

Anglo-American University
School of International Relations and Diplomacy

Path Toward the First Czechoslovak Republic of 1918:
Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's contribution and the role of the United States regarding
independence of Czechoslovakia

Bachelor's Thesis

June 2017

Tereza Lacmanová

Anglo-American University
School of International Relations and Diplomacy

Path Toward the First Czechoslovak Republic of 1918:
Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's contribution and the role of the United States regarding
independence of Czechoslovakia

by

Tereza Lacmanová

Faculty Advisor: Prof. PhDr. Milada Polišenská, CSc.

A Thesis to be submitted to Anglo-American University in partial satisfaction
of the requirement for the degree of

Bachelor

in

International Relations (HT)

June 2017

Tereza Lacmanová

Declaration of Consent and Statement of Originality

I hereby declare that no portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree, or qualification thereof, or for any other university or institute of learning.

I declare that this thesis is my independent work. All sources and literature are cited and included.

I also hereby acknowledge that my thesis will be made publicly available pursuant to Section 47b of Act No. 552/2005 Coll. and AAU's internal regulations.

Date: Prague, 10th May 2017

Signature:

.....

Tereza Lacmanová

Dedication and Acknowledgements

The author of this Bachelor's Thesis would like to wholeheartedly thank to her family for support, and the Faculty Advisor, Prof. PhDr. Milada Polišenská, CSc. for all advices she gave, for the time she devoted to this work, and for the wonderful books she gladly lent (thank you especially for Betty Miller Unterberger, it is really an experience to have such a great book in hands)!

You have inspired me, dear Professor Polišenská, like an expert on our Czechoslovak history, but mainly like a person!

Once again, thank you all!

Yours,

Tereza Lacmanová

Prague, 10th May 2017

ABSTRACT

Path Toward the First Czechoslovak Republic of 1918:

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's contribution and the role of the United States regarding
independence of Czechoslovakia

by

Tereza Lacmanová

The author of thesis in diplomatic history looks at the foundation of the First Czechoslovak Republic as a result of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's contributions he had done in favour of both Czech and Slovak nations, and the role of the United States, which supported the Slavic movement in Austria-Hungary. The thesis emphasizes Masaryk's activities since he started the resistance abroad in 1915, and more importantly, his stay in the United States. The research question of the thesis is the following: "What steps had Thomas Garrigue Masaryk to take to achieve recognition of independent Czechoslovakia?" The answer can be summarized in the thesis sentence: "Thomas Garrigue Masaryk used his knowledge of Czech history within a large international context to spread the demands of Czech and Slovak nations abroad, and thereby contributed to foundation of the first Czechoslovak Republic, where Czech and Slovak nations were unified in one independent state." Thomas G. Masaryk deeply studied Czech history and culture, was inspired and influenced by Czechoslovak national Revivalists highlighting the essence of the Czech-Slovak nation as an equal among other European nations, on whose ideas he wrote. He contributed substantially to the formulation of so called *Czech Question*. Moreover, he led lectures at universities, traveled the world, and used his contacts to

spread the Czech-Slovak demands. Those steps represent the basis for Thomas G. Masaryk's commitment to create an independent Czechoslovak Republic based on democratic principles, and governed by the people's will. In this context, the thesis highlights the help of the United States in the process of forming a new independent state of Czechoslovakia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Why This Topic Still Matters Today	3
1.2. Thomas G. Masaryk's Background	4
1.3. Czech National Revivalists: The Axis: John Hus – John Amos Comenius – František Palacký	7
1.4. Thomas G. Masaryk: Beginning of the Resistance Abroad in 1915	9
1.5. National Self-Determination of Czech and Slovak Nations in Cleveland Agreement of 1915	11
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	12
CHAPTER 3: THOMAS G. MASARYK'S VISION AND DECISION REGARDING INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA	20
3.1. Thomas G. Masaryk's Stays in France and England	22
3.2. Thomas G. Masaryk's Route From Western Europe to Russia	24
CHAPTER 4: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA	28
4.1. Presidency of Woodrow Wilson During the War Time	30
4.2. Thomas G. Masaryk's Activities in the United States in 1918	34
4.3. The United States Loan Provision to Czechoslovakia	40
4.4. Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence in Washington in October 1918	41
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY	50

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The foundation of the First Czechoslovak Republic of 1918 represents a jewel in Czechoslovak history. There is no doubt about a great happiness that prevailed in 1918 after the proclamation of Czechoslovakia,¹ even if the people of Czech and Slovak nations did not know much about Thomas G. Masaryk's activities he did in favour of both Czech and Slovak nations abroad.² The transfer of information was dangerous, and had to be kept secret.

Thomas G. Masaryk mainly paid his attention to western allies, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, from which he took an example how the future independent state of Czechoslovakia should look like. Most importantly, he also planned the future foreign policy of Czechoslovakia to be devoted and oriented to the west. To sum up, Thomas G. Masaryk demanded Czechoslovakia to be a prosperous state, to be accepted by other nations, with democratic principles, where both Czech and Slovak nations could live in commensalism.

Thomas G. Masaryk and the United States were two crucial factors of the process of forming a new state to whom the main attention the thesis devotes. The steps Masaryk had taken all contributed in favour of future Czechoslovakia. He used his deep knowledge of Czech history and the position of Czech and Slovak nations within the settlement of Europe as a tool for spreading his demands abroad. Together with his tactical and strategic use of acquaintances he had in the United States, which

¹ Germans, Magyars, and pro-Magyar Slovaks did not agree with the self-determination of both Czech and Slovak nations. More about this is being discussed later in this chapter.

² Tomáš G. Masaryk is often called "Thomas" in English. For this purpose, the author calls him "Thomas" in this thesis.

was undoubtedly an important circumstance regarding independence of Czechoslovakia, Masaryk succeeded. For his activities, he is known as “Father Liberator” of both nations. The argument presented in the thesis is that Thomas G. Masaryk was a valuable character, who greatly contributed to Czechoslovakia to be governed by the people’s will, with their right to self-determination and prosperous flowering on the same level as other European nations. The thesis thus clearly emphasizes the role of Thomas G. Masaryk as a crucial figure, who merited an independent Czechoslovak state with the contribution of the United States.

Nevertheless, Germans, Hungarians, and some Slovaks, especially members of Slovak People’s Party, did not share this enthusiasm regarding Czechoslovakia, for number of reasons. Firstly, Germans were a majority nation in Austria-Hungary, living also in the Sudetenland of Bohemia and Moravia. Germans held a disapproving attitude toward self-determination of both Czech and Slovak nations, because from a domination majority, Germans became a mere minority after the proclamation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. Secondly, the question of Hungary was a little more complicated. After the breakup of Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary lost considerable territories in the Danube regions. These were the places of today’s Slovakia, and Transylvania. Many Magyars inhabited the area of today’s Slovakia, and were accounted for the majority nation there. This was the consequence of Magyarization, which progressively spread during the period of Austro-Hungarian Empire, and resulted in that the Slovak language and culture were gradually absorbed by Hungarian language and culture.³ Subsequently, the Treaty of Trianon signed in 1920 also caused that Hungary lost the territory of Transylvania, which consequently became a part of Romania. Therefore, after the loss of these two regions, Hungarian

³ Robert William Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (London: Hutchinson & CO. LTD, 1943), 259-260.

population has decreased by almost three million of inhabitants.⁴ Last but not least, not all Slovaks necessarily supported their unification with Czechs into one Czechoslovak nation. In particular, Andrej Hlinka, who was a Slovak priest and the leader of Slovak People's Party, sought for Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia.⁵ Later on, the First Slovak Republic (so called Slovak State) was proclaimed in March 1939, and lasted until April 1945.

1.1. Why This Topic Still Matters Today

In 2018, there will be a centenary of the collapse of Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequent foundation of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. Until today, debates are going on about the phenomenon of the first Czechoslovak state, for number of reasons that are being outlined here. Firstly, during the First Czechoslovak Republic, its Czech and Slovak politicians highly appreciated the breaking of Prison of Nations, as how Austro-Hungarian Empire was called, where minority nations were suppressed in their development and self-determination under the Habsburg rule. Secondly, opposing arguments state that the dissolution of Austria-Hungary significantly weakened Europe, which subsequently became an easy prey for Adolf Hitler, and later for Joseph Stalin. Thirdly, the Nazis considered the Czechoslovak state to be an abnormality that needs to be removed from the map of Central Europe. Fourthly, a subsequent breakup of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1938 put a question mark over the viability of Masaryk's Czechoslovakia. Was it doomed to fail? During the Communist era, both Thomas G. Masaryk and Edvard Beneš were criticized for being bourgeois politicians. Especially Russian Revolution of 1917 was

⁴ Stephen Borsody, *The New Central Europe* (New York: East European Monographs, 1993), 53.

⁵ Stephen Borsody, *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation* (New Haven: Yale Russian and East European Publications, 1988), 58.

considered to be the reason for the future foundation of Czechoslovak state in 1918. Also, the communists claimed that without Bolshevik revolution there would be no independent Czechoslovakia.⁶ Last but not least, the breakup of Czechoslovakia in 1993 contributed to the debates, whether it was viable, or an artificially created entity without the existence of internal forces necessary for a functioning state.⁷ For these reasons, it is still relevant to examine this issue today.

1.2. Thomas G. Masaryk's Background

Thomas G. Masaryk as a native of Hodonín, where he was born on 7th May 1850 to Therese Kropáček and Joseph Masaryk, devoted a large part of his whole life to the dilemma of the Czech Question.⁸ He attended German secondary school in Brno, where he also became a private teacher of children in households of rich people, who influenced his life. One of them was Anton von Le Monnier, a Police Chief in Vienna, thanks to whom Masaryk was accepted to Akademische Gymnasium (i.e. Grammar School) in Vienna from 1872–1876.⁹ Masaryk was very educated, and he spent hours in libraries to broaden his knowledge. When Le Monnier died, Thomas G. Masaryk got into the household of Schlesinger family, where he was introduced to intellectual elite of Vienna. Masaryk was given a chance to meet with many influential people. Later on, at Leipzig University, where he studied from 1876 until 1879, Masaryk met his future wife, Charlotte Garrigue Masaryk, with whom he later had six children – Anna (1911–1996), Alice (1879–

⁶ Josef Kalvoda, *The Genesis of Czechoslovakia* (Michigan: East European Monographs, 1986), 15-16.

⁷ Milada Polišenská, *Zapomenutý „nepřítel“ Josef Josten* (Prague: Libri 2009), 404-405.

⁸ Czech Question is in depth elaborated later in this chapter.

⁹ Cecil John Charles Street, *President Masaryk* (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1930), 44.

1966), Eleanor (1890–1890), Herbert (1880–1915), Jan (1886–1948), and Olga (1891–1978).

Thomas G. Masaryk got into the social awareness due to his activities in the struggle for manuscripts and Hilsner Affair. Firstly, two manuscripts of *Zelená Hora* and *Dvůr Králové* by a poet, Václav Hanka, and a writer, Josef Linda, were found as very old, dating back to reportedly 9th and 13th Centuries. Both manuscripts should have evinced the richness of Czech literature and language. Masaryk was the one, who considered them to be forgeries, and thus antagonized the society that believed in their authenticity. These manuscripts have become a very important literature element, thanks to which Czech society could prove that the quality of the Czech language is fully compatible with quality of German and other languages.

Nevertheless, it was scientifically proven that both manuscripts were fakes. Secondly, Masaryk was involved in the case of Leopold Hilsner, a Jew, who had allegedly ritually murdered a young girl in the town of Polná. Masaryk rejected this statement, because he did not agree with the possibility of a ritual murder; therefore, he was again condemned by the society. Based on this, he wanted to leave the Monarchy and go to the United States with his wife. It was Charlotte, who convinced him to stay in Austria-Hungary and rectify this situation.¹⁰ Subsequently, it turned out that Leopold Hilsner was innocent of the murder of the young women, who was killed by her brother. Based on Charlotte's conviction, Thomas G. Masaryk decided to remain in the Monarchy. He was involved in the political party activities. First, he served in Austrian Reichsrat in nationally oriented and liberal so called Young Czech Party between 1891–1893, and then founded his political party together with Karel Kramář

¹⁰ Zdeněk Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk* (Prague: Nakladatelství Slávka Kopecká, 2007), 39.

and Josef Kaizl in 1900, which was called the Realist Party.¹¹ Masaryk was its only deputy in the Reichsrat. Subsequently, Masaryk began dealing with the problem of the Czech nation as subject nation, and its position within Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This consequently became an essential part of Czech Question.

Czech Question (Česká Otázka, 1985) is a major book and a program of reawakening of the Czech nation written by Thomas G. Masaryk in 1895. In this work, he expressed his thoughts about the Czech nation that lacked freedom, and for which he demanded autonomous development. His vision led toward the federalization of Austria, where the Czech nation could have had the possibility of development and self-determination. However, this was not possible, and Masaryk resorted later to another solution, thus a foundation of independent Czechoslovakia. He collected his ideas on the basis of the study of Czech history and culture, and he built on the knowledge of Czech and Slovak national Revivalists, who, before him, were trying to encourage the Czech nation to wake up. This time period is known as a National Revival, which lasted nearly a century.¹²

In his book, Thomas G. Masaryk highlighted two main ideas. Firstly, he stated that it is necessary to build on the past and identify a path to the future. By this, he appealed to the famous Czech history, when the nation independently and freely developed under the rule of Přemyslid and Luxembourg dynasties, here particularly under the reign of Charles IV. Secondly, Masaryk saw the necessity of the Czech nation to come to life. For this purpose, he took an example from other nations' progress and development.¹³ Furthermore, he, alongside with Revivalists, put emphasis on language.

¹¹ Street, *President Masaryk*, 132-133.

¹² More accurately, from late 18th to late/end of 19th Century.

¹³ Thomas G. Masaryk, *Česká Otázka* (Prague: Melantrich, 1969), 12.

After the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, the Czech culture declined as a consequence of so called Renewed Land's Constitution of 1627/1628. It was a new legislation for Bohemia and Moravia, which established an absolutist reign of the Habsburgs, enacted Catholicism as the only permitted religion, and codified the equalization of the Czech and German languages. Particularly, John Amos Comenius was one of the biggest Czech intellectual and spiritual personalities that time. As a Bishop of Unity of Brethren, Comenius had to leave his country.¹⁴ Next, even though Czech and German languages were emancipated, German gradually became superior to Czech, which later on prevailed mainly among peasantry in the countryside. On contrary, the German language was used between intelligence, authorities, and at schools from the 18th Century.¹⁵ The period after the White Mountain Battle is described as the Dark Ages for the Czech lands. The national Revivalists and their efforts contributed to the awakening of the Czech language and culture from the late 18th Century. Based on Enlightenment, as its precondition, the National Revival developed in the period of romanticism. In the struggle for cultural recognition, and later on, in the 2nd half of the 19th Century, for political recognition.

1.3. Czech National Revivalists: The Axis: John Hus – John Amos

Comenius – František Palacký

Thomas G. Masaryk demanded Austro-Hungarian Empire to solve its national problems. According to his persuasion, the Czech nation was abused from its self-development and determination, and Czech language was suppressed at the expense of German language. Masaryk always emphasized and developed his views on the

¹⁴ Piotr S. Wandycz, *The price of freedom. A history of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the present* (London: Routledge, 1992), 93-94.

¹⁵ Masaryk, *Česká Otázka*, 13-14.

axis of major figures important to Czech national Revival: John Hus – John Amos Comenius – František Palacký, who inspired him in achieving recognition and equal position of Czech and Slovak nations in Europe. Besides medieval social and religious reformer John Hus, Czech national Revivalists influenced Masaryk a lot, from Josef Dobrovský, Josef Jungmann, František Palacký, Jan Kollár to Karel Havlíček Borovský; they all emphasized the abundant flowering of Czech culture and education. Revivalists, such as Dobrovský and Kollár, primarily spread the idea of enforcement of Czech literature and language at the European level. Jungmann, who wrote Czech-German dictionary and history of the Czech literature, then supplemented these ideas, calling for Czech books to be translated into other languages. Similarly, František Palacký dealt with the history of the Czech nation. Masaryk alongside with Revivalists perceived language and nationality as a mean of enlightenment.¹⁶ He saw the problem of the small Czech nation to lay in its lack of freedom, and the necessity of the Czech nation to be enhanced to the European level. He wanted to show and prove that Czechs are valuable and fully-fledged nation.¹⁷

Based on these ideas, Masaryk has written and presented the book *Czech Question*. He used thoughts and works of individual national Revivalists as a support of his argument. Masaryk entered politics as a politician, who wanted to show the strength of his nation. The Czech nation should not have longer been a nation, which is oppressed, with the impossibility of self-development and self-determination.¹⁸ For this purpose, the very first idea of an independent state appears in deliberations of Thomas G. Masaryk as a path of solving the Czech Question in the context of European settlement.

¹⁶ Masaryk, *Česká Otázka*, 15-16.

¹⁷ Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk*, 55-56.

¹⁸ Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk*, 55.

1.4. Thomas G. Masaryk: Beginning of the Resistance Abroad in 1915

From ideas, Thomas G. Masaryk moved to actions. He demanded the reformation of the Monarchy, and solving the Czech Question within Austria-Hungary, what he soon realized to be impossible. In 1914, the Great War (later called First World War) started; therefore, Masaryk needed to change the strategy. From now on, he started to think about an independent state for the Czech nation as a solution outside the borders of Austro-Hungarian Empire. Masaryk knew he was not able to do much regarding Czechoslovakia in the Monarchy, and also, he himself did not have enough power to take revolutionary steps necessary for succeeding his demands. Even though he was a well-known character, the support he had at home was not significant; therefore, he decided to leave his family and went to exile in 1915 to spread his demands outside the borders of Austria-Hungary, hoping to succeed. His plan was to convince the leaders of Entente for the creation of independent Czechoslovakia. Neither he expected an easy journey, nor Charlotte did have had an easy living in Austria-Hungary. She suffered from psychological problems, was repeatedly interrogated, and subsequently her health became much worse.¹⁹

Masaryk made his first journey to Holland already in 1914, where he met with his friend, a historian and a political activist, Robert William Seton-Watson, with whom Masaryk discussed his plans regarding Czechoslovakia. Masaryk took another trip to Italy and Switzerland, and then he had to return home. Nevertheless, there was a danger of jail, so he remained in Switzerland.²⁰ After his going off, Domestic Committee called Maffia formed in order to communicate with Masaryk while his

¹⁹ Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk*, 64-65.

²⁰ Jindřich Dejmek, *Edvard Beneš. Politická biografie českého demokrata (I)* (Prague: Karolinum, 2006), 112-113.

stays abroad.²¹ Maffia members were Edvard Beneš, Karel Kramář, Alois Rašín, Josef Scheiner and Přemysl Šámal. Edvard Beneš, who was 35 years younger than Masaryk, was his closest and very capable ally. This graduate of Charles University in Prague and the Sorbonne University in Paris²² just started his political career. He got a degree in both law and philosophy, and he led lectures at the Charles University before the outbreak of World War I.²³ After Masaryk's going off abroad, Beneš joined Maffia.

Meanwhile in Switzerland, Masaryk began sending circular letters to main representatives abroad, in which he outlined his program. Subsequently, Masaryk delivered the first public speech against Austria-Hungary in Geneva on 6th July 1915, when that day featured on 400th Anniversary of the death of John Hus, a very significant day to the Czech nation.²⁴ Edvard Beneš, who exiled to Switzerland in September 1915, joined Masaryk there. On 14th November 1915, Masaryk officially declared the fight against Austro-Hungarian Empire for the creation of independent state of Czechoslovakia. He did so on behalf of the Czech Foreign Committee, which was a loose association of fellow Czechs and Slovaks living abroad, supporting the fight for an independent state.²⁵ Thomas G. Masaryk started the resistance against the Monarchy, and for his resistance actions, he became a national betrayer.

²¹ Jiří Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf* (Prague: Odeon, 1991), 68-70.

²² Dejmek, *Edvard Beneš (I)*, 31-37.

²³ Dejmek, *Edvard Beneš (I)*, 86-87.

²⁴ Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 165-166.

²⁵ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 71.

1.5. National Self-Determination of Czech and Slovak Nations in Cleveland Agreement of 1915

Thomas G. Masaryk planned a connection of the Czech nation with a nation similar in many aspects, speaking about cultural, linguistic, and historical similarities; therefore, he turned his attention to Slovaks as the closest nation to be unified with into one common independent state of Czechoslovakia for the first time in history. A great number of native Czechs and Slovaks living abroad Austria-Hungary negatively responded against the Monarchy as well as Masaryk, and they also started to shout for the self-determinations of both Czech and Slovak nations. Such groups of native Czechs and Slovaks could be found in France, Russia, Italy and, very importantly, in the United States.

In Cleveland in October 1915, representatives of the Slovak League and the Czech National League Association in the United States agreed on a mutual cooperation. All these representatives of the two associations supported the emancipation of Czechs and Slovaks in Austria-Hungary, and subsequent dissolution of the Monarchy. This joint statement is known as Cleveland Agreement of 1915, and stands for an important shift forward, where Czechs and Slovaks promised to cooperate and fight for their self-determination.²⁶ The war of resistances thus officially broke out against Austria-Hungary.

²⁶ Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands*, 166.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The thesis was written based on the research of both primary and secondary sources. These sources include publications and archival documents from Czech and the US archives. All materials are valuable and have been chosen in order to get a wider understanding of the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia from different angles. Publications include five types: (a) Books written by Thomas G. Masaryk, which represent a basis in order to be able to understand his views and demands regarding independence and self-determination of both Czech and Slovak nations. These are: *Czech Question* (1895) and *The New Europe: The Slavic Standpoint* (1918); (b) Books that support the argument presented in the thesis, and thus Thomas G. Masaryk and his activities represent the most important topics regarding foundation of Czechoslovakia. These are, for example: *Masarykův Triumf* (1991) by Jiří Kovtun, *Ano, Masaryk* (2007) by Zdeněk Mahler, and *The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia* (1976) by Zbyněk Zeman; (c) Books that are objective, without giving any emphasis on a certain factor, which contributed to the foundation of the state. That is: *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia* (2000) by Betty Miller Unterberger; (d) Books that hold an opposite view on Thomas G. Masaryk and the creation of Czechoslovakia as a state without the possibility of a long existence. These are, for example: *The Genesis of Czechoslovakia* (1986) by Josef Kalvoda, and *Czechoslovakia: The state that failed* (2011) by Mary Heimann; (e) Books that mainly pay attention to the role of the United States in making the state of Czechoslovakia. These are: *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, I. svazek. Ministerstva, legace a diplomaté*

(2012), and *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, II. svazek. Priority, diplomatická praxe a politický kontext* (2014) by Milada Polišínská.

Supportive materials also include archival documents, mainly Masaryk's communication with institutions and personalities abroad as well as his contact with both Czechoslovak domestic and foreign Resistances. For this purpose, selected archival texts from the Masaryk Institute and Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic were used together with archival documents from Office of the Historian of the Department of State to show that the United States supported the creation of independent Czechoslovakia. The United States' policy and actions toward Czechoslovakia are thus highlighted as an integral part of the foundation of the state. The thesis, which is supported by various books and archival documents, clearly shows that Thomas G. Masaryk was actively concerned with spreading his vision of the will to establish Czechoslovak Republic abroad in order to succeed.

Both *Czech Question* and *The New Europe* do serve as the most essential and fundamental sources to be able to understand Thomas G. Masaryk's visions regarding the position of Czech and Slovak nations within European settlement and his concepts of forming a new independent state. *Czech Question* was written based on his studies and cognition of history of the Czech nation, especially accompanied with knowledge and views of the Czech (and Slovak) national Revivalists, who influenced Masaryk so much that he began to study the history of the Czech nation in depth. Subsequently, Thomas G. Masaryk started working on *The New Europe* while stay in Russia and then during a train journey to the United States. Masaryk demanded Czech independence to be solved in the context of the post-war arrangements. "Masaryk was convinced that America is the place, where the end of the war would

be decided.”²⁷ In this book, he argued that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was an artificial and outdated entity composed of many nations, such as Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Roma, Croatians etc., without the possibility of larger self-determination,²⁸ and thus without the opportunity to a fully-fledged integration among other European nations. Democracy is what these nations wanted to achieve.²⁹ Masaryk argued that the Monarchy was an unprogressive entity without the possibility of future development, compared to advanced democratic countries.³⁰

Czech Question is a work devoted to the Czech nation, which lacked the freedom within the Monarchy. It clearly shows Masaryk’s deep knowledge of his nation, what represents the basis for his next steps and actions. *The New Europe* is a positive book, in which Masaryk tried to explain his visions and perceptions about new Europe. Masaryk demanded the dissolution of the Monarchy in order to proclaim new independent states including Czechoslovakia as a result of the post-war arrangements of Europe. According to him, this should have been achieved with the help and contribution of the United States, which positively stood for the creation of democratic Czechoslovakia.

Masarykův Triumf written by the Czech author, Jiří Kovtun, focuses on Thomas G. Masaryk after he exiled in 1915. Kovtun emphasized Masaryk’s stay in the United States, where he saw a positive stand toward the creation of Czechoslovakia, as evinced by the report of President’s advisor, Robert Lansing, “The President is in favour of a Slavic movement in Austria.”³¹ Jiří Kovtun argued that Masaryk successfully fulfilled his task in the United States, when he presented

²⁷ Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk*, 70.

²⁸ Masaryk, *New Europe*, 98-99.

²⁹ Masaryk, *New Europe*, 93-94.

³⁰ Masaryk, *New Europe*, 98.

³¹ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 119.

Translated by Tereza Lacmanová.

his views regarding Czechoslovakia to the US Government, appealed to it, and consequently succeeded.³²

Jiří Kovtun valued highly the personality and work of Thomas G. Masaryk. He described the role of Masaryk and his activities as a remarkable story. His book is an essential source for understanding Masaryk's efforts regarding Czechoslovakia abroad. Although Kovtun was not a historian by his specialization, he has been a longtime Head of Czech Desk at the Library of Congress. Despite of this, Kovtun was highly qualified, and dedicated Thomas G. Masaryk his research and publication that have been very positively accepted by the historian and interested audience.

The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia written by the American author, Betty Miller Unterberger, describes the creation of Czechoslovakia from all different perspectives, without having held any particular point of view. In the view of the fact that Thomas G. Masaryk's connections with the United States were so closed linked to the foundation of Czechoslovakia, it is valuable to have some American publications in the literature sources. Moreover, this book also contains all essential details regarding this topic. Betty Unterberger provides a clear and straightforward description of the process of Czechoslovak's independence, without any subjective opinion.

Betty Unterberger takes into account all the circumstances that led to post-war arrangements in Europe, including the foundation of Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, she argues that Czechoslovakia was not incurred because of some specific factor, but she highlights the Bolshevik Revolution as the outbreak of all other events, which subsequently led to the emergence of Czechoslovakia.³³

³² Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 375-382.

³³ Betty Miller Unterberger, *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia* (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 69.

The Genesis of Czechoslovakia written by the Czech author, Josef Kalvoda, has been chosen due to a negative stand of the author toward Thomas G. Masaryk. Josef Kalvoda argued that the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic cannot be understood as a result of Masaryk's contributions, because this statement reduces the value of (1) the Czech domestic Resistance; (2) the important role of Edvard Beneš; (3) the men of 28th October – Alois Rašín, František Soukup, Jiří Stříbrný, Antonín Švehla, and Vavro Šrobár, who formed a National Committee in Czechoslovakia, and consequently took over the Government; (4) and the role of international scene, such as the Russian Revolution, which, according to Josef Kalvoda, greatly contributed to the foundation of Czechoslovakia.³⁴

Even though this source holds an opposite argument than the thesis elaborates, the book is valuable for understanding the creation of the state from different angles. Josef Kalvoda was a renowned professor at American universities and author of hundreds of articles. The goal of *Genesis of Czechoslovakia* is not to criticize the contributions of Thomas G. Masaryk, but rather highlights other important factors, which Masaryk took advantage from in order to reach his goal.³⁵

Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, I. svazek (Volume I) written by the Czech author, Milada Polišenská, emphasizes Thomas G. Masaryk's activities toward the United States, his use of acquaintances he had in the United States, for example, Charles Richard Crane, who introduced him to the US President Woodrow Wilson.³⁶ These acquaintances helped Thomas G. Masaryk to spread his visions regarding Czech and Slovak nations and succeed in his goal.

³⁴ Kalvoda, *The Genesis*, 14-16.

³⁵ Kalvoda, *The Genesis*, 15.

³⁶ Milada Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, I. svazek. Ministerstva, legace a diplomaté* (Prague: Libri, 2012), 35-38.

Last but not least, Milada Polišenská analyzes the policy and contributions of the United States toward Czechoslovakia, which is elaborated in depth in Volume II.

Professor Milada Polišenská is specialized in diplomatic history, the diplomatic relations of Czechoslovakia and the United States, which belong to her major areas. This publication is very valuable for the thesis, because it describes the relations between the United States and Czechoslovakia, which Thomas G. Masaryk was able to build. These relations were essential not only for the creation of the state, but also for the future cooperation with the United States after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Volume II of *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, II. svazek* by Milada Polišenská, deals with the US contribution to the creation of Czechoslovakia. She emphasizes the argument of providing a monetary loan from the United States to Czechoslovakia even before Czechoslovakia was officially established. She emphasizes that the United States had a trust in Czechoslovakia that it will be officially formed. The loan was granted to Czechoslovak National Council in Paris as the representative body of the future Czechoslovakia.³⁷

The granting of such loan from the United States was one of new facts that have been identified during the research. This fact is significant in the sense that the emergence of a new state is a costly process, and a monetary support is necessary for the formation of institutions. Nevertheless, the primary purpose of the loan was to finance the transfer of the Czechoslovak Legions from Vladivostok to Europe. This fact cannot be ignored, and is recognized as a necessity for the establishment of Czechoslovakia.

³⁷ Milada Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, II. svazek. Priority, diplomatická praxe a politický kontext* (Prague: Libri, 2014), 20-23.

Archival documents are selected from the Czech archives, such as Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Masaryk Institute, and from the Office of the Historian of the Department of State. These materials represent the integral part of the thesis in order to acquaint the reader with this topic. Such texts are being used to substantiate the Bachelor's Thesis with original documents from the period before and during the formation of Czechoslovakia.

Materials chosen from Czech archives mostly include correspondences of Thomas G. Masaryk with the Resistance movements and the Legions regarding Czechoslovakia. For this purpose, two books, *Vznik Československa 1918*, and *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci 1918–1920*, have been chosen for this thesis, because the authors gathered and prepared archival documents from the period between 1918–1920, especially during Masaryk's sojourn in the States. These authors, namely Antonín Klimek, Helena Nováčková, Milada Polišenská, Ivan Šťovíček, Jindřich Dejmek, and František Kolář, selected the most relevant texts regarding the establishment of Czechoslovakia in these two books, and allowed the reader to have a deeper insight to this issue.

The books contain the author's preface, and a brief and concise characterization of the topic, thus the path toward Czechoslovakia. The documents are arranged chronologically, and are presented in several languages of origin, such as Czech, English, Russian, French. Generally, the usage of these texts puts this Bachelor's Thesis on a higher level.

Furthermore, Office of the Historian of the Department of State has provided a collection of *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, which are digitally published by University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries. These documents illustrate foreign policy of the United States from 1861 to 1960.

For this thesis, the most valuable are the collections of *The Lansing Papers, 1914–1920 (in two volumes), Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, 1917, supplement 1 and 2, the World War, and Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, 1919, the Paris Peace Conference*. Selected texts date to the period prior the United States entered the war, and consequently the US presence at Paris Peace Conference in 1919. By the usage of these documents, the author of this thesis presents the position of the United States toward World War I and its consequences, including the post-war arrangements of Europe together with the idea of independent Czechoslovakia. In the context of establishment of the state, the United States played a central role together with Thomas G. Masaryk. In addition, the documents also show the diplomatic relations of the United States with other countries around the world.

In general, most documents are the correspondences of the US Secretary Robert Lansing with US Ambassadors across the world, and between the US President Woodrow Wilson and Lansing himself. Especially the communication between Robert Lansing and the US Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, Frederic Courtland Penfield is being used here. This online database of papers relating to the US foreign relations is used and cited by many world writers, scholars, and intellectuals. For this purpose, this digital collection provides the thesis with original documents necessary for understanding the position of the United States in international arena.

CHAPTER 3

THOMAS G. MASARYK'S VISION AND DECISION REGARDING INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After the official announcement of the struggle for independence of Czech and Slovak nations in Geneva in 1915, Thomas G. Masaryk began his journeys abroad to spread his demands concerning Czechoslovakia among the most influential personalities; therefore, he went from Switzerland to the United Kingdom via France, from there to Russia in 1917, and then to the United States via Japan in 1918. When the First World War began, a number of native Czechs and Slovaks living abroad showed their sympathy toward independence of Czechoslovakia. As already mentioned in a previous chapter, those Czechs and Slovaks could be found in Western Europe, Russia, Italy, and in the United States. In Russia, around 70,000 of them lived in cities, such as Moscow, Petrograd, Kiev, and Odessa. In France, there were approximately 2,000 Czechs and Slovaks mainly living in Paris. In England and Italy, the number of them was far less low, compared to the United States, with around one and half million of Czechs and Slovaks.³⁸ Just the United States had to become the most important player besides Masaryk in the question of Czechoslovakia. Thomas G. Masaryk, who demanded equality for both nations, presented one of his crucial thoughts in his book, *The New Europe* (1918):

³⁸ Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 7.

The independence of the Czecho-Slovak State is a demand of political justice, by its geographical location in the center of Europe, and by its century-long struggle against the German "Push Toward the East," the Czech and Slovak nation is the Anti-German vanguard of all the nations in Eastern Europe. Should the Czech-Slovak nation remain in the sway of the Germans and Asiatic peoples allied with Germans, Magyars, and Turks, and should it actually fall, Pangerman Central Europe and its further political consequences will be realized. The Czech-Slovak question is a world question and is the problem of this very war; free Bohemia or reactionary Austria, the free Czecho-Slovak nation or the degenerate Habsburgs – that is the choice for Europe and America, for the thinking Europe and America.³⁹

By this, Masaryk argues that the Allies should strive for the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and for the liberation of Czech lands. According to him, the Allies must not ignore the natural evolution of Europe, which leads to the reorganization in Eastern Europe, including the emergence of independent Poland and Yugoslavia. He further argues that Bohemia that is located in the center of Europe is a pillar of the strength and success of the Allies. To be said, Masaryk makes clear his belief in strong Czech and Slovak nations here.⁴⁰

Thomas G. Masaryk carefully studied biographies of persons with whom he should have met during his stays across Europe and in the United States. The aim was to present his plans and visions regarding Czechoslovakia to influential personalities, to impress and convince them in this issue. Masaryk made a connection with many of them in Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Russia, and most importantly, in the United States.

³⁹ Masaryk, *New Europe*, 152-153.

⁴⁰ Masaryk, *New Europe*, 153-154.

3.1. Thomas G. Masaryk's Stays in France and England

The transfer of information between Thomas G. Masaryk and people around him had to be kept secret; therefore, it was very difficult to pass them. Masaryk and members of Resistance movements devised various ways how to transmit the information. One possibility was to hide secret messages in clothes, such as in heels or in buttons. Besides that, they were also using baggage with a double wall, where they hid important documents. Last but not least, they also often used secret messengers, but this method was dangerous. These messengers were checked whether they could be trusted. They often were spies from the Monarchy, who followed up especially Masaryk.

Since Thomas G. Masaryk and Edvard Beneš met in Switzerland, they went together to France in 1915. They got in touch with the young Slovak general, Milan Rastislav Štefánik there, who aligned with Masaryk's vision regarding independence of Czechoslovakia. Subsequently, these three men founded Czechoslovak National Council in Paris in February 1916, which was the first foreign Resistance against Austro-Hungarian Empire. It included four members: Thomas G. Masaryk as a Chairman, a Czech politician, Josef Dürich, as a Vice Chairman of the Council, Edvard Beneš, and Milan R. Štefánik. Afterwards, Masaryk moved to the United Kingdom in 1916, Štefánik and Dürich left to Russia to set up Czechoslovak Legions, and Beneš remained in France. Nevertheless, Dürich was dismissed from the Council after a while for the establishment of the pro-Tsarist Separatists National Council, funded by the Russian Government. While Thomas G. Masaryk stayed in France, he made a couple of useful contacts. Masaryk met with André Chéradame, a French journalist and scholar specializing in Austria-Hungary, in whom Masaryk found a support for his demands regarding Czechoslovakia. Subsequently, he got in touch

with Ernest Denis, a professor at Sorbonne University, who founded a journal called *La Nation Tchèque*, in which he published Thomas G. Masaryk's demands, and thus introduced the problem of Czech and Slovak nations to the French society.⁴¹

From France, Thomas G. Masaryk reached the United Kingdom. His activities in England were especially centered on King's College, London University, Cambridge and Oxford. In 1915, Masaryk initiated the foundation of a School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London, and this school was a branch of the University of London. Consequently, Masaryk taught Slavic studies and literature there. This happened thanks to his acquaintance, Seton-Watson, who had the idea to introduce Masaryk into the consciousness of the British society by his professing at universities.⁴² In addition, Masaryk publicly spoke against Austria-Hungary. He published articles in couple of Anglican newspapers and magazines to acquaint British society with the demands of self-determination of Czech and Slovak nations. Gradually, Masaryk impressed academic circles, influential personalities, and consequently gained a recognition as a leader of Czechs and Slovaks for their struggle for independence. Particularly, Thomas G. Masaryk met with Lord Robert Cecil, who served as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1915–1919. Hereafter, he got together with Sir George Clerk, a British Diplomat and later the Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Czechoslovak Republic from 1919–1926. All these contacts with personages were extremely valuable to Masaryk in achieving his goal. It is also worth noting that Masaryk's daughter, Olga, supported her father, stayed with him in London, and consequently accompanied Masaryk to the United States in 1918.

⁴¹ Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 8-9.

⁴² Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 8.

3.2. Masaryk's Route from Western Europe to Russia

The year 1917 stands for two crucial milestones in the development of war. Firstly, the United States entered into the war on the side of Entente in April 1917, when it declared the war on Germany. Secondly, Russian Revolution happened in October 1917, when the tsarist regime ended and was replaced by Bolshevism. At that time, Thomas G. Masaryk moved from Western Europe to Russia, and he believed that the overthrow of the tsarist absolutism could also play a role in achieving his goal. In 1917, he traveled there in purpose to create Czechoslovak Legions as a military unit of future Czechoslovakia. Thomas G. Masaryk relied on the help of the new Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Pavel Milyukov, in this issue. However, Milyukov was forced to resign shortly after his election to the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs, so when Masaryk arrived to Russia, he could not count on his help anymore.⁴³

Thomas G. Masaryk firstly visited Saint Petersburg, consequently headed to Moscow, and then to Kiev. In Russia, there was a group of Muscovite Czechs, supporting the liberation movement, and Masaryk should have met with members of the branch of foreign Resistance in Kiev.⁴⁴ Regarding Czechoslovakia, Masaryk asked Russian authorities for the approval to build Legions that would fight against Germany. Czech and Slovak voluntary prisoners in Russia should have enlist this army, but Russian ministers rejected Masaryk's demands. They considered Masaryk to be a betrayer of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Due to this fact, he had to repeatedly negotiate with Russian authorities and generals regarding Czechoslovak Legions. Among others, Thomas G. Masaryk also encountered a problem and

⁴³ Kovtun, *Masaryk's Triumph*, 72.

⁴⁴ Karel Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (North Haven: Catbird Press, 1995), 221.

resentment of the Russian society. Plenty of Czech and Slovak prisoners were useful and needed to work on railways, factories and mines; therefore, Russian society made a clear disagreement with recruiting Czechs and Slovaks to the army.⁴⁵ Subsequently, Masaryk became acquainted with general Aleksei Brusilov, who showed his willingness to help Masaryk with his demand. Masaryk and Brusilov agreed to cooperate, and the result of this joint cooperation was the creation of the first Czechoslovak Legions in 1917. After their establishment, Czechoslovak Legions celebrated their first victory against Central Powers on Eastern front in the Battle of Zborov in July 1917, and Aleksei Brusilov himself acknowledged Czechoslovak Legions to be very capable.⁴⁶

An important milestone that followed the Bolshevik Revolution was a separate peace agreement between Russia and Central Powers signed in Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. The consequence of this agreement was the closure of the Eastern Front that existed between Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Henceforth, Thomas G. Masaryk planned to move Czechoslovak Legions from Russia to Western front.⁴⁷ However, this Brest-Litovsk Treaty made the transport of Czechoslovak Legions to Europe directly through Archangels impossible. For example, Zdeněk Mahler argues that Czechoslovak Legions could not be transported via Archangels, because (1) one of the Brest-Litovsk's conditions did not allow the presence of foreign armies on the territory of Russia – thus Czechoslovak Legions; (2) moreover, the road to Europe via Archangels was bad; (3) German troops were present there.⁴⁸ Consequently, the only way was throughout Siberia to Vladivostok, to Japan, across

⁴⁵ Čapek, *Talks*, 223.

⁴⁶ Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*, 299.

⁴⁷ Marry Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: the state that failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 34-35.

Western front: Luxembourg, Belgium, and France.

⁴⁸ Mahler, *Ano, Masaryk*, 68-69.

the Pacific Ocean to the United States from there, and via Atlantic Ocean to France.⁴⁹

In Japan, Thomas G. Masaryk made a little stop to inform Japanese authorities about the shipment of the Czechoslovak Legions there. Subsequently, French Government willingly recognized the Czechoslovak Legions officially founded in Russia in 1917 to be a part of the French Army, as evinced by the report from 15th January 1918:

January 15, Kiev. – The resolution of Presidential Commission of the Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council in Russia and the Declaration of the Czechoslovak troops in Russia as a part of the autonomous Czechoslovak army in France.

Over the consent of the Government of the French Republic, we declare the Czechoslovak armies in Russia (Ukraine and other systematic parts [!] of the former Russia) part of the Czechoslovak troops, located under the administration of the High Command of France.

Further development and the determination of our troops will henceforth be in the strictest union with the Allies.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council: T.G. Masaryk
Vice-Presidents of the Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council for
Russia: P. Maxa, Rudolf Medek
Secretary of the Branch of Czechoslovak National Council for Russia:
Jiří Klecanda, Ivan Markovič
Members of the Presidential Committee of the Branch of Czechoslovak
National Council for Russia: Miloš Hess, Bohdan Pavlů, Dr. V. Girsá,
warrant officer Eisenberger⁵⁰

Even before the planned transfer of the Czechoslovak Legions to Europe around the world, Thomas G. Masaryk himself went to a long monthly train journey across Siberia to the United States. He left Moscow on his birthday, on 7th March in 1918 to show and prove the Legions that the journey is possible.⁵¹ Masaryk wanted to set himself as an example for the Legions, thus he wrote them a letter of motivation, in which he informed the troops about his departure from Russia.

⁴⁹ George F. Kennan, “The Czechoslovak Legion,” *The Russian Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1957): 6-10.

⁵⁰ Antonín Klimek et al., *Dokumenty Československé zahraniční politiky. Vznik Československa 1918* (Prague: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 1994), 41. Translated by Tereza Lacmanová.

⁵¹ Čapek, *Talks*, 229

Furthermore, he expressed his faith in immediate reunion with all on the west. Masaryk was also satisfied that the Legions have been created under such severe conditions in which Europe currently was, and more importantly, he was even happier that the Legions kept unified and loyal to each other. Thomas G. Masaryk evinced more details in his message to the troops from March 1918:

March 7, Moscow. – Proclamation of the Chairman of the Czech National Council, T.G. Masaryk toward Czech and Slovak soldiers and prisoners of war in Russia on departure from Moscow.

Brothers, soldiers, and prisoners!

[...] This whole is our political power, offering security to each individual; this whole is enemy's memento and will be his terror!

The Czechs of all parties and fractions understood the command of great time huddled in unison array; Czechs and Slovaks were found in viable unity. Czechoslovaks and Russians, you are harmoniously side-by-side and a chance will be given to you to fight [together] with Yugoslavs and Poles.

We found Slavs in danger – we will stay faithful and loyal to each other!
[...] Long live the united independent Czechoslovak nation! Long live democracy and brotherhood of all nations! Long live the First Czechoslovak army, a powerful builder of the Czechoslovak homeland!

– T.G. Masaryk ⁵²

⁵² Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 65-66.
Translated and abbreviated by Tereza Lacmanová.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Thomas G. Masaryk's visions and decisions regarding Czechoslovakia would remain unfulfilled without the contribution of the United States, which cannot be underestimated. In the spring of 1918, Masaryk arrived to the States ready to fight for the demands he wanted for both Czech and Slovak nations. This chapter emphasizes the role of the US President Woodrow Wilson, and the provision of a monetary loan from to the United States to Czechoslovakia, its main purpose was to finance the transfer of the Czechoslovak Legions from Vladivostok via America to the Western Europe, which was a very expensive step from Masaryk's side. Besides that, one of Masaryk's biggest advantages were his acquaintances he had in the United States from earlier times there, which helped to spread the consciousness of Masaryk's activities into the public awareness.

Thomas G. Masaryk visited America for the three times in the past, in 1878, 1902, and 1907.⁵³ Important and valuable friendships with various influential personalities came from his stays there, so Masaryk was known among many scholars in the United States. In addition, these routes provided Masaryk an opportunity to get to know the American culture. Masaryk's wife Charlotte was also American; therefore, Masaryk's first journey to America happened in 1878 due to a marriage with Charlotte Garrigue. Masaryk's second journey to America followed in 1902, and was associated with three Americans – Charles Richard Crane, William Rainey

⁵³ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 52.

Harper, and Leo Wiener.⁵⁴ Charles R. Crane was a key figure among these three men, and one of Masaryk's most important acquaintances in the United States.

When Crane got close to the US President Woodrow Wilson, when helping him with the electoral campaign, he was able to introduce Masaryk to him. From this friendship, famous "Crane-Masaryk connection" came from. In addition, Crane worked at the University of Chicago, where he founded an institution for lectures on Slavic culture. Subsequently, William R. Harper, who was the first President of the University of Chicago, reportedly suggested Masaryk to Crane; Harper heard about him during his journey to Europe in 1891.⁵⁵ Based on this suggestion, Masaryk was invited to lead Slavonic lectures at the University of Chicago. Leo Wiener was one of the first professors, who gave lectures on a Slavonic literature at universities in the United States. He also visited Czech lands, and consequently published an article about his journey, and thus introduced Czech literature and intelligence to the American society. All these, and many others acquaintances, Masaryk used in achieving his aim regarding independence of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's third journey to the States happened in 1907, and his popularity among Americans was "far higher than five years ago there."⁵⁶ He held lectures for Czech-Americans on the Czech literature, Karel Havlíček Borovský, and on equality between men and women in the public life and employment.⁵⁷ The year 1918 was Masaryk's fourth visit to the United States. That time, Thomas G. Masaryk headed incognito as Thomas George Marsden there.⁵⁸ This was his pseudonym, which he was intentionally using for his travels abroad the Monarchy.

⁵⁴ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 55.

⁵⁵ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 56.

⁵⁶ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 62.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁸ Street, *President Masaryk*, 191.

4.1. Presidency of Woodrow Wilson During the War Time

Woodrow Wilson held the presidential office of the United States for a period of eight years, from 1913 until 1921. In the mid-1914, the situation in Europe has escalated by the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914. As a consequence of this assassination, Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia on 28th July 1914. Two alliances stood against each other – the Entente composed of France, the United Kingdom and Russia; and the Central Powers, consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

When the war in Europe broke out in 1914, Woodrow Wilson held the position of keeping the United States out of it. The turning point that brought the States into the war was the attack and a consequent sinking of American ships, particularly Lusitania, by German submarines in May 1915 as a part of German blockade called U-boat Campaign, which lasted until 1918 and resulted in hundreds of sunken ships from different countries. On this account, Woodrow Wilson decided to take a crucial step and announced the declaration of war to Germany. The following text is abbreviated from the proclamation of the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, in regard to the US declaration of war with Germany:

*Proclamation of April 6, 1917, of the Existence of a State of War
between the United States and Germany*

[Extract]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them have resolved, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives bearing date this day “That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared”;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state

of war exists between the United States and Imperial German Government; And I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war; [...] ⁵⁹

This German attack on American ships was carried out in alliance with Mexico, which was figured out from the Zimmerman Telegram that was sent by the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur Zimmermann, to Mexico. Nevertheless, this telegram was captured by the British and subsequently decrypted.⁶⁰ The archival text that follows is abbreviated from the telegram between the US Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Whitney Page, and the US Secretary Robert Lansing, regarding the Zimmermann telegram:

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State
[Telegram]

LONDON, February 24, 1917, 1 p. m.
[Received 8.30 p. m.]

5747. [...] For the President and the Secretary of State. Balfour has handed me the text of a cipher telegram from Zimmermann, German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the German Minister to Mexico, which was sent via Washington. [...] I give you the English translation as follows:

We intend to begin on the 1st of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep to United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain and add suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves.

⁵⁹ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, henceforth *FRUS*, 1917, Supplement 1, The World War (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 207.

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1917Supp01v01>.

⁶⁰ *FRUS*, Supplement 1, The World War, 147.

Please call the President's attention to the fact that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers to the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace.
Signed, Zimmermann.⁶¹

The entry of the United States into the war with Germany also brought the interruption of all diplomatic relations not only with Germany, but also with Austria-Hungary. Nearly all communications with these two countries before the severance were done through the US Secretary Robert Lansing, and the US Ambassadors there. Robert Lansing, an American lawyer, who succeeded William Jennings Bryan at the post of the United States Secretary of State, acted as such from 1915 to 1920. Subsequently, American Ambassadors to these countries were recalled from their posts. James Watson Gerard was the US Ambassador to Germany, serving from 1913 until 1917. Frederic Courtland Penfield was the US Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, serving from 1913 until 1917. The following abbreviated archival texts evince the interruption of relations between the United States, Germany, and Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first text is a telegram sent by Robert Lansing to German Ambassador, Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, and shows the severance of communication between the United States and Germany:

The Secretary of State to the German Ambassador (Bernstorff)

No. 2307

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917*

[...]

The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your excellency your passport.

ROBERT LANSING⁶²

⁶¹ *FRUS*, 1917, Supplement 1, The World War, 147.

⁶² *FRUS*, 1917, Supplement 1, The World War, 106-108.

The second telegram evinces the interruption of diplomatic relations between the United States and Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is a telegram sent by the US Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, Frederic C. Penfield, to Robert Lansing:

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State
[Telegram]

VIENNA, April 1, 1917, noon.

[Received April 2, noon.]

1800. Minister for Foreign Affairs [Ottokar Theobald Otto Maria Graf Czernin von und zu Chudenitz] this morning assured me with great distinctness that if America declares war against Germany, the diplomatic relations of Austria-Hungary will be immediately severed. [...]

PENFIELD⁶³

Frederic C. Penfield was the last American Ambassador to Austria-Hungary. Even though Joseph Clark Grew was appointed chargé d'affaires to Austria-Hungary after the interruption of communication between these two countries, Penfield is officially proclaimed to be the last US Ambassador there. The following abbreviated telegram is the communication between Robert Lansing and Chargé in Austria-Hungary, J. C. Grew about the severance of relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary:

The Chargé in Austria-Hungary (Grew) to the Secretary of the State
[Telegram]

VIENNA, April 8, 1917, 2 p. m.

[Received April 9, 6 p. m.]

1823. Minister of Foreign Affairs has just informed me that the diplomatic relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary are broken and has handed me passports for myself and the members of the Embassy. [...]

⁶³ *FRUS*, 1917, Supplement 1, The World War, 193.

GREW⁶⁴

Since the communication between both Germany and Austria-Hungary with the United States ended, the US Embassies in Germany and in the Monarchy, were closed. Diplomatic relations with Austria-Hungary were restored again in 1921.

4.2. Thomas G. Masaryk's Activities in the United States Regarding Czechoslovakia in 1918

Thomas G. Marsden arrived to the United States in spring 1918. From the beginning, he focused on Czech-Slovak communities there, in which he led lectures. Countrymen from Czech lands and Slovakia identified themselves with the vision of Czechoslovakia to be established outside the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and supported it. Masaryk's influence among American Czechs and Slovaks was important, and helped him to spread his demands regarding Czechoslovakia through the society in the United States. As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Thomas G. Masaryk's contacts with American personalities originated to a larger extend in his visits to the United States in the past.

The first person with whom Thomas G. Masaryk met after his arrival to the United States in 1918 was a Czech-American, Charles Pergler. He, and many others American Czechs and Slovaks, cooperated with Masaryk. Besides Charles Pergler, worth mentioning are Emanuel Viktor Voska and Štefan Osuský. Charles Pergler was skilled in many professions; he was a lawyer, a journalist, and the Director of the Slav Press Bureau founded in New York, Bohemian National Alliance, and

⁶⁴ *FRUS*, 1917, Supplement 2, Volume I, The World War (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 15.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1917Supp02v01>.

American office of Czechoslovak National Council in Washington.⁶⁵ Both Bohemian National Alliance and American office of Czechoslovak National Council favorably supported the idea of independent Czechoslovak state. Bohemian National Alliance was a political party its members started to publish a journal called Bohemian Review⁶⁶, and American office of Czechoslovak National Council consisted of immigrants from Austria-Hungary.⁶⁷ Next, a Czech patriot Emanuel Viktor Voska also collaborated with Masaryk. These two men firstly met in the United States in 1918. Professor Jiří Kovtun wrote about Voska that “due to his hobbies in undercover operations, he consequently became a spy,”⁶⁸ providing important services to the United States in both First and Second World Wars; therefore, Voska was a very valuable person for Thomas G. Masaryk. Last but not least, a Slovak Štefan Osuský worked on the resistance actions together with Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik around Europe, in England, France, Switzerland, and Italy.

The first success of Thomas G. Masaryk activities in the United States was the signature of the Pittsburg Agreement on 30th May 1918. This agreement de facto replaced Cleveland Agreement of 1915, in which Czechs and Slovaks agreed on a mutual cooperation regarding their future self-determination into Czechoslovakia. This Agreement between Czechs and Slovaks also promised autonomous rights to Slovaks, such as their own administration and equality of Czech and Slovak languages. Furthermore, the treaty negotiated Czechoslovakia to be a republic with a

⁶⁵ Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 27.

⁶⁶ Miroslav Rechcigl, Jr., *Czech American Timeline: Chronology of Milestones in the History of Czechs* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse™ LLC, 2013), 238.

⁶⁷ Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 10.

⁶⁸ Kovtun, *Masarykův Triumf*, 68.

Translated by Tereza Lacmanová.

democratic constitution.⁶⁹ Masaryk alongside with American Czechs and Slovaks signed this agreement, which was the first step toward a new state. Signatories were, besides Thomas G. Masaryk, Vojtěch Beneš, Ivan Bieloč, Michal Bosák, Ivan Daxner, Hynek Dostál, Ján A. Ferienčík, Ludvík Fisher, Matúš Gazdík, Ignác Gessay, Milan Getting, Jozef Hušek, Ján Janček, Jr., Jozef Karlovský, Innocent Kestl, Ján Kubašek, Albert Mamatey, Josef Martínek, Gejza H. Mika, Jozef Murgaš, Ján Pankúch, Joseph P. Pecivál, Charles Pergler, Andrej Schustek, B. Simek, Jan Straka, Pavel J. Šiška, Oldřich Zlámal, and Jaroslav J. Zmrhal.⁷⁰ Although this agreement was signed in Pittsburg, the future organization of the Czechoslovak State was the responsibility of its legal representatives – thus Thomas G. Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, Karel Kramář, and others.⁷¹ Nevertheless, such document would not be enough for the establishment of Czechoslovakia. Thomas G. Masaryk needed a support of influential Americans, especially the most crucial one – Woodrow Wilson. Masaryk was able to meet with Wilson thanks to his acquaintances, Charles R. Crane, and the US Secretary Robert Lansing. With these two men, Masaryk communicated the most. Crane helped Masaryk to spread his demands regarding Czechoslovakia into the consciousness of American society through the press. Additionally, Crane himself sent a letter of recommendation to Woodrow Wilson, in which he presented Thomas G. Masaryk as an “expert on Russia”⁷², as professor Milada Polišenská recounts in her book. Subsequently on 19th June 1918, Thomas G. Masaryk personally met with President Woodrow Wilson. The topic of their

⁶⁹ Jindřich Dejmeč et al., *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci 1918–1920. Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky*, Sv. 1 (Prague: Institute of International Relations, Charles University in Prague – Karolinum Press, and The Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2001), 123.

⁷⁰ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy*, 1. díl, I. svazek, 39.

⁷¹ Dejmeč, *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci*, Sv. 1, 123.

⁷² Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy*, 1. díl, I. svazek, 39.

discussion was primarily Russia and the question of Czechoslovak Legions. Masaryk asked Wilson for help with the transport of the Legions from Vladivostok to France. Consequently, Wilson responded positively to his request.⁷³

The next step toward the establishment of Czechoslovakia was the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council, which was founded in Paris in 1916, to be a representative government of both Czech and Slovak nations. On this account, Thomas G. Masaryk sent a memorandum to the US Secretary Robert Lansing. In this memorandum, Masaryk stated that based on historical rights, the Czechs and Slovaks deserved their own state, emphasized the overall significance of the Czechoslovak state, and last but not least, highlighted its cooperation with the Allies. Most importantly, Masaryk mentioned that the British, French and Italian governments were close about to recognize the Czechoslovak National Council as an official authority of Czechs and Slovaks. Even before sending this memorandum, both British and French governments questioned the United States of their attitude toward Czechoslovakia. Subsequently, both governments also expressed their positive stands toward the Czechoslovak National Council, and also recommended the United States to recognize it as a legitimate authority of Czechs and Slovaks, as Professor Milada Polišenská describes in her book.⁷⁴ The following text is Thomas G. Masaryk's memorandum to Robert Lansing from 31st August 1918. It states the preamble of the text, and crucial arguments regarding the importance of the Czechoslovak State. In this document, Masaryk also provided an important idea that the refusal of United States to recognize the Czechoslovak National Council as the authority of Czech and Slovak nations would mean a variation in common interests with European allies. That could be a complication their enemies may consequently

⁷³ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 40.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

point to.⁷⁵

*31st August, Washington. – The Memorandum of the President of the Czechoslovak National Council, Thomas G. Masaryk to the US Secretary of State, Robert Lansing in matter of recognition the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czechoslovak Army.*⁷⁶

THE RECONGITION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL AND OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY

I.

The Official Recognition of the Czechoslovak Political Efforts by France, Italy, and Great Britain

France, Great Britain and Italy have recognized our National Council and our army; we greatly desire that the United States join in this recognition even though the government of the United States has already expressed its sympathies with our movement for liberation. [...]

VII

The Political Significance of the Czechoslovak State

The Czechoslovak State will be an effective barrier against Germany. The Czechs and the westernmost anti-German wedge: in their more than thousand year struggle with Germany they became hardened, and know how to defend themselves.

The Czechoslovak State will not be [one] of the smallest. It will be formed of the so-called lands of the Bohemian Crown, (Bohemia, Moravia and Austria Silesia) and of Slovakia (northern part of Hungary). [...] the population would count about 12 to 13 million. [...] Of Czechs and Slovaks there are 10 million.

VIII

The Czechs and Slovaks in the War on the Side of the Allies

Right after the declaration of war the whole Czechoslovak nation arraigned itself against Austria-Hungary and Germany on the side of the Allies. [...] The Austrian government cancelled all liberties of its citizens; there was no parliament, all political parties were immediately placed under police supervision, newspapers were muzzled and suppressed, political meetings were forbidden – in short, the war began by a terror at home.

An open – o p e n, I repeat, opposition to war and to Austria was begun

⁷⁵ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 243.

⁷⁶ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 235.

by the Czechoslovak soldiers: [...] and soon formed Czechoslovak Legions in the Allied Armies.

X The Recognition by the United States

From what I said above I draw the conclusion that also the United States will officially recognize our National Council and our army.

We desire the recognition by the United States for reasons of principle: we consider the great American republic to be the mother of modern democracy, and therefore her recognition is of special value to us.⁷⁷

Also, a worth mentioning is a little note about the publication of Woodrow Wilson called *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* written in 1898. In this book, Wilson commented on the coexistence of different nations within Austria-Hungary, giving the emphasis on inequality between Slavic and non-Slavic nations, precisely Bohemians, Germans and Magyars. Wilson argued that Bohemians should be provided “the same degree of autonomy”⁷⁸ to be comparable with the autonomy of Hungarians.

Subsequently, at the end of May 1918, the US Secretary Robert Lansing prepared a statement of recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council, which he sent on the next day, 31st May to the president.⁷⁹ As a result, Woodrow Wilson acknowledged the Czechoslovak National Council to be the official government of both Czech and Slovak nations on 2nd September 1918.⁸⁰ The following abbreviated text evinces Wilson’s recognition of both the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czechoslovak army. Robert Lansing wrote this document, which he forwarded to Wilson:

Recognition by the United States, September 3, of the Czecho-Slovak

⁷⁷ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 235-245.

Abbreviated by Tereza Lacmanová.

⁷⁸ Woodrow Wilson, *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (New York: D.C. Heath, 1918), 494.

⁷⁹ Unterberger, *The United States, Russia and Czechoslovakia*, 285.

⁸⁰ Polišínská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 43.

National Council as a de facto Belligerent Government [...]

The Czecho-Slovak peoples having taken up arms against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and having placed organized armies in the field which are waging war against those empires under officers of their own nationality and in accordance with the rules and practices of civilized nations; and the Czecho-Slovaks having, in prosecution of their independent purposes in the present war, confided supreme political authority of the Czecho-Slovak National Council.

The Government of the United States recognizes that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovak thus organized and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

It also recognizes the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a *de facto* belligerent government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks.

The Government of the United States further declares that it is prepared to enter formally into relations with the *de facto* government thus recognized for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the common enemy, the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

LANSING ⁸¹

4.3. The United States Loan Provision to Czechoslovakia

Having discussed some of the most important milestones of Thomas G. Masaryk's activities in the United States, the signature of the Pittsburg Agreement and the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council, a monetary loan provided by the US Government for the transport of the Czechoslovak Legions from Russia to France cannot be forgotten. Professor Milada Polišenská identifies in her works the provision of this loan as a crucial factor, which contributed to the foundation of Czechoslovakia. Meaning, Masaryk's charisma, his ability to intelligently utilize information and impress right people regarding his demands were not enough for establishing the state. Furthermore, the transport of the Legions from Russia across the globe was a very costly move. Nevertheless, the United States agreed to provide such help, even before Czechoslovakia was proclaimed. This fact indicates that, as professor Polišenská further states in her book, the United States "identified their

⁸¹ *FRUS*, 1918, Supplement 1, Volume 1, The World War (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1918), 824-825.

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1918Supp01v01>.

position in regard to future Czechoslovak state”⁸² by this step. Given that Czechoslovakia was still not officially established, it was necessary to take number of certain legal steps in order to grant the loan. Immediately after the approval of the US Government to help Czechoslovak Legions, Thomas G. Masaryk sent a letter to Edvard Beneš, in which he listed what requirements must be met in order to come to an agreement to provide a monetary help. Both Czech and Slovak nations already had the official government, which was the Czechoslovak National Council. The Council should also have authorized Masaryk as a President of the Council to act and sign the loan bonds. Furthermore, a representative should have been chosen in the case of Masaryk’s absence.⁸³ Next, further evidences must have provided that the Council as the official government of Czechs and Slovaks was fully organized.⁸⁴ Subsequently, the loan was granted in several installments between 1918 and 1919. Overall, it was a sum of around thirty-three million US dollars.⁸⁵

4.4. Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence in Washington in October 1918

Less than two months remained until the official proclamation of the Czechoslovak State. In the mid-September 1918, Thomas G. Masaryk met with Woodrow Wilson once again, and during that meeting, Masaryk expressed him his many thanks for the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czechoslovak Legions. Furthermore, Masaryk did not forget his friends, who helped him in achieving his goal. He sent a letter of thanks to Charles R. Crane for his support and contribution. On 15th September 1918, Masaryk delivered a speech at the

⁸² Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 46.

⁸³ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 267.

⁸⁴ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 47.

⁸⁵ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 48.

manifestation of “underprivileged nations”, which used to be part of Austria-Hungary in Philadelphia. The purpose of his speech was to support those nations.⁸⁶ Later on, Thomas G. Masaryk informed Edvard Beneš about the necessity to establish a Provisional Czechoslovak Government. Consequently, Edvard Beneš did so, and the Provisional Czechoslovak Government was proclaimed in Paris, and lasted for a month, from 14th September to 14th October 1918, few days before Czechoslovakia was official proclaimed as an independent state.

The war was almost over, and on 16th October, Thomas G. Masaryk sent a letter to the US Secretary Robert Lansing, about the intention to proclaim the independence of Czechoslovak State. The following text is the correspondence between Thomas G. Masaryk and Robert Lansing, which evinces Masaryk’s will to proclaim the autonomy of the state:

*16th October, Washington. – The letter of the President of the Provisional Czechoslovak government, Thomas G. Masaryk to the US Secretary, Robert Lansing regarding the upcoming publication of the Declaration of Independence.*⁸⁷

Mr. Secretary,

I take the liberty of submitting to you the first draft of our Declaration of Independence: weeks ago, we have decided to publish it because of the insincere promises of Austro-Hungarian government to reorganize the Empire. It so happens that the answer of President Wilson to Austria-Hungary is promised just the day on which I was going to publish the declaration. Should you wish that we do not publish it till after the President’s answer, we shall gladly comply with your wishes.

Believe me, Mr. Secretary,
Yours very sincerely,
T. G. M.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 43.

⁸⁷ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 314.

Translated by Tereza Lacmanová.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 314.

Czechoslovak Provisional Government consequently published the Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak State on 18th October 1918 in Washington. Thomas G. Masaryk together with Milan Rastislav Štefánik and Edvard Beneš signed this Declaration on 19th October 1918. It is known as the Washington Declaration. Although it was signed in Washington, the official seat of the Czechoslovak Provisional Government was in Paris.⁸⁹ The following text from the Washington Declaration highlights important features of Czechoslovak Republic:

*18th October, Washington. – The Declaration of Independence issued by the Czechoslovak Provisional Government.*⁹⁰

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION BY ITS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

At this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the Allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Habsburgs are promising the federalization of empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule,⁹¹ we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the Allied and American governments as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak State and nation, [...] do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion, and science, literature and art, speech, the press and the right of assembly and petition. The church shall be separated from the state. Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage; women shall be places on an equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

We believe in democracy; we believe in liberty, and liberty even more.

Given in Paris, on the eighteen of October, 1918.

Professor Thomas G. Masaryk
Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
General Dr Milan Rastislav Štefánik,
Minister of National Defence
Dr Edvard Beneš,

⁸⁹ Polišínská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 44-45.

⁹⁰ Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 317.

Translated by Tereza Lacmanová.

⁹¹ The Emperor of Austria-Hungary, Charles I, wanted to save the Empire through federalization. Nevertheless, this intention failed.

Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.⁹²

Thomas G. Masaryk consequently received a congratulation from the US President Woodrow Wilson, regarding the announcement of the Czechoslovak state.⁹³ Then, the last phase was to inform Czechs and Slovaks at home about the proclamation of independent Czechoslovakia. Henceforth, on 28th October 1918, five men – Alois Rašín, František Soukup, Jiří Stříbrný, Antonín Švehla, and Vavro Šrobár, formed a National Committee in Czechoslovakia, and issued a new law, which set up an independent Czechoslovak State. They are known as “men of 28th October”.

The First Czechoslovak Republic was therefore officially established on 28th October 1918, with Thomas G. Masaryk being the first president of it. Richard Crane, the son of Charles R. Crane, was appointed as the first US Minister to Czechoslovakia on 23rd April 1919.⁹⁴ Masaryk remained in the United States until December 1918. After, he finally returned home.

⁹² Klimek, *Dokumenty, Vznik Československa 1918*, 317-320.
Abbreviated by Tereza Lacmanová.

⁹³ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 45.

⁹⁴ Polišenská, *Diplomatické vztahy, 1. díl, I. svazek*, 58.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The author of this Bachelor's Thesis focused on the process of the creation of the First Czechoslovak Republic of 1918, giving the emphasis on both Thomas G. Masaryk's contribution, and the role of the United States in this matter. To be said, Thomas G. Masaryk was a valuable character, thanks to whom Czechs and Slovaks got their own state. He took the first crucial steps, which subsequently resulted in what the author calls the path toward Czechoslovakia here. After having written this thesis in diplomatic history, I consider proven the thesis sentence that "Thomas Garrigue Masaryk used his knowledge of Czech history within a large international context to spread the demands of Czech and Slovak nations abroad, and thereby contributed to foundation of the first Czechoslovak Republic, where Czech and Slovak nations were unified in one independent state." The author of this thesis aimed to show that the first idea of an independent Czechoslovakia comes from Thomas G. Masaryk, and that he was able to actively spread his demands in regards of Czechs and Slovaks abroad. As a consequence of this, Masaryk was able to negotiate his visions and decisions with the representatives of the western powers, especially the United States, and succeed.

Thomas G. Masaryk is definitely one of the most influential, recognized and respected personalities in Czechoslovak history. His legacy remains present until today, when many scholars and leading experts study his personality, his political activities, and his function as the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic. Masaryk was a very vital person, because he entered politics in the age of about fifty. Furthermore, his enormous charisma enabled him to become acquainted with many

esteemed characters across Europe and in the United States. When Masaryk arrived to the States for the fourth time in 1918, they respected him as an eminent statesman there. To be said, he is an example of a moral and principled man. When we consider that there were other nations throughout centuries that sought their rightful self-determination as well as Czechs, who were later joined by the Slovaks, but did not succeed, it may seem incredible that Masaryk was able to succeed in his visions regarding both Czech and Slovak nations; for this purpose, he must have had a tremendous amount of energy. Until present days, there are nations, such as the Basques, calling for their determination, or the Kurds, seeking for their own state independent on Turkey; therefore, it is admirable that Thomas G. Masaryk triumphed here. Moreover, an interesting question appears, what would happen with the Slovak nation, if we take into account the fact that the most of the territory of today's Slovakia was subject to the strong Magyarization? Can one assume that without Thomas G. Masaryk's actions, Hungarians would increasingly dominate the Slovaks? If this scenario would have happened, a possible consequence of this could have led to more or less a disappearance of the Slovak nation under the Hungarian administration. But due to the demarcation of the new Czechoslovak state's borders at Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Hungary lost a considerable amount of its territories, as the author once mentioned in the introduction.

Of course, without the help of others, all Thomas G. Masaryk's visions and plans would not have happened. Even though he was a charismatic person, and endowed with the ability to impress people around him, it is clear that it was not enough regarding the establishment of the state. To be said, it is a necessity for any state to be recognized by the outside world. Furthermore, this leads to the orientation of the state's foreign policy, cooperation and trade with other countries, and many

other aspects. Thus, Thomas G. Masaryk relied on the help of the following regarding his goal: firstly, significant personalities that were in close tight with Masaryk, and accompanied him in his pursuit of the self-determination of Czechs and Slovaks, such as Edvard Beneš, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, and members of both home and foreign Resistances. Then, Masaryk's acquaintances he had throughout Europe, in Switzerland, England, France, Italy, Russia, and in the United States, who have also significantly contributed to Masaryk's effort, when they gradually spread his thoughts and ideas among the public in each country. These are R. W. Seton-Watson, Charles R. Crane, Charles Pergler, Emanuel Voska, Štefan Osuský, and many others. Thirdly, Thomas G. Masaryk's cooperation with the US Secretary Robert Lansing, and Woodrow Wilson's decisions to accept Czechoslovak National Council as the governmental body of both Czech and Slovak nations, and the Czechoslovak Legions as the army of Czechoslovakia. Next, the United States' government loan provision for the transfer of the Legions from Vladivostok to Europe was a crucial and integral aspect for establishing the state. To add, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points led to the change of the European settlement with Czechoslovakia as a sovereign state attending the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and made a final dot to this chapter in Czechoslovak history. And last but not least, Thomas G. Masaryk can be grateful and proud mainly of himself, for his courage and fearlessness, for his knowledge resulting from an extensive study of both Czech and Slovak histories, on which he built his fight for Czech-Slovak self-determination. Next, for his countless lectures at universities across Europe, through which he got supporters of his intentions, and most importantly, for his decision to embark upon this long and arduous journey with a vision of freedom for Czechs and Slovaks at the end.

At Paris Conference in 1919, Czechoslovakia stood next to the victorious powers as a rightful and a sovereign state. Leaders of Entente dealt with the post-war order in Europe at Paris Peace Conference, giving the emphasis on the question of Germany. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia got a new definition of the state boundaries there. The Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, Edvard Beneš, represented the newly formed state there. Beneš met with French and British ministers, Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd George and with the US President Woodrow Wilson there.⁹⁵ As a consequence of this Conference, new boundaries of Czechoslovakia were settled, so the new state occupied Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, and Carpathian Ruthenia, which was a region located in western part of Ukraine, including cities, such as Uzhorod and Mukachevo. Historically, it belonged under the administration of the so called Great Moravian Empire, covering the territories of today's Moravia, Slovakia and Hungary in the 9th/10th Centuries. Subsequently, Ruthenia belonged to Kievan Rus', and later to the Austro-Hungarian Empire until its dissolution in 1918.⁹⁶ Since 1919, this region became a part of Czechoslovak Republic until 1938.

The most important facts regarding the process of forming the Czechoslovak state have been said, discussed, elaborated, and summarized. It remains now to deliver a few final findings. Firstly, during the research and a subsequent writing of this Bachelor's Thesis, the author concluded that Austria-Hungary underestimated Thomas G. Masaryk a lot. No one probably expected that Masaryk could intervene in international affairs, when demanding the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The government of the Monarchy knew very well about Thomas G.

⁹⁵ Marc Trachtenberg, "Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1979), 25-28.

⁹⁶ Paul R. Magosci, "The Ruthenian Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1975): 361-363.

Masaryk, and his actions he did abroad, because he was followed by spies; therefore, it does not make sense why they did not try to kill him. Or, it might have been enough to try to discredit Masaryk using the neutral countries' channels. Consequently, no one would have taken him seriously anymore. Secondly, the provision of a monetary loan from the United States was a very significant contribution regarding the formation of Czechoslovakia. To be said, "Crane-Masaryk" connection, even though it was a strong and essential alliance for Thomas G. Masaryk, would not have been enough. After all, the foundation of a state and the transport of the Czechoslovak Legions were very expensive. For this purpose, it is hard to say whether the United States would have recognized Czechoslovakia without providing the loan, from which they benefited. Last but not least, Masaryk's decision to transfer the Czechoslovak Legions through Vladivostok and Japan back to the Western Europe gives a rise to many further questions. Was there another, a simpler way, for example, via Persia? This is an excellent idea for a further study, a research, an exploration, and even a topic for a Master's Thesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Beneš, Edvard. *Problémy nové Evropy a zahraniční politika Československa. Projevy a úvahy z roku 1919–1924*. Prague: Melantrich, 1924.

Beneš, Edvard. *Světová Válka a naše revoluce. Vzpomínky a úvahy z bojů za svobodu národa I-III*. Prague: Orbis, 1927–1928.

Dejmek, Jindřich, František Kolář, Martin Nechvátal, Helena Nováčková, and Ivan Šťovíček. *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci 1918–1920. Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky*. Sv. 1. Prague: Institute of International Relations, Charles University in Prague – Karolinum Press, and The Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2001.

Dejmek, Jindřich, František Kolář, Martin Nechvátal, Helena Nováčková, and Ivan Šťovíček. *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci 1918–1920. Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky*. Sv. 2. Prague: Institute of International Relations, Charles University in Prague – Karolinum Press, and The Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2011.

Klimek, Antonín, Helena Nováčková, Milada Polišenská, and Ivan Šťovíček. *Dokumenty zahraniční československé politiky. Vznik Československa 1918*. Prague: Institute of International Relations, 1994.

Masaryk, Thomas G. *Česká Otázka*. Prague: Melantrich, 1969.

Masaryk, Thomas G. *The New Europe: The Slavic Standpoint*. Translated by W. Preston Warren, and William B. Weist. Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, 1972.

Seton-Watson, R.W. *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*. London: Hutchinson & CO. LTD, 1943.

Seymour, Charles. *What Really Happened at Paris*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.

Street, Cecil John Charles. *President Masaryk*. London: Geoffrey Bless, 1930.

Temperley, Harold. *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. London: Oxford University Press, 1920.

Wilson, Woodrow. *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics*. New York: D.C. Heath, 1918.

B. PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES (FRUS)

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1917, Supplement 1, The World War. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1917Supp01v01>.
Accessed 11th March 2017.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1917, Supplement 2, Volume I, The World War. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1917Supp02v01>.
Accessed 11th March 2017.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. Lansing Papers 1914–1920 (in two volumes). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914–1920.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS19141920v1>.
Accessed 17th April 2017.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS19141920v2>
Accessed 17th April 2017.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1918, Supplement 1, Volume I, The World War. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1918.
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1918Supp01v01>.
Accessed 29th April 2017.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Agnew, Hugh. *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004.

Borsody, Stephen. *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation*. New Haven: Yale Russian and East European Publications, 1988.

Borsody, Stephen. *The New Central Europe*. New York: East European Monographs, 1993.

Čapek, Karel. *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*. Translated by Michael Henry Heim. North Haven: Catbird Press, 1995.

Dejmek, Jindřich. *Edvard Beneš. Politická biografie českého demokrata (I)*. Prague: Karolinum, 2006.

- Dejmek, Jindřich. *Edvard Beneš. Politická biografie českého demokrata (II)*. Prague: Karolinum, 2008.
- Heimann, Mary. *Czechoslovakia: the state that failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Kalvoda, Josef. *The Genesis of Czechoslovakia*. Michigan: East European Monographs, 1986.
- Kovtun, Jiří. *Masarykův Triumf*. Prague: Odeon, 1991.
- Mahler, Zdeněk. *Ano, Masaryk*. Prague: Nakladatelství Slávka Kopecká, 2007.
- Orzoff, Andrea. *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe 1914–1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Polišenská, Milada. *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, I. svazek. Ministerstva, legace a diplomaté*. Prague: Libri, 2012.
- Polišenská, Milada. *Diplomatické vztahy Československa a USA 1918–1968. 1. díl, II. svazek. Priority, diplomatická praxe a politický kontext*. Prague: Libri, 2014.
- Polišenská, Milada. *Zapomenutý „nepřítel“ Josef Josten*. Prague: Libri, 2009.
- Rechcigl, Miroslav Jr. *Czech American Timeline: Chronology of Milestones in the History of Czechs*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse™ LLC, 2013.
- Unterberger, Betty Miler. *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia*. Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2000.
- Wandycz, Piotr S. *The price of freedom. A history of East Central Europe from the middle ages to the present*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Winters, Stanley B. *T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)*. London: Macmillan Academic And Professional LTD, 1920.
- Zeman, Zbyněk. *The gentlemen negotiators; a diplomatic history of the First World War*. New York: Macmillan, 1971.
- Zeman, Zbyněk. *The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976.

B. JOURNAL ARTICLES

Kennan, George F. "The Czechoslovak Legion." *The Russian Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1957): 3-16.

Magosci, Paul R. "The Ruthenian Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1975): 360-381.

Trachtenberg, Marc. "Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference." *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1979): 24-55.