

The Moravian Pact of 1905: A Model Solution to Ethnic Conflict, or a Way to Deepen Ethnic Conflict in Multi-Ethnic Towns? A Case Study of Olomouc¹

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In our² research, we have been dealing with Czech-German interactions and confrontations in modernizing Moravia for a long time. Whether we examined the formation of the intelligentsia,³ the role of municipal government,⁴ national statistics in the Bohemian Lands between 1880 and 1930,⁵ or the transformation of the countryside,⁶ a national partitioning of society was always evident in the sources. At the turn of the twentieth century, the vocational organisations of the intelligentsia split into Czech and German parts; in 1905, the Moravian Medical Chamber was divided into Czech and German sections.⁷ In the municipal government, clashes between political parties were overshadowed by a struggle between Czechs and Germans. From 1880, the decennial census polled “the language of daily use,” which national activists interpreted as synonymous with nationality, and thus as an indicator of each nation’s size.

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³ Andrea Pokludová, *Formování inteligence na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1857–1910* (Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum, 2008).

⁴ Pavel Kladiwa, Andrea Pokludová and Renata Kafková, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914. II. díl, 1. svazek, Muži z radnice* (Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity, 2008).

⁵ Pavel Kladiwa et al., *Národnostní statistika v českých zemích 1880–1930: mechanismy, problémy a důsledky národnostní klasifikace. I and II volume* (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2016).

⁶ Pavel Kladiwa et al., *Čas změny: Moravský a slezský venkov od zrušení poddanství po Velkou válku* (Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2021).

⁷ *Moravská Orlice*, 8 September 1905, 2.

Our interest in the Moravian Pact⁸ stemmed primarily from the above-mentioned surveyed topics, which we had always dealt with using comparative approaches of historical sciences. The Moravian Pact is not a so-called research gap in historical sciences, but its implementation in the social practice of Moravian cities has not yet been investigated. We carried out the research on the six most populous municipalities in Moravia with a linguistic minority of at least 10% (based on census data concerning the language of daily use), i.e. Brno/Brünn (the land capital – South Moravia), Olomouc/Olmütz (administrative centre – Central Moravia), Znojmo/ Znaim (administrative centre of the agrarian region – South Moravia), Jihlava/Iglau (administrative centre of the German language enclave on the Bohemian-Moravian land border), Moravská Ostrava/Mährisch Ostrau and Vítkovice/Witkowitz (industrial towns – North Moravia). In historical memory, these towns had become the symbol of the Czech-German conflict coexistence in numerous spheres of everyday life. The aim of the study is to outline the implementation of the legislative package of reforms known as the Moravian Pact on everyday life in Olomouc. The choice of Olomouc arises from the specific position of the town within the surveyed set of towns [for example, as an alternative centre of Czech politics in Moravia] and previous research, which also allows us to interpret the issue in its context.

⁸ The Moravian Pact consisted of four statutes adopted by the Diet based on a compromise between Czech, German and landowners deputies: 1. a reorganisation of the Provincial Diet and the Provincial Committee, 2. a new, nationally partitioned electoral system for the Provincial Diet, 3. new rules on public use of both languages of the land (lex Parma), and 4. the partitioning of educational authorities according to a national key and rules on the establishment of schools and school attendance (lex Perek). [Lex Perek included the division of the school boards of all levels (local, district, provincial) into Czech and German (under the last paragraph of Section 8, the representatives of the municipality in both local school boards had to be of the corresponding nationality) and, in particular, the introduction of the principle that a child generally attended a school in whose language of instruction it was proficient]. It was signed by the sovereign on 27 November 1905, but not promulgated until 1906. For a summary of the issue, see Lukáš Fasora, Jiří Hanuš, and Jiří Mališ, eds., *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905 – možnosti a limity národnostního smíru ve střední Evropě: sborník příspěvků ze stejnojmenné mezinárodní konference konané ve dnech 10.–11. listopadu 2005 v Brně* (Brno: Matice moravská pro Výzkumné středisko pro dějiny střední Evropy: prameny, země, kultura, 2006); Pavel Marek, “K moravským smírovačkám z let 1898–1905,” *Časopis Matice moravské* 111, no. 1 (1992): 75–92; Jiří Mališ, “Der Mährische Ausgleich – ein Vorbild für die Lösung der Nationalitätenfragen?,” in *Kontakte und Konflikte. Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich. Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte*, ed. Thomas Winkelbauer (Waidhofen an der Thaya: Horn: Waldviertler Heimatbund, 1993), 337–345; Jiří Němec, “Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905. Ein Muster zur Lösung der multiethnischen Ordnung der Gesellschaft?,” in *„Ausgleich“ als Basis für Verständigung und Versöhnung: zum Beitrag der Historiker für eine integrative Erinnerungskultur*, ed. Rainer Bendel (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2020), 19–32.

Did the Moravian Pact have an impact on a nationally divided Olomouc? If so, in which spheres of activity? To what extent was the Moravian Pact implementable in education, which had been shaped by fights over schools and children since the 1870s? Did the municipality implement *lex Parma*? Did the Diet electoral reform have an impact on local politics? Did the Moravian Pact promote national reconciliation in the town, or did its legal anchoring of who was nationally who deepen the economic and cultural partitioning of the population?

In the mid-nineteenth century, Olomouc was a fortress town and the administrative centre of the Haná, an agrarian region. With the reorganisation of the state administration, Olomouc was included among the statutory towns. The status of the statutory town played a specific role in the establishment of the German district school board and the Czech school board within the implementation of *lex Perek*. A provisional status was granted to the town on 6 September 1850; the new status was issued on 24 January 1866.⁹ Apart from a District Administrative Office, or branch office of Imperial Austria's "political administration," the town housed a District Court and Public Prosecutor's Office. As a major railway hub, Olomouc also gained a Directorate of State Railways in the mid-1890s. Additional authorities and institutions included the Chamber of Commerce and Trade, the Trade Inspectorate and an office of the Forest Service.

The seat of the archbishopric and of the archbishop's consistory, Olomouc was also for a long period of time the only town in Moravia with a university. Its four faculties trained lawyers, medical doctors, doctors of philosophy and priests.¹⁰ Between 1848 and 1860, the university was pared of faculties until only the archbishop's seminary remained. Primary and secondary education also developed in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹ A modern network of secondary education developed on these foundations in Olomouc during the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the loss of the university, Olomouc became a significant educational and cultural hub, as well as a centre for newspapers, a museum, and associations—both Czech and German.

In the late 1860s, with fifteen thousand inhabitants, Olomouc was the tenth most populous town in the Bohemian Lands. By 1910, the civilian population had increased to 19,268. Specific pull and push factors shaped migration. The

⁹ Selected sections of the statute were amended in 1868, 1883 and 1890.

¹⁰ Řehoř Tomáš Volný and Albin Heinrich, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren, topographisch, statistisch und historisch geschildert*. V. Band, *Olmützer Kreis* (Brünn: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1839), 65.

¹¹ *Provinzial-Handbuch für Mähren und Schlesien für das Jahr 1845* (Brünn: Franz Gastl, 1845), 196.

town was seen as a good home for the families of retired military officers and civil servants. Dozens of officials and technical experts moved to Olomouc after the Directorate of State Railways was established there. The demolition of the fortress and the development of housing development spurred construction, transport and the tertiary sector. The town retained its administrative functions and role as a centre of regional trade.¹²

Olomouc was, like most towns in Moravia, a locality with an ethnically¹³ heterogeneous population. The ethnic composition of the population in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century can be outlined based on the records of the language of daily use, and even this was influenced in the town by the actions of the Czech and German national activists. Specifically, in 1890, 10,655 inhabitants claimed the German language of daily use, 4,915 the Czech one, 59 the Polish one, and 11 a different one. By 1900, the number of inhabitants claiming the German language of daily use had increased to 12,339 and the Czech one to 5,295, while the number of those claiming the Polish language of daily use had dropped to 39 and a different language to 5. In 1910, the number of people claiming the German language of daily use decreased to 12,156, and those claiming the Czech language of daily use increased to 6,746. The number of Polish-speaking inhabitants increased to 44 and the number of those speaking a different language to 10. The census did not take into account the traditional bilingualism of populations in mixed-language regions. Much of the town's population was actively or passively bilingual.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Olomouc was a city with an exclusively Catholic population. In 1857, only two residents of the Jewish faith lived in the city. Migration changed the religious composition of the population. By 1869, 747 Jews resided in Olomouc. Their number increased to 1,633 in 1910, i.e. 8.5% of the city's civilian population. They largely identified themselves with the German-speaking population of the town. In municipal elections, they represented one of the pillars of the German liberal municipal government. Another pillar was the city's population of German ethnicity or people identifying with the concept of political and cultural Germanness.

¹² *Der statistisches Jahrbuch der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz V. Band 1905–1910* (Olmütz: Verlag des Gemeinderates, 1911), 533.

¹³ In 1890, of the 307 Moravian towns, only 50 had an exclusively Czech and 36 an exclusively German population. The population of the other 221 towns was more or less nationally mixed. Jiří Malíř, "Nacionalizace obecní samosprávy a limity demokratizace komunální politiky před rokem 1914 na příkladu Moravy," in *Mezi liberalismem a totalitou: komunální politika ve středoevropských zemích 1848–1918. Sborník příspěvků z konference Archivu hlavního města Prahy 1994*, ed. Jiří Malíř (Prague: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 1997), 77.

In municipal politics, the era of cooperation between Germans and Czechs came to an end in the 1870s, when Czechs pushed to establish a public school and a municipal policy of language equality. In the 1880s, national activists began to create barriers between the two nationalities. The town's German leaders worked to create a German Olomouc, exploiting a municipal statute and electoral order that endowed the town with considerable powers and denied the vote to a large majority of the population. Czech activists made capturing this "German bastion" of the region a central goal. By the turn of the twentieth century, recurring and escalating Czech-German clashes characterised politics, the economy and culture.¹⁴ The press, both German and Czech, contributed to conflict with less than objective reporting. German newspapers of all political persuasions promoted an almost pathological fear in readers of the Czech population. Czech journalists foresaw radical change.

National conflict in Olomouc mirrored national conflict across Moravia. Elected representatives transposed local conflicts to the provincial parliament, or Diet, and vice-versa. Negotiations for a Czech-German settlement commenced in 1898. The Olomouc lawyer, Jan Žáček, submitted the Czech demands: revision of the provincial constitution and electoral code so as to accord equal rights to both nationalities, introduction of municipal government at the district level, implementation of full language equality in public life, establishment of a Czech university and polytechnic institute, adoption of legislation governing the establishment and financing of minority schools, as well as the principle that children had to attend primary and secondary schools whose language of instruction they already knew. Diet deputies Adolf Promber and Rudolf Rohrer submitted a German counterproposal centred on the introduction of national curias,¹⁵ revision of Moravia's electoral code, national partitioning of school boards at the district and crownland levels, funding of minority schools from the crownland budget, and establishment of a German university. Both proposals were assigned to a Diet Settlement Committee.¹⁶ Complex settlement negotiations commenced, and it can be said that the local conflicts were one of the factors making it difficult to find a consensus.

¹⁴ Andrea Pokludová, "Olomouc," in *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914. Volume 2, part 1, Muži z radnice*, Pavel Kladiwa, Andrea Pokludová and Renata Kafková (Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity, 2008), 225–330.

¹⁵ Both nations would be guaranteed the election of a fixed number of mandates with this electoral system.

¹⁶ Alfred Fischel, *Die mährischen Ausgleichsgesetze* (Brünn: R.M. Rohrer, 1910), 18; Alfred Skene, *Der nationale Ausgleich in Mähren 1905* (Wien: Carl Konegen, 1910), 18–20. By Provincial Act No. 16 of 18 February 1898, the Committee was declared permanent.

The escalation of the Czech-German relations in Olomouc is connected with the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of František Palacký (1898) in Holic. ¹⁷ When the Czech company was returning from Holic to Olomouc in the evening, they were attacked in the dimly lit streets of the town by groups of German youngsters shouting "Heil!". Singing Pan-German songs, they started shoving the passing Czech inhabitants. The atmosphere in the streets thickened. The physical insults ended with the intervention of the police. ¹⁸ For several days, skirmishes took place in the streets with the intervention of armed forces. ¹⁹ Tension in the town was growing. The days of unease culminated with the assault of a group of Czechs in a park, at which the attackers shouted "das ist die böhmische Pakaž". The Czechs were joined by passing Czech workers and the Germans by the municipal police who were called in and who drew their sabres during the intervention. ²⁰ Czech real estate, such as Czech schools, was a repeated target of attacks by German youth. ²¹

Street fights between Czech and German males became relatively common in the early twentieth century. A march of Sokols (Falcon - the nationalist gymnastic organisation) through Olomouc on 9 September 1901, banned by the German mayor but permitted after a Czech appeal by Moravia's governor, ended with violence and intervention by the army. ²² In 1905, German youngsters smashed roughly 50 windows of a Czech school for girls. The town police averted an attack on the German National House. A Czech demonstration for universal suffrage on 28 November 1905 also ended in bloodshed; ²³ workers and sympathizers of social democracy participated in large numbers for the first time in a demonstration called by Czech activists. Outbreaks of mutual clashes occurred in several places in the town, such as in Maurice Square,

¹⁷ Andrea Pokludová, "Olomouc," in *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914. Volume 2, part 1, Muži z radnice*, Pavel Kladiwa, Andrea Pokludová and Renata Kafková (Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity, 2008), 320–322.

¹⁸ "Hold Palackému," *Pozor*, July 5, 1898.

¹⁹ "Opětná provokace olomoucké policie;" "Jak surově chovají se olomoučtí policisté;" "Události v Olomouci," *Pozor*, 9 July 1898.

²⁰ *Der Statistischen Jahrbücher der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz III. Band. (1896–1899)* (Olmütz: Gemeinderath, 1898), 64; "Oběti německé provokace," *Pozor*, August 2, 1898. According to the investigation, neither Olomouc Germans nor Olomouc Czechs, but undefined foreigners. Uncovering who was the real provocateur, from the few sources we have, is impossible.

²¹ Kladiwa, Pokludová and Kafková, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914*, 222.

²² *Der Statistischen Jahrbücher der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz IV. Band 1900–1904* (Olmütz: Gemeinderath, 1901), 33–35.

²³ "Demonstrace v Olomouci," *Pozor*, 29 November 1905, 4.

where the 'people' fought back by hurling bricks and stones prepared for the repair of the Church of Saint Maurice. The confrontation had judicial repercussions and 19 people were found guilty and convicted.²⁴

What affected the microcosm of the small-town society more deeply than clashes in the streets was economic nationalism, namely mutual Czech and German boycotts of trade and services under the slogans "Each to His Own [Svůj k svému]" and "Germans to Germans". In the mid-1890s, the *Club of Czech Merchants and Tradesmen in Olomouc*, supported by the *National Union for East Moravia* a national defence association, stood behind an initial boycott of German stores.²⁵ As Czech customers began to buy from a growing number of Czech merchants and traders, the loss of the Czech buying power soon became apparent in the circles of German retailers and traders. The first year of the town tram's service was also boycotted, due to the exclusive use of the German language.²⁶ A reaction from the German side to the Czech boycott was not long in coming. In 1901, a list of Czech companies in Olomouc was issued, with the advice that Germans not patronise them. The publication of the list had become the subject of interpellation of Czech deputies in the Imperial Council.²⁷ Ten years later, the German deputy Rudolf Sommer interpellated the Interior Minister in the matter of the boycott of German merchants in Olomouc by the Czech population.²⁸

How did boycotts affect everyday life? Those who had, from the point of view of the national activists, broken faith with the boycott were harshly criticised on the pages of the Czech press.²⁹ The wives of German municipal politicians were not spared similar rebukes.³⁰ Apart from purchases and the use of services, other private matters also came under the scrutiny of Czech and German activists. For German leaders, every building transferred from German to Czech ownership was a blow.³¹ The municipal government, break-

²⁴ Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života. Volume 3: Olomouc od r. 1896–1918. Part 2* (Olomouc: R. Fischer, 1937), 110–111.

²⁵ Kladiwa, Pokludová and Kafková, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914*, 323–327.

²⁶ Fischer, *Cesta mého života. Volume 3: Olomouc od r. 1896–1918*, 229.

²⁷ Richard Fischer, *České školství a Matice školská v Olomouci od r. 1872–1918, Volume 1* (Olomouc: Nákladem Fondu dr. Jana Ošťádalů při Matici školské, 1937), 100.

²⁸ "Věci Olomoucké," *Pozor*, 17 May 1910. The interpellations were published in the supplement of the daily *Mährisches Tagblatt*.

²⁹ "Ach, ty naše dámy," *Pozor*, 4 July 1910.

³⁰ Fischer, *Cesta mého života. Volume 3: Olomouc od r. 1896–1918*, 103.

³¹ "Z tábora německého," *Pozor*, September 28, 1912. "There is quite an alarm in the German camp that, in recent times, a greater number of houses have once again passed from German

ing with liberal, free-market principles, tried to outbid Czechs. If a Czech succeeded in buying a building from a German, German newspapers condemned the seller.³² Not only the private and professional lives of men with power came under public scrutiny, but the doings of non-elites as well. The Moravian Pact had no impact on national boycotts in Olomouc. From the economic aspect, the boycott had a negative effect on the market economy.

In language-mixed towns, education figured as a national battlefield. According to Jeremy King: Majority rule combined with undemocratic electoral codes and national competition to undermine the increasingly important principle of national equality of rights in the field of German and Czech-language public education.³³ It was one of the key conflict zones between Germans and Czechs. Regarding the establishment of every Czech school (except the imperial-royal Slavic grammar school), there were fierce discussions at town council meetings, which resulted in unequivocal rejection. Czech schools were rejected as attacks on the German character of the town. The council also discussed the necessary steps that had to be taken in the event that the Czech side filed a recourse to higher instances against the rejecting stance of the municipal government. Petitions, resolutions and deputations were consequently sent on behalf of the municipal government to the highest instances in the land, to the government and to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education in Vienna.³⁴ The petitions usually justified the municipal government's rejecting stance, while recommending that if the establishment of a Czech school was indeed approved by the higher instances, it should at least not be granted subsidies for running and for the construction of school buildings. Deputies were also approached to interpellate the corresponding higher places in the matter of Czech schools not being established. If the steps taken did not result in a successful negotiation, i.e. failure to approve the establishment of a Czech school, numerous obstructions were carried out at the self-government level. These had the sole purpose of preventing the development of the school by the most diverse means, as was the case, for example, with the establishment of a public primary school with Czech as the language of instruction in 1884,

to Czech hands. The German National Council has issued an appeal to German houseowners to notify them before they sell their house to Czechs."

³² "Im tschechischen Besitz," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 16 June 1910; "Im tschechischen Besitz," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, June 17, 1910.

³³ Jeremy King, "Who Is Who? Group Rights in Liberal Austria and the Dilemma of Classificatory Procedure," accessed 12 December 4, <https://is.muni.cz/el/1421/jaro2009/HIB0387/KingWhoisWho.pdf>.

³⁴ Protest against the establishment of a Czech Business Academy in Olomouc in 1912, container 560, Registry 2, Olomouc City Archives, State District Archive in Olomouc.

as well as a *Realschule*³⁵ opened in 1902.³⁶ For over a decade, the municipal government disputes with the school authorities dragged on over the construction of school buildings for Czech schools which officials found to be using inadequate premises. Neither of the above-mentioned Czech schools moved into a new building before the Great War, although, in the case of the *Realschule*, at least the preparation of the building documentation as well as the start of the construction had already taken place as a result of the pressure caused by the decrees of the Administrative Court of Justice and other authorities.

The topic of the fight for children is known in historiography thanks to the work of Tara Zahra.³⁷ In the case of Olomouc, a single child could tip the scales in favour of establishing or expanding a Czech primary school. Clashes over enrolment took place between the *National Union for North-east Moravia* (founded in 1885) and the municipal government from the beginning of the Czech public school. The municipal government strictly checked the age of the enrolled children, and if a child under six years of age was enrolled, it questioned the child's ability to attend school.³⁸ The children's residence was checked, i.e. whether it was not a calculated enrolment of children aimed to establish a parallel or higher class when the legal number of pupils was acquired. From the municipal government's side, pressure was exerted on the – in the period concept – dependent legal legislators of the children, i.e. individuals working in the service of the municipality, needing some kind of permit from the municipality, such as for selling on the market, or receiving municipal welfare benefits. This pressure also applied to parents employed by employers sympathising with the activities of the town council or living in

³⁵ Realschulen were two- to three-year schools with classic day lessons and a diverse curriculum and purpose. Some of them served as preparatory schools for studies at polytechnic schools.

³⁶ Fischer, *České školství a Matice školská v Olomouci od r. 1872–1918*, 126–160. The establishment of a Czech *Realschule* was being negotiated from 1868. The Ministry of Cult and Education permitted its establishment as a private school on 26 July 1902; this was followed by the usual process of transforming the school into a public school.

³⁷ Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

³⁸ Decree no. 12085 on Dr. Žáček's complaint to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education regarding the expansion of the school from three to four classes. With 245 pupils, three classes are overcrowded, 4 July 1889; Decree no. 8736, 13 March 1903; Decree no. 8326, 27 March 1897; Decree no. 9518, 24 March 1891; Decree no. 7768 on the attendance of the Czech school by children about whom the municipality stated that they lived in the register of the municipality only to attend a Czech school, i.e. in its interpretation to artificially increase the number of Czech pupils, 16 April 1890, sign. 18 A, container U2 5235 and 5262, Unterrichts Allgemein 1848–1940, Austrian State Archives; Provincial School Board, inv. no. 222-8317, 258-4378, 270-8359, 271-15675, Moravian Provincial Archives, AVA.

German owners' rental houses. It should be noted at this point, however, that, in the early twentieth century, even Czech activists from the *National Union for North-east Moravia* left the stage of spreading enlightenment for the Czech school and used similar pressure methods to the town council. They addressed, for example, a trader in writing that, as a "well-known Czech", he would surely enrol his child in a Czech school, and if he did not, he was threatened with economic boycott.³⁹ The pressure on individuals to identify with either the Czech or German society in the town was enormous in numerous spheres of everyday life, i.e. from economic activities to censuses and school enrolments to politics, i.e. namely elections.

Elections to representative bodies, like national street violence, boycotts, and struggles over schools, provide enough material for entire books.⁴⁰ The municipal electoral order in Olomouc divided voters into three electorates on the basis of direct tax brackets. From this narrow electorate of property owners, merchants, traders, officials, burghers, and the educated, came the municipal government of the town. Already in the 1870s, the municipal government of Olomouc proclaimed itself to be German. Defending the German character of the town was one of the programme's priorities. Causally, it was related to the presentation of the demands of the local Czech politicians, i.e. the development of education, language equality and participation in self-government. In the 1876 municipal elections, a conservative German electoral grouping ceded five places on the candidate list to the Czech party for supporting its candidates.⁴¹ This provoked a fanatical reaction from the town council, which is best captured by its proclamation to the voters: "Our town is in danger of losing its German representatives ... What will happen if they are in it one day and turn out to be complete Czechs; they will bring national disputes into the municipal hall, and they will want proposals to be submitted in German and in Czech in a German town. They will impose a useless national school on the town, and for equality to be satisfied, they will demand that our theatre play once in German and once in Czech."⁴² The German 'parties' came to an agreement at the last moment, thereby excluding the Czech candidates from the fight for council seats. Under the given constellation of political forces and the prevailing stereotypical behaviour across German society about preserving

³⁹ "Hostinský Šlégr u Města Prahy na Úřední čtvrti teprve teď objevil se v plné nahotě jako národní zrádce," *Pozor*, January 15, 1905.

⁴⁰ Kladiwa, Pokludová and Kafková, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914*, 240–286.

⁴¹ "Doplňovací volby do obecního zastupitelstva," *Našinec*, October 11, 1876.

⁴² "K volbám obecním v Olomouci," *Našinec*, 8 October 1876.

the German character, they could not succeed in the election. Czech politicians boycotted municipal elections. They retained this stance throughout the entire turn of the twentieth century.⁴³ They criticised the municipal government for clinging to an electoral system that artificially kept it in power.

In the early twentieth century, not only municipal elections, but municipal politics as a whole was dominated by German defence nationalism. With the generational exchange in the ranks of the Czech political leaders, with the increase of the Czech population in the town across the social stratification, with the creation of Olomouc as the centre of Czech politics for the agrarian Haná, with the emancipation of the Czech food industry intertwined with Olomouc's Czech lawyers, the local conflict had escalated not only in the economic and cultural spheres, represented specifically by education, but also in politics. The political programme of the incoming Czech political representation was published under the title *The Fight for Olomouc* [Boj o Olomouc] in the spring of 1901 by JUDr. Richard Fischer. The memorandum contained eight demands, the meeting of which Fischer considered a potential route to political reconciliation between the Czech and German political representations:

1. granting us, Czechs, representation in the municipal council of the City of Olomouc that would correspond to our numerical and cultural strength;
2. expanding the Czech school in Olomouc, dividing it into institutions for boys and for girls, and establishing a municipal school;
3. the municipality not resisting the establishment of a Czech Realschule here;
4. the municipality not resisting our demand for establishing a Czech university in Olomouc;
5. the municipality issuing all its decrees also in the Czech language;
6. the municipality putting up the same Czech signs next to the German ones in tram transport;
7. after the end of the season, the municipality lending the city theatre, without any defects, to the National Theatre company in Brno for Czech plays;
8. the municipality ceasing to constantly bully and persecute Czech traders and sole traders and treating them, especially in market matters and the awarding of concessions, as impartially and fairly as German sole traders and traders.

The statement ended with the uncompromising stance of the young politician, namely: "The Germans in Olomouc have their fate in their own hands.

⁴³ "Wahl-Versammlung," *Die Neue Zeit*, 6 October 1894.

Let them decide about it for themselves. Let them meet these fair and justified demands of ours; then in one instant there will be full agreement, peace and quiet in the city, and we Czechs, together with the Germans, will work towards the development, strength and glory of this old and famous city. If not, then with the strong support and help of our brotherly countryside, we Czechs will continue our fight to completely starve the German shops and businesses in Olomouc until the entire Germanness of the City of Olomouc is lying completely in the dust. There can be no other reconciliation between us.”⁴⁴ The daily *Neue Zeit*, the press organ of the German party in the town hall, brushed the demands aside.⁴⁵

From the official agenda of the Municipality of Olomouc, the German and Czech press, associational agenda and the memoirs of prominent figures, I concluded in previous research that the gap between local Czech and German leaders was immense and difficult to overcome by political negotiations. In many ways, it was projected into provincial politics. After resigning on municipal politics, the leaders of the Czech political parties ran for and were elected provincial deputies. This was not, however, for the electoral district of the town of Olomouc, as here they had no chance of succeeding,⁴⁶ but for urban or rural electoral groups. They ran in those electoral districts where they were involved in economic associations.

Out of these deputies one should name, for example, JUDr. Jan Žáček, the submitter of the Czech demands at the Land Diet in 1898. He was a politician who, due to his knowledge of the situation in Olomouc, was sceptical about a reconciliation taking place. Therefore, after years of negotiations, the Moravian Pact was concluded in an escalated situation in the autumn of 1905. If it was deemed “model and worthy of following” by the government, it did not receive such an assessment on the pages of Olomouc’s *Pozor*. As part of the street riots, JUDr. Jan Žáček’s office in Olomouc was also attacked. Conservative, Old Czech, politicians viewed the negotiated Moravian Pact positively. An entirely opposite stance was taken, however, by the sympathisers of the progressive party with JUDr. Richard Fischer⁴⁷ at the head and the Social

⁴⁴ *Pozor*, 16 March 1901, 1.

⁴⁵ *Die Neue Zeit*, 17 March 1901, 6.

⁴⁶ As in the municipal elections, in the provincial elections the Czech voters resigned on exercising the right to vote. *Moravská orlice*, 31 October 1896, 3.

⁴⁷ Andrea Pokludová, “The Stances of JUDr. Richard Fischer on the Moravian Pact: The Limits of Civil Rights and Liberties in Dealing with the National Issues in Moravia on the Eve of the Great War,” in *Ne-svoboda, despotie a totalitarismus v kultuře a kulturních dějinách*, ed. Radovan Vlček (Prague: Česká společnost pro slavistická, balkanistická a byzantologická studia, z.s., 2021), 95–111.

Democratic workmen. The failure to introduce equal suffrage was seen as a betrayal of the workers. Weaknesses were found in Perek's Act.⁴⁸ Moreover, the opinion among the Czech activists was that, with the current development in Moravia, the political situation would turn in favour of the Czechs even without a reconciliation. This thesis was based, among other things, on the result of the by-election to the Imperial Council in the electoral district of Olomouc-Prostějov-Německý Brodek, in which a Czech candidate succeeded for the first time as a result of the economic emancipation of the region's Czech population.⁴⁹

From a general level, let us return to Olomouc, to a situation where the society of the town, getting rid of its fortress shell, was divided by national activists into 'us' and 'them'. What was going to happen in its social practice after the conclusion of the Moravian Pact in which the mayor of the town, Brandhuber, spoke for Germans and Žáček for Czechs? Shortly after the enactment of the Moravian Pact, attention turned to the elections to the Diet, now with so-called national curiae, i.e. separate Czech and German voter electorates. National registries of voters, Czech and German, were created. As with lex Perek, other nationalities were small in Moravia.

In Olomouc, compiling the national registries generated conflict. In early May of 1906, the Czech daily *Pozor* published criticism, a loose continuation of its condemnation of the Moravian Pact.⁵⁰ According to the newspaper, there should have been about 2,700 voters in the Czech electoral registry in Olomouc, but the numbers fell short. The *Mährisches Tagblatt*, a German liberal newspaper,⁵¹ responded with the claim that Czech agitators had been collecting proxy powers in order to challenge the national belonging of men in the German registry. Soon accusations followed of Czech terrorism. Activists threatened to boycott voters who they believed should be in the Czech registry.⁵²

⁴⁸ Lex Perek brought about a general adjustment of the educational situation in Moravia. This included the division of the school boards of all levels (local, district, provincial) into Czech and German (under the last paragraph of Section 8, the representatives of the municipality in both local school boards had to be of the corresponding nationality) and, in particular, the introduction of the principle that a child generally attended a school in whose language of instruction it was proficient.

⁴⁹ "Volební ruch," *Lidové noviny*, 19 March 1897.

⁵⁰ "Moravské věci," *Pozor*, 9 May 1906.

⁵¹ "Tschechische Katasterumstriesse," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 11 May 1906, 6.

⁵² "Terrorismus," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 12 May 1906, 4; "Reklamationschwindel," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 18 May 1906.

In the first phase of corrections to the electoral registries, Czech leaders succeeded in challenging the national belonging of 273 voters registered as Germans.⁵³ In an article entitled *National Registers in the Olomouc Region*, Pozor again stated its opposition to national registries.⁵⁴ After the corrections were made, voters in the German registry numbered 3,212 and voters in the Czech one 1,353 instead of the original 972. Most of the Czech challenges were rejected.⁵⁵ Fischer led the Czech correction effort.⁵⁶ As a leading national activist, he had lists from school enrolments and from a private census. Who was a conscious Czech, and who was nationally ambivalent? Who sided with Germans as a consequence of assimilation, and who under duress and due to poverty?⁵⁷ In the run-up to the diet elections in 1913, large-scale challenging of national belonging was not repeated. By then, voters had been divided nationally several times, not only for diet elections but also for elections to the Imperial Council.

After the diet elections in 1906, *Mährisches Tagblatt* assessed the national registries positively. The new electoral system, it concluded, had eliminated German-Czech conflict from campaigning.⁵⁸ The claim seems valid. National conflict continued, however, in the diet. The German press commented on the election in the German electoral district, i.e. the re-election of the Mayor of Olomouc, Brandhuber. The Czech one was interested in the party fight for a mandate in the electoral district of towns 'represented' by Olomouc, which was not a separate Czech electoral district, although it was thus presented due to its importance on the Czech political scene. An uncompromising fight broke out over the mandate, which was a typical phenomenon for the fracturing of the Czech political scene, not only for the provincial but also for the Imperial elections.⁵⁹ This election struggle was exceptionally noticed by the press body of the Olomouc German liberals, which, after the elections, gave a posi-

⁵³ *Pozor*, 21 May 1906.

⁵⁴ *Pozor*, 27 May 1906.

⁵⁵ *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 12 July 1906; "Der nationale Kataster," *Pozor*, 12 July 1906.

⁵⁶ Provincial elections 1906 – 2B National registers, Registry M1–1, Olomouc City Archives, State District Archive in Olomouc; Richard Fischer's estate, State District Archive in Olomouc. He assumed that the lists could also be the basis for children's school enrolments.

⁵⁷ Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života. Volume 4, Pokroková Morava 1893–1918. Part 2* (Prague: Cesta 1937), 371. In 1912, from his position as a Land Diet deputy, he proposed, in the newly approved Settlement Committee, to discuss even the elimination of pressure during entries into the registers: "And the protection of dependent Czech people when imparting the national register must also be ensured".

⁵⁸ *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 5 December 1906, 3.

⁵⁹ *Moravská orlice*, 1 December 1906; *Moravská orlice*, 1 December 1906, 3.

tive assessment of the election of JUDr. Richard Fischer. Loosely translated, the paper said: While JUDr. R. Fischer, running for the progressive party, is our opponent [author's note: meaning in the national struggle], he defeated a cleric, a common enemy.⁶⁰

National curiae did eliminate a conflict zone between Olomouc's Czechs and Germans in elections. The Czech parties boycotted municipal elections, as opposed to diet ones, because they saw no advantage to constituting a minority on the municipal council, and had no hope of constituting a majority. Czech leaders criticised the municipal electoral system as antiquated and undemocratic.⁶¹ Germans defended the system from a national point of view, seeing it as the best weapon and the best defence against Czechs.⁶² Czechs called for proportional representation and for other reforms of the municipal electoral system, not only in Olomouc. "Especially in Brno and Olomouc," commented Fischer in 1912, "a change has to take place if some kind of *modus vivendi* of both nationalities is to occur."⁶³

Let us now turn our attention to the conflict area of Olomouc education in relation to the implementation of *lex Perek*. Before 1905, through activities related to school enrolment, the census, economic boycotts, associational activities, and preparations for reclaiming the national registers, Czech activists had mapped out who was who in Olomouc. To quote from the minutes of a meeting of the School Matice on 27 April 1906, "the names of those persons in Olomouc and its surroundings were read out who had not yet been kind enough to become members of the School Matice in Olomouc and support our Realschule, extension schools, and nursery schools maintained by the School Matice. It has been noted with gratitude that, with very few exceptions, the entire Czech society in Olomouc and its surroundings conscientiously supports the School Matice and all the schools maintained by it."⁶⁴ The implementation of *lex Perek*⁶⁵, not least by means of a decree by the Minister of Religious Af-

⁶⁰ "Die Landtagswahlen," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 30 November 1906.

⁶¹ "Obecní volby v Olomouci," *Pozor*, 6 August 1910.

⁶² "Die Olmützer Gemeidewahlordnung," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 31 May 1910; "Unsere Gemeidewahlordnung," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 8 June 1910.

⁶³ Fischer, *Cesta mého života. Volume 4, Pokroková Morava 1893–1918*, 371.

⁶⁴ Fischer, *České školství a Matice školská v Olomouci od r. 1872–1918*, 274.

⁶⁵ The Moravian Compromise divided school boards nationally. Until the autumn of 1907, a district school board was active in the city, chaired by the mayor of the city, and Czech education was represented in it by one of the pedagogues of Czech schools. In September 1907, in accordance with *lex Perek*, a German district school board for German schools and a Czech school board for Czech schools were established. Since it was a statutory city, by law the mayor of the city, i.e. the German liberal Brandhuber, was the chairman of both school boards. Personalities of

fairs and Education, a German Liberal named Marchet,⁶⁶ reinforced the criticism of Czechs. Perek's Act, which entered into force on 1 July 1906, stated in the key second paragraph of Section 20 that "In die Volksschule dürfen in der Regel nur Kinder aufgenommen werden, welche der Unterrichtssprache mächtig sind." (As a rule, only children proficient in the language of instruction can be admitted to a *Volksschule*). The term "as a rule" (in der Regel) signalled that exceptions would be allowed, but these were not exhaustively defined. The word 'proficient' (mächtig) was ambiguous, with no breakdown of what it meant more specifically. The main goal of Perek's efforts, i.e. to put an end to the denationalisation of children, could not be fulfilled. Czech children enrolled in German schools were reclaimed for not being proficient in the language of instruction. This concerned no more than a few dozen children. On 17 December 1907, the Czech District School Board in Olomouc submitted an appeal to the provincial school board to reclaim 22 children who did not know the German language in German schools, in response to the negative opinion of the German district school board in Olomouc. On 25 November 1907, the claim of 22 children was rejected, referring to the wording of the lex Perek and § 3 of Marchet's Regulation. Among other things, the answer mentioned that only children who know the German language at such a level that they are able to follow the lessons are admitted to Olomouc German schools. By the decree of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education of 12 December 1908, the Czech recourse was rejected. It follows from the reasoning that all the children were enrolled in schools in accordance with § 3 of Marchet's Re-

Czech political and cultural life were appointed to the Czech school board, such as JUDr. Jan Ošťádal – chairman of Matice in Olomouc. The Czech press did not question the appointed members of the Czech district council in terms of their nationality. *Pozor*, 11 September 1907, 3.

⁶⁶ Ivan Puš, "Lex Perek a Marchetova prováděcí nařízení: jejich vznik, aplikace a dobová receptce," *Časopis Matice moravské* 136, no. 1 (2017): 81–97; Pavel Kladiwa, "Revize tzv. Marchetova prováděcího nařízení," *Časopis Matice moravské* 140, no. 2 (2021): 263–281. The basic principle of Perek's Act, i.e. that children attended a school corresponding to their language competence, was significantly disrupted by Marchet's Regulation, which included an already very flexible definition: a child is seen as having knowledge of the language of instruction if it has enough command of the language to be able to follow the lesson. Moreover, Marchet's Regulation provided a list of the acceptable exceptions to knowledge of the language: 1. If it is the express wish of the parents or their representatives and this wish is justified by the fact that the child has not learned the language of its parents at pre-school age but, for example due to contact with relatives, peers, servants, etc., only the second land language, or if the parents or their representatives wish to send the child to a certain school for other valid reasons; 2. If the child had already attended another school of the same language in the previous year; 3. If the child is on "Kindertausch" (exchange) in order to learn the second land language. The total number of children thus exceptionally admitted who were not proficient in the language of instruction could not exceed a tenth of the number of pupils in the class, so as not to jeopardise teaching.

gulation.⁶⁷ Other complaints regarding the enrollment of Czech children in German schools also ended with a similar negative result. On 5 December 1911, the provincial school board rejected the complaints of the Czech school board regarding the enrollment of 32 'Czech' children in German schools. The examination showed that 24 children mastered the language of instruction. Others were German and Ruthenian nationalities, whether the *lex Perek* did not apply to them for other reasons.⁶⁸

As evidenced by the records of those who had often only recently moved to the town, the failure rate of claims resulting from legislatively set parameters was similar to other towns. As stated above, each child could tip the scales in favour of the development of public national education, and even reclaiming a single child could lead to a legal demand to expand the number of classes in a Czech school. Another front in the struggle was the fight to construct a new school building of the Czech public school. The German municipal schools in the town, on the eve of the Great War, corresponded to modern schools, but the Czech one also lagged behind the new school buildings in the countryside. On the legal level, it ended with Decree No. 9243 of the Administrative Court of Justice of 24 November 1913, which rejected the complaint of the municipality against the decision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education to construct it. By the outbreak of the First World War, the municipality had not started the construction. Even according to the findings of the official authorities, the instruction was carried out in hygienically unsatisfactory conditions. The Moravian Pact did not explicitly address the issue of the construction of national schools, as it was governed by school legislation.

Another part of the Moravian Pact was *lex Parma*,⁶⁹ which the Olomouc municipal government approached laxly. The implementation is captured in Fischer's comments: "In 1905 the Moravian Land Diet adopted a law concerning equal rights for both languages of the land in municipalities; the Mayor of Olomouc, as a provincial deputy, voted in favour of this law, but when it came into force, the town of Olomouc was the first in Moravia not to abide by it, and we had to point out the disregard for the law again by complaints."⁷⁰ Indeed, Czech activists objected to the violation of *lex Parma* by the municipal

⁶⁷ Provincial School Board, inv. no. 288-2559 and 295-2824, Moravian Provincial Archives.

⁶⁸ Provincial School Board, inv. no. 313-22038, Moravian Provincial Archives.

⁶⁹ *Lex Parma* regulated the use of both land languages by municipalities. It guaranteed rights for the (non-ruling) minority in ethnically mixed municipalities. The municipality itself decided on the official language for all matters of independent and transferred jurisdiction in accordance with the rules established by this law.

⁷⁰ JUDr. Fischer's estate, State District Archive in Olomouc.

government in administrative appeals, as well as in interpellations in the Diet. A letter from Mayor Brandhuber in 1908 stated his interpretation of the law and how it was applied at the Olomouc municipality, i.e. the use of the German language in the internal administration of the municipality.⁷¹ After enactment of the Moravian Pact, language equality became a key issue for Czech activists. On 20 February 1914, Fischer submitted a bill to the Diet to amend *lex Parma* by extending its provisions to all public activities of municipal governments.

Another sphere of life in Olomouc partitioned nationally by the Moravian Pact was public employment. At a town council meeting in January 1906, the mayor was interpellated by alderman Rudolf Sommer⁷² regarding the Czechization of state offices. He stated that of 779 officials state offices and institutes in town, 388 were German and 391 Czech. He listed the state offices with the majority of Czech officials according to the criterion of nationality. He expressed concern about the Czechization of the district court.⁷³ Data from previous research confirm Sommer's data on the growing number of state officials in the city who subscribed to the Czech language of use. The increase was realised through natural development, i.e. the emancipation of the Czech intelligentsia in Moravian society. At the same time, the state reflected the equal status of the Czech language in external communication and the Czech surroundings of the city. The exception was the Directorate of State Railways. It was considered by Czech activists to be one of the bastions of Germanism in the city, similar to the municipality. In 1910, 97% of municipal officials subscribed to the German language of use. Some of them were in fact bilingual, due to compliance with *lex Parma*. With regard to land offices and institutions, we can state, with the example of the hospital, that the Moravian Pact was observed. Of the total number of doctors, 31% signed up for German and 68% for Czech. Primary seats were represented in terms of nationality fifty-fifty. The director of the hospital applied for German language of use.⁷⁴ Archival sources show behind-the-scenes struggles for every official post; would a Czech or a German be appointed judge, senior consultant at the land hospital, etc.? Both the municipal government⁷⁵ and Czech activists lobbied for positions. On the

⁷¹ Presidial record office 1888–1932, container 23, inv. no. 171, Brno City Archives.

⁷² Ivan Puš, "Vybrané aktivity olomouckého zastupitele a poslance Rudolfa Sommera," *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 70, no. 3 (2018): 244–252.

⁷³ *Der statistisches Jahrbuch der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz V. Band 1905–1910*, 20.

⁷⁴ Data from the 1890 and 1910 censuses have been processed for publication Pokludová, *Formování inteligence na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1857–1910*.

⁷⁵ Presidial files, container 19 12/1907, 263/1913, Olomouc City Archives, State District Archive in Olomouc.

eve of the Great War, the national belonging of candidates often played a more important role than their qualifications.

The archival bequests of national activists contain many confidential lists and surveys assessing the national stance of people in Olomouc. A Czech list from the autumn of 1918 contains notes about judges: a German, fiercely nationalist; a German, polite; a Czech, who raised his children in German; a Czech by birth, but a German by conviction; a Czech, solidly national and registered in the Czech electorate.⁷⁶ In practice, the list had been particularly applied after the takeover of the town hall by Czechs in 1918.⁷⁷ The change of the political hegemon at the town hall did not end the conflict coexistence in interwar Olomouc society.⁷⁸

The implementation of the Moravian Pact in individual towns followed local conditions and nuances of interaction between the German and Czech national movements. Olomouc was the centre of the *Czech National Union for North-east Moravia* and of the German Union of the Germans in Northern Moravia (*Bund der Deutschen Nordmährens*). Everyday life, including the economy, education, associational life and politics, was under their scrutiny. The partitioning of the economy into Czech and German spheres contradicted liberal, free-market principles and constrained development. In many aspects, individual rights and freedoms were infringed for the sake of collective rights,⁷⁹ i.e. acting in the name of the nation. Although the Moravian Pact reduced German-Czech friction in diet elections, tensions continued in education and in public use of the two national languages. Non-elites were drawn into the struggle of national activists. For all the national partitioning and separation, however, some people entered into nationally mixed marriages and raised their children bilingually.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Richard Fischer's estate, State District Archive in Olomouc.

⁷⁷ "Uebergabe des Olmützer Stadtverwaltung an den Narodni výbor," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 11 November 1918, 4; "Die Aufrichtung Tschechoslowakischen Staates. Die Ereignisse in Olmütz," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 30 October 1918, 4; "Uebernahme der Handelskammer durch den Narodni vybor," *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 8 November 1918, 4.

⁷⁸ Andrea Pokludová, "Änderung in der Stadtverwaltung nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Troppau und Olmütz," in *Stadt und Krieg im 20. Jahrhundert: neue Perspektiven auf Deutschland und Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Christoph Cornelisse, Václav Petrbok and Martin Pekár (Essen: Klartext, 2019), 87–112.

⁷⁹ Kladiwa, Pokludová and Kafková, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914*, 264. In the case of real estate sales, pressure was exerted on the seller not to sell to interested parties from among the 'others', i.e. Czechs/Germans.

⁸⁰ It is not possible to obtain an exact percentage of these marriages from the period data.

Abstract

The study deals with the issue of the Moravian Pact (1905) with the example of the city of Olomouc. In the collective memory, Olomouc ranks among Moravian cities with a conflicting coexistence of Czech and German populations at the turn of the twentieth century. The aim of the study was to answer the question of whether the conclusion of the Moravian Pact (1905), which was considered to be a political reconciliation between the Moravian Germans and the Czechs, also led to the overcoming of animosity between the Czech and German population of the city in Olomouc. The choice of Olomouc was not accidental, as: 1. it was an alternative political centre to Brno – the provincial capital, 2. it was a city with a traditionally bilingual population and 3. the city became a centre of Czech and German activists concentrated in organisations such as *National Union for East Moravia* and *Germans in Northern Moravia*.

In the introductory part of the study, the conflict zones of Czech-German coexistence are presented in detail, i.e. education, local economic life, municipal politics and elections to the Land Diet. Then, on a micro historical level, topics related to the political convention of Moravian Germans and Czechs from 1905, i.e. the Moravian Pact, are elaborated. Specific areas on which the Moravian Pact no longer had such an impact are listed, such as the fight for a child, as the intense activity of Czech activists partially resolved it before the lex Perek came into force. The impact of land elections and the national composition of city officials and civic service are described. There are two basic spheres in which animosity continued to deepen even after the Moravian Pact, namely municipal politics and the local economy. Life in Olomouc on the eve of the Great War did not take place under the sign of the national status quo, but in an atmosphere of persistent friction between Czech and German activists, which was transferred to the everyday life of the city's population. In the end, the consequences led to the fact that the inhabitants were not nationally indifferent, but divided on the national principle into Czechs and Germans. Bilingualism persisted, however, in the communication practice of the population.

Keywords: Moravian Pact 1905; Olomouc; Nationalism; Everyday life

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