

## SLOVENES AND CZECHS: AN ENDURING FRIENDSHIP<sup>1</sup>

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“Let us learn from the Czechs,” urged the politician Josip Vošnjak in 1868 in *Slovenski Narod*.<sup>2</sup> Vošnjak was one of many Slovenes enthusiastic about Czech politics, culture, economic progress, and agriculture. Indeed, it is true that from the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, the Czech lands enjoyed the greatest reputation and influence among most of the Slavs in the Habsburg Empire. And not just in the area of culture, but also in the economic and political fields, especially due to their permanent struggle for national equality. For Slovenes, the Czechs were the most nationally conscious and culturally developed of all the Slavs in Austria.

This article will outline and differentiate forms of contact that, on the one hand, involved concrete cooperation, models, and influences, such as the influence of Dobrovský on Slovene studies, the general cultural influence of Jan Lego, the political influence of Palacký, Kramář and Klofač, and the ideological influence of Tomáš Garrigue [T.G.] Masaryk; and, on the other, the indirect influence of the Czech grammar school teachers. All aided or contributed enormously to the development and advancement of Slovene culture, and to ideological and political diversity and breadth.

Contacts between Slovene and Czech intellectuals and scholars extend back quite far, to the time of the national awakening when Marko Pohlin and Jernej Kopitar, among others, worked with the Czech national revivalists, in particular Josef Dobrovský and Josef Jungmann.<sup>3</sup> At that time the main subjects of debate were Slav reciprocity and “Slavic” Austria, although Linhart, one of the first

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<sup>1</sup> For the period after 1918 see: Marjeta Keršič-Svetel, “Českoslovaško-slovenski stiki med obema vojnama,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 49.2–4 (1995): 231–58, 427–54, 613–30.

<sup>2</sup> “Učimo se od Čeho-Slovanov,” *Slovenski narod* 11 June 1868.

<sup>3</sup> Boris Urbančič, *Slovensko-češki kulturni stiki* (Ljubljana: Mladika, 1993).

Slovenes to debate Austro-Slavism, did not mention the Czechs, concentrating instead mainly on Russia. Another figure who had a great influence on Slovenes was the Slovak Jan Kollár, with his interpretation of Slav reciprocity.

Contacts during the period before the March 1848 revolution were limited to cultural and some academic cooperation, mainly among linguists. The year 1848 was a turning point for all the Slavs in the empire: following the model of the Czechs, who demanded a union of the three historical provinces (Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia) and the complete equality of the two languages (Czech and Slovak) across the entire territory of these provinces, Slovene liberal intellectuals demanded the unification of all Slovene lands into a single ethnic unit on the basis of natural law.

The first political action to follow the revolution was the Czechs' signing of the Vienna proclamation of the Slav deputations to their brother Slovenes, dated 5 April 1848.<sup>4</sup> The next, more important step was the participation, albeit modest, of Slovenes at the Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague in June 1848. At this congress the gathered representatives of the Slav nations supported the plan of a United Slovenia, although the Czechs were not at all happy, since according to this principle the Czech lands would also have to be divided by nationality.<sup>5</sup> The only Slovene participants at the congress were Anton Globočnik and Stanko Vraz. According to Josip Apih, Fran Miklošič was also supposed to attend. It is not known why he did not.<sup>6</sup> The congress revived the idea of Austro-Slavism as understood by Palacký, in which form—although with certain variations—it received strong support from the Austrian Slavs and also the Slovenes. Palacký enjoyed an exceptional reputation among Slovenes. His writings, his attitude towards German politics, his later opposition to dualism, his acknowledgment of natural law, and, above all, his efforts on behalf of

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<sup>4</sup> Vaclav Žaček, *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848* (Prague: Nakladatelstvo Československe Akademie Věd, 1958); Josip Apih, *Slovenci in leto 1848* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1888); Vasilij Melik, "Volitve v frankfurtski parlament," *Zgodovinski časopis* 1.1-2 (1948): 69–134.

<sup>5</sup> Dragotin Lončar, "Dr. Janez Bleiweis in njegova doba," *Bleiweisov zbornik* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1909) 160.

<sup>6</sup> Apih 127.

all Austrian Slavs, were met with great enthusiasm. His death prompted a great many articles in Slovenia; even more appeared on the twentieth anniversary of his death.<sup>7</sup> The festivities held in Prague in 1876 to mark the publication of the second part of his Czech history were even attended by Slovene politicians. Commemorative speeches were made in Ljubljana and Maribor (e.g., by Janez Bleiweis at the Ljubljanska Čitalnica [Ljubljana Reading Society]).

Another of the joint actions to take place in 1848 was the participation of Slovenes in the Czech protest against the incorporation of Austria into Germany—in other words, opposition to the concept of a Greater Germany. Palacký's proposal in parliament was only supported by the Czechs and Slovenes. Like the Czechs, the Slovenes boycotted the elections to the Frankfurt parliament. It is not known whether any Slovenes took part in the action by Czech radicals in the preparations for the revolution of May 1849 aimed against Palacký, Jelačić and the state.

Among the more active Czech sympathizers during this period was Matej Cigale, a participant at the "Slavic Lindens" assembly of December 1848 in Prague.<sup>8</sup> He was the publisher of the newspaper *Slovenija*, which reprinted articles from the Czech paper *Narodné noviny*.

One man who kept the Czechs informed about the situation in Slovenia in 1848 was Viljem Dušan Lambl. Though generally more interested in Bosnia and the Croats, he nevertheless dedicated some space in his reports to the Slovenes. As early as spring 1848 he wrote that because of the German danger (increasing in extent), the Slovenes should forge closer connections with the Croats.<sup>9</sup> He firmly believed that the Carniolans, Styrians, Carinthians, Istrians, and "the last remnant of the Friulians" had to unite, perhaps under the leadership of "a free ruler who would see what was inherent, hear the demands of the

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<sup>7</sup> Fran Šuklje, "Franc Palacký," *Zbornik Slovenske Matice* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1877) 1–64.

<sup>8</sup> This was a powerful and influential political organization set up in 1848 by Czech radicals.

<sup>9</sup> Fran Ilešič, "Češko-slovenska (jugoslovanska) vzajemnost v minulih dobah," *Zbornik Slovenske Matice* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1906) 15.

nations ... and would say, in short: this will be Slovenia. Three words would appease the nation and ensure its future..."<sup>10</sup>

Another person to familiarize the Czechs with conditions in Slovenia in 1848–49 was J. Aleksander Bačovský. He emphasized above all Slovenia's place in the Slavic world and the Slavic idea.

On the other hand, Josip Dragon Křenovský, who favored the Slovenes and the Slavic idea, became the first president of the Slovenija Society in Graz, founded on 16 April 1848. In December 1848 the society even put him forward as a parliamentary candidate for the Maribor district.

Between 1850 and 1859 it was the policy of the Austrian authorities to post their officials around the empire. Several grammar school teachers were sent to Slovenia, including Nečasek, who came to Ljubljana in 1853 and became headmaster of the grammar school in Ljubljana, and Ivan Vavrů, a gymnastics teacher.<sup>11</sup> The latter came to Ljubljana in 1859 and remained there until his death in 1905. He made an important contribution to the popularization and organization of gymnastics both at the grammar school and outside it. Even more significant is the glossary of Slovene gymnastics terms which he wrote in collaboration with Levstik and Drašler, and through which he introduced his native expressions into the Slovene language.

Just as Palacký had a great influence on the political thinking of Slovenes, so Jan Lego had an important cultural influence and played a crucial role in familiarizing the Czechs with the Slovenes, their country and their culture. Lego came to Slovenia before the constitutional period, in 1857. During the course of his long residence in Slovenia he established a range of contacts with Slovene intellectuals and certain politicians including Fran Levstik, Anton Aškerc, and Ivan Hribar. Everywhere he lived he stimulated the cultural life of Slovenes. In Trieste, for example, he founded the Slavic Choral Society, which soon developed into the Trieste Slavic Cultural Society, a meeting place for the Trieste intelligentsia. Most important of all was his

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<sup>10</sup> Fran Ilešič, "O slovensko-hrvatski zajednici 1848/49," *Bleiweisov zbornik* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1909) 318.

<sup>11</sup> L. Pintar, "Ivan Vavrů," *Zbornik Slovenske Matice* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1906) 34–45.

correspondence with Czech newspapers and the work he did to acquaint the Czechs with conditions in Slovenia. In 1874 he returned to Prague and worked in a museum, but he continued to report on the Slovenes and worked for reciprocity between the two nations. He founded the Česko-slovenský spolek, a society at which he lectured on Slovene towns, conditions, cultural achievements, etc. Lego also taught Slovene and Croatian. He organized an exchange of Czech and Slovene publications, and propagated the learning of Czech in Slovenia and of Slovene in the Czech lands. He recruited several members for Slovenska Matica (the Slovene Literary Society) in Prague. He was also behind the founding of the Slovene Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society, modeled on the Czech School Society. In 1885 Lego helped organize a visit by Slovenes to Prague for the opening of the National Theater. In the same year he became an honorary member of Slovenska Matica, Sokol, and many other societies. Lego was also an honorary citizen of Kamnik and a citizen of Ljubljana, the capital. In 1892 he helped organize the Czech-Slavic ethnographic exhibitions in Prague and tried to bring as many Slovenes as possible to view them. Perhaps the most significant factor in his efforts to teach the Czechs about the Slovenes were his works *A Guide to Slovenia*<sup>12</sup> and his *Czech-Slovene Grammar*, published in 1887.<sup>13</sup> He recorded his sympathy for the Slovene nation in the article "Characteristics of the Slovene Nation," which was published in installments in *Slovan*.<sup>14</sup> His description of the characteristics of Slovenes ended in the spirit of Slav mutuality:

As I have sincerely tried to the best of my knowledge and conscience, to portray here the character of the Slovene nation, I likewise ardently desire that the effect of this will not merely be a better understanding of the many woes of this unfortunate people, but that we, from our side, should reach out to it as much as possible, with the true brotherly love that befits us, a love that we doubly owe to this nation since it is weaker and in need of our support.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Průvodce po Slovinsku* (Prague: , 1887).

<sup>13</sup> *Mluvnice jazyka slovinského*, (Prague: , 1887); 2nd ed. (Prague: , 1892).

<sup>14</sup> "Karakteristike slovenskega naroda," *Slovan* 3.15 (1886): 235–36; 3.16: 252–53; 3. 17: 267; 3.18: 281–83.

<sup>15</sup> *Slovan* 3.18 (1886): 283.

However, Legos had opponents in Slovenia as well as friends and allies. One of the severest was without a doubt Anton Mahnič, who accused him not only of freemasonry but also of leading Slovene pupils and students astray by inviting them to study in Prague, where they would absorb the liberal, godless spirit. In Mahnič's view Lego was harmful to Slovenes and Christianity, and an utterly unsuitable man to preserve contacts with the Czechs.<sup>16</sup>

Nonetheless, he contributed a great deal by his work to the continuing cooperation of Czechs and Slovenes, particularly after 1861. At that time Slovene-Czech contacts or cooperation were particularly strong, and Czech models were growing increasingly influential in Slovenia. This was the period in Slovenia of the founding of the *čitalnice* (reading societies). In 1864 Slovenska Matica was founded, on the Czech model, and in 1885 the Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society, patterned on the Czech Ústřední Matice Školska (The Czech School Society) founded in 1880. Both Czechs and Slovenes began organizing *tabori* (camps) towards the end of the 1860s. Their organization was announced in Josip Vošnjak's 1868 *Slovenski Narod* article.<sup>17</sup> These open-air gatherings, at which the demand for a united Slovenia was repeated, had an importance similar to that of the camps of the Czechs, who were demanding unification of the three provinces and the equality of the two languages. But the Czechs also had a secret organization called *Dědici* (Heirs), led by Josef Vaclav Frič, to which Fran Zwitter attributes goals similar to those of the Slovene revivalists in 1912.<sup>18</sup> The *tabori*, which were extremely well attended, were banned by the authorities in 1873 for political reasons. The political cooperation of Czechs and Slovenes halted after 1867, although the Czechs and Slovenes showed the strongest opposition to dualism. The hiatus lasted until 1879—that is, throughout the time the Czech representatives were in opposition. And despite the fact that the Czechs succeeded in introducing the Czech language into the majority of secondary schools, as well as the external language of administration in Bohemia and Moravia, the Slovenes, who were still campaigning merely for the

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<sup>16</sup> A. Mahnič, "Slovenec, pazimo s kom se bratimo," *Rimski katolik* 2 (1889): 385.

<sup>17</sup> Vošnjak, "Učimo se od Čeho-Slovanov."

<sup>18</sup> *Nacionalni problemi v Habsburški monarhiji* (Ljubljana: Državna založba, 1961) 136.

introduction of the Slovene language in primary schools, remained sympathetic to the Czech demands. The Young Slovenes, who strove hardest for solidarity with the Czechs, were particularly vehemently opposed to the accession of Slovene deputies to the National Assembly, where in spite of everything the Slovenes were represented by Lenček and Lipold.

Rieger's program of federalists gave rise to feelings of victimization among Slovenes, since they were classified by the deputies in Vienna in the German group. Andrej Einspieler wrote: "The Poles, Czechs and Croats have taken care of themselves and left us in the lurch."<sup>19</sup> A few years later, in 1871, Vošnjak was present at the so-called "federal assembly" in Prague, where the Czechs stood by historical law and repeated their demands for a federation. Such an arrangement would have done serious harm to the Slovenes. Particularly unacceptable to them was the proposed level of provincial autonomy which they saw as being too high. As Vošnjak says, the Czechs, in particular Rieger and Palacký, were trying to appease the Slovenes with national curiae and rights in national affairs, and recommended that they quickly reconciled matters with the Croats. At the next federal assembly, in 1873, the Czechs still persisted with their original plans for the arrangement of Austria, plans which were detrimental to the Slovenes. They remained in opposition until 1879.

The year 1879 was another turning point in the cooperation of Slavs within the empire. The Slovenes, Czechs, Poles, and the German conservatives joined the Hohenwarth Club, which supported Taaffe's government. A Czech, Baron Pražak, was at that time appointed Minister of Justice and remained in the government until his retirement in 1888. As the representative of the Slavs in the empire he completely fulfilled the expectations of the Slovenes, since he strove to improve language conditions in courts in Slovenia. Vošnjak writes that he did everything possible. The Styrian Slovenes were especially grateful to him since he appointed two Slovene notary's clerks.<sup>20</sup>

In 1893 the Slovene deputies, after leaving the Hohenwarth Club, founded a Slav anti-coalition with the Czechs and Croats, marking the first time that the Young Czech party was able to make

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<sup>19</sup> Josip Vošnjak, *Spomini* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1982) 181.

<sup>20</sup> Vošnjak 373.

itself heard in parliament. The Slovene deputy to the National Assembly at that time, Fran Šuklje, worked closely with the Young Czech deputies; he even wrote, "I would like to move among this intellectual elite."<sup>21</sup> The deputies who made the greatest impression on him were Eim, Kajzl, Herold, and Masaryk.

In 1879 the Slovene deputies, who were mostly representatives of the Catholic party, founded the Slavic Christian National Alliance (SKNZ). The only Czech to join them was Andrej Stojan, a priest from Moravia. The Young Czechs rejected the SKNZ since it was too tied to Catholicism and too indecisive with regard to events in parliament.

More important for Czech-Slovene cooperation in parliament than the SKNZ was the founding of Slovanska jednota in 1909 under the leadership of Ivan Šušteršič. This group was joined by, among others, several Czech parliamentary parties, including Kramář's Young Czechs. By founding such a diverse group Šušteršič intended to win a greater influence for the Slovenes in parliament, and on the other hand, Karel Kramář wished to unite all Slav deputies. However, there was a considerable amount of skepticism with regard to this type of cooperation in parliament, not just among Slovenes but also among the Czechs. The newspaper *Slovenec* reported, or rather quoted from the *Neue Freie Presse*, that Masaryk had stated that "the Slovene demands are a burden for the Czechs which they must rid themselves of," and that "recently, since the Czechs joined Slovanska jednota, they have only been carrying out Slovene policy." Further, that "because of this they have experienced only defeats," and that it was "now time to liberate themselves and begin working again for Czech policy alone."<sup>22</sup> The comment in *Slovenec* was:

Let us clearly and loudly state, for the entire Czech nation to hear: We do not want to be a burden to anyone. If the Czech nation considers our alliance a burden then both national pride and the interests of realistic policy should tell our deputies to

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<sup>21</sup> Fran Šuklje, *Spomini 1* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1988) 223. Šuklje and Vinko Ferer Klun did not leave the coalition.

<sup>22</sup> "Slovenska in češka politika," *Slovenec* 203, 7 September 1910.

immediately relieve the Czech parliamentarians of every positive and moral obligation towards us Slovenes.<sup>23</sup>

It is difficult to assess what Masaryk actually said, or when, where and to whom. We do not know whether this was actually a parliamentary debate or merely a conversation that the German newspaper decided to print.

Both cultural and social cooperation between Slovenes and Czechs flourished after 1861. In 1863 the Slovenes, following the Czech model, founded a Sokol society (a nationally-conscious gymnastics society; *Sokol* means falcon), Ljubljanski Sokol, run by Ivan Hribar from 1879, and from 1897 by Viktor Murnik, who laid the foundations for modern Slovene Sokol societies. Slovene Sokols regularly took part in all Sokol meetings.

Another declaration of new, closer contacts with the Czechs was the visit by a Slovene delegation to Prague in 1868 for the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the National Theater. Among the Slovene party was the Young Slovene party member Josip Vošnjak, on his first visit to the Czech lands; he was enthusiastic about the Czech cooperatives, the well-regulated nature of Czech agriculture—the cultivation of the fields and suchlike. In his address he particularly stressed Slovene-Czech connections, Slav reciprocity and “brotherly love.” He also drew attention to the important difference between the political demands of the two nations—that is, to the Czech appeal to historical law while the Slovenes, on the other hand, could only acknowledge natural law. This fact had always in a sense separated the Czechs and Slovenes at the political level, especially in their demands for a political/administrative reorganization of the empire. On the other hand, it was precisely because of this that so many Slovenes were enthusiastic about Masaryk.

Slovenes continued to follow closely the building of the National Theater in Prague and in November 1885 a delegation led by Ivan Hribar attended the gala opening ceremony.<sup>24</sup> The opening was

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<sup>23</sup> “Slovenska in češka politika.”

<sup>24</sup> The organization was taken over by Anton Trstenjak and Ivan Murnik. Those who traveled to Prague with Hribar were Maks Pleteršnik, the

also attended by Anton Aškerc, and Jan Lego took the opportunity to introduce him to a great many Czech literary and cultural figures.

In 1883 Ivan Hribar, a convinced Slav, began publishing the newspaper *Slovan*, in collaboration with Ivan Tavčar. This was one of the first steps towards realizing the goal: winning over Slovenes to the Slavic idea and acquainting them with the cultural and scientific achievements of the Slav nations. For Hribar, the Czechs, or rather the Czech lands, occupied a special place, for he saw them as the cradle of Slav reciprocity, Slav cooperation, and solidarity, and an inexhaustible source of cultural, scientific, and social contacts. Prague itself was for him the city which should for the Austrian Slavs be

the closest capital city where their wishes and hopes can find support and protection; and the more open-heartedly the Austrian Slavs embrace Prague, the more abundantly can Prague be a help to them and support them in preserving their nationhood from a purely Slavic perspective, from a truly brotherly heart.<sup>25</sup>

Hribar, too, was popular among the Czechs and certainly felt comfortable among them, since a great many Czech politicians and cultural figures regarded him as an important Slovene liberal and Slavophile politician, and as a rule afforded him their sympathy and respect.

Hribar's cooperation with the Czechs deepened during the period of Kramář's efforts to re-establish Slav reciprocity on new foundations, in particular through cooperation with Russia, which Hribar also approved of. During the time of the so-called Neo-Slavic movement, which lasted until 1910, Hribar stood alongside Kramář as one of the central figures not only in Slovenia but in the Slav world as a whole.

There was considerable enthusiasm, both in Slovenia and the Czech lands, for learning Slavic languages, in the first place Russian.

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Slovenska Matica representative Ignac Valentinčič, Josip Gerba and Srečko Nolli, who were representatives of the Ljubljana Sokol society.

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“Zlata, slovanska Praga,” *Slovan* 2.14 (1884): 8.

“Russian circles” were started in Slovenia, following the Czech model, in which young people studied Russian literature and learned Russian.

The founding of the Czech University in Prague in 1882 was also a gain for Slovene students, who did not get their own university until 1919 and therefore had to study at the universities in Vienna and Graz. Shortly after the Czech University was founded, when T. G. Masaryk began giving lectures, a large number of Slovene students went to Prague. Their numbers grew further after 1895 as a result of dissatisfaction at the announcement of Badeni's language ordinances. Studying at the Czech University in Prague was mainly supported by the liberal section of Slovene politics and the intelligentsia. Generally speaking there were mostly liberally-minded students who went to study in Prague.<sup>26</sup> Between 1892 and 1917 eighty-five Slovenes took doctor's degrees from the Czech University. In contrast to the liberals, the Catholics did not approve of Slovenes studying in Prague. The Prague university and atmosphere were for them too liberal, and the Czechs were insufficiently Catholic. Most of the discussion of this point came from Mahnič, Franc Grivec, Josip Puntar, and Josip Stuller. The reasons for their objections were exclusively religious and political. Most Catholic students continued to study in Vienna and Graz. Despite considerable publicity only a few students opted to study in Krakow and Lvov. The great exception among the Catholics was J. E. Krek, who did not oppose students studying in Prague, since he saw the Czech capital in broader terms, as the center of Slavism.

Despite the opportunity to study at Slav universities such as Krakow, Lvov, and Prague, the Slovenes did not drop their demands for their own university. The movement for the founding of a Slovene university coincided with the demands of the Czechs, or rather the Moravians, for the founding of a second Czech university in Brno. Both prompted a great deal of opposition from the Germans. Demonstrations in support of the two universities took place in Ljubljana, Prague, and Brno from 1901 until 1909. The participants numbered not only students but also intellectuals, politicians, and artists, both Czech and Slovene.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Irena Gantar Godina, “Slovenski doktorji v Pragi,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 44.3 (1990): 451–456.

<sup>27</sup> František Jordan, “Skupno prizadevanje za ustanovitev slovenske univerze v Ljubljani in češke univerze v Brnu,” *Kronika* (1970).

The campaign for a Slovene university continued with demands and plans for a Slovene chair at Prague University. Among the most active was the nationalist radical Mihajlo Rostohar, who qualified as a university professor at the Prague university in 1909. Agreements to establish a temporary Slovene university within the Czech University proceeded separately, with great support from Ivan Hribar, then mayor of Ljubljana, and Heynovsky, the rector of the Czech University. But the Slovene Catholic deputies in the National Assembly, in accordance with their different beliefs, halted the campaign and Šušteršič proposed that the temporary university should be at the university in Krakow.

At the end of the 1890s Czech influences, though not cooperation, was markedly determined by the influence of T. G. Masaryk.<sup>28</sup> Quite a number of Slovene students in Prague followed his political and university work; they saw, or found, in his practical philosophy a great deal that was acceptable with regard to changing the political, economic and cultural conditions in Slovenia. Anton Dermota, Dragotin Lončar, and others soon adopted Masaryk's concept for resolving the national and social issue, i.e., through fundamental social reforms, cultural activity and a better internal policy.<sup>29</sup> They approved of realism, the new critical and scientific orientation and a method which was supposed to permeate all areas of social activity. They accepted completely Masaryk's demand for the socialization of culture, learning and politics. They took the same view of religion, seeing it as a matter of individual choice, of Slav reciprocity and the socialist movement that existed at the time. In other words, like Masaryk they did not accept Marxism. A pamphlet entitled "Kaj hočemo - Poslanica slovenski mladini" ('What we want - A letter to Slovene young people'), which appeared in 1901, as well as being a summons to young Slovenes, telling them how to work and act, was also a kind of variant of Masaryk's realist party program.<sup>30</sup> It is a document that proves that the Slovene realists intended to put Masaryk's ideas into effect in Slovenia, too.

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<sup>28</sup> Irena Gantar Godina, *Masaryk in masarykovstvo na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1987) 179.

<sup>29</sup> Irena Gantar Godina, "Lončar in Masaryk," *Glasnik Slovenske Matice* 18.1–2 (1994): 36–41

<sup>30</sup> Masaryk published a pamphlet with a similar title, "Jak pravocat? Prednaškz z roku 1898" (Prague: , 1898–99).

In the case of the Slovene Masarykites, or realists, there was no direct cooperation with the Czechs since they only knew Masaryk indirectly. One of the few Slovenes to be in contact with Masaryk before 1918 was Matija Murko. Before the outbreak of the First World War, and after it, he corresponded with Masaryk and even corrected his work on Havlíček.<sup>31</sup>

Masaryk did not only have an exceptional influence on Slovene intellectuals, he also influenced the young. The National Radical Pupils, as they called themselves, led by Dr. Gregor Žerjav, identified themselves with Masaryk and his ideas. The organization operated along similar lines to the Czech radical youth movement, i.e., under the slogan "From the nation to the nation." They organized "grassroots" work among the people, staged various educational lectures, recommended studying at the Slav university in Prague, worked to build closer ties with the Czechs, and worked for a sober Slav reciprocity along the lines proposed by Masaryk. The national radicals had various contacts with Czech pupil and student organizations in Prague. After leaving the student society Ilirija they even founded, in 1907, the independent nationalist radical academic society Adrija. Nevertheless, they also embraced some of the ideas, published in *Omladina*, which did not differ much from the ideas of the Czech national socialist Vaclav Klofač, in particular on the issue of culture and education.<sup>32</sup> In 1911 the Slovene national socialists began publishing their own newspaper *Narodni socijalist*, and through it promoting Klofač's ideas. The first four issues were edited by Fran Radešček. He then left for Prague and the editorship was taken over by Slavoj Škerl. The publisher and owner of the paper was Kamil Černý. Among the program goals of the Czech national socialists which were also adopted by the Slovenes was the demand that

the intelligentsia must stand with the people not above them. Here, too, the intelligentsia must understand the development

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<sup>31</sup> Matija Murko, *Spomini* (Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1951) 144.

<sup>32</sup> Like the national socialists, the National Radical Pupils rejected social democracy—that is, international and propagates revolution—and the Christian socialists, who were only concerned with their own material benefits, as well as the liberals, who offer nothing to the workers and the common people. Their main goal was "to educate socially, culturally and economically" not just the workforce but all classes of society.

which has taken place in France and in other countries where the intelligentsia has gone with the people and not been frightened by socialism and its problems.<sup>33</sup>

Among the important cultural functions they classed "the right of all sections of society to appropriate education (the end of nonsocial education) and through this the prevention of a schism between the people and the intelligentsia." They demanded that "schooling be placed on a national basis the language used in elementary schools should be the mother tongue," and free education for girls "of all classes." They also wanted church-state relations changed so that "all church organizations are placed on the basis of a general law of association."<sup>34</sup>

One of the most fruitful periods of Czech-Slovene cooperation was the period from the Pan-Slavic Congress of 1898 in Prague until 1912, i.e., during the time of Kramář's Neo-Slavism. This did not only involve cooperation in the movement for Slav mutuality on the new foundations proposed by Kramář, but was also a great influence on, in particular, those Slovene politicians and intellectuals who were pro-Russia, or rather who saw Russia as the main bulwark against the Germanic world. At the same time there was close cooperation between Slovene and Czech or rather Pan-Slavic journalists and newspapermen. The Slovenes were extremely active in organizing journalists' rallies. These took place in 1902 and 1908, thanks in part to the efforts of the mayor of Ljubljana, Kramář's colleague, Ivan Hribar. Slav mutuality was also high on the agenda of these meetings. The great importance for Slavs of the Slav press was emphasized, and a mass of articles were reprinted from Slav papers. Interestingly most reprints were from Czech papers. Slovene liberals chose articles in liberal newspapers, socialists in socialist papers, and so on.

Economic cooperation also played an important role. In the 1860s a Prague insurance company opened a branch in Slovenia, with considerable help from Ivan Hribar. The founding of the Ljubljanska kreditna banka in 1900 was enabled by the cooperation of the Czech bank Živnostenska banka, and once again Ivan Hribar was involved.

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<sup>33</sup> "VI. Kongres narodnih socijalistov v Pragi 6., 7., 8. prosinca 1911," *Narodni socialist*, 4 (1911).

<sup>34</sup> "Kulturne naloge naše stranke," *Narodni socialist* 8, 18 February 1911.

The first director of the Ljubljanska kreditna banka was Ladislav Pečanka, a Czech. Czech capital only began operating in Ljubljana later, at the end of the nineteenth century. Among other reasons this was because, as one of the Czech deputies told Josip Vošnjak, they had too much work with the German competition. The first example was Kolinska, a producer of foodstuffs, which, interestingly, the Slovene national socialists held up as an example of patriotism, with the appeal "Our own to our own," meaning that the people should buy Kolinska which "supports the Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society." From 1904 to 1914 Zofka Zedrova edited the free paper *Domači prijatelj*, which was actually an advertisement for Vydrova, a company producing grain coffee. Czech capital only took on a more widespread role after 1918.

The period immediately before, during, and immediately after the First World War was characterized by a fall in interest in cooperation on both sides. The Slovenes followed Masaryk's efforts to establish a new state, but in this period even the Slovenes were utterly in favor of the Yugoslav view which did not preclude the Austrian state. Slovene Catholics called for Trialism, which the Czechs rejected, while the Social Democrats continued to advocate preservation of the Austrian state with autonomous provinces. Although the Slovenes welcomed the founding of the republic of Czechoslovakia in 1918, they were extremely surprised that their model, Masaryk, did not give proper heed to Slovene national demands. Josip Ferfolja, the only Masarykite who had ever met him in person, was a member of the National Council who had gone to Prague in 1918, where discussions were supposed to be held on the decisions of the London Pact. Ferfolja wrote that Masaryk demonstrated little understanding of the Slovene protests against Italian pressure on Slovenes in the occupied territory and merely advised him that the Yugoslavs [sic] should fight for Dalmatia and Rijeka rather than for Trieste.

Among those best acquainted with Czech culture, politics and science were those Slovenes who became the first ambassadors to the new country. They were also the people who had the greatest contacts with the Czechs within the framework of the new state. The first Yugoslav ambassador was Ivan Hribar. He was followed by Bogumil Vošnjak and Albert Kramer.

On the other hand, the conservatives, in particular the Catholics, viewed cooperation and connections with the Czechs very skeptically, some of them even opposing them altogether.

They could only see cooperation with the Czechs, and Slav unity in general, from the point of view of the defense of Catholic interests; in other words, cooperation could only be based on Catholicism. Mahnič particularly stressed that Slovenes should only cooperate with Catholic Czechs, since "the brotherhood of Catholic Slovenes with Catholic Czechs would indeed be one of my highest national-political ideals in Austria," and utterly rejected any other type of connection.<sup>35</sup> This attitude towards the Czechs and Slavism was shared by the founders of the Slavic Christian National Alliance. As a result they were only able to recruit one Czech. They protested strongly when the Young Czechs announced, after the Pan-Slavic rally in Prague in 1898, that they were going to put up a monument to Jan Hus. *Slovenec* commented that although it was true that the Czech nation was 'increasingly aware of its name, at the same time along with national enthusiasm, enthusiasm for Jan Hus was spreading like weeds. To celebrate Hus as a nationalist "would be well and good; but Hus is not being celebrated as a nationalist, but also, in fact primarily, as an opponent of Catholicism."<sup>36</sup> Josip Puntar warned schoolchildren and students against the excessive influence of Masaryk. The exception was J. E. Krek, who saw the Czechs as "the most independent nation" in Austria, a nation which afforded too much honor to Jan Hus but which at the same time was most exposed to pressure, since ranged against it were all the "anti-Slav forces." For this reason the Slovenes and other Slavs, despite their great ideological differences, should stay with the Czechs, while the Czechs themselves, especially the Czech liberals, should be aware that the Czech Catholics also contributed a great deal to Czech unity.<sup>37</sup> Krek still believed in 1917 that the disagreements between Czechs and Yugoslavs over constitutional changes were only temporary.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Anton Mahnič, "Slovenci, pazimo s kom se bratimo," *Rimski katolik* 2 (1889): 385.

<sup>36</sup> "Katoliški shod v Pragi," *Slovenec* 230, 7 October 1898.

<sup>37</sup> "Slovanska zajemnost," *Slovenec* 230, 7 October 1898.

<sup>38</sup> *Slovenec* 171, 28 July 1917.

Krek took part in the Czech-Slavic Catholic rallies from 1894 onwards and concentrated above all on the issues of the closer cooperation of Slav Catholics. Unlike the majority of Slovene Catholics, who wanted to convince Slovenes in any way possible that both the Czechs and Prague were harmful and unsuitable for contacts and cooperation with Slovenes, especially young people, Krek saw Prague as the center of Slavism, a center which had to have a political and cultural role in strengthening Slav unity.<sup>39</sup>

The politicians, intellectuals, young people, and artists who worked most closely with the Czechs and were most enthusiastic about them were, as a rule, liberals or those who were liberally-oriented. At first this was the Young Slovenes, who after 1894 became part of the Slovene National Party, and non-party affiliated intellectuals and young people; although the Young Czech policy in the National Assembly did not always accord completely with the interests of the other Slav nations, the Young Czechs were, despite everything, an example to Slovene liberal politicians of how to work in parliament for the interests of one's own nation. The sympathies of Slovenes for the Czechs, for Czech culture, and the Czech struggle for national rights also stemmed in part from their awareness of the small size of the Slovene nation. These sympathies were a constant of the idea of Slav unity and solidarity. They looked on Russia as a great protectress, but on the Czechs, regardless of their different historical development and more important political, economic, and cultural role in Austria, as their closest and most loyal brothers.

Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani

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<sup>39</sup> "Po IV. českoslovanskem katoliškem shodu," *Slovenec* 204, 5 September 1908.

**POVZETEK****SLOVENCİ IN ČEHI: TRAJNO PRIJATELSTVO**

*Prispevek govori o slovensko-češkem sodelovanju vse od konca 18. stoletja do leta 1918. Poudarek je predvsem na idejnih vplivih čeških kulturnikov, znanstvenikov in nekaterih politikov (Masaryk, Kramář), ki so jih imeli ne le na slovenske študente, ki so študirali na češki ali nemški univerzi v Pragi, marveč tudi na slovensko politično, gospodarsko in kulturno življenje tistega časa.*