
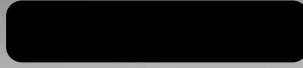


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Blažena Pavlovkinová

**Knowledge Transfer in
Context of Non-dominant
National Movement:
Case Study of Slovak
Intellectual Elite's Discourse
1867–1918**

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C/O Collegium Carolinum

Hochstraße 8

81669 München

portal-historikerkommission@collegium-carolinum.de

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Blažena Pavlovkinová

Knowledge Transfer in Context of Non-dominant National Movement: Case Study of Slovak Intellectual Elite's Discourse 1867–1918¹

Philosophical and social thinking in Europe of the 2nd half of the 19th century was influenced significantly by the impact of the scientific research, especially by the results of natural science's development. A search for an appropriate way of coping with the impulses of new ideas affected also thinking of Slovak intellectuals. There were different approaches in Slovak national movement to the new scientific theories and to science-oriented worldview. There were present open-minded worldviews, an inclination to protection of "old" values and traditions, as well as a tendency to balance between tradition and modernity. My question of interest is in which way were these new ideological impulses incorporated or rejected in the worldview and in the cultural concepts of the Slovak intellectual elites? In the last decades several new studies were published about scientific activities of Slovak nationalists,² also about their philosophical and social thinking.³ From argumentative side there is an accepted

¹ The Project was supported by the grant scheme of Comenius University, no. UK/341/202 titled as: „Ideové transfery a formovanie spoločenského myslenia slovenských študentov v Prahe a vo Viedni na prelome 19. a 20. storočia“ [„Ideological Transfers and the Formation of Social Thought of Slovak Students in Prague and Vienna at the Turn of the 19th to the 20th Century“], realised at the Department of Slovak History, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava.

² Holec, Roman: Veda na Slovensku a prijímanie nových vedeckých teórií [Science in Slovakia and the Acceptance of New Scientific Theories]. In: Kováč, Dušan et al.: Slovensko v 20. storočí. Na začiatku storočia (1901–1914) [Slovakia in the 20th Century. At the Beginning of the Century 1901–1914]. Bratislava 2004, 215-226; Hollý, Karol: Andrej Kmeť a slovenské národné hnutie [Andrej Kmeť and the Slovak National Movement]. Bratislava 2015; Hollý, Karol: Veda a slovenské národné hnutie [Science and the Slovak National Movement]. Bratislava 2013. Hrabovec, Ivan: Stúpenci a odporcovia Darwinovho diela na Slovensku do r. 1918 [Supporters and Opponents of Darwin's Work in Slovakia Until 1918]. In: Sedláčková, Eulália (ed.): Oddelenie histórie medicíny a zdravotníctva Ústavu sociálneho lekárstva LF UK v Bratislave 1990–2000 [Department of the History of Medicine and Health of the Institute of Social Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, Charles University in Bratislava 1990-2000]. Bratislava 2001, 58-60; Kövér, Alexander: Reflexie darwinizmu na Slovensku v prvej polovici 20. Storočia [Reflections of Darwinism in Slovakia in the First Half of the 20th Century]. In: Lalíková, Erika/ Kostelník, Štefan/ Rembierz, Marek (eds.): Filozofia a slovanské myšlienkové dedičstvo: osobnosti, problémy, inšpirácie. II. diel [Philosophy and the Slavic Heritage of Thought: Personalities, Problems, Inspirations. Volume II]. Bratislava 2008, 302-307.

³ Bakoš, Vladimír: Spory o modernosť v slovenskom (filozofickom) myslení [Disputes About Modernity in Slovak (Philosophical) Thought]. In: Filozofia 61 (2006) 10, 775-793; Kopčok, Andrej: Slovenské filozofické myslenie na

opinion in the Slovak historiography that the rejection of new scientific theories (Darwin's Theory of evolution as a key example) was a problem caused by the Slovak intellectual elite's "mentality". This mentality is explained as a "rooted" conservatism depending on the national traditions, on Christian dogmas or on ancestral prejudices.⁴ The reception of scientific theories before 1918 (before institutionalisation of "Slovak" or rather Czechoslovak scientific institutions) is interpreted predominantly as a proto-scientific reception, influenced mainly with the prejudices towards scientific knowledge, what is going to be challenged in this article.

Slovak national movement was in the frame of the Habsburg empire just one of non-dominant national movements. To adopt new ideas from a scientific discourse in the social and political thinking of the Slovak intellectual elites could be a potential strategy in struggle for equality in a competition of nationalisms.⁵ Contrary to political power, equality at the intellectual level was said to be accessible without limits. As an open platform for raising (at least) cultural power was popularisation of science presented in Slovak press in hand with the slogan attributed to Francis Bacon (1561–1626) "Knowledge is power!".⁶ Although the natural science was regularly popularised in Slovak press as a part of popular education, there is strongly present in majority of period's Slovak nationalist periodicals rather a dismissal and a criticism towards new scientific theories, especially towards Darwinism and later against Einstein's Theory of Relativity. There were other political or nationalistic⁷ platforms in region of Austro-Hungary with more active tendency to adopt natural scientific "language" for mobilizing followers at the turn of 20th century.⁸ Anyway, this phenomenon was present in

prelome storočí z hľadiska modernizácie [Slovak Philosophical Thought at the Turn of the Century from the Point of View of Modernization]. In: *Filozofia* 56 (2001) 3, 149-173. Wagnerová, Simona: Vplyv Darwinovej evolučnej teórie na filozofické myslenie v druhej polovici 19. storočia na Slovensku [The Influence of Darwin's Theory of Evolution on Philosophical Thinking in the Second Half of the 19th Century in Slovakia]. In: Lalíková/Kostelník/Rembierz (eds.): *Filozofia a slovanské myšlienkové dedičstvo*, 309-316.

⁴ Holec: *Veda na Slovensku a prijímanie nových vedeckých teórií*, 218-219.

⁵ Palló, Gábor: *Scientific Nationalism: A Historical Approach to Nature in Late Nineteenth-Century Hungary*. In: Ash, Mitchell/ Surman, Jan (eds.): *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848–1918*. Chippenham 2012, 1st ed. 102-112, here 110.

⁶ Wagner, Ján Alojz: *Ku veľactenému obecenstvu slovenskému* [To the large Slovak audience]. In: *Svet* 1 (1890) 1, 1-3, here 1.

⁷ Mund, Katalin: *The Reception of Darwin in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Society*. In: Engels, Eve-Marie/ Glick, Thomas/ Shaffer, Elinor (eds.): *The Reception of Charles Darwin in Europe Vol. 1-2*. New York 2009, 441-462, here 443; Turda, Marius: *Eugenics and Nation in Early 20th Century Hungary*. Basingstoke 2014, 354, here 16.

⁸ Hermann, Tomáš/ Šimunek, Michal: *Between Science and Ideology: The Reception of Darwin and Darwinism in the Czech Lands, 1859–1945*. In: Engels/ Glick/ Shaffer (eds.): *The Reception of Charles Darwin in Europe*, 199-216, here 205.

other national movements and political ideologies of Europe too.⁹ The nationalistic myth based on “natural law” (for example inspired by “struggle for life” etc.) as a political tool could be probably one of the factors in dismissal of modern “science” by dominant, conservative branch of Slovak national movement.

Marking “science”, mentioned in last paragraph, in quotation marks also represents the non-scientific reception of scientific theories in the discourse of Slovak intellectual elites. It was neither scientific debate, nor just nationalistic polemic; it referred also to wider frame of worldview. It was involved in the discourse composed of personal religious beliefs, ideas of emancipatory nationalism and philosophical concepts. It was all at once accompanied by some form of misinterpretation of scientific knowledge. In this way the reception was not only presented to the audience. However, also scientific knowledge, received and reflected, had already been affected by other than scientific contexts.

The period’s scientific knowledge was regularly misused or instrumentalised in European context, what had formed Slovak reception deeply. This phenomenon was common between traditionalists on the one hand, between modernists on the other, and present in ideological and political contexts predominantly.¹⁰ So called “world riddle solving” was a popular theme in writings of many natural science popularisers or lay scientists in Europe of the 2nd half of 19th century. There was a struggle for reaching a final explanation of the world and existence of life or an intense search for their sense based on the natural laws. Like Milena Wazeck has mentioned in her work *“Einstein’s Opponents. The Public Controversy about the Theory of Relativity in 1920’s”*: many intellectuals produced universal theories inspired by the scientific fact, but with tendency to absolutize its findings and expand its conclusions also in areas of knowledge which cannot be confirmed by any scientific or empirical methods until today. These were the questions of period’s science as well, but the “world riddle solving theories” were approaching these questions often radically with the ambition to solve all the problems

⁹ Bayertz, Kurt: Darwinismus als Politik. Zur Genese des Sozialdarwinismus in Deutschland 1860–1900 [Darwinism as Politics. On the Genesis of Social Darwinism in Germany 1860–1900]. In: *Stapfia* 56 (1998) 131, 229-288, here 236 and 260, URL: https://www.zobodat.at/publikation_volumes.php?id=57 (last access 22.11.2021); Daum, Andreas: *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert. Bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit 1848–1914* [Science Popularization in the 19th Century. Civic Culture, Natural Science Education and the German Public 1848–1914]. München 2. Aufl. 2002, 3.

¹⁰ Pichler, Tibor: Nacionalizmus, konzervativizmus, modernizmus: O politickej diskusii na stránkach časopisu Prúdy (Náčrt problémov) [Nationalism, conservatism, modernism: On the political debate in the pages of the journal Prudy (Sketch of the problems)]. In: *Filozofia* 60 (2005) 10, 761-773, here 762.

at once and forever.¹¹ An instrumentalization of natural science, for example, in favour of monistic materialism, atheism, strict scientific worldview or morality based on natural law of struggle of the fittest for life was often the key stone of a critical approach to the scientific theories. These polemics were not clearly scientific, rather oriented to platform where worldview beliefs were exchanged and discussed, what is present also in cases of discourse of Slovak intellectuals.

It seems also, an attitude to the scientific theories was strongly influenced by the preferred cultural ideal (whether with progressive/conservative tendency) as it was constructed and advocated by different programmes of the branches of Slovak national movement. The culture is in this case perceived as a general complex of social rules, models and values which allow an individual an orientation in the world and a solution of everyday situations in life.¹² It might be considered that taking-over of new ideas from the field of natural science was respected and welcomed only under the condition of not crossing the border of a cultural ideal and in hand with a respect to it.

My research is based on texts published in Slovak periodicals and calendars in Austro-Hungary in between 1867 – 1918. There were selected authors who approached and discussed the science in Slovak prints systematically, but not at the official scientific level (dominant reason was an absence of institutionalised “Slovak science” until 1918 and the lack of community of professionals who would prefer reading Slovak scientific journals). They published in national periodicals addressed to intellectuals or even more often to common people. Reception of scientific theories by these authors was presented usually in relation to different areas of social and philosophical thinking and based in context of nationalism. When researching a relationship between concepts of national culture and the reception of scientific theories I have focused on a few “hot” mobilization topics, which were challenging the discourse of Slovak national movement. Those are an evolutionary idea as an *idea of progress, materialism* as a scientific worldview and a *relationship of faith and science*, the motives most often embedded in culture-oriented polemics of Slovak nationalists.

¹¹ Wazeck, Milena: Einstein’s Opponents. The Public Controversy about the Theory of Relativity in the 1920’s. Cambridge 2014, 355, here 20-21 and 42.

¹² Pichler: Nacionalizmus, konzervativizmus, modernizmus 762.

An evolutionary idea was the key topic promoted by the liberal journal *Hlas* (1898–1904) and *Prúdy* (1909–1914) at the turn of the 20th century. Often it was a transfer from the Czech periodicals (*Osvěta*, *Athenauem*, *Rozhledy*, *Naše doba*, *Česká mysl*), especially from the works written by T. G. Masaryk. Mentioned Czech periodicals published translations of works of well-known European thinkers who accepted into their concepts the idea of evolution (J. Stuart Mill, H. Spencer or F. Nietzsche). Contributors to the Slovak periodicals *Hlas* and *Prúdy*, who reflected science, were at the cross of the centuries mainly in their twenties – thirties: Ivan Houdek (1887–1985), Viktor Mikuška (1882–1966), Vavro Šrobár (1867–1950), Anton Štefánek (1877–1964), who were absolvents of the universities in Prague or Vienna, but also in Budapest. Their written production shows an acceptance of the evolution as a leading principle of a human culture and society: “...every progress in knowledge of nature means also moral and ethical development of humanity.”¹³

There was also theologian and Lutheran priest Ján Lajčiak (1875–1918), educated in theology and philology in Erlangen, Leipzig and Paris. In his book *Slovakia and Culture* (written 1910–1918) quoted: “evolution, not revolution” in regard with reforming Slovak society and worldview of people.¹⁴ He rejected a strict approach to the Slovak cultural development promoted by some members of *hlasists*. Unlike their leader Vavro Šrobár, a physician, who demanded radical steps apart from “old authorities and dogmas”,¹⁵ Lajčiak preferred gradual modernization of thinking. Also accepting, predominantly in borders of science, but also cautious in terms of wider implications, to the evolutionary idea was a populariser of natural sciences and actuary Ján A. Wagner (1864–1930). For him an idea of evolution was a part of a modern worldview. A problem was according to Wagner when the progress supported by scientific knowledge rejected the spiritual development and reduced itself only to the materialistic basis of human society. According to him such a reduction causes disharmony and negation of the “real” progress of culture. The ideal culture should be based due to his opinion on Christian values. On the other hand, transition to materialism threatens not only

¹³ Mikuška, Viktor: *Z dejín a náuk Darwinizmu. 100 ročnej pamiatke nar. veľkého bádateľa* [From the History and Doctrines of Darwinism. 100th Commemoration Anniversary of the Birth of the Great Explorer]. Uhorská Skalica 1909, 7, here 6.

¹⁴ Lajčiak, Ján: *Slovensko a kultúra* [Slovakia and Culture]. Bratislava 1994, 135, here 31.

¹⁵ Šrobár, Vavro: *K hádke o pokrok* [On the Quarrel for Progress]. In: *Prúdy* 2 (1911) 6, 217-220, here 218.

religious life of a man, but also concept of nationality, forasmuch as it is similarly idealistic concept as a religion.

Darwin's evolutionary theory, or rather Darwinism, was often discussed about and criticised in the Slovak discourse almost inclusively by those who were also in political attitudes and strategies oriented conservatively. For most of them it was perhaps lesser problem to except the idea of the natural development of species. The controversy was deeply seen in the social and philosophical implications of the Darwinism. There were a few opinion essays published in the first decade after publication of Darwin's work in Slovak periodical *Letopis Matice slovenskej*. In the main core of argumentation there was a claim about a lack of explanation of spiritual basis of a man, of his soul and his mental processes (Samuel Ormis (1824–1875), Pavel Hečko (1825–1895) in the *Darwin's Theory of Evolution*. These arguments were presented as philosophical, not religious based: "it does not matter whether God had created man accomplished, or whether he created him as a in the "life of mother nature".¹⁶ Hečko, as well as Ormis, advocated postulates of nationalistic idealism, convinced there is a relationship between a mentality of nations and their science/philosophy.¹⁷

Arguments against the lack of Darwin's explanation of spiritual qualities of human race were closely related to the criticism of materialism, especially of the popular scientific materialism spread in Hungary through works of German scientists and popularisers Ludwig Büchner (1824–1899), Carl Vogt (1817–1895)¹⁸ or later of Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), who developed the concept of a monistic materialism.¹⁹ There were a series of articles in *Národné noviny* throughout the year 1898, later also a booklet, published under titled *Hmota a hmotári* (Mass and materialists) by Ján A. Wagner, where conservative arguments against materialism, materialistic worldview and science were aggregated and systematized.²⁰

Scientific materialism was refused and not acceptable by conservatives not only due to religious reasons, but also because of nationalistic persuasion about the cultural antagonism.

¹⁶ Hečko, Pavel: *Človek a jeho určenie* [Man and his Destination]. In: *Letopis Matice slovenskej* 10 (1873) 2, 48-59, here 53.

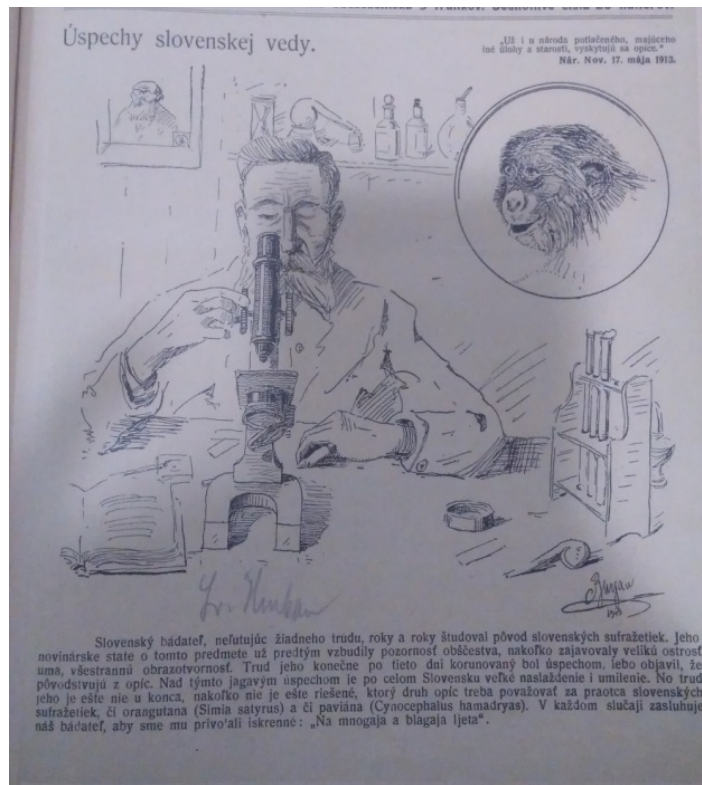
¹⁷ Mészáros, Ondrej: *Dejiny maďarskej filozofie*. Bratislava 2013, 272, here 116.

¹⁸ Mészáros: *Dejiny maďarskej filozofie* 143.

¹⁹ Stella, Marco: *Darwin, Nietzsche, Haeckel – biosociální úvahy nad civilizací, degenerací a domestikací v Anglii a Německu 1871–1919* [Darwin, Nietzsche, Haeckel – biosocial reflections on civilization, degeneration and domestication in England and Germany 1871-1919]. In: *Kuděj* 9 (2007) 1-2, 80-100, here 97.

²⁰ Wagner, Ján Alojz: *Hmota a hmotári* [Mass and Materialists]. Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1898, 47.

Národné noviny, under the leadership of Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847–1916), considered materialism to be one part of the modernist worldview: a decadent, alien and antagonistic toward the inherent Slovak national culture.²¹ When during the last decade of 19th century nationalistic ideas inspired by Darwinism started to be popular in Hungary too.²² Consequently arguments against the “antichristian morality” of Darwinism (argumentatively based on the idea of struggle for life, interpreted as a struggle of stronger individuals or groups against the weaker social units) were presented in writings of Vajanský, the main ideological leader of conservative branch of the Slovak national movement.²³ This reception could be also perceived rather as the context of nationalistic ideology than scientific or philosophical approach to Darwin’s Theory.



“Successes of the Slovak science”. A caricature of the Slovak nationalist, Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847-1916). In: Veselé noviny 2 (1913) 5, 1

²¹ Hučková, Dana: Svetozár Hurban Vajanský a nové umenie [Svetozár Hurban Vajanský and the New Art]. In: Taranenková, Ivana (ed.): Svetozár Hurban Vajanský. Na rozhraní umenia a ideológie [Svetozár Hurban Vajanský. On the Interface of Art and Ideology]. Bratislava 2018, 49-68, here 61.

²² Mund: The Reception of Darwin 16.

²³ Hurban Vajanský, Svetozár: Protikresťanské theorie [Anti-Christian Theory]. In: Národné noviny no. 248, 29. 10. 1898, 1.

However, among the Slovak intellectual elites there were also sympathisers of modernism, in close relationship to journal *Prúdy*, who supported postulates of the scientific materialism and believed a science has, or in future will attain, in the full scale, ability to explain all the past and actual processes of the world/human life and being in general. Viktor Mikuška sympathised with the haeckelism, seeing in it a new scientific religion, which could replace the old beliefs and dogmas.²⁴ Houdek moreover published the first monograph in Slovak about the origin of life and Earth based on evolutionary theories (compiling and referring predominantly about ideas of Darwin's Evolutionary Theory, Lamarkism, Haeckelism and Social Darwinism of H. Spencer) in 1913. He concluded the book with the chapter promoting ideas of eugenics as a scientific way of improving society in favour of its successful and fortunate future.²⁵

The single chapter of the pamphlet *Moderný názor na život a svet* (Modern opinion on the life and the world) written by Vavro Šrobár was also published in 1913. The introductory chapter named with the title *Viera a veda* (Faith and the science) came into existence in the cooperation with the Slovak social democrats who profiled themselves as a secular and anti-clerical movement.²⁶ It questioned the other key topics a relationship of faith and science. It was discussed especially by those Slovak intellectuals who encountered the ideas of scientism. Due to Šrobár: "Scientific truth is by arguments, experience, reason guaranteed reality. The truth is the truth only when it is verified by scientific critics."²⁷ He rejected authority, what was due to him a condition of faith and believed that science needs no more a faith. However, he accepted the social role of religion, but promoted a form of moral religion without any "not verified" dogmas or without any church organisation.

Such an approach was not acceptable for neotomists, mostly catholic priests, who inclined to the ideas of ultramontanism, catholic worldview led and inspired by the pope teachings. Due to František Jehlička (1879–1939), theologian, later professor at university in Budapest, no

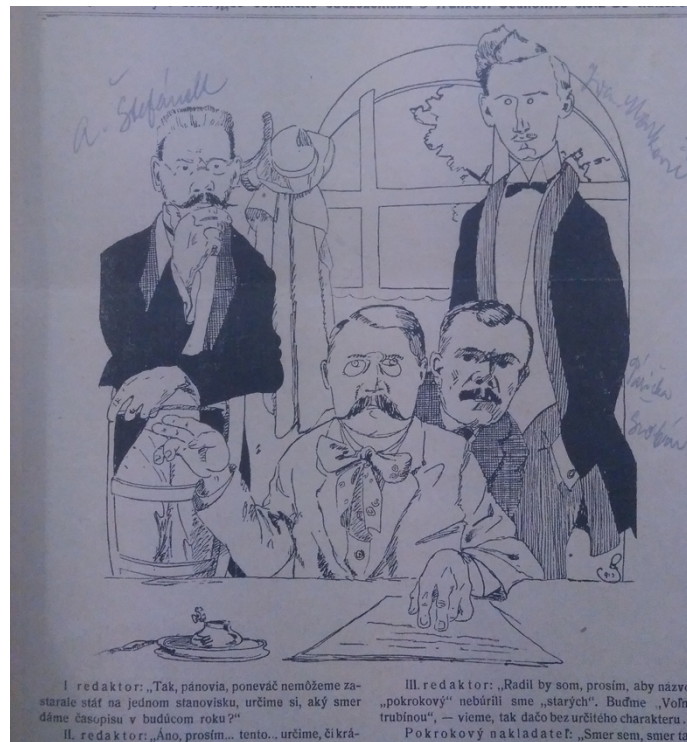
²⁴ Mikuška, Viktor: *Monizmus a veda* [Monism and Science]. In: *Prúdy* 2 (1911) 6, 220-226, here 225.

²⁵ Houdek, Ivan: *Vývin zeme a života* [The Evolution of Earth and Life]. Ružomberok 1913, 225, here 200.

²⁶ Benko, Juraj: *Miesto, funkcia a význam politického katechizmu v slovenskom socialistickom a komunistickom hnutí v prvej štvrtine 20. Storočia* [The Place, Function and Significance of Political Catechism in the Slovak Socialist and Communist Movement in the First Quarter of the 20th Century]. In: Roguľová, Jaroslava/ Hertel, Maroš (eds.): *Adepti moci a úspechu. Etablovanie elít v moderných dejinách* [Adepts of Power and Success. The Establishment of Elites in Modern History]. Bratislava 2016, 337-350, here 348.

²⁷ Šrobár, Vavro: *Moderný názor na život a svet* [A Modern Opinion of the Life and the World]. *Prešporok* 1913, 20, here 7.

science can explain the origin, essence and the sense of the energy, space or time. Only metaphysics can, due to his view. This kind of persuasion was, because of the trends of positivism and scientism in modernist philosophical thinking, quite unacknowledged.²⁸ Also Ján A. Wagner, physicist and actuary, advocated positions of neotomism. He was not a priest; moreover he successfully concluded studies in natural science at the University of Vienna with specialization to astronomy. He believed science has a limited ability to respond all questions regarding matters of life and existence of being. According to him a competence of science is limited to observable natural phenomena. Anton Štefánek (1877–1964), journalist and professor of sociology after 1918, had in regard with limitation of science similar opinions to Wagner; even he stood at the critical position towards neotomism in general, and performed a public polemic²⁹ against F. Jehlička's work *Novoveká filozofia a Slováci* (Modern Philosophy and the Slovaks).³⁰ He was the sympathiser of journal *Hlas*, promotor of evolutionary ideas



A caricature: Contributors and publisher of *Prúdy* (Slovak journal for intellectuals with positive attitude towards modernism, founded in 1909): „I am advising you, please do not irritate „elders“ with the title „progressive“...“ In: *Veselé noviny* 2 (1913) 2, 1.

²⁸ Mészáros: *Dejiny maďarskej* 154.

²⁹ Štefánek, Anton: *Novoveká filozofia a Slováci* [Modern Philosophy and the Slovaks]. In: *Hlas* 5 (1903) 5, 7-8, 9, 10, 11; 141, 198-217, 275-280, 305-310, 340-358.

³⁰ Jehlička, František: *Novoveká filozofia a Slováci* [Modern Philosophy and the Slovaks]. Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1903, 35.

and modern science, but he was also confessed there are spheres where the science has no answers. He identified himself with the Emil du Bois Raymond's "ignorabimus".³¹

My assumption is that the rejection of the scientific theories in discourses of Slovak nationalists was not only a case of rooted traditionalism in explanation of history of nature. It was also a reaction to the instrumentalization of the scientific knowledge present on the modernist's side and practised in favour of protecting own conservative ideal of culture. The conservative strategy of protection present in the periodicals was the scandalisation of science or presentation of arguments on limitation of science methods in learning about all aspects of reality. However, this strategy seems to be primarily adopted as a tool of protection against disruption of the preferred cultural ideal, not against the progress in knowledge of natural science itself.

To summarize, there was a group of individual personalities in the frame of Slovak national movement which systematically approached the science in printed media and reflected it from a wider than just a scientific point of view. Their reception of scientific facts and theories was based on wider context and in the majority of cases their thinking was touching the questions of worldview positions. It was not a heterogeneous group. On the contrary, it was a spectrum of views from the liberal scientism (V. Šrobár), materialism (I. Houdek) and haeckelism (V. Mikuška), to faith and reason balanced worldview (J. A. Wagner, partly also A. Štefánek) and nation-oriented traditionalism and conservatism (S. H. Vajanský). There was present a tendency to support own cultural values, own vision of the social order and national future, to promote own concept of cultural ideal.

Polemical discourse about the science at the platform of Slovak national movement mirrored a background of a wider European crash of values – the conflict of modernism and traditionalism at the second half of the 19th century. It was demonstrated by the mobilization themes and by the ways of argumentation used in the Slovak intellectual discourse which were not specifically local but transferred all around the continent (idea of progress, materialism, faith and science relationship). Those groups of intellectuals who accepted evolutionary idea as a principle of human culture were keener to be open to implications of scientific theories in worldview concepts. Intellectuals who prioritised tradition were sceptic or dismissive to the

³¹ Slovak National Archive Bratislava, Collection Anton Štefánek, sign. 342 – 343, box 10.

new ideas coming from the field of science. They tried to avoid ethical, cultural or worldview implications coming hand in hand with scientific theories. To sum up, acceptance of the evolutionary idea opened the space for the new ideological impulses also in the context of the nationalistic discourse about culture and worldview.