

1848 Windischgrätz “was praised by the Germans and cursed by the Czechs” for suppressing the Prague revolt, but in October when he threatened to subdue Vienna he “was being praised by the Czechs and cursed by the Germans” (p. 201). By October, the author states, no “self-respecting Czech” could have sympathized with the Viennese radicals “in face of the Viennese radicals’ repeated abuse of the Czech nation and of the Slavs” (p. 204). Moreover, Pech points out, the Czechs were well aware that a “victory of the German-radical-Magyar coalition would have been . . . a disaster to the Czechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs” (p. 204). Their fear of the Germans and Magyars more than anything else explains why the Czech deputies in the imperial parliament constantly fought the German “left,” why the Czech liberals and nationalists championed Austro-Slavism as the “only realistic policy” to follow, and why they supported the Schwarzenberg government (in the author’s opinion “their most conspicuous blunder of the revolutionary era”) (p. 339).

Especially commendable are the sections in which the author discusses the national, liberal, and social aspects of the revolution. Praiseworthy also are his conscientious efforts to evaluate the strong points and shortcomings of both the liberals and the radicals, as well as those of conservatives like Governor Leo Thun and ultrareactionaries like General Alfred Windischgrätz. Yet on balance Pech’s sympathies are more with the radicals than with any other group—too much so in the reviewer’s opinion. And at times he is quite critical of venerated liberal leaders such as František Palacký and František Brauner, and of the liberals in general.

Although the addition of separate chapters on the peasants, workers, students, and women makes it easy for the reader to acquaint himself with the roles played by these groups, this arrangement has resulted in needless repetition and presents the reader with information out of context. But that is relatively unimportant. Taken as a whole, Pech’s study is a solid, well-balanced, objective account which adds significant new insights to our knowledge of this important topic. His book is “must reading” for all serious students of the revolutions of 1848–49 in general and for those of Central Europe in particular.

R. JOHN RATH
Rice University

TAJNÝ VÝBOR (MAFFIE) A SPOLUPRÁCE S JIHOSLOVANY V LETECH 1916–1918. By *Milada Paulová*. Prague: Academia, 1968. 626 pp. Kčs. 50.

While most works that deal with the birth of Czechoslovakia concentrate on the struggle for independence abroad, Paulová’s thoroughly examines the resistance movement at home. A secret committee—the Maffie—was established to coordinate conspiratorial activities on the home front during the war, cooperating with individuals sent abroad. The most prominent émigrés who kept in touch with the Maffie were Tomáš G. Masaryk, Josef Dürich, and Edvard Beneš. Paulová, a leading Czech historian, published a two-volume history of the Maffie before World War II. The present study benefits greatly from the wealth of her knowledge of this subject. She has searched out the most pertinent facts on the independence movement at home and its collaboration with the Yugoslavs during the

years 1916–18 by consulting a great number of sources untapped in the past. She has used materials from the archives of the secret committee (compiled by Dr. Přemysl Šámal), the wartime diary of Czech historian-politician Dr. Zdeněk Tobolka, notes made by the wife of Dr. Alois Rašín, transcripts of the trial for Dr. Karel Kramář, Yugoslav documents, and personal interviews granted by leading Czech and Yugoslav political figures shortly after the war. In her work we find detailed background descriptions of all the principal Czech and Yugoslav political actions on the home front, including the address of Czech writers, the Czech and Yugoslav declarations of May 30, 1917, the birth of the so-called Epiphany Declaration of 1918, the “national oath” of April 13, 1918, and the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Prague in May 1918, through which the Czech independence movement at home was broadened into an empire-wide, coordinated, anti-Austro-Hungarian resistance movement embracing most of the anti-Habsburg forces in the monarchy.

The book describes and analyzes the gradual splintering of political groups and the development of major Czech political parties and the leading Czech and Yugoslav (and to some extent also Polish) political figures in their evolution from a pro-empire orientation to an anti-Austro-Hungarian stand. We find detailed information on the positions and attitudes of Czech intellectuals, especially historians Jaroslav Goll and Josef Pekař. Due credit for winning the Czechoslovak independence is given to the leaders of the independence movement at home, especially Kramář and Rašín.

Unlike many Czech historians, Paulová does not promote either of the two widely circulated legends on the origins of Czechoslovakia. One legend suggests that Masaryk almost singlehandedly won independence for his people, and that for idealistic reasons the Western Powers, recognizing the right of self-determination, endorsed the Masaryk-Beneš-Štefánik plan for the reorganization of Central Europe, thus sanctioning the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. The other legend, advanced after World War II, claims that without the October Revolution in Russia there would have been no independent Czechoslovakia. In a sober way Paulová shows the importance of the internal struggle for independence and the action taken by a group of home politicians on October 28, 1918. The proclamation of Czechoslovak independence and the assumption of governmental power by the “Men of October 28” was a revolutionary act of far-reaching consequences. Without this *fait accompli* the fruits of the exile leaders’ work and the military feats of the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia, Siberia, France, and Italy might have been lost. The proclamation of Czechoslovak independence made it possible for the new revolutionary government to use the power of the state to occupy the German-inhabited borderlands of the Czech Lands and Slovakia, thus determining the boundaries of Czechoslovakia. It also created conditions for international acceptance of the new political order in Central Europe, since the victorious Entente Powers had to take the existence of Czechoslovakia into account at the Paris Peace Conference.

This scholarly, in-depth study is supplemented by documents, photographs, and a bibliography. Paulová, who has a considerable grasp of detail, has provided an indispensable source of information for those who are searching for truth about the origins of Czechoslovakia.

JOSEF KALVODA
Saint Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut