Czechs expand their political arsenal by showing the compatibility of the party's program and tactics with those of the popularly revered Havlíček. The result was an exaggeration of Havlíček's radicalism through a reduction of his philosophy to political liberalism, anti-Germanism, and anti-clericalism.

5. The "conversions" occured in 1813 and 1839, respectively. See Joseph F. Zacek, *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague, 1970), p. 16; and Havlíček to M. Příborský, January 16, 1839, in Ladislav Quis, ed., *Korespondence Karla Havlíčka* (Prague, 1903), p. 725. Hereafter, *KH Korespondence.*

6. Antonín Okáč, *Český sněm a vláda před březnem 1848* (Prague, 1947), pp. 78-81.

7. The best of the detailed studies of Havlíček's early life is still Václav Zelený, "Ze života Karla Havlíčka," *Osvěta*, II (1872), pp. 320-36, 477-94, 642-62, and III (1873), pp. 14-30.

8. Zdeněk V. Tobolka, *Literatura česká devatenáctého století* (3 vols, in 4 parts; Prague, 1902-07), III/1, p. 583.

9. There have been several studies of this important controversy, which led to the abandonment of Czech as a literary language by young Slovak Protestant intellectuals. Among the more balanced accounts are V.A. Frantsev, *Cheshsko-slovenskii razkol i ego otgoloski v literature sorokovych godov* (Warsaw, 1915); Milan Hodža, *Čezkoslovenský rozkol: príspevky k dejinám slovenčiny* (Turciansky Sv. Martin, 1920); and Jan Novotný, *O bratrské družbe Čechu a Slováků za národního obrození* (Prague, 1959).

10. *Pražské noviny* (hereafter, *PN*), February 15-March 12, 1846; reprinted in Zdeněk V. Tobolka, ed., *Karla Havlíčka Borovského politické spisy* (3 vols. in 5 parts; Prague, 1900-03), I, pp. 32-101. Hereafter, *KHPS.*

11. Ibid., p. 64.

12. Ibid., p. 69.

13. Bohuš Rieger, ed., *Františka Palackého spisy drobné* (3 vols.; Prague, 1898-1902), I, p. 19. Hereafter, *FPSD.*

14. The best treatment of Czech-Russian relations in the first half of the nineteenth century is Josef Jirásek, *Rusko a my: studie vztahů československých-ruských od počátku 19. století do r. 1867* (Prague, 1929). For information on the

Czechs who did go to Russia before 1848, see pp. 12, 128-30, and 247. Also Ivan Pfaff and Vladimír Závodsky, *Tradice česko-ruských vztahů v dějinách* (Prague, 1957), p. 111.

15. *FPSD*, I, p. 20.

16. There is no satisfactory study of liberalism as it affected the western Slavs. A balanced interpretation of Austro-German liberalism is in Georg Franz, *Liberalismus: die deutschliberale Bewegung in der Habsburgischen Monarchie* (Munich, 1955).

17. Josef Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo Františka Palackého* (2 vols.; Prague, 1926-27), I, pp. 147-48.

18. Ibid., p. 163.

19. Ibid., pp. 218-21. Also helpful is Zacek's discussion in *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist*, pp. 83ff.

20. "Korouhev naše," *PN*, March 19, 1848, *KHPS*, I, p. 241.

21. "Naše politika," *Národní noviny* (hereafter, *NN*), April 12, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, p. 14. He expressed similar thoughts in "Daniel O'Connell," *PN*, June 13-27, 1847, and in "Výklad hesla Národních novin," *NN*, July 4, 1848. Cited in *KHPS*, I, p. 194ff, and II/1, pp. 67-69.

22. Emanuel Chalupný, *Havlíček: prostředí, osobnost a dílo* (Prague, 1929), p. 398.

23. "Politický aforismus o státu," *FPSD*, I, pp. 7-8.

24. *PN*, December 27, 1846, *KHPS*, I p. 148.

25. S.V. Utechin, *Russian Political Thought* (New York, 1963), pp. 105ff.

26. Karel Slavíček, *Tajná politická společnost Český Repeal 1848* (Prague, 1947), pp. 73-117 *passim*. Also, Karel Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 38.

27. The complete list of demands is in Jan Černý, ed., *Boj za právo: sborník aktů politických u věcech státu a národa českého od roku 1848* (Prague, 1893), pp. 12-17.

28. The other causes are diverse and difficult to interpret because they involve charges, some biased, made by both nationalities during the revolution. To the Germans, some Czechs, including Havlíček, created a dangerous misunderstanding of Czech intentions when they urged their fellow nationals to tear down German signs in Prague and to replace them with Czech-language posters. See *PN*, March 19, 1848, *KHPS*, I, p. 235; and K.J. Beneš, ed., *Rok 1848 v projevech současníků* (Prague, 1948), pp. 54-55. Also offensive to Germans were the activities of the *Svatováclavský sbor* (St. Wenceslaus Corps), later renamed *Svornost* (Unanimity). As a paramilitary civilian guard, the corps committed itself "to defend always and everywhere the Czech nationality", and some of its members incited riots and intimidated persons considered unsympathetic to Czech aspirations. Such activities may have suggested to the Germans a Czech desire for exclusive control of the Bohemian revolution. Additional information is in Josef Toužimský, *Na úsvitě nové doby* (Prague, 1898), pp. 157-59, and in W.W. Tomek, *Paměti z meho ziwota* (2 vols.; Prague, 1904-05), I, p. 259.

The Czechs, for their part, objected to the wearing of the Great German tricolors in Prague which, in early April, produced a number of violent clashes between Czech and German partisans on the avenue Příkopy. See Palacký's concerned remarks before the *Národní vybor* on April 13 and 14, *FPSD*, I, p. 38. In addition, it is clear that there was strong pro-Frankfurt sentiment in Bohemia already weeks before

Palacký's letter or the formal Czech-German split, and German leaders only briefly discouraged its spread. See *Reichenberger Wochenblatt*, April 1, 1848; *Prager Zeitung*, April 5, 1848; and Černý, ed., *Boj za právo*, p. 82. On most accounts, Czech and German liberals shared responsibility for the deterioration of their relations.

29. "Ein Brief an Herrn Franz Palacky," *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen*, April 18, 1848. The response was written on the fifteenth, published three days later.

30. "Böhmen und das Frankfurter Parliament," ibid., April 19, 1848. Cf. Heinrich Reutter, "Eine zweite Stimme über Oesterreichs Anschluss an Deutschland," *Prager Zeitung*, April 18, 1848.

31. "Offenes Sendschreiben an meine Landsleute," *Bohemia*, April 20, 1848.

32. Ibid.

33. "Rakousy," *NN*, April 19, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, pp. 17-18.

34. Robert Maršan, *Čechové a Němci r. 1848 a boj o Frankfurt* (Prague, 1898), pp. 73-75.

35. *NN*, April 19, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, p. 18.

36. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

37. The German-dominated counterpart was the "Verein der Deutschen aus Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien zur Aufrechthaltung ihrer Nationalität."

38. *NN*, May 19, 1848, in Václav Žáček, ed., *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848: sbírka dokumentů* (Prague, 1958), pp. 53-54. See also Václav Čejchan, "Ke vzniku myšlenky slovanského sjezdu," *Slovanský přehled*, XX (1928), pp. 401-02. For attitudes of other Slavs toward the congress, see Jaroslav Šidak, "Austroslavizam i Slavenski Kongres u Pragu," *Historijski pregled*, III (1960), pp. 210-13.

39. *FPSD*, I, p. 51. Josef Fischer, ed., *Z politického odkazu Frant. Palackého: výbor stati* (Prague, 1926), pp. 57-58, and 193. *NN*, June 29, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, pp. 62-64.

40. *FPSD*, I, pp. 65-67. *NN*, October 25, 1848, and January 21, 1849, *KHPS*, II/1, pp. 187, and 274-76.

41. *FPSD*, I, pp. 59-64, 69-74, 112-20. Also Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo*, I, pp. 225-26.

42. The reasons for the failure of constitutional government in Austria in 1848-49 are discussed in A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy* (London, 1960), pp. 71-85.

43. *PN*, March 19, 1848, *KHPS*, I, p. 239.

44. There is evidence of vacillation between *Staatsrecht* and "nationality" in practically all of Havlíček's writing on constitutional government. In 1842, even before he embarked on his public career, he viewed the Bohemian kingdom as a legally indivisible unit comprised of all its historic units, including Silesia. See his map in Fond II T4-14, *Literární archív Památníku národního písemnictví v Praze (LAPNP)*. The fact that the kingdom had lost the greater part of Silesia was due to the "illegal Prussian seizure" of 1742. *NN*, April 7, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, p. 7. Early in the revolution, even as he spoke of *Staatsrecht*, he supported the plan of *Oesterreichische Zeitung* for a monarchy composed of ethnically homogenous, federal autonomous units. The latter clearly violated *Staatsrecht*. See "Die Völker Oesterreichs," *OZ*, April 1, 1848; and *NN*, April 7, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, pp. 5, 7. For additional information and contrasts see the issues of *Národní noviny* for the following dates: April 18 and August 1, 1848, and October 28 and November 8-9, 1849. *KHPS*,

II/1, pp. 15-17, 89, and II/2, pp. 748-49, 789ff. One of the best commentaries on the subject is in Chalupný, *Prostředí, osobnost a dílo*, pp. 382-95.

45. See Havlíček's remarks to Palacký in the preface to *Duch Národních novin*, a collection of editorials which Havlíček dedicated to his friend in May, 1851. Also Palacký's letter to Havlíček, May 2, 1851, *KH Korespondence*, p. 631.

46. Palacky in 1872 denied that he had had any personal antipathy toward Windischgrätz. He laid the blame for the bombardment of Prague more on the general's subordinate officers. *FPSD*, I, p. 346.

47. *NN*, December 14, 1848, *KHPS*, II/1, p. 238.

48. Toužimský, *Na úsvitě nové doby*, p. 331. Cf. *KHPS*, II/2, pp. 1012-13.

49. March 16, 1853, *KH Korespondence*, p. 682.

50. Havlíček was eventually acquitted of charges that he had slandered the government. The trial transcript is in *KHPS*, II/2, pp. 416-55.

51. *NN*, December 23, 1849, ibid., II/2, pp. 854-66.

52. Palacký's letter has apparently been lost. See Havlíček's reply of July 21, 1851, *KH Korespondence*, pp. 638-39.

53. Ibid., p. 644.

54. Havlíček to Adolf Pinkas, February 28, 1852, ibid., p. 564. Also Havlíček to Palacký, August 25, 1852, ibid., p. 654. This contrasts with earlier plans to buy a farm and eventually retire to the countryside around his native Německý Brod. II T4-2, *LAPNP*.

55. Palacký to Havlíček, January 28, 1852, *KH Korespondence*, p. 648. The following August, Havlíček rejected the idea on grounds that he had neither the peace of mind nor the necessary information for such a novel. Ibid., p. 650.

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PALACKÝ AND CZECH POLITICS AFTER 1876

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František Palacký has exercised an enormous influence on Czech political as well as scholarly and intellectual development. This paper aims to delineate and evaluate his enduring political influence in at least four respects. He directly influenced his own and succeeding generations by his statesmanlike personal example and by origniating and advocating specific political programs and policies. Immediately and in the long run he indirectly conditioned Czech politics through the laws and self-governmental institutions that he helped establish in the 1860s and most importantly through his political ideals and interpretations of Czech history.

For most Czechs, Palacký set a positive example as a patriotic and intellectual statesman, whose character, aspirations, and peasant origins very much typified those of the liberal Czech intelligentsia and upper middle class. Born in 1798 to a literate and fairly prosperous family of Protestant Moravian peasants, he had by 1848 won recognition abroad and at home as a distinguished scholar and as the principal political spokesman of his people. In doing so, he set an example to which many upwardly mobile Czechs could aspire. Moreover, Czechs from all walks of life could identify with, if not emulate his achievements and also appreciate his having resurrected the national past and helped acquire international recognition for the nation.[1]

Palacký's continuing political influence also owes much to the fact that he was the first Czech to define a comprehensive national political program as well as the first to be acknowledged internationally as a political leader. That program, based on historic Bohemian state-rights (*České státní právo*), sought autonomy for the three Czech lands–Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia–within the framework of a reformed and federated Habsburg Monarchy.[2] Palacký's efforts to advance civil liberties and national autonomy during the tumultous years from 1848 through 1851 and during the eleven years of constitutional crisis after 1860 may be seen as the logical continuation of his scholarly contributions to the Czech national revival during the *Vormärz*. More than any other Czech, he and Karel Havlíček directed that national revival toward political as well as

cultural and economic goals.[3] Beginning in 1848, Palacký served for a quarter century as the principal Czech spokesman in dealings with the Habsburgs or with political allies and opponents. He either authored or co-authored all important declarations of Czech political aims, from those of 1848 and 1849 to the rescript of 1871. These he further clarified by publishing timely political essays and by delivering policy speeches to imperial assemblies in 1848 and 1849 and after 1860 to the Bohemian diet or the upper house of the *Reichsrat*.[4]

Czechs have honored Palacký for political as well as intellectual and moral leadership, not only by word and deed but by large public festivals often designed to demonstrate national solidarity as well as to commemorate Palacký's achievements. This occurred at the celebration of his seventieth birthday in June, 1868, that coincided with the laying of the cornerstone of the Czech National Theatre to be built by popular subscription and with the holding of *tábory* (mass open air assemblies) that demonstrated for Bohemian state-rights and greater civil liberties. Political overtones also appeared at the international convocation of June, 1898, in Prague to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of Palacký's birth. At the same time, twenty-two years after his death, the Czechs commemorated the fiftieth anniversaries of the Prague Slav Congress, the revolutions of 1848, and the abolition of serfdom and the manorial system. In 1898, the Czechs also were beginning to recover from a serious political defeat sustained when German riots prompted imperial withdrawal of the 1897 Badeni language ordinance requiring all civil servants in the Czechs lands to be able to read and write Czech as well as German. In 1898, the Czechs not only honored Palacký's many positive contributions to knowledge, national welfare, and Slavic solidarity, but also noted how far they had to go to accomplish those objectives he had helped delineate thirty to fifty years before.[5] In commemorating in 1926 the 50th anniversary of Palacký's death, many Czechs regarded the recently established Czechoslovak Republic as the logical culmination of Palacký's scholastic and political endeavors.[6]

Palacký, like most Czechs of his and later generations, by no means regarded political success as the measure of all things. After all, the Czech national revival initially encouraged economic growth and achievements in scholarship, the arts, and letters. During the *Vormärz* and again during the fifties, two periods when the Habsburgs curtailed civil liberties and popular participation in public affairs, Palacký by example and exhortation urged Czechs to advance individual achievement and public welfare through intellectual, artistic, and commercial endeavor.[7] He also supported those

private philanthropic, patriotic, and cultural associations by which Czechs collectively worked to further national revival and prepare for the day when imperial laws would authorize limited civil liberties and popular political activity. Despite imperial censorship of his and other patriotic writings and the imprisonment of many contemporaries, Palacký confidently expected that his countrymen would ultimately obtain more national autonomy and civil rights within a federated Habsburg Monarchy. His having worked patiently and intelligently toward these goals in trying times surely encouraged his fellow countrymen in similar circumstances to do likewise.[8]

Palacký's political influence after 1876 also owed much to the fact that he had for more than three decades led the Czech people toward greater national autonomy and individual freedom with wisdom, prudence, and courage. His conduct of politics from 1848 to 1876 appeared wise to posterity, in large part because he based that conduct upon clearly defined goals, thorough knowledge of political circumstances, and a keen sense of historical development. This conduct was also wise to the extent that he delineated political objectives for the Czech nation compatible with those of other small nations seeking to achieve some measure of national emancipation and social reform. He also tried to base Czech politics on such broad principles as liberalism and the right of each nation to cultivate its best and most unique qualities in order to contribute to the general well-being of mankind. By conducting Czech politics in accordance with these principles and with the aspirations of other small European nations, Palacký, recognizing that no small nation could or should go it alone, sought to encourage Slavic solidarity and the cooperation of all Europeans in advancing individual and national freedom and achievement. Simultaneously, he thus helped reassure the Czechs that they acted in accordance with powerful and irreversible historical currents in seeking to advance individual rights and national autonomy. In this sense, the Czechs' confidence by 1876 in their ultimate success appeared especially warranted in light of the recent German and Italian unifications and the rapid advances toward unity and independence made by smaller European peoples, such as the South Slavs, the Irish, the Norwegians, and the Greeks.[9]

Palacký's political tactics may appropriately be defined as prudent, at least to the extent that he and his National Party colleagues did not act without carefully considering pertinent political circumstances and the possible consequences of any action. These tactics and his notions of what would be politically possible as well as desirable powerfully conditioned middle class and agrarian Czech politics until the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy. Prudence, a realistic appraisal of Czech political

inexperience and weakness, and recognition of constraints imposed by an authoritarian constitutional monarchy led Palacký in January, 1861, to ally with the party of conservative great landowners, at that time the only powerful political force favoring greater autonomy for the historic Czech lands. He did so, recognizing that that party upheld ideals and interests more often than not incompatible with those of most Czechs, especially peasants or workers of little property or education. Palacký and Rieger nonetheless found this alliance necessary in obtaining a majority of votes in the Bohemian Diet on certain issues and in trying to wring concessions from the imperial authorities. Prudence and a sense of the possible also helped dictate Palacký's expression of Czech demands for greater political autonomy in terms of historic Bohemian state-rights, on the theory that the crown would be more likely to restore what it had once taken away than to make political concessions on the basis of any natural rights of man or of small nations.[10] Bohemian state-rights based on historical precedent also, in Palacký's opinion, reminded Czechs of that glorious past from which they derived a sense of nationl identity and confidence concerning the future. But prudence, more than that precedent, required that party programs be based upon existing laws and institutions and phrased in terms that did not frighten the Habsburgs, even though Palacký viewed that dynasty as an episode in the histories of peoples who long predated and would long outlive it.[11] Indeed, so long as the Czechs kept this in mind and maintained self-governmental institutions and a liberal state-rights program, they did not need to fear making small day-to-day compromises with the Habsburgs.

By deed as well as by word, Palacký argued that the advancement of Czech interests at times required courageous and principled action, as well as clearly enunciated principles, prudent conduct, and a keen sense of historical continuity. At moments of great danger or opportunity, the Czechs had to have the courage to act decisively on the basis of principle instead of expediency. This he did on several occasions, notably in sending his famous open letter to the Frankfurt *Vorparlament* of 1848, in attending the 1867 Slavic Ethnographic Congress in Moscow, and by having with Rieger brought the Czech question to French attention before and during the Franco-German War. All three acts aroused strong Habsburg and Austrian German disapproval and led to Palacký being denounced for "Panslavism" or for meddling in foreign policy, whose management remained the prerogative of the crown. By these actions, Palacký may temporarily have set back the Czech national movement to the extent that more imperial officials became prejudiced against it and its leaders. But, at the

same time, he set a courageous and heartening example for his countrymen and demonstrated that they would refuse to settle for less than first-class citizenship within the Monarchy and the same rights and responsibilities enjoyed by the politically and economically more advanced countries of Western Europe and North America.[12]

From 1876 to 1914, Palacký exercised an indirect but profound influence upon Czech politics through the laws and self-governmental institutions that he and his National Party colleagues, F.L. Rieger, Karel Mattuš, and Jakub Škarda had helped establish during the early 1860's. Subject to imperial supervision within the "two-tracked" Cisleithanian system of government, the Czechs used these institutions at the communal, district, and provincial levels to obtain a substantial degree of political autonomy. Like Palacký, most middle-class Czechs regarded these institutions as the first step toward the eventual achievement of Bohemian state-rights and the greater federalization and liberalization of the Habsburg Monarchy. This they did despite the fact that class voting in communes and districts and curial voting for the provincial diets insured that men of wealth and education would control all self-governmental institutions. In fact, Palacký did not challenge the view of his colleagues that such men ought to lead and speak for the entire nation. Also in the early sixties, he and his associates took the lead in organizing the National, or Old Czech Party and several of the more important Czech patriotic and cultural associations that, unlike the party, would continue to develop after 1914. At the same time, they established, as noted, the alliance between the National Party and the conservative great landowners that would endure, based as it was upon unrepresentative self-government in an authoritarian constitutional framework, until the collapse of the Monarchy.[13]

After 1876, Palacký's political programs from the sixties appeared increasingly to be reactionary if not anachronistic, especially as articulated by the National Party. Unrepresentative self-governmental institutions primarily served an educated and propertied elite that ostensibly governed in the interests of the entire nation. So long as a majority of Czechs had no formal education or experience in self-government, Palacký himself had preferred rule by an elite to letting all citizens share equally in the management of public affairs. In contrast to the Young Czechs and ultimately all Czech parties but his own and the more conservative Catholics, he opposed establishing not only universal manhood suffrage but political parties in the modern sense of the word and any sort of multi-party system. Seldom did he show much concern for what became two pressing problems of later nineteenth century Czech politics—the social question and the emancipation

of women. In fact, he tried during the last decade of his life to dampen class struggle and political factionalism, each of which he thought to be an undesirable aberration in Czech historical development and an obstacle to maintaining a unified national political movement led by the National Party. In his opinion, Czechs should dampen any political or class conflicts among themselves in the interests of struggling, on the one hand, against German efforts to maintain political privileges and, on the other, against imperial attempts to increase centralization and arbitrary authoritarian rule.[14]

Outmoded as most of Palacký's policies may appear in a twentieth century context, they did much more than merely reflect or cater to bourgeois interests. Highly unrepresentative self-governmental institutions that became bastions of wealth and education nonetheless helped, for two generations, to maintain Czech political autonomy in practice as well as in theory and to train Czechs in the exercise of political responsibility. Moreover, the strongly patriotic and liberal basis of Czech politics that most Czechs took for granted by 1900 owed much to Palacký's initial and continuing support. During the sixties, for example, he had waged a long and successful struggle to prevent conservative Czech Catholics and their aristocratic and clerical supporters from gaining control or decisively influencing policies of the National Party.[15]

By the turn of the century, the three mass Czech political parties–the Social Democrats, Agrarians, and National Socialists, the first founded in 1878 and the others in 1898–and the several progressive parties of the intelligentsia sought to extend civil liberties and broaden the electoral franchise in all self-governmental and representative institutions. By markedly increasing popular participation in politics, by emphasizing economic interests and advocating greater social reform, the mass parties especially challenged the antiquated and authoritarian Habsburg system much more severely than did the elite National and Young Czech parties. By the turn of the century, all mass and progressive parties as well as a majority of the Young Czechs advocated almost every reform that Palacký had at one time either opposed or sought to postpone. Each party nonetheless continued to honor Palacký as a great statesman, awakener, and historian, while quite properly blaming contemporary Old Czech and Young Czech party leaders for upholding many of the unrepresentative institutions and outmoded policies he had helped establish. This outlook thereafter generally characterized all but the most conservative and Catholic of Czech parties. If this had not been the case, or if Palacký's practical politics were considered the most important part of his political legacy,

he would not today be honored at home and abroad as the political and intellectual "father of his country."[16]

Most Czechs have always recognized that Palacký and his colleagues, despite their opposition to universal suffrage and popular participation in politics, regarded the common people with affection and did not deliberately encourage their exploitation by an intellectual or commercial elite. Palacký, in fact, deeply revered if he did not idealize the common people, from whom he and most other Czech political and intellectual leaders had arisen. Moreover, his vision of future Czech politics did not in principle exclude greater popular participation. To be sure, he thought that only an educated and nationally conscious electorate could be trusted to vote responsible and intelligently. The number of citizens eligible for that sort of electorate, small during his lifetime, grew quite rapidly after the advent in 1869 of free, compulsory, and secular elementary education for all Czechs. Besides, some efforts to broaden popular political activity, including those undertaken after 1900 by T.G. Masaryk's Progressive Party, even cited Palacký in advocating the simultaneous moral and intellectual education of a future mass electorate.[17]

Like almost all Czech political leaders of his and later generations, Palacký did not on principle advocate a policy either of compromise or of opposition toward the authoritarian Habsburg Monarchy. Czech politicians sought by legal and non-violent means to advance what they discerned to be the national interest. They chose to compromise or cooperate with the Habsburgs, if that appeared likely to bring satisfaction. If not, they usually undertook non-violent opposition to the imperial government, often by means of the press, self-governmental institutions, and popular demonstrations. In trying to realize his state-rights program, Palacký often encountered intransigeance on the part of the Habsburg dynasty and the privileged social strata that upheld it. He did not lose his confidence and sense of mission, despite the fact that he and the Czech cause suffered severe setbacks in 1849 and 1851, from 1862 through the later sixties, and again in 1871. Throughout, Palacký refused to compromise "Bohemian state-rights," even to the extent of refusing to elect delegates to a central *Reichsrat* for Cisleithania or to participate in deliberations of the Bohemian diet so long as that situation obtained. Thus, the policy of the National or Old Czech Party was, in theory, more resolute in passively opposing the dynasty than any policy pursued by the politically more radical Young Czechs, who after establishing themselves as an independent political party in December, 1874, participated actively in the Bohemian diet. To be sure, Old Czechs as well as Young Czechs meanwhile continued

to manage self-governmental institutions in all predominately Czech communes and districts.[18]

From the turn of the century onward, Czechs increasingly remembered Palacký more for his view of history and sense of national mission than for a number of specific policies undertaken by the very conservative National Party. This intellectual and ideological, as opposed to pragmatic influence remained paramount at least until 1948, if not beyond, and even facilitated the enactment of such progressive measures as universal suffrage, civil rights, free public education, and social reform. This may in the long run have been Palacký's most enduring contribution to Czech and Slovak politics. To a considerable degree, his view that the Czech nation had a civilizing mission that helped justify national self-preservation and growth and his belief that the Hussite era marked the high point in Czech historical development, were increasingly transformed and transmitted by T.G. Masaryk, whose idea of the Czech question and understanding of the past owed much to Palacký. To the extent that Masaryk and other progressives sought to separate the timeless in Palacký's thought from what they discerned to be his conservatively-oriented and outmoded political program of the sixties, they emphasized again, as Palacký and other Czech Romantics had done, the importance of ideals in politics as guides to action and as standards against which the success or failure of any policy might be judged. Also, having had more time to observe Habsburg inability to reform an antiquated political system, they, much more than Palacký, criticized the Monarchy and questioned its ability to survive.[19]

Masaryk, to be sure, took a much more present-minded view of the past than did Palacký and reinterpreted many of his views in light of social and political problems facing the Czechs at the turn of the century. Like Palacký, Masaryk was a Protestant and an intellectual who entered politics from a successful scholarly career. He, too, thought that political activity was an important means of social service that logically continued and necessarily complemented his teaching and scholarship. He furthermore approved Palacký's having identified the achievements and ideals of Czech and Hussite Reformation leaders as the high point in Czech history and having contended that these ideals might appropriately guide nineteenth century Czech political and intellectual development. Moreover, Masaryk, likewise desiring to arouse the Czechs to a sense of purpose larger than self-preservation or national advancement, not only endorsed Palacký's interpretation of the past but contended that Palacký and other leading awakeners had, by reviving and popularizing the great Hussite and Reformed traditions, further strengthened and justified such democratic

(*lidové*) currents in Czech politics as free intellectual inquiry, universal suffrage, extended civil rights, and social reform.[20]

Given Masaryk's close identification with Palacký, the founders and leaders of the first Czechoslovak Republic generally emphasized the extent to which Palacký had resurrected a glorious past for the Czechs that, in turn, inspired confidence and offered guidance and consolation. Though Palacký advocated neither democracy in politics nor Czechoslovak independence, he could in word and deed be regarded as a progenitor of the First Republic. By emphasizing that history is primarily that of peoples and not of dynasties or states, he had begun the moral and intellectual emancipation of the Czechs from Habsburg domination. By working to establish and strengthen institutions of self-government in communes, districts, and provinces, he had helped initiate the gradual political liberation of his people from alien aristocratic and dynastic rule. By identifying the "contact and conflict" (*stykání a tykání*) between Czechs and Germans as the overriding theme of Czech history, he encouraged the Czechs to rid themselves of German cultural and political domination without abandoning those benefits that association with Germans might provide. By stressing the advantages of political and religious tolerance, he urged the Czechs to restrain national chauvinism and intolerance that could only be counterproductive. By insisting that historical scholarship be honest and based on fact, he had indirectly helped stimulate critical evaluation of politics and society. Finally, his advocacy of free, universal, and secular education and of every citizen's responsibility for advancing individual and national welfare had helped promote informed and responsible citizenship.[21]

Czechoslovak Marxist scholars have also recognized much in Palacký that is timeless or even positive in the Marxist sense of the word, especially his profound understanding of history and the continuity between past and present. Like earlier generations of politicians and scholars, most admire Palacký's perserverance, hard work, and dedication to certain ideals, however mistaken some may appear in retrospect. But few contemporary Czechoslovak Marxist scholars can without reservation regard Palacký as a "progressive" historical figure. Deservedly criticized is his having become willy-nilly if not deliberately a spokesman for the interests of an upper middle class elite or having at times confused such interests with those of the nation as a whole. Equally, if not more problematic for Czechoslovak Marxist scholars is the paramount place of religious ideals or morality in Palacký's political outlook and sense of Czech historical development. Masaryk's politics and interpretation of Palacký remain

suspect on the same grounds. To some degree, Palacký's prudent practical politics can be discounted as an unavoidable adjustment to difficult circumstances or as something appropriated by a nascent bourgeoisie for selfish ends. Because one cannot similarly explain away the fact that religious idealism constitutes the basis of Palacký's political ideology, few Marxist scholars can consider his political influence to have been entirely positive.[22]

During the past century, Palacký has profoundly influenced Czech politics in at least six respects:

(1) He not only first clearly defined Czech political aspirations but did so in historical and in international perspectives. Political questions appeared much less overwhelming if considered in these perspectives instead of as problems of a particular moment. If one could not take this broad view, Czech political aims would appear quite hopeless and Czech political history simply as a series of humiliating defeats. This sense of history and past achievement has also helped give Czechs the confidence to work toward desirable goals despite the likelihood of being repeatedly defeated.

(2) To some degree Palacký, by exhortation and by personal example, helped condition Czech acceptance of leadership by an intellectual elite. He had advocated elitism and paternalism in Czech politics at a time when both may have been necessary for guiding a politically inexperienced and untutored nation. This attitude, like his having opposed universal suffrage and a multi-party system, appeared increasingly anachronistic after 1876. Nonetheless, many middle-class Czechs continued to be enamored of leadership by an intellectual elite and somewhat prone to hero worship. This was evident during the First Czechoslovak Republic in popular admiration and even hero worship of the President-Liberator and several political party leaders, despite the establishment of representative republican institutions and political democracy by an intellectual elite. Such leadership ended abruptly with the Nazi occupation and did not reemerge during two decades of Communist rule after February, 1948, when mediocrity in high office went hand in hand with Stalinist dictatorship. To the degree that the Czechoslovak intelligentsia recovers its nerve and influence, it is likely to be somewhat attracted to the style of leadership established by Palacký and perpetuated to some extent by Masaryk.

(3) Much more enduring has been Palacký's influence in helping demonstrate to Czechs and Slovaks how to work within established institutions and laws, however unsatisfactory, to advance individual and national interests. A case in point was Palacký's encouraging Czechs to improve their lot in Austria-Hungary by taking over self-governmental institutions

and, to a lesser extent, minor posts in the imperial bureaucracy. Circumstances and institutions have changed with time, but the principle so well illustrated by Palacký endures. For example, Czechs and Slovaks made a great success of parliamentary democracy during the twenty years' truce, upholding those principles and institutions so dear to the British, French, and Americans who had supported Czechs and Slovaks in achieving national independence. Since 1948, Czechs and Slovaks have tried to advance their interests within the ideological and institutional constraints of a people's republic. In a number of respects, the relationship of Palacký and the Old Czechs to Austria-Hungary is thus analogous to that of the KSČ leadership to the Soviet Union.[23]

(4) Palacký helped give Czech politics of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century its characteristically patriotic and liberal foundations and encouraged, through his scholarly as well as polemical writings, a politics more often popular (*lidová*) than democratic (*demokratická*), at least in the sense of advocating policies designed to uplift and improve the lot of the common people while not allowing much popular participation in making and executing those policies.

(5) Palacký was among the first Czech politicians to take a courageous stand on principle at a decisive moment, as he did in 1848, in 1867, and 1871. He has not been the last to do so, as indicated by the actions of his fellow countrymen in the struggle for national independence after 1914, in opposing Nazism after 1939, and most recently in trying to establish "socialism with a human face." One cannot argue, much less prove, that every Czech taking courageous action against heavy odds was inspired by Palacký. One can simply contend that Palacký by courage as well as by intellectual leadership and prudent conduct helped set the style for subsequent Czech and Slovak politics.

(6) Finally, Palacký's influence as a prophet and intellectual leader endures primarily to the extent that he demonstrated to the Czechs that to conduct politics without ideals or a sense of history is to court disaster. Guidance of this sort would be especially necessary in Czech politics, given the great discrepancies, past and present, between aims and achievements, between theory and practice, and between ideals and reality. One simply cannot make much sense of Czech politics in any generation—apparently a series of many compromises and defeats—without taking account of Czech tenacity of purpose and national identiy. This may, in part, explain why Palacký excercised greater posthumous influence in politics through his articulation of Czech political ideals than through any practical political programs that he endorsed or implemented. This is what

he may have anticipated. His historical and political writings appear largely to have been written with one thought in mind. Politics cannot be sensibly or successfully conducted without some sense of history and one's place in the world or without some purpose larger than personal or national achievement. Masaryk expressed much the same opinion in contending that the realist in politics is often that person who acts in so far as possible in accordance with certain ideals and principles.[24]

In part, Palacký appears to have emphasized the need for certain national and liberal ideals precisely because the Czechs as a small nation surrounded by large predatory neighbors had often to compromise and to struggle against heavy odds. Unless some ideals, some sense of purpose, and some sense of historical continuity were maintained, the inevitable politics of compromise might lead to a loss of will and purpose and possibly to spiritual, if not to physical annihilation. Not only have high aspirations and a strong sense of national identiy given courage to Czechs in trying times, but they have also served as the measure against which day-to-day personal and political conduct has to be judged, however ineffective or short of desirable that conduct may be.

NOTES

1. The standard biography of Palacký is Vácslav Řezníček, *František Palacký: jeho život, působení a význam*, 3rd ed. (Prague, 1912). On Palacký's youth and early intellectual development, see Karel Kálal, *Palackého mladá léta (1798-1827)* (Prague, 1925), and J. Hanuš, "Z mladších let Fr. Palackého," *Česká revue*, I (1897-98), pp. 1025-37 and 1326-1345.

2. On Palacký's intellectual achievements, relationship to the scholarship and thought of his times, and enduring intellectual influence, see Josef Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo Františka Palackého*, 2 Vols. (Prague, 1926-27). An excellent critical study of Palacký's historical writing and idea of history is Joseph Zacek, *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague, 1970). On Palacky in the context of the development of Czech writing of political history, see also Jaroslav Werstadt, "Politické dějepisectvi a jeho čeští představitele," *Československý časopis historický*, XXVI (1920), pp. 1-93.

3. On Palacký's contributions to Czech politics up to 1876, see Adolf Srb, "Politická činnost Františka Palackého," in Josef Kalousek, Bohuš Rieger, et al., *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 545-601. A good survey of Palacký's understanding of "society, nation, and the state" that underlay his state-rights program is František Kutnar, "Palackého pojetí společnosti, národa a státu," in František Kutnar, ed., *Tři studie o Františkw Palackem* (Olomouc, 1949), pp. 7-42. A comprehensive collection of Czech political statements and programs during the period 1848-1860, in which those composed by Palacký and Rieger figure heavily, is Jan M. Černý, ed., *Boj za právo: sborník aktů politických u věcech státu a národa českého od roku 1848* (Prague, 1893). On the establishment of

the Czech political program of Bohemian state-rights, see Bruce Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System* (New Haven, 1978). Chapter 3, and Valentin Urfus, "Český státoprávní program na rozhrání let 1860-1861 a jeho ideové složky," *Právněhistorické Studie*, VIII (1962), pp. 127-170, and "Český státoprávní program a české dělnické hnutí v období vzniku první dělnické strany v Čechach," *Právněhistorické Studie*, IX (1963), pp. 97-111.

4. Palacký's principal political essays and speeches may be found in the first volume of a three-volume work edited by Bohuš Rieger, *Spisy drobné*, Vol. I: *Spisy a řeči z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898).

5. On the centenary celebration in 1898, see the reports in *Národní listy*, June 14, 15, and 22, 1898, and *Naše doba*, V (1897-98), pp. 926-927, and a general discussion of that celebration in the context of recent political crises by Garver, *Young Czech Party*, Chapter 9. The memorial volume of commemorative addresses and scholarly papers is the Kalousek and Rieger, et al., *Památník*. On the celebrations, see also V.J. Nováček, "K jubileu Františka Palackého," *Osvěta*, XXVIII (1898), pp. 481-485. For police reports see *Státní ústřední archiv* (Prague), fond PM, 8/1/15/1295 and 3372 (1898). The French consul in Prague reported to Paris on the celebrations: see *Archives diplomatiques, Autriche-Hongrie* NS 12, dispatch dated June 23, 1898.

6. The commemorative volume issued on that occasion is Rudolf Uránek, Josef Pekař, František Žilka, et al., *Památník Palackého 1926* (Prague, 1926).

7. On Palacký during the *Vormärz*, see letters to Pavel Josef Šafařík dated 26.XII.1832, 21.II.1833, 24.V.1837, 15.III.1839, and, afterward, 16.IV.1848, in *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafaříka s Františkem Palackým* (Prague, 1961). On Palacký's view of his cultural and scholarly work of that time in the context of political expectations, see letters and diaries in the collection *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, ed. V.J. Nováček, 3 Vols. (Prague, 1898-1911).

8. Testimony on this point comes from many sources, including T.G. Masaryk, *Palackého idea národa českého* (Prague, 1898; 4th edition, 1947).

9. On Palacký's desire to further international cooperation and Slavic reciprocity, see part VIII of "Idea státu Rakouského," *Drobné spisy*, I, pp. 261-267, and "Drobné řeči v Moskvě a Petrohradě (20. V. až 15. června 1867)," *Drobné spisy*, I, pp. 285-288. See also Milan Prelog, *Pout Slovanů do Moskvy roku 1867*, trans. M. Paulová (Prague, 1931), pp. 48-49, 94-96, 102-103, 141-45.

10. Valentin Urfus, "Český státoprávní program na rozhrání let 1860-1861 a jeho ideové složky," *Právněhistorické Studie*, VIII (1962), pp. 127-170. On the genesis and development of the state-rights program as defined by Palacký, see František Kameníček, *František Palacký v ústavním výboru říšskeho sněmu rakouského* (Prague, 1929).

11. The famous statement was "Byli jsme před Rakouskem, budeme i po něm," ("We Slavs were here before Austria and shall be here after she is gone.") *Spisy drobné*, I p. 266.

12. On the 1867 "pilgrimage" to Moscow and Palacký's participation, see Milan Prelog, *Pout Slovanů do Moskvy roku 1867* (Prague, 1931).

13. On communal, district, and provincial institutions of self-government and their political importance, see Garver, *Young Czech Party*, Chapter 4. On the formation of the National Party and various cultural and patriotic associations in the early sixties, see ibid., Chapter 3.

14. Among Palacký's strongest statements on the need for a single party and for dampening conflicts between Czech factions is that published by *Pokrok* on May 11, 1875, "O roztržce v národu českém," in *Spisy drobné*, I, pp. 413-426.

15. The importance of Palacký's achievement in this regard is not to be underestimated. See, for example, Antonín Okáč, *Rakouský problém a list Vaterland, 1860-1871*, 2 Vols. (Brno, 1970), I, pp. 6-12, 26-30, 70-73; II, pp. 180-186, 193-198, 297-304.

16. See, for example, statements in the various party dailies or weeklies on the occasion of the 1898 Palacký centenary. On the Young Czech view see *Česká revue*, I (1897-98), pp. 1263-64, as well as *Národní listy*, June 14, 1898. Specifically on the Young Czech and Agrarian indebtedness to Palacký, see Garver, *Young Czech Party*, Chapters 3 and 9 respectively.

17. See *Rámcový program české strany lidové (realistické)* (Prague, 1900), pp. 71, 85, 95, and *Program české strany pokrokové, schválen třetím valným sjezdem strany konaným v Praze 6. a 7. ledna 1912* (Prague, 1912), pp. 3-4, 17-18, 21-23.

18. On the policy of "passive resistance" and on this and other issues dividing Old from Young Czechs, see Garver, *Young Czech Party*, Chapter 3.

19. On Masaryk's relationship to Palacký, see especially T.G. Masaryk, *Česká otázka: snahy a tužby národního obrození* (Prague, 1895), pp. 87-161, and *Palackého idea, passim.*

20. Jaroslav Werstadt, *Od "České otázky" k "Nové Evropě": linie politického vývoje Masarykova* (Prague, 1920).

21. Palacký's view of the relationship between Czechs and Germans is discussed by František Dvorský, "František Palacký a náš nepřítel," in Kalousek & Rieger, et al., *Památník*, pp. 443-472. See also František Palacký, "O sporu Čechů a Němců (Výňatek ze spisu o českém dějepisectví 1871)," *Drobné spisy*, I, pp. 322-331. For his evaluation of the relationship in light of German unification after victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and the Emperor's dismissal of the Hohenwart ministry in October, 1871, see František Palacký, "Doslov z r. 1874 (*Gedenkblätter*)," *Drobné spisy*, I, pp. 392-411.

22. Among the better Marxist studies of Palacký are Milan Machovec, *František Palacký a česká filosofie* (Prague, 1961), for intellectual development, and Milena Jetmarová, *František Palacký* (Prague, 1961), for a general assessment of Palacký's political and intellectual achievements. The latter work also contains extensive selections from Palacký's historical and political writing edited by M. Jetmarová.

23. A thorough study of this analogy remains to be written. The situations noted are most analogous to the extent that Czechs in both cases worked within a system and in accordance with a ruling ideology deemed inimical in many respects to individual and national interests and in any case upheld primarily by force.

24. Masaryk best expressed this view in a letter of January 9, 1899, to Karel Kramář, in *Archiv TGM, Archiv ústavu dějin KSČ*, část 26, roku 1899: "You are fighting for Austria! I am not. Palacký said that we were here before Austria and that we shall be here after Austria has gone, but whereas for Palacký that was only a phrase, I want that to become a fact." Masaryk always considered his politics to be those of a "realist" in this sense, from his having termed "realism" the politics of himself, Kaizl, and Kramář in the early 1890's and in accepting the popular designation of "realists" for his People's Party, established in 1900, and its successor, the Progressive Party.

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PALACKÝ AND CZECH CULTURE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Nearly all nations have experienced historical periods of universal decline and recession, which were succeeded by eras of flourishing, many-sided prosperity. As a rule, the prosperous stages give birth to great creative personalities who affect and even alter the fates of their nations. In the modern history of Bohemia, it was František Palacký who influenced the course of the Czech National Revival in such a decisive way. The stormy century that has elapsed since his death has proved the merits and the modern values of his work. Today there is no doubt that Palacký was one of the important "founding fathers" of the modern Czech nation and the chief author of the cultural, political, and moral program of the National Revival. This evaluation of Palacký's historical role has prevailed, although in the past opinions relating to his importance have varied.[1]

Before March, 1848, when Palacký was formulating his political program, a significant part of it dealt with those cultural questions which were of special importance in the objective historical situation of Bohemia. Until now, historical research has been greatly interested in the culture of the Czech Revival, its ideological sources, forms, connections, and consequences. Palacký's significance in this development has already been successfully analyzed. Nevertheless, many problems still remain unclear or have been explained in different ways.[2]

Palacký's extensive and far-reaching activity, reflecting the complicated and contradictory epoch of feudal decay and the rise of the bourgeoisie, has not received balanced study. The chronological stages, the internal structure, and the total meaning of Palacký's work have been analyzed with diverse results. The early period in Bratislava (Pressburg), which became so decisive for Palacký's growth and spiritual development, has for the most part been thoroughly unfolded. However, Palacký's relationship to the Enlightenment and Romanticism and the significance of the two currents for his thought, feelings, and experience remain to be interpreted. Although this task cannot be attempted here, it must be stressed that not only the Enlightenment but also Romanticism intermittently affected

young Palacký, their force varying in different spheres and periods. Romanticism, especially, cannot be excluded from Palacký's early work. The attempts of some authors to do so in recent studies are, I think, unacceptable.

In the same way as Romanticism and the Enlightenment influenced the early formation of Palacký's personality, the whole of his later work was harmoniously pervaded by his artistic and scholarly methods. However, the scholarly principles proved to be stronger and decisive. Palacký, like the majority of educated Czech patriots of the National Revival, longed to become a poet. Soon, however, he recognized his inadequacy of talent and came to the conclusion that the national culture needed something more than poetry. As an eighteen year old student, he wrote to his friend Pavel Šafařík: "Leaving Pressburg I lost the last spark of my affection for poetry . . . . Look at the whole of our literature. What gaps need to be filled? . . . And we, whose duty is to correct the deficiencies of our literature in accord with our gifts, are, for shame, not worthy of our country! In the end we shall always be only poets and lunatics. Do we not have a legion of Czech poets (relatively)? And where is a geographer? Where is a naturalist? Where is physicist? How many historians do we have? . . . We want to make people love our unworthy literary works in place of loving the better literature of other nations."[3]

Palacký's greatest desire was to serve the Czech nation with his literary work, and feelings of subjective satisfaction were clearly secondary. National needs became the focal point of his interest even during the brief period of his poetic activity. Unlike the multitude of Czech patriots who uncritically and ineffectually championed the Czech language, history, and culture, Palacký had a realistic and concrete program. Not merely passive knowledge but an active understanding of contemporary European science and culture became his primary objective.

Virtually from the beginning, Palacký, influenced by his sojourn in Bratislava and governed by his extraordinary talent, critical thinking, and high criteria, adopted European cultural standards for his nation. He understood very early that it was necessary to emancipate the language, the spirit, and the structure and methods of Czech belles-lettres and scientific and popular literature from German dependence. He wrote to Jan Kollár: "My greatest endeavor is to stress by means of examples our need to think and act in a Slavic way, discarding German spelling-books."[4] Palacký already pursued this intention in his essay, "The Beginnings of Czech Poetry, Particularly of Prosody," which he wrote in collaboration with Šafařík. This essay exercised its influence primarily by means of its strong sympathetic belief in the national revival.

The collection of Palacký's esthetic studies of the 1820's became an important segment of the history of Czech scholarship and culture. This research aimed toward the formation of an independent Czech esthetics based on European philosophical and esthetic literature. Palacký understood esthetics in a broad philosophical context. Employing a psychological approach, he attempted to define beauty and to discover the laws governing the perception of the external world by the human mind. In his formulation of the rules of esthetics, Palacký stressed the active role of the perceiving subject. Palacký's philosophical system of esthetics is composed of three basic elements: truth, benevolence, and beauty. Palacky named their synthesis *božnost*. He characterized this concept in his own words as the "resemblance to God or the participation of the divine nature and the reflection of God in the human being."[5] The search for truth, beauty, and benevolence is the main purpose of human existence. Palacký clearly applies idealistic philosphy to esthetics. However, he does not conceive the chosen ideas as absolute and static but attempts to portray them as dynamic and evolutionary. The older literature sees the system of Palacký as being mechanically based on the concepts of Bacon, Herder, and Kant. In fact, Palacký did not mechanically accept their theses. Studying various ideas and principles, Palacký attempted to apply them in his own system, for his own purposes, in his own creative and characteristic way.

Always pursuing the interests and the benefits of the nation and the national culture, Palacký never regarded his scholarly work as purely *L'art pour l'art*. He shows this even in his short articles and reports, e.g., in his review of Palkovič's *Dictionary* and Sychra's *Czech Phraseology*, making an effort to analyze the history of the Czech national idea with regard to the history of the Czech language, literature, and people. One cannot be surprised that for a long time Palacký was dissatisfied with the level of Czech literature, since he did not find it to have the characteristic features of a definite national culture.

After his arrival in Prague in 1823, Palacký, pondering the purposes of national culture and attempting to define his own cultural program, had to adopt a standpoint toward J. Dobrovský and J. Jungmann.[6] It is impossible to emphasize sufficiently that the ideas of both Dobrovský and Jungmann, the founders of the Czech National Revival, constitute a significant part of Palacký's program. Jungmann's influence was decisive. Palacký recognized that Jungmann had expressed the needs and aspirations of the nation more accurately than Dobrovský.

However, Palacký's cultural program could not be merely a synthesis of existing notions. It had to be deeper and possess a more far-reaching

perspective. Even Jungmann's progressive and realistic postulates and aims, being prevailingly limited to linguistic aspects, proved to be too narrow and too nationalistic. The Czech nationalist movement was fortunate to find a man of Palacký's type, a scholar with a European outlook and education, capable of understanding the historical situation of a small nation in the given historical epoch. Palacký also possessed the unique ability to envisage cultural, national, linguistic, and other problems as parts of the whole evolutionary process.

By the turn of the twenties and thirties, a period of prevailing political reaction and deathlike calm in Europe, Palacký clearly understood that, politically, the old world was in ruins and that a new period was rising on the horizon. Palacký believed that political freedom and nationalism had become the two dominant concepts in the world and foresaw an even more decisive role for them in the future. The individual as well as social groups would not be willing to remain permanently under feudal subjection, but desired to liberate themselves. Nations would refuse to be merely the subjects of the state's will and would insist upon being governed "not by a stick like children but by the principles of reason and justice."[7]

Palacký considered education, culture, and ethics to be the chief means for the destruction of existing political structures and the establishing of democracy as well as individual and collective freedom. He participated in all of the important cultural and scholarly activities in Bohemia before March, 1848. However, the circle of educated patriots was still small. Practically all of the national demonstrations and other activities of the period had to be organized by the same tiny group of people. Even in 1832 Palacký noted with bitterness that only a few individuals from among the six million Slavs constituting the population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Upper Hungary were taking an active part in Czech literature. The masses of the people were "dead" in their national consciousness.

Since the situation could be changed only by means of systematic educational and cultural efforts, Czech patriots, with Palacký at their head, were anxious to achieve the best results and highest goals in their public activity. Palacký was not satisfied with the mere existence of the Czech literary language. He strove to raise Czech literature and art, formally and spiritually, to the world standard. This was the intrinsic sense of each of the more important actions of the period that are connected with Palacký's name, e.g., the founding of the National Museum, the editing of its journal, the plans to publish a Czech encyclopedia, the proposals for the improvement of the Czech school system, etc.

Political developments in Bohemia were not always favorable to these endeavors. Palacký himself encountered many obstacles, disagreements,

and misunderstandings. By means of compromises, he attempted to unite feuding patriots. Many times, however, he met with no success. Palacký characterized the situation in the preface to Volume XI of the *Časopis musea Království českeho* in 1837. This essay is significant testimony to Palacký's opinions with regard to questions of contemporary cultural politics. Describing the unfortunate conditions prevailing in Bohemia during the twenties, such as the disuse of the Czech language in science and public affairs, Palacký censured the division within the handful of Czech writers: "In Bohemia there have been two cultural streams. The German one, being connected with modern Europe, was broad, prosperous, and flourishing . . . . The Czech one was antiquated, narrow, poor, inadequate for the needs of our time, primitive, and based on the masses."

Czech patriots were severely divided, and the conflicts among them had to be overcome. Conservative patriots considered the pre-White Mountain Czech language a binding and obligatory pattern, while the younger intellectuals, connected with European culture, endeavored to establish a modern language. Palacký understood the core of the problem, and while sympathizing with the younger generation of patriots, he refused their neologist tendencies: "We attempted to save the spirit that could revive the nation by dispensing with quarrels about letters, syllables, and words. These disputes almost killed us. Primarily, we sought literature for the educated middle classes of the Czech population, who would love it, defend it, and take care of it. We dismissed literature designed exclusively for the common people or a few select scholars. This has been the vital question of our literature." The second decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant growth of Czech culture. With great success "old Bohemia was introduced into modern Europe and domesticated there." But Palacký was convinced that the nation should aim at even higher goals. Competition in agriculture, industry, science, and culture with the developed world would not only yield benefits to the Czechs but also to the entire world. Palacký believed that "the epoch when local spiritual boundaries among the nations are disappearing has arrived. In spite of many existing languages, the free, rapid, and perpetual exchange of ideas and feelings in Europe is leading to the foundation of a higher, united European and, eventually, world literature."

Palacký emphasized that every nation had not only its place among other nations, but also a specific mission which it was expected to complete and thereby bring a specific gift into the treasury of world culture. Filling gaps in knowledge with regard to the Slavs was the chosen task for the Czechs. Therefore, Palacký founded and edited a scientific journal for

the purpose of improving the level of Czech science and culture, without avoiding sharp and fundamental criticism and by informing its readers about European affairs.

Modern Czech culture has not yet seen a more sophisticated program, one so closely intertwined with the world and domestic affairs as the one realized by Palacký. His conception could compete with that of other European cultures. Moreover, the program proved to be stimulating even in periods after Palacký.

Palacký was vigorous in proving the truth of his ideas through his own scholarly and literary work. His *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia* and his publications of valuable documents of old Czech literature were concrete attempts to introduce ancient Bohemia into modern Europe. Palacký always realized that only cultural work could defend Bohemia against the expansive German world and in merciless international competition.

František Palacký was a spokesman for the whole of the national movement which, even before the Revolution of March, 1848, was anxious to liberate Bohemia from foreign cultural oppression and to return her to her ancient glory. The incentive was provided by an extreme form of Czech nationalism which was impoperly regarded as chauvinism by Palacký's opponents and later by some German historians. The whole of Palacký's activity clearly proves his aversion to the very limited, uncritical, and megalomanic form of nationalism. Preferring the "universally human" principle of liberty and truth to nationalism, Palacký was always an apostle of humanity and national tolerance. Even in the face of injustice, he appealed to the nation: "Let us be moral and avoid injustice." Palacký refused the ideology of the chosen nation. He felt that every nation lived and acted in dependence on other nations. No nation had been founded or lived in isolation. The fate of the Czech nation confirmed this notion. Czech culture reached the peak of its development under the direct influence of Western civilization during the reign of Charles IV.

Palacký struggled for genuine and high national consciousness because he considered it the bridge between primitive egoism and morality and humanity. Therefore, Palacký regarded national consciousness as an important cultural and moral factor and a prerequisite of a nation. It is logical that Palacký's concept of art was always connected with a nation. Literature supported a nation, and a nation, in turn, determined its literature: the origin of Czech literature had been closely connected with the love of nation.

People were to be led by literature, not in the direction of national hatred or contempt for foreign culture, but toward understanding real

values, whatever their origin. Palacký always held Slavic culture in high esteem and sometimes even accepted the Romantic illusions of the beauty and perfection of the ancient Russians and other Slavs. Although he was less realistic than Havlíček, Palacký was decidedly a critical Russophile. Palacký was aware that the czarist regime had led to many deficiencies and imperfections in Russia. He was alarmed by the deep Russian national apathy. Palacký also realized that the Czech nationality might be endangered by the programs of some Russian political groups and individuals. He saw no difference "between the pan-Russians and German or Hungarian fanatics. All of them are anxious to devour and destroy our nation."

In harmony with the general trends of the Czech National Revival, Palacký regarded culture as a significant political and moral factor that could protect the nation and accelerate its growth. "Ignoring partisan disputes, we sought the rational and moral encouragement and improvement of the nation. Only the whole educated nation will be capable of understanding its own needs in every period of its development."

In this connection, one should stress that during the period of National Revival no writer, with the exception of Havlíček, criticised the negative features and improper aspects of Czech culture and Czech national character as strongly as Palacký. He wrote of them in his papers, letters, and articles. Two years before the revolution of 1848, while dealing with the geography of ancient Bohemia, Palacký deemed it necessary to present his views about these questions. Describing the attempts of foreign and especially German literature to deny the basic national rights of the Czechs and even to question their existence, Palacký refuted this polemic. He regarded scientific and literary achievements, a way of life, as the most powerful form of defense: ". . . He who desires to live has to adapt to all forms of life and to fight his natural enemies."[8] Thinking about Czech national character, he addressed his nation with a reproach: ". . . The Czechs and the Slavs behave well during unhappy periods. A Czech is skillful, industrious, sagacious, zealous, and stubborn in an unhappy situation, and vain, unsteady, and unable to care about the future when the circumstances take a turn for the better."

A full understanding of the Czech past and a historical perspective on events was an integral and basic part of František Palacký's cultural program. His comprehension of history was neither uncritical nor provincial. Although Palacký accepted the Romantic illusion of the democratic and free development of the old Slavic societies, he was at the same time able to recognize the negative features of Czech history, e.g., during the period of Jan Hus.

Palacký's interpretation of history was able to become an important part of the national program because he explained the Czech past truthfully, effectively, and in accord with the needs of contemporary knowledge and culture. The logic of historical development in the first half of the nineteenth century showed that Palacký's program for a national culture was an integral and major segment of the national political program, developing with increasing clarity. The Czech peoples, demanding for themselves the rights of a free nation, openly manifested their political aspirations and goals during the revolution of 1848. Palacký developed similarly. As a cultural representative and a scholar, he ultimately became one of the leaders of the Czech nation.

Before 1848, František Palacký was already the chief author of the Czech cultural program. He united the pure naiveté and the zealous self-sacrifice of the first period of the Czech National Revival with broad European knowledge and an understanding of the historical trends of his time. Palacký successfully formulated a program expressing the needs of his nation and reflecting the actual tendencies of the contemporary world.

NOTES

1. In general, see: J. Pekař, *František Palacký* (Prague, 1898); J. Goll, "František Palacký," *Český časopis historický*, IV (1898), pp. 211-79; *Památník na oslavu 100. narozenin F. Palackého* (Prague, 1898); J.F. Zacek, *Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague, 1970).

2. O. Králík, "Palackého božné doby," in F. Kutnar, ed., *Tři studie o F. Palackém* (Olomouc, 1948); F. Vodička, *Cesty a cíle obrozenské literatury* (Prague, 1958).

3. V.J. Nováček, ed., *F. Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, (3 vols., Prague, 1898-1911), II, p. 8.

4. Ibid., p. 50 ff.

5. "Krasověda čili o kráse a umění knihy patery," *Časopis Českehó musea* (1827); see also O. Hostinský, "Fr. Palackého estetické studie, 1816-1821," in *Památník* (1898), pp. 367-90; L. Čech, "Palacký jako estetik," Ibid., pp. 391-442. For an analysis of Palacký's philosophy, see J. Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo F. Palackého* (2 vols., Prague, 1926-27).

6. Goll, "František Palacký"; J. Vlček, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry* (Turčanský Sv. Martin, 1890).

7. V.J. Nováček, ed., *F. Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, I, p. 51.

8. "Ohlídka ve staročeském místopisu, zvláště krajů již poněmčilých," *Časopis Českého musea*, XX (1846), pp. 55-83.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND CZECH VERSIONS OF PALACKÝ'S *HISTORY OF THE CZECH NATION*

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Before dealing with the primary subject of this essay, the comparison and interpretation of the Czech and German versions of Palacký's *History of the Czech Nation*, we must recapitulate the chronological succession of events leading to their beginnings. Palacký approached this enormous work in late 1823. The contract with his publisher, the Bohemian Estates, obligated Palacký to write the *History* in German. The first part of Palacký's German version was published in 1836. It unfolded events from the earliest historical period until 1197 A.D. The first section of the second part (1197-1306) appeared in 1839, followed in 1842 by the second section (up to 1378). The first section of the third part, finished in 1845, described the history of Bohemia prior to the appearance of Jan Hus, the proceedings of the Council of Constance, and the public reaction to Hus's condemnation (1378-1419).

However, Palacký's greatest life-task was to provide the Czech nation with its history written in *Czech*. We can clearly perceive this desire from his diary, autobiography, correspondence, and his prefaces to the first and third parts of the Czech edition of the *History*. Therefore, simultaneously with the German version, Palacký prepared a Czech counterpart. Its first part, dealing with developments in Bohemia prior to 1125 A.D., appeared in bookstores in 1848.

The events of 1848 meant a reversal in Palacký's original plans. The unceasing heckling by the German press led him away forever from any collaboration with German historians. Moreover, it aroused in Palacký an aversion toward continuing to write Czech history in German. "Since that time [since 1848] it became a morally impossible affair," declared Palacký in the preface to the third part of the Czech version.[1] Palacký notified the Bohemian Estates of his resolution to continue the writing of the *History* in Czech. Although this decision generated strong opposition from

the Executive Committee, Palacký stood firm. Inevitably he lost his publisher (the Bohemian Estates) and had to settle for the private publishing house of J.G. Calve, and in 1856 for the services of Bedřich Tempský.[2] From this time on, the original version of the *History* was written in Czech, and the German version became a mere translation.

Palacký's continuation of the Czech edition did not begin with 1125. Being acutely aware of the possibility that the revolutionary gains of 1848, primarily the abolition of censorship, could be short-lived in view of the oncoming reaction, he first tackled the Hussite period. His desire was to present this period in a more liberal form than had been possible earlier, due to heavier censorship. Therefore, in 1850, Palacký published the first section of the third part (1403-1424), in 1851 section two of part three (1424-1439), and finally in 1854 the rewritten second section of part one (1125-1253).

Later, Palacký pursued the study of the Poděbrad and Jagellonian periods (1439-1526), completing the second section of part five in 1867. Palacký's controversial concepts concerning the Hussite period irritated many German historians, especially a professor of history named Konstantin Höfler. Höfler's work on the Hussite period is well known, and so is Palacký's response.[3] For Palacký, these polemics became an incentive to reexamine some of the problems involved and to explain them in a new ideological framework. Moreover, he found new historical documents. As a result, in 1870-72, Palacký decided to rework the third part of his *History*. After its completion, he returned to the period (1253-1403) originally left out and written in German only. Shortly before his death, Palacký's life work culminated in the publication of both sections of the second part in Czech.

The differences between the two editions, the long period of publication, and the changes in the political situation which necessarily influenced Palacký's work, lead us to consider the mutual relationship between the two texts. This subject first caught my attention when I was preparing the text for its latest publication.[4] The works of past researchers who touched on the subject of the relationship between the two texts are similar in form and documentation. All of them derive their conclusions from Palacký's own words in the preface to the first part of the Czech *History*, where he attempts to clarify the relationship between the Czech and German versions: "The inundation of varied and demanding work has been and still is so great that it is impossible for me to withstand it . . . . Even though I have wished to reorganize my narrative in the Czech edition in every respect, I have been unable in the available time to research the entire

field again, and therefore have been forced to use much of the already-finished German text."[5]

A note frequently associated with this characterization is that the text of the first part of the Czech edition is largely Erben's translation, which Palacký enlarged with a preface and several paragraphs concerned with social history. This is contrary to Palacký's own words: "I deem all of my present historical writings to be preliminary studies for the actual work. I consider the *History of the Czech Nation* the last and the most important of all of my endeavors."[6] A direct comparison of the two texts also offers no confirmation of the stated allegation. Unfortunately, I was unable to determine the extent of Erben's collaboration with Palacký on the text of the first part. From accessible materials, I was unable to find any evidence directly confirming or setting any definite bounds to this specific cooperation. We can find numerous references to other cooperation between Palacký and Erben in Erben's material. Even the most detailed monograph about Erben by A. Grund and a later one by J. Dolanský make no mention of this translation. This leads me to suspect that Erben was merely assisting Palacký. Erben's translation was probably a reference which Palacký employed in the preparation of the new text. In my opinion, Erben prepared only a draft. His work was not the Czech counterpart of the first part of Palacký's German text. In addition, the claims of some contemporary scholars that the Czech version of Palacký's *History* is fully reworked are not completely correct.[7] A comparison of both texts shows that a major part of the Czech edition is, indeed, derived from the German text, but with careful regard to the high scholarly standards Palacký set for the Czech text. "Completely reworked" can therefore be applied only to the ideological framework of the text and not to the composition or language of the text.

The changes in both editions of Palacký's *History* can be divided into three basic categories. The first includes material changes and additions, to which we may add modifications motivated by the historical and philosophical attitude of the author. The second encompasses changes induced by censorship, and the last the author's own stylistic changes.

Changes affecting the material substance of the work are not common in the Czech edition. In the first part and in the first section of the third part, they are almost non-existent. This is primarily due to the fact that the time span between the publication of the Czech and German editions was not sufficiently great for any great accumulation of new findings. The original text was so well prepared that many corrections in the new text were not required. The tight composition of the work, held together by a

detailed chronological progression, did not allow for the discovery of "white spots." For this reason, the changes are limited to minute corrections of dates or errors present in the references, discovered in the course of further research. Palacký also added material and quotations from new and old Czech documents, material not included in the German text.

In the Czech version of the second part of his *History*, Palacký found himself in a somewhat different situation. He had finished the German original more than thirty years ago! But even this part is not different basically from its German counterpart. We find more factual additions and restyled passages, as a result of the discovery of new materials during the long time period. The longest of the reworked passages is the sixth chapter of the fourth book of the German edition, dealing with the anarchic period when the Czech lands lacked a king.

The greatest number of corrections affecting the structure of the Czech edition consists of historico-philosophical changes. These are mainly shorter or longer theoretical, historical, or philosophical considerations which Palacky incorporated in various parts of the text. The new additions form displacements in the text, caused by Palacký's change in interpretation of the historical material. In these added contemplations, Palacký expressed and greatly exapnded his concept of history, his evaluation of individual historical events, and his personal attitude toward individual historical personages. In the German version, these historical and philosophical contemplations are latent, if they are present at all. If present, they are inserted in concise form into the surrounding text.

I believe that the principal reason why Palacký withheld these insertions until the Czech text is not only because of the impossibility of their publication in the pre-March (1848) period (even though this certainly was a very substantial reason) but because of the entire purpose of the Czech version. The latter was meant for a wide stratum of Czech readers. Palacký had no desire to present his *History* merely as a historical reference book dealing with past events in Czech history, but as a work which would provoke the reader's own thoughts on the subject and encourage the formation of his own judgments and views. The reader was to be presented with a philosophy "showing him examples of how one should conduct himself in every type of situation, public and private."

We can clearly see these changes as early as the end of the first section of book one, where Palacký deletes the long original quotation from the geo-historical study by Prof. Franz Max Zeppe, dealing with the geological history of Bohemia, and replaces it with a copious reflection on his basic concepts of Czech history. Here, one finds sentences that became an

inseparable constituent of every work about František Palacký or his *History*: "The German world built its sceptre on the ruins of world-ruling Rome. . . . As the German was aggressively attaching himself to the heritage of old Rome, the temperate Slav was silently following him and sat next to him. Therefore the contents and the basic trait of the history of Bohemia and Moravia is the incessant intercourse and the ceaseless conflicts between Slavic principles on the one hand and the German and Roman ones on the other hand."[8]

This basic idea of the purpose of Czech history reappears in the rewritten sixth section of the second book, titled "A Picture of Common Czech life under Heathenism." In this section, Palacký inserted all of his ideas on the basic differences between the Czech and German nations. These are based on great discrepancies in national character and primary culture. Palacký also inserted his romantic notions about the way of life, religion, and character of the ancient Slavs. Beginning on page 198 (page 166 in the German text), we can observe the two texts merging to some extent, even though later the Czech narrative is clearly much richer in detail and in many places strongly anti-German.[9]

Also part two, which describes the reign of Přemysl Otakar II, acquired numerous new passages. In these added segments, Palacký gives an extensive characterization of Přemysl's personality and evaluates his attempt at colonization. In addition, Palacký ponders the subject of Otakar's relationship with the Czech nobility. On the basis of new sources, he also explains the correct choice of Rudolf Habsburg as the German king and the reasons for Přemysl's collapse. The national coloration of these passages is underlined by a detailed interpretation of a document sent by Přemysl to the Polish nobility, asking for help and calling for Slavic unity against the "influx of Germanism."[10]

In addition to these greater compositional changes, the text is also enriched by a number of smaller additions: new sentences, aphorisms, and minute characterizations which not only betray the author's attitude toward the historical matter, but also play an educational and informative function.[11]

The change in the title of the work is an example of the historico-philosophical type of change. While the German version gives an account of the history of Bohemia—*Geschichte von Böhmen*—the Czech version is dedicated to the history of the Czech *nation*. Therefore, in the former case the country (*Böhmen*), and in the latter the nation of Czechs (*Čechen*) is the subject of the scholarly work. In the first two books of part one of the German edition, we can detect the precise differentiation between

Böhmen and *Cechen*. Palacký used the term *Böhmen* primarily in the designation of the country and *Čechen* to indicate members of the Slavic race of Czechs. This is apparent in the titles of the chapters ("Böhmen unter den Čechen" [notice the Czech orthography], "Böhmen unter den Čechen, vor Verbreitung des Christentums") or in the text: "Daher ist auch der Zeitpunkt der Einwanderung der Čechen in Böhmen . . . nicht festgestellt" (66/I). On page 72 of the German edition, where Palacký gives the account of the advent of Forefather Čech and expounds the transfer of his name to the entire Slavic tribe, he also begins to use the expression *Böhmen* as a synonym for *Čech*. The reasons for defining these two terms and their later integration are contained in Palacký's understanding of this concept.

The title of the Czech version was extended to include a new and important phrase: "The History of the Czech nation *in Bohemia and in Moravia*". This emphasis on the integrality of Moravia with Bohemia expressed even in the title of the book can surely be understood if we remind ourselves of the pre-1848 controversies between the two regions and Palacký's intervention in the matter.[12] This unity is confirmed by new stylistic arrangements in the text:

"Daher ist die Verbindung zwischen Böhmen und Mähren, welche seit zwei Jahrtausenden sich in allen Perioden der Geschichte geltend gemacht hat, . . . als zufällig . . . anzusehen." (7/I)	"Spojení tedy Čech a Moravy v jeden celek, majíc *ve přírodě samé podstatný svůj základ*, nemůže za pouhou náhodu považováno býti." (7/I)
"Beide Länder wurden von jeher von demselben Volke bewohnt, und standen von jeher, mit nur seltenen und kurzen Ausnahmen, unter desselben obersten Regierung." (7/I)	"A skutedně v obou krajinách of věku, *pokudkoli historie stává, vždy a pokaždé* jeden a týž národ přebýval, jedna a táž nejvyšší vláda panovala." (7/I)

At the end of this paragraph he adds the sentence:

"Protož historie národu českého má-li důkladna býti, obou krajin, Čech a Moravy, stejně šetřiti musí, jelikož dějinám obou, jakožto částkám jednoho celku, jedněm bez druhých dorozuměti se nelze." (7/I)

If we turn our attention to the textual problems of the third part of the *History*, we cannot attempt to solve them without giving due attention to the interference of censorship, to which this volume, above all others, was subject. This constitutes another category of textual changes, modifications due to censorship. Since Karel Kōpl treats this problem in depth in his "Palacký und die Censur,"[13] we shall not deal with any details but only with the material directly relevant to our article.

Almost half of Palacký's literary endeavors were subject to the pre-March (1848) censorship. This means that the already-mentioned three parts of the German edition were also censored. The attitude of the Austrian censorship toward Palacký and his literary work was not as unfriendly as the one invoked toward other representatives of Czech cultural life. Palacký's status in the domestic scholarly world, which from the beginning insured sincerity and respect, and also the patronage of the Czech nobility, assured a more considerate posture on the part of the censorship. Palacký was supported primarily by the highest burgrave, Count Chotek. Count Chotek, who practically treated the censorship of the work as his own affair, enclosed his personal letters to the president of police, Count Sedlnitzky, with each consignment of Palacký's manuscript sent to Vienna for censoring purposes. Thanks to this support from the Czech provincial administration, the censoring of the first part of the German version took place without many conflicts or long delay. (Each part of the manuscript was returned separately from Vienna after about a month.)[14]

The only controversy referred to a single problematic spot in the first chapter of the third book, "The Murder of St. Wenceslas," and concerned the personage of Drahomíra. The conflict between Palacký and the censorship in Vienna started as early as 1834. At the time, Palacký's article dealing with the newly-discovered old Slavic legend about St. Wenceslas

(Václav) was detained by the censorship. The dispute stemmed from the fact that in this legend Drahomíra was not characterized as a pagan, with a part in the planning of St. Václav's murder, as some Latin legends suggested, but rather as a person in no way connected with this murder. Moreover, according to the legend, she saved her own life by escaping from the murderers of St. Václav. Palacký's well known defense[15] and the subsequent mutual agreement, allowing several minor modifications in the text in accord with the censor's wishes, helped this article toward its publication in the *Journal of the Czech Museum* in 1837.[16] The passage in both versions of the *History* is based on and quotes this old Slavic legend. The only difference between the two appears in the description of events immediately following St. Václav's murder. In the German version, the weeping Drahomíra throws herself on the dead body after it is carried away from the scene of the murder by the priest Chrastěj. In the Czech version, the events take place in reverse order.

In the first volume, the censorship insisted only upon a small number of stylistic rearangements and on a few more significant changes which modified the meaning of the text in accord with the official interpretation. For example, in the phrase "Dass vom Volke anvertraute Land" the expression "von den Bōhmen" was substituted for "vom Volke." In the case of "Missbrāuche in der Kirche" the more exact expression "Missbrāuche in der bōhmischen Kirche" was recommended. This considerate attitude of the censorship is also confirmed by Palacký's note in his book *Zur bōhmischen Geschichtschreibung,* where he writes: ". . . In den folgenden [i.e. the first] Abschnitten meiner Geschichte verfuhr die Wiener Censur in der Regel ziemlich glimpflich mit mir."[17]

The passages which contained only minor censorship changes were never reconverted into their original form. Palacký included the changes in the Czech version of the first and second editions of his *History*. Therefore, it is impossible for us to determine their extent or form.

The second part of Palacký's *History* was subject to censorship in 1838-41. As before, in part one the censorship satisfied itself with several minute changes and several notices, requesting Palacký to change his formulations. These changes were incorporated by the author into the Czech edition as well.

A completely different situation materialized when Palacký's narrative reached Jan Hus and the Hussite period. This change for the worse did not take place merely because Count Chotek was succeeded in office by Count Robert von Salm-Reifferscheid, who continued to support the *History*. The greater wariness and suspicion of the Viennese censorship stemmed

rather from two facts: 1) The personality of Hus and the entire Hussite period were deemed especially problematic if not directly dangerous to the Austrian Empire and its religion. Moreover, during this period the censorship was shifting its attention toward any ideas and literary works dealing with this period.[18] 2) An account of this period was given by a Protestant historian, therefore a person whose ideas and views would inevitably be antagonistic to the officially admissible state doctrines.

The first portion of the third part of the German edition of the *History*, containing the first two chapters of the sixth book, was returned to Prague without comment. The second portion, however, became an object of countless contentions and bargains. It dealt with the history of the period which saw the beginning of the formation of ideas which later kindled the Hussite conflagration. As a result, the history of these periods suggested to the Austrian censorship much hostility toward the church as well as toward the political power of the Austrian state. An expert theologian was asked to assist a historian in censoring this portion of the manuscript. (The theologian, Palacký mentions, was a professor of theology and a canon at St. Stephen's in Vienna, Scheiner.[19]) This censor rejected the entire first portion of the third chapter, "K. Wenzels dritte Regierungsperiode, Beginn kirchlicher Bewegungen in Bōhmen." Two basic thoughts of this section, i.e. Palacký's understanding of the controversy between Catholicism and Protestantism in the sense of historical progress in the development of the European spirit and education, and his claim that the system of faith was not accurately stabilized until the Council of Trent, were in the view of the censorship erroneous and unacceptable to the Catholic church. Palacký was compelled to cross out this entire passage in his text. However, Palacký reintroduced this section into the Czech edition of the *History*.[20]

The third and fourth books of the first part presented Palacký and the censorship with the greatest difficulties. Included in these parts were descriptions of the Council of Constance, Hus's trial and condemnation, and the first repercussions of his death in Bohemia. The censor took a defiant position against the historical concepts of this section, declaring the material anti-Catholic and dangerous. It was said that Palacký willfully glorified Hus and chose only those sources supporting this glorification, but did not notice material which showed Hus's inflexibility and obstinacy. Moreover, from his Protestant point of reference, Palacký purposely used expressions which show an obliquely slanderous attitude toward the Catholic church or demean its authority. Furthermore, in connection with Hus and his company, Palacký chose formulations which

provoke the reader's sympathy for Hus and create a sense of injustice in the reader.

At first the attitude of the censor was so negative that he refused to give permission to publish as long as Palacký did not change his point of view concerning the historical period in question, and until the text was modified to agree with the official viewpoint of the church on this period. The analysis of the censor, which was attached to the censored text, was crammed with sharp invective toward Palacký and his views. Palacký's response to this criticism of the Viennese censorship is well known.[21] Even though the characterization of Hus on page 215 of the German edition had to be supplemented by the terms *Rücksichtlosigkeit, Hartnäckigkeit*, and *unbiegsamer Eigensinn* (Palacký did not add the fourth expression, *Rechthaberei*), the resolution of this argument was on the whole a victory for Palacký. Nevertheless, the text was subject to numerous changes, primarily in places where the author's positive regard for Hus had to be toned down. The evidence of this are the numerous changes in stylistic formulations and the omission of entire passages in the text and notes. These were restored by Palacký in the Czech version of his *History*.[22]

Finally we approach the last aspect of the two versions, the aspect of their language.

It is unnecessary for us to read much of Palacký's text to see that it was written by an excellent stylist, a master of Czech style. This reality will amaze us even more if we consider in depth the period during which Palacký wrote his work. During this period, the Czech language was slowly and with difficulty awakening from its long and deep sleep. Its orthographic and linguistic norms were therefore still very unsteady. The phonological and morphological forms were permeated with many dialectical elements, and the spoken language contained numerous Germanisms. The lexical wealth was small and quite inadequate for conveying complex ideas.

On the one hand, during this period the great Slavist, Josef Dobrovský, wrote only in German and doubted the ability of the Czech language ever to attain the level of other world languages in the scientific field. Even experts on the Czech language, such as Jungmann and Šafařík, struggled from time to time with Czech linguistic norms, and Svat. Presl had to supplement his *Krok* with a dictionary, to make his Czech understandable to his readers. On the other hand, there stands, alone, František Palacký, with his genuine and understandable language which enables him to express his complex philosophical thoughts clearly and plainly, with stylistic ease and fluency. He is able to form new words which do not

interfere with the old word tradition, to develop a form which is acceptable to both the scholarly and the common reader.

As a result of this analysis, two questions arise: Where did Palacký attain such a superior knowledge of Czech? What was the base on which the great and still-admired edifice of his language was built?

The foundations of Palacký's Czech were laid in the Palacky household. Palacký's father, an Evangelical teacher, presented his five-year-old son with a book—the Bible. In his biography, Palacký reveals that the reading of the Bible always fascinated him, even though in early childhood he was unable to understand its contents and form entirely. But not only the family surroundings and Palacký's scholarly father gave him the opportunity to discover the basis of the Czech language and its humanistic norms. The adjacent environment had an important influence, too. The Moravian countryside, whose language was the least affected by forced Germanization but whose strong tradition of linguistic creativity, songs, and customs survived, had an extraordinary effect on the gifted child.

Palacký left home to study in Slovakia. During the revivalist period, the tradition of the old Czech language of the unity of Czech Brethren lived on much more intensely in Slovakia than in Bohemia.[23] Palacký's personal contact and cooperation with several language lovers and linguists (Bakoš, Palkovič) led him to the reading of old Czech books. From this extensive reading, Palacký acquired the knowledge of the Czech language before White Mountain. He hungrily attacked the study of foreign languages and esthetic, philosophical, and other linguistic studies. He improved his Czech by translating the works of Roman and German classical authors and by his own literary experiments. After his arrival in Prague, Palacký found a new source for enrichment of his vocabulary and style in his continuous contact with old Czech documents and publications.

These diverse springs fed and unceasingly broadened Palacký's extensive knowledge of the Czech language and his own style. In the end, they converged to form the splendid mother tongue in which the *History* is written, and which simultaneously marks not only the culmination but also the end of the evolution of humanistic Czech.[24]

Palacký's struggle to achieve an expertise in the Czech language did not originate only in his desire to master the language. He had another purpose. The new ideas about self-determination, which came to Bratislava from German universities, had a visible effect on Palacký, who realized that the period had arrived when merely reading and speaking in Czech would not suffice. Palacký was aware of the need to transform the Czech

language into a tool which would make the formation of a Czech "higher culture" possible. At the same time, it would help the Czech nation regain, after two hundred years, new courage and self-confidence. These lost national characteristics would be regained only with the help of a better and complete knowledge of the native tongue. With the improved knowledge of the native tongue, the Czech nation would be able to acquaint itself with its past and learn about the periods when it was one of the most progressive of peoples, generously giving to others from its culture.

The particular union of these two requirements was responsible for the style of the Czech version and constituted the major difference between the style of the Czech and German versions.

The work *Geschichte von Böhmen* has the character of a strictly historical work, intended for scholars and the narrow circle of educated German readers. The main prupose of this work was to preserve a vast amount of historiographical knowledge for future generations. For the *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*, the author intended a much more important task: the very way in which it was written was to open the door for it to the household and spirit of the common Czech reader, to spark in him a desire to learn about the past of his country and to give him the opportunity to improve in his mother tongue. Therefore, the strict historical style of the German version gave way to the lively literary style of the Czech version, which could be understood and enjoyed by all levels of readers but, at the same time, did not violate any of the requirements of academic language.

This aim of the author is confirmed by a comparison of the language of the two texts. Our intention was to obtain a definite answer to the question as to whether or not the Czech version is a mere translation of the German text. We can answer that only a small part of the Czech version is a mere translation of its German counterpart. The larger portion of the Czech work is a stricter or a more liberal interpretation of the German product. The styles of both the Czech and German versions are the same. Even in German, Palacký betrays his classic education in long Latin periods, and his Czech shows specific signs of Veleslavín's humanistic Czech (i.e., proportionately constructed, complicated periods; abundant transitional forms; the verb commonly at the end of a sentence; accusative forms with an infinitive, or nominative forms with an infinitive; etc.). However, the functional aims associated with these forms draw the dividing line between the two versions and account for the major changes in style. The following examples show the style and language tools used by

Palacký to free the Czech translation of the formal and strict historical style of the German text and, at the same time, to supplant it with a new, lively narrative.

In the first place, the text is helped by various metaphors, comparisons, characterizations, and evaluative attributes:

German	Czech
". . .endlich durch Empörung, Krieg und Anarchie Böhmen in jede Art öffentlichen Unheils gestürzt wurde . . . ." 461/I	". . .konečně odbojem, válkami a bezvládím vlast naše *octla se ve propasti bídy bezedné* . . . ." 692/I
"Von Prag war seit einem halben Jahrhundert der vornehmste bildende Einfluss nach allen Seiten . . .ausgegangen." 237/III	"Již půlstoletí *prýštil se* z Prahy *hlavní pramen vzdělanosti a umění* na vše strany" 85/III
"Auch die älteste Geschichte Polens ist bis zur Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts in ein fast undurchdringliches Dunkel gehüllt, das durch fabelhafte Sagen nur noch verwirrt, nicht aufgeklärt wird." 222/I	"Také nejstarší dějiny Polska obestřeny jsou naskrze tmou nepaměti, *ze kteréžto jen některé báječné povídky vynikají jako* bludičky neposkytující světla." 250/I
"Das Konstanzer Koncilium bildet den höchsten Glanzpunkt seines vielbewegten langen Lebens." 310/III	"Sbor pak konstantský *stkví se co pravý vrch slávy a oučinnosti v dějinách jeho dlouhého i všelikými pohromami zmítaného živobytí*." 152/III

At times, Palacký employs the form of folk tales:

German	Czech
"Das Horn des Hirten, der in der Morgendämmerung seine Herde von der Altstadt über die Moldaubrücke trieb, war das verabredete Zeichen." 259/I	"*Mělať onoho času Praha ještě obecného pastuchu svého*, jenž dobytek každodenně na pastvu vyháněl; jeho zatroubení mělo býti znamením ku povstání všech přátel dávních knížat českých." 285/I

or he chooses expressions from a popular vocabulary:

"Als er aber seine Sätze zu vertеidigen anfing, rief man ihm gleich von allen Seiten stürmisch zu, dass er seine Sophisterei fahren lassen und einfach nur mit Ja oder Nein antworten sollte." 348/III	"Když ale počal hájiti průpovědi své, okřikován je ze všech stran, aby nechal *mudrkování a zprosta buď potakal nebo zapíral.*" 185/III
"[Marbod] fühlte den Ehrgeiz und die Kraft, ein grosses Reich für sich zu gründen." 30/I	"...touha vydobýti sobě moc a říši velikou *nedala mu stání.*" 53/I

Palacký avoids the use of foreign words. They are replaced by either Czech expressions or paraphrases:

"...es war auch die Zeit, wo die reinmonarchische Staatsform sich über die alte, eigentümlich slavische, Beimischung oligarchischer und republikanischer Elemente erhob." 116/I	"...byl věk zmáhající se *jedinovlády*, a tudíž i přechodu *z vetché slovanské rozdrobenosti a nepodlehlosti k ústrojnému státnímu celku.*" 135/I
"Die Kirche sollte nach der Ansicht der Väter in organischer Weise aus und durch sich selbst reformieren." 390/III	"Dle zdání shromážděných otců měla oprava církve býti *samorostlým plodem jejím.*" 151/III
der Charakter des Volkes	tělesná a mravní povaha národa
die Künste der Civilisation	umy věků osvícených
Schätzen an Mineralien	vzácné poklady kopanin, etc.

For the instruction of the common reader, Palacký makes historical and geographical data more accurate, and for geographical names employs Czech equivalents:

"die Völker nordischer/skythischer oder uralischer/Abkunft." 18/I	"národové velkého plemene severského, *příbuzni dávných Skythů, Hunů i podnešních Basků a Finů.*" 40/I
"Der damalige Bojenfürst Kritasir herrschte auch über die stammverwandten Taurisken in der Steiermark." 27/I	"Panovaltě tehdy u nich Kritasir, *jehož vláda vztahovala se i k národům vlaským za Dunajem až po horní Drávu a po jezero Blatenské osedlým.*" 49/I

The following two examples, which conclude our selection, characterize the difference between the two styles and, at the same time, show us the extent of the author's attempt, in the Czech version, at a broader, livelier, and more comprehensible form:

"Aber Boleslav III., auch Rothaar genannt, war nur ein gemeiner Wüstling; schwach, misstrauisch, geizig, grausam und rachsüchtig, wie er war, entbehrte er alle Tugenden, die einen Fürsten geachtet und geliebt, ein Volk glücklich, einen Staat blühend machen können." 248/I	"Bohužel ale Boleslav III., příjmím Ryšavý, nebyl než obecný pustý ničema: k nemužnosti nedůvěru poje a přece svému lakomství, ukrutenství a mstivosti volnou pouštěje uzdu, jevil v sobě právě opak všech těch ctností, kterýmiž panovník sobě čest a lásku, národu svému prospěch obecný a vládě i státu moc a důklad získává." 275/I
"Das erste Volk, das die Geschichte in diesen Gegenden mit Bestimmtheit nennt, waren die Bojen, ein berühmter Zweig des einst mächtigen und weit verbreiteten celtischen oder gallischen Völkerstammes. Von ihnen erbte das Land denjenigen Namen, den es von Alters her bei allen Westeuropäern führt:	"První jistý paprsek světla historického ve starožitnosti, padající na zemi Českou, sahá jen až do počátku čtvrtého století před narozením Krista Pána. Praví se že tehdáž Bojové, národ gallický, celtický neboli vlaský, z nynější Francie přes Rejn a přes lesy Hercynské mocí zbrojnou až do vlastí

Boiohemum, Boihemum, Bö-heim, Böhmen." 19/I	těchto pronikše, tu se usadili; po nichž potom i země tato Bojův zemí/Boiohemum, Böheim, Bohemia/nazvána jest a u západních Evropanů i podnes tak sluje." 42/I

Summing up our conclusions: the Czech edition was neither a new work nor a mere translation of its German model. In our opinion, the truth stands somewhere between these two opposite poles. The Czech version is a new edition resulting from many exterior as well as interior factors which gave it philosophical, ideological, and artistic shape. Its text is a new version which fully reflects the author's goal, displaying his extensive historical knowledge, the depth of his philosophical thought, and his masterly artistic style, all of which reached their peak during this period.

Palacký's *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and in Moravia* is a work which conquered space and time. Moreover, it completely fulfilled the desires of its creator, to give his beloved nation a work he considered to be the principal and last aim of all his endeavors.

NOTES

1. See František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého* (Prague, 1850), Vol. III, p. vi.
2. See Palacký's correspondence with the Executive Committee from the 1850's in his *Zur böhmischen Geschichtschreibung* (Prague, 1871), pp. 121-30, 134-37.
3. Franz Palacký, *Die Geschichte des Hussitentums und Prof. C. Höfler: Kritische Studien* (Prague, 1868).
4. František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého*, ed. Olga Svejkovská, Intr. by J. Charvát (6 vols. Prague, 1968-73).
5. Palacký, *Dějiny*, Vol. I (Prague, 1848), p. x.
6. Ibid., pp. v-vi.
7. See, e.g., the postscript of J. Charvát to the edition of F. Palacký, *Stručný přehled dějin českých doby starší* (Prague, 1976), pp. 123-124.
8. The comparison is of pp. 10-17 of the German edition with pp. 9-15 of the Czech edition.
9. E.g., on p. 202 of the Czech edition a statement that the Slavs had learned to give harsh treatment to prisoners from the Germans has been added. A quotation from Guizot's *History of French Civilization* (p. 180/I) confirms the harshness and cruelty of the German order and therefore supports this statement.
10. See Josef Kalousek's review of the second volume of Palacký's *History* in *Časopis Českého musea*, XLVIII (1874), pp. 125-34.

11. Several examples (italics mine):

"Des harten Joches müde und unwillig, mögen die Böhmen lange vergebliche Anstrengungen gemacht haben, dasselbe abzuwerfen und die Dranger aus dem Lande zu vertreiben."

76/I

"Že Čechové, nemohouce déle snášeti jha tak ukrutného, nejednou nadarmo se pokoušeli vypuditi Avary ze vlasti své, o tom pochybovat nelze; *nevždy zajisté větší počet, ani hrdinnost, ani vlastenecká mysl proti větší zkušenosti válečni odolávají.*"

96/I

"Endlich gelang das Werk, vorzuglich durch den Feldherrn Samo, einen Mann von höchster Tatkraft, dessen Herkunst und Ausgang jedoch gleich ungewiss sind."

76/I

"Konečně ale podařil se skutek ten, když Samo, *jeden z největších vůdců a bojovníků onoho věku,* Čechům vojen zběhlostí ku pomoci přispěl. *Bylt to muž ovšem výtečného ducha i jaré síly;* ale neví se s jistotou ani odjud přišel, ani jaký posléze konec vzal."

96/I

"so zeugt doch schon der in den ältesten böhmischen Sagen vertönende Nachhall des verhassten Volksnamens der Thüringer von der einst häufigen und keineswegs freundlichen Berührung beider Völker."

73/I

". . . : však považíme-li nejstarší národní pověsti české, *jenž ke jménu Durinka tak rády přivěšují zradu, zášti a vraždu,* nemůžeme v nich nepoznati ohlas dávných půtek, jejichžto paměť arci dávno zahynula."

93/I

12. See, e.g., the article "O českém jazyku spisovném," *Časopis Českého musea,* III (1832), pp. 352-73; *Radhost,* I (1871), pp. 42-63; and "Manifest českého národního výboru o žádoucím spojení zemí Moravské a Slezské s korunou českou, dne 6. máje 1848," *Radhost,* III (1873), pp. 18-25.

13. In *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin F. Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 646-88. For supplements, see Josef Volf, "Palackého Dějiny a censura," *Časopis Českehó musea,* LXXXVII (1913), pp. 157-158.

14. See the survey published by Köpl, ibid.

15. See *Gedenkblätter* (Prague, 1874), pp. 103-09; F. Palacký, *Spisy drobné,* III (Prague, 1902), pp. 512-13; and Köpl, pp. 647-52.

16. The article was published in its original uncensored form in *Radhost,* II, pp. 133-134.

17. *Zur böhm. Geschichtsschr.,* p. 94.

18. K.J. Erben complains to this effect in his letter to Stanko Vraz, a Slovene poet: "Presently, the censorship looks very bad; at first they were looking for Pan-Slavism or rather, Russism. They have screamed so loudly that finally not even they believed the loudness of their voices, and they thought of a new apparition, for us a

more dangerous one. You see, some time ago our domestic clergy, especially those near the staff of power, put their heads together and came out with the idea that Czech literature would only revive and extend Hussitism. Complaints arose that some of our works (Trnka's *General History* was named) are insufficiently Catholic. This, in turn, caused problems for the censorship. So now if an article or a book even touches on the subject of religion the censorship sends it to Vienna, rather than become vulnerable to another attack." K.J. Erben, *Slovanská korrespondence* (Prague, 1971), p. 432.

19. *Zur böhm. Geschichtsschr.*, p. 95.

20. See pp. 156-157 of the German edition and pp. 5-7 of the Czech edition.

21. F. Palacký, *Zur böhm. Geshichtsschr.*, pp. 99-107; and Köpl, pp. 677-83.

22. The passages of the third volume of the manuscript marked in red and published by Köpl can be cupplemented by others that appeared during the comparison of the two texts:

1

"Die Anderen behaupteten dagegen: dass wahre Vermächtniss Christi an seine Kirche seien die . . . Schriften des Neuen Testaments." 156

"Jiní namítali proti tomu, *že marné jest chlubiti se dědictvím Ducha svatého, kdežto skutkové svědčí snad naopak:* prave a jediné dědictví církve Kristovy že jsou knihy Písma sv. vůbec a Nového zákona zvlášté." 4

2

"[Gegensätze des Katolicismus und Protestantismus] . . , welche seit Jahrhunderten *sich geltend machen* und auch heute noch nicht ausgeglichen sind." 156

". . . ježto již po drahné časy *spolu zápasíce*, i dnes jeste ujednotiti se nedají. 5

3

"Seit Jahrhunderten sieht sich die Christenheit in Parteien gespalten und zu gegenseitigen Kampf gerüstet, dessen Ende menschlicher Weise nicht abzusehen ist." 156-157

"Spor a boj ten zachvátil již od několika století netoliko všecky národy, ale i všecky osoby ve křestanstvu více nebo méně patrně do víru svého, aniž ještě předvídati lze, kam se vrhne a jaké bude jeho konečné rozhodnutí." 5

4

"Dies seltene Werk [*De regulis veteris et novi testamenti*] hat zu seiner Zeit den ausserordentlichen Einfluss ausgeübt, obgleich es, nach vollendeter Spaltung der christlichen Parteien, als unbefriedigend erschien . . ."

175-6

"Toto vzácné dílo náleží *ke spisům nejvýtečnějším, ježto z péra českého po vše století kdy vyplynuli; byla také doba,* kde mělo po sobě účinek nadmíru znamenitý, ačkoli později, jakmile tot iž křestanstvo se skutečně rozdvojilo, spis ten již za nevhodný považován . . ." 25

5

"Es ist bekannt, wie er [Bonifaz IX] oft gerügte Missbrauche–*in deren Schilderung wir hier nicht ein gehen können*–abzustellen unterliess." (The continuationof the text where Palacký provides concrete examples of bribes in the Catholic church /see pp. 47-51 of the Czech edition/ was crossed out by the censorship.) 199

"Jest již *obecně* známo, *kterak za něho* [Boniface IX] *a skrze něho nerůdové casto hanění, jmenovitě prodejnost církevních úradů a důstojenství* . . . dosahla svého vrchu." 48

6

". . . die an der Universität in Mehrzal vorhanden Deutschen hatten sich frühzeitig gewöhnt, ihre böhmischen Kollegen zu verdächtigen." 228

". . . Němci na universitě počtem předčící vzali sobě záhy za obyčej *dotýkati se bolestně* kolegů svých českých, *spílajíce jim podezřelých a kacířů.*" 78

7

"Sein Opposition gegen die Deutschen . . ." 298

"*Vlastenecký* odpor jeho [Husův] proti Nemcům . . ." 141

8

"[Hus] habe gewünscht, . . . ihnen noch einmal vor seinem Scheiden zu predigen, um sie mit den einzelnen Klagen und Zeugnissen . . . vorlaüfig bekannt zu machen." 315

"Byl' sobě [prý] žádal a umínil, kázati jim ještě před svou jízdou do Kontancie, . . . maje zejména jim oznámiti *křivé* žaloby a svědectví . . ." 156

9

"Doch hoffe er, es werde ihnen nicht gelingen, ihn auf einen Abweg zu führen." 315

"Však že doufá k svému *Spasiteli, že skrze své zaslíbení a jejich věrnou modlitbu dá mu moudrost a statečnost Ducha svatého*, aby nemohli uchýliti jeho na křivou cestu."

10

In the notes on p. 360, Palacký's citation of Hus's letter to all Czechs of June 24 was crossed out. (It was returned in the Czech edition on p. 195.)

11

". . . da wiederholte er [Hus] nochmals seine alte Behauptung, dass er nur in dem Falle widerrufen werde, wenn . . ." 362

"[Hus] opětoval ještě jednou *s pohnutím a slzami*, že jen tenkráte odvolá, dyž . . ." (The paragraph is supplemented by sentences originally deleted by the censorship, from "Not even Hus could have acted differently . . ." to "He chose the death of his body". Also returned was Note No. 302, here Palacký cites the evaluation of these events by the French historian Emile de Donnechose.) 197

12

On p. 367, the last sentence of the next to last paragraph was crossed out. The following is the wording of the sentence in the Czech edition: "*Neohroženosti mysli ve všech těchto scénách dokázané obdivovali se i nejkrutější nepřátelé jeho.*"

23. See B. Havránek, *Československá vlastivěda* (Prague, 1968-71), II/3, p. 96.
24. Ibid.

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FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

Aleš Chalupa
National Museum, Prague

> ". . .My mind as well as my whole life grew innately together and became united with the spirit of this institution. With warm interest and sympathy I shared its sufferings and blessings. For many years I dedicated to it my best efforts."

In these words, František Palacký characterized his relationship with the National Museum (then The Museum of the Bohemian Kingdom) in a public speech at the ceremony on the fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1868.[1] Palacký personally revealed his deep, lifelong bond with the institution that he helped to build and served to the best of his knowledge and conscience. The nature, the concept and the ideological form of the Museum changed dramatically under his personal influence and intervention. He can be rightfully considered one of its founders.[2]

Palacký was able to observe the founding of the institution only from afar, as he stated in the above speech: "At the time, I was not present in my country, but I was moved by everything emerging from Czech life. I cannot forget the feelings of delightful enthusiasm I experienced on hearing about the idea to organize the institution." Palacký's interest in the Museum was permanent. He followed its program and development closely through information provided by Dobrovský, whom he met during a sojourn in Vienna at the beginning of 1821. Dobrovský's pledge to Palacký to secure him employment in Prague was undoubtedly connected with the Museum, where Dobrovský enjoyed decisive influence as an honored friend of Kašpar Šternberk.

In the spring of 1823, when Palacký arrived in Prague, the Patriotic Museum was five years old. During the whole of this period, it could not develop its full activity because the Patriotic Museum Society was not recognized by the authorities until 1822. The first general meeting of the Society was summoned during the second half of December, 1822. An executive committee elected at this session replaced the temporary committee which had governed until that time.

From its beginnings, the Museum strove to define the purpose of its existence. As a "christening present" it was given several schemes that suggested the main line of its activity, its organizational structure, and its future development.[3] The Museum could learn from its counterparts in other European countries and also in the Habsburg Monarchy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, national and regional museums were founded in Hungary and in Styria. Shortly before the establishment of the Czech institution, the Museum of Moravia and Silesia was founded in Brno. The first announcement of the founders of the Prague Museum on 15 April 1818 already promised the realization of several projects of significance to the nation. Included were the publication of a history of Czech literature and of documents pertaining to Czech national history, the preparation of a complete survey of all three of the natural sciences, etc. The realization of these scientific tasks would have made the Museum an equal partner of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences. The collections of the Museum, divided in the first official announcement into seven sections, were designed to contain mainly historical documents (collections of written documents, pictures of historically important antiquities, armorial bearings, seals, coins, and maps), and also collections in the natural sciences. A broad program for the collection of *Bohemica* was set for the library, and the last portion of the planned collection was reserved for industrial products and handicrafts.[4]

The announcement of 1818 and the first statutes of 1822 manifested patriotic feelings and declared the entire institution and its collections national property. The statutes required that the members of the executive committee understand Czech and the secretary write and read in Czech.[5] This was, however, the only paragraph of the statutes dealing with the Czech language and nationality. The statutes and the entire constitution of the institution were written in German. The Museum certainly did not satisfy the expectations of the young generation of Czech intellectuals led by Josef Jungmann. The territorial patriotism of the Museum's founders, although undoubtedly sincere and unselfish, was cool to all efforts that would revive and benefit the Czech language, literature, and nationality. Moreover, neither the original program of the institution, nor the structure of its collections, announced in the official documents of 1818 and 1822, were realized. The program reserved more than half the cultural wealth of the institution for historical collections. However, instead of becoming the pride of the institution, the historical collections stagnated and languished in the shadow of the rich natural science collections. The employees of the Museum showed a preference for these collections.

Their custodians were true professionals, while the administration of the entire historical division was provided by a single librarian, Hanka.

The Museum merely vegetated. Its location in the Šternberk Palace in Prague's Hradčany district placed it on the periphery of the then existing city and of all cultural and social activity. The original expectations of Czech patriots for the Museum gradually faded. This development was observed with apprehension by the founders of the Museum, especially Kašpar Šternberk. He regarded the stagnation of the institution and the lack of general interest in its future as the ingratitude of a nation which ignored all of the sacrifices which the Museum had required.

It was František Palacký who basically opposed these views. His desire to gain a paid position in the institution had not materialized because Hanka remained in Prague, instead of moving to Olomouc, as had been expected. Closely in touch with the Museum, Palacký recognized the chief hindrances to its future growth and realized why the Museum had remained remote to the nation. Accordingly, he felt competent to oppose the complaints of Šternberk. In a lively discussion prior to Christmas in 1825, he blamed the institution for its aloofness to the nation. Palacký attempted to convince the Šternberks and Dobrovský that the Museum had a duty to inform the public about its activities. This was the only way it could win over the nation. Palacký's view pointed to the obvious and logical need to publish a journal. Thus, when Palacký won over all of the participants in the discussion to his side, it was he who was entrusted by Šternberk to prepare a suitable proposal.[6]

The days following showed that Palacký's suggestion had not been a chance idea. Palacký had been thinking about the project for a long time. Consequently, the proposal was prepared in only a few days. Palacký perceived the journal as a representative of the Museum and of the whole nation abroad. For Palacký, the new periodical was to be simultaneously the center of national effort in science and culture and the tool that would arouse the interest of the nation in the Museum and in its scientific disciplines. Palacký's program analyzed various sections of the proposed journal. The historical portions would publish monographs dealing with the political, legal, administrative, and cultural development of Bohemia, contributions to the history of the other lands of the Bohemian crown, biographical and genealogical analyses, articles devoted to historical topography and to criticism of historical documents, and editions of complete documents or their excerpts. The journal would also publish information about the contemporary situation in Bohemia (news of the status and activities of the Museum, lists of manuscripts and *Bohemica*,

reviews and notes of new publications, reports on industry, commerce and agriculture, obituaries, etc.) The program was limited almost exclusively to history, linguistics, and literature. Palacký, admiting his lack of knowledge, left all of the problems regarding the natural sciences unresolved.

Another part of Palacký's proposal dealt with more important questions. It suggested the publication of two completely different linguistic versions of the journal, in the two languages commonly used in Bohemia. The German version was conceived as an academic review, published monthly, with its main purpose to inform the world of progress in Bohemian science. The Czech journal, published quarterly, was to be directed toward the education and information of domestic readers. In the Czech version, Palacký sought to maintain a high scholarly level but also recommended the use of a more popular form. His desire was to open it to Czech literature and to theoretical problems of Czech linguistics.[7] Although the foundation of the Czech journal was undoubtedly at the center of Palacký's patriotic efforts, he was sincere in recommending the German version, which was designed to become the representative of Czech intellectuals and Czech science and culture abroad. The idea of publishing the journal in the two versions was welcomed by the aristocratic leadership of the Museum. Since the nobility considered German the only language suitable for conversation and science in Bohemia, the publication of a Czech scientific journal only would have seemed inconceivable to them and would have endangered the realization of the whole project from the beginning.

Palacký proved able to sell the idea of the Czech scientific journal to the nobility. The proposal to issue the journal in two versions was accepted by the executive committee on Šternberk's recommendation on 8 January 1826. The authorization for publication was sought from the Viennese government in the second half of January, and permission was granted on 11 February 1826. And at the beginning of April, Palacký was offered the position of editor of both journals. The executive committee even accepted a new request from Palacký that Czech national interests be emphasized, even in the German version.[8] The thousand printed Czech and German "Announcements" distributed throughout Bohemia and foreign countries in August reflected this new concept.

The first issues of the Czech and German journals of the Museum were published at the beginning of 1827. Only time would show the importance of this journal for the advancement of Czech history, natural sciences, linguistics, and literature. In his position as editor, Palacký had a chance to meet many Czech and German writers, scholars, and artists working in

Bohemia. He became the center of cultural activity in Bohemia. Moreover, he witnessed personal and intellectual conflicts of varying degrees of importance. It was obvious that Palacký's editing could not suit everybody, and it inevitably produced critics and enemies. Only a few, however, persisted in their hostility.[9] Most of Palacký's opponents, including Jungmann, acknowledged and appreciated his efforts and kept his friendship. The problems associated with the editing of the journal were not limited to quarrels with authors. Struggles with the rigid censorship of Metternich's government were often more embarrassing and detrimental to the journal.[10] In addition, the financial problem resulting from a sharp decrease of subscribers endangered the whole project. The transfer of the copyright to Calve's publishing house and even a change of the title and contents of the German version, did not help. The decline in circulation was so great that after only four years the German version ceased to exist. The Czech edition of the journal was saved by the *Matice česká*, which took over its publication in 1831.

The lack of income also affected the situation of the editor. From time to time, Palacky, who received no regular salary and held no steady job, had to ask the executive committee of the Museum for an honorarium. After the liquidation of the German edition, Palacký was granted the sum of 250 florins a year for all of his Museum work. He received this sum until his confirmation in 1840 as the official historiographer of the Bohemian Kingdom with a regular salary. At that time, he renounced the honorarium.

The significance of the journal for the development of Czech science and culture was extraordinary. For the intellectuals of the Czech Revival it provided the first official rostrum from which they could inform the world about the results of their work. The explicitly patriotic character of the Czech and German volumes helped to reconcile the differences in attitudes manifested in the various linguistic, literary, and historical disputes. Palacký's importance was reflected not only in the program he formulated but also in his editorial activity. Now he could realize his theoretical postulates in practice.[11] The journal also aided in the transformation of the Museum by its preference for historical articles over those on the natural science. In this way, the journal attempted to balance the original disproportion between the sumptuous collections on the natural sciences and the poor historical collections.

At the end of the twenties, Palacký was engaged in establishing the "Committee of the Museum for the Scientific Development of the Czech Language and Literature." Its financial arm became known as the *Matice*

česká. The origin of these groups resulted from Palacký's encyclopedic projects, which occupied him from 1829 onwards. Although the Committee was originally established as a section of the Museum, it played a significant role of its own in the future of the whole national movement.

Palacký had long understood the national need for a general encyclopedia encompassing the basic scientific facts. Its publication would help to overcome the backwardness of the country and to bring it up to the cultural level of the more developed states. Palacký, an editor and historian, felt that contemporary cultural needs demanded an original Czech work with detailed entries dealing with the Bohemian lands. Therefore, he dismissed the idea of translating a foreign encyclopedia. The originators of this project were Jungmann and his friends, who had attracted Palacký to the plan in 1818. Eleven years later Palacký, with the support of a broad circle of Czech scholars, revived the old notion. Palacký's proposal stressed the significance of the encyclopedia for the cultural progress of the nation and outlined the features of the project in general terms. The "collective" of several dozen authors was to be concentrated around Palacký, Josef Jungmann, and Jan Svatopluk Presl. Palacký was slated to be editor-in-chief.[12]

During further preparatory stages, Palacký suggested that it was in the Museum's legal power to provide protection for the whole enterprise. The statutes had required the Museum to cultivate the Czech language and had simultaneously allowed it to nominate committees to undertake scientific projects. The executive committee of the the Museum consented to the project on 11 January 1830. The three editors became the "Committee of the Museum for the Scientific Development of the Czech Language and Literature."

The developments that followed proved to be interesting. Although the "Committee" was founded with the clearly defined purpose of preparing a Czech encyclopeida, in time Palacký abandoned the idea. Instead, he decided to concentrate on the publication of various books. In his view, this was now the best way to advance the Czech language and culture. The project was financed by gifts collected by the *Matice česká.*

There is no need to discuss here the importance of the "Committee" and of the *Matice* in the development of Czech culture and enlightenment. Palacký would have deserved the eternal respect of the entire Czech nation, had the two bodies been the only result of all of his efforts. During the thirties, Palacký, Jungmann, and Presl subsequently alternated as secretaries of the "Committee". Through the initiative of this group, Pavel Josef Šafařík found a livelihood in Prague and transformed it into a

center for Slavic research. The "Committee" presented a memorandum to Šternberk proposing the introduction of the Czech language into the whole educational school system of Bohemia.[13] It assumed the publication of the Czech journal of the Museum (financed by the *Matice*). Even though the assets of the *Matice* grew slowly, they were quite sufficient to assume half of the expenses required to publish Jungmann's *Dictionary* and Šafařík's *Slavic Antiquities.* These two publications then became basic works of Czech scholarship.

František Palacký played a decisive role in all of these activities. He continued his efforts even after 1841, when a number of new members (Šafařík and Hanka, among others) joined the "Committee". At the same time, the *Matice* witnessed a great increase in its assets and in the number of its members. This development enabled it to publish basic works in scientific fields and to republish the books of some earlier Czech authors (Kornél ze Všehrd, Březan, Komenský, etc.). The publications of the *Matice* were also sent abroad, and frequently the Museum library exchanged them for significant foreign books.

The Czech journal of the Museum and the *Matice*, in turn, influenced the development of the Museum itself. As editor, Palacký made no secret about the Czech orientation of the journal. This tendency was also manifest in the programs of the "Committee" and of the *Matice*. It was only logical that many new adherents from various underprivileged groups of the Czech nation would join the Museum. In contrast, the conservative aristocracy grew increasingly apathetic toward Slavic linguistic patriotism and the zeal of Palacký and Jungmann and eventually became estranged from this institution. This development was clearly reflected in the *Matice česká*, among whose membership the nobility was scarcely represented. The gradual transformation of the Museum into a democratic and national organization was another result of the efforts of Palacký and his friends.

The executive committee of the Museum was its only segment remaining untouched by these changes. From the beginning, it was headed by Kašpar Šternberk. The overall composition of the committee was stable, since its membership was appointed for life. The social and ideological structure of this body was even more constant. The majority of its members were aristocrats, and they had a decisive influence over all activities. The orientation of the whole institution was determined by the personal desires of the president Kašpar Šternberk. His death on 20 December 1838 marked the end of the institution's first great period. As a show of reverence, the office of the president was not filled until the normal close of his six-year term. A new executive committee was elected at a general

meeting on 26 May 1841. Palacký, although himself an active member of the Museum for only one year, became one of the five members of the committee. Nothing had changed on the surface. The nobility still prevailed, and the new president was a nobleman, too. A professor of Prague University and a member of the clergy represented other social groups of the population. The decisive mement came when the assembly unanimously asked Palacký to become the secretary. After a brief hesitation, Palacký accepted the post.

During the period between Šternberk's death and the election of the new committee, many of the insiders saw a definite loss of momentum. A growth in membership scarcely sufficient to balance deaths and resignations warned of the danger of extinction. General meetings were usually attended by only a few members and were treated with complete apathy on the part of the public.[14] By now, the Museum could barely cover even its most basic expenses. It was also clear that the location of the Museum in Prague's Hradčany district had been unsuitable for a long time. It had dissuaded people from visiting the collections and exhibitions. The decline of the Museum and the failure of the German journal were in sharp contrast with the public success of the Czech journal and growth of the *Matice.*[15] The secretary of the Museum, Count Nostic, mentioned the disparity in 1839 in his proposal to preserve the institution by improving its finances and by entrusting it to the direct patronage of the Estates.[16]

In Palacký's opinion, some of the material problems of the Museum, mainly the lack of space, could be solved by a new structure that would provide hospitality for all of the significant cultural organizations which had been founded in Prague during the reign of Francis I (the Patriotic Museum, the Academy of Arts, the Conservatory, the Industrial Unity).[17] Several of Palacký's memoranda addressed to the Estates stressed the urgency of relocating the Museum to the center of Prague and deal with the expansion of the Museum's program and perspectives. The idea of building a new cultural center in Prague, (the "Franciseum") was not realized because the Estates refused to finance the project. The space problems were at least temporarily solved in 1845, when the Estates purchased the Nostic Palace on the central avenue of Prague, "Na Příkopech", and gave it to the Museum.

Palacký's efforts proved to be more successful in dealing with the conceptual structure and ideological orientation of the Museum. He analyzed these problems in some of the mentioned proposals and in the memoranda concerning the *Francisceum* project (e.g., in "A Plea Concerning the Czech Museum" of 8 May 1840, and "A Criticism of the Building Plan of

the Museum" of 4 April 1841).[18] The same ideas had already appeared in his memorandum of 28 December 1839 addressed to the highest burgrave, Count Chotek.[19] Palacký wrote his suggestion six months after Count Nostic's proposal to continue in the basic course of the Museum and to find a remedy in the financial support of the Estates. Palacký was concerned with the internal structure of the institution. His concept developed gradually; its definite form can be found in his two addresses to the members of the executive committee of the Museum of 20 October and 8 December 1841.

In the first report, "The Purposes of the Patriotic Museum in Bohemia", Palacký took into consideration the fact that the original founders of the Musuem were no longer members of the committee.[20] He reviewed the original program of the Museum that had been formulated nineteen years earlier and raised the question whether these ideals had provided the institution with the perspectives, incentives, and guarantees for a healthy, progressive growth. Further, he stated that the Czech Museum had been founded as one of many others in the Habsburg Monarchy, all presenting many common features. Each of them attempted to collect, systematize, and make accessible local products of human work and nature, artifacts interesting not only to the present but to the future, as well. A museum was expected to depict the past and the present of the country and of the people through collections of characteristic as well as important objects, thus giving a "scientific picture of the country." The Czech Museum had been given this goal in the general introductory proclamation and in the collecting program of 1818. The Museum had been expected to collect everything useful "in the creation of a scientific picture of the past and present of Bohemia." It was also held responsible for the arrangement and exhibition of the collections, as well as for safeguarding them and making them accessible for research. In conclusion, Palacký detailed twelve groups of collections that should be assembled by the Prague Museum, among others collections on the natural sciences, history, archives of old papers and manuscripts, a library, etc.

The paper titled "A Plan for the Extension and Reform of the Patriotic Museum" of December continued expounding the ideas of the preceding report.[21] It analyzed the theoretical premises of the Museum in a detailed and concrete form, projecting them into the present. Palacký praised the European level of the large comprehensive collections on the natural sciences and numismatics. They contrasted, however, with the poor historical and diplomatic collections, which could hardly compete with a number of private collections. Palacký proposed an end to the one-sided

preference for the natural sciences practiced during the Šternberk period. He categorically requested this be changed, ultimately making it a *conditio sine qua non* of his membership in the executive committee. Analyzing the budget, Palacky saw the possibility of financing research on old Czech diplomatics and Czech cultural archaeology, stressing the importance of these projects for future generations. Pointing to the experience of foreign museums and warning of the damaging effects of wars, nature, and vandalism, he asked that steps be taken to protect artistic objects and relics immediately. He proposed the hiring of a custodian for the archaeological collection and the formation of a committee for Czech cultural archaeology. He recommended that the library buy more foreign publications containing documents pertinent to Czech history. The final part of the report took up the location of the institute. He demanded a new building and a budget covering the expenses of all of the new projects.

It has been necessary to discuss these two papers since they dealt with the function of the Museum and its role in national development. Their importance lies, in part, in the fact that they were immediately realized. After hearing and examining Palacký's second report, the executive committee decided to accept both of them without delay.[22] It allocated 240 florins a year for transcribing examples of old Czech diplomatics, approved a new position of custodian for archaeologic collections, endorsed the plan to establish an "Association for Czech Cultural Archaeology", and agreed to purchase more historical publications.

The Archaeological Association was founded in the spring of 1843, and Palacký, assisted by Neuberg, wrote its statutes. The collection of historical papers and transcripts from various archives began to grow. In 1845, the executive committee of the Museum asked the *Gubernium* to inform the cities in Bohemia that they could send archival materials they did not need to the Prague Museum.[23] As prescribed in Palacký's proposals, these collections later became the basis of the independent archives of the Prague Museum which were administered by Karel Jaromír Erben (from 1846 onwards).[24]

In the position of secretary of the Museum, Palacký exercised decisive influence over the whole institution and for eleven years acted as the real *spiritus agens.* His election to this significant post was a major step toward the democratic administration of the Museum. The whole nature and purpose of its existence had been changed through the realization of Palacký's proposals. The isolated scientific institution aloof to national questions had been transformed into an active center of Czech scholarship, culture, and the national movement. Many of Palacký's general postulates

about the importance of museums are still modern and valuable. His view that service to the country is the main purpose of a national museum can hardly be challenged. Its collections, however, must not be built at random. They must follow a precise program and accept artifacts only after an appraisal of their intrinsic value.

The close relationship between Palacký and the Museum was cruelly broken in 1852. During the period of Bach's absolutism, Palacký belonged to the group of suspected national leaders. It was evident that he was completely unacceptable to the authorities, due to his activities during 1848-49. Unfortunately, nearsighted and timid persons prevailed among the members of the Museum. At the time of the by-election, the fearful executive committee omitted his name. Palacký was not elected for a new term and considered this black ingratitude.[25] At the beginning of the fifties, Palacký again proposed the publication of a Czech encyclopedia.[26] The executive committee of the Museum definitely rejected this idea, and Palacký had again to swallow the bitter pill of ingratitude. The sharp division between him and the Museum lasted for nine years, and during this period their fates divided.

Palacký returned to the Museum only after the collapse of Bach's absolutism and the restoration of basic political rights. He found the institution in a position completely different from the one at the time of his first arrival in Prague in 1823. The Museum was secure. The regular annual financial support of the Bohemian Diet and its Executive Committee offered at least minimum necessary protection. During the sixties, the efforts of the executive committee were aimed at the securing of a new building. The old structure in Prague–Příkopy was small and did not meet required safety standards and other requirements of the Museum. Palacký himself mentioned the favorable outlook of the Museum in his remarks on the report of the secretary, submitted to the Assembly of the Society of the Museum on 3 June 1865: ". . .How favorable are the conditions of the Museum now, in comparison with the period after the death of Count Šternberk, when there was apprehension whether the Museum would survive at all. Even during an ordinary administrative year, the participation and dues of members and friends are so great that at the present all we lack is a new building for the scientific treasures."[27] A note which Palacký pronounced at the committee meeting on 15 March 1873 also testifies to the transformation of the Museum during this period. He suggested that the institution needed a new program. While at the beginning of the forties Palacký had purposefully attempted to shape the Museum as a "scientific picture of the country", now the frame of

Bohemia alone seemed too narrow. Palacký proposed to orient the new program of the Museum toward the whole world.[28]

The general assembly of the Society of the Museum elected Palacký to the executive committee on 7 March 1861, immediately after the restoration of constitutional rights in Austria. First the Society chose J.J. Clam-Martinic to be president, and Palacký was nominated as one of the candidates for the function of the vice-president. Respect for the significance and authority of the nobility, however, decided in favor of Count Schwarzenberg, who was elected by 73 votes. Palacký received only 54 votes and was finally elected only a member of the Committee. He obtained 116 votes from the 123 members present, more than any other person elected in this capactiy. Palacký did not participate in the election. He attended the meeting of the assembly the following day and was greeted with shouts of "Sláva!"[29] His return to the Museum was triumphant satisfaction for all of the injustices he had suffered during the previous period of oppression.

Palacký remained a member of the executive committee of the Museum until his death. He was elected three times more: on 16 April 1864, when the termination of his former term was decided by lot, and then, in accordance with the statutes, for regular six year terms. Palacký was elected unanimously each time. The last election confirming a new six year term took place in his absence on 20 May 1876, a week before his death. During the entire period of these sixteen years, Palacky was among the most conscientious members of the committee. Only sickness or short vacations in Maleč prevented him from attending the meetings. When the committee reached the decision that the dignity of the annual general assemblies of the Society should be advanced by scientific papers delivered in both of the languages used in the country, Palacký was the first to offer his assistance. His determination was met with appreciation and thanks.[30] Palacký read his paper, "A Discourse on the Historical Importance of the Land-Registers Damaged by Fire in 1541, and the Need and the Method for their Possible Renovation" on 6 June 1863. It was greeted with loud applause.[31] In 1864 the committee decided to check the condition of the Museum's collections, their location, and systematization. V.V. Tomek was authorized to develop the instructions for the inspectors on 13 February 1864. A month later, Palacký and K.J. Erben accepted the exhausting job of inspecting the collection on diplomatics and the archival collections, Palacký holding this function until his death.[32]

Palacký publicly manifested his devotion to the museum during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the institution in 1868. He recommended that the celebration be organized in a dignified manner, as

a patriotic and scientific event. It seems that, at least at the beginning, some members entertained different notions about the ceremony.[33] In October, 1867, however, the executive committee asked him to prepare a formal speech, and Palacký agreed to the request. In the formal address, Palacký again analyzed the main features of the historical development of the institution, outlined its perspectives, and confessed his devotion to the Museum for the past half-century.[34] Palacký also expressed his intimate relationship with the Museum in a more material way. In 1871, thanks to Palacký, the Museum was able to buy a large collection of fossils that had belonged to Abbot Zeidler. Palacký guaranteed the loan, covering the price of 10,000 florins with his private property and securities.[35]

During the celebration of Palacký's birthday, a fund was established yielding an annual interest of 800 florins. With this money at his disposal, Palacký decided to spend 200 florins for the purchase of historical books for the Museum Library and 600 florins for "the critical publication of patriotic chronicles in their original languages and in Czech translation". The executive committee of the Museum was informed of this decision on 15 April 1869. The general assembly of the Society, as well as the executive committee, expressed their gratitude to the donor.[36]

Palacký also participated in many other Museum activities. He always ardently supported the idea of building a new structure for the institute. As we have mentioned, Palacký had proposed as early as the forties the building of a Czech cultural and scientific center, a "Francisceum", which would also provide a home for the Museum. From the beginning of the sixties, the Museum building in Prague-Příkopy was considered only a temporary solution. The structure was not suitable because numerous technical defects endangered the safety of the employees, visitors, and collections. Inspections of the building by an architect of the Executive Committee of the Diet and also—in accord with Palacký's proposal—by a specialist sent by the executive committee of the Museum were of no avail. In Palacký's opinion, the only solution was the construction of a new building. He rated this project over the other needs of the Museum and advised the executive committee to ask for no increase in the regular subvention by the Diet because "it is important that the Diet allocate the money for a new building for the Museum, and a demand for a higher subsidy could provide a pretext for postponing its construction and might jeopardize the whole project."[37] He envisioned a new building in Prague-Karlovo náměstí (Charles Square), preferring this location even during the

1870s, when the first news was received of the possibility of obtaining a huge lot above Václavské náměstí (Václav Square) where the Koňská brána (Horse Gate) had stood.[38]

The center of Palacký's attention was permanently occupied by the historical and archival collections. It was not only his official assignment to inspect the archives but also his basic professional concern as an histortian. In 1864, Palacký was asked by the committee to assist in the purchasing of documents for the historical collection.[39] He fulfilled the obligation conscientiously and contributed his own documents to the collection of papers and autographs. Palacký expressed concern for the development of the library and called attention to its insufficient historical funds. Urging a solution to this problem, he offered his own help and support. On 11 January 1864, at the meeting of the executive committee, "Mr. Palacký drew attention to the fact that the Museum should have a complete collection of historical documents of Czech history. Although the realization of this plan will be gradual, it is necessary to give it our attentive consideration. Palacký offered his assistance in establishing such a collection of Czech historical documents and promised to inform the librarian about possible puschases from catalogs of antiquarian books. His offer was accepted with gratitude by the committee."[40] Palacký had the same theme on his mind in 1873, shortly before his death.

In 1864 the executive committee discussed another plan of Palacký, one closely related to the development of the historical collections. In February, Palacký made a proposal to establish an archive of musical compositions and in May supported a similar suggestion by F.L. Rieger. Palacký disclosed that the project had been contemplated as early as 1840.[41] It is interesting that this modern idea was realized only after World War II, when the Museum organized its own Department of Music. Palacký's attention was also concentrated on the archive's collection of transcripts. The beginnings of this collection were the result of Palacký's own scholarly work. With the consent of the Estates, Palacký provided his own transcripts of the archival materials which he accumulated in his function as Bohemian Historiographer.[42] Palacký was personally aware of the difficulties of research in the archives, and he saw the danger of the possible destruction of the archives of many cities and estates. The transcription of documents relating to Czech history was launched at Palacký's initiative, orginating in the forties, and the transcripts were placed in the Museum. In 1864 Palacký heartily agreed with the appeal of Professor Tieftrunk that "the committee of the Museum organize the rescue of the provincial archives".[43] During the discussion of Tieftrunk's letter "Mr.

Palacký noticed that official ordinances as well as fervent appeals went unheard. The treasures of the provincial archives can be saved for scholarship only by people sent to collect or transcribe them". Palacký's initiative led the Historical Club to submit suggestions concerning the advancement of research on Czech history. They were expounded by Professor Emler to the representatives of the Museum in April, 1875. In accordance with this scheme, the National Museum, the Land Archives of Bohemia, and the Historical Club organized the systematic transcription of historical documents. This impressive project was realized over several decades and resulted in a huge collection of transcripts from domestic and foreign archives. The collections were placed in the Museum and in the Land Archives of Bohemia. Even today they are of great importance to historians.

František Palacký was elected a member of the executive committee of the Museum for another six year term in 1876. At the time he was already ill, and he died shortly after the election. His departure was a painful experience for the Museum, since for more than half a century Palacký had shared all of its sufferings and blessings. Shortly after the funeral, the Museum accepted Palacký's library and personal archives.

Palacký's decisive significance with respect to the Museum was generally recognized during the last years of his life and also after his death Palacký was considered one of the founders and organizers of the Museum. The exceptional role that Palacký played in the advancement of this institution is proudly remembered today. The minutes of the general assembly of the Museum, summoned after Palacký's death, characterize this mutual relationship. The assembly took place on 25 May 1877, and its opening was devoted to the memory of the great deceased member. The proceedings began as follows:

"Eternal glory to our deceased member, František Palacký!"

NOTES

1. Published by B. Rieger, ed., *Františka Palackého Spisy drobné*, I (Prague, 1898), pp. 299-301.

2. Palacký's relationship with the National Museum has already been analyzed. See Václav Vojtíšek, "Národní muzeum a František Palacký," *Časopis Národního muzea, Oddíl věd společenských*, CXVII-CXIX (1948-50), pp. 95-103; Jaroslav Charvát, "Palacký a Národní muzeum," in *150 let Národního muzea v Praze, Sborník příspěvků k jeho dějinám a významu* (Prague, 1968), pp. 103-108. For the most detailed description of Palacký's participation in the early development of the Museum (until 1850) see Josef Hanuš, *Národní muzeum a naše obrození*, II (Prague, 1923).

3. Among others, Klebesberg's "Aphorismen zum Entwurf des Plans eines National Museums für Böhmen" (see Hanuš, *Národní muzeum a naše obrození*, p. 33f), and Berchtold's "Exempla trahunt" (Hanuš, pp. 89 f.)

4. The manuscript of the proclamation of the Museum is deposited in the Archives of the National Museum (*Archiv Národního muzea*, hereafter cited as A.N.M.), A-1-2 ("An die vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften".)

5. "Sämmtliche Mitglieder müssen die böhmische Sprache verstehen, der Sekretär sie fertig lesen und schreiben." (See *Grundgesetze für die Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen*, Paragraph 13.)

6. For the proceedings of the meeting see Rieger, ed., *Františka Palackého Spisy drobné*, III, pp. 256-257.

7. Ibid., pp. 257f. ("Návrh na zřízení českých Muzejních časopisů").

8. Ibid., p. 263f.

9. For a detailed description, see Hanuš, *Národní muzeum a naše obrození*, pp. 325-401.

10. For Palacký's struggles with the censorship see Karel Köpl, "Palacký und die Censur," in *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 646f.; and Joseph F. Zacek, "Metternich's Censors: The Case of Palacký," in *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto, 1970), pp. 95-112.

11. For an analysis of the contents and significance of the Czech journal of the Museum under Palacký's editorship, see Hanuš.

12. Palacký's proposals with regard to the Czech encyclopedia have been published in Rieger, ed., *Františka Palackého Spisy drobné*, III, pp. 326-38.

13. Ibid., pp. 338-49 ("Podání a zprávy o Matici").

14. In 1838, the general meeting of the Museum was attended by 13 members, in 1839 by 11 members, and in 1840 by 9 members.

15. For a detailed survey of the development of the *Matice*, see Karel Tieftrunk, *Dějiny Matice české* (Prague, 1881).

16. The manuscript is deposited in the A.N.M., A-3-11.

17. See Rieger, *Františka Palackého Spisy drobné*, III p. 287f.

18. Ibid., pp. 294f. and 296f.

19. Ibid., p. 291f. ("Čeho je třeba českému Muzeu").

20. The manuscript "Über die Zwecke des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen" is deposited in the A.N.M., A-3-14.

21. The manuscript, "Vorschläge zur Erweiterung umd Regelung der Tätigkeit des vaterländischen Museums" is deposited in the A.N.M., A-3-16.

22. The minutes of the executive committee of 8 December 1841, in the Book of Proceedings of the executive committee, A.N.M.

23. A.N.M., M-6-31.

24. The documents on the origin of the Archives and the activity of Erben are deposited in A.N.M., J-6-19. See also the minutes of the executive committee of 23 February 1846.

25. On the expulsion of Palacký from the Museum, see J. Volf "Vyhazov Palackého z výboru Národního muzea v r. 1852–morální vítězství vlády," *Časopis Národního*

muzea, CXIII (1919), p. 62f.

26. See J. Špét, "Z osudu české encyclopedie v letech 1850-52," *Časopis Národního muzea–Historica*, CXL (1971), p. 32f.

27. See the minutes of the executive committee of 3 June 1865, Paragraph 2, in A.N.M.

28. "Dr. Palacký also noted that in the past the Museum was primarily concerned with Bohemia. There was no other possibility. Remarkable progress has been made. Therefore the museum should now be oriented toward general scientific and humanistic pusposes." The minutes of the executive committee of 15 March 1873, Paragraph 4, in A.N.M.

29. "Der Herr Geschäftsleiter stellte der Versammlung das neugewählte Ausschussmitglied Herrn Dr. František Palacký vor, welcher von derselben mit einstimmigen Sláva-Rufe begrüsst wurde", The minutes of the general assembly of 7 March 1861, in A.N.M.

30. During the proceedings of the general assembly, the President expressed gratitude to the "ornaments of our Society Dr. Palacký and Professor Reuss, who have been willing to enhance this meeting by delivering their papers. We are extremely pleased." The minutes of the general assembly of 6 June 1863, in A.N.M.

31. Ibid.

32. The minutes of the executive committee of 11 March 1864, Paragraph 5, in A.N.M.

33. ". . . Following a long discussion the executive committee agreed with Dr. Palacký that the celebration should not be a loud, expensive, and pompous demonstration, but, in accordance with the purposes of the Museum, a patriotic event." The minutes of the executive committee of 21 March 1868, Paragraph 5, in A.N.M.

34. See Rieger, ed., *Františka Palackého Spisy drobné*, I, pp. 299-307.

35. See the minutes of the executive committee of 29 July 1871, Paragraph 1, in A.N.M.

36. Ibid.; also the minutes of the general assembly of 26 May 1869, in A.N.M.

37. The minutes of the executive committee of 29 October 1866, Paragraph 5, in A.N.M.

38. Dr. Palacký suggests "to attempt to obtain a lot in Karlovo náměstí from the City. The purchase of the huge lot behind the Koňská brána will result in an immense and undesirable indebtedness for the Museum." Ibid., 18 May 1870, Paragraph 2, in A.N.M.

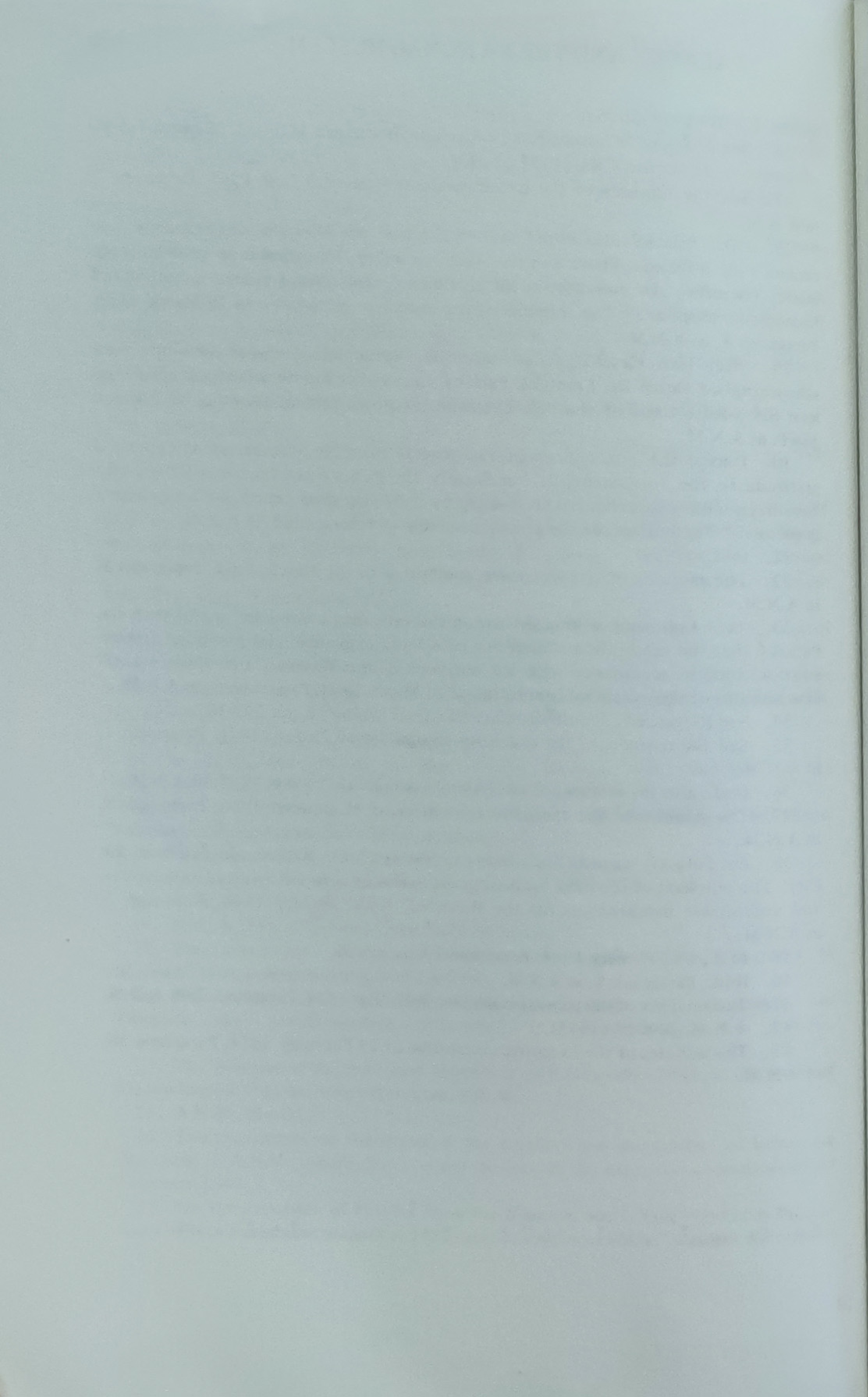
39. Ibid., 13 February 1864, Paragraph 10, in A.N.M.

40. Ibid., Paragraph 6, in A.N.M.

41. The minutes of the general assembly of 22 May 1864, Paragraph 2, in A.N.M.

42. A.N.M., M-6-25 (1845).

43. The minutes of the executive committee of 13 February 1864, Paragraph 10, in A.N.M.



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FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ AND THE BEGINNING OF THE AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES (ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN)

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The first initiatives at founding an Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in Vienna have their origin in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who stayed in Vienna from 1712 to 1714 and tried to achieve the realization of his plans through Emperor Charles VI. After several other starts at the time of Maria Theresa, who regarded a project of that kind rather negatively[1], in 1810 a group of Austrian scientists centered about Friedrich Schlegel, who was then living in Vienna, took up the plan again. A member of this group was Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, later a famous orientalist, who did not abandon the idea of founding an academy until he was ultimately able to bring it to reality some years later. In 1837, the court was presented with a petition signed by twleve Austrian government officials doing scholarly work, requesting the founding of an Academy of Arts and Sciences in Vienna and pointing out that Vienna was the only one among the capitals of Europe where such an academy did not yet exist and that this was a disadvantage to Austria, compared with the other parts of the monarchy with their institutes in Prague, Pest, Venice and Milan.[2] But the *Vormärz* regime was opposed to the project, and only when Metternich, who was directing the monarchy during the reign of Ferdinand together with Kolowrat and the other members of the State Conference, made up his mind in 1845 to give way to the increasing number of Austrian scientists, poets, and intellectuals who were demanding an academy was the Austrian Academy of Arts and Sciences born. This step was meant to be a gesture toward the liberal tendencies of those days, but according to Metternich's will it was clearly to be no more than a gesture. Moreover, the new foundation was meant to serve, according to Metternich's intentions, the aims of the government and to control the "restless spirits". It was to provide the "fixed points" around which such spirits could gather.[3] At the same time it was considered "a new central point" around which would gather all "patriotic scholars" as a "symbol of the unity of the monarchy." The new institute should not therefore, according

to the suggestions of the President of the Court Chamber Karl Freiherr von Kūbeck (who can be considered Metternich's mouthpiece in this case), be confined "to Vienna or a number of provinces" (namely the German-speaking Austrian hereditary lands) but should comprise the area of the whole monarchy. It was to be not only a symbol of unity but also of "German education".[4] In fact, national troubles appeared only in a rather moderate way within the Academy of Arts and Sciences, except in the year of explosion, in 1848.[5]

One must not overrate the centralistic intentions of the Viennese government as far as the new foundation was concerned. Metternich's original idea was to take the wind out of the sails of the liberal and national tendencies among intellectuals and scientists and to keep them under the government's control. Yet he was quite willing to take into account the academies and learned societies already existing in the various parts of the monarchy. In his report to the Emperor on 13 January 1846, he states: "It" [the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences] "shall not be above but beside these." But he continues: "A natural dominance will be given to it by the central point where it will be situated [i.e. Vienna] and lead to an emulation of it by the academies throughout the entire state."[6]

The relationship between the Viennese academy and the "provinces" of the monarchy, respectively the scientists in those places, was therefore a main problem from the beginning, and one that was dealt with while the statutes for the new foundation were being worked out. Another problem was the range of sciences to be taken in. It should be noted that Minister of State Count Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, a Bohemian aristocrat, opposed an explicit regulation to this effect, as Count Hartig had suggested. In his opinion, the scientific institutes already existing in Prague, Pest, Milan, and Venice would consider this a "painful slighting of their work," and they would "point to their results, to national and linguistic differences and to the fact that there should be no subordination in such corporations."[7] But Archduke Johann, who was to become the first curator of the newly-founded academy, pointed out the "necessity to oppose the unfortunate provincial tendency of separation" and to expand the academy to the entire monarchy. Decisive for the admission of members should be "nothing but ability and general reputation, not merely residence in the capital."[8]

Paragraph 1 of the statutes finally laid before the Emperor for signing on 14 May 1847 put the relation between the new foundation and the Emperor, respectively the Viennese government, into the following words: "The Academy of Arts and Sciences *in Vienna* is a learned corporation

under *Our special protection* which has the aim . . . of encouraging the arts and sciences *in the branches assigned to it . . .* and *of supporting the aims of the government* by assuming such tasks and questions pertaining to the field of sciences."[9] The question of breadth was dealt with in a Great-Austrian way: the academy was to have 48 full members, 24 belonging to the capital and 24 to the provinces (paragraph 7). They were to be equally divided among the two classes, the mathematical-scientific one and the historical-philological one (paragraph 2).[10] Among the six full members of the historical-philological class from Bohemia, Šafařík and Palacký were the only Czechs.[11] The custodian of the Prague University Library and the historiographer of the Bohemian Estates were "celebrities" of such a kind that one could not possibly omit them, although they did not hold professorships. Palacký did not even have a doctor's degree, as is well known.[12] It is interesting to note, however, that Palacký, in spite of his good personal relations with the regent (*Landeschef*) of Bohemia, Archduke Stephan,[13] was not originally listed among those Bohemian scholars whom the Archduke, at the suggestion of the First Chancellor Inzaghi, had recommended to the Emperor for admission as full members to the academy. Only Court Chancellor Pillersdorf, to whom the list of candidates proposed by the regents of the various lands of the monarchy had been sent for revision, had put Palacký, the historian Jodok Stülz from the Upper Austrian monastery of St. Florian, and Joseph Ritter von Rusegger, the director of the salt-works in Galicia, on the list, removing others to make places for them.[14]

František Palacký showed a rather keen interest in the newly-founded academy and its establishment right from the beginning. On May 25 he was already in Vienna, where he maintained lively contacts with the Viennese members of the new foundation and with personalities of Viennese society and the court during the following weeks.[15] We find him talking with the spiritual father of the academy, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, with the orientalist and botanist Endlicher, the physicist Ettingshausen, the director of the Viennese coins-and-antiques-cabinet Arneth, the slavist Miklosich, Baron Clemens Hügel, and others. Of special interest are Palacký's various conferences with Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, an eager promoter of the Czech language and literature and a member of a corresponding committee of the Royal Bohemian Museum in Prague, who effected the reform of the Austrian universities as Minister of Education during the neo-absolutist regime after 1848, and his audience with State Minister Kolowrat on June 9.[16]

Unfortunately, we do not know the subjects of all these conferences. But it is certain that in most of them the main one was the affair of the

newly-founded academy. There was still an important act to follow, the election of the presidency, i.e., the president, vice-president, and two secretaries. This stimulated much interest and activity on the part of Purgstall and the other "academicians", which was not very much approved of by State Chancellor Metternich. The coming elections and the future organization of the new foundation were also reasons for Palacký's journey to Vienna.[17] The curator of the academy, Archduke Johann, wanted the presidency elected by letter, in order to guarantee the exercise of the right to vote for the full members in the provinces, too. But Metternich pleaded for an election in the capital; the votes of the members from the provinces who might be unable to attend could be added to the majority. In fact, Metternich carried out his purpose, and the election took place in Vienna on June 27. Palacký, who had already returned to Prague on June 12, took part and came back to Vienna for that purpose.[18]

Palacký also took an active interest in working out the rules of the academy, with which the full members had been entrusted by the court. The newly-elected president, Hammer-Purgstall, originally wanted the rules of procedure to be worked out by all full members of the academy in general meetings in Vienna; but on the advice of Archduke Johann, who had doubts similar to those concerning the elections, he had the rules of procedure worked out by the Viennese members of the academy and sent to the members in the provinces for their opinion.[19] Palacký's opinion of the draft of the rules still exists in the archives of the Austrian Academy of Arts and Sciences, together with a covering letter of 26 August 1847.[20] It was so negative in its main features that Palacky believed he had to apologize for it in the accompanying letter. The main point of Palacký's criticism was the fear that developments could lead to a stiuation where the members of the academy in the provinces would lose the practical exercise of their rights and that the scientific work and the administration of the academy would be carried out mainly by the members living in Vienna. He tried to avert this by a correction of a number of paragraphs in order to secure the equal cooperation of the members of the provinces in the future.[21] Another aim of Palacký was to guarantee the essentially democratic structure of the academy and its self-government for the future, to exclude any influence of the court that exceeded the limitations of the statutes, and to prevent the forming of cliques and parties by its own members.[22] One can also find supplements and comments of a merely technical kind, aiming only at a smooth and undisturbed functioning of routine research and administration.[23] It was Palacký's chance to speak as an expert, drawing upon his seventeen years in the Royal Bohemian Society of Arts and Sciences.[24]

Besides this criticism, referring to several items in the draft of the rules of procedure, Palacký pointed out two major troublesome areas. The first was the fact that in the draft "a more definite reference to those scientific fields and subjects with which the academy will have to deal" was missing. In this connection, Palacký queried "whether and how far one should consider economy and general medicine to be in the mathematical scientific class and whether there will be attention paid to the history of the Austrian state and the countries forming this state in the historical-philological class, or whether it has been determined to leave this subject to a special society, yet to be formed."[25] The second objection criticized the fact that the rules of procedure did not specify different sections in the two classes, sections that were to be dedicated to various subjects, respectively branches of science, as had been planned in paragraph 3 of the statutes concerning the separation of the scientific work into two classes. This problem was solved later by the institution of commissions to perform special tasks in both classes or in the whole academy, but there was never any division of the two classes into sections.

With both objections, Palacký had touched on two actually existing faults in the rules that had to be taken seriously. The range of the sciences to be included in the scope of the academy had been the subject of serious worry by Metternich and the government and of a tug-of-war between the government and private proponents of the academy for some years. Philosophy, political science, and poetry were considered extremely dangerous and were excluded from the concerns of the academy from the very beginning. But history, too, had often been regarded with suspicion[26], until someone had the idea to place it at the service of the state (under the name of "patriotic history") and to submit its exercise to the supervision of the government, e.g., in an Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences.[27] Both problems, the question of which subjects were appropriate for study by the academy and the question of the practical organization of the academy's work, were to become matters of importance for Palacký's own work at the Academy.

On 5 May 1849, during a meeting of the philosophical-historical class (the new name of the historical-philological class), Palacký made a suggestion that the class put the editing of the documents of the fifteenth-century church councils on its working agenda and should found a special commission for this purpose.[28] As has been mentioned before, this form of cooperation had been chosen by the academy to perform certain tasks. The first commission of this kind had been created in November, 1847, the so-called "Commission for the Editing of Austrian Historical Sources" (later briefly called the "Historical Commission"), which still exists.

The designated leader of this commission, whose members were elected by the class, was Joseph Chmel, a member from the monastery of St. Florian in Upper Austira, since 1846 vice-director of the Secret Family-Court-and State-Archives, and like Palacký a full member of the academy from the beginning. This man had been among the first Austrian historians (Austrian historical sceince being rather neglected then) to discover the great value of research in historical sources in this time of romanticizing historiography. For years he had eagerly devoted himself to the edition of sources, though rather uncritically, publishing anything that came within his reach. He had also been able to convince the class of the necessity of a comprehensive collection and edition of all of the sources of Austrian history, and he had been the actual initiator of that commission to which, besides himself, the botanist and historian Stephan Endlicher, the custodian of the Viennese Court Library Freiherr von Münch-Bellinghausen (better known under the poet's pseudonym, Friedrich Halm), and the Romanist Ferdinand Wolf also belonged.[29]

At Palacký's suggestion, the class commissioned him to work out the details of his publication plan, and Palacký sent this plan to Vienna in 1849. In it he proposed the institution of a commission "of about three members" who would be entitled to employ assistants necessary for the purpose, to supervise and coordinate their work, to undertake the necessary archival travels, and to have 1000 florins a year at their disposal. As "absolutely necessary" Palacký considered the admission to this commission of the corresponding member Ernst Birk, custodian of the Viennese Court Library, who had already made a name for himself with his edition of the *Regesten* to Lichnowsky's *History of the House of Habsburg* (8 Volumes, Vienna, 1836-1844) and who had already done some preliminary studies concerning the conciliar documents of the fifteenth century. Palacký declared himself ready to cooperate, too, but since the commission should properly have its residence in Vienna he would have to be reimbursed the costs of his necessarily frequent journeys to that city.[30]

The philosophical-historical class referred Palacký's proposal to Chmel, who, as the head of the Historical Commission, might be considered an authority "in historicis." He reported to the class about it on 9 January 1850, and at the request of the class wrote a reply to Palacký, which he read during a meeting of the class on January 16.[31] There Chmel expressed an extremely negative attitude towards Palacký's plan. Nevertheless, he wrote him that the Commission for the Editing of the Conciliar Documents of the Fifteenth Century had been established and that Birk as well as Palacký had been elected on the terms he had specified. Chmel himself, as well as Theodor Georg von Karajan, a well-known Germanist, had

declared themselves ready to cooperate "in order to favour such a meritorious undertaking and to give you, honourable friend, an evidence of our respect and good will." Chmel also admitted that Palacky's proposal for the editing and publication of the *Acta conciliorium saeculi XV* "certainly [was] a very important and excellent one." It was a "literary undertaking that would be sure of the gratitude of all present and future historians and Christian theologists."[32] But, at the same time, he indicated serious doubts that the available talents within the academy would be sufficient to master such a difficult and complex undertaking.

It has been speculated that Chmel, who had initiated a broad program of editing for his own commission, feared the competing enterprise of Palacký and a division of financial and other means.[33] That, indeed, was the case. But the basic reason for his negativism lay deeper, and Chmel revealed it quite frankly in his letter: it was his conviction that the primary task of the academy was the cultivation of "patriotic history" and supplementing it with the necessary sources. In a rather direct manner, he reminded Palacký: "Our class has made the special cultivation of patriotic history the subject of its attention from the very beginning, even before the solemn opening of the academy, and it has given and dedicated important means and resources to it. You, honourable friend and colleague, appear not to have agreed to this direction of scientific work from the beginning. . . ."[34] By "patriotic history" Chmel meant the history of the different crownlands of the Habsburg Monarchy, not only their union in the hands of the dynasty, as it had been understood before. He demanded, in addition to the presentation of the "political" and "exterior changes", the investigation of the "inner life of the nations and peoples, their customs, habits, opinions, and prejudices."[35] At the time, this was a rather progressive idea, and one that had to appeal to Palacký, too. But Palacký wanted to leave the history of the various countries to the historical and museum societies there, whereas the work of the academy had to aim at something "more extraordinary", at a more comprehensive variety of themes. One must mention here that historical science was more advanced in Bohemia and Moravia–mostly because of Palacký's initiatives–than in the other lands of the monarchy, as Chmel specifically emphasizes.[36]

Palacký's view here appears to be inconsistent with his criticism of the draft of the rules of procedure, concerning the sphere of operation of the philosophical-historical class.[37] But it is quite clear that to the great Czech historian, who agreed with the idea of the Austrian Imperial State and the Great-Austrian idea in general, "patriotic history" in the manner prescribed by the state (and which led also to the foundation of the Institut

für österreichische Geschichtsforschung in 1854[38]) had nothing in common with the history of the country he considered his own fatherland, namely the lands of the Bohemian crown. To this kind of history, the conciliar movment of the fifteenth century with its national and democratic tendencies, appearing in Europe for the first time, had a much greater relevance. In his evaluation of the proposal for the edition of the council's documents, Palacký explained why the subject fascinated him: It is the "reformation of the church in head and members" with the "analogous political efforts, so that these councils as a kind of areopagus of peoples are not without importance for the development of the states' system in Europe as well."[39]

In addition, it was certainly the profound personal differences between Chmel and Palacký which made it impossible for both of them to develop more intimate cooperation in the work of the academy, although there were the best intentions on both sides. The active politician and ardent nationalist Palacký necessarily had a different attitude toward the materials of the past than Chmel, the cool type of scholar who only "lived for the past" (according to his own words) and for whom " the present . . . is only interesting so far" as it "happens to invite comparisons with the past."[40] Chmel's share in the editing of the council's documents was therefore limited to some occasional work.[41] The main work was done by Palacký and Birk. On the other hand, there was never any real co-operation on the part of the Czech historian as far as the work of the Historical Commission was concerned, although Chmel made urgent appeals to Palacký and Šafařík,[42] appeals which were meant seriously and not merely to dissuade Palacký from his intention of founding a committee of his own.

The work on the *Monumenta conciliorum generalium saeculi XV*, which started with the sources on the Council of Basel on Palacký's advice, advanced rather slowly during the first years. Palacký had hoped to be able to publish the first volume in 1851, but that was out of the question. Even three years later we find Palacký busy collecting material during a journey to Paris.[43] The reason for the slow progress was primarily the size of the project, which Palacký himself could not estimate correctly at the beginning. Another likely reason was the limited financial means available. In the annual reports of the commission to the philosophical-historical class of the academy, there is the almost stereotyped, repeated complaint that it could not manage to make ends meet with the money provided.[44] But in 1857 the time came when the first volume of the *Monumenta conciliorum generalium saeculi XV* was published, with the two main authors, Palacký and Birk, writing the preface together.

NOTES

1. Richard Meister, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1847-1947* (Wien, 1947), p. 12ff.

2. Ibid., p. 17ff.

3. Ibid., p. 31. Text: *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien* (Henceforth HHStA), *Minister-Kolowrat-Akten* (Henceforth MKA) 1847, No. 988, Appendix V.

4. Meister, p. 30.

5. Certainly the idea of Bartholomaus Kopitar, who had wanted to found an Academy of Arts and Sciences of the *Slavonic* peoples four decades earlier, had no chance of realization in the middle of the century. See Eduard Winter, *Fruhliberalismus in der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin, 1968), p. 47.

6. Meister, p. 31.

7. HHStA, MKA 1847, No. 998, Appendix V. A "Pro memoria" added to the same act may be attributed to Kolowrat, too. There it says: "If the outlining of the statutes of an Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in Vienna is assigned to a committee of scientific men capable of doing so, . . .this committee must be informed of the will of the government concerning three items, namely: . . .2) the limitation of the Viennese Academy to the capital and the countries of German language, without expansion to Bohemia, Hungary, Venice, and Milan; . . ."

8. Ibid., Appendix VI.

9. *Almanach der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1851* (Vienna, n.d.), p. 4. See also Meister, p. 44.

10. *Almanach 1851*, pp. 6 and 4.

11. Meister, p. 44f.

12. In the report of the presidency of the United Court Chancery (*Vereinigte Hofkanzlei*) of 24 September 1846 (HHStA, MKA 1846, No. 1126/1033), the emperor is advised, given the size and variety of the tasks of the planned academy and the rather advanced age of some of the 24 full members from Vienna, to add some scholars from the provinces as full members. But one could not count on an actual profit for the academy by doing so "except [for] some celebrities of Bohemia (Palacký, Šafařík and Rettenbacher) and the literary reputation of a small number of Italian scholars." This unfavorable opinion of the scientists outside of Vienna was certainly inspired by an obvious effort to keep the circle of full members from the provinces as small as possible, as the following passage shows: "From this the conclusion is derived and presented for His Majesty's judgment that, if it is His Majesty's purpose to appoint men from other parts of the monarchy as full members at the first nomination to the academy, *this should at least be done within strict limits,* though it cannot be denied that this limitation itself, if not justified by principle, will offer a new motive for national rivalries and feelings of presumed neglect." Joseph Rettenbacher, proposed for admission besides Palacký and Šafařík, was a professor of chemistry at Prague Universtiy. He was actually nominated as a full member. The other three of the total of six first full members from the Bohemian lands were: the meteorologist Karl Kreil, director of the observatory in Prague; the mineralogist Paul Partsch: and the latter's colleague, Franz Zippe, a professor at the technical college in Prague. (Meister, p. 44f.)

13. When Palacký travelled to Vienna at the end of May, 1847, he happened to meet the archduke at the station in Prague and was invited to travel a part of the

distance together with him in his compartment. (See Palacký's diary of his travel to Vienna [May/June 1847] in the Literary Archives, Prague. There is a copy in the Archives of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna). In 1846, Palacký had interceded with the archduke in favor of his friend, Šafařík, and had (in vain) asked for the establishment of a chair of Slavonic philology at the University of Prague, which was to be given to Šafařík. (František Palacký, *Spisy drobné*, ed. Bohuš Rieger, Leander Cech, and V.J. Nováček, III [Prague, 1900], p. 519 f.)

14. HHStA, MKA 1846, No. 1126, with Appendix I. See Meister, p. 42. Ultimately, Rusegger became only a corresponding member.

15. As Hammer-Purgstall writes in his memoirs, Palacký had come from Prague to Vienna after having heard that the statutes of the academy had been published and that the academy was not limited to Vienna alone, but that it included all lands. He wanted to confer with those scientists and upholders of culture there who had spoken in favor of the foundation of the academy, most of all Hammer-Purgstall. At Palacký's suggestion, Hammer-Purgstall invited some personalities of this circle to a conference in his home on May 30. Obviously, they wanted to find appropriate measures to prevent the academy from coming too much under the influence of the court and becoming an instrument to control scientific life in the whole monarchy. This plan awakened Metternich's suspicions and had to be cancelled. See Josef Freiherr v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, 1774-1852*, in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, II, 70, (Vienna and Leipzig, 1940), p. 371 f.

16. Palacký, "Diary of Travel to Vienna."

17. Meister, p. 46.

18. Palacký, "Diary of Travel to Vienna."

19. Meister, p. 49.

20. The opinion of the non-resident members of the acadmey was to be expressed by the middle of September and not by October 1, as Meister says, See the letter of the first president of the academy, Hammer-Purgstall, of 28 July 1847, in which he orders the full members of the academy not living in Vienna to give their opinion of the draft of the rules being sent to them(Archives of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna).

21. The draft of the rules differentiated class sessions (*Klassensitzungen*), which were to be reserved for the execution of "scientific affairs" (*wissenschafliche Geschäfte*) and take place once a week, and general conferences (*allgemeine Versammlungen*) for other agenda, i.e., for administrative and business affairs, which were to be summoned by the president, if necessary. Moreover, there was to be an annual "festive session" (*feierliche Sitzung*) on May 30, the foundation day of the academy, to which all full members of the academy, including the ones living in Vienna, were to be summoned. (Draft of the rules, paragraphs 2 and 8, in the Archives of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.) For the situation of the full members of the academy outside of Vienna there was another important paragraph of the rules, paragraph 1b, stating: "As the non-resident full members are summoned to Vienna on May 30, those subjects are to be reserved for the class sessions immediately before that day *for which the participation of those members is made necessary by the rules of procedure or other reasons.* Besides this, *all or only some*

individual members of a class may be invited, on demand of the class itself, by the president of the academy *to come to Vienna* as often as necessary. On the whole the class will maintain—by means of its secretary—a constant relationship with its members living in the provinces and ask their advice whenever necessary, for which the appropriate arrangements are to be made in the sessions." Palacký's criticism was stimulated by the words "those subjects . . . for which the participation of those members is made necessary by the rules of procedure or other reasons." He thought: "That is too ambiguous. What kind of rules of procedure are meant, since the draft being discussed does not say anything, or at least nothing clear and precise about them? The meaning of the words seems to be this, that they *reserve the right to require the participation of the non-resident* members in every individual case . . . *or not. The whole paragraph might therefore provoke and sanction an extreme arbitrariness;* but this would be the opposite of an orderly and legal situation." (Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Palacký's opinion about the draft of the standing orders of the academy, p. 6.) Palacký's opinion concerning paragraph 19 of the draft (Opinion, p. 6) is aimed at the same point and so is item 5 of his opinion, where he says that he misses "a more precise definition of the . . . academic sessions and conferences of three kinds, namely a) the class sessions, b) the plenary sessions, and c) the festive sessions. Obviously, the class sessions as well as the plenary sessions should be divided into ordinary ones, for the scientists living in Vienna, and extraordinary ones, to which scholars living outside of Vienna should be called, too; such a thing is hinted at in paragraphs 16 and 19 of the draft, but too ambiguously. In what cases and under what circumstances are, for example, the resolutions of an ordinary class session binding on the whole academy, and when do they need the special consent of the plenary session?" (Opinion, p. 3, passage 5). At the end of his Opinion, Palacký mentions again the "extraordinary plenary sessions" proposed by himself, "to which . . . the whole body of the academy should be summoned." These should take place twice a year in May and November and should be reserved for the following subjects: a) all kinds of elections, namely of the presidency of the academy and of the full, corresponding, and honorary members; b) the examination of the annual estimate of costs and the closing of accounts; c) the cases dealt with in paragraphs 34, 48, and 49, i.e., decisions about publishing works outside the publication series of the academy, the election of a new president after the expiration of the term of office of the former one, and the election or re-election of the two secretaries after the expiration of their terms in office.

22. Palacký explains this in his criticism concerning paragraph 45 of the rules as follows: "The question of elections is of vital importance for the academy; there have to be certain measures to make sure that no protective or personal relations gain importance, that all interests of the academy find appropriate representation, and that possible factious minorities not take power by surprise." (Opinion, p. 8.) See also passages 4 and 6 of the Opinion, as well as Palacký's criticism of paragraph 49 of the draft. (Opinion, pp. 2f. and 9.)

23. Passages 6, 7, 8, and 10 of the Opinion, p. 3 f.) and criticisms of paragraphs 2, 7, 11b, 13, 14, and 24 of the draft (Opinion, pp. 4 f. and 7.)

24. On the whole Palacký's criticisms and proposals for changes were hardly given any consideration, except for two items where his opinions did assert themselves. The first one deals with the number of corresponding members still to be elected by the full members of the academy. There Palacký had spoken in favor of

taking them not only from individual countries but also from the capital, Vienna; in this case, the original number of 24 domestic corresponding members would be too small. In the final version of the rules of procedure, it became 36. (See the draft of the rules, paragraph 43; Palacký's Opinion, pp. 7 f.: and the final version of the rules, paragraph 44, in *Almanach 1851*, p. 27.) A second item was sharply criticized by Palacký and in the end does not appear in the final version of the rules. The question concerned paragraph 55 of the draft, which stated that "the full members present in Vienna. . . can claim a stipend of 5 florins for every academic session in which they take part." Palacký speaks against this regulation (in his opinion a waste of precious money) with a certain sharpness, indicating his true concern for matters of science but also his resentment at the fact that this compensation would have generally favored the Viennese members, who could take part in all sessions. The non-resident members, according to paragraph 56 of the draft (also later cancelled) were to be restricted to a remuneration of their travelling expenses and *daily wages* of 5 florins for every day spent in the capital in the interest of the academy. In his opinion he points out: "If the mere 'sitting' will bear such fruit, will there be even higher prices for the 'moving' and the 'progressing', or none at all? The work of the commissions is not granted any stipends in the draft, and yet it will take much more intelligence and time than the mere 'taking part in the sessions'. The undersigned consents to this paragraph only on the condition that scientifically productive work and commission affairs be paid for more suitably. It would be bad . . . if one had to tie every academic action to a certain stipend." (Opinion, p. 9 f.) It is quite evident how Palacký—here and elsewhere in his opinion—stresses the position of the commissions, still to be formed within the scope of the academy and only briefly dealt with in the draft of the rules of procedure as a possibility. Possibly he already carried the idea in his mind to found a special commission for the publication of the documents of the councils of the fifteenth century.

25. This is also connected with Palacký's criticism expressed in item 9 of his Opinion, concerning the fact that the draft of the rules did not include any details about the "cultivation of native languages", which was intended in paragraph 2 of the statutes. (This paragraph said: "The competence of this academy is to include: a) the mathematical and physical sciences, b) history, language and archeology (the original text says *Altertumskunde*) to the most extensive degree, including the cultivation of native languages. . . ." (*Almanach* 1851, p. 4). Palacký thought that "just there a regulation [would be] most necessary to guard against later complaints and troubles" and suggested that the academy cultivate permanent cooperation with the learned societies in Pest, Prague, Cracow, Milan, etc., concerning this matter. That Palacký proposed such an idea is not surprising, nor that Vienna ignored it.

26. See Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen*, *Fontes rer. Austr.*, II, 70, p. 362 ff.

27. Another possibility for the controlled cultivation of the science of history was an *Institut für österreichische Geshcichtsforschung.* See text, below.

28. Meister, p. 87.

29. Ibid., p. 69. On Chmel, see Alphons Lhotsky, "Joseph Chmel zum hundertsten Geburtstag," *Anzeiger der osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist.* K.L. 95(1958), pp. 323-347.

30. Palacký's opinion of 30 December 1849, Archives of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, with accompanying letter of 31 December 1849.

31. *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.* 4 (1850), p. 55 ff.

32. Ibid., pp. 60, and 56.

33. Lhotsky, "Joseph Chmel", *Anzeiger der Akademie d. Wissenschaften* 95, p. 336.

34. *Sitzungsberichte* 4, p. 56.–"I believe that an Austrian academy in Vienna ... should be directed toward patriotic [goals] above all, and for two reasons: first, because the patriotic deserves preference in itself, and second, because it needs special cultivation." (Ibid., p. 57.) "I let any unprejudiced person judge how one can serve science better, whether by forming such an apparatus for the exact knowledge of our native soil, our native languages, our native history, and our literatures, or by any other scientific undertaking; I think . . . the former could easily stand up to any other undertaking." (Ibid., p. 57 f.)

35. Quotation from Lhotsky, "Joseph Chmel", *loc. cit.*, p. 340. In the class session of 9 January 1850, Chmel explained: "The Austrian historiographer shall ... describe the fates of the Austrian peoples, their independence, their mutual influences, their combats and reunions, their union and community." [This task] takes it for granted that one knows all of the special histories profoundly and most extensively, that one has reached a certain knowledge of the points of view, efforts, and desires of the various nationalities, that one does not take into account only political history, which mostly considers external events, but has also studied the history of the religion, civilization, and especially the literature and arts of the various parts of the Austrian Imperial State." (*Sitzungsberichte* 4, p. 30.)

36. *Sitzungsberichte* 4, pp. 56 f., and 58 f.

37. See above.

38. See Alphons Lhotsky, *Geschichte des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1854-1954, in Mitteilungen oes Instituts Für Österreichische Geschichts forschung, Ergänzungs-Band* 17 (Graz-Höln, 1954), pp. 4 ff.

39. Palacký's Opinion of 30 December 1849, Archives of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

40. *Sitzungsberichte* 4, p. 56. See also Lhotsky, "Joseph Chmel", *loc. cit.*, p. 335.

41. As he himself admitted frankly, He did not want to stray from his "main purpose", the edition of the *Monumenta Habsburgica*, and so he could note material relevant to the conciliar documents only incidentally, e.g., during a trip through the archives of southern Germany and Switzerland in 1850. (*Sitzungsberichte* 6, p. 44). Also, Chmel's opinion about the principles to follow in editing the conciliar documents was not identical with that of Palacký. (See Ibid., p. 45, and Palacký's principles in the quoted Opinion.)

42. In the class session of 12 December 1849, Chmel had first given a survey of the documentary and narrative sources published in the first four volumes of Palacký's *Archiv Český* and then asked the assembled class, "in the interest of all non-Czech historians to demand formally of the editor of this precious source, Mister Palacký, our honourable member, that he have made an authentic translation of the most interesting and important letters, documents, and acts of this *Archiv* under his supervision and verification." This translation could then be published either in the *Archiv zur Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, edited by the Historical Commission, or as a publicatin of its own in Latin, to be accessible to all nations, not only the German one. Sitzungsberichte 3, pp. 414-423. In the same session, Chmel proposed

that the philosophical-historical class should "formally demand of the excellent Slavonic philologist and historian Šafařík and Palacký to join the Historical Commission of our Imperial Academy as members. They should permit that the other members of the Historical Commission consult them in all literary questions concerning *Slavica*, and they should also suggest and name all ways and means to promote the history of the Slavs." (Ibid., p. 423.) Chmel repeated the two requests in the same letter to Palacký in which he spoke in a very reserved way about Palacký's plan to edit the conciliar documents. (Ibid., p. 61 ff.)

43. *Sitzungsberichte* 11 (1854), pp. 277 ff.

44. *Sitzungsberichte* 12 (1854), pp. 688 f.; 16 (1855), p. 306; 20 (1856), p. 459.

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FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ AND HIS WIFE TEREZIE

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A century has passed since the death of the politician, historian, and, in the broad sense of the term, "public servant," František Palacký. His public as well as academic work was greatly influenced by his family relationships. The meaning of his marriage to Terezie Měchurová is best portrayed in his own words: "All of the happiness that I experienced in my lifetime stems from my marrying into this household."[1] Palacký resided in the old palace, formally of the MacNevens, in the present Palacký Street in the New Town of Prague, from his marriage in 1827 until his death in 1876.

František Palacký was born on June 14, 1798, in the Moravian town of Hodslavice. His father was a Protestant teacher who in order to support his vast family also worked as a farmer, a tradesman, and a craftsman. At the age of eight and a half, the gifted František was sent by his father to the aristocratic German school in nearby Kunvald (today Kunín). During his stay, he lived with the brewer, Werner. In Werner's household the only person with any knowledge of Czech was the brewer's cousin, Nanny Urbanová, of approximately Palacký's age. With "his beloved Nanny he quickly became very good friends." Together they were taught to play the piano by the organist, Richter.

Palacký spent the rest of his childhood and youth in Slovakia. At first he frequented the Latin evangelical grammar school in Trenčín and later continued his studies at the Evangelical Boys' High School (Lyceum) in Bratislava, formerly Pressburg. In the course of his studies and primarily after their completion, Palacký acted as a tutor in noble households. During this period he became quite attached to Nina Zerdahely.

In September, 1819, Palacký noted in his diary (which he kept from 1818 almost until his death in 1876) that "even our more noble part [meaning the female sex] needs certain charms which provide it not only with a good and tender heart but also a cultured intellect."[2] Palacký found this type of woman in Nina Zerdahely, born Baloghy, for whose nieces and fosterlings he was a tutor. When Zerdahely and Palacký met, he was nineteen and she thirty-seven. A great deal has been written about this relationship, and opinions on the subject vary greatly. However, if we

consider Palacký to be a living human being and not a naive saint, we can interpret the contents of his diary to suggest a warm friendship. The cultivated personality of Nina Zerdahely strongly influenced the future life and work of František Palacký. In 1865, when writing his biography for Rieger's *Encyclopedia*, he still remembered the merits of their relationship.

In 1823, Palacky terminated his tutorial functions for the Hungarian noblewoman, Csúza, bade farewell to Nina Zerdahely, and departed. After a short stay in Vienna and in his native region, he left for Prague. He arrived in Prague on April 11, 1823, with the intention of studying the sources useful for the writing of Czech history, primarily of the Hussite Period. Prague became his permanent residence.

Shortly after his arrival in Prague, Palacký's exceptional abilities placed him in the foreground of the public scene. He was in contact with many of Prague's leading scholars. Palacký was a friend of Jungmann and as a historian became the student of Dobrovský. He also gained the respect of the founders of the Prague Museum, František and Kašpar, Counts of Šternberk. From the uncertain post as the Šternberks' archivist, Palacký rose, in 1827, to be the first editor of the newly established Czech and German journals of the Patriotic Museum.

Palacký also became an active participant in Prague's social life. He became a distinguished guest in many noble as well as bourgeois salons. Palacký's diary from this period contains numerous women's names: Countess Vratislav, Baroness Marie Hennetová, the two sisters Sofie and Marie Meklová, Jenny Havránková, Marie Obitecká, and others. Many of them were members of the musical societies in which Palacký took part. However, one woman meant more to Palacký, Lidmila Brožová. Palacký lived in her neighborhood, and therefore had known her since 1823. Count Mercandin, in whom she confided, wrote to Palacký in October, 1823, requesting him to take Lidmila under his care. Lidmila's singing enchanted Palacký, and in March, 1825, he proposed to her. Palacký's uncertainty was short-lived: he was denied. Their friendship continued, however, and Palacký found consolation in Lidmila even after his heart belonged to another woman for whom he had long yearned. And Lidmila was among the first to be notified by Palacký of his engagement to Terezie Měchurová.

Palacký encountered Terezie for the first time on March 2, 1824, at a masquerade. On the same day, he distinguished himself a historian, when he read the family tree of the Šternberks, prepared for Hormayr's *Taschenbuch*, to Dobrovský and the Counts František and Kašpar Šternberk. On April 17, 1825, through his acquaintance with the poet Karel Egon Ebert,

Palacký met the young musical composer Leopold Měchura, Terezie's brother. A week later, on April 21, Ebert accompanied Palacký on his first visit to Měchura, and the two men became good friends, visiting each other frequently.

Marie Červinková-Riegrová, Palacký's granddaughter, recorded in her notes: "On May 23, 1882, Marianne Tašková and I visited the poet Ebert, to ask him for the papers left by my grandfather . . . . [Ebert] spoke of my grandmother and her sister Toni . . . . He mentioned that Palacký was at first attracted to Toni, and only later approached Terezie. Ebert also stated that, at the time, Terezie was in the midst of an unhappy affair with a disloyal lover. Being aware of this, her family probably urged her to consider Palacký. The fact that my grandmother's love affair before Palacký was an unhappy one was also confirmed by my mother."[3] Palacký's diary notes do not in any way contradict the above evidence. Antonie Měchurová was quite beautiful and somewhat younger than her sister Terezie. At that time she did not have any serious ties, even though scores of men had proposed to her, undoubtedly Ebert among them. Later Antonie married Jan Heyrovský, the chief forester to Count Schwarzenberg. Not long after her marriage she died, leaving several ophaned children.

From his portrait and other evidence of the 1820s, we know that František Palacký was a handsome man, with blond hair, blue eyes, and definite social poise. Without trying to hide his simple Czech background, he had not only the ability to enter the aristocratic salons but also to maintain a distinct social presence there. Therefore, it is understandable why Palacký was so strongly conscious of the physical disorder that had troubled him since the age of fifteen. He was suffering from a goiter, and all efforts to treat the ailment proved hopeless. Lidmila Brožová's refusal of Palacký's proposal also must have deeply affected his sensitive personality.

We also have some idea of Terezie Měchurová's appearance from her portrait and the written description by her granddaughter, Marie Červinková-Riegrová: "Terezie was of medium height and slender figure. Brown hair lined her friendly face. Although Terezie was less beautiful than her younger sister, she had expressive brown eyes and always exuded the charm of a cultivated girl. Possessing numerous gifts of the spirit as well as a lively temperament and social tact, she radiated a clear, joyful mind and a healthy humor. She had one of those happy, harmonious female personalities to which the correct proportion of intellect and sentiment is given and in whose presence one could live a blissful life. She had the true, gentle, feminine charm which captivates and refreshes with its lively spirit."[4]

From early childhood, however, she had suffered from a heart ailment and nervousness, and there seemed to be no hope of a future improvement in her health.

Jan Měchura, the father of Leopold, Terezie, Antonie, Karel, and little Marie, was a prominent Prague lawyer in the 1820s. By his first marriage to Marie of the noble Lankiš family of Hornice, he gained ties to many aristocratic families. In Prague, he inhabited the old palace of the Mac-Nevens. In addition, he owned the estate of Otín with the towns of Předslaví, Hrabatice, and later Chucle near Klatovice, and among other properties also the estate of Lobkovice. Marie Červinková-Riegrová wrote of him: "Měchura was a true family patriarch. Being a sworn enemy of all new, subversive ideas, he had great respect for old laws and the old order. He was thoroughly conservative in his political preferences, something of an aristocrat."[5] It must be added that, in contrast with Palacký who was a Protestant, Měchura was Catholic. The language spoken in the Měchura family was, of course, German.

Jan Měchura's decision to accept Palacký, a man neither of means nor status, for his son-in-law was undoubtedly based on Palacký's exceptional abilities, character, and circumspect behavior. The family doctor of the Měchuras, Dr. Held, rector of Prague University and a friend of Palacký, also had an important influence on Měchura's decision. However, Palacký first had to succeed at the difficult task of gaining Terezie's affection. He first became interested in her on hearing her beautiful playing of the harp. His diary is a testimony to his anticipations and temporary failures. On June 29, 1825, Palacký noted in his diary: "Before lunch I was at Měchura's and to my great pleasure heard his older sister play the harp."[6] On Ocotber 29, 1825, Palacký wrote that he was "at the sisters Měchura, where I first took part in playing the piano with Terezie."[7] Though Terezie still had her "lover," Bauer, Palacký visited the Měchuras often. He accompanied her on the piano while she played the harp, accompanied both sisters while they sang, and played four-handed piano pieces with them. Gradually he gained the sympathy of their esteemed father.

Experiencing serious ups and downs, Palacký wrote on October 14, 1826: "Today is a fateful day of my life. I worked the whole day at home and at my office finishing up my historical writing. Lunch at the Red House with Mr. Štěpanovský. Visited twice with the ill Baron Stenč. Evening at the Měchuras; celebration of Terezie's name day. I confided in Terezie that I love her, but on receiving neither a clear nor the desired answer I was considerably confused and experienced feelings of bitter hopelessness. Nevertheless, I had to disregard my outraged heart and work the entire night until 3:30 A.M."[8]

Finally, on October 20, 1826, Palacký wrote: "Today is the happiest day of my life till now. Měchura and Ebert came into my office and told me the news. Speaking with her father, Terezie confessed her love for me. Therefore, after lunch at Červenka's, I left at 2:30 P.M. to visit her. Upon my arrival, Terezie told me of her undivided love and sent me to her father. Discourse on religious matters. Joy of the entire household. Happy moments. Intimate chat with Terezie. Subsequently, I visited Tomášek, Karel Ebert, and Dr. Held."[9] The same day Palacký wrote a note in Terezie's birthday book, as was customary. On November 28, 1826, Palacký brought Terezie *Reden an Gebildete aus dem weiblichen Geschlecht*, a book written by the preacher of the court in Berlin, Friedrich Ehrenberg. Enclosed was a card which read: "My dear Terezie! Ehrenberg's work . . . taught me to discern genuine femininity in all its nobility at a time when I could simultaneously test the truth of these deeply and affectionately conceived observations on one of the noblest of feminine souls who ever inhabited this world. My friend, loved above all, I recognized you even before my eyes saw you. This book presents the clearest image of that noble femininity for which which I admire you so dearly."[10] The words "one of the noblest of feminine souls" undoubtedly referred to Nina Zerdahely. This card is the first of the 525 letters written by Palacký between the years 1826 and 1860 to his fiancée and wife Terezie. All are written in German, and can be found in the Archives of the National Museum in Prague.[11] In his letter of March 2, 1827, František Palacký recalled another day, March 2, 1824, when he first noticed Terezie, as "a most beautiful and charming child, possessing all of the appropriate grace, innocence, and naivete, satisfied with herself and with the world that she does not yet fully know, a child without the slightest care for any of her admirers, and certainly none for the one who then had no idea that in three years, he would describe to her this unforgetable scene!" During his visit to Germany, principally Leipzig and Dresden, Palacký wrote to his "dearest friend" or "dearly loved Terezie" very often. The first of these letters was written early in the morning of May 5, 1827, in Leipzig. Even today one can find a small pink flower attached to the sheet of paper. Palacký picked it from the plant decorating the window of his room, hoping that Terezie would understand its meaning.

After his return to Prague, Palacký continued writing to Terezie, who was then undergoing treatment in Karlovy Vary. All of Palacký's letters attest to his tender feelings. One letter is unusually interesting. Palacký wrote it on June 14, 1827, his birthday. The first part of the letter is a critical recapitulation of his life, and later he expresses his attachment to

Terezie: "There exists one and only one thing I cannot lack: I can be strong only through your love. Without love, without a heart which feels linked with mine and to which mine can, in turn, attach itself forever, I could no longer live. This inextinguishable desire, so deeply submerged in my feelings, is divine advice that I should love because I may hope to be loved in return. I know, too, that I am bound to accomplish my task on earth if I devote all of myself to the happiness of the one being whom I love, someone who wishes to share with me, through reciprocal love, my earthly fate . . ."

While Terezie was with her relatives at Otín Castle, preparing for marriage, Palacký moved to a newly-furnished apartment arranged for the newlyweds in Měchura's house, on what is now Palacký Street in Prague. On September 4, 1827, Palacký wrote to Terezie: "The first thing I shall do here is to write you this letter. My thoughtful Terezie can surely imagine the feelings that pass through my mind better than I can write them." On September 8, 1827, Palacký wrote to his bride for the last time before leaving for Otín: "How impatiently I await the 13th of September! Can I utter it? No, I cannot. But that day will come and make me the happiest of all people."

The marriage ceremony was held on September 16, 1827, at Otín. The castle stood at the center of a beautiful park. At one tip of the park adjacent to the castle was a baroque greenhouse, the starting point of the marriage procession to Předslaví. On its way the procession was accompanied by the din of mortars and the joyful shouts of the local citizens. František Palacký and Terezie Měchurová were married in the church of Předslaví, and the banquet following the ceremony was conducted in the greenhouse. The atmosphere surrounding Palacký's engagement was permeated with gossip, in which even Dobrovský took part. Of course, after the disclosure of Palacký's marriage, things did not change. Jungmann commented that Palacký had "found his happiness neither as a good Czech nor Slav but as a good German and thereby somewhat insulted the Czechs."

Palacký's marriage was a beautiful relationship to the end, until the death of Terezie in 1860. Convincing evidence of this are Palacký's letters to his wife, starting with the salutations: "My dear, dearly-loved Terezie," "My dearly-loved Terezie," "My Terezie, loved above all," "My dear, good Terezie." Simultaneously, these letters give us some understanding of the life and work of their writer. Often they contain detailed descriptions of Palacký's actions during his period of separation from his wife and family. For instance, from one of his trips to the archives at Třeboň and

Jindřichův Hradec, Palacký wrote to his wife:

July 19, 1828, in Písek at 9 P.M.;
July 22, 1828, in Třeboň at 10 P.M.; continued, July 23, early in the morning;
July 25, 1828, in Třeboň late at night, and continued July 27, in the morning;
July 31, 1828, in Třeboň;
August 3, 1828, in Třeboň at 8 A.M. in "the greatest hurry";
August 3, 1828, in Jindrichuv Hradec;
August 7, 1828, in Jindřichův Hradec at 10 P.M., after return from Dačice, and continued August 8, at 2 P.M.

Palacký sent similarly detailed letters from many of his other trips and from Prague, too, when his wife was undergoing treatment or spending the summer in the country. Some of Palacký's letters reveal his political views and actions, e.g., during 1848, when his wife was living in Nice, where she often spent the winter because of her frail health. The following one further illustrates the tender relationship between Palacký and his wife. Anna Lauermannová-Mikschová, a close friend of Palacký's granddaughter, Marie Červinková-Riegrová, noted in her memoirs: "Some time ago, Márinka lent me a large old collection of Tschokky's novels. The books revealed to me how gentle a husband Palacký must have been. Affixed to the pages were blank pieces of paper to which, in turn, were attached dried flowers from Nice. On each slip of paper a word was written describing some aspect of the close relationship between the married couple."[12]

Jan Měchura died in 1852. His son Leopold inherited the estate of Ořín and Terezie the estate of Lobkovice. In Prague, Terezie became the principal and later possibly the sole owner of the palace. František Palacký held the position of Bohemian Historiographer, receiving 1000 florins a year from the Estates for his own use. In one of his letters to his brother Ondřej, Palacký admitted that he never owned any considerable wealth. However, the results of his great diligence would undoubtedly have been different, had it not been for the financial security provided by Terezie.

Terezie Palacká was, in her husband's words, "a German-speaking Bohemian patriot" ("vlastenčila po německu"). Although she had some spoken proficiency in Czech, she could not write it. In discussing serious matters it was therefore easier for her to use German, or even French. Among those closest to Palacký, only his daughter Marie later manifested

any sympathy for Czech national problems. In 1853, she became the wife of František Ladislav Rieger.

Palacký loved his daughter as dearly as his wife. As time progressed, their relationship became even closer. In a letter to Terezie of July 26, 1852, he worte: "I embrace you and your second nature—Márinka." A letter of November 1 and 2, 1852, defines Palacký's feelings toward his daughter: "My dearest Márinka: You complain that I have not yet written to you in Nice, but I write to you and your mother every week. Although I address the letters to your mother, it is impossible for me to separate one of you from the other. Recently your mother conveyed to me that, for a long time, the two of you have been one in spirit as well as thought. I suspect you and your mother will finally evolve into one identity, in which case I will be able to gain access only to the both of you. This would please me, because you are both very important to me. Neither one of you can be missing, if I am to be content. I know that you read everything I write to your mother, and I have become used to thinking of you both, even if I address only one of you. There is one great difference: with you I cannot speak or even think in any language other than Czech. It seems to me that the use of a foreign language would bring something alien between us; we could no longer belong completely to each other. Though I sincerely cherish your mother in accordance with her own custom, yet it pleases me very much when she also inclines to mine. Thanks to you this is now beginning to happen more often. On one hand, I cannot deny that sometimes I turn specifically to you. On the other hand, it is not true that I do not think of you when writing to your mother." The letter concludes: "A number of people have asked me to send their regards, and I do, but mainly my own, kissing you both."[13] Palacky wrote in this fashion after twenty-five years of marriage.

Palacký's son Jan was not a concerned participant in the Czech national movement. Apparently, even in other ways, he did not fulfill the expectations of his father. Palacký was, however, satisfied with his son's successful studies, which resulted in doctorates in law and philosophy. Jan Palacký became the first Czech university professor of geography in Prague.

The ailing Terezie lived to be fifty-three years old. As usual, she spent the winter of 1859-60 with her husband in Nice. Early in the new year, her condition became critical, making their return journey difficult.[14] In April, 1860, Palacký transferred her to Marseille, in June to Geneva, and later to Basel and Heidelberg. In Heidelberg, she underwent complicated surgery. It was a journey of suffering for both Terezie as well as Palacký. During this time he committed himself completely to the care of Terezie,

and his letters to his closest relatives (his daughter Marie was expecting a child) are indicative of his uncommon character. Terezie managed to reach Bohemia but not her home. She died on August 18, 1860, in a hotel in Podmokly, today a section of Děčín. She was interred at Lobkovice.

After the death of his wife, František Palacký lived with the family of his daughter, Marie Riegrová. All of those near Palacký at that time who left memoirs tell of numerous instances illustrating his touching remembrances of his wife.[15] On the anniversary of Terezie's death, Palacký visited her tomb in Lobkovice. When this was not possible, he attended a requiem mass in Maleč, where he frequently spent summers at Rieger's castle. When he died, on May 26, 1876, his body was placed in the tomb of his wife, in accordance with his wishes before death.

In addition to Palacký's work, whether historical, poetic, or philosophical, we should remind ourselves of his personal life. His written historical works, which originated more than a century ago, have been in many ways surpassed by modern research. Not all of his other achievements are still alive, and some of our contemporary views are quite distant from those of Palacký. It cannot be doubted, however, that Palacký was an honest scholar working solely for the benefit of Czech society. His crystal character would not concede any but the most immaculate intentions. Palacký's *History* strengthened our nation even in difficult periods of the recent past. If we respect the work of František Palacký, we may similarly revere his beautiful human personality.

NOTES

1. K. Svoboda, "Palackého láska k hudbě," *Národní politika*, May 9, 1926.
2. V.J. Nováček, ed., *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, I (Prague, 1898), p. 47.
3. M. Červinková-Riegrová, "Karel Egon Ebert o. Fr. Palackém," in *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 39-40. Cited here from the manuscript deposited in the personal archives of M. Červinková-Riegrová, in the Archive of the National Museum, Prague, 11/7.
4. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Marie Riegrová rodem Palacká. Její život a skutky* (Prague, 1892 [?]), p. 7.
5. M. Červinková-Riegrová, "Před sňatkem Palackého," *Světozor* (1886), No. 1.
6. V.J. Nováček, ed., *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, I, p. 107.
7. Ibid., pp. 118-19.
8. Ibid., p. 170.
9. Ibid., p. 171.
10. V.J. Nováček, ed., *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, III (Prague, 1911), p. 121.

11. J. Hoffmannová, ed., *Písemná pozůstalost Františka Palackého a jeho blízkých, 1772-1968. Inventář fondu* (Prague, the Archive of the National Museum Press, 1976). Henceforth, all quotations from Palacký's letters to his wife are from the original documents arranged now in chronological order in the Archive of the National Museum in Prague (henceforth A.N.M.), No. 826. See also K. Kálal, *Palackého mladá léta, 1798-1827* (Prague, 1925), pp. 302, 307-308;

12. A. Lauermannová-Mikschová [Félix Téver], *Lidé minulých dob* (Prague, 1941), p. 59.

13. K. Stloukal, ed., *Rodinné listy Františka Palackého dceři Marii a zeti F.L. Riegrovi* (Prague, 1930), pp. 67-72.

14. The bill as well as the design for a special sofa for the ailing Terezie which would accomodate her during her travels can be found under No. 504 in the personal archive of František Palacký at the A.N.M.

15. B. Hančova, "Palacký v domácnosti," in *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 130-36. (and other articles in this book); also M. Červinková-Riegrová, "Před sňatkem Palackého"; A. Lauermannová-Mikschová [Félix Téver], *Lidé minulých dob;* etc.

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MR. PALACKÝ

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At one time, the greatest desire of the French historian Victor L. Tapié, who from 1930 on worked and studied Czech history in Prague, was to meet the contemporaries of Palacký. "I have always held the opinion," he writes, "that this type of testimony has its own intrinsic value. It could be assessed incorrectly at a greater value than it actually possesses, but it could also be undervalued unfairly, because everything which helps to delineate a historical personage has its significance . . . . I was fortunate to find persons who in their childhood memories had a very realistic picture of his traits and of the special gestures and manners of others toward him. I was told that in his old age Palacký wore a wig regularly. Usually after a short period of time, Palacký found it uncomfortable and occasionally moved his forehead to shift the wig from the back to the front of his head. The people of the eighties who habitually addressed writers, politicians, and newspapermen by their surnames always respectfully addressed Palacký as 'Mister Palacký,' and not merely as 'Palacký.' The latter would simply appear out of place in association with this respected man. These details have the flavor of anecdotes. Is this however a reason to forget them?"[1]

People have always yearned to "undress great or important persons to their dressing gowns." The privacy of great personalities, whether loved or disliked, is seldom spared public interest. "You are only a person; show your real self in surroundings where you can and must set aside social conventions, and show whether even in this setting you stand firm behind your convictions!" Sometimes a totally unexpected picture appears: the usually heartless and intransigent become kind and good natured in the milieu of their home, controlled by their wives, children, and relatives. In other cases, the opposite is true. Some people remain unchanged in any social setting. There exist personalities who through the greatness of their contributions became the "property of a nation." Though their views and work may be explained and interpreted in various ways, public affection and love for them, having the character of "a boy's respect for his father," survive for ages. To touch upon the truly

great personality of the historian and politician, František Palacký, and to penetrate into his privacy is a difficult and responsible task, especially if we consider the long century that separates us from his death.

Palacký's granddaughter, Marie Červinková née Riegrova, considered it her responsibility "to preserve everything witnessed by the Palacký family circle, but unfamiliar to any one outside of this narrow company of people." Her wish was to preserve these details, "for only these can accurately describe the true milieu."[2] For a long time she was preparing to write a detailed biography of Palacký. However, an account of Palacký's most personal life never materialized; her death ended her planned, comprehensive studies and the collection of material.[3] Nevertheless, she left several volumes of detailed diary entries (Červinková maintained a detailed diary from the age of twelve). These volumes are a rich source of authentic information about Palacký during the last decade of his life. The preserved family correspondence also provides an account of the environment which surrounded Palacký's life and the lives of the writers of these letters.[4]

Unfortunately, we cannot question Palacký's contemporaries, but many of them recorded their impressions of Palacký from their personal meetings with him.[5] Not even these, however, can prevent what Červinková feared, "namely that important persons in time gradually recede into the gloom of the past and change their form in the optical illusion of thickening fog."[6] The correspondence, diaries, and family memoirs are all colored by the social conventions of the writers. For example, children always associated parents and grandparents with supreme authority, and were led to hold their parents' statements and actions in reverence. Not even the diaries of young girls were completely their own: the entries of Márinka Reigrová clearly indicate that her diary was subject to her mother's supervision and criticism. Therefore, we may assume that the most confidential information was communicated to her girl friends, for example Márinka Aninka Mikšová, rather than inscribed in the diary. A picture formed by these sources inevitably bears the characteristics and personal impressions of the creators. Nevertheless, we must at least try at its composition.

The facial and other physical characteristics of František Palacký are well known from a collection of portraits. From the sequence of portraits we can observe the changes in Palacký's features. It was said that all members of the Palacký family, including František, had "fair hair and blue eyes," a conspicuous nose, and distinctly curved lips. Much has already been written and probably much more will be written about

Palacký's background and the development of his character. It is interesting at what an early age Palacký was able to set for himself, and through errors and mistakes modify the goals he pursued for his entire life. At fifteen, he became "inflamed with sincere patriotic zeal." At the age of eighteen, he decided to devote his life entirely and exclusively to scholarship, deciding that he lacked talent for poetry and that there was an "enormous shortage of books on Czech literature."[7]

The difficult periods of Palacký's employment as a writer and common helper for Palkovič's *Weekly* and his diligent studies were never forgotten by him. He "suffered poverty" and was subject to illness and hunger. The money Palacký's father provided from his modest means was spent for books. The experience of hard beginnings survived even later, when Palacký's financial conditions were improved as a result of his employment as a tutor in many noble families. During his entire life, Palacký kept to a strict life standard and remained modest in his personal needs.

The qualities of a strict personal discipline and decisiveness in dealing with others are reflected in Palacký's relationship with his parents and his brothers and sisters. Palacký disappointed his father, who expected his son to become a priest or clerk and to attain a secure position close to home, enabling him to help support the family. But Palacky spoke of his father with respect. He valued this strict, irascible, intelligent man whose desire for books and knowledge could not be extinguished even by the material hardships of his life. Anyone acquainted with her must have loved Palacký's mother. She was a small, uneducated, ordinary woman, "the genuine picture of innocence and maternal love."[8] More than Jura, Anna and the other children, "Franc" was her favorite child. She confided in him all of her expectations and protected him from the harsh criticism of his father, who thought that the boy was ashamed of the family and was becoming progressively more estranged from it, that he "thinks of Mrs. Zerdahely more than of his own parents who brought him up." The many-sided influence of the gentle, educated, experienced and much older Nina Zerdahely on Palacký is undeniable. He himself gratefully acknowledged that their acquaintance had been the greatest happiness of his youth. Even her friendly admonishments, bestowed on Palacký in an intimate discourse in 1820, were well understood by him. She urged Palacký to "ponder over his personal inwardness, for it could cause suffering for his family," and warned him that he was "not overcoming his hatred of people whose moral character offends him." Palacký resolved not to err in these ways in the future. Nevertheless, after the death of his mother in 1822 the family ties became even looser. More

complaints arose, this time in respect to his infrequent letters home. It is difficult to imagine the abysmal difference developing between the spiritual life and interests of Palacký and those of his family. His father was staggering under the rugged life of a country teacher and farmer. He taught at a one-grade school, and he traded in wheat, cabbage, wool, honey and any other goods his farm could provide. There were needy brothers, sisters, a step-mother with her two children, and daughters and sons-in-law and their children. During this period, farming provided only a wretched subsistence. Beans and bread were the main family diet, and worry over earnings the core of everyone's life. The mother who with her energetic but calm character would resolve domestic difficulties was gone. Unchecked, these domestic outbursts grew stronger. Once there was a struggle over the down-filled blankets left by the deceased mother, and later over practically everything. František asked for a share of his own. Others, however, asked František himself for a contribution to the welfare of those being sent by their father "into the world on their own." A good coat was considered a valuable thing, and when the son set his aside it was mended and used again by the father. Palacký's financial standing was not sufficiently great to keep the entire family "above water" to his and their satisfaction. One recalls the poet Ebert's memory of his meeting with Palacký, who was wearing "a long, blue, and shabby coat" in the heat of summer.[9]

When possible, Palacký tried to support his brother Ondřej, who was at the time studying in Bratislava. At one time he had Ondřej live with him for a year in Prague. But even "Andrea" had to follow the distressful path of poverty and renunciation for his studies. "You must take care of yourself, for each one of us is left to care for himself," wrote Jiří Palacký, Jr., to his brother Ondřej.[10] Left to themselves, they roamed about, and it is remarkable that two of the seven brothers and sisters managed to complete their studies. The "old" family was indisputably a burden for Palacký.

His marriage to the daughter of a prominent Prague lawyer, and his new position of Bohemian Historiographer provided Palacký with social standing and financial security. He no longer had to keep the neat daily records of the *Kreuzers* and *Gulden* gained and spent. But the price Palacký had to pay for this was not small.

Even during Palacký's courting of Terezie Měchurová, she was already seriously ill. Měchura's family doctor, Theobald Held, asked Palacký to consider carefully whether he "indeed wished to ask for the hand of a girl who would never again be completely healthy."[11] Held saw Palacký's

perseverance in the matter, and it was said that Held's statement "Terezie, who is suffering from nervousness and a heart deficiency will not live long if she does not have a loving husband of exceptionally gentle character, such as Palacký" had a major influence on Měchura's final decision.[12] Much has been written about Palacký as husband and father. In no way did he betray the words used by that otherwise merciless critic, Held, to characterize him.

From the beginning, Palacký uncompromisingly "apportioned his love between his family and his native country and nation."[13] He expected his family to understand and accept this as inevitable. At this point, it is useful to look at one of Palacký's letters written in 1851 to his daughter Marie. It is important because it can be considered Palacký's lifelong credo. Palacký assured Marie, who had shown some concern for her father's health, that he was saving it with "not a little caution." "Not only because it was your request and the request of our entire family, but also because of the matter to which I have devoted my life since my youth. If our nation, which has declined so badly over the past several centuries, is to be helped again, some people must devote themselves fully and completely to this task. They must disregard the gratitude or ingratitude of the period, and continue in the task begun. In the end their effort, which may at first appear to have been fruitless, may well prove to be quite profitable. . . . It is my desire, if my health keeps up, to help accomplish this objective. I am especially anxious to help when I see the small number of our people ready, faithfully and dauntlessly, to offer their help." This statement is a declaration of faith of a mature politician and scholar, and it had its impact on Palacký's relationship with his family.

Palacký became deeply attached to his daughter Marie. He wished her to become a "good Czech." Palacký was extremely pleased with news of her improvement in the Czech language or evidence of patriotic sentiments. Both children, Jan and Marie, or "Hansi and Mimi" as they were called at home, had a traditional German upbringing, though Palacký succeeded at least in converting his wife into a good "Bohemian patriot." The shadow between Palacký and his wife was cast not only by her German education and the different religious confession and surroundings in which she had grown up, but also by the difference in their characters. In her youth, Terezie had been a girl of "lively temperament [and] clear and merry spirit," but in her later life she was melancholy and subject to nervous exhaustion and mental depression. It is difficult to assess to what extent her illness contributed to these traits. Palacký readily accepted reality, namely that he could not "secure for her a more robust

body," telling his daughter that "it is our responsibility to exert ourselves on her behalf, so that at least her health and strength may improve." Though she is weak in body, she can show strong spirit whenever it is necessary."[14]

We cannot imagine Palacký's agitated and exhausting life without the emotional background of his family. Palacký himself stated several times what those nearest to him meant to him: "You know that if I did not have you, my life would lose its greatest comfort on this earth," he wrote to Marie in January, 1851.[15] Of his first-born son Jan, Palacký had great expectations, including that Jan would take his place after his "health had left him." The life style of the very gifted boy did not completely fulfill Palacký's expectations, however, and their relationship was therefore somewhat colder than Palacký's relationship with his daughter Marie. After the marriage of his daughter Marie to F.L. Rieger in 1853, the fifty-five-year-old Palacký acquired another son. Thereafter, Palacký addressed his former "dear friend" and devoted collaborator as "dear son," and Rieger, twenty years younger, addressed Palacký as "dear father." During this period, the tight connection between the fates of the Palacký and Rieger families was established. Let us examine this segment of Palacký's life.

Rieger, explosive and overflowing with energy, and the strict, moderate Palacký who gave the first impression of being a cold and inaccessible person, were later close, not only in their political but also their private lives. It appears that their different personalities did not clash but mutually compensated each other. Rieger and Palacký knew each other well, and their relationship was from the beginning based on deep mutual respect and understanding. Rieger's view and evaluation of Palacký in 1849 did not lose its validity even later: "Indeed our *Palanda* is always worth at least ten others. I like the man more the longer I know him. I say he is like old Mělník wine, at the first taste slightly tart, but clear, healthy and, in short, excellent."[16] Another direct tie to the family setting in which Palacký lived after the death of his wife were Rieger's children. In 1854, Palacký became a grandfather to little Marie. Three years later he acquired a grandson, Bohuš, and in 1860, when he lost his wife, the last child, Libuše, was born. Palacký had to reconcile himself to the death of his wife, by whose side he had stood in the difficult months when her life slowly ended. A letter of 13 September 1860, written less than a month after the death of his wife to his daughter Marie, is characteristic of Palacký's unsentimental and realistic view of life's tragedies. He implores Marie, who was at the time overwhelmed by her mother's

death, to become well and gain a new grip on her mind. "The loss we have suffered, however painful, must not depress us much more, for it was not only natural but also expected and, I am sorry to say, even desirable. It shortened the suffering that was devouring our hearts. Of course I miss her terribly—but you have many persons for whom you must preserve your life."[17]

The sixty-two-year-old Palacký once again threw himself into academic and political work. Many aspects of the development of his work have already been illuminated. Palacký's personal strictness, the directness of his designs, and unselfishness guided him throughout his entire life. These traits were accompanied by determination, immense persistence, method, and system, "a planned, economical technique of mental work."[18] If we examine Palacký's whole academic and political course, it is clear that his immense efficiency must have been based on a strict work schedule and a good sense of order. The periods of Palacký's political activity alternated with periods of hard work on his *History*. During the latter, "he did not go outside, and did not even read the newspapers." Both areas of his interest were so well integrated, that Palacký must have mastered perfect concentration. When he became absorbed in his work, nothing could disturb him. Palacký was a fright to any archivist. During a week of research at the "unconquerable" archives at Třeboň, he left the place only once—for the sake of the local archivist, he went for a stroll. He worked from morning until evening, taking only short breaks to rest his tired eyes. The same was true at a number of other archives that Palacký visited.[19]

Yet Palacký was not a *Bücherwurm*, as he was called by Karel Egon Ebert at the beginning of his life in Prague. Palacký did not become reserved or come to avoid society. From his youth, Palacký had many friends, whom he often visited. Palacký was always well informed about the opinions of his adversaries and followers. This fact would be quite difficult to explain without his extensive social ties, not only through correspondence but through lively personal intercourse, a thorough reconnaisance of the setting and ideological currents. At the same time, social interaction was a part of his work. Even during the periods of Palacký's "diminished involvement in everyday concerns and scuffles" in the latter part of his life, the flood of "political guests" (as they were called by his daughter Marie), domestic and foreign, who visited the old man in Prague or Maleč did not cease.[20] These were not merely casual, friendly visits or visits of piety to the aging giant. From the diary entries of Márinka one may conclude that the visitors often came for "ideas

and instruction," for throughout the years Palacký's brain did not lose any of its vigor.

The family lived its busy, rich life in Palacký's house, No. 719-II Pasířská Street, later Palacký Street. In 1862, Rieger was forced to sell his family mill in Semily and brought his mother, a "miller of Semily," to Prague. She lived with the Riegers in Prague the remaining seven years of her life. The same year, Rieger bought a farm and a chateau at Maleč, near Chotěboř. At this place the family, including the seriously ill grandmother who had to be transported on a stretcher, spent the summer months. In Prague, Palacký had his study, filled with books and always kept in strict order. Even in Maleč Palacký did not lack privacy. He had "grandfather's room," which was always carefully aired and heated before his expected arrival: Palacky did not like the cold, and the chilly walls of the chateau were not conducive to his health.

To the bitter dissatisfaction of Rieger's wife, the family was often separated. Particularly in winter, the managing of the estate in Maleč was a great burden for Rieger and his spouse. Marie often had to perform all of the managerial duties herself and play the role of a farmer, since her husband devoted most of his time to political activity in Vienna or Prague. The only link between the members of the family were letters. These letters and entries in Márinka's diary help us to look into the private life of the old man who was adored by everyone.

In his edition of Palacký's correspondence with his daughter Marie and son-in-law Rieger, Karel Stloukal drew attention to the linguistic significance of the letters, the purity and the conciseness of the Czech language. For decades, Palacký did not change his minute, calligraphic, readable handwriting. The letters are usually concluded with the words, "Your father." Sometimes Palacký ended his letters merely with "Yours," adding his initials or only the letter "P." He was consistent even in little things, in minute details reflecting his accuracy and his sense for methodical order. Poor-quality ink, for example, could deprive him of the "desire to continue writing."[21] In the only preserved letter to his granddaughter in Frankfurt, Palacký asks Márinka to write more legibly. The letter was written tactfully, politely, and in the judgment of the addressee, "diplomatically."[22] This detail may seem of little importance, but the whole of Palacký's correspondence with his family is characterized by unusual tact. He wrote of unpleasant news in a polite form that did not offend anyone. Nevertheless, tact did not prevent him from expressing his opinion to the "right person." Although Palacký was the most esteemed and the oldest member of the family, he neither imposed his

authority on it nor attempted to patronize it. In accordance with this principle, he did not undermine Rieger's authority in the family when his son-in-law assumed Palacký's decisive role in the Czech national movement. "A stranger to vanity, he was polite to others and demanded the same of others in return, as a mutual expression of human dignity."[23] It is difficult to characterize Palacký's tactful behavior in public as well as private life more succinctly and precisely. Palacký's foreign friends, Leger and Denis, and members of his family, his son Jan and Rieger's niece Božena, all confirm that Palacký was a gentle, polite, considerate, noble, and modest man, self-confident but without pomp or conceit. Having "respect for every opinion, he hated only scoundrels who lacked any conviction at all."[24]

Palacký looked as though he were impervious to emotion, as if all of his emotions were exhausted by his work and political activity. In fact, Palacký's appearance was deceptive, and his entourage knew that he was a deeply emotional man. Palacký showed his love through acts and active concern. His early letters to his young daughter Marie are full of fatherly love, almost like letters to a mistress. Later in life he was still sincerely devoted to her, though his behavior was more formal. In his letter to her on her fortieth birthday in 1874, he wrote: "You know that in the whole world nobody is now so close to my heart as you are. Deeds rather than words must convince you of my love. Therefore, I do not say that tomorrow I shall be thinking of you. This is obvious. I am with you every day, and not only on your birthday."[25]

During the period we have examined, Palacký was in excellent mental health, without any signs of nervous breakdown or serious depression. At the time, "nervousness" was a common and even fashionable sickness. Palacký's well-balanced temperament did not reveal any unpleasant feelings that he might have had or any of the many difficult problems that he may have been trying to solve. Although he never lost his temper, he was sometimes sad or reserved. His letters reflect the highest degree of considerateness. Undoubtedly, he was strong enough to solve his own problems without bothering other people. He always endeavored to encourage and cheer his friends and relatives. This optimistic approach also emanates from the letters written during the last years of his life, when he was ill and entitled to be sulky and morose. In contrast with many old people afflicted by illnesses and physical weakness, Palacký burdened his family with no complaints or lamentations. Even during the long period when Palacký's physical strength and energy had to be devoted to the care of his ill and dying wife, he did not reveal his own

exhaustion, fatigue, and feelings of mental stress. He described in detail only the sickness of his wife and their return journey to her country, where she met her death.

Palacký accepted suffering quietly and rationally. He disliked any public manifestation of emotion. He was able to perceive the positive meaning of an extremely sad event, avoiding pointless histrionics. Unfortunately, this talent was not inherited by his extremely sensitive and pessimistic daughter. Marie was as active as her father, but she clearly lacked feelings of personal happiness. Her letters of the seventies contain complaints about her health and the miserable economic situation of the Maleč estate. Palacký admonished her about this only once, because of his concern for Rieger, who was at the time politically active in Vienna and had to read the almost desperate letters from his wife: "I often think of you and never without depressing feelings. I am sorry to hear that you always live in anxiety. You are never merry, you never enjoy moments of happiness. Do not dwell on misfortune, especially on economic problems. In spite of all your occasional amd temporary troubles, a thousand wives could be envious of you. Just think of your husband and of the children given to you by God. The estate and farm are not worth your anxiety and despair. Rieger did not show me your news, but he said that the situation is bad and almost approaching a catastrophe. I do not see any reason for being desperate. I am afraid that your dwelling on unpleasant news will only worsen your health. Try to cheer up, so that we may again be content and feel happy. Your home and your family are perfect. The children are behaving well and we do not lack anything except your presence. Can we expect you soon?"[26]

As the last passage of the letter indicates, at the time when his son-in-law and daughter were in Maleč and the children still went to school, Palacký and the children were often alone in Prague. The household had three maids and, later in the seventies, a housekeeper, Márinka Riegrová. Nevertheless, Palacký felt a responsibility for the family and for the behavior of the children. In his reports, Palacký neither exaggerated the importance of their occasional sickness nor mentioned the slightest complaint about them. Márinka's notes, however, show that they often quarreled and that she had to be very patient in taming them. Grandfather was at least silent, if he could not praise them. "All of the children are behaving properly and are too diligent. There is no real trouble with them because housekeeper Márinka's reactions to the sudden explosions of the young men's and young women's *Rechthaberei* are moderate and gentle. She cares too much about us and provides us with everything we need. All of us are healthy, except for Márinka, who suffers from a mild cold."[27]

It is not surprising that the correspondence and diaries of the period often mention the health of their authors. Concepts of sickness and health, ways of healing, and the prospects for successful treatment were different from those of today. People were quite defenseless against illness, and good health was the basic question of life. The fear of illness was enormous. It was a time of great physicians who, however, had only limited possibilities of treatment, and of many fashionable charlatans who preyed on their victims.[28]

During the last year of his life, Palacký suffered from hypertrophy of the thyroid. His diary shows that he suffered from this illness from his youth.[29] In June, 1813, Palacký had walked home with his friends to Hodslavice, where he spent his vacation. After drinking water with a strange taste from a well in the Carpathian Mountains, he suddenly felt that his "neck had swelled." For many years, physicians had treated Palacký and unsuccessfully tried "to free him from this unpleasant burden." In this way, Palacký himself explained the beginnings of the physical problem which is apparent in almost all of his portraits. Palacký thought it necessary to describe his affliction briefly, but he never went into the details. He used to wear a silken scarf wrapped around his neck and displayed under his chin. His later portraits show strikingly protruding eyes and heavy pouches under them, giving him an austere look. The brightness of Palacký's youthful face preserved in Tkadlík's portrait is gone. All of Palacký's contemporaries also remember the surprising, parchment-like pallor of his clean-shaven cheeks framed by grey whiskers.[30]

Palacký seldom complained about his health, and Márinka's notes reveal more about it than Palacký's own testimony. During the last years of his life he suffered heavily from bronchitis, asthma, and occasional dizziness. In the sixties, he also suffered from pain in his eyes, the result of his extensive research work in archives. If Palacký ever mentioned any affliction in his correspondence with his friends, he usually also assured them that he was already recovering and well. The unpleasant news was passed over in one sentence: "I am completely healthy, except for my poor eyes. I was glad to find grandmother at Semily in surprisingly good health."[31] Or, "My eyes not only have not improved, but quite the contrary. Otherwise, I am completely healthy."[32] Or, "Sorry to write you so briefly. My eyes are still poor."[33] In 1870, Palacký claimed to have missed a meeting of the Diet only once, because of a bad cough.[34] At a time when Márinka noted in her diary that "poor grandfather suffers so much" from a terrible cough, Palacký himself complained to Marie that "he had never worked so little as now because the cough [made him]

peevish." But this was the end of a letter which was written with the sole purpose of cheering up his daughter in her troubles and laments. On April 4, 1873, he wrote to Marie in Maleč that he was stricken with a strong cold and cough and therefore was staying at home. "Only the day before I went to the *Beseda*. . . and yesterday attended the meeting of *Svatobor*." But he added quickly, ". . . I am relatively well and from the fourteenth have again been working on my *History* . . . ."[35]

Palacký was anxious about the health of other people, particularly his daughter. He was not able to conceal his care for her, and as soon as he noticed her illness, "he felt uneasy, walked about, sometimes moved his wig forward and back or tapped his fingers on the desk. Often he stopped his work and came to ask about the health of his daughter."[36] Palacký generally looked after his health himself. From time to time he accepted the recommendations of his family physician, Hamerník, who had gained his confidence with his preference for the "natural way" of healing. The slightest change in temperature and particularly rain afflicted Palacký's breathing, hence his close attention to the barometer and thermometer. His stay in the country depended completely on the weather. He selected his clothes and chose the time for his walks in accordance with the outside temperature. He watched his health in order to prevent illness from hindering his work, but he was anxious not to bother the family with his afflictions. Palacký's personal affairs recede even in his letters to his family and are limited only to some insignificant details.

It is obvious that political events were an inseparable part of everyday life in the home of the two leading representatives of the Czech national movement. Political news and commentaries can be found even in documents which are mainly concerned with family affairs. The Palackys and particularly the Riegers watched political developments with unusual interest. Palacký's daughter Marie became interested in politics as early as 1848-50, and as Rieger's wife she became a direct and informed witness of his activity. Rieger's children behaved in the same way. They started reading newspapers the moment they learned to read and at an early age took part in discussions with their parents and guests from political circles. The diary of twelve-year-old Márinka Riegrová shows that her interest in politics sometimes even overcame her concern about her personal problems.

The political struggles in Bohemia necessarily brought "many stormy waves into the back bedrooms of children."[37] Consultations and confidential meetings of the representatives of the Czech national movement often took place at Palacký's house, and Márinka and her mother served

the guests. The girl recorded with pleasure that her parents allowed her to visit the gallery of the Diet so that she could witness the proceedings. It is not easy to characterize Palacký's opinion of this manner of education. However, his correspondence and Márinka's memoirs show that he disliked a woman's concern for politics, espectially if it was expressed in an exaggerated form. He regarded it as dangerous for a woman's health: "If you cannot read newspapers without excitement, you should not even touch them. They can become a poison. As a matter of fact, all of these political intrigues are not worth your time." This was Palacký's answer to Maria's letter written in fear of political developments and concern for the health of her husband and father, then engaged in political struggles in Vienna.[38] "Leave the matter in the hands of men. You know that Rieger and I are only getting fat while spending time in politics. Don't worry about us." On the other hand, he regularly informed his family about authentic developments in the capital, in order to compensate for the inaccurate reports in newspapers and to neutralize the panicky and confused rumors. Palacký's commentaries were sober and descriptive, minimizing the seriousness of the situations in which his son-in-law or he himself were involved.

Palacký's family correspondence discloses some of the features of his pleasant and distinguished peronality for which his family "adored and revered" this "gentle and tender" man.[39] His private life in Prague and Maleč is also mirrored in the diaries of Rieger's oldest daughter. Various notes show her reverence and admiration for her grandfather and his sincere interest in his grandchildren. The diary of Marie Červinková-Riegrová begins with a colorful description of Maleč during the Prussian invasion of 1866. Palacký is mentioned in connection with the Emperor's arrival in Prague in October. He impressed her deeply with his formal suit decorated with the orders of St. Vladimir and of Mexico. The members of the club *Beseda* sang beneath his windows, and he received congratulations on his new decoration, the Austrian Iron Crown (second degree). The house was full of people visiting him.[40] During the period of the well known Slavic "pilgrimage" to Russia in 1867, the diary describes in detail the return of Rieger and Palacký to Maleč and their recollections of Russia.[41] From that time she mentions learning Russian and reading Russian books which she occasionally received from Palacký. For her thirteenth birthday she received from Palacký the *Pilgrimage of the Slavs to Russia.*[42]

The "good, kind grandfather," as Márinka often called Palacký, was not very interested in holidays, but he insisted on celebrating the birthdays of every member of the family with a little party and some gifts. Christmas,

too, was carefully prepared for and celebrated at the Riegers. Márinka's detailed account of gifts was not extensive, and they were not expensive (except, perhaps, for a sewing-machine given by Palacký to his daughter Marie in 1860). The children usually gave their own creations (pillows, lamp shades, their own drawings and poems).

Palacký loved his grandchildren and probably spent more time with them than he formerly had with his own children. He was probably too serious to try "to accomodate himself to the mentality of children" and to understand their jokes and expressions, but he was tender and solicitous.[43] Although his privacy was strictly respected, his room was not closed to the children. Márinka mentioned many times when she was either writing, reading, playing music for grandfather in his room, or listening to his stories from "the old times." Márinka, the oldest of Rieger's children and prematurely adult, was an unusually serious girl even before she started her diary. She fulfilled her daily "working schedule" with enormous self-discipline. Absorbed in religious tractates, meditations, and painful self-examination, she nourished herself with "paper and ink." Palacký watched her mental development and health with uneasiness. Perhaps he remembered his own childhood. As a thirteen-year-old, he had succumbed to a strong, sincere religious fanaticism and yearned to become a missionary. "That time was wasted irretrievably, and there was no one to show me the right way again."[44] His daughter had also passed through the same inner development. In 1850, Palacký asked her "for her own benefit, to be less seriously involved with religion, for we are primarily created for this world and only then for the other."[45] When Márinka went through a similar period, her mother provided her with religious books, and Palacký tried to balance them with "mundane literature." Perhaps it was not an accident that during this time he tactfully and diplomatically regulated Márinka's reading. For example, Palacký led her indirectly to dwell upon the personality of Onegin by buying for her the poetry of Pushkin. At another time, she received the original edition of Lermontov's *Demon*, because she was then interested in learning Russian.[46] For her sixteenth birthday, Márinka received from Palacký Jungmann's complete works and the *Lehrbuch der Religionswissenschaft* from her mother. Soon after this, she began reading "grandfather's *History*."

Palacký considered himself "a Christian of reasonable belief." He abhorred meditation on church dogmas, theological struggles, mysticism, and excessive religious zeal. Once he unwillingly disclosed "that basically he was a Protestant." Márinka's mother did not hear it, but Márinka

recorded Palacký's statement with pleasure, as if grandfather had become even dearer to her. This was shortly before the portrait of Jan Hus was removed from Márinka's desk by her mother. The child mourned her Hus (*svého Husíčka*); it was a terrible shock for her.[47]

Palacky often went to the theater with his granddaughter, and he was a regular guest at the "Temporary Theater" in Prague. We can only speculate as to whether he really enjoyed the performances or whether his visits were only seen as a "patriotic duty." The list of plays which Palacký and Márinka saw is extensive. Sometimes they went to the theater every day (e.g., in April, 1873). Márinka hesitated about going only once. It was shortly after the death of her grandmother, and she considered such an entertainment improper. Palacký liked the grandmother at Semily, and his affection was reciprocated. Palacky saw Rieger's mother often during the period of her sojourn in Prague. Later, Marie Červinková remembered: "Although I was then only a child, I cannot forget Palacký's visits to the sick grandmother. The two old people, with such different interests and mental horizons, did not have too much to talk about. So they sweetly smiled at each other. Sometimes Palacký took her swollen hands, held them in his own, and said with a rare, touching warmth, 'Now we belong to each other.' And grandmother answered with the sweetest smile."[48] The grandmother died after great suffering. Palacký was undoubtedly very sad, but he nevertheless urged Márinka to go and find some distraction in the theater. "Live and let live" was his motto.

Márinka often mentions playing the piano for her grandfather. Palacký himself had a gift for music. At fourteen he played the piano and in Trenčín the organ, too. In his autobiography he remembered the years when he played Zoubek's Slovak cantatas in churches and almost acted as a choral director.[49] Márinka describes several concerts. Besides those given at home in Prague and Maleč, she mentions the concert honoring the seventy-fifth anniversary of Palacký's birth in June, 1873, and a musical show given in Maleč a year later. Palacký was "very grateful" and satisfied with the performances. Václav Červinka, who performed the concerts and played four-handed piano with Márinka or accompanied her on the piano while she sang, noted that "it was not easy to satisfy Palacký with a choice of composer or by a performance." Palacký had a liking for Czech national songs, and Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Tomášek, Onslow, and Berlioz were among his favorite composers, although he also respected Mendelssohn and some of the compositions of modern composers.[50]

The chateau in Maleč was Palacký's favorite resort, but he was an irregular guest. Whenever he ran out of literature, he "escaped" to Prague.

Therefore, before his arrival, he was always reminded by his daughter to take along all the needed books. In Maleč, Palacký kept to his busy normal working schedule, even though many visitors interfered with his plans. An old priest from Nová Ves and later of Chlete, P. Antonín Bouchal, and P. Rayman of Uhelná Příbram were old family friends and frequent guests. From time to time, Gindely and Kalousek came from Prague, as well as some Prague politicians, to see Palacký in Maleč. Márinka remembered many foreign visitors. After 1867, there were many Russians, such as Durnov, Berg, Count Kutuzov, Levcin, Semenov, Countess Galicinova, Sologubov, and Samarinov, also the Frenchman Taillandier and the English (female) writer MacKenzie and Count Everton of Edinburgh.

The recollections of Václav Červinka, who became Márinka's husband, complement Márinka's idyllic memoirs.[51] He mentions that in Maleč Palacký did not make many excursion. He preferred walking in the garden, often sitting on a wooden bench. His tall, robust figure was already slightly bent; deep wrinkles and furrows lined his face. Palacký usually wore a black dress-coat, round black hat, and a black necktie. While walking, he liked to have his hands crossed in back and to hold a little wand with a black handle.[52] Červinka often saw him sitting on his favorite round bench beneath a linden tree. The spot afforded an excellent view of the fields and protection from the strong winds.

Severe weather encouraged Palacký to work hard and to sit long at his desk. Just before nightfall, he came in to the "red salon" to rest in a wide armchair. He was awaited by his daughter, or she herself came for him to his study. They talked intimately and in low voices, and sometimes their discussions "did not lack a touch of sorrow." Although "melancholy was not a feature of Palacký's temperament," his daughter made Palacký uneasy and depressed with her endless complaints. However, Rieger was also present, and he, the realist and optimist, and his children and guests changed the pessimistic atmosphere of the "salon."[53]

At the time, Václav Červinka was courting Rieger's daughter. In the beginning, the Riegers were hesitant to allow the marriage because of Červinka's financial situation and social position. Later they changed their mind and granted permission for the engagement on November 17, 1874. On the same day, the couple visited her grandfather. The discussion with Palacký was described by Márinka in her diary: "Grandfather wanted to know what I thought about it. He was satisfied and happy. Then he taked about the matter for a little while, kissed Václav, and was very nice to him."[54] Palacký was as fond of Márinka as of his daughter. Červinka never forgot the kind, affectionate, youthful look of the old man who "gazed so lovingly into the face of the young girl."[55] At Márinka's

wedding Palacký was unusually merry and friendly. He teased the bride and bridesmaids with funny toasts. When he came to Maleč the following year, nobody foresaw that this would be Palacký's last visit. Although he was tired and feeble, he worked diligently and restlessly on his *History*.

In the spring of 1876, Palacký's room in Maleč was very carefully prepared for his sojourn. During the winter Palacký had been sickly, but he was active and had a strong will to live. From Prague he corresponded with his grandson Bohuš, who was preparing abstracts of documents from 1393-1403 for him in the archives of Strassburg.[56] In April, 1876, Palacký made his last public speech at a banquet given to celebrate the completion of his *History of the Czech Nation*. In May, his room in Maleč was cleaned and heated, its windows washed, and the hardwood floor polished. Rieger ordered that fire-wood be prepared and stacked upstairs in the hallway.

During the last evening of his life, Márinka, her husband, and her sister Libuše talked of their grandfather "with an admiration that is reserved only for the greatest men of mankind."[57] But the old man never again appeared in Maleč. The news that "the Father of the Nation" had died in Prague on May 26, 1876, at 3:30 P.M., was delivered to Maleč in the evening "together with rain, hail, and a thunderstorm."[58]

"We went to Prague in silence, speaking only to remind ourselves not to weep so much," remembered Marie Červinková. In Prague, Márinka did not sleep all night, looking toward the lighted windows of the room where Professor Steffal embalmed the body of the deceased man. The family parted with the patriarch on the next day, after which "they took him away from his family and gave him to the nation."[59]

NOTES

1. See V.L. Tapié, "František Palacký," *Památník Palackého* (Ostrava, 1968), pp. 70-71.

2. B. Augustinová, *Marie Červinková-Riegrová* (Praha, 1897), p. 56.

3. Only the introduction to Palacký's autobiography of 1885 and some textual matter to accompany the photographs of Palacký and his wife, published in the same year in *Světozor*, have survived.

4. "Zápisky Marie Červinkové-Riegrové" (hereafter Zápisky M.Č.R.), in the personal archive of M.Č.R. in the Archive of the National Museum in Prague, Box 10-22. (In addition to documents from 1866-90, there are also a few notes from 1865 here.)

5. Among the recollections of the members of Palacký's family, see F.L. Rieger, "Za jakých poměrů, zejména sociálních, podnikl Palacký úkol svého života," *Památník na oslavu stých narozenin F.P.* (Prague, 1898), pp. 45-60; Jan Palacký, "*Intimní*

vzpomínka na F. Palackého", ibid., pp. 126-29; B. Hančová, "*Palacký v domácnosti*", ibid., pp. 130-36; and V. Červinka, "*Vzpomínky na Palackého*", ibid., pp. 139-52.

6. B. Augustinová, *Marie Červinková-Riegrová*, p. 56.

7. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Vlastní životopis Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1885), p. 11.

8. V. Nováček, ed., *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky* (Prague, 1898), I, 61.

9. B. Augustinová, *Marie Červinková-Riegrová*, p. 55.

10. Nováček, ed., *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky*, I, 271.

11. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Marie Riegrová rodem Palacká, její život a skutky* (Prague, 1892), p. 8.

12. F.L. Rieger, "Za jakých poměrů podnikl Palacký úkol svého života," p. 59.

13. K. Stloukal, ed., *Františka Palackého rodinné listy dceři Marii a zeti F.L. Riegrovi* (Prague, 1930) (hereafter Stl.), p. 64.

14. Stl., p. 55.

15. Stl., p. 64.

16. J. Heidler and J. Šusta, *Příspěvky k listáři dra F.L. Riegra* (Prague, 1924), p. 70.

17. Stl., p. 183.

18. J. Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1926), I, 42.

19. Stl., p. 222; F. Mareš, "O pracech Palackého v archivu Třeboňském," *Památník Palackého* (Prague, 1898), pp. 114-25.

20. The time-divide at which Palacký becomes less politically active directly but remains "the spirit of the party" is well characterized by J. Havránek, "František Palacký–politik a jeho doba," *Památník Palackého* (Ostrava, 1968), pp. 26f.

21. Stl., p. 261.

22. Stl., p. 287.

23. J. Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo Františka Palackého*, I, 73.

24. J. Palacký, "Intimní vzpomínky na Františka Palackého," p. 129.

25. Stl., p. 271.

26. Stl., p. 265.

27. Stl., p. 259.

28. During her last journey home, Terezie Palacká was treated by several doctors. Four months before her death, when she was already showing signs of dropsy and coma, one Dr. Bernard, "a graduate of a better medical school," assured Palacky that his wife was not suffering from "une maladie materielle" but only from "souffrances nerveuses" which could be cured by a special diet. Stl., p. 147.

29. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Vlastní životopis F.P.*, p. 9.

30. C. Kramoliš, "Palacký, rádce Valachů", *Památník Palackého* (Prague, 1926), p. 88; F. Táborský, "Jak jsme vítali Palackého", ibid., p. 79; J. Kalus, "František Palacký ve Frenštátě," ibid., p. 86.

31. Stl., p. 197.

32. Stl., p. 204.

33. Stl., p. 214.

34. Stl., p. 250.

35. Stl., p. 272.

36. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Marie Riegrová, rodem Palacká*, p. 32.

37. B. Augustinová, *Marie Červinková-Riegrová*, p. 7.

38. Stl., p. 200.
39. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Marie Riegrová, rodem Palacká*, p. 32.
40. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1866 (Oct. 24, 26, Nov. 2, 4, 13).
41. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1867 (Jun. 19).
42. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1867 (Aug. 9).
43. B. Hančová, "Palacký v domácnosti", p. 133.
44. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Vlastní životopis F.P.*, p. 8.
45. Stl., p. 19.
46. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1869 (Jan. 3); ibid., 1870 (Aug. 14).
47. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1867 (May 22).
48. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Riegrová matka* (Prague, 1921), p. 81.
49. M. Červinková-Riegrová, *Vlastní životopis F.P.*, p. 8.
50. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1873 (June 14); 1874 (June 14); V. Červinka, "Vzpomínky na Palackého", p. 143.
51. Ibid., pp. 142-43.
52. B. Hančová, "Palacký v domácnosti", p. 131.
53. B. Hančová, "Palacký v domacnosti", pp. 132, 135.
54. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1874 (Nov. 19).
55. V. Červinka, "Vzpomínky na Palackého", p. 150.
56. See the personal archive of František Palacký in the Archives of the National Museum, Prague, NO. 108 (Jan. 21, 1876; Feb. 14, 1876).
57. B. Augustinová, *Marie Červinková-Riegrová*, p. 29.
58. V. Červinka, "Vzpomínky na Palackého", p. 152.
59. Zápisky M.Č.R., 1876 (June 19-July 14), published under the title, "Poslední chvíle Františka Palackého," in *Památník*, pp. 173-76.

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East European Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1

REVIEWS

A Short History of Modern Greece. By Richard Clogg. Cambridge University Press, 1979. x. 3 242 pp.

Richard Clogg's monograph constitutes another major addition to the list of single-volume histories of modern Greece. It bears obvious comparison with two other recent volumes, *Modern Greece* (1968), by John Campbell and Philip Sherrard, and *The Story of Modern Greece* (1968), by C.M. Woodhouse. Clogg, who holds the lectureship in modern Greek history at King's College, London, is unusually well prepared to deal with the full range of modern Greek history. He has written numerous articles on Greek political and intellectual history from the Ottoman period down to very recent events when Greece was under the "colonels' dictatorship."

The chronological scope of Clogg's history differs significantly from that of Woodhouse's, while approximating that found in the Campbell/Sherrard volume. Clogg begines in 1204 with the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade—the 1204 date marking for Clogg a significant transition in the ultimate downfall of Byzantium. Woodhouse, on the other hand, begins the story of "modern" Greece with the reign of the fourth-century Eastern Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. Campbell/Sherrard are less concerned with political chronology than Clogg, but begin their account with the development of Greek national consciousness, which they find in late Byzantium.

The subsequent line of chronological division in Clogg's *Short History* bear out his primary political interest. His treatment of Ottoman rule and the "struggle for emancipation" is followed by a single chapter surveying political and diplomatic developments from King Othon's arrival in 1833 to the assassination of King George in 1913. Remaining chapters are divided by the ascendancy of Gen. John Metaxas (1935/36), the close of the Greek civil war (1949), and the fall of the military dictatorship (1974). This attention to political analysis underlines what is a central organizing principle of the work—the evolution of the modern Greek state.

Fit into this central focus on the developing Greek nation-state are subtle secondary themes. Clogg notes the difficulty encountered in the nineteenth century in "trying to graft the forms of constitutional government onto a society whose values and historical experience were alien to

such a concept." In that same context, Clogg notes the growth toward political "maturity" of the Greek state as it had to contend with the heavy influence of the Great Powers in both foreign and domestic affairs. Also, Clogg has clearly utilized recent works by Petropulos, Diamandouros and Legg in describing the phenomenon of political clientelism and the influence of patronage networks in Greek domestic politics. These subordinate themes help to set his larger political focus into a solid analytical framework.

The result is a significant political history of modern Greece in which the reader can also count on accurate and balanced accounts of such issues as the language question, Venizelos republicanism, the Metaxas regime, the divisive Civil War, the colonels' dictatorship, and the Cyprus issue. An up-to-date bibliography of English language literature is appended.

Because of Clogg's appreciation for the internal dynamics of Greek politics from the Ottoman period to the present, his account is an improvement over Woodhouse's more diplomacy-oriented *Story of Modern Greece.* The Clogg account also reflects the considerable development in modern Greek historiography since the 1960s. However, as Clogg recognizes in his preface, there are significant aspects of Greek history which are underrepresented in this more narrowly political history. Students wishing an introduction to Greek Orthodoxy, modern Greek literature, and Greek social and economic history will still want to use the Campbell/Sherrard volume which is arranged topically and not along lines of political chronology.

One feature unique to the Clogg account is its availability in an attractive paper edition, appropriate for classroom surveys of Balkan history.

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Ethnicity and the U.S. Foreign Policy. Edited by Abdul Aziz Said. New York: F.A. Praeger, 1977. pp. vii, 180. $17.50.

This interesting symposium has a preface by the editor which advances theoretical generalizations about the ethnic factor in U.S. foreign policy and international politics. It has a section titled "The End of Geopolitics and the Rise of Ethnicity" (pp. 3-6) which is an extremely weak premise and whose assumption is nearly always discarded in the subsequent six chapters of Eastern European, Greeks, Greeks, Jews, Blacks and ethnic politics in Congress. From our point of view, the most interesting is the

coverage of "The Ties That Bind: Immigrant Influence on U.S. Policy Toward Eastern Europe," by Stephen A. Garrett (pp. 59-82), whose main weakness is that it fails to note quite a lot of previous studies of this field. The whole publication is an indictment of investigation that needs to be done rather than a survey of what has been quite often successfully written up in this field.

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The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in Retrospect. Edited by Béla K. Király & Paul Jónás. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. Pp. x, 157. $11.00.

Following very closely the appearance of N.F. Dreisziger, Ed., *The Hungarian Revolution Twenty Years After,* (Hungarian Readers' Service, Ottawa, Canada, 1976), this symposium is also focused on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, viewing it from the standpoint of the passing of two decades. It contains valuable contributions of individuals who participated in the revolution together with the scholars from Europe and the U.S. Especially valuable are the sections dealing with the lack of reactions to this upheaval by Hungary's neighbors (Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) and the United States.

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Czechoslovakia's Role in Soviet Strategy. By Josef Kalvoda. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978. Pp. ix, 381. $9.75.

There has been quite an upsurge in recent years in the articles and books on Czechoslovakia. Kalvoda's contribution is one of the best. It presents a political history of that hapless country, and is an excellent analysis of the relations by prominent Czech politicians with Moscow as well as a portrait of several democratic wishful thinkers who served the communists as useful dudes. One of the best chapters covers the disastrous role played by Beneš in Czechoslovak history. Quite valuable are the extensive bibliography and footnotes. The work gives us a lot of new light into pertinent events and a new evaluation and comprehension of most of them.

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Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia, 1968; Anatomy of a Decision. By Jiri Valenta. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979. P;. xii, 208.

Published eleven years after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Jiri Valenta's book joins the now staggering literature on the subject. It is an important addition to that larger literature, for it sheds a great deal of light on the murky and sometimes inscrutable process of foreign policy-making in the Kremlin. Professor Valenta does not exaggerate the lessons to be learned from this single, and perhaps exceptional, case study of Soviet decisionmaking. However, the process he has described leading up to the decision to intervene militarily in Czechoslovakia suggests a number of generalizable features in the way the Soviet elite resolves major foreign policy problems.

Valenta postulates a bureaucratic politics paradigm to explain Soviet decisionmaking. The model is derived from western paradigms developed by Graham Allison and Morton Halperin, among others, but Valenta has carefully noted the distinctive features of the Soviet political system. He stresses the supremacy of the Politburo, standing "at the center of the decisionmaking process" (p. 5), and he also analyzes the effect of other powerful organizations in the USSR—the Central Committee and its various departments, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense and the branches of the armed services, and the KGB. The Politburo itself makes key foreign policy decisions, Valenta affirms, but these decisions are made "in the face of signals and pressures from several powerful Soviet bureaucracies . . . " (p. 158), each of which pursues its separate organizational responsibilities and interests.

In the case of the 1968 Czechoslovak crisis, Valenta has sought to identify the "coalitions" of support for intervention and nonintervention in a policy debate that went on for at least six months prior to the actual decision to intervene. Strong pressures in favor of putting an end to the Dubček

regime's reformism were exerted by several important Soviet bureaucracies. Officials in the ideological affairs bureaucracy, for example, were alarmed at the impact of Czechoslovak reformist ideas on Soviet dissidents and pressured the party leadership for action that would short-circuit that influence. The Ukrainian party organization, fearful of political instability in its own republic, was another source of pro-intervention pressure. Many KGB officials favored intervention, because they believed their intelligence-gathering activities in Czechoslovakia were jeopardized by the openness of political discussion there. Interestingly, Valenta suggests that the military elites were by no means united behind a pro-intervention position, though the dominant tendency among them was in favor of military action.

Less clearly explained are the forces and motivations behind the "coalition skeptical of intervention. Valenta includes among them the high officials of the Central Committee's International Department, primarily Boris Ponomarev and V.V. Zagladin, as well as several sections of the Foreign Ministry. Premier Alexei Kosygin and foreign ideological affairs chief Mikhail Suslov are identified as noninterventionists. The author makes it clear that the noninterventionists were not at all proponents of the Czechoslovak reforms, but they strongly urged moderation in their government's efforts to deal with the Dubček regime.

Professor Valenta has adroitly sifted through much of the available evidence bearing upon the Soviet decision, piecing together many separate strands from previously published works and adding data from Czech and Soviet primary sources as well. He has conducted many useful interviews with knowledgeable principals. As a result of his thoroughness, we now have a more well-integrated picture of the Soviet decision than we had before.

Especially revealing is the discussion of the role played by Soviet information-gathering agencies. Soviet intelligence agencies, according to Valenta, suffer from some of the same shortcomings exhibited by their American counterparts. They produce reports that are sometimes accurate, sometimes mistaken. They filter and distort information, and reports are often slanted for the purpose of influencing the policy judgments of the leaders who must rely on the incoming intelligence. This aspect of the Soviet decision remains only incompletely elucidated, but the book under review has taken us very close to an understanding of this crucial question.

The book is a marvel of conciseness and shows few weak spots. One can note an occasional tendency to repetition. (For example, we are told three times that the timing of the intervention was chosen so as to preempt the Slovak party congress, scheduled to meet on August 26.) Some readers might feel uneasy about the Kremlinological approach of the author,

which—like all good Kremlinology—requires him to read between the lines to determine the motives of specific Soviet actors at any given time. Still, Valenta's argument is persuasive, and his use of the bureaucratic politics paradigm gives a most enlightening structure to the evidence he has brought to bear.

Finally, Professor Valenta's study should put to rest the notion sometimes heard that the various Soviet and Warsaw Pact political manoeuverings of July-August 1968, the negotiations and conferences, were empty exercises meant only to distract attention from the "real" Soviet intentions. Valenta's accounts of the Warsaw, Cierna, and Bratislava meetings, based on numerous firsthand reports, strongly argue that these negotiations were not purely tactical or deceptive manoeuvers. Rather, they represented genuine attempts to resolve the crisis in bloc relations through means short of military force. The author agrees with Zdeněk Mlynář that the decision to intervene was taken by the Soviet Politburo on August 17—three days before the actual occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of five Warsaw Pact countries. The change in policy between the time of the Bratislava Declaration (August 3) and the Politburo decision can be explained by the mounting pressures from those bureaucratic elites who feared the continuing effect of Czechoslovak reformism on their organizational interests. According to Valenta, these pressures caused a shift in the balance of power within the Politburo, quite probably involving the conversion of General Secretary Brezhnev from a fence-sitter to a pro-interventionist. The pro-interventionists at last gained the upper hand, and the rest, as they say, is history.

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