

CZECH(-OSLOVAK) NATIONAL COMMEMORATIONS DURING
THE INTERWAR PERIOD: TOMÁŠ G. MASARYK AND THE BATTLE
OF WHITE MOUNTAIN AVENGED

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ABSTRACT

This article examines attempts to construct »Czechoslovak« national identity in the wake of the First World War through the creation of new celebrations and holidays. Drawing on archival material as well as a variety of contemporary books, newspapers, and pamphlets, the analysis reveals that the bourgeois, predominantly Czech rhetoric associated with these holidays, indeed, with the state itself, limited the attraction they exerted not only on the non-state-forming peoples of the countries, especially Germans and Hungarians, but also on the communists and, increasingly, some Slovaks.

Key words: commemoration, First Czechoslovak Republic, First World War, Czechoslovakia, national identity, Zborov

LE COMMEMORAZIONI NAZIONALI CECHE (CECOSLOVACCHE)
TRA LE DUE GUERRE MONDIALI: TOMÁŠ G. MASARYK E LA VENDETTA
DELLA BATTAGLIA DELLA MONTAGNA BIANCA

SINTESI

L'articolo esamina gli sforzi per costruire un'identità nazionale »cecoslovacca« nel periodo successivo alla prima guerra mondiale attraverso la creazione di nuove festività e forme celebrative. Sulla base di materiale d'archivio e vari testi, giornali e opuscoli dell'epoca, l'analisi rivela che la retorica utilizzata della borghesia, preva-

lentamente di nazionalità ceca, in occasione di tali festività ma associata allo stesso tempo alla statualità appena acquisita, esercitava un'attrazione limitata non solamente sulle comunità nazionali non-fondatrici del paese, come per esempio tedeschi e ungheresi, ma anche sui comunisti e sempre più anche su alcuni slovacchi.

Parole chiave: commemorazioni, prima repubblica cecoslovacca, prima guerra mondiale, Cecoslovacchia, identità nazionali, Zborov

The First Czechoslovak Republic established in the wake of the First World War was a multinational state – Czech, Slovak, German, Hungarian, Jewish, Polish, and Ruthenian – governed as a national state of Czechs and Slovaks (the »Czechoslovaks«). Among the tasks its leaders faced was the establishment of new holidays to reflect the values of the nascent state. The main commemorative sites of Czechoslovakia's national-patriotic cult during the interwar era were October 28, celebrating independence, together with July 2, commemorating the 1917 Battle of Zborov on the Eastern Front, and March 7, the birthday of Tomáš G. Masaryk, the country's co-founder and first president. These dates were celebrated annually and the decennial celebrations were among the largest festivities in the First Republic. The commemorations incorporated similar national-historical tropes and symbols. Much of the rhetoric employed on these dates reflected the popular perception that they were above all *national* – that is, Czech – rather than *state* celebrations. The celebration of these holidays helped divide society nationally as well as socially throughout the interwar era.

OCTOBER 28

October 28, the day that the National Committee declared Czechoslovak independence in Prague, became the country's first *state* holiday in 1919 (Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého, 1919). The government-sponsored bill assumed that October 28 would be a holiday of all citizens: »The government is certainly fulfilling the expectations of all citizens by proposing this bill, which declares October 28 an annual state holiday« (Národní shromáždění československé, 1919). The term »national holiday«, however, often replaced the term »state holiday«. Czech-language newspapers and commemorative pamphlets as well as politicians and others speaking on that date regularly used »national holiday«. President Masaryk himself often em-

ployed »national holiday«, although he was keenly aware the need for the country's citizens to recognize October 28 as a »state holiday«. Reflecting many Czechs' concerns about German lack of enthusiasm for the new state, he envisioned the holiday as a symbol of mutual respect between the country's Czechs and Germans. Masaryk expressed his beliefs on the second anniversary of the state in the independent Czech-language daily, *Lidové noviny*: »The national holiday on October 28 must be the state holiday when a decent Czech will be pleased by a decent German and a decent German by a decent Czech and Slovak in the Czechoslovak Republic. No German can find anything aimed against him in our official festivities« (Fejlek, Vašek, 2003, 354).

Although October 28 honored the founding of the joint Czech and Slovak state, the Czechs celebrated this national holiday more enthusiastically than did the other »national« people, the Slovaks. On the one hand, some Czech speakers at the celebrations employed exclusive, nationalist rhetoric that many of the non-national peoples – especially the Germans and the Hungarians – found offensive. On the other, many Czechs, especially residents of the German-dominated border regions of Bohemian and Moravia, resented the pointed lack of attention the local German officials paid to the holiday, despite encouragement from Prague to decorate public buildings. The commemorative language Czech officials and the Czech-speaking public employed celebrated the Entente's wartime victories over the Central Powers, especially the Habsburgs, in whose army many of Czechoslovakia's Germans and Hungarians had loyally served. This language also attacked historic figures and events that Germans of the state – and many Hungarians – respected or revered.

As the government consolidated power in the years following independence, the festivities on October 28 grew more lavish. Czechoslovak citizens were encouraged to celebrate their independence by recalling the deeds of great men (primarily Czech) in their history ranging from the late medieval religious martyr Jan Hus and the one-eyed Hussite commander Jan Žižka through the nineteenth-century »awakeners« journalist Karel Havlíček and national historian František Palacký, to other more recent national heroes (Moravská Orlice, 28. 10. 1928, 1). These historic figures and the contemporary heroes in the battle for independence, along with their foreign supporters, including the French Slavist and advocate of Czech independence, historian Ernest Denis, and the former American President Woodrow Wilson, were featured in patriotic publications and on the front pages of Czech-language newspapers. Indeed, the wartime creation under Wilson's auspices of the Committee on Public Information in May 1917, and the subsequent establishment of national departments in June of the next year, had provided Masaryk's American supporters the opportunity to encourage Czech- and Slovak-speaking men resident in that country to identify themselves as »Czechoslovak«, rather than »Czech« »Slovak«, or »Bohemian«, even before the establishment of Czechoslovakia (VHÚ-VHA, 1).



Fig. 1: From Šumava (Böhmerwald/the Bohemian Forest) to Tatra. Postcard commemorating important dates from the First World War on the Czechoslovak route (Chemin des Dames) to an independent state. In addition to political leaders Woodrow Wilson and Tomáš G. Masaryk, there are two men in Czech and Slovak traditional dress symbolizing the battle against unjustness. From the private collection of Miloš Trnka.

Sl. 1: Od Šumave (Böhmerwald) do Tater. Razglednica, izdana v spomin na pomembne dogodke iz prve svetovne vojne na Češkem (vzdolž Chemin des Dames), ki so privedli do ustanovitve neodvisne češkoslovaške države. Poleg političnih voditeljev Woodrowa Wilsona in Tomáša G. Masaryka prikazuje dva moža v tradicionalni češki in slovaški narodni noši, ki simbolizirata boj proti krivičnosti. Iz zasebne zbirke Miloša Trnke.

The October 28 holiday fêteš both civilian and military heroes of independence. While the festivities had regional variations, their basic outlines were similar in predominantly Czech areas. Local Czech officials, members of Czech national organizations, and soldiers, if there was a nearby garrison, all played important roles in celebrations that recalled the deeds of the brave Czech and Slovak politicians at home and abroad who worked to create the democratic Czechoslovak nation-state from the Bo-

hemian Lands, Slovakia, and Ruthenia. The celebrations also stressed the wartime heroism of the Legionnaires, those Czech volunteers who fought with the Allies on three fronts during the First World War. Some 40,000 of them – they included almost no Slovaks – left prisoner-of-war camps on the Eastern Front to form the Czechoslovak brigade in Russia (Pichlík et al., 1996) to »redeem« the Battle of White Mountain (This was the defeat of the Protestant Bohemians and their allies at the hands of the Habsburg forces of the Counter Reformation near Prague in 1620). Local governments encouraged citizens to decorate appropriately houses and buildings (for the most part, with the state flag or banners in the country's colors: white, red, and blue). National-patriotic organizations, including the nationalist gymnastics organization, the Sokol, and the Legionnaire organizations, sponsored edifying lectures, often on historic figures, as well as on the First World War and other relevant national-historical topics.

Filled with articles on the route to independence, the meaning of independence, and memories of 1918, Czech- (and some Slovak-) language newspapers also played a didactic role in connection with the October 28 holiday. Indeed, they constituted an important part of the celebration, helping those who sought to enforce a Czech (-oslovak) national character for the multinational state. These newspapers employed and expanded upon an already existing palette of allegories, images, and stereotypes, among them the Battle of White Mountain and the Habsburgs' double eagle, to commemorate political revolution and celebrate national independence. These publications helped provide broader context for the monuments of Legionnaires, Masaryk, as well as other heroes and symbols of the new state being unveiled in cities and town squares throughout the country. Many of these statues would form a backdrop for the commemorative rituals that Czechs (and Slovaks) performed to celebrate their state and the values they claimed it represented.¹ Celebrations often culminated in the evening with torchlight parades, which might wind up before newly constructed national memorials, sometimes located on the town's main squares, or perhaps at the Sokolovna, the meeting hall of the Sokol, whose founders had played important roles in the nineteenth-century Czech national revival.

From the very birth of the new republic, numerous patriotic books and pamphlets with a distinctly didactic character were published in connection with October 28. The Masaryk Public Education Institute (Masarykův lidovýchovní ústav) and the Roman Catholic Orel produced similar commemorative books containing poetry, memoirs, and speeches by important members of the Czechoslovak independence movement (i. e. Alois Rašín, Jiří Stříbrný, Josef Scheiner) and famous Czech national writers (i. e. Jan Neruda, Antonín Sova, Viktor Dyk) suitable for celebration of October 28 (Werstadt, 1925; Šorm, 1927). An enormous amount of patriotic material was

1 In addition to the classic study (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1992), see the some of the recent literature on commemoration and memory in Habsburg Central Europe, for example (Bucur, Wingfield, 2001; Dabrowski, 2004; Hojda, Pokorny, 1997; Le Rider et al., 2002; Unowsky, 2005).

published in connection with the date, including plays, speeches, music, and even precise instructions on how to celebrate; all of these were useful to the organizers of the festivities.

Patriotic books, often lavishly illustrated and aimed at the younger generation, incorporated Czech history from the Hussites until 1918 as well as patriotic verses and speeches (Tožička, 1920; Pešek, 1919). This national history included the defeat at White Mountain, the long struggle against Habsburg rule, the Czech national revival of the nineteenth century, and the glorious victory over the Central Powers in 1918. Particularly the story of the Czechoslovak Legionnaires provided exciting material for heroic, adventure, and pedantic novels, many of them written by the conservative-national Zborov veteran, dramatist, and later, General, Rudolf Medek (Medek, 1921; 1927; 1928). In 1929, a collection of stories for children, *Povídání o pejskovi a kočička: jak se spolu hospodařili a ještě o všelijakých jiných věcech* (All about the doggie and the pussycat: how they kept house and all sorts of other things as well) appeared. The Czech author, painter, and playwright Josef Čapek, the brother of Masaryk's devoted admirer, Karel, both wrote and illustrated it (Čapek, 1929). This collection, a classic of Czech children's literature, includes a story about the two animals' desire to commemorate October 28 by decorating their house with flags.² They explained the significance of the October 28 holiday in very simple terms: There used to be a big, bad world in which the Emperor ruled. The people were sad. But, many years ago on October 28, the people expelled the Emperor. Now life is better under the good President Masaryk, so people display flags and are happy. The story includes an illustration identifying this as a »Czechoslovak« tale: pussycat, held by doggie, is waving a Czechoslovak flag.

The tenth anniversary of Czechoslovak independence, October 1928, occurred in an era of increasing economic prosperity and European-wide political calm. Its commemoration was one of the largest state-sponsored celebrations of the interwar period. The central government (which following the November 1925 election had included two »activist« German parties), coalition politicians, and national organizations took great care in the choreographing of this event, which fell on a Sunday. The festivities lasted several weeks, reaching their zenith in Prague on the weekend of the 28th. Masaryk, who was so closely identified with independent Czechoslovakia, maintained a busy schedule that weekend. In addition to audiences with diplomats and soldiers, military parades, theater performances, and other celebratory activities, Masaryk, the father of the state, laid a wreath at the memorial to František Palacký, the father of the nineteenth-century national revival (*Večerní České slovo*, 27. 10. 1928, 1). Reflecting the national-pedagogical element of this celebration, Masaryk also greeted thousands of Prague school children in the courtyard of the Prague Castle.

2 During the communist era after 1948 this story was removed from the book but reinstated after the »Velvet Revolution« of 1989.



Fig. 2: Children's Supplement, »Svítání«, published on the occasion of October 28 (Legionářský týden, 26. 10. 1928, 4).

Sl. 2: »Svitani«, priložnostna priloga za otroke, izdana 28. oktobra (Legionářský týden, 26. 10. 1928, 4).



Fig. 3: Childrens' tribute to Masaryk, Prague Castle, 27 October 1928. Published with permission from the T. G. Masaryk Institute Archive administered by the Masaryk Institute and Archive of the ASCR v. v. i. (fond TGM, photoarchives, no. 3658). Sl. 3: Otroški poklon Masaryku, grad v Pragi, 27. oktober 1928. Objavljeno z dovoljenjem Arhiva Inštituta T. G. Masaryka (fond TGM, fototeka, št. 3658).

Throughout Czechoslovakia, school officials held programs, which incorporated songs, poems, and recitations to help inculcate in their pupils the lessons of October 28. They focused on the deeds of Masaryk, and his two helpers in the wartime struggle abroad, the Czech Edvard Beneš and the Slovak Milan Rastislav Štefánik, as well as the heroism of the Legionnaires who fought for the freedom of the nation. Religious terms, like »hallowed«, »redeemed«, and »sanctified« were employed to describe those fallen in the battle for independence. Explicitly connecting the Czech and Slovak war dead with the liberation of the state, these school programs were often followed by processions to the local memorials to the First World War dead, where the national flag was raised, the state hymn was sung, and wreaths were laid (NA, 1; 2).

The military, whose officer corps and rank and file were overwhelmingly Czech, was at the center of the official decennial celebration Prague. The ceremonies began on the morning of October 28 when twenty-eight cannon shots were fired from atop Petřín, the hill above Prague on the west bank of the Vltava River. The shots signaled

the soldiers gathered at the top of Wenceslas Square to begin wending their way through the city to White Mountain, west of Prague. Flag-waving Sokol members, who played important roles both as organizers of and participants in the October 28 celebrations, formed an honor guard, through which the soldiers passed. Later that morning, soldiers marched in from all sides of White Mountain and assembled on the field before the dignitary-filled tribune. When at 11:30 in the morning, the fanfare of national-revivalist composer Bedřich Smetana's opera, »Libuše« sounded, President Masaryk rode in, accompanied by six generals (Československá republika, 30. 10. 1928, 5–7; Lidové listy, 30. 10. 1928, 1, 2; Prager Presse, 28. 10. 1928a, 5; 29. 10. 1928b, 1; Večerní České slovo, 27. 10. 1928, 1).

Emphasizing the exclusive, national character of the holiday in the Czech popular imagination, *Národní listy*, the newspaper of the conservative Czechoslovak National Democratic Party, reminded its readers of the dangers the Germans posed on October 28, exhorting them to watch out for the Germans (*Národní listy* – Večerník národ, 25. 10. 1928, 1). *Národní listy* reported »Sudeten« German (the designation increasingly used for all Germans living in the predominantly German border regions the Bohemian Lands, who under the Habsburgs had been identified with the province from which they hailed) irredentists demonstrating in Vienna, demanding the separation of the German areas from the First Republic on October 28, the tenth anniversary of the day on which the provisional parliament had been established in German-Austria (*Národní listy*, 21. 10. 1928, 3). The newspaper made it clear that Czechoslovak National Democrats did not believe that there was room for the Germans in their vision of Czechoslovakia.

Most Czechs participated in these festivities, which not incidentally provided time free from work. So, too, did many Slovaks, especially those who shared Masaryk's and his allies' vision of the Czechoslovak state, together with some among the national minorities who connected their future with that of the new state. In contrast, most Germans and Magyars boycotted the celebrations, whose participants very visibly took national possession of often nationally contested public space. In the early years of the state, some Germans had demonstratively ignored the October 28 holidays by working on them. Only slowly – if at all – did Germans and Magyars accept the celebrations on this date as part of the life in new state. Czechoslovakia's Communists also rejected the holiday as it was celebrated by the bourgeois government of the First Republic. In the mid-1920s, they began organizing demonstrations in protest of October 28, because they believed »revolutionary hopes and desires of the workers had not been fulfilled [...] therefore the people do not consider October 28 as the day of their holiday, they do not have any reason to be happy« (Slovácko. Komunistický obdeník, 28. 10. 1924, 1). There were also October 28 celebrations in Bratislava, the provincial capital of Slovakia, and elsewhere in the province. In addition to lamplight processions through the flag-bedecked city, military defiles, patriotic concerts, and

theater performances, these festivities included elements specific to the Slovaks' own story of independence. Residents of Bratislava could attend an exhibition featuring designs for the city's planned Štefánik statue or lectures on the St. Martin Declaration, the October 30, 1918 manifesto by Slovak patriots declaring independence of the Slovaks and supporting the union of the Czechs and the Slovaks. In the eastern Slovak city of Košice, members of the Organization of Slovak Jews celebrated a decade of national and state independence claiming to be part of a »unified Slovak nation.« Finally, the Ruthenians celebrated ten years of independence from their »Hungarian overlords« on October 28. They thanked the government for a decade of investment, improving their economy and raising their cultural level (*Slovenský denník*, 26. 10. 1928a, 2; 27. 10. 1928b, 3; 28. 10. 1928c, 4; 30. 10. 1928e, 2–3). However, autonomist Slovaks, represented above all by the Hlinka Slovak peoples' party, distanced themselves from official celebrations. Party periodicals like *Slovák*, *Slovenská pravda* and *Trenčan* dismissed the celebration of October 28, mentioning it primarily in terms of »betrayals« by the »brethren Czechs«. This was in sharp contrast to the attention they paid to the St. Martin Declaration (*Slovenská Pravda*, 29. 10. 1922, 2).

Reactions to the lavish tenth-anniversary celebration revealed the socio-national fissures in the country. Not all of the Czech, Czechoslovak, or Slovak political parties supported the politics of Masaryk's First Czechoslovak Republic with equal enthusiasm. Certainly Czechoslovak National Socialists, Socialist Democrats, and liberals were keen, while conservatives, above all Czech catholic circles, which Czech public opinion had regarded as close to the Habsburgs, were slower to warm to the policies of the new state. Slovak nationalists remained wary of Czechoslovak rhetoric throughout the interwar era. Moreover, those Communists who expected a thoroughgoing socialist revolution were not satisfied with the »national revolution« that culminated on October 28, 1918. Finally, terms like »national revolution« and »national holiday« did little to encourage German and Hungarians loyalty to the new state. It is, however, difficult to determine how many citizens rejected the celebration of October 28 orchestrated by the government and its supporters and whether the rejection of a particular kind of state-sponsored celebration also meant they rejected the existence of the republic altogether.

THE BATTLE OF ZBOROV

One of many battles on the Eastern Front during the First World War, the Battle of Zborov on July 2, 1917 would occupy an important place in the interwar Czechoslovak national mythology that surrounded the foundation of the Czechoslovak state. This battle became the main commemorative site of the country's heroic national military cult between the wars. It was second only to October 28 on the national-

patriotic calendar of Czechoslovakia, and like that date, was attractive to the anti-clerical, republican sentiments in the country both because of its association with the recent victorious struggle against Austria-Hungary and because it provided contemporary military heroes to replace the earlier, often religious, ones. This celebration accomplished a number of national-political ends. The tradition of Zborov came to include a military cult of male heroism and sacrifice that was connected to important figures from the past who had themselves been reinterpreted to fit the needs of the young state, especially Hus and Žižka. The festivities connected with July 2 offered *all* members of the Czechoslovak military with the opportunity to demonstrate their prowess in the name of the »tradition of Zborov,« and the Legionnaires the opportunity to reassert the importance of their role in the creation of the state. The date provided an important opportunity for performing a vigorous, military »Czechoslovakism«, which was necessary especially in the first years of the state, when in addition to problems with German-speaking recruits, the general staff sought to overcome the latent mistrust, even open tension, between Czechs and Slovaks in some units, which reflected economic, religious, and social differences (Zückert, 2006, 56–57; Koldinská, Šedivý, 2008, 366).

The Battle of Zborov was part of the Russian military's last (indeed, post-Tsarist), large-scale summer offensive along the entire Galician front between Lemberg/Lwów/L'viv and Tarnopol. In the July 1917 offensive, the Czechoslovak brigade attacked the positions of the more numerous regiments of the Austrian Czechs. Some of the Czechs (and Slovaks) who had deserted, sometimes en masse, from the multinational Habsburg army almost from the beginning of the war, many of them surrendering to the Russians – their fellow Slavs – on the Eastern Front formed the brigade. They breached the Habsburg line, taking prisoner both officers and enlisted men, most of them Czech. Although the brigade suffered heavy casualties, none of its men was taken prisoner.

The success of the Czechoslovak Brigade brought the Czechs and Slovaks to the attention of the Western Allies and strengthened the arguments of Masaryk and Beneš and the Czechoslovak National Committee for Czechoslovak independence. Although the Czechoslovak Legionnaires fighting in Italy and France had been useful, the National Committee's most valuable asset in negotiations with representatives of the Entente was the Legion in Russia. These Legionnaires, who also fought against the Bolsheviks in Siberia, represented the promise of additional manpower on the Western Front. Certainly, the Legionnaires' seizure of the Siberian railway in spring 1918, as they were being evacuated to France to fight on the side of the Allies, appears to have helped in obtaining Czechoslovak demands. The British government recognized Czechoslovakia as an Allied state in August 1918, and a month later, the United States recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as a *de facto* belligerent government.

Owing to wartime censorship, the deeds of the Legionnaires at Zborov, in fact, their very existence became known in the Monarchy only as a result of the Russian General Staff's published report on the battle. Many Czechs at home initially greeted this news with curiosity or even skepticism (Venkov, 7. 7. 1917, 5). The report proved to be correct, however, and civilians of the new state celebrated the Legionnaires as conquering heroes when they began arriving from the fronts at the war's end. The battle soon became legend and its veterans, the »first citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic,« were honored as pillars of Czechoslovak independence (Severočeská nová doba, 31. 10. 1918a, 3; 2. 11. 1918b, 3).³

The Battle of Zborov, which was a political and psychological milestone in the struggle for Czechoslovak independence, became emblematic of the Czech national revolution. It represented the first time in three centuries that the Czechs had taken up arms against the Habsburg Monarchy and they had emerged victorious. The Czechs popularly interpreted the battle as redemption for the defeat of the Protestant Bohemian forces at the hands of the Roman Catholic Habsburgs at White Mountain. Many observers attempted to place Zborov within the Czech national Hussite religious-military tradition.

The Battle of Zborov was an important symbol of the First Republic because it was the nexus of the military achievement of the Czechoslovak volunteers and the diplomatic-political efforts abroad of Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik, who would become the country's first Minister of War, to found the state. Its commemoration provided the Czechs and Slovaks – but not the non-national peoples of the First Republic, especially the formerly dominant Germans and Magyars, who had been on the losing side in the Great War – the opportunity to mourn their wartime military dead as heroes. Bereavement was, in any case, subordinated to the political-popular rhetoric of heroes at home and abroad fighting for an independent state.

Veterans of an army that was older than its state, the Legionnaires constituted the backbone of the new state's military and played an important role in interwar cultural, political, and social life. They represented a special interest group with influence in Czechoslovakia that was far greater than its numbers. As in some of the other states of Central Europe, Legionnaires formed veterans' organizations throughout the country that both promoted their economic-political interests and sponsored numerous cultural-national events. In addition to their dominant role in the country's officer corps, they founded businesses, which bearing their imprint, proved attractive to patriotic Czechs and Slovaks. Although Legionnaires represented a numerous political views, many of them were ardent nationalists. Thus, many Germans considered the founding of branches of Legionnaire organizations and the holding Legionnaire gath-

3 On Zborov from battle to propaganda campaign and wartime illusion, see Šedivý, 2001, 311–312; on Zborov in Czech national mythology, see Galandauer, 2002.

erings in predominantly German areas of the country an on-going national provocation.

The heroic myth that predominated in official Czechoslovak commemoration of the battle could be found in films and other representations of the war. The festivities connected with this holiday also incorporated numerous activities gendered masculine: athletic events, gymnastic competitions, parades, troop reviews. The annual commemorations of the Battle of Zborov met with the greatest enthusiasm in predominantly Czech regions. Although the focal point of the annual festivities, like those of October 28, was Prague, popular, patriotic manifestations occurred throughout Czechoslovakia, except in the predominantly German border areas, where many Germans ignored it. Indeed, the celebrations on July 2 offended many of the country's Germans, most of whom remembered Zborov in terms of deserting Czech troops leaving a seven-kilometer gap in the front through which Russian troops poured, killing »German fathers and sons« (Národní shromáždění československé, 1928).

The decennial celebrations of the Battle of Zborov in 1927 and 1937 invited numerous and varied expressions. And, as with October 28 commemorations, the center of the celebrations was Prague, with festivities were held throughout the country, including the provincial capitals of Moravia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia. Military manifestations in the capital city included troop reviews, troop maneuvers, and parades. The civilian commemorations celebrated the heroism of the Legionnaires with gymnastic performances, museum exhibitions, and the unveiling of commemorative plaques as well as with festivals, torchlight parades, and concerts. Medals were struck and stamps were issued; special children's stories were published, works of art were commissioned; poems and songs were written. Some of the songs were taught in school and became part of the popular patriotic musical canon. World-famous and little-known poets composed poetry that both celebrated as heroes and mourned the soldiers who had died for the foundation of the state: »Czech and Slovak youth, Sons of the nation, Rejuvenating blood of heroes« (the first lines from one of Medek's poems, »Zborov«) (Medek, 1919).

Speakers at the tenth-anniversary celebrations in 1927 praised the Czech resistance at home and the Czech National Council abroad within the context of the battle. Zborov, rhetorically tied to the loss of the last independent Bohemian army at the Battle of White Mountain, was literally tied to it with a military parade of the entire Prague garrison at White Mountain. Afterwards, Masaryk reviewed the troops on horseback. In the audience were government ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, members of the National Assembly, and the public. Soldiers from the Czechoslovak army paraded while military aircraft circled overhead (Československá republika, 3. 7. 1927, 3; Lidové noviny, 2. 7. 1927a, 4).

After the founding of the Czechoslovak Communist party in 1921, the Communists rejected participation in the commemorations of Zborov, although some party

members had been Legionnaires, and they sponsored a small Legionnaire organization. Communist ideology interpreted the establishment of the Czechoslovak Brigade and its participation in subsequent battles against the Central Powers as part of an imperial war; the summer offensive of 1917 had been undertaken in the interest of counterrevolution and imperialism. Moreover, later Legionnaire struggles in the Siberian anabasis constituted counterrevolutionary intervention and crimes against the »Russian working people.« Thus, in early July, when most other Czech-language newspapers in Prague were filled with reports of the festivities and reminiscences of Zborov veterans, such laudatory articles were absent from the Communist party's daily, *Rudé právo*.

The Communists, however, attempted to appropriate the memory of this battle toward their own political ends. Although the Legionnaires later fought against the Bolsheviks, the Czechoslovak Communists claimed both the Legionnaires who fought at Zborov and their goals for their own. The Communists, too, believed that the Battle of Zborov »atoned« for the Battle of White Mountain. They, however, stressed the class background of the Legionnaires at Zborov, arguing that the majority of those soldiers who gave their lives for an independent Czechoslovakia that day were workers, dreaming of a state with social equality (*Rudé právo*, 2. 7. 1927, 1). Communist rhetoric claimed that the ruling bourgeois-coalition government had not fulfilled the »promise of Zborov« (social revolution).

The state-sponsored celebrations in 1927 occurred in an era of increasing intolerance of the political opposition and tighter control of the Comintern that presaged the Stalinization of the Czechoslovak Communist party, whose leaders used this celebration as another chance to attack the ruling right-of-center coalition. Much as they rejected celebration of October 28, Communist parliamentary deputies attempted to turn the tenth-anniversary commemoration of the Battle of Zborov against the government. For example, the Communist parliamentary Deputy Antonín Zápotocký reacted to the July 2 announcement that the day's parliamentary session would be curtailed so representatives could participate in the festivities by protesting that »Zborov is being celebrated out there and in here we are recreating old Austria.« A second Communist deputy urged his listeners to »go tell the Legionnaires that there is going to be a police state.« In addition to their standard complaint that the bourgeoisie was preparing for a world war and a new campaign against the Soviet Union, the Communists asserted that the First Czechoslovak Republic and the Habsburg Monarchy were cut from the same cloth and the Prague government had prevented »real« change. The Communists also criticized the politics of the bourgeois Czechoslovak politicians whom they claimed had sought to destroy Austria-Hungary but who were not fulfilling the promise of the »revolution«. The Communists further asserted that the bureaucracy had not been reformed while the police and the gendarmes »reigned supreme« in the First Republic. Finally they claimed that the bourgeois governing

coalition was celebrating the tenth anniversary of Zborov with a »worsening of the Bach *Prügelpatent*« – a reference to the decrees of Alexander Bach, Minister of Interior of the Habsburg Monarchy during the decade of absolutism following the 1848 Revolutions.

A decade later, in a far tenser international political atmosphere, the weeklong, twentieth-anniversary celebration included a review of the Prague garrison at Masaryk Stadium in Strahov that showcased military formations. There were also displays of military hardware. In addition, former president Masaryk and Beneš, his successor, along with members of the diplomatic corps, the cabinet of the Czechoslovak government, and military attaches accredited to Prague were presented scenes from a specially written play, »Obrana státu (Zborov)« (Defense of the State (Zborov)). The play highlighted the Legionnaire attack on the troops of Austria-Hungary. It also incorporated the patriotic trinity of Czechoslovakia: Masaryk, Beneš, and Štefánik and employed the Hussite battle hymn, »Kdož jste Boží bojovníci« (You Who Are God's Warriors) to connect Zborov to Czech national-military traditions.

On July 2, as on October 28, there was great popular demand for appropriately patriotic speakers and for copies of films, including both documentaries and features, on the Legionnaires. Best known of the numerous feature and documentary films was probably »Za československý stát« (For the Czechoslovak State), a propaganda film for October 28. It was produced for the celebration of a decade of independence and premiered in cinemas on October 26 of that year (*Deset let Československé republiky*, 1928, 259). Written by Medek, who also acted in the film, the plot was simple. Three friends from a small Czech village joined the Austro-Hungarian army and ended up as Russian, French and Italian Legionnaires. »Za československý stát« incorporated numerous Czech(-oslovak) national images from the war, among them the Battle of Zborov and the declaration of independence in Prague on October 28, and documentary footage of the Legionnaires.

Czechoslovakia joined other recent belligerents in the great period of memorial construction followed in the wake of the First World War, and although war memorials reflected European-wide trends, they also reflected the particular needs of the nation-state under construction. Some of the war memorials, which often commemorated the Legionnaires, employed the figure of a common Legionnaire-soldier, erect and unwounded although destruction is the defining premise of warfare. Many monuments were put up in the Bohemian Lands, in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Battle of Zborov in 1927 and the tenth anniversary of the founding of the state a year later. Some were obelisks, often inscribed with the names of the local men who died in the war, while others included figural groupings, sometimes bas-reliefs of Legionnaires from all three fronts.



Fig. 4: First World War memorial in Račíněves, central Bohemia, with portraits of Tomáš G. Masaryk, Jan Hus, and Jan Žižka. The names of ten fallen Czech soldiers in Austrian Army are in alphabetical order with the name of the sole Legionnaire listed first (photo: Dagmar Hájková).

Sl. 4: Spomenik s portreti Tomáša G. Masaryka, Jana Husa in Jana Žižka v kraju Račíněves (centralna Češka), postavljen v spomin na dogodke iz prve svetovne vojne. Imena desetih padlih čeških vojakov v avstrijski vojski so po abecednem vrstnem redu, prvo na seznamu pa je ime edinega ruskega legionarja (foto: Dagmar Hájková).

A second significant development in patterns of memorials resulting from the First World War was the construction of memorials to war dead on foreign soil (Mayo, 1988, 95). The Czechoslovaks commemorated Zborov on foreign soil, constructing a monument in what was then Zborów, Poland (today Zboriv, Ukraine). The bilingual Czech-Polish inscription on the commemorative plaque honored the sons of Czechoslovakia who fell on »old Slavic soil« in the »holy battle for the liberation of their fatherland.« Official Czechoslovak delegations from Prague riding in special express trains festooned in the national colors made patriotic pilgrimages to place

wreaths for the Legionnaire hero-martyrs at the simple shrine on a burial mound at a mass grave near the battlefield. Some patriotic pilgrims returned home with a handful of soil from the battle ground, which, together with other »sacred soil«, might become part of a local commemorative site (Lidové noviny, 2. 7. 1927, 4).

The third important way of commemorating war dead was the entombing of an unknown soldier representing those whose bodies had become separated from their names (Laqueur, 1994, 153). On Armistice Day 1920, the disinterred remains of unknown soldiers from the First World War were ceremoniously carried through the streets of London and Paris to be reburied in sacred places in the center of each capital, the first time such a ceremony had taken place (Michalski, 1998, 77–92; Mosse, 1990, 94–98). During the next decade, similar ceremonies were held in most of the former belligerent states. That the soldiers of what would become Czechoslovakia had fought on both the side of the Central Powers and the Entente complicated any focus of a cult of the fallen in that country. In the First Czechoslovak Republic, a tomb of an unknown soldier resonated only for the Czechs and Slovaks rather than for all of the citizens of the multinational state.

Even the date on which Czechoslovakia's Unknown Soldier was reburied marked this ceremony as national: the Unknown Soldier was not reinterred in connection with Armistice Day in November, but rather on July 1, in conjunction with the fifth anniversary of the Battle of Zborov. In late June 1922, the remains of an unknown Czechoslovak soldier chosen from a mass grave near the battlefield were placed in a casket and loaded into a special railroad car. The train carrying the casket made multiple stops along the Czechoslovak side of the border, enabling the representatives of local military garrisons, the Sokol, and other Czech organizations en route to honor the Unknown Soldier. Upon arrival in Prague, the remains of the Unknown Soldier lay in state in the Pantheon of the National Museum on Wenceslas Square. On July 1, an honor guard comprising members of the infantry, Legionnaires, and the Sokol moved the flag-draped casket from the National Museum to the Old Town Square, where it was buried in the chapel of the old city hall. The location of the Unknown Soldier, on Old Town Square, which had long been a site for gathering to reaffirm the Czech nation, further confirmed it as a *Czech(-oslovak)* Unknown Soldier.

Like the honoring of the wartime diplomatic deeds of politicians at home and abroad and the heroism of the Legionnaires that resulted in the formation of the democratic Czechoslovak state on October 28, the celebration of the Battle of Zborov took many cultural forms. The state and its Czechoslovak citizens helped to create a national vocabulary of images – cinematic and theatrical productions, holiday celebrations, and the built environment – that reflected their perception of the First Republic. Much of this imagery collapsed the newly constructed nation (»Czechoslovak«) and the state (Czechoslovakia) into one, permitting little place for the country's other peoples in commemorative practice.

PRESIDENTIAL BIRTHDAYS

In December 1918, supporters of »President-Liberator« Masaryk from his prewar Realist Party proposed to the Revolutionary National Assembly that his major writings be published, because »the nation does not know Masaryk well« (Broklová et al., 2002, 57). Masaryk, however, would soon become the third constitutive element in the Czechoslovak foundation myth. Indeed, he would become one of its most powerful symbols. It is thus no surprise that Masaryk's birthday on 7 March developed as a commemorative site.



Fig. 5: President Tomáš G. Masaryk on his horse, Hektor, at White Mountain, October 1928. Published with permission from the T. G. Masaryk Institute Archive administered by the Masaryk Institute and Archive of the ASCR v. v. i. (fond TGM, photoarchives, no. 4097).

Sl. 5: Predsednik Tomáš G. Masaryk na konju Hektorju na Beli gori oktobra 1928. Objavljeno z dovoljenjem Arhiva Inštituta T. G. Masaryka (fond TGM, fototeka, št. 4097).

The forms the celebrations of Masaryk's birthday took were similar to those of his long-lived predecessor but one, the Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph (1830–1916) and thus constitute a seldom recognized continuity between the multiethnic dynastic state and the newly created multi-national nation-state. Masaryk almost completely appropriated the commemorative constitutional-monarchical role of Francis Joseph. Certainly there was resemblance between the images of Masaryk and Francis Joseph, both whom lived long enough to be »grandfather« to their people. Not only the wisdom of their venerable age united their images, so, too, did their equestrian ability. Both were popularly represented throughout their lifetimes in equestrian statues, paintings, and photographs.⁴ Masaryk, an excellent equestrian, regularly reviewed his troops on horseback, both manifesting a metaphor for rule, and recalling generals of old.⁵ Certainly among the most reproduced images of Masaryk between the wars was the slim, erect figure of the aging president in military-style dress and hat, on horseback.

Again like Francis Joseph, Masaryk, the consummate politician, was acutely aware of his public image. As the country's first president, Masaryk helped create many of the traditions of the First Czechoslovak Republic and his name became linked with them. His emblematic designation as father, philosopher on the throne, and president-liberator expressed his multiple, essentially patriarchal, roles. Moreover, Masaryk sought to appear to embody Czechoslovak national consensus, stability, and community on ceremonial state occasions, particularly October 28 and July 2.⁶

Coming to his philosopher's throne via his successful work for Czechoslovak independence during the First World War, Masaryk was keenly aware of the need of traditions, models, examples and national narratives for the new state. In official postwar publicity, his life in wartime exile was cast in the heroic mold: he was represented as the leader of a small army fighting against the Habsburg dynasty for the freedom of the nation. Masaryk chose enthusiastic and loyal journalists and publicists, above all Karel Čapek and Ferdinand Peroutka, who helped create images of the president and his presidency. These image makers were helped by the fact that Masaryk was self-confident and charismatic. The widely propagated interwar image of Masaryk was as philosopher-king, standing above the tumult of Czechoslovak in-

4 Masaryk's horse Hektor was stuffed in 1930s and found its way into the T. G. Masaryk Institute, which was founded in 1932 and dissolved in 1953. Many exhibits were destroyed after 1953 but the horse's head is now housed in the zoological collection of Prague's National Museum.

5 In his discussion of horse and rider as an old metaphor for rule (Burke, 2001, 61), describes the Spaniard Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's mid-seventeenth-century treatise on political thought, which recommends that the prince »to tame the colt of power' by means of 'the bit of will [...] the bridle of reason, the reins of policy, the switch of justice, and the spur of courage,« not to mention »the stirrups of prudence.«

6 On Masaryk and monarchical formulations in Czechoslovakia, see Klimek, 1996, 84–85.

terwar politics (Orzoff, 2009; Klimek, 1996, 13–54).⁷ Apart from the written images of authors and journalists, he encouraged painters and sculptors to create visual representations of him. Many original paintings and striking sculptures of Masaryk still exist, despite the destruction of some first during the Nazi and then during the Communist era. Again like Emperor Francis Joseph, Masaryk was honored in modern ways that made his name and face pervasive throughout the country. The comparatively new art of photography flourished in interwar Czechoslovakia, and Masaryk and his era were well documented in that medium.

Monuments commemorating Masaryk's role in achieving Czechoslovak independence began to appear soon after the war's end. These monuments clearly staked a claim: for Masaryk's particular Czech (-oslovak) national-democratic vision of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Just as the best-known sculptors in the Habsburg Monarchy had produced monuments of Francis Joseph, some of the First Republic's best-known sculptors produced monuments of the President-Liberator. In Olomouc, the foundation stone for a Masaryk monument was laid in a space vacated after the First World War by a statue of Emperor Francis Joseph. Because Masaryk was so closely connected with Czechoslovak independence, the monuments often incorporated a variety of symbols recalling the struggle for independence: the names of local war dead, bas-reliefs of Legionnaires, and, in at least one case, Masaryk's silhouette together with that of Woodrow Wilson. Statues of the President-Liberator began appearing soon after the war's end and would increasingly be found in towns and villages throughout the country (Hojda, Pokorný, 1997, 191–204; Koukal, 2000).

The Czechs' Masaryk cult became an important element of the built national environment of the interwar era. His name was appended to public buildings, especially schools, including the first Czech-language University in Moravia, and his sculpted form placed in front of them. In predominantly Czech towns and cities, this cult might include a main square bearing the President-Liberator's name, together with a library, a school or a hospital, not to mention trees, parks, and bridges also named »Masaryk« (AKPR, 1; 2). Due to continuing Czech national activism, there were also streets, squares, and buildings named for the President-Liberator in the predominantly German-speaking border regions of the country. Although Germans sometimes contributed funds for Masaryk monuments, for example the one unveiled in the northwest Bohemian spa town Jáchymov in 1930, the fact of their participation does not indicate their motivation: as with July 2 and October 28, was the reason loyalty, opportunism, fear, or »persuasion« from the Czech authorities?

7 Čapek et al., 1947 presents President-Liberator's preferred vision of himself as »a benevolent philosopher-king, one devoted to democracy and Western ideals.«



Fig. 6: Homage to Tomáš G. Masaryk in Prague on his Eightieth Birthday, March 1930 (Doležal, 1931, 323).

Sl. 6: Poklon Tomášu G. Masaryku v Prazi ob njegoví osemdesetletnici marca 1930 (Doležal, 1931, 323).

While proposals that Masaryk's birth date – March 7 (1850) – be made a public holiday were not realized during the interwar period, but only in 1946,⁸ his birthday soon became an important part of the annual national ritual. Although Masaryk's birthday was celebrated annually, the decennial dates garnered the greatest recognition. The first great celebrations took place on Masaryk's seventieth birthday in 1920.

⁸ The law, passed on March 7, 1946, was superseded in the communist era by a 1951 law that established only one state holiday, May 9, the day the end of World War II was commemorated in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe.

As with Francis Joseph's birthday, celebrations were held throughout the country, but especially in predominantly Czech regions. Speeches were made, verses were recited, music was played, and statues were unveiled. The independent Czech-language newspaper, *Lidové noviny*, which had an intellectual reputation, encouraged the reading of books about Masaryk as an appropriate celebration of his venerable person (*Lidové noviny*, 7. 3. 1920, 5).

There was another important Masaryk birthday celebration in 1930. That year parliament passed a law that stressed Masaryk's importance for the foundation of the state and made a large monetary award to the president of twenty million crowns (*Sbírka zákonů a nařízení*, 1930a; 1930b). In early March, not only most Czech- and some Slovak-language newspapers, but also foreign newspapers, including the British press, began lauding Masaryk as a »hero, the greatest living European, the greatest world statesman, the first soldier of the republic, teacher of the nation, the most valuable representative of democracy, the best informed man of the Europe« and the like (*Doležal*, 1931, 397; *Slovenský deník*, 7. 3. 1937, 1). Official commemorations included a military march-past at the castle, a parade of Prague residents, and numerous diplomatic and governmental delegations wishing him many happy returns. In addition to birthday greetings from ordinary citizens and politicians abroad, Masaryk received so many presents that they were exhibited in Vladislav Hall at the Prague Castle for several months. The birthday celebrations for Masaryk provided the opportunity to display Czech/Czechoslovak national pride in an internationally recognized leader.

CONCLUSION

The focal point of the March 7, October 28, and July 2 celebrations was the country's capital, Prague, where the central government provided its citizens carefully choreographed productions on the civics of Czech (-oslovak) nationalism. Masaryk lent his name – and face – to the newly invented traditions connected with the July 2 and October 28 holidays. These two dates offered the »state-forming people« – the Czechs and to a lesser degree, the Slovaks, especially those who advocated »Czechoslovakism«, but not the other people of the country, the opportunity to reassert the importance of their role in the creation of the state. They provided the young democracy with a usable historic past, and the promise of a glorious national future. Because the themes the framers of the holidays employed and the symbols they utilized emphasized a particular Czech national history, the national language of commemoration complicated efforts to expand the membership of the multinational nation-state. The festivities connected with these dates thus provide a context for some of the national tension in this multinational nation-state during the interwar era.

The meanings attached to July 2 and October 28, whose significance was closely connected, and to March 7, were multivalent and their commemorations played an important role in national pedagogy. This national-pedagogic project aimed at inculcating the values of the Czechoslovak »nation-state« into all its Czech and Slovak citizens, but especially the young. These holidays became a sort of national initiation rite in which local and national leaders directed their efforts at the children and youth whose identity was still nationally malleable. The celebrations constituted a kind of litmus test for participation in the Czechoslovak nation. Those citizens, most often Germans and Hungarians, but also Poles or Ruthenians, national Jews, even Communists, who failed to find pleasure in them were both marked as *Other* by the Czech (-oslovak) majority and marked themselves as *Other*.

These holidays incorporated numerous historic and religious allegories and figures, among them the trope of wartime heroism and sacrifice for the creation of the state. The obligations of the living to the martyrs and other heroes of the past were met in these celebrations. Masaryk, together with Czechoslovakia's other »founding fathers«, Beneš and Štefánik, and political leaders in the domestic underground, the »Men of October 28,« brought the Czechs and Slovaks to the »promised land« of independence. Other, sometimes unnamed, heroes were the Czech and Slovak soldiers, especially the Legionnaires, »who gave their lives on foreign battlefields and in domestic prisons for future national independence.« In the discourse on the war, which mythologized the activities of Czech Legionnaires, the heroic actions of those who left the prisoner-of-war camps to battle the Habsburg army was stressed rather than the emasculating, humiliating experience of captivity. The conclusion to be drawn was, on whichever side the Czech soldiers fought, they all participated in the battle for national independence.

The commemorative rhetoric on all three dates explicitly connected them with the successful struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks for independence during the First World War, which the Czechs interpreted as the rectification of their defeat at White Mountain and the end of 300 years suffering under Habsburg domination. Despite the sometimes inclusive words and actions of Masaryk and other politicians, the commemorative language on his birthday, but especially on July 2 and October 28 made little attempt to perform an integrating function in the multinational state. The nationalist vocabulary and the national images – including the person of Masaryk – that formed an integral part of these holidays narrowed the attraction that they might have held for some Roman Catholics, the Communists, and the non-»state-forming« peoples of Czechoslovakia. Even some Slovaks became increasingly alienated, because »Czechoslovak« rhetoric permitted little space for regional differences and both led to and reflected Czech dominance in state politics, culture, and economy. Indeed, the state language of commemoration complicated efforts to expand membership in the First Czechoslovak Republic.

Like Czechoslovakia's holidays, the monuments to the events celebrated lacked commemorative space for all citizens of the state, much to their resentment. The memory of the lessons these celebrations sought to instill took concrete form in monuments constructed in increasingly nationalized public space. The tensions between conflicting memories, reflected in rites of mourning, were apparent in the contrasting war memorials constructed. While the war memorials – national or local, official or unofficial – the Czechs and Slovaks put up celebrated the fallen with iconography valid for their soldiers, in a multinational state, this iconography – including perhaps the Czech coat of arms, a reference to the Legionnaires, occasionally a bas-relief of a Legionnaire, or the mention of October 28 – was insufficiently broad to include the national minorities.

Commemorations of independence and the Battle of Zborov as well as celebrations of Masaryk's birthday, which were meant to be both national and »nationalizing«, lacked sufficient breadth for the commemorative actions of all of its citizens. The holidays celebrating the foundation of the Czechoslovak nation-state resounded negatively for many, because the rhetoric of the state excluded them. In addition, the language of mourning the war dead, with its rhetoric honoring the Entente and lauding those who died for the foundation of the state failed to meet the needs of the Germans and the Hungarians, and increasingly the Slovaks. Rather than create a unified community of citizens, the language of commemoration did the opposite: it deepened divisions within the state.

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ČEŠK(O-SLOVAŠK)I NACIONALNI PRAZNIKI MED OBEMA VOJNAMA:
TOMÁŠ G. MASARYK IN MAŠČEVANJE ZA BITKO NA BELI GORI

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POVZETEK

Prva češko-slovaška republika, ustanovljena leta 1918, je bila vechnacionalna država, v kateri so živeli Čehi, Slovaki, Nemci, Madžari, Judje, Poljaki in Rutenci, vladali pa so ji kot nacionalni državi Čehov in Slovakov (»Čehoslovakov«). V članku so raziskana vladna prizadevanja konstrukcije »češkoslovaške« nacionalne identitete po koncu prve svetovne vojne z ustanavljanjem novih proslav in praznikov. Najpomembnejši med njimi so počastili spomin na rojstvo prvega predsednika Tomáša G. Masaryka 7. marca 1850, zmago čeških vojakov v bitki pri Zborovu 2. junija 1917 in razglasitev narodne neodvisnosti 28. oktobra 1918. Analiza arhivskega gradiva ter vrste sodobnih knjig, časopisov in pamfletov razkriva, da je buržujska, pretežno češka retorika, povezana z novimi prazniki in s samo državo, omejevala privlačnost praznikov za nadržavotvorne prebivalce, predvsem za Nemce in Madžare, pa tudi za komuniste in vse bolj tudi za nekatere Slovake. Namesto da bi jezik proslav ustvaril enotno skupnost državljanov, so se razkoli znotraj države na ta način samo poglobili.

Ključne besede: proslava, prva češko-slovaška republika, prva svetovna vojna, Češkoslovaška, nacionalna identiteta, Zborov

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