

# THE GERMAN LANGUAGE ISLANDS OF BRNO, OLOMOUC AND JIHLAVA DURING GERMAN-AUSTRIAN IRREDENTISM IN THE AUTUMN OF 1918

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## Abstract

*German Austria (declared on October 30, 1918) attempted to take control over as many large German-settled areas (of the former Austria-Hungary) as possible. In the Czech lands, its leaders claimed a continuous belt of border areas, but opinions on the affinity of territorially separated German language islands were much more differentiated. This paper deals with the development of the attitudes of German-Austrian political representatives with respect to this issue, which resulted in official claims for “detached language territory” (Einschlussgebiete) around Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava. There were, however, no actual possibilities of exerting sovereignty in these territories.*

## Shrnutí

### **Německé jazykové ostrovy Brno, Olomouc a Jihlava v německo-rakouské iredentě na podzim 1918**

*Třicátého října 1918 vyhlášené Německé Rakousko se snažilo získat pod svou kontrolu co největší část Němci osídlených území rozpadajícího se Rakousko-Uherska. V českých zemích vzneslo jeho vedení nárok na souvislý pás pohraničních území, podstatně diferencovanější byly ale z jeho strany názory na příslušnost územně oddělených německých jazykových ostrovů. Článek se zabývá vývojem postojů německo-rakouské politické reprezentace k této problematice, které vyústily ke vznesení oficiálních nároků na „odloučené jazykové oblasti“ (Einschlussgebiete) kolem Brna, Olomouce a Jihlavy, ovšem bez reálné možnosti skutečně uplatňovat na daném území suverenitu.*

**Key words:** *German Austria, language island, irredentism, German national movement*

## 1. The role of German language enclaves in Moravia in the territorial concept of German Austria

Breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of October 1918 and formation of independent Czechoslovakia is a highly significant milestone of the Czech national history of which much has been written. At the same time in the Czech lands a numerous German minority aimed at national emancipation. In historiography, its national movement is traditionally neglected at the expense of the Czechoslovak movement. These efforts of the Sudeten Germans were to be fundamentally reflected in the territorial organization (or rather territorial losses) of Czechoslovakia.

In Czech lands, the newly established German Austria (national state of Germans within the Austro-Hungarian Empire territory) laid claims on 30 October 1918, based on the absolute right to self-determination, not only for the so-called Sudeten, i.e. the borderland, where German nationals formed majority, but also for so-called

“detached language areas” (or *Einschlussgebiete*), i.e. language enclaves (see e.g. Fig. 1 – cover p. 3). Among these were in Bohemia the cities of Prague, Budějovice<sup>1</sup> and Pilsen with their numerous German minorities. In the course of the time, however, the claim for detached areas in Bohemia was completely abandoned mainly due to the influence of Lodgman von Auen. German areas at the Bohemian borderland (the Nová Bystřice, Štoky language enclave and parts of the Hřebečsko region), traditionally called language enclaves, were islands only within the Kingdom of Bohemia. With the exception of the Štoky region, they were contiguous to compact areas in Moravia or Lower Austria and administratively attached to these areas. A different situation prevailed in Moravia where three significant language enclaves (the Jihlava, Brno and Olomouc islands) traditionally played important role in the culture, economy and politics of Moravian Germans.

German radical circles in the language enclaves professed their affinity to the German-Austrian nation state as early as at the beginning of October 1918. For

<sup>1</sup> České Budějovice today. This article uses geographical names as used in the list of municipalities in 1910.

instance the newspapers “Der mährische Grenzbote” published on 6 October 1918 a declaration that Jihlava belonged to the German-Austrian state. On 28 October 1918, the town council of Jihlava demanded that the entire language enclave be joined to German Austria<sup>2</sup>. Similar activities were carried out by nationalistic intellectual and entrepreneurial circles in Brno. In smaller language enclaves (the Vyškov, Brodek-Skřípov islands) and in Olomouc, Germans were in fact politically passive.

The position of German language enclaves in Moravia in the German-Austrian territorial structure changed between the beginning of October 1918 and 22 October 1918, when “the state declaration of territory, borders and relations of state territory of German Austria” was accepted. At first, the state council attempted to establish good relations with neighbours, to delimit the territory of German Austria in the least complicated manner, and to integrate into it only compact language areas. Gradually significant part of deputies in the Provisional national assembly of German Austria started to promote the concept of preservation of a “temporary national cadastre” in Moravia and of asserting sovereignty of its German “stratum”.

Thus not only “Einflussgebiete” but also minorities and German-speaking individuals would be excluded from the Czechoslovak sovereignty, which would in turn confirm the Czechoslovak statehood. According to the state declaration No. 40 on the territory, borders and relations of the state territory of German Austria, there were enclosed language enclaves, towns, villages and hamlets inhabited or administered only or predominantly by Germans, which were to remain “until their political and national rights were secured under the sovereignty of the German Austrian Republic as its national territory”, and these should have also been represented in the Provisional national assembly<sup>3</sup>. In the bill, these areas in Bohemia and Moravia were the language enclaves of “Brno, Brodek-Skřípov, Budějovice, Jihlava-Štoky, Olomouc and Vyškov”<sup>4</sup>.

When the bill was being discussed, it seemed at first that the protagonists of strictly demanded compact

territory (Lodgman, Seliger, Renner, Bauer ...) would enforce their standpoint at the expense of the “enclave” opposition represented during this phase only by the deputies Gross (Jihlava) and d’Elvert (Brno).

At meetings of the Provisional national assembly on 12 and 14 November 1918, Gross and d’Elvert resolutely refused the creation of a temporal German-Austrian protectorate over islands and minorities in Moravia and demanded attachment of language enclaves to the German-Austrian state territory. In favour of their standpoint, the active “island” deputies initiated their electoral base in the enclaves. At a meeting held on 14 October 1918, two memoranda on joining German-Austria was presented to the Provisional national assembly by two delegations of the German national council from the Jihlava language enclave. The memoranda were completely in accord with the argumentation of “island” deputies and blamed the State council and chancellor Renner for “unwarranted sacrifice of national demands”<sup>5</sup>. A controversial bill was then sent by the Provisional national assembly to the constitutional committee, in which d’Elvert was a president and Gross an expert. After one of the committee members, the deputy von Licht, changed his standpoint, the committee presented at the meeting of Provisional national assembly on 14 November 1918 a bill, which counted on the attachment of the language enclaves of Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava and enclaves in Yugoslavian territories (Kočevoje and Celje language enclaves) to the German-Austrian state territory<sup>6</sup>.

On 19 November 1918, the constitutional committee again rejected Renner’s “compromise” proposal, in which the language islands of Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava were left under the German-Austrian sovereignty until a definitive decision regarding their status (until the peace conference) would be made. During the constitutional committee meeting on 21 November 1918, there was another discussion on the Moravian language enclaves. Von Licht proposed that the large Jihlava language enclaves would be incorporated into the state territory and that the claim for the Brno and Olomouc language enclaves would be abandoned. This compromise was welcomed also by some deputies from Austrian lands as they were

<sup>2</sup> KRCAL, H.: Der Umsturz im Jahre 1918 in Iglau. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Landeskunde Mährens, no. 45/1943, pp. 198–203.

<sup>3</sup> Act No. from October 22, 1918 on the territory, borders and relations of the state territory of German Austria. In: Staatsgesetzblatt für den Staat Deutschösterreich, 1918, published 28 October, vol. 9.

<sup>4</sup> ÖStA Wien, AdR, Allgemeine Reihe 1918–1938, Staatserklärung über Umfang, Grenzen und Beziehungen des Staatsgebietes von Deutschösterreich, sign. AT-OeStA/AdR HBbBuT PTV Allg Reihe, carton 231, supplement 3.

<sup>5</sup> ÖStA Wien, AdR, Allgemeine Reihe 1918–1938, die 4. Sitzung der Provisorischen Nationalversammlung am 14.11. 1918, sign. AT-OeStA/AdR HBbBuT PTV Allg Reihe, carton 35.

<sup>6</sup> ÖStA Wien, AdR, Staatsratprotokolle 1918–1919, Antrag des Verfassungsausschusses, sign. AT-OeStA/AdR MRang MR 1. Rep StRP, carton 55, supplement 21.

afraid that the original demand would lead to Czechs having a similar demand concerning Czech minorities in Vienna (Favoriten and Floridsdorf quarters) and in Deutschböhmen (Most, Duchcov, Bílina)<sup>7</sup>.

Despite the proposal of the constitutional committee to withdraw the bill on the territory and borders from the programme of the following meeting of the Provisional national assembly, this point was included in the programme of meeting held on 22 November 1918<sup>8</sup>. Debates at this meeting led to the formation of two implacable opinion groups. One called for “securing of significant and important German language possessions” – this group was represented by traditional Sudeten activists Renner, Bauer, Seliger, Teufel and all German nationalists from Bohemia. The other was represented by deputies of language enclaves, German liberals from Vienna, some social democrats (deputy Seitz) and Christian socialists from the Alpine lands, who saw here a parallel with their interests in the Ladin territories in South Tyrol<sup>9</sup>.

Renner, who could not rely on the support of his own party fraction, finally had to retreat. Acts no. 40 and 41 on the “territory, borders and relations of the state territory of German Austria” were finally passed at the meeting of the Provisional national assembly on 22 November 1918. Based on them, German Austria demanded the language enclaves of Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava. Partial satisfaction was granted to Renner in § 3 of the Act No. 40 according to which individual “judicial districts, municipalities and settlements that form state territory, will be designated and announced by the State council”. An item with interesting territorial impact was § 4 of the declaration No. 41, which proposed the creation of a specific territory consisting of the Ostrava coal district and the Bielitz-Biala (Bielsko-Biala) language enclave which would be administered by an international Polish-Czechoslovak-Austrian government.

## 2. Characteristics of language enclaves in Moravia

### 2.1 The Brno language enclave

The most important Moravian language enclave was the city of Brno with 10 neighbouring German municipalities (Černovice, Horní Heršpice, Dolní Heršpice, Ivanovice, Kamenný Mlýn, Komárov, Modřice, Moravany, Přízřenice and Žilošice). The Brno island was important for Moravian Germans as an institutional centre and as a centre of German educational institutions, culture and industry. In 1918, Brno was the largest “German” city in the Czech lands. According to the results of the 1910<sup>10</sup> census, the language enclave had 140,346 inhabitants<sup>11</sup>, of which 92,761 were German-speaking persons (66%). In 1921, the population in the same territory amounted to 155,328 inhabitants, of which 56,481 were Germans (36% – the decline affecting mainly Brno – from 63% to 35%, less suburbs and rural villages of the language enclave – from 82% to 51%)<sup>12</sup>.

In this publication the authors use the 1910 census data, which were rather rigidly handled by German leaders in decisions on the size of demanded territory. The mother tongue-based concept of ethnicity used in the census was severely criticised and after foundation of Czechoslovakia it was abandoned (mother tongue and ethnicity were enquired). Data from the 1921 census are provided for comparison. Differences result from not only different methodologies and natural population changes, but also from the change of declared language/ethnicity in language enclaves by a rather abundant bilingual part of population (we can assume that they inclined to the politically dominant ethnicity, i.e. before 1918 to Germans, later to Czechs). However, in contrast with Czechoslovakia, the primordialistic concept of deriving nationality from language had never been abandoned by Austria and 1910 census data were used (in fact, rather abused as a “preferable” clue) even for the delimitation of territory occupied by German nazis in 1938<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Die 41. Sitzung des Staatsrates am 21.11. 1918, ADÖ. Vlg. für Geschichte u. Politik, Oldenburger Verlag, München, 1993, Vol. 1, pp. 168.

<sup>8</sup> HAAS, H.: Konflikt při uplatňování nároků na právo sebeurčení ... In: První světová válka a ..., Matice moravská, Brno, 2000, pp. 149.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Spezialortsrepertorium der österreichischen Länder. bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910. X. MÄHREN. K.k. Hof – und Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1918, 239 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Including military persons.

<sup>12</sup> Statistický lexikon obcí na Moravě a ve Slezsku vydán Ministerstvem vnitra a Státním úřadem statistickým na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921. Státní úřad statistický, Praha, 1924, 219 s.

<sup>13</sup> Wide criticism and discussion on the relevance of census data from 1910 and 1921, namely in (1973): The Ethnographic Map of the Czech Lands 1880–1970. Academia – nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, Praha, 100 s.

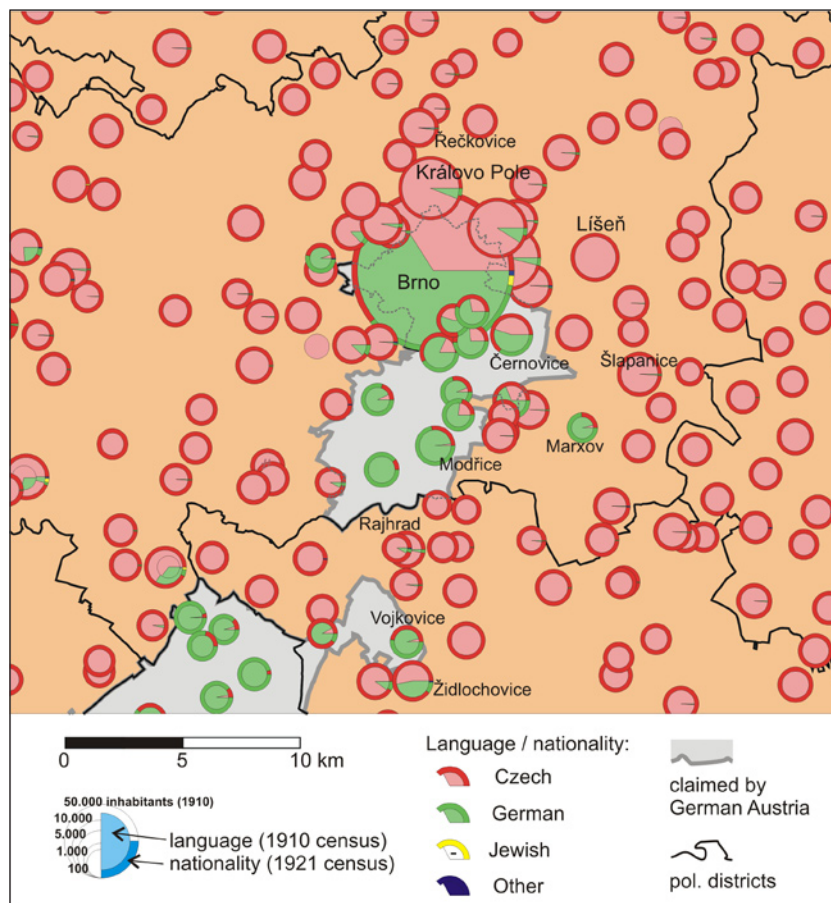


Fig. 2: The German language enclave of Brno in 1918

The Czechs assigned to the city the same importance. They would never agree to its cession to German-Austria. As early as on 29 October 1918, the Czech national committee took control over the city without any organised German resistance. The important circumstance, which complicated the German-Austrian claim for the language enclave, was a high proportion of Czech population in the city, mainly in its suburbs, and on the contrary a small German hinterland of Brno. Despite the vicinity of the German territory – namely the Pohořelice region – and traditional economic relations with Lower Austria and Vienna, supplies for the city were completely dependent on the Czech areas.

German national council for the city of Brno was established on 27 October 1918<sup>14</sup>. As early as on 24 October 1918, the representatives of “all German areas in the land (Moravia)” met and objected to the attachment of any German territory to the “Czech state”<sup>15</sup>. In order to protect the rights of German minorities in the Moravian inland, the so-called “Nationalrat der Deutschen Mittelmährens” (National council of Germans in central

Moravia) was established on 4 November 1918<sup>16</sup>. It was established at the time when no doubt existed that the Czechoslovak state would not allow any irredentist experiment on its territory.

Through a relatively loyal and constructive approach to the Czech government it managed to enforce many a compromise and achieve representation in administrative bodies, e.g. in Brno. During the first half of November 1918, permanent committees of the German national council for central Moravia (for Jihlava, Brno, Vyškov and Olomouc) and for the city of Brno were established in Brno. At the same time, committees of the union of German teacher associations, clerk associations, traders, German military council etc. were created, too. They were seated in the National house in Brno, where they provided information and help to the German population in Moravia.

Jews formed an important community in Brno, traditionally pro-German oriented. Similarly as Germans, they had their meeting centre in the Brno

<sup>14</sup> Zemský archiv Brno, Fond B 33, Národní výbor 1918–1919, carton 1, sign. 780.

<sup>15</sup> SOKA Šumperk, Německá národní rada Šumperk fund, carton 1, inventory no. 2

<sup>16</sup> KRČAL, H.: Der Umsturz im Jahre 1918 in Iglau. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Landeskunde Mährens. no. 45/1943, pp. 198–203.

Schwechat pub, where they declared at the first meeting of their associations “Landesverbandes der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden Mährens” (Land association of Jewish parishes in Moravian municipalities) and “Der jüdische Volksrat in Brünn” (Jewish national council in Brno) on 6 November 1918 to have welcomed the establishment of the Czechoslovak state and called themselves “its faithful and loyal citizens”<sup>17</sup>.

Despite the proclamations and laws, in which Brno was taken as a part of German Austria, the Austrian authorities doubted their claims several times as early as at the beginning of November 1918. For instance they considered the replacement of the German University of Technology outside Brno, first to Linz, where there were however no suitable buildings. The land school council in Opava decided on 11 November 1918 to replace this prestigious university to Šumperk<sup>18</sup> in northern Moravia.

## 2.2 The Olomouc language enclave

The Olomouc language enclave was formed by the city of Olomouc and by ten other municipalities of the southern suburb (Neředín, Nová Ulice, Povel<sup>19</sup>, Novosady, Nový Svět, Nemilany, Kyselov, Slavonín, Hněvotín and Nedvězí). In the Act No. 4/1919 on German-Austrian state territory, the municipality of Pavlovice<sup>20</sup> in the northern suburb was not included in the island, although it directly bordered on the language enclave and in which 721 Germans out of 1,247 inhabitants amounted to 58% of population. However, the municipality of Nový Svět, which had a German majority but which did not border on the language enclave, was made part of the island and thus formed the “exclave of the exclave”.

According to the 1910 census, there were 37,443 inhabitants in the language enclave, out of whom 24,628 were German-speaking persons (66%)<sup>21</sup>. The same territory amounted in 1921 to 42,149 inhabitants of whom 17,059 were Germans (40%)<sup>22</sup>. The island

was situated relatively close to the compact German-speaking area (Šternberk region), but its dependence on the Czech surroundings was indisputable. The overall character of the island was less German than in the case of Brno. This was shown even in its administrative status in the Act No. 4/1919, where the Olomouc region was subordinated to the Jihlava administration.

On 29 October 1918, the local Czech National Committee took control of the city and all its authorities, a situation identical to that in Brno. With the help of so-called Morávek’s company (part of the 13<sup>th</sup> militia regiment) the city hall was secured. It was mainly through the power of the army (on 2 November, Morávek’s company comprised 900–1,000 armed men) that the nationalistic activity of Germans living in Olomouc was successfully suppressed.

Although the German National Committee for Olomouc and its surroundings, made up of the representatives of German political parties in Olomouc, expressed their consent with the annexation of the language enclave into the German Austria on 1 November 1918, the city was already controlled by the Czechoslovak Committee at that time. The only material act of resistance against the incorporation into Czechoslovakia was the obstruction during the dismissal of existing local boards in German municipalities in the suburbs of Olomouc. For example in the villages of Nový Svět, Novosady and Pavlovice<sup>23</sup>, the municipal authorities were forced to resign only on 21 November 1918, and in Nová Ulice even as late as on 2 December 1918<sup>24</sup>. In Olomouc, the town council resigned on 13 November 1918<sup>25</sup> and the town administration was taken over by government commissioner R. Fischer (the hitherto chairman of the Czech National Committee in Olomouc)<sup>26</sup>.

## 2.3 The Jihlava language enclave

A centre of the most significant German language enclave in the Czech lands was the city of Jihlava. The enclave was situated both in Bohemia and in Moravia

<sup>17</sup> Zemský archiv Brno, Fond B 13, Moravské místodržitelství – Různé policejní věci 1817 – 1918, karton 1, sign. 1448

<sup>18</sup> SOKA Šumperk, fond Německá národní rada Šumperk, carton 1, inv. no. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Povel today, Povel in German, hereafter Povel.

<sup>20</sup> Pavlovičky today, Paulowitz in German, hereafter Pavlovice.

<sup>21</sup> Spezialortsrepertorium der österreichischen Länder: bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910. X. MÄHREN. K.k. Hof – und Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1918, p. 239.

<sup>22</sup> Statistický lexikon obcí na Moravě a ve Slezsku vydán Ministerstvem vnitra a Státním úřadem statistickým na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921. Státní úřad statistický, Praha, 1924, 219 pp.

<sup>23</sup> URBÁŠEK, P.: Vzpomínky štábního kapitána Vladimíra Tomka na události po 28. říjnu 1918 v Olomouci a na severní Moravě. Zprávy Krajského vlastivědného muzea v Olomouci, no. 256, Olomouc, 1988, pp. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Zemský archiv Brno, Fond B 33, Národní výbor 1918 – 1919, carton 2, sign. 2757

<sup>25</sup> Zemský archiv Brno, Fond B 33, Národní výbor 1918 – 1919, carton 1, sign. 3154.

<sup>26</sup> SOKA Olomouc, Fond M 1-1 AMO – Presidiální registratura 1918, carton 31, inventory no. 75.

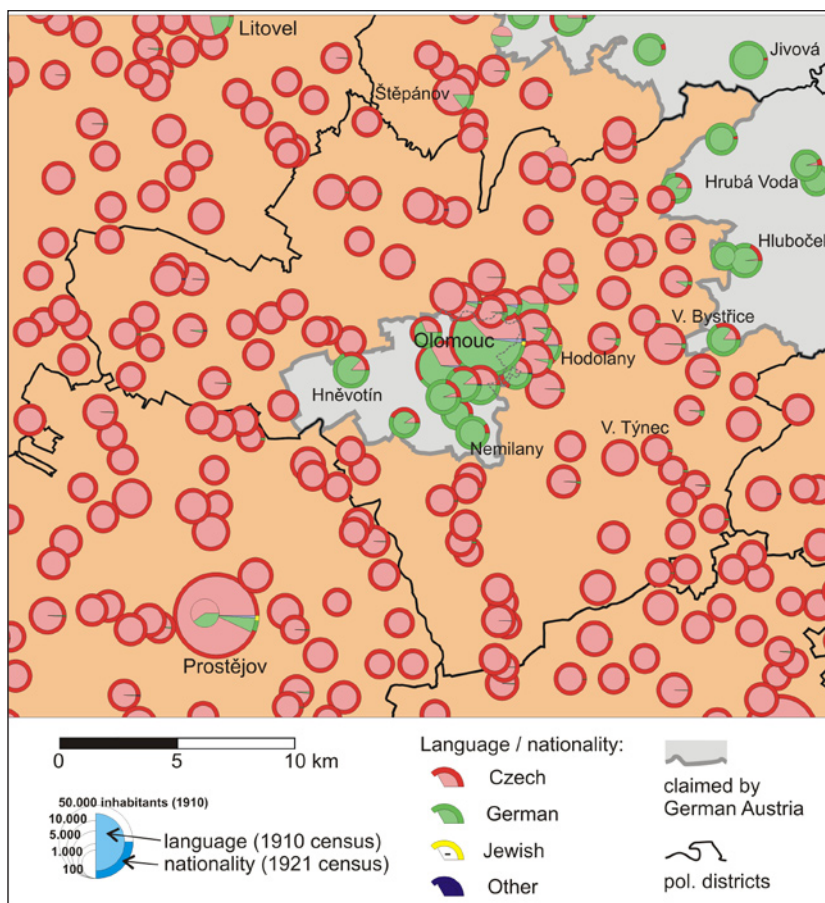


Fig. 3: The German language enclave of Olomouc in 1918

and included altogether 56 German municipalities<sup>27</sup>. A larger part of the enclave was to be found in the Kingdom of Bohemia, with nearly the whole judicial district of Štoky. This part was characterized by strong Czech minority in many municipalities. In 1910, there were altogether 48,692 inhabitants, of whom 38,528 were German-speaking persons (about 79%)<sup>28</sup>. In 1921, the population of the same territory amounted to 48,056 inhabitants, of whom 25,742 were Germans (54%)<sup>29</sup>. Thanks to the extensive agricultural hinterland, the Jihlava region was regarded as economically self-sufficient. Traditional economic ties with the Czech surroundings were, however, unreplaceable.

The Czech national committee, mainly thanks to the Czech 81<sup>st</sup> militia regiment<sup>30</sup>, took over the control of Jihlava on 29 October. Despite the German character of the city, there were no conflicts when the new authorities took control of offices and important factories (there were for instance ones of the greatest tobacco companies in the country). They faced difficulties only when they were taking over the Jihlava town hall – the German city council refused to resign for a long time. The pressure of the Moravian vicegerency caused that the council presided by mayor Inderka resigned on 5 December 1918 and control of the city was taken by government commissioner

<sup>27</sup> City of Jihlava, out of judicial district Německý Brod the municipalities of Frydnava, Hochtánov, Dlouhá Ves, Bartošov; out of judicial district Pelhřimov settlement of Vestenhof of the municipality Cejl; out of judicial district Štoky all municipalities besides the settlements of Hlavkov, Hubenov; out of judicial district Jihlava the municipalities of Hruškové Dvory, Suchá, Kosov, Handlový Dvory, Vysoká, Dřevěné Mlýny, Hosov, Loučky, Měšín, Prostředkovice, Malá Cerekev, Votín, Pístov, Popice, Beranec, Rancířov, Rosice, Salavice, Stonařov, Vilánek, Kostelec, Čížov. In: Výkonné nařízení Státní rady no. 4 ze dne 3.1. 1919 o německorakouském státním území tvořeném soudními okresy, obcemi a osadami. In: Staatsgesetzblatt für den Staat Deutschösterreich, year 1919, issued 5.1. 1919, vol. 3 – see supplement No. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Spezialortsrepertorium der österreichischen Länder. bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910. X. MÁHREN. K.k. Hof – und Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1918, 239 pp.

<sup>29</sup> Statistický lexikon obcí na Moravě a ve Slezsku vydán Ministerstvem vnitra a Státním úřadem statistickým na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921. Státní úřad statistický, Praha, 1924, 219 s.

<sup>30</sup> COUFAL, F.: Osvobození jižní Moravy. Vzpomínky a dokumenty o převratu v roce 1918. Svaz čs. důstojnictva, Praha, 1937, pp. 68.

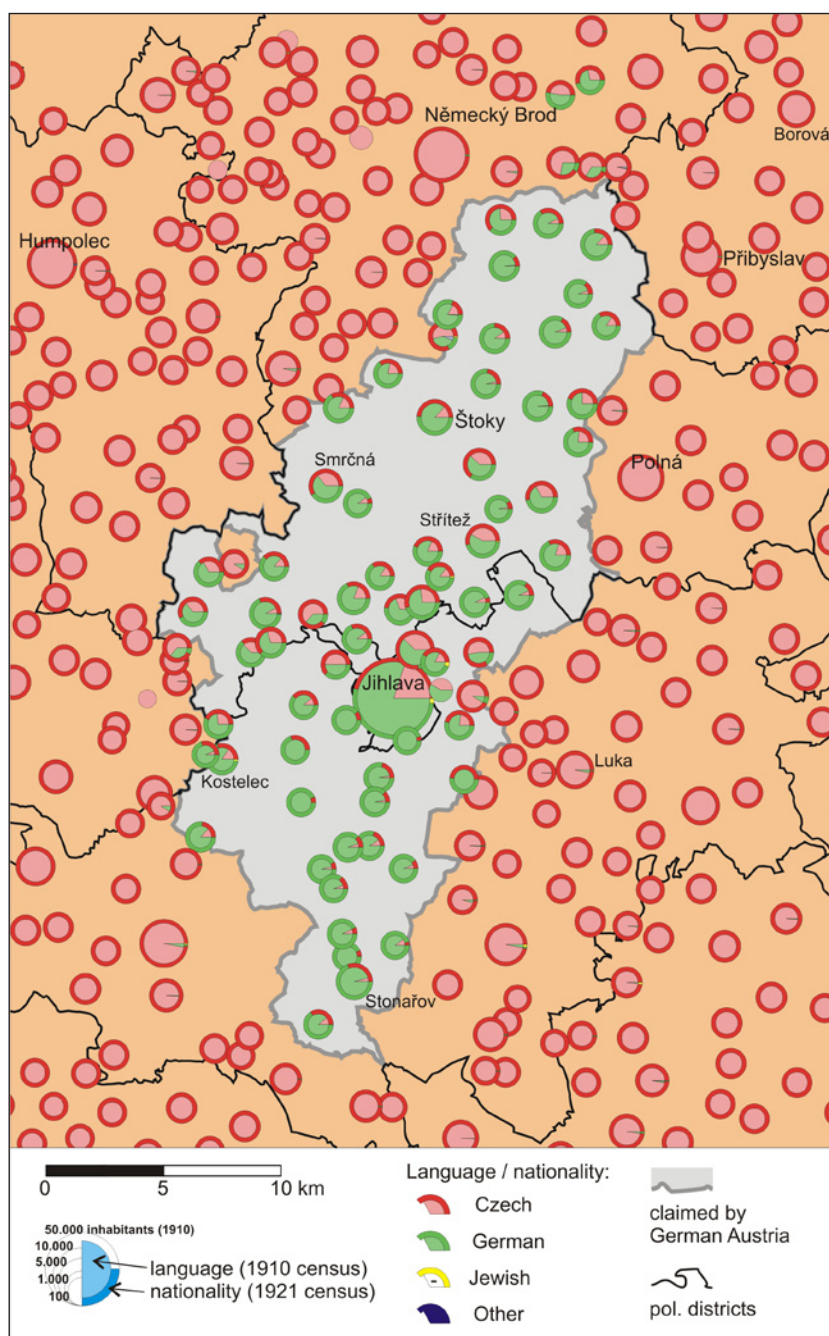


Fig. 4: The German language enclave of Jihlava in 1918

F. Hovůrka and by administrative commission which included 12 Czechs and 12 Germans<sup>31</sup>.

On 3 November 1918, the representatives of “Germans from the Jihlava language enclave” met at the Jihlava town hall and formed a so-called “Volksrat für die Iglauer Sprachinsel” (National council for the Jihlava language enclave). It proclaimed at its “ceremonial” meeting its affiliation to Austrian Germany<sup>32</sup>.

The German national council initiated several negotiations with the Czech national committee (e.g.

on 9 October 1918), where relations between the two nations in the language enclaves were discussed. The Czech party asserted its claims and did not approve of the German demands for administrative provisional measures and affiliation to German Austria.

### 3. Conclusion

The Moravian language enclaves became a very specific feature in the territorial claims of German Austria. For instance, after an agitated parliamentary struggle for the attachment of the language enclaves to the state

<sup>31</sup> Ibid pp. 170.

<sup>32</sup> Zemský archiv Brno, Fond B 33, Národní výbor 1918 – 1919, carton 1, sign. 1605.

territory, there were no other steps leading to their full incorporation. The language enclaves were part of the German-Austrian territory only de jure. The Germans accepted tacitly the fact also because the state council never took “financial responsibility for administration of the cities of Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava”, since it would have had to secure the existence of officers in case of the expected failure of German demands. Sudetenland commandant R. Freissler refused to formally take over the city of Olomouc into his administration, since there was no “actual German power”<sup>33</sup>. The German national council “Der deutsche Nationalrat für Brünn und Mittelmähren”, which represented the Germans in the so-called central Moravia, proved this state at the beginning of December 1918, when it considered to support the Czechoslovak state until the final decisions brought about by peace negotiations<sup>34</sup> were known.

All actual manifestations of resignation concerning the language enclaves were in contrast to the official demand, which lasted until the signing of the peace treaty in 1919. The propaganda (e.g. by propagandistic cards or leaflets “Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht”) kept proclaiming the affiliation of Moravian language enclaves to German Austria<sup>35</sup>. The reason to the almost exaggerated emphasis of Austrian

policy concerning the small territories and minorities in Moravia can be found mainly in the system of electoral districts established on the principle of “national cadastre”. According to the electoral act of 26 January 1907, German electoral districts were established even in purely Czech areas in Moravia.

As a result, Germans living outside the compact territory were relatively plentifully represented in the Imperial council. Out of 19 representatives of the Moravian Germans in the Imperial council 14 were delegated for mainly Czech or mixed electoral districts<sup>36</sup>. These “island” representatives usually promoted a radical nationalistic programme and formed an influential group, which permanently introduced into the meetings of the Provisional national assembly measures for protection of island Germans and supplied the meetings with a number of political-geographical utopias, which could not be defended against the neighbours and which created other conflicts. Their reasons were probably nationalistically but also pragmatically motivated – together with their “German” electoral districts they also defended the legitimacy of their mandates, which in case of the loss of mixed Moravian territories would have not been tenable.

<sup>33</sup> HAAS, H.: Konflikt při uplatňování nároků na právo sebeurčení ... In: První světová válka a ..., Matice moravská, Brno, 2000, pp. 151.

<sup>34</sup> MOLISCH, P.: Die sudetendeutsche Freiheitbewegung in den Jahren 1918–1919. Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, Wien – Leipzig, 1932, pp. 113.

<sup>35</sup> BULÍN, H.: Jiskry a plameny. Vzpomínky na dobu zápasů i vítězství. Vlastním nákladem, Brno, 1930, pp. 114.

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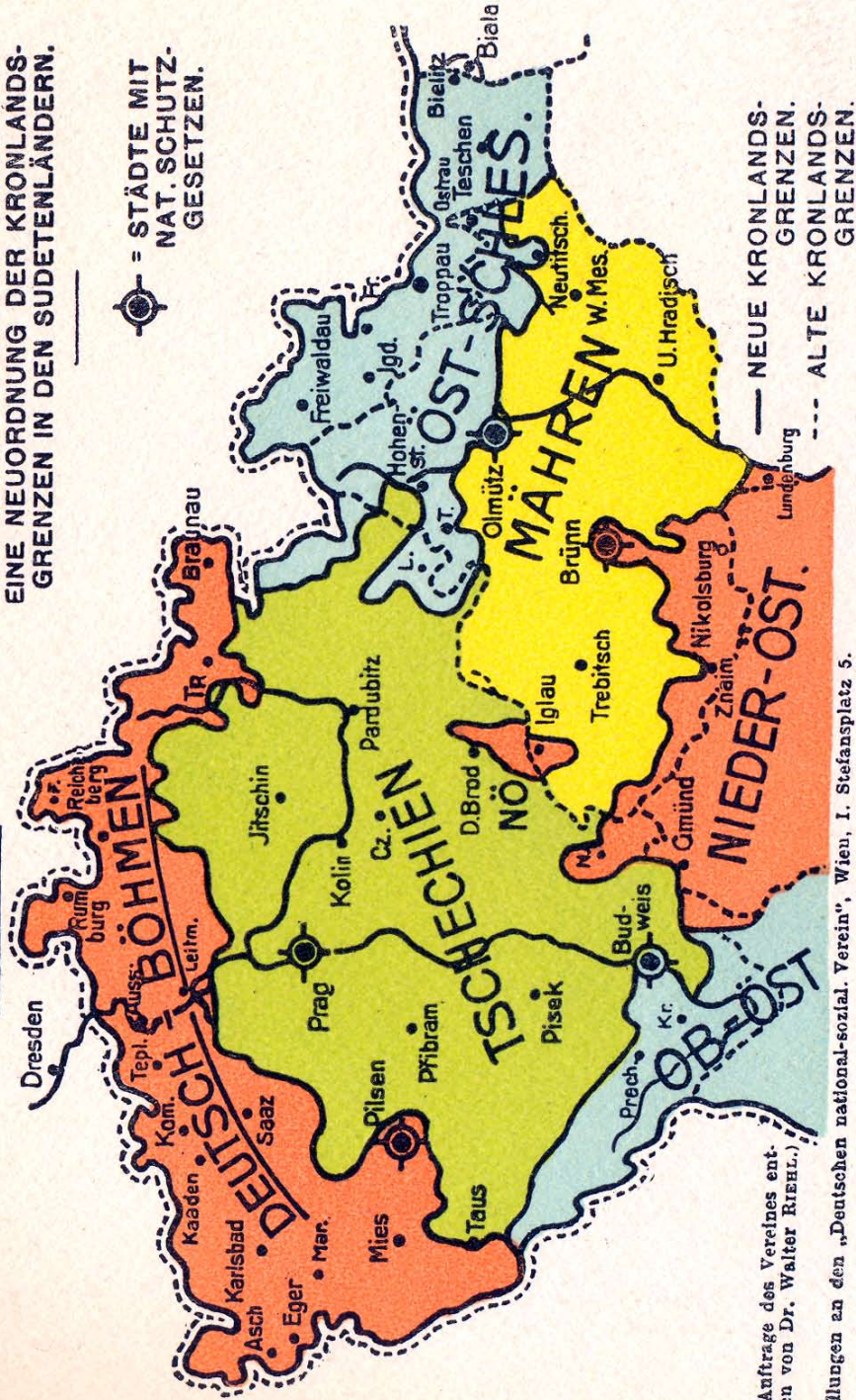
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Fig. 1: Promotion postcard issued in the autumn of 1918 by the Association of German National Socialists illustrates the ideas of supreme German political circles about the division of Czech lands into new unilingual countries within Austria-Hungary. The concept was soon given up upon the vision of creating independent national states of Czechoslovakia and German Austria. However, the land division and the claim for German language enclaves persisted. Territorial claims recorded here are much greater than as they were applied later (included were Czechspeaking areas in the regions of Pilsen, Budějovice, Olomouc and Brno). Source: BULÍN, H.: *Jiskry a plameny*. Own edition, Brno, 1930, 170 pp.

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