

Masaryk in London

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ABSTRAKT

Práce se zabývá životem a dílem filozofa, sociologa, pedagoga, politika, a také prvního československého prezidenta, Tomáše Garrigue Masaryka, během jeho pobytu v Londýně. Cílem je shrnutí jeho činů, jež napomohly k rozpadu Rakouska-Uherska, vytvoření samostatné Československé republiky a také definování důvodu proč se o to snažil. Masaryk byl velmi vzdělaný ve všech oblastech souvisejících s jeho cílem, a tudíž jeho práce byla velmi obsáhlá. Napsal nespočet článků a dopisů, navštívil a ovlivnil mnoho důležitých osob, přednášel o jeho plánu také na vysoké škole, či dokonce pomohl vytvořit armádu. Jeho práce byla důkladně promyšlená, a tato práce se bude detailněji zabývat již zmíněnými, ale i dalšími aktivitami, které vykonával.

Klíčová slova: První světová válka, Pangermanismus, rozpad Rakouska-Uherska, vznik Československa

ABSTRACT

The work deals with the life and work of philosopher, sociologist, educator, politician, and also the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, during his stay in London. The goal is to summarize his actions, which contributed to the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, and the creation of an independent Czechoslovak Republic, and to define the reason why he strived for it. Masaryk was highly educated in all areas related to his goal, and therefore his work was very comprehensive. He wrote countless articles and letters, visited, and influenced many important individuals, lectured about his plan at universities, and even helped to establish an army. His work was thoroughly considered, and this thesis will delve into the mentioned, as well as other activities he undertook, more in detail.

Keywords: World War I, Pan-Germanism, disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the creation of Czechoslovakia

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INTRODUCTION

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk is a towering figure in Czechoslovak history, revered for his role in shaping the nation and assuming its presidency. The goal of this thesis is to describe his tireless dedication during his stay in London, characterized by unwavering efforts to secure the independence of Czechoslovakia amid the tumultuous backdrop of Austria-Hungary's dissolution. Masaryk made strategic alliances with influential figures and never stopped fighting for the rights of smaller nations within larger countries. This demonstrates Masaryk's resilience and strategic foresight, which becomes evident through his subsequent actions, as detailed later in the thesis.

I will discuss how Masaryk faced numerous challenges while navigating the political resistance within Austria-Hungary, often endangering his life and livelihood in the process. From surviving poisoning attempts to evading surveillance by hostile agents, Masaryk's path was full of danger. However, he fought back, as shown by his use of secret tactics like getting fake names or improving his shooting skills to protect himself, his family, and his important friends for this mission.

Masaryk used different methods to advocate for his cause, encompassing various channels of influence and in this thesis, I will delve into how he used these methods more in detail. Whether lecturing in educational institutions, writing articles, or engaging in diplomatic correspondence, Masaryk left no stone unturned in advancing his cause. It was during his time in London, however, that his activism reached its maximal value, serving as the center of his efforts to enforce the independence of small nations. Masaryk sought to inform and teach a broader audience about the difference between a country and a nation, the geopolitical consequences of World War I, the pernicious influence of German hegemony within Austria-Hungary, and many other topics connected with the importance of independent Czechoslovakia.

The primary focus of Masaryk's efforts was spreading his ideas through the written word. An in-depth analysis of Masaryk's articles from his London period, situated towards the end of this thesis, offers invaluable insight into his strategic vision and ideological foundations. By analyzing Masaryk's writings about Europe's geopolitical situation during the First World War, especially a detailed description of the strengths and weaknesses of Germany and Austria-Hungary, this thesis aims to show once again how Masaryk, was well aware of the situation, was passionate about the goal and his ideas greatly influenced Czechoslovakia's path to independence.

Moreover, Masaryk's correspondence from Britain serves as a testament to the importance of building alliances and cultivating relationships with English counterparts. These connections not only strengthened his advocacy efforts but also provided a powerful momentum to his cause, bringing him closer to the realization of his desires.

In essence, the beginning of this thesis serves as an introductory exploration into the life and legacy of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, describing the events that were the most important in his diplomatic career and offering context to facilitate a clearer understanding of his significance. The second, main part shifts focus to Masaryk's life, diplomatic efforts, and influential work during his time in London, exploring his journey from overcoming obstacles to strategic diplomatic moves, aiming to highlight his successes in London as a crucial aspect of his quest to establish an independent, democratic, and socially equitable republic, Czechoslovakia.

1 THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK AND HIS LEGACY

1.1 Masaryk's Formative Years

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk emerged as a profoundly influential figure among Czech and Slovak intellectuals throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Born on March 7, 1850, in Hodonín,¹ he came from humble familial origins, an aspect that significantly shaped his perspectives, especially regarding national and state ideologies.² He described his youth very idyllically, often depicting ordinary village life. He considered himself ethnically more Slovak, as he came from a mixed German-Slovak family. Later, during his political career, this origin was often criticized by radicals. In 1856 he started his studies in Hodonín, and in 1861, at eleven years old, he embarked on his studies in Hustopeče.³ Though he kept in touch with his family through letters, his relationship with his parents and siblings lacked closeness.⁴ The relationship with his classmates wasn't any different. However, he was not alone; he lived with his aunt, who, in a practice seemingly absurd by today's standards, in exchange sent her child to live with the Masaryk family.⁵

After completing his studies in Hustopeče, he began working as a teaching assistant in Čejkovice at the age of 14. Then he was admitted to a German gymnasium in Brno⁶, and his academic career culminated in a doctorate from the Faculty of Philosophy in Vienna 14 years later.⁷ He studied in Hustopeče, Strážnice, Brno, and Vienna. During his studies, he became interested in topics such as religious crises, social issues and socialism, nationality issues and state organization, citizenship, and republicanism. Encountering the chaplain František Satora had a profound impact on him, as Satora fostered his development in Christian socialism. While studying in Vienna, he engaged actively with Czech compatriot organizations, notably the Czech Academic Association, where he eventually assumed the role of chairman and contributed articles to the association's newspapers and periodicals. Already at the age of twenty-two, he considered a career as a diplomat. According to his

¹ Polson, Newman E. W. *Masaryk*. London: Campion Press, 1960, p.11.

² Emmert, František. *TGM*. Prague: Euromedia Group, 2020, p. 7.

³ Polson, *Masaryk*, p. 12-13.

⁴ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 12-13.

⁵ Street, Cecil J. *Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1930, p. 13.

⁶ Masaryk, T. G., and Karel Capek. *President Masaryk tells his story*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1934, p. 58-61.

⁷ Masaryk, T. G., and Karel Velemínský. *Masaryk Osvoboditel*; sborník. Prague: Ministerstvo školství a Národní osvěty, 1920, p. 16.

words, becoming a pedagogue and politician was rather accidental; it was not his dream profession.⁸

1.2 Charlotte Garrigue

In 1877, in Leipzig, he met his future wife, Charlotte Garrigue, who came from a wealthy family living in Brooklyn.⁹ Her father founded the Germania Insurance Company, which was one of the largest on the East Coast. Masaryk traveled to the USA shortly after she departed from Leipzig and they were married in New York in 1878.¹⁰ Unusually for the time, Masaryk added her surname to his own. And they were together for fifty years.¹¹

Masaryk returned to Vienna between 1878-1882. During this period, he became a lecturer and began teaching. He became most visible with his work "Suicide as a Social Mass Phenomenon of the Present." While living in Vienna, Masaryk was seen in Prague as rather loyal to the monarchy, thus losing popularity. Everything changed when Charles University in Prague (today's Charles University) offered him a position as an associate professor.¹²

The couple¹³ relocated to Prague in 1882, a move that Masaryk had previously been hesitant about, as he had a strong preference for residing in Vienna. In Prague, Charlotte joined the Social Democratic Party and became involved in various associations. Yet, during the pivotal phase of Masaryk's career, when he went into exile in 1914, she did not accompany him. Remaining in Prague due to her health issues, she endured the most challenging period of her life. One of her sons passed away, another was conscripted into the army, while one daughter faced imprisonment, and the other opted for exile alongside her father. Charlotte suffered from severe depression and shortly before the end of the war, she was declared legally incompetent, dying on May 13, 1923.¹⁴ Despite the frequent separations due to Masaryk's demanding job, which often involved extensive travel, she consistently offered unwavering support to him, enduring the challenges, particularly during times of war.¹⁵

Masaryk held the opinion that a woman is not just a maid and does not live solely for a man, as well as a man, does not live solely for a woman. Both should seek the laws of God

⁸ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 14-21.

⁹ Herben, Jan. *Masarykův rodinný život*. Prague: Družstevní práce, 1937, p. 8.

¹⁰ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 29.

¹¹ Polson, *Masaryk*, p. 27.

¹² Emmert, *TGM*, p. 38-39.

¹³ Altogether, the couple had 6 children, two of whom died shortly after birth.

¹⁴ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 36-37.

¹⁵ Polson, *Masaryk*, p. 27.

and fulfill them. One such law for him was the family. He helped his wife with raising children, with their early morning school routines, and generally devoted himself quite a lot to the family compared to other Czech families.¹⁶

1.3 Masaryk's time in Prague

During Masaryk's stay in Prague, he became a philosopher with international renown. From 1882, he began to strongly disagree with the domestic political scene. He criticized the ruling circles, particularly the Catholics for their monarchism and adherence to church dogmas, as well as towards nationalism. In 1883, he founded Athenaeum, where he began to collaborate, for example, with Karel Kramář. Intellectuals around this association founded a new ideological style called Realism. The aim was to elevate Czech culture and political thought to a European level and to accept positive influences from abroad. In 1897, he became a professor at the University of Prague. He was involved in the publication and editing of the journals Athenaeum (since 1883), Time (since 1886), and Nová doba (1893).

He founded the political party known as the Czech People's Party and became a member of the Imperial Council of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as the Czech Provincial Parliament in Prague. (1891-1893).¹⁷

As I have mentioned, Czech radicals criticized his German origin. Masaryk never considered himself German; he identified more as Slovak. During his tenure as a professor at the university, he spoke out against German nationalism. He was also falsely attributed to Jewish descent. While he denounced radical anti-German calls, Masaryk had concerns about the influence of Germans, viewing it as a potential threat to the Czech nation. The beginning of World War I caught him paradoxically in Germany. He greatly feared that the war would bring the Danubian monarchy (its pre-Lombard part) closer to Germany, which would weaken the Czech nation. He opposed the idea of a German Central Europe with his idea of Czechoslovak statehood.¹⁸ Immediately after the outbreak of World War I, he published the essay "War." In this work, he referred to the emerging conflict as a world war. He saw the greatest threat in Austria-Hungary's dependence on its stronger ally Germany. Therefore, there was a real danger of the two empires uniting. This would have meant that the union

¹⁶ Herben, *Masarykův rodinný život*, p. 7-8.

¹⁷ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 44-45.

¹⁸ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 63-64.

would also concern Czechs and Slovaks. Germany and Austria-Hungary envisioned a union that aimed to preserve German predominance in Europe.¹⁹

1.4 Masaryk's connections

During the autumn of 1914, he twice visited the Netherlands, where he encountered British journalist Robert William Seton-Watson. During their meetings, he told Seton-Watson about the Austrian situation, shared his perspectives on the war and the global situation, and explained the Czech national agenda along with his strategies for action.²⁰ Watson processed their two-day conversation into a memorandum, which he then submitted to the British Foreign Office. Apart from the description of the situation in monarchy, the document's goal was to spread the vision of Czech politics about Independent Bohemia, and it subsequently made its way to Paris and Petrograd.²¹ He also met French Bohemist Ernest Denis and Russian writer A. Kasteliansky. From them, he received full support, especially through the media, for his Czechoslovak idea. He even gained financial supporters, mainly from America. Masaryk also negotiated with domestic politicians in Prague. They approved of his resistance activities but were unwilling to openly support him. The reason was that they counted on the preservation of Austria-Hungary and sought primarily to secure the best possible position for the Czech nation within the monarchy.²²

1.5 Foreign and Domestic Resistance

In December 1914, he traveled to Italy, where he met with representatives of Russia, Serbia, Poland, and Denmark, and he also established contacts with the ambassador from Britain, Sir James Rennell Rodd²³. Since Russia, Serbia, and Great Britain were at war with Austria-Hungary, Masaryk's behavior was considered treasonous. He could not return to Prague. He was even supposed to be arrested in Rome. Therefore, on January 15, 1915, he left for Geneva and founded the first center of foreign resistance there. Edvard Beneš, who was a lecturer at Charles University at the time, visited him during his stay, and upon his return journey, Beneš brought back instructions from Masaryk to also initiate resistance efforts in

¹⁹ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 86-87.

²⁰ Masaryk, Tomáš G. *Světová revoluce: Za války a ve válce: 1914-1918*. Prague: Ústav T.G. Masaryka, 2005, p. 8.

²¹ Kubů, Eduard, and Jiří Šouša. *T.G. Masaryk a jeho C. K. protivníci: Československá zahraniční akce ženevského období v zápase s rakousko-uherskou diplomacií, zpravodajskými službami a propagandou (1915-1916)*. Prague: Karolinum, 2015, p. 52.

²² Emmert, *TGM*, p. 87.

²³ Masaryk, *Světová revoluce*, p. 30-35.

our homeland. The resistance later became known as the organization called Maffie. Masaryk hoped for much greater influence from Maffie, but the Czech political scene was pro-Austrian until 1917 and during World War I, he moved between Geneva and London. On September 3, 1915, Maffie achieved its first major success when it was recognized as the official representative of the Czech nation's resistance. The resistance gradually moved to Paris, where Edvard Beneš or Milan Rastislav Štefánik also moved. The supreme body of the exile resistance, the National Council of Czech Lands, was established here, which had the task of creating an independent Czechoslovak army, the legion. In 1917, Masaryk moved to Russia, where a transitional democratic government was established, and in 1918, he moved to the USA. Here, his idea of an independent Czechoslovak state was supported by US President T. W. Wilson.²⁴ Štefánik planned his trip to the USA, and he also facilitated his meeting with the President, who was mainly interested in Russia. At the same time, he had a great influence on the political elite in France and Great Britain. With his decision to support the idea of the emergence of an independent Czechoslovak state, he "forced" them to agree to the new state.²⁵

1.6 Czechoslovakia

Masaryk is known for his idea of Czechoslovakism, which is an emotionally charged term expressing collective identity. Based on that, he regarded the alliance with the Slovaks as a fundamental necessity for the formation of the Czech (Czechoslovak) state, also likely due to national and social emancipation²⁶ and the principle that greater size is connected with greater power. His thought was supported also by Štefánik, a Slovak, who believed that there were no significant differences between Czechs and Slovaks, making it easier for Slovaks to assimilate into Czech culture.²⁷ October 22, 1915, Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik endorsed the Cleveland Agreement, which marked the initial written agreement on the establishment of a unified state for Czechs and Slovaks, promising Slovakia a form of federation. Subsequently, in 1916, the Czechoslovak National Council was founded in Paris. On May 30, the Pittsburgh Agreement replaced the Cleveland Agreement, outlining terms for the Slovaks. While it did not explicitly ensure federalization, it offered significant autonomy, including its parliament, government, and judiciary. At the turn of 1918/1919, Rusyns were

²⁴ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 92-94.

²⁵ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 109-110.

²⁶ Hudek, Adam, Michal Kopeček, and Jan Mervart. *Čechoslovakismus*. Prague: NLN, 2019, p. 11.

²⁷ Zeman, Zbyněk. *The MASARYKS: The making of Czechoslovakia*. London: Plunkett Lake Press, 1976, p. 85.

also invited to this idea; they resisted pressure from Hungarians. On October 28, 1918, Czechoslovak state power was established, yet the agreements mentioned earlier were not upheld, leading to a gradual adjustment of the position of nations within Czechoslovakia.²⁸

In July 1918, the highest domestic political body, the Czechoslovak National Committee, was established in Prague. It brought together all Czech parties that had expressed themselves in favor of Czechoslovak independence and Karel Kramář was elected chairman. In mid-October 1918, the provisional Czechoslovak government was established, with Thomas Garrigue Masaryk at the helm. All the Powers recognized it, and on October 18, 1918, thanks to the so-called Washington Declaration, the demand for an independent Czechoslovakia was also recognized. Masaryk returned to Czechoslovakia on December 20, 1918.²⁹

1.7 President Masaryk

Masaryk's professional and life career was crowned with the presidential term from 1918 to 1935. He was elected by Karel Kramář, Prime minister of the new state, on November 14, 1918, in his absence.³⁰ It was only for a temporary period until an official constitution was drafted and regular presidential elections were held. The provisional constitution of November 13, 1918, gave him very limited powers and he functioned primarily formally. He tried to establish a presidential model from the USA, but he never succeeded.³¹

In February 1920, the Czechoslovak state received a regular constitution. Masaryk ensured that presidential powers were expanded. In 1920, the political crisis in the newly formed republic deepened. The main reason was the great diversity of political parties. During his term, Masaryk experienced 15 governments.³²

Under the weight of health problems, Masaryk abdicated in 1935 and the National Assembly passed a law granting him the title of President Liberator for life.³³ He spent his retirement amidst books and friends. Despite his body's diminished functionality, his mind remained sharp, engaging in extensive conversations on diverse subjects ranging from intricate philosophical matters to everyday life topics. He died on September 14, 1937, at his beloved Lány Castle, where he was also buried.³⁴

²⁸ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 68-70.

²⁹ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 110-111.

³⁰ Zeman, *The MASARYKS*, p. 117.

³¹ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 121-122.

³² Emmert, *TGM*, p. 123-124.

³³ Emmert, *TGM*, p. 159.

³⁴ Polson, *Masaryk*, p. 218-219.

2 MASARYK'S LIFE IN LONDON AND WHAT PRECEDED

2.1 Czech Politics at the Beginning of the 20th Century

Until 1914, Austria-Hungary was the second-largest European state after Russia.³⁵ At the outset, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, and Japan opposed the dissolution of Austria-Hungary because it functioned as a barrier against German and Russian expansionism³⁶, but since the late 19th century, the economic and political influence of Germany has been increasingly asserting itself in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Austria-Hungary resisted this pressure, but at the same time, the nationalist German movement grew within it. This fact also influenced Czech politics and Austria-Hungary began to have concerns about the Czech nation.³⁷

From the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, there was a dynamic development, bringing political, social, cultural, and constitutional changes. These changes included the process of shaping modern nations. Czech politics struggled to accept the status quo established by the revolution of 1848-1849. However, until the outbreak of World War I, significant Czech politicians still considered the preservation of the Habsburg Empire, which comprised several smaller nations. Nonetheless, they consistently sought recognition of the Czech nation as an equal and state-forming element of the Habsburg coexistence, which also included Germans or Hungarians.³⁸ The Czech political scene primarily dealt with statehood issues defined by Czech historical state law. The goal was to strive for the federalization of the Habsburg Empire, aiming to replace Austro-Hungarian dualism with Austro-Hungarian-Slavic trialism. This was opposed not only by Austria-Hungary but also, for example, by Germany.³⁹

The rise of organized labor and, particularly, the socialist movement brought a political change in Austria-Hungary, leading to the formation of social-democratic parties, which gradually evolved into socialist parties, demanding absolute national autonomy, democratization, and decentralization of state administration for every nationality within

³⁵ Veber, Václav. *Dějiny rakouska*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010, p. 443.

³⁶ Hájková, Dagmar, and Pavel Helan. "The Quest for Balance: Attitudes of the Czechoslovak Independence Movement Abroad to the Adriatic Problem During the First World War." *Acta Histriae*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2014): 661. <https://zdjp.si/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/hajkova-helan.pdf>.

³⁷ Olivová, Věra. *Dějiny první republiky*. Prague: Společnost Edvarda Beneše, p. 2012.

³⁸ Dejmek, Jindřich. *Československo: Dějiny státu*. Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 2018, p. 11-12.

³⁹ Dejmek, *Československo*, p. 14.

Austria-Hungary, but at this time, the question of an independent state was not yet considered.⁴⁰

Smaller political parties also began to assume greater significance. Particularly notable were the so-called realists, with Professor of Philosophy at Prague University, Tomáš Masaryk, being their main representative. Masaryk co-founded the Czech People's Party in 1900. By this time, Masaryk was already known for his views on the Czech question, as he had defined it in several political-philosophical books and he often discussed pioneering issues in periodicals, such as the women's question or criticized Austrian politics. He became a leader with international credit and contacts.⁴¹

Before World War I, the escalating nationality and statehood problems of the Habsburg Empire were known in academic and political circles of Western European powers and Russia. Due to the escalation of tensions between Czechs and Germans, the idea of an independent state began to emerge. The Czech political scene thus sought to gain state independence with the support of Tsarist Russia or with the help of contacts with Western European politicians. World War I significantly accelerated this process.⁴²

2.2 Antecedent Circumstances before London

The efforts of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, and others centered around constructing a new Europe, particularly through the division of states. Their main endeavor revolved around the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia. Simultaneously, they communicated that this endeavor was in the best interest of all states involved, and they aimed to convey this vision through the media to reach a broad audience. While France leaned towards supporting that idea, dealing with England, which Masaryk considered the most influential country, proved challenging due to its cautious approach in this matter. Masaryk took on the responsibility for foreign affairs and embarked on a mission to persuade Britain. This chapter discusses his life in London, exploring the challenges he faced, his triumphs, and setbacks, focusing mainly on his efforts to persuade Great Britain that Czechoslovakia deserved independence.

Masaryk partially defined his goals, needs, and reasoning in his book called *Czech Question* published years before, in 1895. He wanted to connect with the past, where the

⁴⁰ Dejmek, *Československo*, p. 19-20.

⁴¹ Dejmek, *Československo*, p. 21-22.

⁴² Dejmek, *Československo*, p. 33-34.

nation developed independently and freely, and to chart a course for future development. It involved recognizing the present, understanding the state caused by national and political decline, and awakening from this decline to a new, fuller life.⁴³

In Switzerland, Masaryk immersed himself in the study of war-related literature, driven by a growing ambition. He believed that war was essential to pave the way for the reconfiguration of Europe.⁴⁴ Even though Switzerland was initially a safe territory, to bring his plan to fruition, Masaryk aspired to position himself in the political center of things. After he noticed that spies began watching him and his actions, he knew he had to move away. Being poisoned through his clothing and getting abscesses was the last straw for Masaryk; he decided to leave Switzerland and relocate to a more secure environment.⁴⁵

From the Serbian General Consul, he obtained a forged Serbian passport and France was his next destination, where he edited his new document *La Nation Tchèque* with his friend Professor Denis. Additionally, during this period, Masaryk encountered his former student, Milan Štefánik who was hospitalized after the operation and Masaryk would daily visit him. Štefánik held great admiration for him and provided crucial support to help him navigate through challenging times.⁴⁶ However, his destination was London, with France serving only as a temporary stopover. He knew that Paris was already taken care of thanks to Štefánik and Beneš. Aiming to expand their influence, now more from the economic point of view, he packed his books on warfare and politics and embarked on his journey.⁴⁷

2.3 The London Stay

Masaryk's arrival in London on September 26th, 1915, went largely unnoticed by the public, except for the police, who considered him an enemy alien, because he had a falsified Serbian passport, wherein the listed birthplace indicated Austria. Thanks to the urgent pleas of his English friends, he managed to evade arrest and internment.⁴⁸ Following his escape from arrest, he stayed at a boarding house, where he wrote a memorandum addressed to both the British Government and the Allies, with the request for the independence of his people from constant oppression.⁴⁹ However, establishing contact with his allies proved challenging.

⁴³ Masaryk, T. G. *Česká otázka: Snahy a tužby národního obrození*. Prague: Nakl. Asu, 1895, 7-8.

⁴⁴ Čapek, Karel, and Tomáš Masaryk. *Hovory s T. G. M.* Prague: Nakladatelství Fragment, 2009, p. 130-135.

⁴⁵ Cohen, Victor, and Jan Masaryk. *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator: A Biographical Study of Central Europe since 1848*. London: Murray, 1941, p. 156-157.

⁴⁶ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator*, p. 157.

⁴⁷ Čapek, Karel, and Tomáš Masaryk. *Hovory s T. G. M.* Prague: Nakladatelství Fragment, 2009, p. 134-135.

⁴⁸ Street, Cecil J. Ch. *President Masaryk*. London: Bles, 1930, p. 181.

⁴⁹ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator*, p. 158.

Masaryk had to employ various methods to conceal messages and secure couriers. One Czech carpenter for this reason crafted a suitcase with a double wall. Messages were concealed within watches, tucked away in umbrellas, or even in barrels of oil. These unconventional methods were essential as they operated under constant surveillance by spies.⁵⁰

His life in the new country was challenging. One night, his rooms were burglarized, leading Masaryk to take shooting lessons for self-defense. Classified as an enemy alien, he adhered to strict regulations, often reporting to the police.⁵¹ Spies adopted diverse disguises, presenting themselves as innocuous photographs or potential friends. Masaryk therefore remained prepared for any circumstance, keeping a revolver close at hand. Realizing that too much lying could be problematic, he chose to keep it to a minimum. He understood that when under pressure, he might forget made-up details and accidentally reveal the truth. Masaryk stated, *"Lie is a form of violence; therefore, lies as a means of protection should be minimized: I have convinced myself in practice that even in rebellion, the straight path is the shortest."*⁵²

He again started having problems with recurring abscesses, caused probably by repeated blood poisoning and necessitated surgical intervention. Due to the knowledge that there was a possibility of him not surviving the operation, he struggled to find restful sleep and was consumed by fear. Consequently, his regular eating habits became irregular, only eating when necessary. On April 20th, it appeared that the wound had already healed, but by April 25th, it had reopened. After consulting with a doctor, Masaryk suspected a misdiagnosis as the doctor only suggested warm compresses. Consequently, Masaryk sought out another doctor who disinfected the wound. Throughout this period, Masaryk's daughter Olga cared for him, but she had to leave. Concerned for her father's well-being, she asked Beneš to convince him to prioritize self-care and reduce his workload. Beneš suggested alternative accommodation that would be not only beneficial for his health but also more conducive to his political activities.⁵³ But there was a problem, Masaryk faced the challenge of sustaining himself financially. Opting not to depend on funds from Czechoslovak colonies in America, he took it upon himself to earn a living. Assisted by his friends in England, especially Dr. Ronald Burrows, he secured a position as a Professor of Slavonic Studies at

⁵⁰ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 131.

⁵¹ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator*, p. 158-159.

⁵² Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 131-132.

⁵³ Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue, Dagmar Hájková, and Jitka Jindřišková. *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Velká Británie: Svazek II.* (1916). Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v.v.i, 2022, p. 25-26.

King's College. Initially, he wasn't thrilled about it, but later, it proved useful as it allowed him to share his opinions with a large audience. It provided a modest salary, but it ensured he didn't endure hunger,⁵⁴ a possibility he narrowly avoided when his counterfeit passport was exposed at the bank, due to this, he had to quickly transfer his money to another bank to avoid attracting further attention.⁵⁵ In addition to his academic responsibilities, he supplemented his income by writing weekly articles for publications such as the Sunday Times, as well as contributing to others like Nation, Spectator, and New Europe⁵⁶ which again proved useful for his goal of establishing Czechoslovakia.

2.4 The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis

When trying to find the main solution to the issue of the Czechoslovak cause, Masaryk recognized the pivotal role of propaganda. He stressed the importance of honesty and avoiding exaggerations or falsehoods in propaganda.⁵⁷ Contemplating a daily newspaper campaign, he intended to highlight the drawbacks of Austria-Hungary and emphasize that the dismantling would benefit the entire continent.⁵⁸ Still, his first attempt to indirectly generate interest was in his inaugural lecture at King's College in October 1915, where he drew public attention in England to the Czechoslovak cause in a lecture titled "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis."⁵⁹ Later in this thesis, in the section titled The Correspondence, there will be further elaboration on the lecture, including what preceded and followed it, along with feedback.

2.4.1 The First Part of the Lecture

Professor Masaryk in the beginning of his lecture discussed the disparity between states and nations in Europe. He emphasized that there is no map to illustrate this difference because there aren't any ethnographical maps; rather, there are only political ones. Consequently, he was unable to illustrate European nations to English students. This absence of representation extends to the question of war, with only a handful of specialists offering partial and biased ethnographical data.⁶⁰ He noted that before the war, most European states contained multiple

⁵⁴ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator*, p. 159.

⁵⁵ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 136

⁵⁶ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator*, p. 159.

⁵⁷ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 181.

⁵⁸ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 159.

⁵⁹ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 181-182.

⁶⁰ Masaryk, Tomás Garrigue. *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis: Inaugural Lecture at the University of London, King's College*. Westminster: The Council for the study of international relations, 1916, p. 425-427

nationalities. Emphasizing the national complexities in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Regarding this topic, he said: “*Englishman, speaking of his nation, identifies the nation and the State. Not so the Serb or the Bohemian, because to his experience State and nation do not coincide, his nation being spread over several States or being in the State with other nations.*”⁶¹ He also pointed out that there are differences between the East and West in terms of the number and size of states. While the West comprises eighteen states, the East has only eight, with two having partial affiliation with the West. He concluded the initial segment by identifying a danger zone of small nations between Finland, Greece, France, and Russia, where the World War started. Because of the eternal chase for freedom and independence among the nations in this zone, the reorganization of these countries during the World War was going to be a key challenge.⁶²

2.4.2 The Second Part of the Lecture

In the latter part of his lecture, Professor Masaryk discussed the distinction between small and large nations. He emphasized the trend of smaller nations seeking independence and highlighted the increasing freedom these nations experienced regarding nationality and language rights over the century. He pointed out that using population or territory as a classification principle is relative, and the concept of greatness is subjective. Although some nations may be numerically larger, this numerical greatness is variable and changing. Masaryk also spoke about Germany's war program called Pan-Germanism, which claims that the historical evidence supports the absorption of small states by larger ones. Against this, he argued by highlighting the growing recognition of national rights and the simultaneous promotion of internationalism. In the time of the ongoing war, he emphasized the importance of national equality, rejecting the notion of a master race, and advocated for liberty, equality, and fraternity among nations.⁶³

2.4.3 Pan-Germanism

In Masaryk's work called *Nová Evropa* (New Europe), he argued that he was surprised by the lack of interest from the English and the French in Pan-Germanism. Viewing it as a threat, he intended to write a comprehensive overview of the subject. However, the war

⁶¹ Masaryk, *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis*, p. 425.

⁶² Masaryk, *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis*, p. 425-427

⁶³ Masaryk, *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis*, p. 427-430.

intervened before he could do so, and later, during the conflict, without access to his library, he could only rely on his memory.⁶⁴

Seton-Watson addressed a similar topic to Pan-Germanism at the beginning of his book *Masaryk in England*, he wrote about the Germanic justification behind the absorption of Bohemia. Based on him Bohemia, historically positioned at the heart of Europe within German territory, underwent a long process of Germanization, making it the Slavic nation most exposed to German influences, and its geographical location was considered strategically important for Germany. Otto von Bismarck, head of Prussia and later Germany, once referred to it as a natural fortress.⁶⁵ Bismarck famously remarked that Bohemia under German control would lead to a ruthless conflict, while Bohemia falling into Russian hands would result in enslavement for Germany. Despite Bismarck's death in 1898, his successors continued to uphold and expand upon his policies, particularly advocating for the need for the absorption of Bohemia, especially in the context of defensive alliances with Russia.⁶⁶

2.4.4 The Third Part of the Lecture

In the third and final part, Masaryk initiated a discussion by drawing a comparison between the advantages and disadvantages of small nations in contrast to their larger counterparts. For example, a small nation, on average, possesses a more limited workforce and intellectual capacity, leading to a less extensive division and organization of both physical and mental labor. With a smaller population, the number of specialists is reduced, and although wealth and comfort may be more constrained, the physical, mental, and moral qualities of smaller nations are on par with those of their larger counterparts. Small nations can be characterized as communities with a strong work ethic. In these smaller communities, there is a deeper level of interaction and exchange among individuals. People here know each other well and this close connection makes working together and understanding each other smoother. Small national states not only can exist but already do exist.⁶⁷

In the end, Masaryk discusses the duty of greatness, stating that great nations have a responsibility to protect smaller nations and help them organize federations. He emphasizes the need for small nations to choose their own way and not imitate the great ones. Masaryk openly opposed Germanism and concluded that the reorganization of Central Europe and the establishment or union of new nations and states would serve as a significant step in

⁶⁴ Masaryk, T. G. *Nová Evropa*. Prague: Městská knihovna v Praze, 2014, p. 15.

⁶⁵ Seton-Watson, Robert William. *Masaryk in England*. Cambridge: The University press, 1943, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*, p. 2-4.

⁶⁷ Masaryk, *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis*, p. 430-431.

restructuring Europe, which would protect future peace by preventing potential imperialistic expansion, and that these countries should be allowed to contribute to the progress of human culture by themselves, through their civilizations.⁶⁸

2.4.5 Effects of the Lecture

Apart from the lecture, it was also a political event for Czechoslovak political emigrants who were for the first time presented with the idea of Czechoslovak independence and based on them and British political and intellectual circles, it was a success. H. H. Asquith, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during World War I, was unable to attend the lecture due to illness, and Lord Robert Cecil took his place.⁶⁹ However, a few months later, Asquith made a statement: *“Be the journey long or short, we shall not pause or falter until we have secured for the smaller states of Europe their charter of independence, and, for Europe itself, and for the world at large, their final emancipation from the reign of force.”*⁷⁰ Ten years later, despite any mistakes or moments of uncertainty in the years that followed, Edvard Beneš emphasized that his presence here today is concrete evidence that the nations represented by Mr. Asquith upheld their promises. This commitment extended to ensuring the independence of small nations and achieving the ultimate liberation from the dominance of force. An example of this determination could be the signing of the Treaty of Locarno which will based on Beneš probably mark the first step in freeing European nations from old ideas.⁷¹

Masaryk argued for the necessity and desirability of liberating the peoples of Austria-Hungary. This lecture gained significant traction among the Allied countries, although challenges persisted in convincing some compatriots, particularly those with lingering faith in Russia as the protector of the Slavs.⁷²

2.5 Life after the Lecture

After the lecture as stated, Masaryk secured the Prime Minister's trust, who aligned with his vision and emphasized that the Allies are primarily committed to protecting the freedom of small nations. This commitment aims to empower these nations in the future, enabling them to break free from the dominance of their more influential neighbors and foster the

⁶⁸ Masaryk, *The problem of small nations in the European Crisis*, p. 431-432.

⁶⁹ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 159-160.

⁷⁰ Beneš, *The problem of the small nations after the World War*, p. 258

⁷¹ Beneš, *The problem of the small nations after the World War*, p. 258

⁷² Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 183.

unrestricted development of their national culture.⁷³ Despite earning the PM's trust, a persistent detective continued tailing Masaryk, driven by orders. Seton Watson eventually assisted him in contacting Scotland Yard, providing some relief from the constant supervision.⁷⁴

Despite his employment and writing endeavors, he still hadn't earned enough money to live without constraints. Masaryk had to adopt a frugal lifestyle. Residing in Hampstead on the outskirts of the city, he commuted using the top of an omnibus, resorting to the Underground in inclement weather. Taxis or a car were not entirely beyond his financial reach, yet he still preferred taking the omnibus. Masaryk used it in his favor because it enabled him to work effectively without any unwanted attention.⁷⁵ Even though his associates told him it was an ineffective form of representation, he enjoyed observing the bustling crowds of people and cars, simply not favoring the act of driving himself.⁷⁶

When hosting guests and as there were many of them, whom he collaborated with for his cause, Masaryk had no choice but to bring them to the Cafe Royal, as his department was cold, cheap, and would not represent well.⁷⁷ His meetings were not always ordinary. One day, when Beneš visited Masaryk, Masaryk was resolute and ready for the possibility of an assassin or fanatic targeting him. Convinced that it might happen, Masaryk prepared Beneš for such an eventuality. Without fear, he instructed Beneš to use his potential death for the favor of their propaganda. During this time, to be on the safe side, Masaryk also wrote a testament, yet he had nothing to leave behind except for some of his writings and debts. He was probably paranoid due to constant surveillance and fortunately, nothing of the sort happened in the end.⁷⁸

Yet still, Masaryk worked hard to get to know important people in England and understand English life and thinking. He thought that to do effective propaganda, you needed to have a good understanding of a country and its people. So, he studied English philosophy and modern fiction to learn more about the true nature of English culture. Masaryk sought to engage with these individuals primarily due to their distinctive personalities. Even though they are based on him being very determined to achieve financial success, they then tend to

⁷³ Nosek, Vladimír. *Anglie a náš boj za samostatnost*. Prague: Čin, 1926, p. 29.

⁷⁴ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 160.

⁷⁵ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 181.

⁷⁶ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 135.

⁷⁷ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 160.

⁷⁸ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 136.

use that wealth generously for a broader societal benefit,⁷⁹ which is why, London seemed to him like the richest city in Europe. Also, their culture was by him considered to be the most progressive and humane and this sentiment was for example evident in their treatment of soldiers during the war.⁸⁰

An example linked to Masaryk's encounters with notable individuals occurred during his visit to Edinburgh in 1916, where he met with Charles Sarolea and successfully persuaded him to support his vision. It was a beneficial friendship because Sarolea owned the political weekly called *Everyman* through which he then spread Czechoslovak propaganda. In 1921 Sarolea published a book called *President Masaryk and the Spirit of Abraham Lincoln*, where he compared Masaryk's neverending efforts to convince England to be a voice in a desert and the real success came later with the Russian revolution. According to his opinion, however, Masaryk showed with his lack of funds what miracles propaganda can achieve (in the long run) if it is organized by a genius for the right cause.⁸¹

As an illustration of Masaryk's wartime travels and unpleasant experiences, he encountered a series of remarkable events. In 1916, General Štefánik facilitated an appointment for him to meet with the Premier of France.⁸² Having purchased a ticket for the steamer *Sussex*, he received a message from Beneš, informing him of a postponement. Subsequently, the ship met a tragic fate, sinking due to a torpedo from a German submarine.⁸³

But close to the end of his visit, his life wasn't as dire. In the autumn of 1916, his daughter Olga found a little furnished house at 21 Platt Lane, Hampstead, which had domestic conveniences. This improvement allowed him the additional pleasure of having meals at home while constantly continuing with his propaganda.⁸⁴ And indeed, the previous advice from Beneš proved effective. His health condition improved, and he finally felt at home.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 184.

⁸⁰ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 161.

⁸¹ Sarolea, Charles. *President Masaryk and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln*. Prague: Orbis, Tiskarska, Vydavatelska a Nakladatelska Spolecnost, 1921, p. 3-5.

⁸² Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 139.

⁸³ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 162-163.

⁸⁴ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 161.

⁸⁵ Masaryk, Hájková, and Jindřišková. *Korespondence* (1916), p. 26.

2.6 The Document Advocating the Liberation of Czechoslovakia

In the final months of Masaryk's stay in London, a significant validation of his efforts emerged, marking a public acknowledgment of success. Following President Woodrow Wilson's re-election in the United States on November 7th, 1916, and his subsequent message to allied countries in the war on December 21st requesting the reasons and their war conditions, the Allies responded with one joint answer on January 12th, in which they included the liberation of the Czechoslovaks as a condition for peace. It was highly influenced by Beneš who convinced the French government to include Czechoslovaks in the note.⁸⁶

Initially, from Masaryk's perspective, this appeared to be a success, certain Czechoslovak Members of Parliament temporarily diminished the impact of this event. They were against the liberation and expressed support for the Austrian government. Masaryk experienced a sense of discomfort or dissatisfaction. Yet later Masaryk found comfort in the genuine feelings of the Czechoslovak people because they expressed a desire for liberation, which he learned from hidden messages sent from Prague.⁸⁷

Subsequently, the occurrences were succeeded by the Russian Revolution and the United States entering the war, further convincing the populace, and playing a significant role in the quest for Czechoslovak independence.⁸⁸

One day in London, as Masaryk delved into discussions about Czechoslovak problems with Henry Wickham Steed, another tragedy unfolded. A lady interrupted with a newspaper, revealing a marked paragraph about Masaryk's daughter, Alice, being arrested for High Treason and sentenced to death. Masaryk tried to remain calm and emphasized that his guidance of people into armed revolution comes with inherent costs. Following Alice's liberation, Masaryk could once again turn his attention to the war. Realizing the limited awareness and contributions of his allied countries, he concluded it was time for worldwide recognition. While the countries in the West considered the conflict as part of the historic struggle between France and Germany, Masaryk interpreted it as a Slavic and German one. To highlight the Slav impact on the war, he decided to go to Russia.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 189.

⁸⁷ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 189-190.

⁸⁸ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 190-191.

⁸⁹ Cohen and Masaryk, *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, p. 163-164.

2.7 Heading to Russia

Following a recent revolution in Russia, he found himself unfamiliar with most of the new leaders and their ideologies. Therefore, he endeavored to gather vital information about the new government and foster positive relationships with its members. His past interactions with the leaders of the former tsarist regime were less than favorable. The revolution prompted his journey, and with many of his friends holding positions in the Duma,⁹⁰ Masaryk anticipated smoother proceedings. He particularly relied on assistance from the new foreign minister, Professor Milyukov, with whom he had developed a close connection. This would provide a potential pathway to advocate for Czechoslovakia's interests and help to unify their foreign policy initiatives across the contracting states.⁹¹

Another reason why Masaryk wanted to move to Russia was, that while he understood that merely engaging in political and diplomatic opposition to Austria would not suffice; he recognized the imperative to establish a Czechoslovak army. Among potential recruits were numerous Czechoslovak prisoners of war and members of Czechoslovak colonies abroad. Many Czechs who had been mobilized in the Austrian army found themselves captured during military operations, and a significant portion opted to lay down their arms and switch sides to the opposing forces, mainly Russia, as Austrian armies were primarily deployed on the Eastern Front. All these circumstances played into Masaryk's hands.⁹² But as these Czechoslovaks endeavored to form an army to oppose Austria, they faced challenges from Russian bureaucrats.⁹³

From as early as August 4th, 1914, Czechs in Moscow sought to establish a Czech Legion within the Russian Army, referred to as the Družina. However, Russian military authorities, influenced by certain Czech colonies, opted to keep the Družina in reserve, intending to utilize it as propagandists upon the eventual occupation of Austria by Russian troops. Despite the initial intentions, the Družina transformed into a Czech Brigade by March 1917. Subsequently, "Regulations for the Organization of the Czechoslovak Army" were authorized, and General Červinka, a Czech serving in the Russian Armies, began transforming the Brigade into a national army.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 192.

⁹¹ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 141.

⁹² Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 193.

⁹³ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 141.

⁹⁴ Street, *President Masaryk*, p. 193-194.

In May 1917, At the opportune moment as the national army began to take shape, armed once more with a fabricated passport bearing the name Thomas Marsden, Masaryk departed from London, heading to Russia to aid in this formation and to contribute to the Revolution. A situation reminiscent of the previous one unfolded when he wanted to transfer. The anticipated boat failed to arrive due to another torpedo attack. After persistent efforts, he finally secured a ship, that on the way narrowly avoided disaster when a floating mine nearly caused an explosion. Thankfully, the captain skillfully maneuvered to dodge the mine and safely reached their destination.⁹⁵

2.8 Independence of Czechoslovakia

Upon Masaryk's arrival to Russia, he once again found himself embroiled in turbulent and unpleasant events. He wanted to visit Milyukov, but he resigned from his position, and shortly thereafter, civil war erupted, plunging the country into chaos. In that complete disruption, his political and military action had to be organized.⁹⁶ It was a challenging task, yet he successfully persuaded Russian authorities and played a pivotal role in assembling an army of 50,000 Czechoslovak soldiers. From Russia, he traveled to Japan and then, as mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, to America where he participated in peace negotiations, then fostered unity among smaller European nations in their quest for freedom, including the Poles, Ruthenians, Serbs, Croats, Romanians, and others, culminating in the joint Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia. Furthermore, he wanted to persuade Subcarpathian Russians to align themselves with the Czechoslovak state. These and many other actions and events led to his ultimate success. Czechoslovakia was born with him as the newly elected president at its helm.⁹⁷ After enduring four centuries of Habsburg rule, Czechs and Slovaks could finally relish their freedom.⁹⁸

It was on December 21, 1918, at 1 pm, that Masaryk's train arrived in Prague after four years in exile⁹⁹ and more than four years of tireless effort. Masaryk could finally afford a moment's respite. Yet, rest was only a fleeting luxury. He was unsure about what lay ahead still, he knew that the journey of leadership was far from over. With determination in his heart and a vision for a brighter future, Masaryk embraced the challenges that lay ahead,

⁹⁵ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 139-140.

⁹⁶ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 141.

⁹⁷ Čapek and Masaryk, *Hovory s T. G. M.*, p. 141-155.

⁹⁸ Lewis, Gavin. *Tomáš Masaryk*. New York: Chelsea House, 1990, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Lewis, *Tomáš Masaryk.*, p. 13-15.

ready to continue his noble mission, now as the president of a newly formed nation. For him, the work was not just about achieving success; it was about building a legacy of strength, unity, and progress for generations to come.

3 MASARYK'S CORRESPONDENCE AND ARTICLES WITH GREAT BRITAIN

3.1 The Correspondence

3.1.1 Inaugural lecture at King's College

As previously noted, Masaryk's first lecture marked a significant milestone in the journey towards Czechoslovakia's independence. This lecture initiated a substantial volume of correspondence, both outgoing and incoming.

As an illustration of what preceded, on June 25, 1915, Masaryk received a letter from R.W. Seton-Watson regarding the establishment of a School of Slavonic Studies at King's College. Seton-Watson informed Masaryk that a dedicated room had been allocated for the Slavonic library, but they were still in need of a lecturer. Both Seton-Watson and the school's principal, Burrows, expressed their desire for Masaryk to fill this role. Seton-Watson emphasized the significance of Masaryk's involvement, stating that: "*This would give a great impetus to the whole idea and arouse interest and attention, as well as giving you and the Bohemian cause a special entrée in London.*"¹⁰⁰ Which later proved right.

While Masaryk found the offer appealing, he was skeptical, as evidenced by his letter to Watson dated June 8, 1915, in which he outlined four reasons for his reservations. Firstly, he noted the lack of Slavonic books, both for himself and prospective students, telling Watson that there is the possibility of him ordering some. Secondly, Masaryk expressed the expectation of student interest in various grammatical and historical aspects, acknowledging his own need for additional texts due to him calling himself a layman in this field. Thirdly, he acknowledged his proficiency in sociology and ethics, not in Slavonic studies, although he promised to give his biggest effort and proposed delivering a lecture titled "Sociological Introduction to the Study of the Slav Nations." Finally, he mentioned concerns about the demanding political work, involving extensive traveling, which might pose challenges in maintaining the regularity required for lecturing. Nevertheless, he remained committed to the idea and assured that he would gather as many books as he could manage.¹⁰¹

Once they had gathered the necessary books and agreed on a one-year cooperation plan, R. M. Burrows wrote two letters to Masaryk on October 7th and 8th, informing him that PM

¹⁰⁰ Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue, Dagmar Hájková, and Svatopluk Herc. *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Velká Británie: Svazek I. (1881–1915)*. Prague: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2021, p. 120-121.

¹⁰¹ Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 122-124.

Henry Asquith had agreed to chair the lecture and emphasizing the importance of scheduling it as soon as possible¹⁰² More and more people like Ch. E. Maurice, J. Baker, and P. Selver wrote to him expressing their anticipation for the lecture.¹⁰³ Watson assisted him in correcting the manuscript and informed Masaryk that he had sent a copy to the PM's private secretary, as well as to Steed, who would publish an abstract from it in Wednesday's Times. They also hoped the PM would give an introductory speech before the lecture¹⁰⁴, unaware that it all wouldn't be possible due to his illness as mentioned before.

Following the lecture in October, a flurry of letters followed. Individuals such as J. Forman, F. Lees, A. F. Whyte, Ch. H. Herford, H. T. Wood, F. H. Stead, and even a publishing company Chatto & Windus and numerous others congratulated him, discussed the topic further, and offered potential cooperation.¹⁰⁵ J. Baker was the first one to provide Masaryk with feedback on October 19th through telegram, which signaled the lecture was well understood: *"England solidly united must help small Slav nations lest she become a small state under German thrall"*.¹⁰⁶ Even almost 3 months later, on January 10th, R. Ch. Maxwell wrote to Masaryk inquiring whether he could obtain a copy of the lecture, as he too is a lecturer interested in the same topic,¹⁰⁷ so despite the PM's absence, it was remarkably successful.

3.2 Masaryk's articles

Upon arriving in England, Masaryk immediately wanted to know where *The Weekly* was, a publication intended to disseminate various author's opinions among the public, primarily focusing on the current situation. Upon learning that it had not been established due to the war, Masaryk disagreed, arguing that such a publication was particularly essential at that time. Despite being unsuccessful in persuading *The Times* to host *The Weekly*, Masaryk managed to convince some of his acquaintances to initiate writing a weekly review. The paradox lies in the fact that despite encountering initial resistance and being unable to convince *The Times* to support the initiative, one of the pivotal moments for the publication occurred when H. Wickham Steed, a prominent figure associated with *The Times*,

¹⁰² Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 140-141.

¹⁰³ Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 143-148.

¹⁰⁴ Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 150-152.

¹⁰⁵ Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 153-161.

¹⁰⁶ Masaryk, Hájková, and Herc. *Korespondence (1881–1915)*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁷ Masaryk, Hájková, and Jindřišková. *Korespondence (1916)*, p. 41.

contributed a significant article on peace terms to the *Edinburgh Review* in April 1916. In this article, Steed outlined the future trajectory of New Europe's development.¹⁰⁸

Although T.G. Masaryk's role in the founding of the journal, *The New Europe* is well-documented, and despite his recognition of the significance of propaganda and indications suggesting his active involvement in journalism.¹⁰⁹ It wasn't until the autumn of 1916 that Masaryk's presence in English newspapers began to increase, prompted by growing public recognition of the Czechoslovak cause. On October 29, 1916, he commenced his contributions to the *Weekly Dispatch*, initially identified as "the exiled Austrian M.P." As readers became familiar with the differences between Austrians and Czechs, his designation evolved to "the exiled Czech M.P." Articles from this newspaper have persisted, and together with some articles from *The Sunday Times* and *The New Europe* will be a central focus of my analysis.¹¹⁰

Most of his preserved articles from London serve a common purpose. Although I have read numerous articles about this topic, I chose four to analyze. Nonetheless, Masaryk's core message remains consistent. Whether discussing Austria's new emperor, Germany's, and Austria's situation, or Pan-Germanism, he consistently emphasizes the need for Czechoslovakia's independence and wants to spread this thought among his readers.

3.2.1 Revelations about Austria

In this article published in *Weekly Dispatch*, on October 29, 1916, by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, he delves into the perceptions held by the British regarding Austria during the chaos of war. Contrary to prevailing beliefs that Austria-Hungary was close to disintegration, Masaryk presents an analysis of its military, political, and economic situation. The economic condition of Austria is worrisome, but not catastrophic. Although city dwellers, used to a diet rich in meat, are experiencing shortages and expressing dissatisfaction, widespread famine has not yet occurred. Even with Austria-Hungary suffering huge losses of 4.5 million men in the initial phase of the war, they still maintain another 3 million soldiers prepared for combat, a force not to be taken lightly. Additionally, Masaryk's fear of the previously mentioned Pan-Germanism became stronger, as he described the control of the Austrian Empire shifted to Germany, supported by skilled commanders and substantial

¹⁰⁸ Hanak, Harry. "The New Europe, 1916-20." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 39, no. 93 (1961): 370. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4205271>.

¹⁰⁹ Hanak, H. "T. G. Masaryk's Journalistic Activity in England during the First World War." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 42, no. 98 (1963): 184. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4205520>.

¹¹⁰ Hanak, "T. G. Masaryk's Journalistic Activity," 184.

reinforcements in the form of additional soldiers. He wrote, how without Germany's firm control, the Austrian Empire would likely be in chaos and collapse. But as Austria finds itself in a state of subordination, with its military strategies crafted not in Vienna but in Berlin, the war is far from won. Until Germany faces defeat, the fragile Austrian Empire, with its ten diverse nationalities, will continue maintaining unity. He also stated that Germany maintains firm control over Austria and shows no intention of loosening its grip. This is primarily because the dissolution of Austria would isolate Germany and potentially lead to its disintegration.¹¹¹

In the next part, Masaryk started criticizing Emperor Franz Joseph's leadership, suggesting it prioritizes dynastic interests over the welfare of the empire, with which he continued in his other published article, *The Destiny of Austria Under Its New Emperor*.

Masaryk also noted that Austrian Germans and Hungarians share a deep antipathy towards the British, aligning their sentiments with those of Germany.

He concluded by stating that the primary wealth of Austria resides in the Czech lands, specifically in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, where the bulk of the industrial activity is concentrated. In the event of Austria's defeat, these regions would assert their right to independence and the surviving Austria would be financially and economically surpassed.¹¹²

3.2.2 Germany Will Fight to the Bitter End

After emphasizing in the previous article that Germany was the primary opponent to be defeated, Masaryk proceeded, still labeled as the Exiled Austrian M. P. in *Weekly Dispatch*, from November 19, 1916, by acknowledging the tough challenge ahead. He asserted that Germany would not passively accept its human resources being depleted. Masaryk characterized Germany as a highly progressive empire with strategic foresight and suggested that Germany intended to leverage the human potential of the subjugated nations for its war efforts, exemplified by proposals such as substituting German soldiers with Belgian and Polish labourers.¹¹³

According to Masaryk's assessment, Germany could draft up to half a million soldiers from Poland alone, and it was actively ramping up its production and stockpiling of ammunition on a massive scale. Furthermore, Masaryk observed that Germany's policy of

¹¹¹ Masaryk, T. G., Karel Pichlík, Dagmar Hájková, Richard Vašek, Zdenko Maršálek, and Vojtěch Kessler. *Válka a revoluce: Články, memoranda, přednášky, rozhovory*. Prague: Ústav T.G. Masaryka, 2005, p. 261-262.

¹¹² Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 262-265.

¹¹³ Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 277.

forcing people to work for the state helped the government maintain strict control over its population, in stark contrast to Russia, which may have millions of men but can only deploy those it can adequately arm.

A significant portion of this article was dedicated to discussing Belgium. He suggested that Germany might not gain a lot by taking over Belgium and it wouldn't be an easy task to maintain control there. He thought Germany understood that causing trouble in Belgium would anger the world more than actions in the Balkans. Masaryk also criticized the harsh actions of the German military, such as the killing of innocent women, which he saw as a sign of Germany's strong determination to win at all costs.

He concluded by stating that the Allies had a numerical advantage, although not by a huge margin. Germany on the other hand was possibly ahead in preparations. Masaryk emphasized the importance for the Allies to organize themselves promptly. He believed Germany was already fully mobilized for war, so the Allies must act swiftly to catch up. Germany was based on him determined to pursue any means necessary to secure victory in the war and was prepared to fight relentlessly until the bitter end.¹¹⁴

3.2.3 The Destiny of Austria Under Its New Emperor

In this article dated November 26, 1916, published in *The Weekly Dispatch*, T.G. Masaryk shifts his focus back to Austria-Hungary and provides readers with a critical analysis of the circumstances surrounding Emperor Charles Francis Joseph's accession to the Habsburg throne following Emperor Franz Joseph I's death on November 21st, during the tumultuous period of World War I. The overarching theme aligns with the first article, with him providing an extended description of the emperor this time around and then continuing once again with the German control over Austria-Hungary. Masaryk starts by describing the young and inexperienced monarch as facing a heavy burden, while there is the decline of the Austrian Empire and Masaryk repeatedly questions his abilities: *"The sceptre is placed into his hands at a time when the peril of the Austrian Empire was never greater, when its independent existence as a State free to choose its own destiny was never less pronounced, when its prestige was never more dimmed."*¹¹⁵

Emperor Charles, depicted as lacking the qualities of a heroic ruler, faces enormous challenges as he handles the unstable condition of his empire. Masaryk suggests that the emperor's autonomy is limited, with Germany exerting significant influence over Austrian

¹¹⁴ Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 278-280

¹¹⁵ Hanak, "T. G. Masaryk's Journalistic Activity," 185.

state policy and once again expresses scepticism about the future of the Austrian Empire, arguing that it may either disintegrate or become subjugated to German interests, despite mentioning in the previous article that Austria-Hungary was already under the influence of Germany.

He argues that Charles must come to terms with the reality that he will essentially be treated as a puppet and lack the power to influence Austria's policy. The decision-makers will be based on him different individuals so-called, Von Jagow, an ancient German noble family whose members held significant political and military positions within the German Empire. Then he repeats and summarizes Germany's strategic objectives, particularly its ambitions in Eastern Europe, where it seeks to expand its influence into territories like Poland, Austria, and Turkey.

Overall, Masaryk's analysis offers a critical perspective on the political and strategic complexities of World War I, highlighting the challenges faced by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its new monarch amidst the shifting tides of war.¹¹⁶

3.2.4 Pan-Germanism and the Zone of Small Nations

In the December 14, 1916, edition of *The New Europe*, Masaryk extensively discussed the evolving war dynamics across Europe, covering regions from Finland to France. He provided historical context and analysed the motivations behind the actions of various countries.¹¹⁷ Masaryk's intention to educate British press readers about the war is evident, given his comprehensive study of the conflict since his time in Switzerland, which gave him valuable insights to share.

Masaryk's understanding of why the Germans found allies among small nations is clear: fear of a dominant power and the promise of rewards attracted Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks. The regions controlled by the Central Powers, from Riga to Constantinople, represent a significant portion of these smaller nations. Despite resistance, nations in this area continue to oppose German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Turkish expansion, fighting for their freedom. Many of these nations have two main political aspirations: some are content with national autonomy within a larger state, especially evident in Russia's small nations. While some, like the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, haven't sought independence yet, the Lithuanians, with some German support, pursued a more radical approach during the war. Among those already free are the Hungarians, Finns, Romanians, Bulgarians, certain Serbs, Greeks,

¹¹⁶ Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 284-287.

¹¹⁷ Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 304-306.

Albanians, and Turks. However, three nations, the Poles, Czechoslovaks, and South Slavs still seek freedom and unity. These nations, with rich histories and significant contributions to European civilization, desire economic self-sufficiency and equal rights. He questions why they shouldn't be free when even less educated nations, like the Albanians, enjoy freedom.¹¹⁸

3.2.5 Masaryk's Articles: Unveiling Their Content and Significance

Masaryk's articles offer a critical perspective on the political, economic, and strategic complexities of World War I. His analyses are informed by historical context, astute observations, and a commitment to advocating for the rights and aspirations of oppressed nations. Masaryk's writings serve as a testament to his role as a thoughtful commentator and advocate for justice during the chaos of war. The articles reflect his deep understanding of the complicated situation and events. One central theme across Masaryk's articles is the precarious situation facing Austria-Hungary. He provides a detailed examination of the empire's internal strife, economic challenges, and its subordination to German interests. Masaryk is critical of Emperor Charles's leadership and emphasizes the empire's vulnerability to dissolution or further German control. Furthermore, Masaryk sheds light on Germany continuing to strive for victory, despite the significant drain on its resources caused by the war. He emphasizes Germany's strategic planning and its use of conquered nations to support its war efforts. Masaryk also emphasizes the importance of swift organization and action by the Allies to counter Germany's preparedness for prolonged conflict. Moreover, Masaryk's discussions on Pan-Germanism and the aspirations of small nations provide valuable insights into the motivations driving various actors in the war.

Masaryk employed his articles in a range of British publications not only to enlighten and educate British readers but also to advance a broader vision extending beyond Czechoslovakia, encompassing numerous other small nations in Europe. His writings became a way to share his ideals of justice, self-determination, and liberation for oppressed people, aiming ultimately to achieve their long-awaited independence. Through his deep analyses and strong advocacy, Masaryk aimed to inspire, support, and raise awareness, envisioning a future where all nations could assert their sovereignty and achieve their aspirations for independence.

¹¹⁸ Masaryk, Pichlík, Hájková, Vašek, Maršálek, and Kessler. *Válka a revoluce*, p. 306-307.

CONCLUSION

The lecture by Masaryk at King's College marked the beginning of a significant momentum in England, where discussions about small nations, particularly the Czechoslovak nation, and Masaryk's views on this subject started to gain widespread attention. Although this person was by some labeled as a traitor to Austria-Hungary, he began to receive increasing feedback and offers of cooperation. More importantly, he showed these thoughts to British Prime Minister, M. M. Asquith, who publicly agreed to them a few months later.

Masaryk's primary reason for advocating the dissolution of Austria-Hungary was his opposition to Pan-Germanism. Since Austria-Hungary was heavily influenced by Germany, it also became susceptible to Pan-Germanist ideals, therefore he wrote articles against it, while also carrying the consistent message of the necessity for an independent state, which spread rapidly across a big part of England. Even though his ultimate quest succeeded later during his time in the USA, it's crucial to acknowledge that without his groundwork in London, which laid the foundations for this idea not only resonating among the local populace but also across Europe, his success wouldn't have been achievable.

The significant support from influential figures such as Seton Watson or F.H. Stead, whom he collaborated with in London, was pivotal. Furthermore, colleagues such as Edvard Beneš and Milan Rastislav were active in cities like Paris, Prague, and Rome¹¹⁹, contributing significantly to persuading other countries. It's also crucial not to overlook the emotional support from his friends and family, without which he might not have persevered during the harder times of his stay.

Closer to the end of Masaryk's London visit, after the USA's new president Wilson Woodrow was re-elected and one of the war conditions for peace among Allied countries was the liberation of the Czechoslovaks, affairs started moving faster once again. France was for the disintegration of Austria-Hungary almost since the beginning of Masaryk's trying, but now even the persuasion of America and England was successful. His work in England was over, next country on the list was Russia. Here, even though it was again a highly challenging task, he persuaded authorities and helped to assemble an army of 50,000 Czechoslovak soldiers. Then he traveled through Japan to the USA, where in Philadelphia he attended peace negotiations. It didn't take long after that and the independent Czechoslovakia was born.

¹¹⁹ Hájková and Helan. "The Quest for Balance," 661-676.

However, behind the scenes of these significant historical moments was a complex web of countless efforts and sacrifices. Masaryk's correspondence with a multitude of individuals, his active participation in countless meetings, and his commitment to crafting weekly articles to spread his vision underscored his never-ending dedication. His persuasive abilities extended beyond the written word, as he tirelessly persuaded magazines to spread and amplify his message.

Remarkably, Masaryk held not one but two job positions, neither of which offered reasonable monetary compensation, but rather served as platforms to propagate his ideals. It is within this amount of challenges and sacrifices that Masaryk's true character shines brightly. While his formative years may have lacked the drama of his later endeavors, he willingly embarked on a difficult path guided by a strong unending commitment to the based on him greater good and managed to succeed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PM Prime Minister

pm Post meridiem (after midday)

USA United States

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