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**BOHEMIAN REVIEW**

*Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America*

**February, 1917**

*Masaryk and His  
Work.*

*Dismemberment of  
Austria.*

*Why Germany  
Wants Peace Now.*

*How Austria Re-  
cruits Her Armies.*

*Czernin and Clam-  
Martinic.*

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY  
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cile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria."*

*Woodrow Wilson.*

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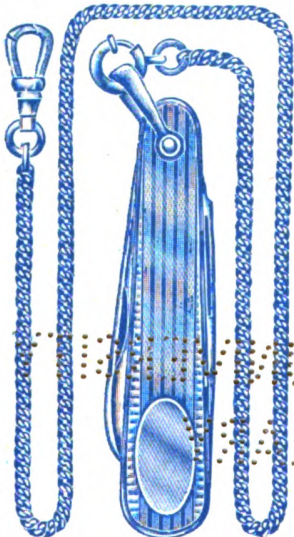
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# THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

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

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## *Masaryk and His Work*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THOMAS GARIGUE MASARYK

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

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

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

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

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

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

efit of Czech prisoners of war in Russia and Serbia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## *Dismemberment of Austria.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Why Germany Wants Peace Now.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



## *How Austria Recruits Her Armies.*

By Vojta Benes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## *Czernin and Clam-Martinic.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## *Current Topics.*

### WHY THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### BAZAARS FOR INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA

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

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

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

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

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

#### SOKOL UNION OF AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

#### WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

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

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

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

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

#### NEW BOOKS.

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

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

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

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

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

#### AMERICA FIRST.

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

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

Contributions for the publication fund of the  
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*The*  
**BOHEMIAN REVIEW**

*Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America*

**April, 1917**

*The Future Status  
of Bohemia.*

*Will the Immigrants  
Be Loyal?*

*Legal Phases of  
An Austrian  
Treason Trial.*

*Germany's Partner  
in Crime.*

*Stories of War  
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## *The Future Status of Bohemia.*

By THOMAS G. MASARYK\*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

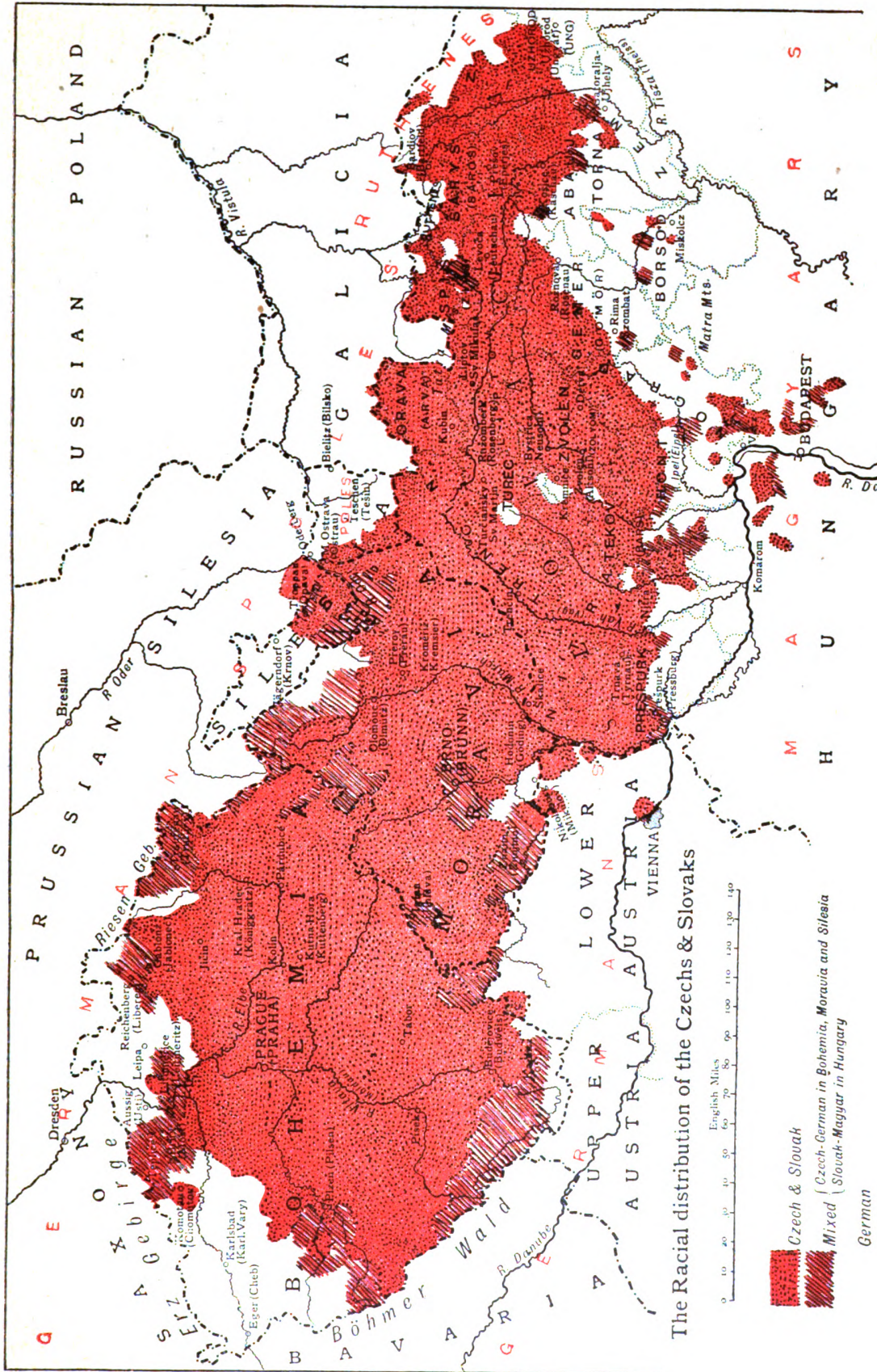
The following table illustrates the Bohemian contribution on the basis of direct taxation to the Austrian finances:—

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

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

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

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



The Racial distribution of the Czechs & Slovaks

English Miles 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140

**Czech & Slovak**  
**Czech-German in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia**  
**Mixed (Czech-Magyar in Hungary)**  
**German**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

##### 5. The National Minorities in Bohemia.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## *Will the Immigrants Be Loyal?*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. F. S.

## *Legal Phases of An Austrian Treason Trial.*

By CHARLES PERGLER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## *Germany's Partner in Crime.*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Stories of War Prisoners.

Gut' Morhen, meinen Herren . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

### Mind Your Own Business

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

He only got, what he deserved.

Artur Kurt.

## Current Topics

### DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A cordial acknowledgment has been received from Minister Miljukov.

#### ALLIED BAZAAR IN BALTIMORE.

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

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

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

#### ENTHUSIASM GROWS.

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

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

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

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

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

#### A VALUED FRIEND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### FIVE THOUSAND FROM ONE MAN.

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

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

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

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

#### INFORMATION ABOUT BOHEMIA.

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

##### Thomas G. Masaryk:

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

##### Charles Pergler:

Bohemians in the Present Crisis.  
The Heart of Europe.

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

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

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

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Have you sent in your subscription to the Bohemian Review?

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

---

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

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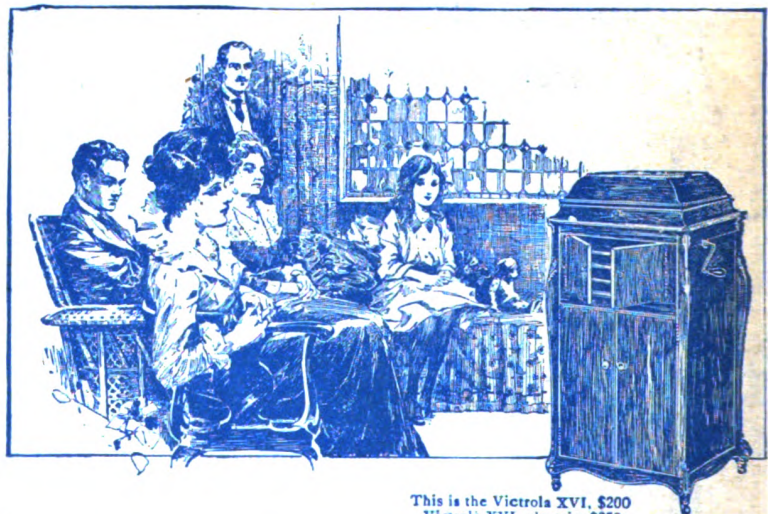
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*The*  
**BOHEMIAN REVIEW**

*Official Organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America*

**August, 1917** - 1917

*The Iron Brigade*

*Can Austria be  
Saved?*

*From the Journal  
of the Reichsrat*

*Two Memorable  
Speeches*

*Police Rule In  
Bohemia*

*Declaration of Boh-  
emian Independence*

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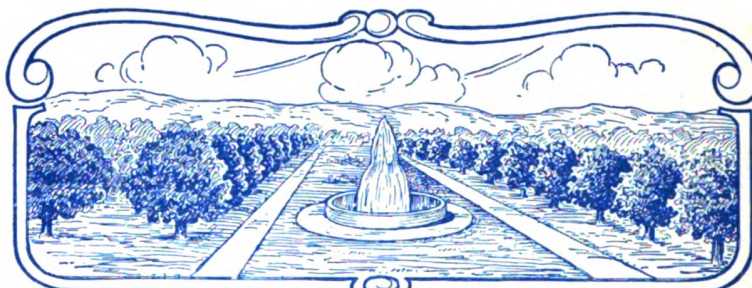
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# THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

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

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 S. Central Park Ave., Chicago.  
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## *The Iron Brigade.*

Short was the career of the Czecho-Slovak brigade, the first unit of the new Bohemian army in Russia. July witnessed its splendid success in the brief Russian offensive, and the same month saw its total annihilation.

Cable reports give but a brief skeleton of facts, but from it the stirring tragedy of a body of nine thousand patriotic rebels can be constructed.

July 3rd, when all America was heartened by the unexpected news of the powerful Russian offensive near Zborov, the Russian official report stated: "Yesterday afternoon after a severe stubborn battle the Zorafsky regiment occupied the village of Presovce, while the gallant troops of the fourth Finnish division and the Cheshsko-Slovatsky brigade occupied the strongly fortified enemy positions on the heights west and southwest of the village of Zboroff and the fortified village of Korshiduv. Three lines of enemy trenches were penetrated. . . . The Cheshsko-Slovatsky brigade captured 62 officers and 3,150 soldiers, fifteen guns and many machine guns. Many of the captured guns were turned against the enemy."

Very little came from Russia after that about the Czech heroes of the Russian offensive. Complimentary mention was made a few days later of the work of a Czech regiment of cavalry and the news came that Minister Kerensky publicly acknowledged the great debt owed by Russia to the brave men of the Czecho-Slovak army.

And then the bright outlook changed; Job's news came from Galicia day after day. No longer was Lemberg threatened, but Tarnopol, which had been in Russian hands for nearly three years, was lost and the last foothold of the Slavs on Galician soil was slowly abandoned. A time of much disappointment and great anxiety to all Americans, to Bohemians in the United States it was a time of dread, of waiting for

horrible news. For all who knew aught of fighters of the Czecho-Slovak brigade were certain that surrender they could not and flee with the others they would not.

The expected blow fell Saturday night, July 28th. A few lines, almost hidden in the columns of war stuff and speculations about the opening of the fourth year of the war; but what a tragedy they portrayed to some half a million people in the United States. This is the brief message: "The *Vecherne Vremya* reports that in the fighting at Tarnopol, Galicia, three regiments of Czech volunteers, abandoned by Russian troops and fearing execution for treason, resisted until the last, the officers blowing out their brains and the soldiers rushing where shells were bursting the thickest. The enemy, the newspapers say, captured three Czechs and hanged them summarily. Later, Czech soldiers took three German prisoners and after forcing them to cut down the bodies hanged the Teutons with the same rope."

One is reminded of Waterloo and Napoleon's guard that dies, but does not surrender. The Czechs have not the keen sense of the dramatic that a Frenchman possesses even at the threshold of death, but they died like the old guard.

The great war has been so crowded with slaughter and heroism for three years that perhaps the brief history of the Iron Brigade of Czecho-Slovaks will receive but a bare mention. But by Bohemians and Slovaks, wherever they may live, regardless even of the fact, whether the dream of free Bohemia for which these men fought will be realized, the men who died at Tarnopol in July, 1917, will be honored forever as patriots and heroes. To the Bohemian knights who fell at Crecy in 1348 defending their blind King John, to the democratic peasants who fought the nobility to the last man at Lipany in 1434, to the Moravian heroes who were cut to pieces on the

White Mountain in 1620, when the Hungarian mercenaries had deserted them, will now be added the Iron Brigade of the first Bohemian army since 1620.

The three regiments were annihilated, because some of the Russians did not do their duty. Bohemians bear no ill will to Russia for this. No other race has followed the rapid changes of the Russian kaleidoscope since March of this year with greater sympathy or with clearer comprehension of the enormous difficulties that Russia has

to overcome in its effort to become a real democracy. It is certain that the fate of the first brigade will not dampen the ardor of the remaining units of the Czecho-Slovak army in Russia nor the enthusiasm of tens of thousands of others who are volunteering for service against the common enemy of mankind. "They shall not have died in vain," will be the firm resolution of everyone who has Czech blood in his veins. Liberty of Bohemia shall be bought by the life-blood of her sons.

## *Can Austria Be Saved?*

The Allies are to meet in August at the invitation of the provisional Russian government to take up the discussion of their war aims and their possible revision. Germany and its partners have never stated specifically the concrete aims for which they were fighting. The Allies did so in their answer to President Wilson's inquiry as to their peace terms.

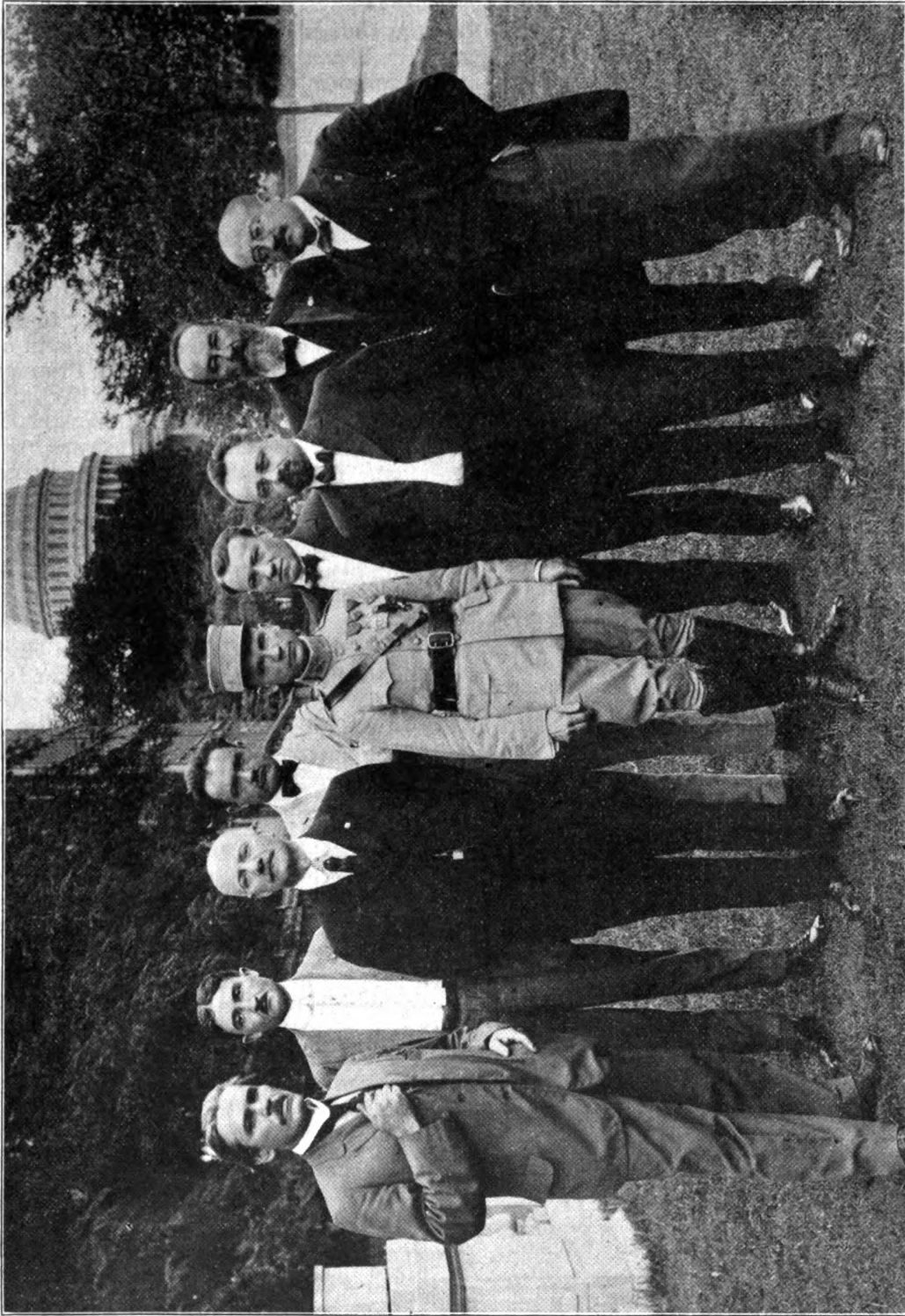
It is well known that the aims of the Allies, stated in the note of January 10, 1917, involve the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Not that the Allies demand it in so many words, not that they have vindictive feelings toward Vienna rather than toward Berlin, not that they consider the Hapsburgs more dangerous than the Hohenzollerns; but because the very existence of the hybrid Dual Empire is the negation of the principle upon which the Allies plan to reconstruct Europe — the principle of nationalities. For that reason the Powers of the Entente in January of this year declared "the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Roumanians, Czechs and Slovaks from foreign domination" to be one of the aims which they set for themselves. And the liberation of those races is equivalent to the disruption of the Hapsburg Empire.

This fact is fully appreciated in Austria and Germany. Peace on terms announced by the Allies in January is plainly impossible, until the Central Powers are decisively defeated or until exhaustion compels them to surrender unconditionally. At the opening of the fourth year of the war the defeat of Germany is still far away. Russia is in the throes of reconstruction and its military strength is seriously affected; western offensive seems to be at a standstill and America's might has not yet made itself

felt. What wonder that people who are appalled by the constant slaughter, by the terrifying growth of the expense bill, by the tremendous difficulties that must be faced before complete victory can be gained, suggest a compromise that might be acceptable to the two Central Empires—federalization of Austria-Hungary on a basis of equality of the races subject to the Hapsburg sceptre.

The basis for this suggested compromise is found in some of the acts of Emperor Charles. He called together the Austrian parliament for its first session since March, 1914; he moderated the barbarities of the military regime which took thousands of victims during two and a half years of the war; he granted pardon to the condemned Czech leaders and approached the Czech people with offers of concessions. His efforts have achieved one small bit of success; the Vienna parliament by a majority of three-fifths voted the budget. But as against that the stormy sessions of the Reichsrat have furnished one more proof that Austria cannot be saved.

The fundamental trouble with Austria is that it is an artificial creation held together only by the dynasty. Without the Hapsburgs and their army the races composing the empire will fly apart. Americans and all true democrats must view with suspicion and regret the continued existence of a political formation that is based on armed force. But granting the desirability of a compromise on Austria can the Hapsburgs be trusted to give their subjects of various races equal rights and to grant to each people full opportunity to develop their national individuality? Few people are aware of the fact that the present constitution of the Austrian half of the empire guarantees to all races equality before the



Workers in the cause of Czecho-Slovak Independence.  
From left to right: Prof. Aleš Hrdlička, F. Bielek, Alb. Mamatey, Chas. Pergler, Dr. Milan Štefaník, E. V. Voska, Dr. L. J. Fisher, Ivan Daxner,  
Prof. Ferd. Pišecký.

law; Bohemians and Poles and Slovenians, and Ruthenians have the same rights in the empire as the Germans, according to the nineteenth article of the fundamental laws. What people everywhere know to be the fact is that in Austria Germans rule and the other races obey; yes, that the Slavs and Latins are sent to the battlefields to die in order that the lordly German race might conquer the world.

Francis Joseph did not keep his word to the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovaks. His great nephew Charles gives promise of following in the footsteps of his predecessor. He has already given to the world one proof of the faith of the Hapsburgs, his attitude toward the Russian program of no annexations and no indemnities. April 14th the official correspondence bureau made this statement: "The government of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been informed of the declaration of the provisional Russian government, published April 11th. It has ascertained from it that Russia does not intend to conquer other nations, to take away from them their national heritage, to occupy by force foreign territory; that on the contrary it desires to bring about permanent peace on the basis of the rights of nations to determine for themselves their allegiance. The Austro-Hungarian government learned from this that the aims of the Russian provisional government are analogous to the aim which the imperial and royal minister of foreign affairs declared in his interview of March 31st to be the war aim of the monarchy". Compare with this pronouncement the statement of Premier Seidler in the Vienna parliament, June 27th: "After conference with the minister for foreign affairs I have the honor to inform the house that the supposition contained in deputy Daszynski's interpellation, to the effect that the imperial and royal government has recognized the right of nations to self-determination to be the basis of permanent peace is false. The imperial and royal government takes its stand on article five of the fundamental laws of December 21, 1867, giving the exclusive right to conclude peace to His Majesty. By that the defense of the interests and the aims of the nations of Austria at that decisive time is entrusted solely to the emperor. With this special reservation of the prerogatives of the crown the imperial and royal government is ready, in union with its allies, to take up negotiations with the enemy for an

honorable peace. But it emphatically rejects any other basis for peace conference."

Is there any wonder that the subjects of the Hapsburgs will not trust the royal word? When German deputy Redlich moved to go into secret session to take up the question of changes in the constitution made necessary by the war, deputy Stránský answered for the Bohemians that the Reichsrat was not the forum to determine that; the peace conference alone would settle the fate of Austria.

Amateur statesmen who have never lived in Austria imagine that federalization of this empire and its rapprochement to the Catholic states of South Germany would be the best counterpoise to the evil Prussian influence over the German empire. What a misconception of the realities. Austria is the vanguard of Germany toward the southeast. The Hapsburgs and their German subjects have ever looked upon themselves as the instrument for the Germanization of the inferior races bordering on the territory of the German people. They have not accomplished much, because the German element formed less than one-third of the population of Austria. But when Galicia is subtracted from the sum total of the Austrian provinces, as it will upon the restoration of Poland, Germans will have nearly half of the people and far more than a half of the deputies in what remains of the Austrian half of the empire. In such a case more than ever the issue in Austria would be the struggle of Czechs and Jugoslavs again Germanization, and the German dynasty with the German subjects would look for support to the German empire. Let it also be stated that no constitutional life would be possible in Austria, after Galicia became a part of the Polish state. The Czech deputies declared solemnly that they would never enter a parliament in which deputies from Galicia would not sit in their full number, for then the Bohemians would be altogether at the mercy of the Germans.

Finally, there is one obstacle over which all attempts to reconstruct the Hapsburg empire on a just basis will surely be wrecked, and that is the Slovak question. There are nearly three million of them in northwestern Hungary. They are one branch of the race of which the Czechs and Bohemians are the more numerous part, and their territories form a geographical unit, divided artificially by the frontier of

Hungary. In that memorable declaration of Czech deputies, made in parliament on May 30th, the most significant part is the demand for "union of all branches of the Czecho-Slovak people into one democratic Bohemian state." That is absolutely irreconcilable with the pretensions of the Magyars, and nothing less than cannon can settle that dispute. For it is certain that the Magyar government of Hungary will hold out to the last, will throw over the Hapsburgs in favor of Kaiser William, will resort to any means, before it will consent to surrender its barbarous rule over the Slovaks of Hungary. The Budapest Hirlap says: "The Bohemian manifesto is a declaration of war to the Magyars, and every

Magyar stands petrified at this insolence." And Az Est, also of Budapest, wonders how it is possible that Czechs could speak so in the Austrian parliament. "With that plan," says this journal, "the Bohemians have gone over bodily into the camp of our enemies, for they too, like our enemies, want to dismember us."

The Chicago Journal summed up the Austrian muddle in these words: "They (Germans and Magyars) will remain in Austria only if they can run it; the Slavs will remain only if they can have fair play and equal rights. The young emperor is between the devil and the dark blue sea. However, he needn't trouble to make a decision. The allies will do that for him."

## *From the Journal of the Reichsrat.*

It is an old witticism in America that the zero in interesting reading is represented by the Congressional Record. Not so in Austria. There the parliament is allowed to meet so seldom, and when it does meet, so much explosive material has been accumulated that a fascinating pyrotechnic exhibition is on the program almost every day during the rare sessions of the representatives of the peoples subject to the Hapsburgs. And when in addition to that one remembers that even in ordinary times the only chance for a serious criticism of the government to see the light of day is to make it in parliament and that since 1914 the censor has been all-powerful in Austria, one is sure to come across interesting reading in the record of the Vienna House of Representatives.

We shall translate here for the benefit of American readers a number of speeches and ministerial interpellations, as they were given to the newspapers by the "praesidium", or speaker's office of the parliament. They were not censored by the government censor, but Dr. Gustav A. Gross, the German president of the Reichsrat, undertook to strike out the most objectionable passages of the radical speeches before according them parliamentary immunity. It is, therefore, well to bear in mind that what is given below, has been touched up by a man in sympathy with the methods and aims of the Austrian regime.

June 15 Bohemian deputy Stříbrný spoke about the treatment of political suspects in internment camps. "Dělnické Listy"

(Workingman's Gazette) states that the most serious charges contained in the speech were suppressed during the revision of the speech by Dr. Gross' censors. Mr. Stříbrný said:

"The suspension of civil rights had for its result political classification of citizens and the branding of many as suspected and unreliable. Unsigned denunciations were sufficient to cause arrest and the arrested never knew who was the accuser and what was the charge. . . . Among the interned citizens were women children and old men, who were carried away in fetters. (Hear, hear, from Czech deputies.) Prisoners were tortured as a matter of course. Their food was quite insufficient; they were tied together in groups and thrown into dirty freight cars. One transport of forty-three Austrian citizens was killed on the high road by a detachment of Hungarian Landwehr. (Cries of anger from the Czechs.)

"Most of the early suspects were interned in a camp at Talerhof near Gratz in Styria. The first shipment was taken over by soldiers from Gratz whose captain spoke in an indecent manner about the victims. Some of them upon leaving the cars were beaten and kicked, until blood streamed from their bodies. The first three days all had to camp in the open. Absolutely no preparations had been made to receive them. A small piece of land was assigned to them, four posts were stuck into the ground to designate the limits of the camp, and no one was permitted to stray beyond them. Women, men, children, all slept to-



gether. The fourth day everyone was ordered to move to the hangars, but again had to sleep on bare ground. Even at that sleeping space was at a premium. Prisoners could not change their clothing, and none of them had money. The guards delighted in giving the most refined people the dirtiest tasks. Women and clergymen were flogged to make them work more zealously. When the number of interned kept on growing, there was no room for them in the hangars, and many had to sleep outside, while the temperature hovered around zero. The death rate among the younger girls and among the old people, due to this treatment and to insanitary conditions, was awful. At the end of November 1914, upon the urgent representations of a staff medical officer construction of barracks was undertaken. When the prisoners were moved into the barracks, their clothing was disinfected; the interned, many of them women and young girls, had to undress in front of all and wait for an hour or more, before receiving their clothing back again. In December, 1914, the number of interned reached five thousand. It was natural that in the absence of strict sanitary measures epidemic diseases, principally the spotted typhus, got many victims. Not till February, 1915, were the sick separated from the well. In Talerhof the number of those who died of epidemic was 1,200, while the total number of suspect citizens buried at the local cemetery exceeds 2,000. All these statements can be substantiated by the testimony of seventy witnesses", said Deputy Stříbrný.

Most of these victims, subjects of the Austrian emperor, whose only crime was to become suspect of disloyalty, were from Galicia; the next highest number came from Bohemia and Moravia. During Mr. Stříbrný's speech Bohemian, Polish, Yugoslav and Little Russian deputies gave vent to their anger and shouted stormy protests against the government.

Interpellation of deputies Prokoš, Jaroš, and Charvát, addressed to the minister of defense, dealt with a similar subject, the sufferings of three hundred Czech teachers from Moravia. It is as follows:

"In the summer of 1915 secret instructions were issued by the military command in Vienna by which Czech school teachers from Moravia were designated as unreliable from the political viewpoint. Those who had been classified by the army draft-

ing board as unfit for service under arms and should have been permitted to carry on their teaching work were interned. They were sent first to Krapfenwald near Vienna, and later, when their number increased, were interned at Hameau near Neuwaldeg. In rough barracks, used shortly before for Russian prisoners, three hundred educated men lived a life of convicts, although they were neither condemned, nor even accused by either civil or military authorities. Their only crime was that they were Bohemian schoolteachers. Soldiers of the 59th regiment, fully armed, watched them behind barbed wire fences; no one was allowed to approach the barracks, all access to the world was cut off, and the interned men had to perform the hardest kind of manual work. Some crushed rocks, others hauled the rock in wheelbarrows, others mended roads, others felled and cut firewood and timber for themselves and for soldiers, others peeled potatoes or carried water from a spring at the bottom of a steep hill. Letters and packages were strictly censored and visits by relatives were not allowed. Even when the school authorities asked for the prisoners' services, they were not released, and when their relatives died, they could not attend the funeral. One man who was about to be married, when he was imprisoned, received permission to go to Vienna for a few hours one afternoon; under guard of a soldier he marched to the altar like a criminal. In the evening he came back, threw himself on his wooden couch and cried.

"After four months at Hameau, one-half of the prisoners were sent to Presburg, the rest to Komarno. Here in Hungary they found different commanders and their life was more bearable. But the health of many was seriously affected; some died, some are still in hospitals. Who will compensate them for their mental sufferings, who will return them peace of mind, who will make up to them for the tortured nights?

"Some of these three hundred were later taken upon recommendation of military commanders out of the suspect class and were permitted to qualify for officers in the army, but the majority are still undergoing unmerited punishment.

"Most of these teachers will some day return to the practice of their profession. Can these men be expected to train children to love Austria? Therefore, in the name of these afflicted schoolteachers and in the

name of humanity we demand full satisfaction."

More light on the barbarous conditions prevailing in Austria during the war was thrown by the interpellation of deputies Binovec, Filipinský and Stejskal in regard to the torture of political prisoners. These deputies say:

"We face today the pitiable fact that in all the military prisons awful undernourishment is the rule. In all of them prisoners, both condemned and under investigation, die in great numbers of one of the most terrible sicknesses, hunger typhoid, in other words of empty stomach. In proof of that we point to the garrison prison of Vienna in which more than fifty death sentences have been pronounced for political crimes. To be imprisoned for two years, while the government is supposed to be looking for proof of guilt, is not unusual. All decrees regulating the treatment of political prisoners are suspended; everything depends on the absolute discretion of some non-commissioned officer, and men of the highest professional and social standing are quartered with known thieves, burglars and murderers. Then for months at a time they won't get paper or pencil — something that makes these educated men desperate.

"But the most terrible feature of this regime is the constant hunger prevailing in the prison. Lately the condition has been aggravated shockingly. Those without

means to order food from restaurants, and those who are not allowed to send for food outside the prison, though able to pay for it, are virtually condemned to that most horrible of all deaths, death by slow starvation. This desperate state of affairs is aggravated by the fact that the commander of the Vienna garrison will not permit families of men under investigation to send them even the plainest of food. When a package is received at the prison for some poor inmate whose family fears that he may be hungry, it is returned, but only after long delay, so that by the time it gets back to the sender the food is spoiled. This refinement of cruelty goes so far that even medicines cannot be sent to the prisoners.

"If there is not enough food to supply persons detained in military prisons, then the government should do one of the two things: either shorten the detention of such men in every possible manner, or permit their families to send them food. In no case should it be possible that men imprisoned by the government should die of hunger.

"In conclusion the undersigned ask: 1. Are these horrible conditions known to the minister? 2. What will the minister do to have the whole situation investigated in the most impartial and strict manner and to have such regimen introduced in all these institutions as will comply with the law and with the most elementary demands of humanity?"

## *Two Memorable Speeches.*

Dr. Adolf Stránský, deputy for Moravia in the Vienna parliament, delivered a bold speech on June 12th immediately after a wordy and empty declaration of program by Premier Clam-Martinić. It is, in part, as follows:

"If I arise to set forth the attitude of Czech deputies, I do so with feelings of regret and pain. For I think of the man who in political debates used to reply first for the Bohemians — Dr. Kramář. (Stormy applause and shouts from Czech benches.) Others of his colleagues, Dr. Rašín and leaders of the national socialists, Klofáč, Choc, Buřival, Vojna, Netolický, are not here today. (Shouts.) They were branded traitors, and their place is in various penitentiaries, instead of in parliament.

"But since the absolutist government set aside the competent judge and put in his

place a so-called court with orders not to judge, but to condemn, and since the condemnation was effected in an illegal manner, through barefaced violation of the constitution, by means of the most infamous political crime that Europe has ever seen (stormy applause on the part of Czechs), we need not pay any regard to such judgment and may confidently acclaim the condemned as friends and colleagues, the more so, since we knew very well that their crime consisted in faithfulness to their nation and to their country.

"I firmly believe that not only will these representatives of the people come out free from their jails, but that the time will come when the Austrian Petro-Pavlovsk prison will open its doors wide and the places of the political prisoners will be taken by their present enemies.

"We want to be a free and happy nation, free of every foreign domination. We want our children to be brought up in our own national culture. We want to rule ourselves, our officials must speak with our own tongue. We alone must determine our international alliances and we will not allow such alliances to be made without us and regardless of us. Above all we demand our own state. We want to see a society of free states created. This empire and this dynasty have in recent years dishonored and trodden under foot all rights and guarantees of our nation.

"The cold attitude of the Bohemians toward the Reichsrat may be explained chiefly by this that in reality we have no constitution and that this assemblage is only a fictitious and fragmentary parliament. Not only are the imprisoned deputies missing, but the places of the deceased members have not been filled. By-elections for the vacant seats have not been ordered, because the government does not want any elections. As to parliamentary immunity, the degree of its observance can best be judged by the fact that bills and interpellations are confiscated. As for personal immunity, we have no assurance that upon the adjournment of parliament we shall not be called to answer for speeches that were delivered in this place long before the war, for that is what happened to the condemned deputies. When we go away from here, the proper parting salutation will be: Goodby, fellow-representative, don't land in jail. (Laughter, applause.)

"All these arguments persuade us that in this assembly none of the great problems shall be decided that are now agitating Europe and the entire world. What is anyway the Reichsrat with its debates and controversies compared to the bloody argument that is being settled on the battlefields? Not even our reservation of the historical rights of Bohemia will solve anything; that we know. But the rights of Bohemia are not out of date, as deputy Pacher thinks; they cannot be the object of a war of words. We live in a great time, when realities cannot be held back, while appearances and lies are uncovered.

"Even the speech from the throne had its source in a bureaucratic inkwell and not in the blood of present serious realities. The speech is at fault when it seeks to set mere words against the spirit of the times which is creating a new world out of blood

and iron. At a time when all forms of constitutional life are challenged, responsibility of the crown is not limited to the responsibility of the chief of cabinet. The premier should cover the crown and not expose it to attacks and hide behind it his own political and moral weakness. We are persuaded that the day is coming when no one will come between our nation and our king, when the nation and its king will face each other. The future may be obscure, but the world labors to the end that the interests of rulers should bow to the interests of the nations and that crowns should depend on the will of peoples.

"In the address from the throne the only thing of interest for the Czechs is the declaration that the emperor will not swear fidelity to the existing constitution. That means the bankruptcy of this constitution, its complete eclipse. For the matter of that the constitution long ago became empty and meaningless, because the fundamental laws of the state were systematically violated, jury trials were abolished and provincial diets not allowed to meet. Bohemians have for many years fought the constitution in order to win independence, democracy and freedom; they suffered innumerable persecutions that culminated in the sentences of Dr. Kramář and others. But now we say: The interests of the state do not come first. When the interests of the state and of the people are not identical, then the people will not recognize the right of the state to existence.

Deputy Waldner cries: "Aha, now we know it."

"The whole world is now convinced that this view is right. But in the address from the throne we find the same old principles from the days of Joseph II., namely that the state comes first and the people follow, while in the declaration of the premier we heard today the same ideas. Modern democracy stands on a very different basis: The people are first and the state second. State is only a means for the attainment of the aims of the individual nations. Therefore we see the world ready to conclude only such a peace as will rest on the sure foundation of satisfied peoples. For such peace only will be lasting.

"As far as the Polish problem is concerned, we will not examine into the question how far today when the political resurrection of Poland is in the air can the autonomy of Galicia be squared with the

right of nations to self-determination. It is of course possible that Galicia will be granted this larger share of self-government. But if Count Clam imagines that we would ever sit in a parliament in which Polish deputies would not participate in their full number, he is greatly mistaken. We will not submit to force. Should the Poles attain independence — and we hope from the bottom of our hearts that they will — and we should be left here at the mercy of greater numbers, it would be the end of this Reichsrat.

• “We demanded in our formal reservation that when new political forms are created, regard should be had to the closely related Slovak branch of our nation, living across the boundaries of our historical fatherland. We have done that upon the supposition that here also the final word lies with the free and untrammelled decision of three million of Slovaks and not with our own ardent desires and interests.

“We should be faithless to the moral foundation of our program, if we thought of its realization upon any other basis than the complete, unambiguous, and secured guarantees that full racial freedom and autonomy of Germans in our country shall be safe and their national honor unimpaired.

“What we ask for the Slovaks, applies to Poles, Little Russians, Roumanians, Jugoslavs and Italians. There is only one political program for them all — the free determination of these nations.”

Newspapers in this country have displayed prominently what to them must have been a startling pronouncement of a former Austrian minister, namely quotations from a speech by Karel Prášek, Czech agrarian deputy and formerly the Czech representative in the Austrian cabinet. He said, as quoted in American papers: “How can we obtain peace, if we continue to cling to Germany? The hatred of the entire world is directed not against Austria, but against Germany. Shall we continue to sacrifice our interests for German expansion? Shall we continue to support German militarism which drew us into this war? Czech deputies are still in prison for struggling for an alliance of Austria with France and Russia. Their viewpoint is at present ours. If you call them traitors, you should call us too traitors. We are all traitors.”

These were bold words to be uttered even in parliament, when that parliament is dependent on German bayonets. But lest it should be thought that Prášek cared for the interests of Austria, rather than of Bohemia, when he advocated a separation from Germany, let us quote the remainder of his speech, as given in the *Echo de Paris*. Speaking of the Seidler cabinet, deputy Prášek said:

“This ministry admits that it is provisional and transitory. It is in effect a pitiable makeshift, an eloquent expression of the difficulties in which the Austrian bureaucracy finds itself. But when the cabinet calls itself the national ministry, we have to declare that a majority of the people are not represented therein. The Bohemian nation takes good care not to ask for a place in the cabinet. It has definitely given up all thought of sending one or two of its deputies to play the role of fools in a German centralist ministry. The Bohemian nation is grown up and it holds together all its forces in order to conquer independence. For that task she needs every one of her children: It will support no Austrian government that will not declare for the destruction of dualism and the complete autonomy of all its oppressed nations, in Austria and Hungary alike. We shall fight to final victory to bring down a regime by which two minorities, the Germans and the Magyars, oppress all other nations. God be thanked; those two nations will not stop the progress of the world.”

A short quotation from the speech of a priest deputy may be of some interest. Father Zahradník, a Czech agrarian deputy and member of the Order of Premonstratensians, related in parliament a conversation he had with Premier Stuergh three weeks before his assassination by Dr. Adler. “I reproached him for all the evil he had done to the Czech people and to the whole monarchy. Your Excellency, I asked, do you believe in God? Do you believe in His justice? I call you before his tribunal, you and the other members of the government. God whom I serve will punish the guilty; He will defend and protect my people and will give them final victory and deliverance.”

This speech called forth applause and enthusiasm from all the Slav benches and violent protests from the ranks of the Germans.

## Police Rule in Bohemia.\*

By D. Thomas Curtin

In his speech to the Senate President Wilson said: "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . No nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

The realization of these admirable sentiments presents infinite problems in various section of Europe, but nowhere, perhaps, more than in Austria-Hungary. In his heterogeneous collection of peoples, the old Emperor had to make a choice between two courses in order to hold his thirteen distinct races together in one Empire. He could have tried to make them politically contented through freedom to manage their own affairs while owing allegiance to the Empire as a whole, or he could suppress the individual people to such an extent that he would have unity by force.

He chose the second course. With the Germans dominant in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, other nations have been scientifically subjugated. As in the case of the procedure of "Preventive Arrest" in Germany, the authorities seek to work smoothly and silently, with the result that only an occasional echo reaches the outside world.

The description of the relations of the various peoples and the "Unity-Machine" employed would fill a large book. Control of public opinion has been the first action of the rulers of the Dual Monarchy. In peace time, not only were the suppressed nations, such as the Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Poles, Slovenes, Italians, but all the citizens of Austria-Hungary, denied the right of free speech and freedom of the Press. Some of the regulations by which the Government held absolute sway over its subjects are:

(1) No newspaper or other printing business could be established until a heavy de-

posit was made with the police for the payment of fines, such fines to be arbitrarily imposed by the police—in whom is vested extraordinary power—when anything political was written which did not please them. They are difficult to please, I may add.

(2) A complete copy of each edition must be sent to the police before it was put on sale. "Good" editors whose inspiration was of a nature to enable them to interpret the wishes of the Government, sometimes received a dispensation from this formality.

(3) No club might hold a private meeting. A representative of the police must be present. This rule was often extended even to friendly gatherings in private homes in such places as Bohemia.

(4) No political meeting might be held without a permit, and a representative of the police must be present. Often he sat on the platform. It is amusing for the visitor from a free country to attend a political meeting where the chairman, speaker and policeman file up on the stage to occupy the three chairs reserved for them. The policeman may be heard by those in the front rows continually cautioning the speaker. If he thinks the speaker is talking too freely he either intervenes through the chairman and asks him to be moderate or dismisses the meeting.

These regulations, I again remind the reader, were in force in peace time. It is easy to see how an extension of them effectually checks attempts of the Czechs (Bohemians) and other peoples to legislate themselves into a little freedom.

When I came to England early in the war from Austria-Hungary and Germany I heard many expressions of hope that the discontented races in the Empire of Francis Joseph would rebel, and later expressions of surprise that they did not. Englishmen held the opinion that such races would be decidedly averse from fighting for the Hapsburgs. The opinion was correct, and nobody knew this better than the Hapsburgs themselves.

Like the German Government in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, the Austrian Government has endeavored to mislead public

\*Reprinted from Mr. Curtin's book "The Land of Deepening Shadow", by permission of Geo. H. Doran Co.

opinion in foreign countries as to the state of mind of the Czechs by false information and to conceal the true military and political situation from the population at home. Austria's first problem at the outbreak of war — a problem which has been worked out to the last detail — was rapidly to move the soldiers of the subjugated races from their native lands. Since the Bosnians, for example, are of the Serbian race, they were mobilized secretly in the middle of July and sent out of Bosnia. I saw 30,000 moved through Trieste several days before war was declared on Serbia. A German acquaintance, with great shipping interests, enthusiastically indiscreet at sight of them, exclaimed to the little group of which I was one: "A wonderful system — a wonderful system! The Bosnians could not be trusted to fight the Serbs. But we Germans can use them if they prove troublesome to Austria," he continued excitedly. "We can send them against the French. We will tell them that if they do not shoot the French, we will shoot them." I thought this a rather curious conversation for July 25th, 1914.

Less than a fortnight later I saw two Bohemian regiments arrive at Brasso, Transylvania, the province farthest removed from their homes, to be garrisoned in a region, the population of which is Rumanian, Hungarian and Saxon. I was told later that the Rumanians who had left the garrisons at Brasso had gone to Bohemia. As I observed these initial steps in the great smooth-running Austro-Hungarian military machine, I was impressed with the impossibility of revolution. With the soldier element scientifically broken up and scattered all over the country, who could revolt — the women and children?

The Slav soldiers of Austria-Hungary desert to Russia at every opportunity. The fact that she now has upwards of 1,200,000 Austro-Hungarian prisoners is sufficient refutation of the sugar-coated propaganda describing how all the peoples who make up Austria-Hungary rushed loyally and enthusiastically to arms to the defence of their Emperor and common country. This is perfectly true of the politically dominant races, the Germans and the Magyars, but the "enthusiasm" I witnessed among the subjugated races consisted chiefly of sad-faced soldiers and weeping women.

The Bohemians have given most trouble. One German officer told me that he didn't worry over the desertion of Bohemians sin-

gly and in small groups. He expected that. But he did take serious exception to the increasingly popular custom of whole battalions with their officers and equipment passing over to the Russian lines intact.

The story of the Bohemian regiment trapped in the Army of Leopold of Bavaria is generally known in Austria. When the staff learned that this regiment planned to cross to the Russians on a certain night, three Bavarian regiments, well equipped with machine-guns, were set to trap it. Contrary to usual procedure, the Bohemians were induced by the men impersonating the Russians to lay down their arms as an evidence of good faith before crossing. The whole regiment was then rounded up and marched to the rear, where a public example was made of it. The officers were shot. Then every tenth man was shot. The Government, in order to circumvent any unfavorable impression which this act might make in Bohemia, caused to be read each day for three days in the schools a decree of the Emperor, condemning the treachery of this regiment, the number of which was ordered forever to be struck from the military rolls of the Empire.

During the terrific fighting at Baranowitchi in the great Russian offensive last summer, at a time when the Russians repeatedly but unsuccessfully stormed that important railway junction, some Prussian units found their right flank unsupported one morning at dawn, because two Bohemian battalions had changed flags during the night. The next Russian attack caused the Prussians to lose 48 per cent of their men.

This was the final straw for the Staff of Leopold's Army. An Order was issued explaining to the troops that henceforth no more Czechs would have the honor of doing first line duty, since their courage was not of as high a degree as that of the others. I found that the Prussians, despite their depleted state, actually believed this explanation, which filled them with pride in themselves and contempt for the Czechs.

But the German officers in charge of reorganizing the Austro-Hungarian Army were not content to let Bohemians perform safe duties in the rear. Consequently, they diluted them until no regiment contained more than 20 per cent.

The authorities have been no less thorough with the civilian population. From the day of mobilization all political life was suspended. The three parties of the Oppo-

sition, the Radicals, the National-Socialists, and the Progressives, were annihilated and their newspapers suppressed. Their leaders, such men as Kramarzh, Rasin, Klofatch, Scheiner, Mazaryk, Durich, the men who served as guides to the nation, were imprisoned or exiled. This is surely a violation of the principle that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, for all these men were true representatives of the people. The fact that the Government was obliged to get rid of the leaders of the nation shows what the real situation in Bohemia is.

The Czech deputies who were considered dangerous, numbering forty, were mobilized. They were not all sent to the front; some were allowed temporary exemption; but the Government gave them to understand that the slightest act of hostility towards the Monarchy on their part would result in their being called up immediately and sent to the front.

The fetters of the Press were drawn more tightly. Even the German papers were not allowed into Bohemia. For some months, two or three enterprising editors used to send a representative to Dresden to read the German and English papers there. At present three-quarters of the Czech papers and all the Slovak newspapers have been suppressed. The columns of those which are still allowed to appear in Bohemia and Moravia are congested by mandates of the police and the military authorities, which the editors are compelled to insert. Recently the Government censorship has been particularly active against books, collections of national songs, and post-cards. It has even gone so far as to confiscate scientific works dealing with Slav questions, Dostoyevski's novels, the books of Tolstoi and Millioukoff, and collections of purely scientific Slav study and histories.

The Government, however, have had to proceed to far greater lengths. By May, 1916, the death sentences of civilians pronounced in Austria since the beginning of the war exceeded 4,000. Of these, 965 were Czechs. A large proportion of the condemned were women. The total of soldiers executed amounts to several thousands.

Is it not peculiar that among people which the Viennese propaganda represents as loyal, hostages are taken in Bohemia, and condemned to death, under the threat of execution if a popular movement takes place? The people are told of this and

are given to understand that the hostages have hopes for mercy if all is quiet.

Not only have the authorities confiscated the property of all persons convicted of political offenses and of all Czechs who have fled from Austria-Hungary, but a system has been established by which the property of Czech soldiers who are prisoners in Russia is confiscated. The State profits doubly by this measure, for it further suppresses the allowances made to the families of these soldiers. In order to terrorize its adversaries through such measures, the Government instructs the Austrian newspapers to publish long lists of confiscations and other penalties.

After a time, however, the Austrian Government practically abdicated in favor of the Prussians and now undertake to carry out the measures of Germanization dictated by Berlin. The rights in connection with the use of the Czech language in administration, in the Law Courts and on the railways, rights which were won by the desperate efforts of two generations of Czech politicians, have been abrogated. The management of the railways has been placed in the hands of Prussian military officials; the use of the Czech language has been suppressed in the administration, where it had formerly been lawful. The Czechs have been denied access to the Magistrature and to public offices where they had occasionally succeeded in directing the affairs in their own country.

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"No life is safe, no happiness is safe, there is no chance of bettering life until we have made an end to all that causes war . . .

"We have to put an end to the folly and vanity of kings, and to any people ruling any people but themselves. There is no convenience, there is no justice in any people ruling any people but themselves; the ruling of men by others who have not their creeds and their languages and their ignorances and prejudices, that is the fundamental folly that has killed Teddy and Hugh—and these millions.

"To end that folly is as much our duty and business as telling the truth and earning a living..."

H. G. Wells: *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*.

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The Sioux City Journal in telling about the share of the Middle West and its many immigrants in the sacrifices required by the war has this to say about the Czechs: "Bohemians have not been satisfied to do even the things that were expected of them as adopted children of America; they have gone farther with schemes of their own to show a spirit of sacrifice greater than that."

## *Declaration of Bohemian Independence.*

We place ourselves before the political public at a moment when the retreat of the victorious Russian army is being used by opponents politically against Russia and her Allies. We take the side of the fighting Slav nations and their Allies, without regard to victory or defeat, because right is on their side. The problem which side is right in this fatal war is a question of principle and of political morals, a question which at present no honest and sincere statesman, no conscientious and thinking nation can evade. Yet we are prompted to come forward by warm feelings of Slav union. We wish to express hearty sympathy to our Serbian and Russian brothers and to brother Poles, who are so cruelly afflicted by this war. We believe in the final victory of Slavs and their Allies. We are convinced that this victory will be for the benefit of all Europe and all humanity. This victory will not be checked by anti-Slav treachery of the Bulgarian king and his government.

We shall not discuss the whole situation, created by the war. We shall only explain briefly the position of the Bohemian people, the Czechs, as they call themselves.

The Bohemian nation having by its free choice called to the throne a king of the Hapsburg family, entered into a union with Hungary and German Austria; but the dynasty through gradual centralization and germanization aimed at the construction of a single state with arbitrary government, thus violating its agreement to maintain the internal and external independence of the Bohemian state. The Bohemian people exhausted by the European and Hapsburg counter-reformation were for a long time unable to withstand the oppression, until the great revival came at the end of the eighteenth century, culminating in the revolution of 1848. The revolution was suppressed, rights conceded to the people of Austria, and principally to the Bohemians, were taken back and absolutism reigned once more, until the disastrous war of 1859 compelled the granting of an imperfect constitutional regime. Magyars obtained from Vienna what they demanded, but all that the Bohemians got were solemn promises, never fulfilled. The Bohemian people,

Published originally in November, 1915, and reprinted because of its present-day significance.

through their representatives, preserved for a long time the attitude of passive opposition, later entered the new parliament, but both in the central parliament and in the diets, demanded their historical rights and a reconstitution of the monarchy on a federalistic basis as against the German-Magyar dualism. All attempts to reach an agreement with the empire were frustrated by the rapacity and intolerance of Germans and Magyars.

The present war has intensified the antagonism between the people of Bohemia and the Austro-Hungarian empire. War was declared without the approval of the parliament; every other country participating in the war, has laid the momentous decision before the representatives of the nation, but Vienna government was afraid to listen to the voice of the Austrian peoples, because the majority would have been against the war. The Bohemian representatives would have protested most vigorously; therefore the government did not consult a single Bohemian deputy or leader before taking the momentous step.

The recent history of the Bohemian People shows plainly the great stress, laid by the Bohemians upon the Slav idea. And so in this war, which found the Czechs totally unprepared, just as it did every other peace loving nation, from the very beginning in spite of the incredible terrorism with which every manifestation of the real sentiments of the people was suppressed, sympathy for Russians, Serbians and their Allies was universal. Declarations in favor of Austria were engineered and extorted by the government. Today Bohemian leaders are in jail; an imbecile government enforces obedience by hangings, and Bohemian regiments are decimated, because they spontaneously acted in accordance with the unanimous sentiment of the Bohemian people. The rights of the Bohemian language are ruthlessly violated and curtailed, as the war is going on. Military power overrides all laws and treats the Bohemian lands, and all non-German and non-Magyar districts, as conquered provinces. Bohemian publications are confiscated and suppressed for expressing their opinion, whereas our national enemies are allowed to inveigh against the Bohemian people, and Vienna and Budapest encourage pan-Germanic excesses in



the spirit of La Garde, von Hartmann, Mommsen, Treitschke.

In this extremity the Bohemian people can no longer keep silence.

A foreign committee has been formed of Bohemians living beyond the boundaries of their native country, aiming to inform the world of the real facts, to interpret to the statesmen, political leaders and journalists of the Allies and the neutral states the desire of the Bohemian people, and to champion the Bohemian program. All Bohemian political parties have up to this time been fighting for a qualified independence within the limits of Austria-Hungary. But the events of this terrible war and the reckless violence of Vienna constrain us to claim independence without regard to Austria-Hungary.

**We ask for an independent Czecho-Slovak State.**

The Bohemian people are now convinced that they must strike out for themselves. Austria was defeated not only by Russia, but by the little, despised Serbia, and is now a dependency of Germany. Today Berlin has galvanized this corpse, but it is the last effort. Austria-Hungary has abdicated. We have lost all confidence in its vitality; it has no longer any reason for existence. By its incapacity, by its voluntary subordination to Germany it has convinced the whole world that the former belief in the mission of Austria is out of date, forever overthrown by the European war. Those who defended the usefulness, even the necessity of Austria-Hungary, and at one time the great Bohemian historian and Statesman Palacký was one of them, thought of Austria as a federal system of nations and lands with equal rights. But Austria-Hungary as a dualistic monster became the oppressor of all who were not Germans or Magyars. It is a standing threat to the peace of Europe, a mere tool of Germany seeking conquest in the East, a state having no destiny of its own, unable to construct an organic state composed of a number of equal, free, progressive races. The dynasty, living in its traditions of absolutism, manages to maintain the semblance of the former world power through the undemocratic co-operation of a sterile nobility, a bureaucracy that belongs to no race and a body of army officers that is against every race.

No one doubts any longer that Austria-Hungary had no justification in the Sara-

jevo murders for its attack on Serbia; Vienna and Budapest merely carried out their anti-Slavic plans, which came out so shamelessly in the political trials of a number of Serbians. In these trials of Southern Slavs Vienna and Budapest were not ashamed to use documents forged by the Austro-Hungarian legation. War is merely the culmination of this lying policy of Vienna and Budapest. Falsehood is now followed by vindictiveness and cruelty almost barbarous toward all non-German and non-Magyar peoples.

Germany shares the guilt of Austria-Hungary. It had the power and it was its duty to civilization and humanity to prevent the war, but it chose to profit by the imperialistic frivolities of the Viennese adventurers.

Austro-Hungary and Germany, with their Turkish ally, are fighting for a cause that is evil and already lost.

#### **Bohemian (Czech) Foreign Committee:**

Prof. Dr. T. G. Masaryk, deputy, former member of the delegations, chairman of the Independent Czech Deputies Club from Bohemia and Moravia in Austrian Parliament.

Jos. Durich, deputy, president of the "Komenský" Society for the support of Czech schools in Vienna.

B. Čermák, president Union of Czecho-Slovak Societies in Russia, Petrograd.

Bohdan Pavlů, editor Czechoslovak, Petrograd, Russia.

Francois Kupka, president Czech National Alliance in France, Paris.

Dr. Leo Sychrava, editor Československá Samostatnost, Geneva, Switzerland.

J. Sýkora, president Czech National Alliance in Great Britain, London.

#### **Executive of the Czechs and Slovaks in United States and Canada:**

Bohemian National Alliance of America: (National Office, Chicago) Dr. L. J. Fisher, president.

Joseph Tvrzický-Kramer, secretary.

Vojta Beneš, organizer.

Charles Pergler, LLB., author and lawyer, Cresco, Ia.

Slovak League in America; National Office, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Albert Mamatey, pres.

Ivan Daxner, secretary.

PARIS, LONDON, PETROGRAD, CHICAGO, NEW YORK.

Nov. 14, 1915.

## Current Topics.

### BOHEMIAN CATHOLICS CO-OPERATE

A great event in the history of the Bohemian National Alliance of America was the manifesto of July 4th by which the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics became a part of the movement aiming at the liberation of Bohemia.

Since the very foundation of the Bohemian National Alliance in August, 1914, this organization gladly accepted into its membership all people of Czech descent, whatever their political and religious convictions may have been. A number of Catholics and even some priests became earnest supporters of the Alliance, but on the whole the Catholics stood apart, limiting their efforts to the collection of a large fund to be used for the relief of misery caused by the war in Bohemia.

Early in 1917, after the Allies had made the independence of Bohemia part of their program, Bohemian Catholics at a large mass-meeting in Chicago determined to take an active part in the great work that still remained to be done, before the ardent desire of all Czechs could be realized. In addition to their Cyril-Methodius Relief Fund Committee they organized the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics with the purpose of helping to liberate Bohemia. After the entrance of the United States into the European war the relief work was necessarily put aside and all emphasis placed on obtaining political independence for the old home beyond the seas. Officers of the Catholic Alliance, which grew very rapidly, entered into negotiations with the Central Committee of the older organization, and agreement was reached which after proper ratification was made public on Independence Day.

The separate existence of the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics is not affected by the pact; in fact there will be a friendly rivalry between the older organization and the Catholic body as to the number of branches created and the amount of money collected. But for all practical purposes they combine to carry on under the name of the Bohemian National Alliance to successful completion the difficult task of gaining freedom for their kin in Europe.

The publication of the agreement was received with great enthusiasm by all Bohemian-speaking people in the United States. For not only does it strengthen the movement for independence of Bohemia, but it helps to cast down the wall that has for decades separated Czech Catholics and non-Catholics in America.

In chronicling further the activities of the Bohemian National Alliance we have to record here several important national fetes arranged by various branches. In Cedar Rapids, on the Fourth of July a celebration was held to manifest the devotion of the Bohemian-born citizens to the United States in which Catholics took a prominent part, as the first fruits of their earnest co-operation. On the same day the Czechs in Baltimore paraded in large

numbers through the business section of the city in honor of the "Day We Celebrate".

A tremendous outpouring of people of Bohemian descent was witnessed in Cleveland at the Bohemian Day on July 15, when 12,000 persons paid admission fee to the grounds where amid scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm resolutions were adopted assuring the President of the loyalty and devotion of the Bohemian people. The speaker of the day was Professor Šárka Hrbkova, a member of the State Council of Defense of Nebraska. On that day also the Hudson County (N. J.) branch of the Alliance held a national fete at which the chief attraction was Arthur G. Empey, author of "Over the Gap", and bomber and machine gunner of the British army, in addition to speakers from New York, among them Chas. Pergler, general director of the Slav Press Bureau. Full reports of the events of the day were furnished to the local papers by the corresponding secretary of the branch, J. L. Trnka.

The anniversary day of the greatest son of Bohemia, John Hus, was remembered in Chicago by a memorial meeting, held in the Carter H. Harrison High School, July 6th. Dean Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago and Vojta Beneš were the speakers.

The recruiting posters, drawn by Vojtěch Pressig and published by the Slav Press Bureau, were honored by being included among a traveling exhibit of the best recruiting posters issued in America since the outbreak of the war.

Resolutions for Bohemian independence, which had been previously adopted in a number of large cities were approved during July in Baltimore, Detroit, Cedar Rapids and Schenectady.

The event which aroused the greatest interest among the Bohemian-speaking people of America was the distinguished part taken in the brief Russian offensive by the Czecho-Slovak brigade. In the name of Czechs and Slovaks of America five thousand dollars were at once sent to Minister Kerensky with a cablegram requesting him to use the sum for the relief of the wounded of the brigade.

### PRESIDENT JUDSON'S MESSAGE

At the John Hus memorial meeting, held in Chicago on July 6th, President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago was to be the principal speaker. At the last moment his duties as member of the Council of National Defense called him to Washington. He sent a telegram which was read at the meeting and was received with genuine enthusiasm. It is given herewith:

Cordial greetings to my American fellow citizens of Bohemian descent!

Americanism is not determined by race or place of birth, but by loyalty to the constitution of the United States and by willingness to give all that one has, even his life, in the defense of his land.

**DOINGS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE.**

During the visit of the Russian commission to Chicago on August 3 and 4 a memorial meeting was arranged by the Bohemian National Alliance in honor of the brave men of the Czech regiments which fought so bravely at Tarnopol. The meeting was addressed by Professor George Lomonossov of the Russian mission. Six thousands Bohemians and Slovaks waited nearly three hours in the Pilsen Park for the distinguished speaker. A Bohemian flag was presented to Prof. Lomonossov with the request that he deliver it to the Czecho-Slovak army in Russia, and tremendous enthusiasm was aroused, when the Russian diplomat kissed its folds, as he received it. The following day at the Stock Yards Pavilion meeting an engraved address of welcome was presented to Ambassador Bakhmetieff on behalf of the Bohemian National Alliance.

During the discussion of the problem of drafting the numerous aliens who claimed exemption as non-declarants, Dr. L. J. Fisher, President of the Alliance, addressed a letter to the members of the Senate committee in favor of a bill to make aliens equally liable with citizens. "All the rules of square deal, all the obligations of gratitude, demand that when the country is in danger, all residents, citizens and aliens alike, should offer their lives in its defense."

The International Typographical Union, numbering 460 locals with 70,000 members, adopted at its annual convention at Colorado Springs a strong resolution in favor of Bohemian independence.

Steady growth of the Bohemian Alliance in numbers and influence is to be recorded for the month of August. The number of branches reached 215; it will not grow much now, since nearly every Bohemian settlement in this country, however remote, has already a branch of the Alliance. Several of the larger branches are making extensive preparations for a national fete on Labor Day; in attendance and enthusiasm these "posvícení" will probably exceed anything arranged in the past among Bohemians in America.

Among the new workers in the interest of Czecho-slovak independence is Erwin L. Chloupek, an attorney of San Francisco, who is making friends for Bohemia by his English lectures on this little-known country.

**THREE BROTHERS IN THREE ARMIES**

An incident is related in the Aberdeen (S. D.) News, August 15, which illustrates the position of many Bohemians in this country. The story is this:

Charles Mejstrik, a young Bohemian whose home is in Bon Homme county, who has enlisted in the military service of the United States, furnishes a striking example of devotion and sacrifice for the cause of humanity. Young Mejstrik received a college education in Bohemia prior to coming to the United States.

His father is an officer in the Austrian army, now supposed to be fighting on the eastern front. When Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated in 1914,

young Mejstrik sensed the impending calamity in which Europe would be involved, and, not sympathizing with Prussianism, determined to leave Bohemia while he could.

He barely had time to leave before war was declared. After a round-about journey he finally reached South Dakota. Since the outbreak of the war two of his brothers have escaped from Bohemia, and one is fighting with the Russian armies while the other is serving with the allies in France.

In this case the Biblical prophecy of father against sons proves literally true."

**NEW BOOKS.****THE METHOD IN THE MADNESS.** By **Edwyn Bevan.**

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., New York.

The subtitle of this book of 309 pages is: A Fresh Consideration of the Case between Germany and Ourselves. It is perhaps impossible that during the war an Englishman could write impartially of the deadly differences between his own country and Germany. But this author certainly writes without passion of the hate of Germany for England of the various currents of opinion with reference to the war aims of Germany, of their relative weight and of the hope of reconciliation after the war. But though most moderate in tone and temperate in judgment, the author concludes that no lasting peace is possible, until Germany is completely defeated.

**WOMEN OF BELGIUM.** By **Charlotte Kellogg.**

FUNK & WAGNALLS CO., New York.

A simple but stirring account of the wonderful relief work by which millions of the Belgian people are kept from starving. The author is the wife of the American manager of the Brussels office of the Relief Commission and spent a few months with him.

Most of the books on Belgium, published in this country, deal with the German atrocities. Here there is no direct mention of German cruelty, although the whole book is overshadowed by German bayonets. The emphasis here is on the fine points of human nature which calamity called out both from the Belgian people and the charitable souls from all over the world. The burden of the book is an appeal to America to keep up the work of Belgian relief.

The introduction to the book is written by Herbert Hoover, formerly in charge of the Belgian relief, now United States food administrator.

**FREE ENGLISH PAMPHLETS**

Copies of the following pamphlets may be obtained free from the Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West 26th St., Chicago, Ill.

Lewis B. Namier: The Case of Bohemia.

Lewis B. Namier: The Czecho-Slovaks.

J. W. Mackail: Russia's Gift to the World.

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# THE BOHEMIAN REVIEW

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

Jaroslav F. Smetanka, Editor, 2324 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago.  
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## *Bohemians Welcome War on Austria.*

It had to come. The President was sincerely anxious to avoid war on Austria-Hungary, as he had earnestly tried for two years to avoid war with Germany. All in vain. The rulers of Germany by their defiance of the conscience of the world and by their insidious attacks on America itself compelled Wilson to act. And now the rulers of Austria who in spite of the President's forbearance, in spite of his implied invitation to break away from Germany, have sold their very souls to the German devil, these militarists and jingoes of Vienna and Budapest with their puppet emperor have finally convinced Woodrow Wilson that Austria-Hungary will be good only after it has been soundly licked.

Citizens of Bohemian birth welcome with boundless enthusiasm the decision of the President and its speedy ratification by congress. Possibly there is in their joy an admixture of the feeling of satisfaction, the "I told you so" feeling. President Wilson is an optimist in so far as his faith in human nature is concerned; he hopes against hope that the wicked will turn from their evil ways. We, who were brought up in Austria and know the Bourbons of Vienna who never change and never learn anything, we who know the pigheadedness and the overwhelming conceit of the big generals and of the Magyar oligarchs, the real rulers of the empire, we could not share the President's evident hope that Austria-Hungary might yet break away from Germany. Now we rejoice that the last chance of the present rulers to save their power is gone. The government of Austria-Hungary is now our

enemy, and America will negotiate only with the representatives of the peoples of this empire.

It is worthy of notice that President Wilson speaks of the *people* of Germany, but of the *peoples* of Austria-Hungary. This slight grammatical distinction and a careful consideration of the whole tenor of his memorable message give comfort to the Bohemians who might otherwise be discouraged at the President's words: "we do not wish in any way to impair or to re-arrange the Austro-Hungarian empire". President Wilson does not say that he favors the preservation of the anomalous dynastic state; he merely refutes the idea that America fights for its dismemberment or for any other purpose except the freedom of every nation, large and small, to settle its own affairs. The President no doubt knows that with the pressure from above removed the peoples now subject to the Hapsburgs will choose to live under sovereignties far different from the present dual monarchy. When the Bohemians have a free choice, they will set up a Bohemian republic.

Declaration of war against Austria has, however, this effect on the lives of Bohemians in this country: those not naturalized will become technically alien enemies. In France, England, Canada, special measures have been taken by the authorities to except Bohemians (Czechs) from the restrictions applied to alien enemies. All the Allies have recognized the Bohemian people to be a friendly people. Let the United States government do likewise.

## *Vain Dreams of Federalized Austria.*

The military aim of the Allies is the destruction of the armies of Germany. When once the western front is broken through and the German hordes are driven across the Rhine, not only Germany, but Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey will have to accept whatever terms the democracies of the west may lay down. To gain such a complete military triumph Britain, France and Italy are straining all their strength, and the United States is organizing its tremendous resources of men and material to give Germany the finishing blow.

But the defeat of German armies is not in itself the end for which the world is making all these sacrifices. It is but the means to an end, an end which might be expressed in various formulas, but of which the best definition is that given by President Wilson — to make the world safe for democracy. A new Europe, a new world, must arise out of the blood-soaked ruins of the old order of things; no emperor shall ever again throw millions of obedient subjects at unoffending neighbors to commit murder and destruction; no nation shall in the future set itself up as a lordly race to impose its kultur and its dominion over other nations. Democracy within the state and democracy between states is to be the ruling principle of the new order which will be set up after Germany is defeated.

The exact manner in which the democratic reconstruction shall be maintained and guaranteed is not within the scope of this article. But everyone realizes that the death of millions of brave men would be in vain, if Germany, having suffered a total defeat in the present war should still have the strength or the inclination to challenge civilization once more, after a shorter or longer breathing spell. It is, indeed, very likely that a decisive defeat will bring the German people to their senses, that they will give up the idolatrous worship of the state and of the emperor, that they will be cured by the blood letting of their colossal conceit and their dreams of conquest. But the issues are too tremendous to be trusted entirely to the probability of a change of heart of the German people. Peace based upon Germany's complete defeat must leave the aggressor in such a condition that he will not be powerful enough to make another throw at world domination.

This is not a plea for the destruction or dismemberment of the German nation. No sane man suggests anything of the sort. However great may be the hatred which Germany's cruelties, barbarities and treacheries have aroused against her, all thinking men in the great coalition of nations know that the very principles for which they fight demand the survival of Germany substantially within her present boundaries and with her present population. Small slices will be cut off from her territory in the east and in the west: Poland will be reunited and France will regain her lost provinces, but the Germany of the Germans will remain.

How then shall Germany be weakened so as to be impotent for aggression? Not by garrisoning her cities permanently by foreign soldiers, not by extorting from her a crushing indemnity, but by taking away from her the allies whose resources have enabled her to keep up the fight against the greater part of the world. Do the people in this country realize clearly that the kaiser controls in addition to sixty-eight millions of his own subjects also the subjects of his so-called allies numbering eighty millions? Germany has grown tremendously in area since the declaration of war. Disregarding for the present her great conquests she has increased in size from a country occupying 208,000 square miles into an empire of 1,200,000 square miles. André Cheradame, a great authority on the subject of Central Europe, describes the relations of Germany and her allies in this manner:

"In the Allied nations people continue to speak of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, as though these states remained just as they were before the war. Now these terms have no longer any relation to reality. The Quadruple Alliance of Central Europe is simply a great illusion, studiously fostered by William II, for by its means his plans are vastly facilitated. As a matter of fact, Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are not the allies, but the vassals of Berlin, and their influence with her is less than that of Saxony or Bavaria. The rulers at Constantinople, Sofia, Vienna and Budapest are simply marionettes moved by threads which are pulled by Berlin according to her strategic needs."

Of the vassals of Germany by far the most important one is the empire of the Hapsburgs. The fate of Turkey is sealed. There is no difference of opinion in the councils of the Allies as to the necessity of driving the Turk from Europe and giving freedom to the Christian and Arab subjects of the Osmanli. Bulgaria is important only as a link connecting the Central Empires with Constantinople. When Germany loses control of the Austrian territories, Bulgaria loses its value as a pawn in German plans of expansion. The crux of the problem of making Germany incapable of further aggression is the disposition to be made of the fifty million unwilling subjects of the Hapsburg throne.

The obvious solution is to dissolve Austria-Hungary into its component elements. It cannot be repeated too often that the Dual Monarchy is not a national state, like France or Italy or England or Germany, but a conglomeration of nations and fragments of nations, bound together solely by common subjection to a dynasty. Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary would not be a crime; it would be a logical execution of the principle for which the Allies are fighting — the right of each adult nation, great and small, to self-determination. That was the solution adopted by the Allies, when they made known their peace terms in January of this year. And that, no doubt, will be the solution favored by America, when this country is ready to state in concrete form its own peace terms. When the President declared in favor of an independent Poland, when he stated over and over again that no nation shall live under a sovereignty under which it does not want to live, he added his weighty judgment to the decisions of the statesmen of the Entente that Austria-Hungary shall not survive this war.

The disappearance of the Hapsburg empire from the roll of Great Powers will be the biggest change, at any rate as far as maps are concerned, worked by the cataclysm of the great war. It is not strange, therefore, that men of a conservative turn of mind, men who do not realize the tremendous changes bound to come as the result of the war, as well as men who have axes to grind, hesitate to approve such a radical transformation of political boundaries. They minimize the evils and the dangers of the present situation; they are afraid of the unknown quantities, the national states which would take the place of

the Dual Monarchy. And they suggest a less startling alternative, a plan which in their opinion will effect all that the dismemberment of Austria would accomplish. They want Austria federalized; they want the races of Austria now clamoring for independence to be constituted into self-governing units of a federal empire would not be under the thumb of Berlin.

The defenders of Austrian integrity are many and their motives are most diverse. Says Henry Wickham Steed in the *Edinburgh Review*: "The cry 'no dismemberment of Austria' has been echoed in the strangest quarters. Roman Catholic 'Clericals' and the Russian Soviet, the Italian 'official' (or Germanophile) Socialists and British and French Conservatives have vied with British Pacifists, sundry Radicals and the organs of international finance in repeating it." The objections and obstacles to their alternative of a federal Austria are most weighty. The sole reliance of the champions of Austria in the feasibility of the plan is the new emperor. There was reason to believe that Charles would look with favor upon a remodelling of the constitutional frame of his dual monarchy. Although he took the oath to observe the constitution of Hungary, in Austria he postponed taking the oath so as to leave himself some freedom of action. And he did make overtures to his discontented and disloyal Slav and Latin subjects, holding out the hope that they would be placed on an equality with the privileged German and Magyar minorities and that concessions would be made to their national aspirations. But his offers were spurned by the Bohemians and Slovaks, by the Jugoslavs, by the Poles, and the only result of his efforts at conciliating the desires of the oppressed majority was a great outcry by the two ruling races, Germans in Austria and Magyars in Hungary.

On November 22d the Associated Press had this dispatch from Amsterdam: "Replying to an interpellation in the Hungarian lower house regarding the Czech attacks on Hungary in the Austrian Reichsrat, Dr. Wekerle, the premier, is quoted in a Budapest message as saying he was authorized to announce that the king would frustrate all efforts directed against the lawful independence or territorial integrity of the Hungarian state. Hungary, said Dr. Wekerle, could never consent to a division of the country into separate nationality areas." There does not seem to have



been much editorial comment in American papers on this important announcement. It is virtually the end of all dreams of a federalized Austria-Hungary. The young emperor who was expected to emancipate his realm from William's control by giving a share in the government to elements hostile to Germany has publicly abandoned all plans for a thorough reform. He pledged himself not to permit interference with the dualistic structure of his inheritance, not to tolerate efforts to give equal rights to the majority of the people of Hungary. Federalization of Austria alone, even if it were not vetoed by the Germans of Austria, would be a farce, if the process cannot be applied to Hungary. The artificial splitting of the Slavs to enable Germans and Magyars to rule would continue. The Czechs in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia would remain separated from the Slovaks of northwestern Hungary; the Slovenians, Croats and Serbians would be still divided between Austria, Hungary and the annexed provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not to speak of the Serbians of Serbia. The Little Russians of northeastern Hungary would still be cut off from their brothers in Galicia, as they in their turn would be kept separated from the people of Ukraine, and the Roumanian subjects of Charles would be still Germanized in Bukovina and Magyarized in Transylvania. The plan of a federalized Austria was nothing but a dream from the very beginning; the authoritative pronouncement just made in the parliament of Budapest should make that much plain to all who do not defend Austria from ulterior motives.

It is too late in the day to save the empire of Charles and Zita. It is not worth saving. Americans, especially, who are democrats and believe in the rights of peoples, not in the inherited rights of monarchs, have no reason to lift a finger to prolong the life in an artificial state, the very existence of which violates the principles of the founders of the American nation. A Frenchman, Louis Eisenmann, whose standard work "Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois", entitles him to speak with authority on the subject of the Hapsburg monarchy, wrote recently in *La Nation Tchèque*:

"The Austria-Hungary which people want to save is the dynastic Austria-Hungary. It is a question of preserving an empire for the House of Hapsburg. It is to the interest of a reigning family that people would sacrifice — unwittingly and cer-

tainly without wishing it — thirty million souls whose ardent sympathy goes to the Entente; and would sacrifice with them the whole fruit of this terrible war, the future of Europe and of the world. . . .

"There is a young couple, without great intelligence, without merit, who have not made great mistakes or committed great crimes, but who are overwhelmed by a heavy inheritance of crime and error. Around them stand twenty, fifty or a hundred families without nationality, without a real fatherland, cosmopolitan as people were two or three centuries ago, a last refuge of a tradition which elsewhere has yielded to the new spirit of the modern world. It is this group, this group alone, dynasty and aristocracy, that makes up Austria-Hungary. And we are asked to make peace with that, and for its sake to give up our ideals, sacrifice our friends and prepare our own undoing."

You cannot reform the empire of the Hapsburgs. As long as Austria-Hungary continues to exist, it will stand for the rule of a dynasty based on the privileged position of two minority races, and Germany will command the resources of another empire larger in area and almost as populous as the Hohenzollern empire. If you want to draw Germany's fangs and smash her Central Europe schemes, replace the dynastic state on the Danube with national states and erect instead of the present government by bayonets governments based on consent of the governed.

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Several regiments on the Italian front have refused to obey orders and by way of punishment have been sent to Palestine. So the Czechs that once fought to win the Holy Land from the infidels are expected to fight now to save Jerusalem for the Turks.

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There is one sure way of definitely limiting the power for ill of Germany, and that is the destruction of Austria-Hungary and thereby of the Central European bloc; if we wish to strike Germany for our purposes in a vital spot, we must strike at Austria-Hungary.

A. H. E. Taylor in the Oct.

Contemporary Review.

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Although Kramář and his colleagues have been pardoned, they have not been forgiven. The Austrian Treasury is suing Karel Kramář and Dr. Alois Rašín for six and a half million crowns damage which, it is claimed, the state has suffered through their treasonable acts.

## *Fine Arts in Bohemia.*

(Continued)

By Dr. J. E. S. Vojan.

The Bohemian, or rather the Prague barocco period closes in the middle of the eighteenth century. Of the great artists who created this epoch Brandl died in 1738, Rainer 1743, Brokof 1731, Braun 1737, Dienzenhofer 1752; after that fine arts in Bohemia rapidly declined. The causes were political. The two principal supporters of art were the church and the nobility. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II the state greatly increased its power at the expense of the other two elements. The great territorial nobles became less important than the bureaucrats. Secularization of many churches and convents, carried out by Joseph, deprived the painters and sculptors of regular and wealthy patrons, while the nobles gravitated more and more to Vienna to be in attendance at the imperial court, the center of all fashion and power. The less important country gentlemen, scared by the aggressive accents of the French revolution and the increase of democratic tendencies, vegetated upon their estates and abandoned all inclination to patronize art. Then came the dark days of Napoleonic wars. First the ragged armies of revolutionary France, inspired by the Marseillaise, smashed the reputations of the most famous Austrian generals, and then appeared the scarlet star of Bonaparte. The laughing days of rococo were over; guitars played by great nobles and songs of high-born shepherdesses were silenced, as every day brought evil reports from the battlefields.

As these great events were taking place, Prague lost its bustling life, squares and streets were empty, the old world was in death throes, and the new world had not yet taken shape. The third new estate, the estate of citizens, was in the process of creation, but some decades elapsed before it was able to undertake the nurture of art.

We come here to an unexpected event. At the very end of the century, in 1796, there was founded the "Society of Patriotic Friends of Art in Prague." Eight noblemen united to "elevate the decadent artistic taste, to stop further export of works of art still remaining in the country and to es-

tablish a picture gallery and school of art." These men, were not, of course, interested in the liberation of Czech art from slavery to foreign schools, a state of affairs existing since the days of barocco, nor did they intend to cultivate the fertile home soil so that it might give growth to a vigorous, genuinely Bohemian art. Their motives were altogether educational, humanitarian and in the general interest of higher civilization. The founders desired to give a tone to the taste of the burgher classes and to raise new generations of competent artists. At the head of the society was Count František Šternberk. A public art gallery was organized out of works donated and loaned, and in 1800 a school of art was founded under the pretentious name of the Painters' Academy. Both institutions are still in existence. The gallery is now in the Rudolfinum, a beautiful home of art erected between the years 1876 and 1886 by the Bohemian Savings Bank at a cost of \$800,000 in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary. The Painters' Academy, made a state institution in 1885, has been housed in a splendid building above the Stromovka Park in 1902.

The first directors of the Academy were not Bohemian and they did not lead their pupils to Bohemian art. The gifted scholars were sent to Rome to study, and so their paintings had an international character. The school produced paintings, but true enthusiasm, the sacred fire, were lacking. Those early days can show no great painter. The first director, and at first the only profesor, was a protégé of the prince-bishops of Passau, Josef Bergler; twenty-nine years of his life spent in Bohemia brought no lasting results for true art, but his contemporaries showered praise upon him.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century František Mánes, a journeyman miller, came to Prague from Radnice near Rokycany. His biblical name gave rise later to a legend that his family was of Holland origin, but no proofs of this have been found. Two sons of František Mánes and his wife Dorothy became painters: Antonín made a name for himself as a painter of

landscapes, Václav as a painter of historical scenes. Both impressed their individuality on the Academy. Václav was for a time director, after Waldherr, Bergler's successor. Antonín was professor of landscape painting. The latter had a son, named Joseph, born May 12, 1820, whom fate selected for the founder of modern Bohemian painting.

Little Joseph grew up in an atmosphere of art. He saw father and uncle busy drawing, painting, engraving and lithographing: the talk at home turned on art, and friends who called at the Mánes home were all artists. As early as 1835 Joseph was enrolled in the Academy. His education was carried on in German, for at that time everything in Prague was German and in the homes of better class Czech conversation was an exception up to the year 1848. This fact alone proves what a gigantic work was done by the patriots who awakened the Czech nation to a new life. And yet the citizens of Prague were in a sense patriotic Bohemians, for all of them, Czechs and Germans, looked upon Bohemia as their fatherland and were proud of its noble history. Of course all work tending to strengthen the national consciousness had to be done under an innocent guise. Metternich's absolutism suppressed with a heavy hand anything savoring of freedom. Upon Metternich's fall in 1848 the new Bohemian patriotism took Prague as if by storm, but at the same time the Germans ceased to look upon themselves as citizens of Bohemia and took up a hostile attitude toward everything Czech. But let us return for a moment to the thirties.

In 1837 occurred the first significant event in Mánes' life. Countess Leopoldina Silva-Tarouca, daughter of Count František Šternberk, came to Prague to live with her son Bedřich. The young man inherited from his grandfather the love of art, was fond of drawing since his childhood and now in Prague he got for his drawing master the father of Mánes. The count was 21 years old. Joseph Mánes was 17, both possessed of a soft, sensitive temperament, and they became fast friends for life. When Bedřich later became a priest in Moravia, the Moravian seat of the Silva-Tarouca family, the castle of Čechy, was Mánes' haven of refuge. Count Bedřich Tarouca was an enthusiastic Bohemian patriot and soon made the young artist acquainted with the aims of the national movement.

It was a strange whim of chance that a young nobleman should have shown the Prague student of art the road to his people.

Around the year 1844 the new life in Prague gave many signs of soon bursting into bloom. The youngest artistic generation, headed by Karel Svoboda, began to lay stress on nationality as well as art, and Mánes would surely have become one of the leading spirits of his school, if he had not gone to Munich after his father's death. It is evident that the "patriots" hoped for much from Mánes, for we find in the "Česká Včela" (Bohemian Bee) a remark that "removal to Munich surely will not prevent Mánes from keeping up his relations with the younger artists and countrymen from we expect a new epoch in Bohemian art that was once so glorious."

In Munich Mánes' genius matured. He came back strong, virile, selfconfident, all within the space of three years spent in the city on the Isar which at that time cultivated art feverishly under the passionate patronage of King Louis. In the Bavarian city, too, Mánes became a conscious Czech patriot; he insisted on writing his name with a dash over the second letter and in conversation always defended earnestly his Bohemian country. Ferd. J. Náprstek tells us that in a company of artists which he once attended in the city of Munich, the famous Schwanthaler speaking of Mánes said that Mánes always was fighting in defense of the Czechs by word and deed. Early in 1847 Mánes returned to Prague, and when on April 30, 1848, "Slovanská Lípa" (Slav Lindentree) came to be organized to be the center of the political and democratic regeneration in Bohemia, he became at once a member. It will be remembered that Palacký, Rieger, Erben and other great men sat on the executive committee. When in November, 1848, the Union of Decorative Artists of Bohemia was established, a society at first including in its membership Germans, but soon purely Czech and still in existence, Mánes was commissioned to carry out the first work undertaken by the society, namely the publication of portraits of the chief Bohemian statesmen. The leaders of the nation were at that time in Kroměříž in attendance upon the first Austrian parliament. Mánes came there in the first part of January to make the portraits of Dr. A. M. Pinkas, Dr. Ant. Strobach and Dr. F. L. Rieger. These three pencil drawings are the first fruits of Mánes' genius. The best

of them is Rieger's portrait. The young, fiery statesman, bold, clever, uncompromising, who had just ignited the enthusiasm of his people and drew the attention of all Europe by his speech of January 6, 1849, on the first paragraph of the proposed constitution "All authority in the state proceeds from the people", this man lives before us in Mánes' drawing as a veritable tribune of the people. A noble, high forehead, large, glowing eye, the whole body with the closed first reveals a great orator. February 8, a month before the parliament

was dissolved, Mánes was through with his work. With his first portraits he excelled all that had been done before him in that line and reached a height of accomplishment not exceeded for decades to come. Only in Max Švabinský have the Czechs a portrait painter equal to the great Mánes.

Thus we have reached the threshold of the most modern period of the Bohemian Fine Arts. A separate sketch of this epoch will appear in the new volume of the Bohemian Review.

(To be continued.)

## *American Interests and Bohemian Question.*

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American policy in this war may be defined as the preservation and the extension of democracy, the formation of some sort of world government, and the destruction of Pan-Germanism. It is a policy which adequately protects the interests of the United States, defends her institutions and offers aid to the nations of the world to free themselves from autocracy. By the second, she guarantees the freedom of the seas for all nations and hopes to do away with the fear of sudden attack and of overarmament by land and sea. By the third, she hopes to make an end of a military autocracy which through national selfishness arms nations and consolidates empires with the single aim of world dominion.

The United States will be — if she is not now — one of the greatest workshops of industry in the world. In fact, she is another England on a grander scale, and in the future will be just as dependent for the transportation over the seas of raw products for her population and for her factories. Soon her soil, like England's will be unable to support her population, as indeed her soil can now no longer yield forth sufficient raw products to supply her factories. A billion dollars' worth of raw products for manufacturers was imported into the United States in the course of the last year. American exports are now preponderantly manufactured goods, and this preponderance will increase steadily with time. Therefore the freedom of the seas and open markets for manufactured goods—not markets closed by economic leagues—are a vital necessity to the United States. What-

ever endangers these interests endangers American democracy and American industrial life; the first is political and social, the latter is economic.

When the autocracy and militarism of Germany and her offspring, Pan-Germanism, endangered these interests, the United States became involved in the Great War. It is at this point that the Bohemian Question comes within the scope of American interests. The independence of Bohemia has been urged as the first step in the destruction of Pan-Germanism; it would be the first barrier to the expansion of German militarism and economic selfishness. A restored Serbia or a South Slavic state would be the second obstacle; the Dardanelles, neutralized under international control or Russian, the third; the partitioning of Asia Minor, the fourth.

The power of Modern Germany is the result of organization and method drilled into the modern German by autocracy and militarism. In this way, the Prussian army was created and Prussia's population made submissive. In this way, the German empire was brought under the rule of the Prussian junker. In this way, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were bound to Prussian Germany. In this way, the Pan-German plan has almost been realized.

What is the aim of the German government, which officially denies Pan-German aspirations, but actually carries them out at each opportunity? It is certain, from German utterances, official and unofficial, that the least which the German government aims to do is to make the balance of

power in the world favorable to herself. At most, she hopes to dominate the world. This can only be accomplished by the realization of the plans of the Pan-Germans.

Pan-Germanism comprehends the incorporation or close alliance of the peoples of Germanic stock—the Germans, the Austrian Germans, the Dutch, and the Flemings of Belgium at least, if not also the Scandinavians. It looks forward evidently to two definite economic auxiliaries — a northern union, the Scandinavian states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden before which the Pan-Germans parade the menace of the two giants, Great Britain and Russia; and a southern union in the Balkans and the Turkish Empire. This important land complex which stretches from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf is not connected—and perhaps never will be by the most brutal methods of denationalization — by a common language or common institutions, but by railroads and waterways. Its chief artery is the Hamburg to Bagdad Railroad with its possible African and Asiatic connections. It possesses access to all the important seas of the world and through its grasp upon the Dardanelles it spans one of the greatest of trade routes. With its unrivaled waterways — the Rhine and the Danube — it surpasses any other area its size in the world. It presupposes the economic vassalage of Russia, now almost wholly dependent on the passage of the Dardanelles and the vassalage of France, whose future on the continent would be forever blighted.

Russia has endeavored to reach the ice-free shores of the Pacific, but was checked by Japan in the Russo-Japanese war. England blocked the way through Persia. Germany, England and the Scandinavian states block the way through the Baltic and the Sound. Now Pan-Germanism stands on guard and offers vassalage through the Dardanelles. It may safely be asserted that as long as Pan-Germanism is not crushed or a world state is not established and the Dardanelles are neither internationalized nor Russian, so long will Russia have a good reason for disturbing the status quo, in other words, for war. Russian expansion or yearning for an ice-free port is nothing else than a clear manifestation that Russia is organically incomplete.

The British Empire, whose spinal cord is the trade route from England to India by way of the Mediterranean Sea, would be vitally menaced. Egypt and India would lie

in the path of Pan-Germanism in its African or Asiatic extensions.

Lost in such a vast empire, the Czechs would be Germanized and the capital of the colossus perhaps moved to Prague as a compromise between Berlin and Vienna and because of its central geographical position. The Czechs are, therefore, conscious of the ultimate significance which Pan-Germanism has in store for them. Would an independent Bohemia fighting for her liberty, even though she succumbed, be worse off than one which was gradually to await absorption of the type intended for Prussian Poland?

Economic jealousies have beclouded the issue of the Bagdad Railroad. Too much has been said and written about the great commercial trade-route revolution that it would bring about; how the oversea route for fast express and light traffic would be diverted from the seas through Pan-Germany and that the railroad should be checked for that reason. Alas, its completion can only be retarded; it can not be prevented permanently. It is in the order of things. Nor is it worthy of the opponents of Germany to bewail her possession of the route or her favorable location with reference to it. In the defense of their interests they can advance the strongest argument in their opposition to the expansion of militarism and autocracy as exemplified by Germany. A democratic Germany interested in the building of such a road cannot be a menace. Some sort of world government and a democratized Germany would put an end to the danger. What the Allies are fighting is not the normal economic evolution — for they cannot prevent that any more than they can prevent the change of the seasons — but rather the political aspects, militarism and autocracy, which give this attempt on the part of Germany to wrest the economic leadership of the world its dangerous and destructive character.

American interests and policy demand the destruction of Pan-Germanism because it propagates Prussianism, the subjection of nations and races, the extension of exclusive economic understandings, and exalts German nationalism above the common interests of mankind. If Pan-Germanism were victorious, there would be only the seas to check it from being transferred in the course of time to the American hemisphere. How long would the seas be free then? Hence the destruction of Pan-Germanism is the first step, the creation of a

league of nations or a world state the second step in American policy so far as Europe is concerned. The remaining questions and unrighted wrongs, as President Wilson has so rightly pointed out can only be solved after these two items in the programme of American and Allied policy are attained. It is clear, therefore, that America is at one on the essentials of the big task before the democratic world. And that is sufficient so far as Bohemia is concerned.

But how may Pan-Germanism be destroyed? Evidently its accomplishment has already been outlined by the powers. It presupposes the defeat of Germany and her allies on the battlefield and the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. By the former, the belief in the invincibility of German arms and the leadership of the caste of war lords will be destroyed, by the latter, the most docile vassal of Germany will be taken away from her.

Why cannot a chastened and democratized Austria-Hungary answer the purpose? Why must she be dismembered? The simple answer is that in her present make-up, she can only be a tool of Germany; an independent policy is out of the question. The constitutions which govern the Dual Kingdom of Austria-Hungary give the real power to three elements, the German dynasty of the Hapsburgs, and the German minority in Austria and the Magyar minority in Hungary. This arrangement is as much a farce as is the German constitution which places the power in the hands of the Hohenzollerns, the junkers of Prussia and the captains of industry under the leadership of the princes of the Bundesrat. The German Reichstag, the Austrian Reichsrat, and the Hungarian Lower House are debating societies, where things are sometimes said, but where anything is rarely done.

Many plans have been drawn up and attempts have been made to remedy this intolerable condition which is a standing menace to peace as long as it lasts, because it is founded on injustice. The dynasty, German by nationality, tenaciously holds to the property conception of the state — the state belongs to it. And the state is a medley of nations and races of which at least six are of vital importance in any attempted solution of the problem: the Czechs and the Slovaks, the Germans, the Poles, the Magyars, the Serbo-Croats, and the Roumanians — neither of which has a numerical majority in the whole state or in either of the two component parts, but whose total pop-

ulation is preponderantly Slavic. In the past, only militarism has held this mosaic realm together under the domination of the Germans. On the whole, four solutions have been tried or advanced thus far. They are, Centralism (or a united consolidated state), Dualism (the present form), Trialism or Quadrupleism (by the inclusion of a new state like Bohemia or a reconstructed Poland or a new South Slavic state), and Federalism.

Centralism under absolutism has been tried and failed. It was carried out to its logical completeness by Joseph II (1780-1790). In its absolutist form, it must now be considered obsolete. But there are hopes among some Germans that centralism may be combined with federalism in which the essentials of unity and federalism may be maintained. For this another Bismarck is necessary, for it cannot be accomplished except by blood and iron. Above all, the Magyars will oppose this solution unless the dominant share, which the Austrian Germans wish, be handed to them. Not only would it mean the subjection of the other nations of the empire, but internationally the empire would be the tool of Germany as it is now.

Dualism has been tried and found wanting. It is founded on the injustice of the rule of the minority. The domination of the minority of Germans in Austria over the majority of Slavs and of the minority of Magyars in Hungary over a majority of Slavs, Roumanians, and Germans is not a foundation on which a durable peace may be built. How can the present Dual Kingdom be democratized, as some of her publicists now proclaim is becoming the state, and the domination of majorities still be retained? No careful student of Austro-Hungarian politics can believe that the present dominant minorities will commit suicide. It is easier to give them independence than to ask them to accept an equal place among six or seven where formerly two held sway.

Before the war, Trialism is said to have been the dream of the murdered Archduke. At times, it was rumored that Bohemia would be the new state added to give counterpoise to the arrogant Magyar state. Later, a new South Slavic state, which meant the incorporation of Serbia, was mentioned as the third state in this trialism. Naturally enough any attempts to trialize Austria-Hungary will meet with the stern opposition of Hungary. It would

not be a peaceful solution. A new Poland might be substituted for Bohemia or the South Slavic state or Trialism might be changed to a combination of four states — Quadrupleism — but the main objection would still hold good. The Germans of Austria would endeavor to increase the membership of the combination as long as they could control it against the Magyars, and the latter would resist by force, if necessary. It is evident that Trialism or Quadrupleism is doomed to failure at the hands of the Magyars and such other elements in Austria-Hungary as would be injured by the new combination. At best, it would be a temporary makeshift.

Federalism presupposes equality or a measure of equality on the part of the nations which make up the Hapsburg empire. If the principle of federalism be honestly carried out, it will mean the end of German and Magyar domination. The Hapsburg dynasty fears the federal government would either slip out of its grasp or that the empire might easily dissolve and it be unable to find the force necessary to hold the state together. A federation is in principle opposed, therefore, by these three elements, thus far the lords of the empire's destiny. It is certain that federal Austria-Hungary would be much weaker from a military point of view and hence would not be to Germany's liking, which would employ all possible means to prevent a just federalism. The Slavs might at some crucial moment at least prevent a German alliance or assistance to Germany, even if they might not be able to have positive control of foreign policy. In short, the obstacles to the formation of a state like a federal Austria which could encourage a durable peace would be insurmountable. They would be immense if each nationality were gladly willing to enter such a federation, but to form one against the interests of the vested elements in power would spell failure.

Since Centralism, Dualism, Trialism, and Federalism have either been failures or are impracticable, make unstable the peace of Europe, and offer no permanent obstacle to Pan-Germanism, they are unacceptable from the American point of view. A just federation could alone give the nations of Austria-Hungary their chance to live, but the statesman who can mould the Danubian Monarchy into a federation has not yet appeared. In fact, the solution of the whole problem seems far more simple when it is

preceded by dismemberment. The old order retains too many vivid memories of the power which must vanish when democracy makes its home where the Austrian Monarchy formerly held sway.

Hence dismemberment seems to be the only permanent solution. Its main outlines have often been traced. Bohemia with Moravia and Slovakia would form one unit; the Poles of Austria would be joined to a restored Poland, the Ruthenians to an autonomous Little Russia in the new federal Russian Republic, the Roumanians of Transylvania to a restored Roumania, the Magyars, shorn of their subjects, might form a state of their own. The Slovenians, Serbians and Croatians, might form the much talked of South Slavic state. The Germans of Austria might be incorporated with Germany in part or as a whole. If in part, then a small eastern strip would be handed over to Bohemia and the new South Slavic state to form a bridge for purposes of economic intercourse. This would be necessary as a precaution and only if a world state were not formed. In such a case, an alliance with the new South Slavic state and alliances with France, Poland and Russia would be advisable. On the other hand, with the existence of a sufficient guarantee in world government, neither the Austrian connecting strip nor the alliances would be in order.

It is clear then that Austria-Hungary should be dismembered and that a league of nations will better guarantee the peace of mid-Europe against the encroachments of Pan-Germanism. American interests and policy oppose a balance of power which at best can only be temporary and which periodically brings those participating in it into crises or wars. We may, therefore, say that American interests coincide with the best solution of the difficulties confronting that part of the world and incidentally they come wholly within the desires of the Czechs.

It has been argued that the economic life of Bohemia will be stifled by the establishment of her independence, because now she is protected by the Austrian tariff and in the future would share in the tariff of Pan-Germany, if that were created. Those who argue in that way ignore the comparative wealth of the various parts of the empire. They do not know that Bohemia's taxes have paid for most of the wars of the Hapsburg empire from the sixteenth century down into our own; that she possesses

the bulk of industry of the empire; that her growth has been retarded by the capitalistic intrigues or high finance of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, from whose directorship Czechs, though owning one-third of the shares, have been excluded. It is a known fact that the aggressive expansionist policy of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans during the ten years preceding the war destroyed Bohemia's greatest market, the Balkans. The Balkan peoples and the Turks boycotted Austrian goods, that is Bohemian goods, while the Czechs protested in vain against a foreign policy which could lead only to war. It is doubtful whether as an independent state Czecho-Slovakia would fare any worse than she has in the past. She has fought the wars of a German dynasty, which since 1879 has been the vassal of Germany, she has paid far out of proportion for all the costly wars of the empire,

she has suffered economically worse than if she were surrounded wholly by German territory.

The solution of the Bohemian Question has become a vital American interest and should find a definite place in American policy. Once more may America stand up for democracy and the rights of small nations and, at the same time, help to destroy the ugliest dream of the ages — Pan-Germanism—and help to build a just federation for all the nations of the world. In the words of President Wilson, "These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

## *F. L. Rieger.*

In these days, when the question of Bohemian independence is to the fore, the minds of all true sons of Bohemia often revert to the former fights made for the restoration of ancient Bohemian glory. The most recent of them was the great struggle carried on fifty years ago for the recognition of the historical rights of the Bohemian lands under the leadership of František Ladislav Rieger.

Rieger's long life spans the days of Czech "resurrection" with the most recent times. When he was born in 1818, Bohemia had the appearance of a thoroughly Germanized country. The government was German, the privileged classes were German, the capital and most of the country towns were, superficially at least, German. When Rieger was a young man, it was rare indeed to hear a well-dressed man speak in Czech on the streets of Prague. What a contrast with the closing years of Rieger's life! In 1903, the year of his death, Prague was a city of half a million, Czech to the core, center of a brilliant Slav culture, with a great university, a splendid literature and a strong political life.

Rieger was born in northeastern Bohemia in the small town of Semily. His father was a miller, and so had been his ancestors before him since the seventeenth century. In spite of his German name Rieger came of good Czech stock, of that peasant class which saved the whole race and reconquered the cities of Bohemia. It was the custom in those days, and for many years later, to send young children to board with acquaintances in German districts so as to learn German early. Little František was only eight years old, when he was sent by his parents to Schumburg for this purpose, and at the age of ten was admitted into the Jičín gymnasium, in which the instruction was German, as was the

case with all the higher schools in Bohemia at that period. Later he went to the academic gymnasium of Prague, the rector of which was Joseph Jungmann, the man who more than any other single man brought about the revival of Bohemian literature. At the early age of seventeen Rieger composed patriotic poems for the "Květy", and coming into contact with the enthusiastic men who were full of devotion to the despised Czech race and language he determined to put all his strength into the service of his people and to do some notable deed to bring the Czech nation into something more like equality with the great nations of the west.

It was the father's intention to give his son a sound liberal education and then have him take up the family trade of miller. But young Rieger persuaded his parents to allow him to take up the study of law. That profession was indicated for him by his extraordinary oratorical ability. He had a splendid, resonant baritone voice, a complete command of the choice, pure, undefiled Czech language, and a poetic temper, which, based upon a solid foundation of culture and wide reading made his speeches brilliant, fiery and convincing. He was a true tribune of the people, but he never became a demagogue. It is noteworthy also that he possessed the command of more than half a dozen languages. He was as mighty an orator in German as in Bohemian, and he spoke fluently French, Italian, Polish and Russian, in addition to a fair knowledge of English and Serbian.

Before the year 1848 the talents of Rieger found little expression. There was no political life in Austria under Metternich. In 1847 Rieger received the degree of doctor of law and took a lengthy trip into the south Slav lands and Italy. He was in



Rome, when the French revolution of February 1848 sent him post-haste back into his own country. When he got to Vienna, he found there a delegation of the St. Václav committee of Prague, the first political organ of the Bohemian people in more than two centuries. They came to Vienna to negotiate with the new cabinet for the recognition of the historical rights of the Bohemian crown and the granting of constitutional government. Right here began the great task to which Rieger dedicated all the remaining years of his life, the task of obtaining such concessions from the emperor as would make of Bohemia a national state under the constitutional rule of the Hapsburgs. Rieger failed, but not because he was not a leader big enough; he failed, because the word of the Hapsburgs could not be trusted, and because the problem could be solved only by a gen-



Fr. Lad. Rieger.

eral European reconstruction in which the Austrian empire would disappear.

In those great days of 1848, when all things seemed possible, and when the hitherto little-noticed literary revival of Bohemia burst out suddenly into a full national and political life, Rieger joined Palacký, the historian of Bohemia, in opposing the Frankfurt parliament. The German Bund, the loose federation of the princes, had gone to pieces, and a parliamentary government was to be created for all the German territories, including the possessions of Prussia and Austria. In the German lands of the Hapsburgs elections were actually carried out for representatives to the Frankfurt parliament, but when the emissaries from Frankfurt came to Bohemia, as one of the German lands, they received the answer that Bohemia would have nothing to

do with the affairs of Germany. In the meantime great concessions were secured from Emperor Ferdinand. There was to be a separate Bohemian executive and a Bohemian parliament. But riots broke out in Prague, and Prince Windischgraetz, the military commander, took advantage of them to bombard the city and hold up the execution of the imperial concessions. The scene of the political fight moved from Prague to Vienna to the new Austrian parliament, and later to Kroměříž in Moravia, where the parliament had to flee before the violence of the Vienna mobs. Rieger was elected by seven districts to the imperial parliament. There his remarkable gift of oratory and debate made him at once a prominent figure. The most famous of his speeches was the one pronounced on January 8, 1849, in justification of Section One of the proposed fundamental laws: "All power proceeds from the people." But while the deputies were debating, the armies of the new emperor Francis Joseph gained first a great victory in Italy, then with the help of Czar Nicholas I. crushed the Hungarian rebellion, and the first Austrian parliament was sent home. Again for more than ten years the old absolutist regime returned, and Rieger became a political suspect who was not allowed to lecture at the university or publish a newspaper.

During these days of political reaction Rieger married. His wife Marie was the daughter of that still greater figure in modern Bohemia, František Palacký, who had taught the people to love their history, and to be proud of the name Czech. Palacký is the only man to whom the Bohemians give the title of "father of his nation", while his son-in-law Rieger bears the proud title, also alone of all the Czech statesmen, of "leader of his nation." During the days of 1848 Rieger was only one of the leaders, Palacký and Havlíček taking precedence of him. But in the new constitutional era which opened with the defeat of Austria in 1859 he was for thirty years the one great leader of his people in their political fight for self-determination.

In October 1860 Francis Joseph published a so-called "diploma" by which he bound himself irrevocably to share the government with the representatives of the people. The principal legislative power was to be vested in the diets of the several kingdoms and lands subject to his sceptre, while certain specified affairs common to the empire were to be handled in an imperial council (Reichsrat) to which the diets sent their representatives. This was a constitutional program which coincided to a large extent with the desires of the Czech people.

But one of the many somersaults for which the politics of Francis Joseph came to be famous, occurred only a few months afterward. In the following February the emperor issued a patent which was declared to be supplementary to the constitutional principles of the diploma, but which in reality changed the whole foundation of the Austrian constitutional structure. There was to be a twofold imperial parliament, wider and narrower, one to legislate in affairs common to all of the

monarchy, including Hungary, the other to legislate for the non-Hungarian lands of the emperor. At the same time the competence of the diets was summarily abbreviated and the Vienna parliament was made the real legislative body in all matters of importance. In other words, while the October diploma contemplated a federalistic Austria, the February patent decreed a centralized Austria with many indications of the coming dualism, the division of power between the Germans and the Magyars at the expense of the Slavs.

Rieger was elected to the Bohemian diet, and the diet sent him to the Vienna parliament. There he became the leader of the right, a party aiming at the federalization of Austria and the recognition of the separate place of the lands of the Bohemian crown within the Hapsburg monarchy. He had reached an agreement with the Bohemian nobility, and as long as he remained the leader of the Czech people, he adhered to this alliance with the great landholders who according to her conservative election laws held the balance of power in the Bohemian diet and occasionally in the parliament.

The first Austrian parliament under the present constitution had a centralistic majority. What was more important, the emperor listened to the advice of Schmerling, a German liberal whose ideal was to make Austria a German state ruled by commercial and industrial magnates of the cities. The Bohemian deputies could accomplish nothing under those conditions, and by remaining in the parliament would have recognized its legality. In March 1863 Czech deputies left the Reichsrat not to return for 16 years. The attention of Rieger during the first year of the famous passive opposition was directed to educational work at home. The National Theatre of Prague around which has grown up so much of the literary and musical art of Bohemia is primarily the result of the work of Rieger. Even before the revolutionary days of 1848, when the Czechs were ignored in their own capital, Rieger was the moving spirit in organizing a society for the building of a Czech National Theatre. In the sixties, when the Czechs and their allies, the historical Bohemian nobility, controlled the diet, Rieger secured an appropriation of 300,000 gulden for the building of a theatre worthy of the nation. His plans were not fully carried out until 1881, and the noble theatre now standing on the banks of the Vltava dates from 1883, after the first great theatre had been burned down. But a provisional building was erected by Rieger in November 1862, and since then drama and opera have been offered in Bohemian guise to the inhabitants of Prague without an interruption.

In 1865 a change occurred in Vienna. The centralizing ministry of Schmerling was dismissed, and the new premier, Count Richard Belcredi, was more favorable to the aspirations of the Czechs. Rieger organized a conference of Bohemian and Moravian leaders and submitted in their name a memorandum to Belcredi, stating the demands of the Bohemian

people. In the diet also he supported in a powerful speech an address to the emperor, as a result of which Francis Joseph for the second time promised to come to Prague and in assuming the ancient royal crown confirm the liberties of the kingdom. Then the war came by which Austria was thrust out of Germany, and Prussia definitely took the leading place until then enjoyed by the Hapsburgs in the old German empire. One result of the complete defeat of Austria was the necessity of satisfying the demands of the Magyars who threatened to repeat their rebellion of 1849. Francis Joseph without consulting the representatives of any race, upon the advice of his German ministers conceded the demands of the Magyars and changed fundamentally the whole structure of his empire. In place of the Austrian monarchy arose now the Austro-Hungarian dual empire, in one part of which the Germans were to rule, while the other part was turned over to the Magyar aristocracy. Only after the deed was done, did the emperor consent to submit it to the ratification of the "narrower" parliament, now the only assembly in Vienna, and in order to gain majority there, he dissolved refractory diets, like the diet of Bohemia, and by using every kind of governmental and dynastic pressure brought the big landholders to his side and secured the election of enough Reichsrat representatives to have the Hungarian compromise ratified. In the Bohemian diet the Czech party found itself in a minority, and so in 1867 the Czech deputies led by Rieger turned their backs on the Prague diet, as they had done four years before in the Vienna parliament.

By way of protest against this arbitrary change of the status of the Bohemian lands Palacký and Rieger headed an important Bohemian delegation to Moscow, where in 1867 the first Russian exposition was held. Since that time the eyes of the Czechs were constantly turned toward Russia in the hope that through her great power the condition of the Austrian Slavs would be ameliorated. Two years later he submitted a memorandum to the representative of the French government, outlining such a reconstruction of the Hapsburg empire, as would make of Austria an ally of France. Had the just demands of the Bohemians been granted, Austrian foreign policy would not have come under the tutelage of Germany, and without Austria Germany would never have dared to defy the world.

In 1870 Francis Joseph experienced another change of mind. Count Potocki was called to the head of the government, and as a first sign of the changed regime the Bohemian diet was again dissolved. The new diet had a Czech majority, and Rieger prepared an address to the emperor in which the Czechs agreed to attend the delegations, representing the whole empire, but not the Reichsrat the legality of which they would not recognize. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out, and it was due to Rieger who like all the Bohemians sympathized deeply with the French that the diet of Bohemia, the only parliamentary body

in all Europe, issued a dignified protest against the Prussian robbery of Alsace-Lorraine. Much of the sympathy which France today extends to the Bohemian cause is due to the memory of the Bohemian sympathy for France in her hour of defeat.

The days of 1870-71 witnessed the last Austrian crisis which gave promise of satisfying the demands of the Bohemians for freedom within Austria. Potocki resigned in 1871, but his successor, Count Hohenwart, was ready to make a compromise with the Bohemians similar to the one that had been concluded with the Magyars. The ministry and the Czechs reached an agreement on the main point of the Bohemian program, and on September 12, 1871, Francis Joseph issued a solemn rescript in which he said: "I willingly recognize the rights of this kingdom and will ratify this recognition by the coronation oath." Rieger was made the general reporter of a committee of thirty to prepare the fundamental articles by which the relations of the rest of monarchy would be regulated, and it seemed that the Czechs had reached their goal. And then the influence of the new united Germany and of the Magyars caused a sudden reversal of policy. The emperor's solemn promise was withdrawn, and before the end of 1871 it became a crime to circulate his rescript in Bohemia. A German nationalist ministry was appointed and a period of persecution came upon Bohemia. It was not the fault of Rieger, and his people knew it. When he returned to Prague after the failure of his proposals in Vienna, he was welcomed like a triumphant general, and his carriage was drawn by enthusiastic men from the station to his residence.

It was inevitable though that some reaction would arise in the people against the failure of Rieger's alliance with the nobility to get results. It was at this time that the Young Czech party was formed, but for twenty years more they could make no headway against the popularity and prestige of the "leader of the nation". The Bohemian politics got into an impasse. To go to the Reichsrat and fight there for the rights of the Czechs seemed to imply the abandonment of the historical state rights program; to stay at home and take no part in public affairs was a policy that brought benefit only to the Germans. So it happened that in 1879 Count Taaffe, a nobleman of Irish origin and a close personal friend of the emperor, persuaded Rieger and his colleagues to re-enter the parliament and become one of the parties of the right, supporting the Taaffe government. In return for this the Czechs obtained important concessions, such as the erection of a Bohemian university in Prague and the recognition of the Czech language as the "external" language of governmental offices in their dealings with the people of Bohemian districts. Upon entering the Reichsrat after an absence of sixteen years the Bohemian delegation made a reservation of their rights, and the emperor in the speech from the throne expressly acknowledged this reservation.

For more than ten years Dr. Rieger fought constantly in the parliament at the head of the Czech

deputies from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia for laws which would put his people on an equality with the Germans in their own land. It was a modest program, considering that the Czechs had both valid historical rights, and a majority of the people, in fact more than two thirds. He did obtain valuable concessions and his policy contributed to the consolidation of the influence of the Czech people on governmental measures. But the results unfortunately were far short of the radical feeling of the people. And a sudden turn came about in 1890 which closed the long period of Rieger's leadership. Rieger, and with him the Old Czech party, as it now became known, comprising a great majority of the Czech deputies, consented at the request of Taaffe to enter into conferences with the German deputies from Bohemia in order to reach a compromise in local Bohemian affairs. The principal concession on the German side was consent to a change in the election laws by which the Bohemians would definitely obtain majority in the Prague diet, without being dependent on the votes of the feudal landholders. In return for that Rieger agreed to measures which would have led to a division of Bohemia into a Czech and German sphere. These so-called "punktace" found no approval with the Czech people, and in the elections of 1891 the Old Czech party was swept away, Rieger himself failing of re-election. That was the end of the long political life of the great Czech tribune of the people.

Rieger was honored in many ways both by his people and by governments. When his seventieth birthday was celebrated in Prague in 1888, the large amount of 113,000 gulden was collected by popular subscription as a birthday present. Rieger refused to use the money either for himself or for his family, and turned it over for the support of Bohemian literature. He was the honorary citizen of almost every city of Bohemia and Moravia, and he was also the first president of that great Bohemian institution, the Central School Fund (Ústřední Matice Školská). He received several Austrian and Russian decorations, and the last Austrian ministry, friendly to the Slavs, the cabinet of Badeni, made Rieger a baron. He died, full of years and honors, March 3, 1903, and the City of Prague gave him a royal funeral.

The motto of Rieger which has become the battle cry of all Bohemians was the brief "Don't give up" (Nedejme se).

The memory of the Czech leader of the nation is kept alive in America by the Rieger Club of Chicago. It is the principal social organization of Catholic Bohemians in Chicago and it exerts a wide influence on the life of the big Bohemian settlement in the Metropolis of the West. Its membership includes some of the biggest business and professional men of the South West Side of Chicago. Its monthly organ, the "Rieger", not only gives news of the happenings at the Club, but wields a great influence over all Bohemian people of Catholic

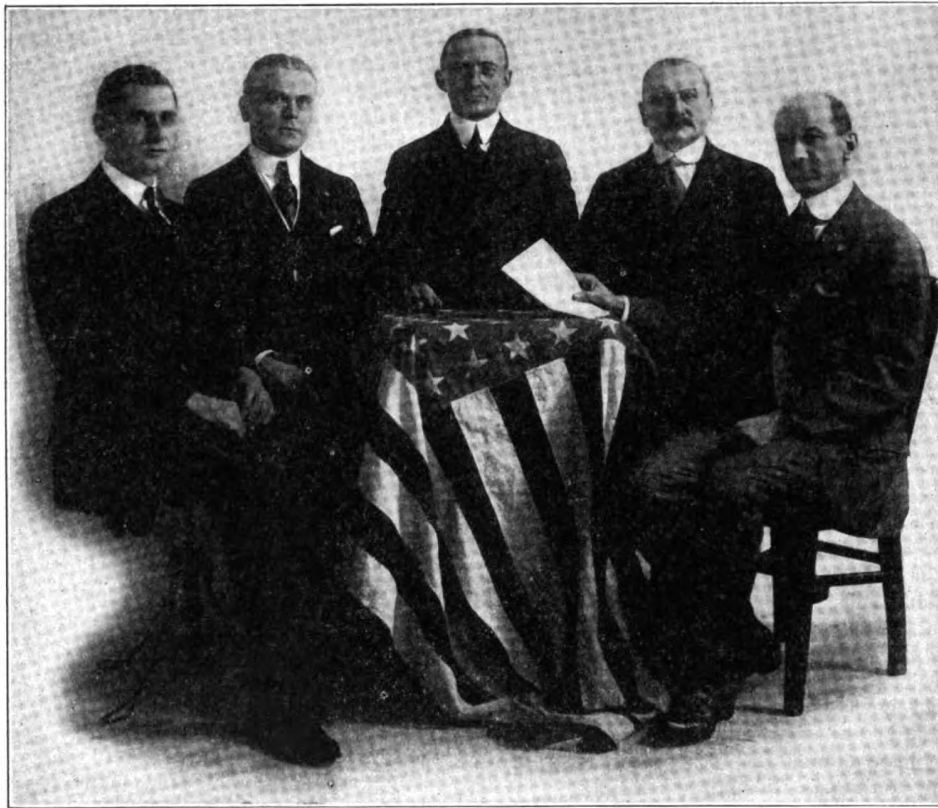
faith in this country. The Rieger Club Octet, under the direction of Joseph Pribyl, enjoys great popularity in a community used to good singing.

As might be expected from an organization bearing the name of Rieger, the Rieger Club has lent all its weight to the movement for Bohemian independence. Its members are largely men born or educated in America and to the enthusiasm of the Bohemian they add American energy and push. An example of their hustling was furnished by the

National Fete held in Chicago on Labor Day; out of a total of some fourteen thousand dollars taken in the share of this one club was over three thousands. Both the "father" of the club, John Straka, and the first president of it, Frank G. Hajicek, give freely of their time and money in the cause of Bohemian freedom.

The spirit of Rieger still inspires men of his blood to battle for the liberation of the land of their fathers.

#### Officers of the Rieger Club.



From right to left: Rud Lanka, secretary; Jos. Martinek, vice-president; Jos. J. Janda, president; Jos. Kopecky, treasurer; Chas. Roubik, financial secretary.

Reviews published in England cannot generally be noticed here. But the September "Nineteenth Century" gives the place of honor to such a powerful arraignment of Austria by Canon William Barry that some, at least, of the epigrammatic hits in the article "Break Austria" should be quoted. Here are a few of them: "On the disappearance of the Austrian Empire as it now exists the peaceful future of mankind depends." . . . "Austria forms the solid keystone of the mighty Pan-German arch, striding across Europe and planted firmly in Asia." . . . "We in the west, in England, France, Italy, and of course in the United States, have agreed that government should exist by consent of the gov-

erned. Apply this to Austria-Hungary, and it would burst in pieces like a bombshell." . . .

"Austria has entered into a partnership with Prussia which will endure to the end. It is her last marriage, and nothing but death will dissolve it." . . .

"Too long have we consented in thought and policy to the delusion that Europe outside the west was the natural inheritance of three autocratic royal houses, the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Romanoffs. One of these lies prostrate, flung down by the people's mere breath. It will be a happy day when the older dynasties of Austria and Brandenburg fall beside it."

## Czechoslovak Brigade in Russian Retreat.

By Jaroslav Hašek.

I shall try to describe briefly the important part played by the Czech soldiers in the awful days of the great Russian debacle in Galicia, when our men maintained the semblance of a front, saving the adjoining Russian provinces and spoiling Mackensen's clever plans.

It is evident now that the first wabbling of the Russian front on July 5th was connected directly with the bloody bolsheviki demonstrations in Petrograd. An appeal was issued by these fanatics to the men at the front to go on strike and leave the trenches. The appeal resulted in something like sabotage applied to war conditions. The first stage of it was that thousands of the bolsheviki soldiers maimed themselves by shooting off a finger and then going home. This strike procedure was rather painful to the strikers, and so on July 5th a strike of violence was inaugurated on a large part of the Galician front. Regiments that had orders to attack were held back by other regiments kept in reserve; fanatic agitation was kept up among newly arrived battalions and finally the real purpose of it all was revealed, when positions were voluntarily abandoned.

It is not yet definitely known which regiment started the disgraceful rout of July. At any rate we saw revolutionary victories of June 18th and 19th thrown away. Where our heroic fellows fought to smash the militarism of Germany and Austria, there the Prussian now sings "Wacht am Rhein" and the Austrian his "Oesterreich, du edles Haus". It is painful to think that the little cemetery of Cecova, the resting place of the boys who fell in the day of victory at Zborov and the Krasna Lipa has no doubt been carefully gone over by a sergeant and a file and that the names of our dead heroes have been copied from the crosses for use against their families in Bohemia.

We don't grow sentimental, when we think of it. We are full of anger, terrible anger at the great loss due to traitors who work for German gold. German money is the explanation of the events of July 5th, when Austrians and Germans swept over our lines and captured the sacred ground of Cecova.

Today, when I have thought much of what happened, I do not know what to call that event which the Russians call retreat. Was it retreat or was it flight? Neither the one nor the other. It was the act of a man who abandons a place of responsibility and goes home, leaving carelessly a burning candle in a pile of straw. The phenomenon is sometimes called moral insanity.

Perhaps some day a student of psychology will be able to explain the mental processes of guards-

Translated from the Čechoslovan, Kieff, September 3, 1917.

men who left the trenches, threw away their rifles into rye fields, plundered the depots at the base of clothing, sugar and chocolate, emptied loaded trucks of munitions so that they might load them with tinned food. Think of soldiers who abandoned their stations and nonchalantly walked back in streams regardless of the fact that comrades who did not go would be soon overwhelmed by waves of Germans and Austrians, that in a few hours there would be but little islands of hopelessly outnumbered fighters, where there had been the strong Russian front.

Such islands were the regiments of the first Czechoslovak brigade. They stood firm in a mighty dam and alone held back the German flood. From July 5th to July 15th Czechoslovak regiments threw back unaided the German attacks. From Ostasovce to Velke Borky, from Slachtince to Grabovka and Teklovka Bohemian bayonets held up the realization of the hastily conceived German plan to make full use of the situation and push the military lines forward into the Russian territory and at the same time get in the rear of the army holding the line between Stanislavov and the Carpathians. The whole Tarnopol front was to be stricken by panic.

"How lucky that the Bohemians were there," said a certain newspaper. It is dangerous to rely on luck in battle, but it was more dangerous to rely on the Russian army on that awful July 5th, when a number of companies of our first regiment were sent forward for a stretch of duty in the fire trenches with a detachment of machine guns. We reached the position just as the sun was rising; there was not a muzhik in the first line, as far as our eyes could reach. I don't know yet what became of them; probably they are included in the 42,000 prisoners that German papers brag about.

The trenches were empty, and in half an hour German artillery commenced shelling positions far back of us. We could do nothing. So a few companies of the first regiment fell back to the village Bohdanuvka with the machine guns, and when we got there we came under the fire of German machine guns. From the front trenches to Bohdanuvka is five versts. In all that space we did not see a soldier, except a few muzhiks who were asleep in the rye waiting until the Germans picked them up. And there should have been two divisions there. It was a sample of what took place on that day. On this sector the defenders went over to the enemy, soldiers of other sectors marched back in groups all night without their guns, refusing to be stopped and giving the stereotyped answer that they were going home to rest. When such news reached Russia, it was not strange that stories were told that the Czechoslovaks were surrounded and that we were cut to pieces. When the Germans had reached Zborozh, we were still near Jezerna; when the Germans were bombarding Tarnopol, our boys were

counter-attacking near Slachtince; Tarnopol was burning, and we still fought at Grabovka.

Those are names that will be inscribed with golden letters into the history of the Czechoslovak army, especially of the glorious first regiment that had to hold back the strongest units of the second German army. But the names of these little vilages will be written in black letters in the records of those German regiments that came into contact with the bayonets of the first Czechoslovak brigade. Our first regiment alone broke several guard regiments brought over from the French front.

Mackensen's plan to strike quickly, to create a panic, to surround the Carpathian army and to push the Galician front into Russia was frustrated by our bayonets. Officers who witnessed our counter-attacks regretted that there was not at least a full army corps of us. The Germans would have been sent flying. At Grabovka, so the captured Germans told us, four attacking battalions refused to go forward, when some one called out: "Die rotweissen kommen". (The red-whites are coming). That is why you read in Russian papers: How lucky that the Czechoslovaks were there. A tribute to our determination to fight to the death.

It is difficult to say just where our first brigade accomplished its most wonderful deeds, for all its units along the entire broken front held back the pressure of the gigantic German-Austrian might with such sang-froid that the equipment of the Russian units could be saved and artillery had a chance to pull out in time. Wherever our boys were stationed, not a single gun was lost. The first regiment by its fierce defense of the heights at Ostasevce made possible the destruction of the great army depots at Jezerna so that the Germans captured very little booty there; and the same regiment successfully covered the retreat of the entire supply train of a full army corps, while the second and third regiments prevented a panic on the wabbling front of Zborozh.

The Germans now claim that theirs was an unexpected offensive. But when one considers the remarkable coincidence of the arrival of fresh troops from the French front with the strike of the Russian forces near Tarnopol, where the bolsheviki controlled the regimental committees, the conclusion is inevitable that the "unexpected offensive" was in reality a well-planned campaign of the German-Austrian general staff and the followers of Lenine. That our part in this campaign did not result in the complete destruction of our brigade is very creditable to the ability of our commander, the regimental officers and the bravery of the men. Every member of the Czechoslovak Brigade realized how much depended on our resistance and how the entire Russian army would be encouraged by a demonstration that the Germans could be held up. We made it possible that the masses of deceived soldiers got over their hypnotic state and stopped running away, after they perceived that some regiments were still facing the enemy and keeping him out of Russian territory.

We talked with a man who ran away with the disorganized masses. "See," we told him, "we fought for your land and your liberty, while you marched back and abandoned us to be overwhelmed by the Germans, each of our regiments fighting two divisions". He had blue, good-natured eyes and tears welled up, as we talked to him. "We did not think", he explained with a red face: "we were told that if we left Galicia, they would make peace and we could go home to our women."

From July 5th to July 15th lasted the splendid struggle of our brigade against an enemy many times stronger. It was necessary to defend a number of crossings over small Galician rivers, and for ten days and nights we were on guard without a rest, throwing back many attacks every day. We could get no relief, for we covered the retreat of an army. After every German attack we counter-attacked, but when the Germans fell back, our orders were to retreat, because on both sides of us Russian guard regiments continued to march backwards. At any rate we did our duty. Not only did we cut a way through, but we confounded the plans of our friend Mackensen.

Today we are resting, full of memories of those awful days. The regimental headquarters are in a fine country house in the midst of a noble park. And as we rest, we plan future battles. All the Czechs and Slovaks blown by the whirlwind of war into Russia are mobilizing. Masaryk, the leader of the nation, surely leaves Russia satisfied with us. He saw the foundations of the Czechoslovak army now increasing in size like an avalanche. Soon we will pay back to Germany and Austria for all the sufferings of the Bohemian nation. Masaryk saw the creation of an army of irreconcilables.

Will Austria-Hungary leave Germany before the end of the fight? It would be certain political and economic suicide for her to do so. Hence she cannot. Will Austria be subservient to Germany after the war? Austria-Hungary cannot help herself in the matter. Her dependence is not voluntary. . . Austria is firmly convinced that without Germany's strong arm to support her she is doomed as a political entity.

Wolf von Schierbrand.

A limited liability war in which we fight Germany ourselves and pay money to Italy and Russia to enable them to fight Austria and Turks with whom we are at peace, savors of sharp practice and not of statesmanship. It is a good rule either to stay out of the war or to go into it, but not to try to do both these things at once.

Theo. Roosevelt.

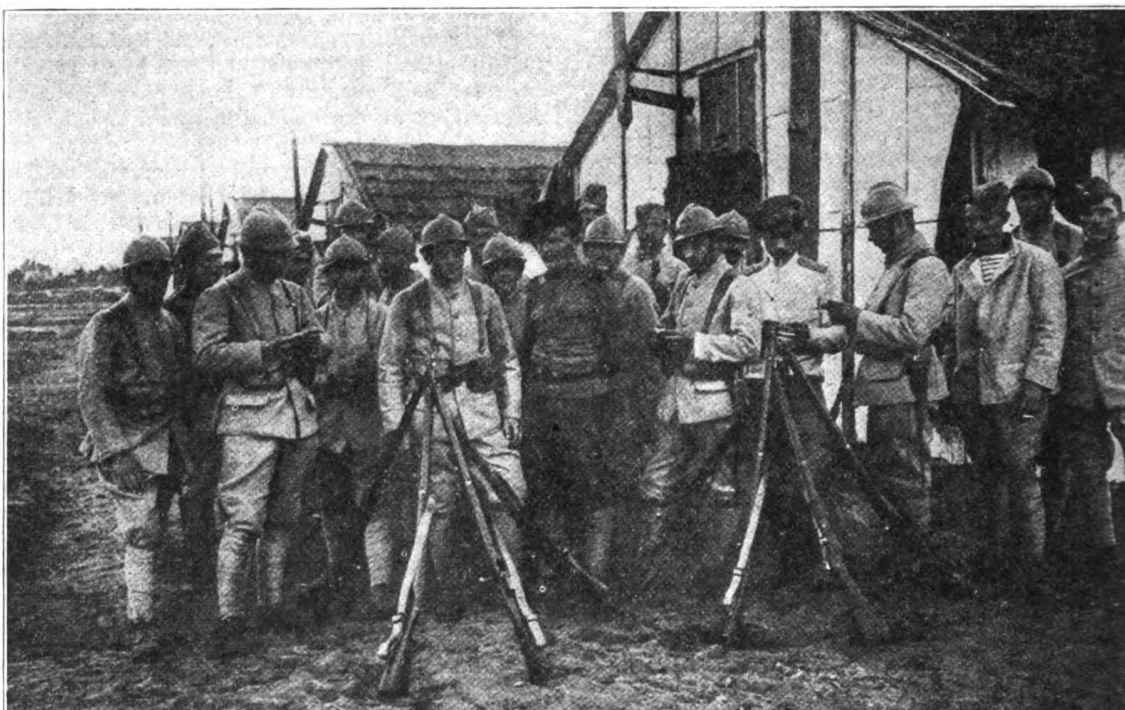
Among the many races of Austria the best showing in education is made by the Bohemians. The Austrian "Statistisches Handbuch" of 1914 states that among people of Czech race the percentage of illiterates was 2.4, while the Germans came next with a percentage of 3.1. The other races followed far behind.

## Current Topics.

### THE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The evil turn of affairs in Russia has affected the cause of Bohemia even more unfavorably than it has hurt the general cause of the Allies. Separate peace by Russia would leave the Czechoslovak army at the mercy of the Germans, just as it would spell the ruin of the Roumanian army. The Bolsheviki revolt came at the very time when the Bohemians and Slovaks in Russia had achieved a splendid organization which would have made its influence felt on the eastern front. Six months of work by Masaryk in Russia smoothed out all differences among the Bohemian settlers in Russia and the 300,000

working in munition factories and supporting by their voluntary tax the Bohemian army and government depends on the outcome of the Russian muddle. Bohemians are thankful that their great leader, at least, is safe and well and that his personality will surely make itself felt in the difficult Russian situation. It appears from a cablegram recently received by the Bohemian National Alliance in Chicago that Professor Masaryk was for a number of days in great danger of life in Moscow. He arrived there on November 10th from Petrograd and reached with difficulty the Hotel Metropole. As it happened, this hotel became the headquarters of the



Czechoslovak Soldiers, Former Prisoners of War, Training in France.

Czechoslovak prisoners of war. The army has grown to 40,000 men in the field with hundreds volunteering every day and with the highest income tax in the world paid monthly by every member of the Czechoslovak nation in Russia. Due to the great work of Masaryk and his coadjutors in the Czechoslovak National Council Bohemia secured a position analogous to that of Belgium or Serbia — the home country under the heel of the oppressor, but a temporary government with its own army and independent finances in existence on the territory of an allied country, helping to defeat the common enemy and establish the independence of Bohemia.

What will become of the great work accomplished in Russia, of the fighters, of the other prisoners

cadets in their fight for the control of Moscow. The bolsheviki troops occupied the great theatre on the other side of the square on which the hotel is located. For four days the cadet headquarters were under fire of machine guns and rifles and had to surrender on the fifth day, when the bolsheviki brought up heavy guns. There were five hundred guests in the hotel and during Thursday and Friday negotiations were carried on by them with the victors for their release. Masaryk was made the spokesman of fifty foreigners, including British airmen and three Americans, and on Friday all were released.

During the earlier disorders in Russia previous to the bolsheviki revolution Masaryk observed

strictly the principle that the Czechs and their army were only guests on Russian soil and could not take part in the internal quarrels of Russia. Whether any subsequent developments would make him change this attitude we are unable to say. The possibility, however, must be kept in mind that if the rule of the fanatics now in control remains unshaken and they succeed in making peace with Germany, then the Czechoslovak army will have to cut their way through to freedom. In the eyes of Austria all the prisoners who enlisted in this army or supported the anti-Austrian movement are traitors subject to capital punishment. None of them will surrender to the Austrians without a fight. The developments in Russia are watched with extreme anxiety by Bohemians and Slovaks in this country. They are thankful that Masaryk is there to guide the people who look up to him for guidance.

The formation of a Czechoslovak army in France is proceeding at a satisfactory pace. There is great enthusiasm for it in the camps of Bohemian prisoners of war in Italy and France, who are eager to strike a blow for the liberation of their motherland. The picture shown here is one of Bohemian prisoners of war who surrendered to the Roumanians and were subsequently transported to France, where they volunteered for service against Germany. More than a thousand volunteers from the United States have by this time joined the war prisoner volunteers in the training camps in France, and more are coming in continually.

The Czechoslovak army in France claims naturally the largest share of interest among the workers in the cause of Bohemian independence in the United States. The regular work of keeping up enthusiasm for war among people of Czech blood, collecting subscriptions for the support of the movement and bringing home to America the danger of Pan-German Central Europe is kept up by the Bohemian National Alliance. A number of largely attended mass meetings were held in November under the auspices of the Alliance, to hear M. Marcel Knecht, assistant editor of the *Paris Matin*, who hails from Lorraine, and in his public addresses in this country couples the redemption of Alsace-Lorraine with the redemption of Bohemia.

#### BOHEMIANS ARE KNOWN IN CANADA

An interesting little story from Canada has just reached the editor. It shows that the Bohemian people and their principal organization, the Bohemian National Alliance, enjoy the confidence of the Canadian authorities.

Soon after the outbreak of the war all alien enemies in Canada were compelled to register and report at regular intervals to the police. A Bohemian in a city in Ontario, ignorant of the English language and reading only Bohemian papers from the United States, did not learn of this requirement, until nearly three years later. He was very much perturbed about it, not knowing whether he should come forward and submit to a severe pen-

alty for violating the law, or say nothing in the hope that the authorities had overlooked his case and would not trouble him. His doubts were resolved suddenly, when a police officer called at his home in his absence and left him a notice to show up at the police headquarters next morning. He obeyed, full of apprehension, because technically he was an Austrian subject. When asked for his nationality, he stated boldly that he was Bohemian and produced his membership card from the Winnipeg office of the Alliance with his photo, identifying him as a good Bohemian. The officer looked at it uncertainly, took it inside to the chief and came out saying: "You are all right. Keep this card; you need not register."

#### PRAISE FROM BRUSILOFF

A somewhat belated testimonial of the bravery of our boys in Russia has recently reached this country. It will be remembered that in the brief Russian offensive, undertaken in July of this year by General Brusiloff in Galicia, the first Czechoslovak Brigade, the original unit of the Czechoslovak army in Russia, distinguished itself near Tarnopol and that a few weeks later this brigade covered for two weeks the disorderly retreat of the Russians.

Brusiloff, in an interview given on the day before he was deprived of the chief command, had this to say about the Russian rout and about the deeds of the Czechs and Slovaks:

"I was prepared for the catastrophe: it could not be otherwise. It is the necessary, logical outcome of the systematic undermining of the army which has gone on during the last five months. Whatever a man soweth, that he shall reap. In a few days the enemy captured, or rather leisurely occupied all that large area which I took away from the Germans a year ago at a great cost by employing my splendid army of half a million. If a mere particle of blame attached to me personally, I would blow off my head this minute. But my conscience is clear. I did all in my power and shall continue to labor for the salvation and restoration of the army. But a disease attacks suddenly and is expelled very gradually. Just one order, No. 1 (referring to Kerensky's famous order abolishing death penalty at the front) sufficed to transform an army of many millions into a mob. To effect a cure, to transform camp orators into fighters will take many months. If I am given full power, if they will let me introduce iron discipline, we will smash the Germans in spring. The civilians bragged: 'Now we have an army that has no equal, a free army.' Oh yes, there is no other army like it; we got ahead of them all. The army was not only dragged into politics, but it was made a partisan army. And you have seen the consequences. Regiments, divisions, whole army corps, ran away for thirty-five versts, when they saw three German companies. There were a few noble exceptions — cavalry, artillery, storming troops and the Czechoslovak Brigade.



"These Czechoslovaks, shamefully abandoned by our infantry at Tarnopol, fought so that we should all fall on our knees before them. One brigade held up several divisions. The best men of the Bohemian nation fell there. Teachers, lawyers, engineers, authors, public men, fought and died there. The wounded begged their comrades to kill them so that they might not fall into the hands of the Germans, who are known to torture helpless Czechoslovaks who get into their hands alive."

Russia needs generals like Brusiloff and fighters like the Czechoslovaks, if she is to work out her own salvation. Brusiloff will be heard from again, and so will the Czechoslovaks, former Austrian conscripts, now eager fighters in the cause of freedom and real democracy. Two full divisions of them are now under arms in Russia, and patriotic Russians know that they they count on them.

#### NATURALIZATION DURING THE WAR

The naturalization law, as it now stands, forbids the conferring of citizenship upon alien enemies. Different courts have interpreted differently this provision. All apply it to German subjects, some few apply it also to subjects of Germany's allies with whom we are still nominally at peace. Thus in Chicago Bohemian applicants for citizenship who made their application in the state courts were naturalized, if otherwise qualified, while those who happened to file their application in the federal court were held to be alien enemies and their cases were continued until the end of the war.

War upon Germany's allies cannot be delayed much longer, and then all the Bohemian applicants, as well as many Poles, Italians, Roumanians and other races of immigrants hostile to the German cause and anxious to assume the duties and burdens, as well as the privileges, of American citizenship, will be ineligible for it during the war. Now it is true that naturalization should not be conferred lightly, particularly in time of war, and that the government examiner, as well as the judge, should have clear proof of the candidate's loyalty to the United States, before conferring upon him the rights of a citizen and exempting him from the restrictions placed upon aliens, especially enemy aliens. But former political subjection is not a fair test of a resident alien's attitude toward America's political institutions and ideals, and it is no test at all of his sympathies in this war. A French Alsatian or a Pole from Prussia is probably far more determined on complete defeat of Germany than the average native-born American. And of immigrants from Austria-Hungary by far the larger part hate the Germans and are thoroughly loyal in their sentiments to this country.

Repeal the provision prohibiting the naturalization of alien enemies and give every alien, eager to become an American, a chance to prove that his heart is with this country. Should war be declared on Austria, as seems most likely at the time of this writing, a provision of this sort will be necessary

in order to make hundreds of thousands of Austrian and Hungarian subjects available for service in the field. There are many thousands of Bohemian, Polish, Slovak and other soldiers in the first select army who will be placed by the declaration of war upon Austria in the category of alien enemies without an opportunity to become citizens. Do not take away from them their chance to become American citizens.

#### BOHEMIA'S CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Under this title, Dr. Edward Beneš, general secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris, has just published a book setting forth the demands of the Bohemians and Slovaks. It is an excellent presentation of arguments with which readers of this Review are familiar. After a brief account of the Bohemian history, with a special chapter devoted to the wrongs of the Slovaks, the author describes the Pan-German plans which included the crushing of the Czechoslovaks as the first great obstacle to the German dreams of Central Europe. The chapter on Czechoslovaks and the War gathers together the most startling instances of oppression to which Bohemia has been subject since the war began. As the book was published in London and was intended primarily for English readers, a chapter has been added on the relations of England and Bohemia. A very full bibliography is a valuable feature of this little book of 132 pages.

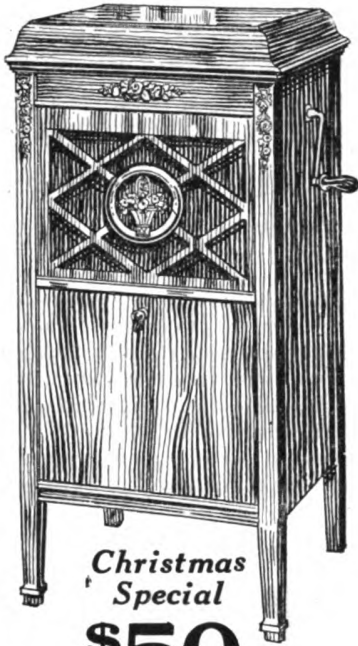
Henry Wickham Steed, for many years correspondent of the London Times in Vienna, author of the "Hapsburg Monarchy", writes the Introduction. He makes a strong argument for the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and quotes an old parody from Macmillan's Magazine of 1866:

Who is Austria? What is she?  
That all our swells commend her?  
Dogged, proud and dull is she;  
The heavens such gifts did lend her  
That she might destroyed be.

But what is Austria? Is it fair  
To name among the nations  
Some Germans who have clutched the hair  
Of divers populations,  
And having clutched, keep tugging there?

We commend this book most warmly to our readers. If you want an American friend ignorant of Bohemia to take interest in Bohemia's independence, present him this book. It may be ordered from the Bohemian National Alliance, 3639 West Twenty-sixth street, Chicago; the price is 75 cents.

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