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Article Summary: Šolle describes the development of the Czech Social Democratic movement. He highlights the career of Vojta Náprstek and other Czech advocates of liberty, known on both sides of the Atlantic for their journalism and public service.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Vojta Náprstek, John Charles Fremont, Karel Jonáš, J V Sladek, T G Masaryk, Lev J Palda, Leopold Kochmann, Josef Boleslav Pecka, František Choura

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Photographs / Images: fig 26: image of Karel Havlíček-Borovský on the proscenium curtain at the Kollár Hall, DuBois; fig 27: cover artwork by August Petřtyl for a 1918 issue of *Hospodář*; fig 28: U Halánků, now the Náprstek Museum; fig 29: J B Pecka; fig 30: Tomáš Masaryk's portrait on a certificate awarded to Omahan Václav Tesař; fig 31: National Theatre, Prague, depicted on the proscenium curtain at the Čecho-Moravan Hall, Brainard

Czech Political Refugees in the United States during the Nineteenth Century

By Zdeněk Šolle

Twice in the nineteenth century and four times in the twentieth century (1914-18, 1938-39, 1948-49, and 1968-69), Czech patriots and advocates of political liberty and social equality have fled persecution in their homeland and come to the United States to work for the realization of political programs designed to promote the welfare of Czechs in Europe as well as in the Americas. Articles by Josef Opatrný, Joseph Svoboda, and Frederick Luebke in this issue of *Nebraska History* address general questions in the history of Czech emigration to America during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹ This article more specifically discusses the aspirations and fate of many well-known Czech political refugees in the United States who were representative during the 1850s of participants in the 1848 Revolution and during the 1880s and 1890s of the first generation of socialist workers. Some emphasis will be given to the work of these political refugees in the United States as leaders and journalists in Czech-American or international socialist organizations.² Although not nearly so important in American history as the several hundred thousand farmers and artisans who constituted the mass immigration of 1870 to 1914, these refugees continue to interest historians as intellectual or organizational leaders in Czech democratic and socialist movements in their native and adopted countries. Many of the reform

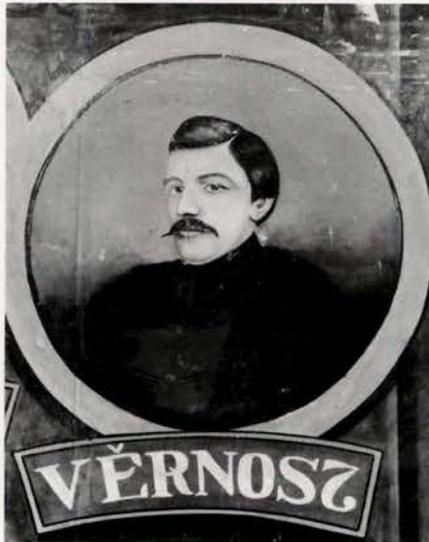


Fig. 26. *Liberal and patriotic journalist Karel Havlíček-Borovský, commemorated on the proscenium curtain at the Kollár Hall near DuBois, Nebraska. (P. Michael Whye, NSHS C998.1-497)*

programs they first articulated and published in the United States were realized decades later by adherents in the Czech lands.

The first large wave of Czech immigrants came to the United States from Bohemia and Moravia after the Revolution of 1848. At that time, most emigrants were peasants who, after the revolution and consequent abolition of forced labor (*robota*) and the manorial system, could freely move or sell their land (fig. 27). This first major wave of emigrants crested in the years 1853-55 at the height of absolutist rule by the Bach-Schwarzenberg ministry of the Austrian Empire. František Kutnar, a fairly recent analyst of this Czech emigration, has contended that it resulted from "economic pressure and social discontent clearly combined with

political dissatisfaction" and was "a convincing expression of the people's active opposition to conditions created by capitalist means of production and by the political absolutism of Bach."³

Vojta Náprstek, a Czech student and advocate of democracy, who fled to the United States in the fall of 1848 to escape persecution by the Austrian police for his participation in the revolution of the spring of that year, became the first Czech to organize the emigration of his fellow countrymen to America (fig. 20).⁴ Náprstek was the scion of a wealthy Prague bourgeois family and a conscientious Czech patriot. Since his youth, he had been convinced that the emancipation of the Czech nation in the framework of free and sovereign nations could not be achieved solely by the activities of poets, artists, and philosophers but must be advanced by economic improvement and political emancipation culminating in social change. In this advocacy, Náprstek was a disciple and an ardent follower of the patriotic Czech political realists, led by Palacký, Havlíček, and Rieger (fig. 26). In the 1840s, when he was only a student, he worked industriously in Havlíček's spirit for the establishment of a Czech industrial school.⁵ Later, he supported with enthusiasm the economic expansion of the Czech nation through his plan to set up an industrial museum. During his stay in the United States, he was animated by the same values and pursued the same objectives.⁶

In a farewell letter to his mother, Náprstek expressed the main thing he sought to find in taking refuge in America:

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Šolle - Czech Political Refugees

I don't know where in Europe in these revolutionary times I could obtain so peacefully and so well as I can in America an education so very useful for the future. I am not going there in search of adventure or to enjoy life! Actually I consider America the best—I should even say the unique—school that offers a true education. This is rather sad indeed! But everybody who considers the (sorry) state of our Czech nation and of our neighbours must certainly agree with me. As for me, North America is the ideal of human development. The way Americans care for education demonstrates their interest in their nation's culture. Their aim is to prepare young people for their future social and civic activities. . . . In America, knowledge is not looked upon as an end in itself but as a mere means to provide advice and support in the needs and difficulties of life. An American will look everywhere for things that are useful and answer his needs. . . . Public education in America has reached an admirably high standard. Everywhere, schools are being supported by representative government, as citizens generally concede that a free community can flourish only through the education of the people. Everybody in America is politically educated because its citizens agree that civic spirit, patriotism and conscientious nationality are unthinkable without political enlightenment.⁷

Although Náprstek was an ardent Czech patriot, he was no chauvinist and was eager to work with anyone who shared his love of liberty and education. During the 1850s he lived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at that time the main cultural center of German immigrants. Náprstek, described as a Czech by birth and an Internationalist by sentiment, took an active part in local and state civic affairs. At the Arbeiterbildungs-und Leseverein (Workers' Educational and Reading Society)—later the Verein freier Männer (Association of Free Men)—Náprstek, with his friends Gustav Aigner, Peter Engelmann, and others, gave or sponsored many lectures on various social problems. His bookshop and lending library contained representative works by philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Franklin, together with the

works of the utopian socialists and Karl Marx. Náprstek's bookshop and library became a gathering place for progressive-minded people from a wide neighborhood.

In the years 1852-54, Náprstek published the magazine *Milwaukee Flügelblätter*, whose columns criticized religious obscurantists and propagated the ideas of Thomas Jefferson and

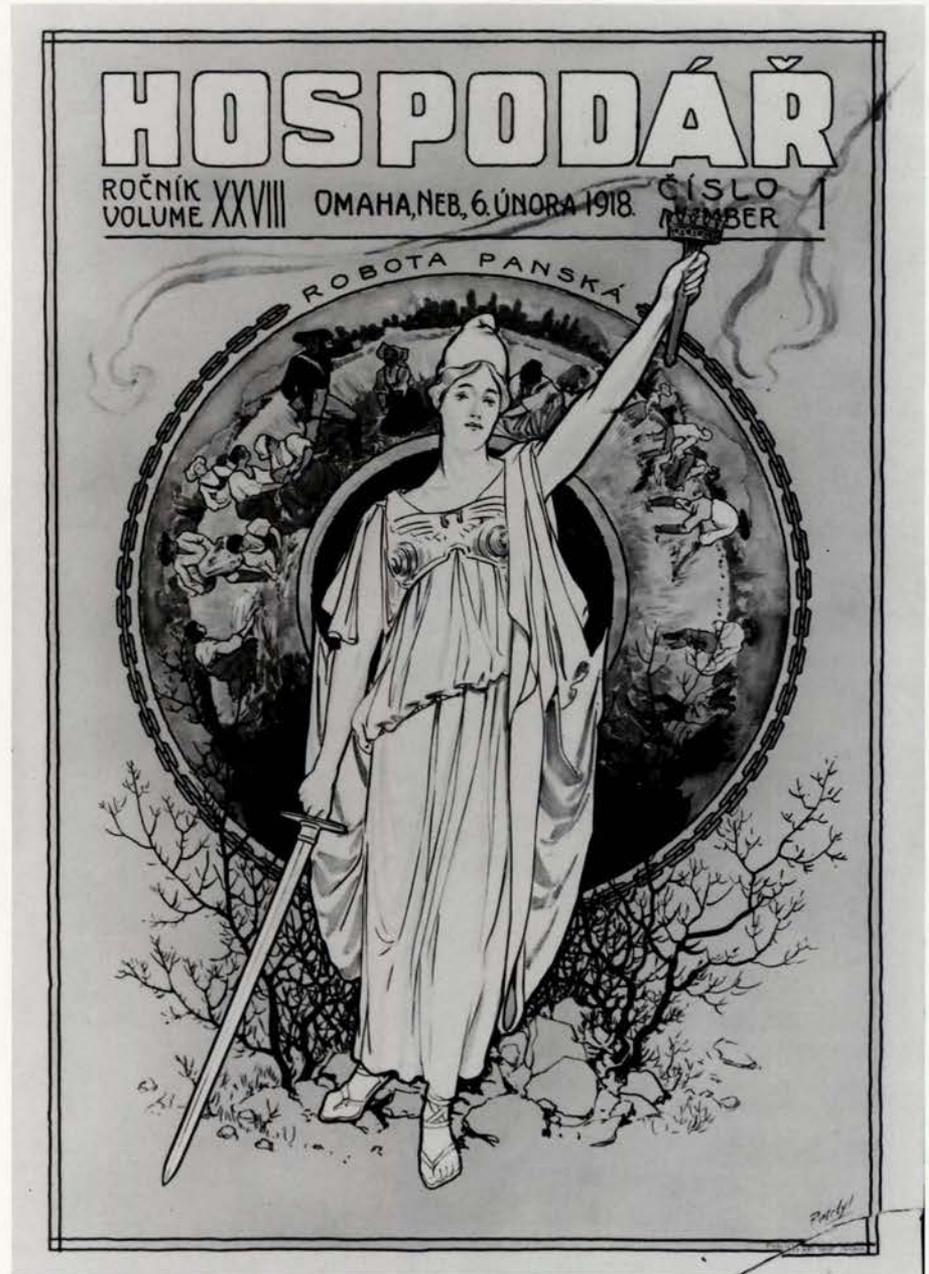


Fig.27. Artwork by August Petřtyl for a cover of the *Hospodář* contrasts the liberty enjoyed in America with the chains of bondage enforced by the Old Country regime. (NSHS Museum 638P-6, C998.1-584)

Thomas Paine. He published it in German, a language almost every Czech immigrant could read, rather than in Czech because at that time too few Czechs resided in the United States to make any Czech publication profitable. Though compelled by these circumstances to print his magazine in German, Náprstek never ceased to be a loyal disciple of the liberal and patriotic Czech journalist Karel Havlíček-Borovský. Many Czech immigrants scattered throughout the United States also read the *Milwaukee Flüglatter*, and in its pages they often exchanged information and opinion.

In Wisconsin, Náprstek took his civic responsibilities seriously. In 1855 he became a notary public and began to serve as a member of the German Society for the Support of Immigrants. In the spring of 1856 he took part in an expedition charged with resolving the land claims of Indians living along the Minnesota River. His detailed diary about this expedition still exists.⁸

At the same time Náprstek began to turn his attention more intensively to the Czech immigrants, whose numbers were growing steadily in the 1850s. To aid their political acculturation and organization in the 1856 presidential election campaign, he mobilized Czech support for the Republican candidate, John Charles Fremont, whose platform advocated the abolition of slavery. In encouraging Czech immigrants to endorse Republicanism and abolitionism, Náprstek reminded them of their struggles in the 1848 Revolution to abolish the manorial system and feudal servitude in the Austrian Empire (fig. 27). At the same time, Náprstek began to collect money to establish a Czech-language press in the United States. This goal his colleagues realized in 1860, after he had returned to Bohemia, when they began to publish the newspapers *Slowan americký* (The American Slav) in Racine and *Národní noviny* (National News) in St. Louis.

In the next year, the latter merged with the weekly *Slavie* published in Racine.⁹ Karel Jonáš, who settled in the United States in 1863, was a friend of Náprstek's and continued his work, first as an editor of *Slavie* and then in the later 1880s as the U. S. consul in Prague.¹⁰

Even after his return to Prague, Náprstek—sometimes called “the unofficial American consul in the Czech lands”—never interrupted his relations with his countrymen in America. Although he could not make use of his American citizenship in Austria-Hungary, he always was proud of it. In the early 1860s the United States experienced difficult times during the Civil War. As the Czech poet J. V. Sládek testified, American Czechs, with one or two exceptions, never sided with the South; and many young Czechs fought as Union soldiers to win freedom for black slaves. Náprstek, during his stay in America, supported those who advocated the liberation of blacks. Later he said about his attitude at the time of the Civil War,

I followed the development of events from Harper's Ferry until the death of John Brown, who was killed by the pro-slavery people. He was an unusual person, as was President Lincoln himself. Lincoln's election made me happy and content, that over there, on the other side of the water, I had taken the road of right, truth, and humanity. When the first shot at Fort Sumter was heard all the way over here, although I did not approve of war, I recognized the need for those bloody sacrifices of the Civil War and rejoiced that Czech arms participated in the preservation of the integrity of the Union.¹¹

Náprstek maintained written contact with his American friends, sent books to them, and told them about events in Bohemia. They, in turn, sought his advice on their concerns, worries, and needs. When J. V. Sládek visited the Czech settlement of Caledonia in Wisconsin, he perused a library containing

“many newer Czech works donated by the Czech Vojta Náprstek during his stay in America, or later sent by him from Bohemia.” At that time, Sládek reported that Náprstek was still “very fondly remembered by all older American Czechs.”¹²

In the 1880s Náprstek's house, “U Halánků,” became the administrative headquarters of two organized group visits by American Czech *krajané* (countrymen) to Bohemia (fig. 28). The first occurred in June 1885, when American “countrymen” came to visit the recently opened National Theatre (figs. 31, 46). The second visit took place in June 1887, to the Pan-Sokol Congress in which American Sokols had planned to participate. However, the Austrian authorities prohibited the Czech Sokols from holding the congress. Therefore, the Czechs instead organized games and gymnastics on a smaller scale in Český Brod, a town east of Prague, and the Czech-American Sokols took an active part.

In 1885 Náprstek's old friend from Wisconsin, Karel Jonáš, was named American consul in Prague. The Austrian government at first refused to accept Jonáš as consul because he was a Czech patriot who had left Austria illegally and his weekly magazine, *Slavie*, published in Racine, Wisconsin, had criticized authoritarian Habsburg practices. Only great efforts on the part of Náprstek and Czech National party leader F. L. Rieger succeeded in convincing the Austrian government to accept Jonáš's appointment. Jonáš was active from the end of 1886 until 1889 as consul in Prague, where he worked to strengthen commercial relations between the United States and the Czech lands.¹³

In Náprstek's house Jonáš also met T. G. Masaryk, who had moved with his family from Vienna in 1882 after having been appointed professor of philosophy at the Czech University in Prague. Masaryk later remembered



Fig.28. Vojta Náprstek's house, U Halánků, now the Náprstek Museum in Prague. (Courtesy Náprstek muzeum, Prague)

that he had met frequently with Náprstek after moving to Prague: "America brought us together. I used to go to his reading room at 'U Halánků', and there once spoke to a ladies' circle about the study of poetry—out of which came my article 'On the Study of Poetic Works.'" In those years, while Masaryk prepared to enter Czech politics, he used to meet in Náprstek's reading room with leading personalities of Czech cultural and political life, one of whom was F. L. Rieger, leader of the Old Czech party and a close friend of Náprstek.¹⁴ Masaryk's American-born wife, Charlotte Garrigue Masaryková, also had a friendly association with Náprstek, one based not only on their admiration for America but on their support of feminist and other political reform movements. The oldest of the Masaryk's children, Alice, to the end of her life fondly remembered Náprstek's house, "U Halánků," where she used to go with her parents in the 1880s.¹⁵

In the Czech lands during the second half of the nineteenth century, technological improvements in industrial production and in transportation changed the social composition of the

population to a considerable extent. This transformation, of course, had its social and political consequences.¹⁶ In the late 1860s and early 1870s, as the Czech labor movement began to develop, there increasingly appeared among emigrants not only peasants but workers, craftsmen, and small businessmen. Some of these emigrants had already been attracted to the ideas of socialism, at that time most widely represented by the First International.¹⁷ As socialists, they recognized that they could more readily establish organizations and express their opinions in the free atmosphere of America than in reactionary central Europe. Although they had little success in propagating socialism in the New World, this effort helped them inspire and encourage the formation of the first labor movement in the Czech lands.

The oldest and most important representative of the socialist movement among Czech workers in the United States was Lev J. Palda. He was born in southern Bohemia in 1847 and came to New York in 1867.¹⁸ There in 1869 he became acquainted with the German socialist movement represented by Dr. Adolf Dousin. In 1870 Palda was

appointed editor of the *Národní noviny* (National News) in Chicago. His predecessor in this position had been a well-known Czech poet, J. V. Sládek, who in that year returned to Prague after spending two years in the United States. The very first issue of *Národní noviny* had announced that the paper would represent the interests of working men, and Palda published it in this spirit during his tenure as editor.¹⁹

Even before Palda's coming to Chicago, a Czech workers' union had come into existence. Its sole purpose was to organize charitable activities. As early as the second half of the 1870s, Palda's influence appears to have been instrumental in the transformation of the Czech Workers' Union from a charitable into a political organization. The union then declared itself to be for international cooperation and immediately began to work with German socialists in Chicago and their organization, the Central German Workers' Association (*Der Zentrale Arbeiterverein*).

In 1871 Czech immigrants established in Chicago a Czech section of the International. The oldest and most important Czech section of the International was one in New York founded by Vilém Jandus and his friends.²⁰ One of these friends, who left interesting memoirs about the Czech labor movement of that era in the United States, was Josef Buňata. In New York in 1870 he had been one of the founders of the Czechoslovak Workers' Association, which upheld the principles of the International.

The Czechoslovak Workers' Association in New York, besides its close ties to the Prague socialist newspaper *Dělník* (The Worker), subscribed to the Young Czech party's democratic newspaper *Obrana* (Defense), edited by Jakub Arbes, and *Svoboda* (Freedom), edited by Josef Barák.²¹ Of the important German socialist newspapers, the association subscribed to the Vienna

Volkswille, the Leipzig *Volkstaat*, and the Geneva *Vorbote*. The Czech Workers' Association in New York kept in touch with L. J. Palda and his *Národní noviny* in Chicago, the German Workers' Association in New York, and similar Czech workers' associations in Chicago and St. Paul.

The important international conflicts in Europe in the years 1870-71 were closely followed by Czech-American workers, whose opinions about these events influenced those of the labor movement in the Old Country. The Prague newspaper *Dělník* acquainted Czech workers with the denunciations of the Franco-Prussian War by the French and German sections of the International in New York, as well as with the condemnation independently promulgated by the Czech section. *Dělník* also informed its readers about the International's demonstration in New York against the Franco-Prussian War, during which the editor of the Chicago *Národní noviny*, Lev J. Palda, made a speech.

In December 1870 these three sections of the International in New York merged to form the Central Committee of the International Workers' Association in the United States. The German section was represented by F. A. Sorge, the French one by B. Hubert, and the Czech section by Vilém Jandus. Josef Pastor, Palda's successor as editor of *Národní noviny*, stopped publishing it in January 1871 for lack of funds. At that time, *Slowan americký* became the paper of record for activities of the International.

At the beginning of 1872 a new workers' newspaper, *Dělnické listy* (Workers' Journal), began publication in Prague and became the platform for democratic and socialist Czech workers. Its first issue carried a report on the funeral procession conducted by followers of the International in New York in 1871 in memory of the communards executed following the

defeat of the Paris Commune.

In the spring of 1871 Jandus and Palda founded a Czech bookstore on Fifth Avenue in New York primarily to distribute democratic and socialist literature. They also published *Lucerna*, the first Czech-language magazine in New York; but due to a lack of funds only one issue could be printed.

The total number of Czech immigrants in the United States who supported the International barely reached one hundred at the time of its greatest



Fig. 29. J. B. Pecka. (Courtesy Náprstek muzeum, Prague)

activity in 1871. As early as 1872, news on the activity of the Czech section of the International ceased to be reported.

But Czech workers holding socialist opinions remained organized from this time on. At the end of 1874 two Czech workers' associations came into being. In 1875 Lev J. Palda, together with Josef Škarda, began to publish a workers' paper, *Dělnické listy*, which followed the tradition of cooperation with the labor movement in the Old Country. A number of distinguished Czech socialist journalists, like J. B. Pecka

(fig. 29), L. Zápotocký, L. Kochmann from Prague, and Matt Celler from Vienna became regular correspondents of the Cleveland *Dělnické listy*.

The editorial staff of *Dělnické listy* declared itself in support of the program of The Workingmen's party of the United States, which originated in 1876 and in 1876 and 1877 led several big strikes. In 1885 *Dělnické listy* was replaced by the newspaper *Dělník americký* (The American Worker), whose editors published, in 1885, a booklet by Palda on "The Paris Commune," and in 1882, the first Czech translation of *The Communist Manifesto*, whose translator was Leopold Kochmann. In 1884 Kochmann became editor of the newspaper *Proletář* (The Proletarian).

Kochmann, the leading representative of the Czech Social Democrats in Prague, had fled to the United States in 1882, and his escape had inaugurated a new wave of socialist workers' emigration caused by harsh Habsburg persecution of the socialist movement. Many of the Social Democrats sentenced on February 2, 1882, in the great anti-socialist trial in Prague, later emigrated to America. Among them were Norbert Zoula and the oldest representative of the Czech socialist movement, Josef Boleslav Pecka. Zoula began to publish the newspaper *Budoucnost* (The Future) in Chicago as early as June 1883. J. B. Pecka intensively collaborated with *Budoucnost* and in October 1885 became its editor.

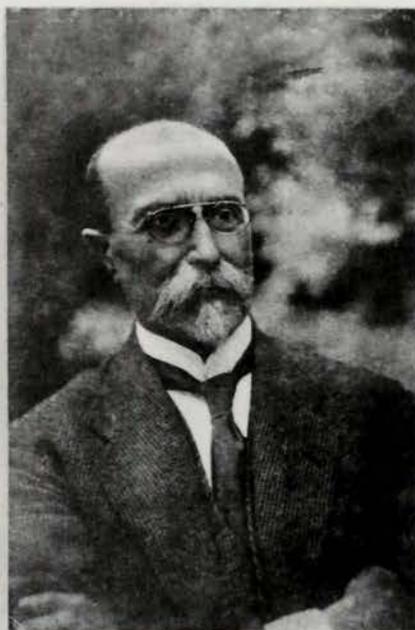
Pecka was a supporter of anarchism, which he understood in the sense of revolutionary socialism. He rejected individual terrorism.²² American anarchists were angry with Pecka for his negative attitude toward individual violence and assassination attempts and set workers against him. In May 1885 *Budoucnost* ceased publication and was replaced by *Práce* (Work).

Of all Pecka's articles published in *Práce*, especially remarkable is the one

titled "Nihilism and Socialism," in which he described the character of the Russian revolutionary movement of that time and distinguished it from the Social Democratic Workingmen's movement. Also in *Práce*, Pecka published his memoirs about the beginning of the Czech labor movement. *Práce* ceased publication in 1887, and even Pecka's other newspaper, *Dělnické listy*, was not successful and had to shut down its presses. Until his death in Chicago from tuberculosis in 1897, J. B. Pecka followed all that went on in the Czech labor movement, whose foundation he had laid twenty-five years before.

The Habsburg persecution of Social Democrats during the 1880s drove many remarkable Czech and German representatives of the workers' movement away from their native country. At the beginning of 1887 František Choura, the representative of the socialist movement among Czech miners, left for the United States. Immediately after his arrival in June 1887, Choura wrote about mining and miners in the Teplice region of northern Bohemia. Because of its authentic and concrete character, Choura's short text remains a valuable description of working and social conditions of miners in northern Bohemia's soft coal mining district in the 1880s. In 1901 the Cleveland newspaper *Volnost* (Freedom) published Choura's memoirs on the beginning of the Czech socialist movement and his participation in it.

In the 1890s many well-known representatives of the first generation of socialist workers in the Czech lands died. A twist of fate occurred in 1897, when the oldest Czech pioneer of socialism, J. B. Pecka, died in Chicago just as Czech Social Democrats in Bohemia achieved their first great successes in politics with the publication of the daily *Právo lidu* (People's Rights) in Prague and the election of the first Social Democratic deputies to the Reichsrat in Vienna. Like many



T. S. Masaryk
mimo 76 P.

Václavu Tesařovi

pro jeho krásné zásluhy v boji za osvobození
československého lidu ze staletého útisku, věnuje

Ceské Národní Sdružení v Americe

Vyta Benca
tajemník

Ed. J. P. ...
předseda

Chicago, 1. března 1919

Fig.30. Tomáš Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia. The portrait is affixed to the certificate awarded to Omahan Václav Tesař, chair of the 1918 Liberty Bazaar Committee, for his efforts on behalf of the Czech people. (Courtesy Czech Heritage Collection, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Archives & Special Collections; NSHS C998.1-148)

others of his generation, J. B. Pecka did not live to see the achievements of Czech Social Democracy just before World War I or in the Czechoslovak Republic. Some descendants of pioneer Czech socialists stayed in the United States and participated in the building of a strong American labor movement, especially in Chicago, Cleveland, and New York.

Vojta Náprstek to a great extent symbolizes the democratic, reform-minded, and patriotic character of Czech immigrants from all walks of life in the United States. A few, like Náprstek, came from wealthy bourgeois families, and many others of modest means gravitated to the Social Democratic Workers movement. But all of them, regardless of their social origin and ideological background, constituted a strong community of honest American citizens who gave their greatest love to their adopted country, while never forgetting their native land in central Europe. They proved this during World War I by becoming the main supporters of Masaryk's struggle for Czechoslovak independence and fighting for Allied victory (fig. 30). In World War II their descendants fought and helped defeat Nazi Germany; after that victory, they helped oppose Communist expansion.

Notes

¹ Josef Opatrný, "Problems in the History of Czech Immigration to America"; Joseph Svoboda, "Czech-Americans: A Love of Liberty"; and Frederick C. Luebke, "Czech-American Immigration: Some Historiographical Observations."

² This article is a summary of two longer and related papers—one on Vojta Náprstek and the other on socialist refugees—prepared by Zdeněk Šolle for the 1992 UNL Symposium on Czech Immigration. Translations from Czech into English were made by Jana Bischofová and Bruce Garyer. At Zdeněk Šolle's suggestion, Bruce Garver combined the two papers into a single article and added appropriate end notes based principally on Dr. Šolle's extensive published work.

³ František Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného*

vystěhovalectví z Čech v období Bachova absolutismu (The Beginnings of Mass Emigration in the Age of Bach's Absolutism) (Prague: ČSAV, 1964).

⁴ The discussion of Vojta Náprstek in this article owes much to Zdeněk Šolle's forthcoming biography of Náprstek to be edited by Winston Chrislock and published in 1993 or 1994 by Associated University Presses. Also informing this article are Dr. Šolle's extensive publications in Czech on Náprstek, cited below in notes 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10.

⁵ On Náprstek's youthful intellectual development and desire to visit the United States, see Zdeněk Šolle, "Deník Viléma Pflanzera [Ke vzniku plánu Vojty Náprstka na cestu do Ameriky]" (William Pflanzler's Diary [on the Origins of Vojta Náprstek's plan for traveling to America]), *Studie o rukopisech* 20 (1981): 119-60.

⁶ Zdeněk Šolle, "Příspěvek k poznání Náprstkových příprav na cestu do Ameriky" (A Contribution to the Understanding of Náprstek's Preparations for his Voyage to America), *Studie o rukopisech* 21 (1982): 179-214.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 205-11, document no. 4, "Dopis Vojtěcha Náprstka matce na rozloučenou před cestou do Ameriky, poslaný 17. října 1848 z Hamburku" (Vojta Náprstek's farewell letter to his mother before his journey to America, sent on Oct. 17, 1848, from Hamburg). Quoted portions of the letter are on p. 206.

⁸ Zdeněk Šolle, "Prameny denkové a memoárové povahy z let amerického pobytu Náprstka a z doby po jeho návratu do vlasti" (Sources in the form of a diary and memoirs concerning the years of Náprstek's stay in America and of his return to his native land), *Studie o rukopisech* 24 (1985): 155-80.

⁹ On Náprstek's work with German-language newspapers and in laying the groundwork for future Czech-language newspapers, see Tomáš Čapek, *Padesát let českého tisku v Americe* (Fifty Years of the Czech Press in America) (New York: Bank of Europe, 1911), introductory chapters, especially pages 7-18.

¹⁰ On Karel Jonáš, see Karel D. Bicha, "Karel Jonáš of Racine: 'First Czech in America,'" *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 63 (Winter 1979-80): 122-40.

¹¹ This and other quotations by Náprstek are cited in Dr. Šolle's forthcoming biography of Náprstek. The most thorough discussion of participation by Czech-Americans in the American Civil War will be found in Josef Čermák, *Dějiny občanské války, s připojením zkušeností českých vojáků* (A

History of the Civil War with an Added Discussion of Participation by Czech Soldiers) (Chicago: A. Geringer, 1889).

¹² J. V. Sládek, *Americké obrázky a jiná prósa*, 2 vols. (American Sketches and Other Prose), ed. Ferdinand Strejček (Prague: J. Otto, 1907), vol. 1, 29, from the "sketch" titled "Morava" (originally published in the Prague *Národní listy*, Jan. 28, 1871).

¹³ Zdeněk Šolle, "Akce V. Náprstka a F. L. Riegra ve prospěch přijetí českoamerického konsula Karla Jonáše v Praze" (Efforts by V. Náprstek and F. L. Rieger on behalf of the acceptance of the Czech-American Karel Jonáš as U. S. Consul in Prague), *Studie o rukopisech* 25 (1986): 117-60.

¹⁴ Karel Čapek, *Hovory s T G M* (Conversations with T. G. Masaryk) (Prague: Čs. spisovatel, 1969), 79.

¹⁵ Alice Masaryková remembered Náprstek in her *Dětství a mládí: Vzpomínky a myšlenky* (Childhood and Youth: Recollections and Thoughts) (Pittsburgh: Masaryk Publications Trust, 1960), 25.

¹⁶ Recent studies of later nineteenth-century developments include Zdeněk Šolle, "Kontinuität und Wandel in der sozialen Entwicklung der böhmischen Länder, 1872 bis 1930," in *Aktuelle Forschungsprobleme um die Erste Tschechoslowakische Republik*, ed. K. Bosl (Munich: 1969); Bruce Garver, *The Young Czech Party, 1874-1901, and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); and Otto Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848-1918* (Czech Society, 1848-1918) (Prague: Svoboda, 1982).

¹⁷ On the first five decades of the Czech labor movement, see Zdeněk Šolle, *Dělnické stávkové v Čechách v druhé polovině XIX. století* (Workers' Strikes in Bohemia during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century) (Prague: ČSAV, 1960); Zdeněk Šolle, *Dělnické hnutí v českých zemích koncem minulého století, 1887-1897*, 2d ed. (The Workers' Movement in the Czech Lands at the End of the Last Century, 1887-1897) (Prague: St. nákl. politické literatury, 1954); and Zdeněk Šolle, *Socialistické dělnické hnutí a česká otázka* (The Socialist Workers' Movement and the Czech Question, 1848-1918) (Prague: Rozpravy ČSAV, 1969).

¹⁸ See Lev J. Palda, *Z usnulých dob* (From Times Long Past) (Omaha: *Osvěta americká*, serialized, 1903-04). On the life and work of Palda and contemporaries, see Zdeněk Šolle, *Průkopníci: Josef Boleslav Pecka, Ladislav Zápotocký, Josef Hybeš* (Pioneers) (Prague: Práce, 1975).



Fig.31. *The National Theatre in Prague, symbol of the revived nation, depicted on the proscenium curtain at the Čecho-Moravan Hall in Brainard, Nebraska.* (P. Michael Whye, NSHS C998.1-518)

¹⁹ Sládek, *Americké obrázky*, 46-52, "sketch" titled "Novinářství" (Journalism).

²⁰ Zdeněk Šolle, *Internacionála a Rakousko* (The International and Austria) (Prague: Academia, 1966); Zdeněk Šolle, "K počátkům dělnického hnutí v Praze" (On the Beginning of the Workers' Movement in Prague) *Československý časopis historický* 5 (1957): 664-87; 6 (1958): 266-310; 7 (1959): 49-70; and Zdeněk Šolle, "První internacionála a vznik sociálně demokratické strany na neudorfelském sjezdu 1874 (The First International and the Origins of the Social Democratic party at the Neudorfel Congress, 1874) *Československý časopis historický* 12 (1964): 668-86.

²¹ On Josef Barák, see his *Přednášky Josefa Baráka* (Lectures of Josef Barák) (Prague: J. Otto, 1884); Václav Žáček, *Josef Barák* (Prague: Melantrich, 1983), a thorough biography with an added selection from Barák's political writings; and Bruce Garver, *Young Czech Party*, 63-72, 140-41, 295-96. Besides achieving renown as a writer of fiction, Arbes was a prolific and talented journalist; some of his best political writing is Jakub Arbes, *Pláč koruny České, neboli Persekuce lidu českého v letech 1868-1873*, 2nd rev. ed. (The Weeping of the Kingdom of Bohemia, or the Persecution of the Czech People in the Years 1868-1873) (Prague: Fr. Bačkovský, 1894); its sequel, *Persekuce lidu*

českého v letech 1869-73 (Prague: Fr. Bačkovský, 1896); and *J. Ex. hrabě František Thun z Hohensteina. . . Kritika úřední činnosti Jeho Excellence*, 3 vols., (A Critical Evaluation of the Official Activities of His Excellency Count Francis Thun of Hohenstein, Governor of Bohemia) (Smíchov: Fr. Vonka, 1895).

²² Zdeněk Šolle's discussion of Pecka in this article is based primarily on his biography, *Josef Boleslav Pecka* (Prague: Melantrich, 1987), to which are appended a generous representative selection of Pecka's publications and letters, including some of those written in the United States.