

The Masaryks of Czechoslovakia: Contributions in Sociology, Social Welfare and Politics

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This article profiles contributions to sociology, social welfare and politics by members of the Masaryk family of Czechoslovakia, with primary emphasis on the career of Alice G. Masaryk (or Masaryková), an applied sociologist and founder of Czech social work. As the daughter of Tomáš G. Masaryk, an academic philosopher and early sociologist who became the first President of Czechoslovakia in 1918, her life and work are inextricably linked with the country's history and with one of the remarkable families of their era. Research for this article involved searching literature from several disciplines and reviewing historical publications and documents from relevant periods. The Masaryk legacy has renewed relevance as social work practice and education become reestablished in the Czech Republic.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Masaryk, social work history, sociology

This article profiles for contemporary readers the background and contributions of members of the Masaryk family of Czechoslovakia in sociology, social welfare, and politics. It emphasizes the career of Alice G. Masaryk (or Masaryková, the feminine form of her Czech surname), pioneering sociologist and founder of Czech social work early in the 20th century. Despite her significant achievements, she is no longer well remembered internationally within either discipline, and even in the Czech Republic her contributions are still being reclaimed and reassessed (e.g., Kubícková, 2001; Lovcí, 2003, 2007). As the daughter of Tomáš G. Masaryk, a professor and social reformer who became the first President of Czechoslovakia after

its independence in 1918, A. G. Masaryk's life and work are inextricably linked with the country's history and with one of the remarkable families of their era.

In advocating for the importance of historical research in the profession, Danto (2008) notes that "historical research in social work has a distinctive chronicle itself. At least since the 1950s, history has found a curious niche in the social work canon, based largely on its concern for the past within a present-centered profession" (p. 8). Danto goes on to outline the major sources used in historical studies. Among primary sources, she lists memoirs, autobiographies, and serial publications such as newspapers, magazines, and conference proceedings. Archives include original and microfilmed letters, and secondary sources encompass both biographical works and interpretive articles. Broadcast media now presumably include websites. All of the types of sources discussed by Danto informed this article exploring the contributions of A. G. Masaryk and her family.

Research for this article involved a search through early 2013 using the keywords "Alice Masaryk" and "Masaryková" for articles and books indexed in the following databases: Academic Search Complete, Historical Abstracts, Social Work Abstracts, Social Services Abstracts, Sociology Abstracts, PAIS Archive, and Google Scholar. Members of the Masaryk family spent substantial time in the United States, so the author also searched influential U.S. social sciences serial publications for periods from 1900 through 1960, including: *The Survey*, *Survey Graphic*, *Social Service Review*, and the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, as well as 'chroniclingamerica,' a website indexing U.S. news articles dated before 1922.

Because members of the Masaryk family became acquainted with Jane Addams through visits in Chicago and Europe, the author also explored the microfilmed *Jane Addams Papers* (Addams, 1984) for relevant correspondence (cited as JAP, followed by reel and frame numbers). In addition, autobiographical and biographical works concerning Masaryk family members proved very helpful (e.g., Lockhart, 1956; Masaryk, 1927; Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 1994, 2001). Research for this article was limited by its primary reliance on sources in English. Citations of sources in Czech or Slovak are based on

published summaries or reviews in English or German (e.g., Bednářová, 1998; Lemmen, 2008; Lovcí, 2007).

Overview of Interdisciplinary Influences and Contributions

Both Tomáš and Alice Masaryk experienced a confluence of disciplines and venues in their educations and later professional lives. The elder Masaryk attended German-language secondary school and universities, completing his dissertation on the nature of the soul according to Plato, before eventually securing an academic appointment in philosophy in Prague. However, much of his prolific academic work emphasized social questions, including suicide, social class, gender equality, democratic participation, and the role of religion in society. Masaryk could today be considered a pragmatic philosopher, an applied sociologist, a crusading journalist and political advocate, and even a feminist (Masaryk, 1971, 1994; Skilling, 1994). His writings are still a focus of contemporary scholarship in sociology, political science, and theology (e.g., Bradatan, 2007; Drulák, 2006; Orzoff, 2004; Randall, 2006).

Tomáš Masaryk's literary contributions across multiple emerging disciplines ranged from academic scholarship to the popular press (see Orzoff, 2004), and he engaged in political agitation and international diplomacy that ultimately led to Czechoslovak independence and his own 17-year term as president. Under his administration and with guidance from his daughter Alice, Czechoslovakia quickly developed progressive social programs that are discussed in later sections of this article.

As a visionary leader whose career spanned academe and politics, he established a rapport with U.S. President Woodrow Wilson that helped engage U.S. support for Czechoslovak independence (Smith, 2000). During later periods of German occupation and East-bloc communism, the Masaryk name and contributions were suppressed (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Skilling, 1994). However, when dissident author Vaclav Havel was elected president of Czechoslovakia and then of the Czech Republic, observers noted patterns in the country's democratic political leadership that linked Havel with Masaryk's legacy

(Brook, 2005; Cabanel, 2009; Lustig & Lustig, 1990; Woolfolk, 1994).

Masaryk's eldest child, Alice, was born in imperial Austria-Hungary in 1879 and was nearly 40 at the time of Czechoslovak independence. She died at age 87, in exile in the United States during the cold war. Alice Masaryk centered her personal and professional lives around twin goals: advancing Czechoslovakia's visibility and reputation as a democratic nation, and promoting social welfare and social work education domestically and internationally. The former goal arose from her close partnership with her father, while the latter became her more individual contribution.

Alice Masaryk, like her father and many Czech contemporaries, studied at German universities, taking her Ph.D. in Berlin with a dissertation about English history and government. However, she had originally planned to study medicine and retained a commitment to public health throughout her career. Her contributions to social reform and social services are claimed by both sociology (Keith, 1991) and social work (Kubícková, 2001), as is the work of Addams and other American reformers who mentored her (Deegan, 2002, 2010; Romano, 2002). Like Alice Salomon of Germany, she was among the first European women to earn the Ph.D. and to found a school of social work (Hegar, 2008). She engaged with others from many disciplines in international organizations, had a brief career in elective politics, and provided central support to her father as president. Ultimately, Alice Masaryk's potential scholarly contribution was limited by her relatively few publications, some of them available only in Czech (e.g., Masaryk, 1935). However, her work to establish social work education in Czechoslovakia and internationally, as well as to build her country's social services infrastructure, deserves much wider recognition than it has received in the social work literature to date.

Historical and Political Context

Societal and historical context about central Europe is necessary background for any consideration of the 20th century contributions of the Masaryk family. Although speakers of Czech and Slovak were national minority groups in the

Austro-Hungarian Empire for several centuries before their independence, Czech and Moravian history includes ancient and medieval periods of prominence and self-rule. When Karl of Luxembourg was crowned King Karel of Bohemia and named Holy Roman Emperor as Charles IV in 1347, the Czech-speaking lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia gained considerable influence in Europe. For example, the eldest daughter of Charles IV and sister of Czech King Václav (Wenceslaus), Anne of Bohemia, was married to Richard II of England in 1382. Charles IV founded Charles University in Prague, where the protestant reformer Jan Hus, who had translated the Bible into Czech and sought changes in Catholic worship and theology, served as rector (Masaryk, 1927; Stoddard, 1911).

The Czech reformation preceded Luther's work in Germany by a century, with the result that by 1458 the region was ruled by Europe's first protestant king, Jirí (George) of Bohemia. Alice Masaryk, a student of history, credits King Jirí with having "offered Europe a new order for the relations of states to one another and proposed a league of rulers for the preservation of peace" (Mitchell, 1980, p. 168). The history of the region during this and the subsequent Hapsburg period is somewhat divisive (e.g., Orzoff, 2009). Popular interpretation during the 19th century was shaped by the work of historians Frantisek Palacký of Moravia (1798-1876) and Ernest Denis of France (1849-1921), according to Cabanel (2009), who concludes that "Palacký fully belonged to the category of historian-founders of a nation; it is the narrative that they provide of a nation that largely contributes to its (re-)creation after a long period of slumber" (p. 34).

The nationalist narrative emphasized the suppression of Czech culture under Hapsburg rule after 1526, particularly after defeat of Czech forces by Austria at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 (Orzoff, 2009; Pelikan, 1991). Although Tomáš Masaryk disagreed with many of Palacký's perspectives (Skilling, 1994), he at times endorsed the view that an independent future for the Czech lands was linked to their 15th century history of Protestantism and rebellion (Cabanel, 2009; Masaryk, 1927; Pelikan, 1991). He wrote:

If, as I hold, Palacký's philosophy of our history is essentially true, ... our Reformed Church was

suppressed by an alien dynasty with the assent of the Catholic Church, and that the Hapsburg Counter-Reformation yawns as an abyss between the Reformation period and the present day. (Masaryk, 1927, p. 435)

Alice Masaryk's published work (1904) reflects a similar perspective on Czech history, which she suggests influenced many later emigrants to reject religious affiliations in favor of freethinking.

As agitation for political change shook central Europe beginning about 1848, national consciousness, on the rise throughout the region, inspired Czech-speakers to seek more autonomy within the Hapsburg Empire. A period known as the Great Awakening brought resurgence in use of the national language and attention to Czech history, and nationalism continued to gain ground through the early 20th century, as reported by observers at the time ('Bohemia,' 1910; Miller, 1918; Stoddard, 1911). Nationalists found opportunity in the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires at the end of the First World War, and in 1918 the Czech-speaking regions united with Slovakia, historically administered from Budapest, to achieve national independence that would have not have transpired without the efforts of the Masaryk family.

Tomáš Masaryk and Charlotte Garrigue

Tomáš Masaryk, with his family members and adherents, was preeminently involved in the struggle to create the state of Czechoslovakia. He had been born into the working class in Moravia, close to Slovakia where his family had roots. As a youth, he was able to pursue a German-language gymnasium education only by leaving home for the city of Brno, followed by university study in Vienna and Leipzig. After tutoring and lecturing in Vienna, he returned to Prague as a married professor, having met his American wife, Charlotte Garrigue, when she spent a year in Europe. Tomáš Masaryk added his wife's surname to his own, usually signing himself as T. G. Masaryk, and passed the double name to their children (Capek, 1995; Skilling, 1994).

Charlotte Garrigue's ancestry traces back to French Huguenots and the first English settlement in Massachusetts (Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 2001). As a Unitarian, she influenced the religious views of her husband, by that time a nominal Catholic. His interest in Jan Hus and the Hussite movement shaped his interpretation of Czech history, while philosophical humanism guided his public positions and governmental policies (Cabanel, 2009; Masaryk, 1927, 1971, 1994; Pelikán, 1991; Randall, 2006). Charlotte, a feminist who translated Mill's *The Subjection of Women* into Czech, also shared with her husband her commitment to women's rights and equality (Bednářová, 1998; Skilling, 1994, 2001). She was musically talented and ultimately revered as Czechoslovak First Lady, but her physical and mental health was fragile, and she died in 1923.

T. G. Masaryk experienced a volatile academic career, in part because he championed unpopular causes as an author and journal editor. For example, he defended a Jew charged with ritual murder and challenged the authenticity of a forged document concerning Czech history that was widely accepted during the Great Awakening (Masaryk, 1927; Skilling, 1994; Woolfolk, 1994). In addition to pursuing scholarship, teaching, and journalism, he served terms in the Parliament (Reichsrat) in Vienna and became a central figure in the new Realist party (Skilling, 1994). His writing about social and political questions ultimately established his reputation as an early sociologist with controversial views about many political topics, including the unreliability of the Russian fellow-Slavs and the desirability of an independent, joint future for Czechs and Slovaks (Capek, 1995; Masaryk, 1994; Pelikan, 1991; Skilling, 1994).

T. G. Masaryk spent the summer of 1902 lecturing at the University of Chicago and he returned to the U.S. in 1907, where he forged political connections with Czech and Slovak emigrants that later would support national independence (Capek, 1920; Masaryk, 1927). When his prominence in that movement put him at risk for arrest by the imperial government, he fled to Italy, then to Switzerland and England, where he worked in exile during the First World War. Although age 64 when he escaped from Austrian jurisdiction, he spent the war lobbying entente governments and mobilizing Czech and Slovak ex-patriots to support the Czechoslovak cause through

organizations such as the Bohemian National Alliance in the U.S. (Capek, 1920; Masaryk, 1927). He also played a central role in the formation and success of the Czechoslovak Legion made up of soldiers allied with the triple-entente powers whose military exploits helped shape world opinion about claims for Czechoslovak statehood (Capek, 1995; Masaryk, 1927).

By the end of the war, T. G. Masaryk was an international figure and the clear choice of the new National Assembly to serve as Czechoslovakia's first president, a post he held until the age of 85 in 1935. In recent years, revisionist historians have highlighted how carefully Masaryk and his supporters scripted the campaign for independence and a future Masaryk presidency (e.g., Orzoff, 2009). Masaryk himself, who called his lieutenants "the Mafia," relates candidly their efforts to manipulate western opinion in favor of Czechoslovak nationhood (Masaryk, 1927). However, the calculated ambition and conscious use of propaganda by the new country's leadership do not diminish the magnitude of their successes.

The Garrigue Masaryk Offspring

T. G. Masaryk's political career ultimately engaged all members of his family. Alice, the eldest child, stayed closest to her parents, to the extent that one biographer published a joint study of her and her mother Charlotte (Skilling, 2001) and another recently characterized her life as lived "in the shadow of her famous father" (Lovcí, 2007). She was arrested in 1915 and jailed in Vienna "in her father's stead," on the pretext that she knew the location of his papers or other secrets of the independence movement (McDowell, 1916, p. 116). After 1918, she combined working in social services and social work education with managing her father's presidential household, due to her mother's chronic illness and early death. Her career is explored more fully in later sections of this article.

A second daughter, Olga, accompanied her father into exile in Switzerland in 1914, and he credits her with helping with his work in exile (Masaryk, 1927). A contemporary U.S. press report described her as "closely associated with her father in the movement for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and the establishing of its people into independent states" ('What women,' 1918, p. 13). She married in Switzerland and

had two sons who died in England during the Second World War, one of illness and one as a Czech pilot with the British Royal Air Force (Lockhart, 1956; Mitchell, 1980). The Masaryks' son Herbert had died of typhus during his father's exile in 1915, a factor in the breakdown of Charlotte's health the same year. Herbert left a widow and two daughters whose children became the only surviving descendents of T. G. and Charlotte Masaryk (Mitchell, 1980).

Jan, as the most politically engaged of the Masaryk offspring in the years following independence, served as a Czechoslovak diplomat in Washington and London. Like his father, Jan was married (briefly) to an American, the daughter of Charles R. Crane of Chicago, a family friend and political patron (Lockhart, 1956). During and after the Second World War, Jan was Foreign Minister, first in the Czech Provisional Government headquartered in London and then, after his father's death and eventual Czech liberation from German occupation, in Czech President Beneš' cabinet. *Time Magazine* placed him on its cover in 1944 and described him as Czechoslovakia's second most powerful man, after Beneš (Czechoslovakia, 1944). His service extended into the early years of Communist Party rule, and his death in 1948, possibly by suicide, possibly by political assassination, has long been controversial (Lockhart, 1956).

A. G. Masaryk's Career through 1918

Alice Masaryk's early interest in political democracy was reflected in her dissertation topic: The English Magna Charta that in 1215 first limited the power of the sovereign and established rights of the nobility. Immediately after taking her degree, she went to America at her father's instigation and, like him, cultivated relationships with Czech and Slovak immigrants (Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 2001). Based on her months as a resident at the University of Chicago Settlement, she published her first work in English about their lives (Masaryk, 1904).

Like much settlement work, A. G. Masaryk's engagement with the immigrant community was part urban ethnography, part social reform effort. Lawlor and Mattingly (2001) characterize ethnography as follows:

Ethnographic research involves the creation and ongoing renegotiations of relationships between researchers and informants. These relationships are complex and uniquely constructed, drawing on elements of seemingly different types of relationships, such as those created through friendship, intimacy, family membership, and professionally bounded clinical encounters. Prolonged engagement contributes to the complexity as relationships deepen and shift over time and participants accumulate a substantial reservoir of shared experiences. (Lawlor & Mattingly, 2001, p. 147)

A. G. Masaryk's (1904) early article about Czech immigrants presents both demographic data and her perspectives as a participant-observer who knew both the immigrants' region of origin and their everyday reality in Chicago. However, the ethnographic method, basic to anthropology and academic sociology, also suggests a degree of objective distance that settlement workers rejected: "Ethnographers struggle with enacting a researcher stance that simultaneously promotes interrelatedness and minimizes the extent to which their presence intrudes on and subsequently alters the everyday life experiences they seek to understand" (Lawlor & Mattingly, 2001, p. 148). In contrast, Masaryk's article (1904) suggests that she adopted the settlement house tradition of social reform by advocating for public reading rooms in immigrant neighborhoods, for example.

The closest professional tie Alice developed while in the U.S. was with Mary McDowell, head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, who later wrote about her life and contributions in the *Survey* (1916, 1930). In subsequent years, they carried on an extensive correspondence (Cape, 2005). During her time in Chicago, A. G. Masaryk also stayed briefly at Hull House, and she later referred to having made numerous subsequent visits (Mitchell, 1980). Addams' published papers document exchanges of letters, organizational business, and discussions of anticipated meetings between them (e.g., JAP, 1984, 13-1258; 13-1305; 20-1398; 20-1447; 22-1220). Parallels and intersections in the careers of Addams and Masaryk form part

of the focus of other work by the author of this article (Hegar, 2008).

Masaryk appears to have viewed her experiences in Chicago as a transformative period in her life, and both Crawford (1921) and McDowell (1930) attribute innovations she later introduced in Czechoslovakia to her participation in settlement house work, as discussed further below. Upon returning from Chicago to Prague, A. G. Masaryk initially worked as a teacher and organized lectures and discussions among university students on social theory and practice. Her role in establishing the Sociological Section at Charles University in Prague ultimately established her place as an early sociologist (Keith, 1991; Lovcí, 2003), work that was cut short when she was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna in 1915 after her father had escaped Austrian jurisdiction.

News of her arrest and imprisonment was reported in the *Survey* (McDowell, 1916), as well as in major U.S. newspapers (e.g., 'Alice Masaryk in prison,' 1916; 'Stock yards will mourn,' 1916), and prominent settlement house leaders organized a letter-writing campaign on her behalf (JAP, 1984, 9-1369; 38-801). Along with McDowell and Addams in Chicago, Alice Masaryk was acquainted with Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott, Lillian Wald, and other social reformers. Their campaign generated tens of thousands of messages to Vienna and may have contributed to her release after eight months of imprisonment (McDowell, 1916; Unterberger, 1974).

Detailed correspondence written to her mother from prison later appeared in two issues of *Atlantic Monthly* (Masaryk, 1920a, 1920b). Her father noted in his memoirs that the episode had served a political purpose:

The arrest of my daughter Alice was of great service to us in England and America. ...Throughout America, women petitioned the President to intervene and appealed directly to the American Ambassador in Vienna. These movements in America and in England made our rebellion better known. (Masaryk, 1927, p. 92)

Following A. G. Masaryk's return to Prague in 1916, she was unemployable in any academic role. During this period, when her father was a refugee working in England for Czechoslovak

statehood, she was forced to maintain a very low profile as she worked with Dr. Anna Berkovcová to establish the first school of social work in the region. However, Berkovcová, who ultimately headed the school, credited her colleague Masaryk as its founder (Mitchell, 1980, pp. 98-99).

A. G. Masaryk in the Interwar Period: 1919-1939

Shortly after Czechoslovak independence and the opening of the school of social work near Prague, A. G. Masaryk was appointed by her father to a voluntary position as director of the new national Red Cross (Lovcí, 2003; Mitchell, 1980). In this new role, she began to study and develop the social service infrastructure of Prague, first by instigating a social survey. Social surveys, undertaken at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries in Germany (Suin de Boutemard, 1990), London (Booth, 1902), and numerous U.S. cities (Crawford, 1921), explored the nature and causes of poverty and other social problems. In Chicago, Hull House residents had gathered data for a Chicago survey as part of a "Special Investigation of the Slums of Great Cities" ordered by Congress in 1893 (Holbrook, 1895). Crawford (1921) observes that Masaryk drew on her exposure to similar studies in the U.S. as she began her work in Prague, though she also may have learned of German social surveys as a student in Berlin.

The Prague Survey commenced after A. G. Masaryk convened a council of public sector, university, and religious leaders, along with staff of international agencies working in Prague (Crawford, 1921). Czech workers, assisted by those from the American Young Women's Christian Association and other international organizations, adapted social survey methods to local needs, and A. G. Masaryk authored the introduction to the multi-volume study (Crawford, 1921; Skilling, 2001). During the immediate post-war period, she was responsible for numerous other initiatives, such as inviting the British Red Cross to dispatch a mission in Slovakia that provided war relief and civilian aid, including establishment of a children's home, hospital, and convalescent home for soldiers (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008).

Czechoslovakia had enacted women's suffrage upon independence, and Pergler (1919) reports that in 1919 A. G.

Masaryk was among eight women elected to the National Assembly, though she served only briefly. Czechoslovakia quickly implemented a great deal of progressive social legislation and by 1918 had statutes prohibiting child labor and instituting an eight-hour work day (Gruber, 1924). By 1921, broad child welfare provisions had brought existing children's homes and institutions under state regulation, and initiatives in social housing had begun. In 1924, the quasi-governmental publishing outlet "*Orbis*" could claim that,

as regards the social insurance of the workers, the care of the unemployed, of war victims, children, and other helpless persons, housing, and the cooperative movement, the Czechoslovak Republic holds an honourable place amongst the most progressive States of Europe. (Gruber, 1924, p. 25)

This view was seconded by international observers (e.g. McDowell, 1930, p. 633).

Although A. G. Masaryk had had broad support from all political parties when elected to the National Assembly (Comstock, 1926), she soon left the parliament to concentrate on directing the Red Cross. At her initiative, that organization was instrumental in developing voluntary social services, which under Austria-Hungary had been organized partially within ethnic language communities (Zahra, 2008). Mitchell quotes her view that:

the Red Cross must take care of a whole nation—or about fourteen million people. The Red Cross will also have to work hand in hand with schools and other humanitarian institutions. This is where the duty of the Red Cross as a democratic social institution lies. (1980, p. 119)

Gruber (1924) also notes this innovative peacetime role for a Red Cross society in his discussion of Czechoslovak public social policy, which acknowledges that "the State authorities are actively supported by the Red Cross which apart from its humanitarian institutions in case of war, has greatly contributed to relieving the State from war-time and post-War social evils" (1924, p. 25). McDowell, of University of Chicago Settlement,

comments on Masaryk's leadership of the organization:

The Czechoslovak Red Cross goes further, and busies itself with the kind of normal, constructive, educational service that has come to be called "settlement work." In that, Alice is greatly the inspiration; what she learned so long ago in Chicago fulfills its purpose in the neighborhoods of her own country. (McDowell, 1930, p. 632)

Masaryk authored a book about the work of the Czechoslovak Red Cross (1935), and her leadership of it is the subject of recent scholarship (Lovcí, 2003, 2007).

Her role as head of her country's Red Cross society also reinforced A. G. Masaryk's commitment to international cooperation. Post-war correspondence between Emily Balch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL) and Jane Addams suggests that A. G. Masaryk was involved in establishing the WIL in Czechoslovakia; by 1922 there was a WIL Corresponding Society (JAP, 1984, 15-1510) and by 1926 a full National Section (JAP, 1984, 18-908).

During the interwar period, social work developed rapidly, and A. G. Masaryk had roles in both domestic and international arenas. For example, she often was able to secure international philanthropic support for local institutions (e.g., 'Useful Memorial,' 1921). By 1927, Czechoslovakia had three two-year, post-secondary schools for social work, one in each region of the country, and social work was firmly established:

Social workers in the period between the two wars worked in the fields of municipal social care (poor care), youth care, social-pedagogical care (school care), vocational counselling, institutional care of physically disabled youth and adults, mother and baby health care, care against tuberculosis and children's health care. At the same time they worked in various voluntary clubs concerning social care. They were an important part of the system of social care. (Chytil, 1998, p. 52)

Masaryk also made key contributions to the International Social Work Fortnight held in Paris in 1928, a precursor to later

international organizations, chairing the organizing committee that met in Paris in 1926 and Prague in 1927 to plan the 1928 conference. As the elected President of the Fortnight, she delivered opening and closing addresses (Sand, 1928), and she subsequently presided as President of the Second International Conference of Social Work in 1932 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany (Mitchell, 1980).

In addition to her international roles in social work, A. G. Masaryk traveled frequently in the role of good-will ambassador for Czechoslovak, speaking and writing for international audiences, including a 1938 peace rally in London where she exhorted listeners to remain true to the ideals of the League of Nations (Mitchell, 1980, p. 149). The U.S. press gave her considerable recognition, both as a member of her prominent family and as a leader in social welfare. *The Survey*, the leading journal of social reform at the time, devoted a 1921 issue to Czechoslovakia, for which she contributed greetings to the readers (Masaryk, 1921). When a later *Survey* issue highlighted T. G. Masaryk's presidency and family, an article by McDowell (1930) profiled her career. Her public appearances and significant milestones were noted in both the popular and professional press (e.g., 'Alice Masaryk Alive,' 1916; 'Alice Masaryk in Prison,' 1916; 'C'est la Guerre,' 1939; 'Child Welfare,' 1919; 'Dr. Alice G. Masaryk,' 1939; McDowell, 1916; 'Tribute to an educator,' 1947).

A. G. Masaryk's Exile and Retirement in the U.S.

Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1939, A. G. Masaryk was forced to resign her leadership of the Red Cross ('C'est la Guerre,' 1939). She left Prague for her sister Olga's home in Geneva, then proceeded to London where Jan Masaryk was working for the Czech government in exile, and finally journeyed on to the U.S. There she toured and spoke about the political situation; at one point she attempted to complete a lecture tour begun by her brother Jan, with less-than-satisfactory results (Keith, 1991; Mitchell, 1980). She became ill and required hospitalization, beginning a period of poor physical health and depression. She lived for periods of time at the University of Chicago Settlement and in New York,

and although she was able to return to Prague after the end of the war, she ultimately retired to the U.S. in 1948.

After 1956, A. G. Masaryk lived in Masaryktown, Florida, named by Czechoslovak immigrants for her father. Struggling with deterioration of her sight, she worked on her memoirs with the help of a nurse/companion and a secretary, and she and her sister Olga participated in the formation of the Masaryk Publications Trust to translate and publish her father's books and related literature (Mitchell, 1980). After suffering a stroke and progressive blindness, she moved in 1966 to a nursing facility founded by the Czech-speaking community near Chicago, where she died the same year.

A. G. Masaryk's Legacy

Mitchell quotes A. G. Masaryk as saying shortly before her death, "I loved two things in the world, my father and my country" (1980, p. 240). A journalist friend of T. G. Masaryk described qualities in him that also resonated in his daughter: "A nationalist he was, in the sense that national freedom seemed to him an indispensable postulate of the international cooperation for humane ideals of which he dreamed..." (Sneed, 1927, p. 20). A. G. Masaryk was a nationalist in the same sense. While her family ties and patriotism led her in the direction of Czechoslovak nationalism, her idealism and wide-ranging friendships pulled her toward internationalism.

There was, of course, a powerful strain of internationalist and pacifist thought in many European and English-speaking countries among the women who established themselves early in the 20th century in the new fields of social work and sociology, as well as in politics after it became open to women (Hegar, 2008; Kniephoff-Knebel & Seibel, 2008). Many, like A. G. Masaryk, were active in the International Conference of Social Work, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other campaigns for social change.

A. G. Masaryk's legacy in Czechoslovakia was subsequently disrupted by war and seismic political shifts. Academic and popular awareness of her contributions diminished, due both to governmental efforts to blot out the influence of her family

and to political barriers restricting international communication (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Skilling, 1994). Social work and social work education, as they had developed during the Masaryk era of 1918 to 1935, also experienced major discontinuity. The development of social work as an academic discipline and professional field was interrupted for decades, first by war and occupation, then by a dominant political philosophy that lacked openness about social problems (Hering, 2004). According to Nedelníková (2004), "In a land with no social problems, social work lost its legitimacy, leading to changes in the system of social protection, the abandonment of university schooling in social work, and the liquidation of non-governmental social work organizations" (p. 38). In particular, the international social work ties that A. G. Masaryk had cultivated ended abruptly for those in a divided Europe.

Only since about 1990 have social work and social work education resumed an uninterrupted revival, and the discipline is now experiencing rapid change and expansion of opportunities that would be familiar to social workers in most post-industrial, western countries. Nedelníková (2004) reports that by 1997,

professional associations outlined the activities that social workers carry out, including specific administrative work, social support, counselling, mediation and conflict resolution, social supervision, social analysis, conceptual activities, and social work management, as well as theory and methodology development. These activities are performed by social workers in the public service in a variety of branches, as well as in private institutions. (pp. 41-42)

In a climate of renewed recognition and expansion for social work, interest in the profession's earlier history also has revived, as evidenced by recent publications concerning A. G. Masaryk's career, both in the Czech and Slovak Republics (Kubícková, 2001; Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Lovcí, 2003; 2007) and internationally (Hegar, 2008; Lemmen, 2008; Skilling, 2001). The Masaryk legacy deserves to be remembered, a goal that is furthered when the name is linked with contemporary examples of service and sacrifice for principled causes. In a

fitting tribute, the U.S. Embassy in Prague has awarded the Alice Garrigue Masaryk Award annually since 2004 to "persons and institutions in the Czech Republic who have made exceptional and continuing contributions to the advancement of human rights through courageous promotion of social justice, the defense of democratic liberties and an open civil society" (U. S. Department of State, 2010).

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