

LATER AND DIFFERENT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CZECH NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
IN MORAVIA, 1848-1905

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The Czech national movement in Moravia has been ignored by historians as a topic for inquiry. Although Bohemia and Moravia have shared a similar historical trajectory and close ties, there remains a lack of English-language scholarship on the dissemination of the Czech national identity in Moravia. While the establishment of cultural and political institutions was delayed, the case of Moravia is not a simple carbon copying and implementing of Bohemian-style institutions without consideration of the special regional environment. This work will attempt to provide the reader with an overview of the Czech national movement in Moravia between 1848 and 1905 by analyzing institutional and political development.

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I. Introduction

Bohemia and Moravia share elements of a common past from their joint role in the Great Moravian Empire in the ninth century to their present status as territories within the borders of the post-Communist Czech Republic. Although they experienced similar developments, the historical trajectory of both regions is by no means identical. There remains a paucity of English-language scholarship on Czech nationalism that treats both Bohemia and Moravia and the studies that are available tend to merge both Bohemia and Moravia into a single entity, rather than identify each historical territory as a discrete, culture- and history-specific locus for Czech nationalist movements. In order to understand the emergence and development of the Czech national movements and the formation of the modern Czech nation, it is essential to understand the emergence and dissemination of the Czech national identity in the Moravian lands. While the developments in Moravia cannot be completely removed from the context of the national movement in Bohemia, the Czech national movement in Moravia is better said to be a different strand of the same process. While the establishment of cultural institutions and political parties were delayed by several years, the Czech national movement in Moravia was not simply a case of carbon copying and implementing Bohemian-style institutions without consideration of special local and regional conditions. In the Moravian context cultural and political organizations often were influenced by their counterparts in Bohemia; however, they were rarely implemented in an identical manner and often exhibited their own Moravian distinctiveness. While in the mid-century and after the Revolutions of 1848 there existed strong provincial rather than national ties, by the end of the nineteenth century the majority of Moravians were full-fledged members of the Czech nation. Within Czech historiography the Moravian strand of the Czech national movement has been largely neglected and not fully appreciated by scholars. Through institutional and

political developments this work will aim to provide the reader with the larger picture of the Moravian context during the Czech national movement.

II. Outline

For reasons that will be discussed below, the task of disseminating the Czech national movement in Moravia was a difficult one. The institutional framework was non-existent in 1848 and the demographics widely differed from the Bohemian environment. This paper will assess the Czech national movement in Moravia by comparing several elements with developments in Bohemia.

The year 1848 will be the starting point as the institutional and political framework did not begin its development in Moravia until after mid-century. It will begin by outlining a brief background of the history of Bohemian and Moravian relations and their linkages throughout history.

Following a brief historical outline, the paper will move into a general trajectory of the Czech national movement as a whole, with special consideration to the emergence in Bohemia of Czech nationalism. The bulk of the work will focus on the institutional framework during the nineteenth century in both Bohemia and Moravia. For the scope of this thesis not all institutions will be discussed; instead the focus will remain on the most important organizations operating in the Czech lands after 1848: most notably on the *Matice česká* and *Matice moravská*, religious institutions, the printing press, and clubs and social organizations with a focus on the Sokol and Orel movements.

Following a discussion of the institutional framework will be an outline of the political trends in both Bohemia and Moravia. Notably, mass politics did not begin until the latter decades of the nineteenth century in both of these crown lands. This section will examine the structural differences of Bohemia and Moravia and their positions vis-à-vis the Hapsburg imperial government. A major shift in the Moravian regional stance was the adoption by major political parties of the Bohemian State Rights Program (*České státní právo*) in the 1860s. The important influence of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (*Ausgleich*) on the attitude of Czech and

Moravian politicians will also be highlighted. Although the Czech national leaders from Bohemia are often thought of as taking the leadership role, the Moravians often sought to provide direction during political discussions and were often the politicians most willing to compromise within the framework of the Dual Monarchy. Although the emergence of similar political parties occurred in Bohemia and Moravia, it is important to discuss the differences in their programs and level of influence in both crown lands. Additionally the long lasting survival of conservative and clerical parties was an interesting phenomenon in Moravia.

Fittingly, two major institutions were reserved more suitably for discussion in the political section: newspapers and the establishment of a Czech-language university in Moravia. Although newspapers and educational institutions would also fit within the institutional framework presented in the first section of this work, newspapers were a tool of vital importance for political parties to spread their program and to gain influence among the general populace. Along the same lines the establishment of a Czech-language university was a bitter political battle in Moravia between the Czech and German elements in the urban centers, thus its discussion fits within the context of political events occurring at the end of the nineteenth century.

It is within this context that this work will aim to provide the reader with an overview of the Czech national movement in Moravia after 1848. The main focus will be institutional and political organizations that helped to shape the distinctive strand of the Czech national movement that emerged in Moravia. While many scholars have generally described the process in Moravia as later, the Moravian case is more complex than a simply a delayed carbon copy of Bohemian institutions and developments. Its demographics and historical legacy helped to morph the national phenomenon into something distinctively Moravian-Czech. The paper will primarily

discuss the relationship between the Czech and Moravian populations while in-depth discussion of German organizations and political parties have been largely omitted to focus on this primary relationship.

Before delving into the discussion of the Czech national movements in Bohemia and Moravia, it is important to define a few terms. As Peter Sugar defines, a *nationality* is a group of people of various classes, religions, professions, and educational levels who are distinguishable from all other groups by speaking the same language, sharing in the same cultural values, and holding certain indefinable feelings of kinship.¹ The term national movement will be employed rather than national *revival* or *awakening*, which implies that Czech nationalism existed in the Hussite period or periods prior to the era of modern nationalism and was somehow rekindled in the nineteenth century. The process of national movements must be understood within the context of larger processes occurring during the nineteenth century in Europe. The national movement was influenced by rapid industrialization, social and cultural upheaval, and political changes.²

At the present there is a lack of English-language works on the Czech national movement in Moravia. In spite of these deficiencies the focus of this paper will mostly be on the English-language sources of the Czech national movement in Moravia that do exist. The work will attempt to bring together dispersed sources on specific studies into an examination of the larger, overall picture of the Czech national movement in Moravia. There will also be an integration of a few Czech sources. If this study were to be expanded in the future, more Czech-language and archival sources would be vital in order to examine the relationship of the Czech crown lands

¹ Peter F. Sugar. "External and Domestic Roots of Eastern European Nationalism," in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, Edited by Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer. pp. 3-54. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969) p. 4.

² Milan Řepa. *Moravané Nebo Češi?: Vývoj českého národního vědomí na Moravě v 19. století*. (Brno, Czech Republic: Doplněk, 2001) p. 8.

during the Czech national movement. Additionally Austrian imperial and archival sources would need to be analyzed in order to understand the relationship of Moravia to Austria and political discussions between the two entities. Among key resources that would be necessary to examine would be primary sources, especially correspondence between national leaders and newspaper articles covering events of the time. Additionally the same type of examination of the Czech national movement would need to be extended to Silesia to create the most complete picture of the Czech national movement in all three crown lands. Furthermore while this work will discuss the adoption of the Czech national identity by the majority of the population in Moravia, undoubtedly the German population in Moravia would require their own monograph in order to fully understand the relationship between the Czech national movements with increasing German sentiments in the region.³ The Czech movement in Moravia must be well-understood before any type of monograph could sufficiently discuss the German experience.⁴

³ Řepa. pp. 10-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*

III. Background on the Historical Ties of Bohemia and Moravia

Bohemia and Moravia are distinctive geographical areas. Bohemia is bordered on three sides by mountainous terrain and is drained by the Elbe River, while Moravia is surrounded to the north and east by mountains with its water system draining into the Danube River.⁵ These geographical barriers would normally make communication difficult, but despite these mountainous obstacles, the political relationship between Bohemia and Moravia began as early as the ninth century.⁶ During the ninth century the Great Moravian Empire emerged, the first historic Slavic-based state. This state was based roughly where the current day Czech and Slovak Republics stand, as well as parts of Austria and Hungary. Around the year 863 was the arrival of saints Cyril and Methodius to Great Moravia.⁷ Although at the end of the ninth century the Great Moravian Empire ceased to exist, its existence had a lasting influence on the permanence of Slavic culture.⁸

Bohemia remained as a principality after the dissolution of the Great Moravian state and after 955 Emperor Otto I defeated the Magyars and the Přemyslid dynasty acquired Moravia. A key internal question was the relation between Bohemia and Moravia, which was continuously redefined during the reign of the Přemyslid dynasty. During the rule of Břetislav (1035-1055), an inheritance system was established in which Bohemia and Moravia would be inherited together. Břetislav decreed that while his older son would rule Bohemia, his younger sons would serve as vassals and rule various seats including Moravia. In 1182 Moravia was upgraded to a margraviate status and reached unprecedented levels of autonomy, a move that also reconfirmed

⁵ Bruce M. Garver. "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," *Ideology, politics, and diplomacy in East Central Europe*. Edited by Mieczyslaw B. Biskupski and Piotr Stefan Wandycz. pp. 1-30 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003) p. 10.

⁶ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 10.

⁷ Roman Jakobson. The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe. *The Review of Politics*, 7, pp 29-42. (1945) p. 30-31.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 37.

the link between Bohemia and Moravia.⁹ However the levels of autonomy would also shift throughout history and this margraviate status was sometimes denied in order to appease parties unhappy with the inheritance rules. After the death of Václav III and the end of the male line of the Přemyslid family, both Bohemia and Moravia moved together into the Luxembourg dynasty. King Charles IV issued documentation in 1348 that attempted to secure the links among the crown lands. All of these lands were ultimately inherited by Albert II of Hapsburg in 1437. There was a twenty-one year division after Matthias Corvinus had captured Moravia, but Bohemia and Moravia were eventually reunited. However this history is vital to understand because it shows an undeniable link between Bohemia and Moravia since the ninth century.¹⁰

The Czech crown lands were not brought under the fold of the Hapsburg Empire until the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. Soon after the defeat Hapsburg rule was regularized and remained intact until the end of the First World War. Most matters, except minor ones, were decided in Vienna by the Hapsburg authorities and this centralization of powers to the crown meant the effective loss of Czech autonomy. A similar constitution was implemented in Moravia the following year.¹¹ The centuries of historical linkages between Moravia and Bohemia helped the formation of cultural, economic, and linguistic ties despite geographical obstacles or attempts by outsiders to sever these ties.¹² This historical relationship would also help Czech national leaders to justify the Bohemia State Rights Program, which ultimately stressed the unification of the Czech crown lands and was used to prove the traditional link between the two entities.

⁹ Hugh LeCaine Agnew. *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004) pp. 12-13, 16-17, 19.

¹⁰ Agnew, pp. 22-23, 29-33, 56-57,

¹¹ Derek Sayer. *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998) p. 47.

¹² Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 10.

IV. An Overview of the Czech National Movement

The Czech national movement of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries emerged in Bohemia. Although the modern Czech nation has little in common with the historical Bohemian state, the modern nation was constructed from the memories of the past.¹³ Like many of the nationalities within the Austrian Empire, communities dispersed throughout the Czech lands moved from multiple and overlapping identities into national groups.¹⁴ In Bohemia industrialization and urbanization had begun earlier than in Moravia and Silesia.¹⁵ Leadership of the Czech national movement came mostly from Bohemia, due to its larger population and high levels of industrialization and wealth.¹⁶ Due to the fact that the Czech national movement was ultimately created in Bohemia, it is necessary to analyze the creation and dissemination of Czech national identity in Bohemia. By using the Czech national movement narrative of Bohemia as a starting point, it will increase our understanding of the acceptance of Czech identity in Moravia and how these different national institutions were implemented and ultimately morphed by Moravia's regional distinctiveness.¹⁷

There have been two major ways that the Czech national movement has been examined by scholars. One major Czech national figure, Josef Jungmann, described the movement as a reaction against the Germanization occurring during the Josephine era.¹⁸ This was a commonly held view shared by the first two generations of Czech intellectuals.¹⁹ During his discussion of nationalism, Miroslav Hroch divided the European continent into essentially two subgroups:

¹³ Sayer, p. 52.

¹⁴ T. Mills Kelly. "Last Best Chance or Last Gasp? The Compromise of 1905 and Czech Politics in Moravia," in *Austrian History Yearbook*. No. 34. (2003) p. 282.

¹⁵ P Daněk. "Moravian and Silesian Nationalities: a New Phenomenon in the Ethnic Map of the Czech Lands?" in *GeoJournal*. 30, no. 3. (July 1993) p. 250.

¹⁶ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 11.

¹⁷ Řepa, p. 9.

¹⁸ John Bradley. *Czech Nationalism in the Nineteenth century*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

large nations and oppressed nationalities. Hroch presents the Czechs as part of the second group of oppressed nationalities.²⁰ These nations often had a variety of relations, including a struggle of the new ruling society with the old ruling nation. Hroch mentions that these nations often had a foreign bourgeois class that resulted in a national movement against an ethnically distinct group in society. In the case of the Czechs, this antagonistic population was the Germans.²¹

John Bradley asserts that a change occurred in the 1880s with the influential scholarship of Professor Goll. Goll explained the Czech national movement in terms of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the influence of past traditions and a deep-seated national identity, along with the notion of identity preservation against German influences.²² These causes helped to set forth a period of increased inquiry into the origins of the Czech national movement. Tomáš Masaryk continued these studies by asserting that the national movement was a result of the European Enlightenment, but also an extension of the Czech religious reformations and strongly influenced by the French Revolution in 1789. Masaryk's framework helped to set the Czech nationalist movement within a larger European context.²³

Following the Battle of White Mountain, the Czech language had disappeared from the official sphere. Emperor Joseph made German the official language for state organs and higher education.²⁴ Although this cannot be seen as a direct Germanization policy by the administration, who simply sought to streamline the government by implementing a standardized language, opportunities were initially limited for Czech speakers.²⁵ The predominance of Germans in the

²⁰ Miroslav Hroch. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*. Translated by Ben Fowkes. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 8-9.

²¹ Hroch, p. 9.

²² Bradley, pp. 2-3.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 3.

²⁴ Sayer, p. 67.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 67.

centralized administration had played a role in antagonizing the Czech population and causing an increasing awareness of their identity.²⁶ This, along with the fact that educational institutions in both Prague and Brno had been functioning under the German language and German was made a requirement for entry in Bohemia's Latin gymnasia, did much to advocate the idea of the Czech nation.²⁷

As with the nationalism that was spreading throughout Central Europe during the nineteenth century among Slavic nations, the Czech national movement began as a cultural endeavor.²⁸ The Czechs were among the first Slavic nation to partake in a national movement and this movement, as will be seen in the following sections, was initially intelligentsia and clergy led. During the second half of the eighteenth century there was large shift in demographics as the Czech population reached its pre-1620 level and the numbers expanded in the countryside as Germanized towns were declining in population. This demographic shift had the result of the Czech population migrating to larger towns and cities.²⁹ It is no surprise that the first task for the leaders of the national movement was a formalization and standardization of the Czech language in order to battle increasing German-language predominance.³⁰ However, before the mid-nineteenth century, all of these literary and cultural tasks had little effect on the general population and had no effect on the political authorities to create a more favorable environment for the Czech population.³¹

During the nineteenth century the Margraviate of Moravia was a small province, half of the size of Bohemia. By 1857 it hosted a population of 1,867,000, seventy per cent were Czech,

²⁶ Bradley, p. 8.

²⁷ Sayer, p. 67.

²⁸ Bradley, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

³⁰ Sayer, p. 70.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 77.

twenty-eight per cent German, and the remainder composed of a minority of Jews, Slovaks, and Croats.³² The main cities in Moravia for institutional and political development were Brno with a population in 1857 of about 61,000 and Olomouc with 14,000.³³ Notably, the two largest Moravian cities were overwhelmingly German and were still sixty-six per cent German by the turn of the century.³⁴ The population was ninety-five per cent Catholic and this Catholic identity would help to mold a distinctive Moravian-style Czech identity. The slower pace of industrialization and the larger Roman Catholic Church influence in Moravia are often cited to explain the sluggish development of the Czech national movement in Moravia. It is the late development of industrialization, urbanization, and Catholic influences that are sometimes blamed for the fifteen to twenty year lag of institutional development behind Bohemia.³⁵ However the delay in Moravian institutional and political development were not always this lengthy, nor was it due to any *backwardness* on the part of the Moravians. Rather it is due to this difference in economic, social, and political development that Moravians sometimes adopted institutions a few years later. Furthermore some political parties appeared later in Moravia due to the resilience of conservative and clerical parties, along with the lack of support for liberal and progressive parties, until the end of the century. Moreover the Moravians used their regional uniqueness in order to establish their own institutions and political parties. Therefore the lag that is attributed to Moravia does not imply that the Moravians were less developed or backwards, only that they had different conditions and needs than their Bohemian counterparts.

³² Stanley Kimball. "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth century Literary Foundations," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. New Series, Vol. 63, No. 4. (1973) p. 32.

³³ Kimball, p. 32.

³⁴ Agnew, p. 156.

³⁵ Bruce Garver. *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978) p. 16.

In Moravia the cultural phase began at the very time that Bohemia was entering its political phase of the national movement, mostly after the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849.³⁶ Although František Palacký and other early leaders of the Czech national movement had come from Moravia to Prague, one of the largest barriers for Moravia was the lack of a center for its national movement.³⁷ While the most important city in Bohemia for national activities was Prague, Brno was less than half of the size of Prague and hosted a limited number of important cultural and educational institutions. The organizations that did exist were overwhelmingly directed by the German population. By 1848 Moravia did not have a single publisher, literary or scholarly journal, or a Czech-language secondary school or university.³⁸ The lack of an institutional foundation was somewhat alleviated in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Matice moravská* (The Moravian Foundation) developed out of the 1848 revolution, whereas the *Matice česká* had been established seventeen years prior. The lack of organizations in Moravia meant that fewer intellectuals were drawn to Brno or other cities in Moravia in order to further the national movement, instead opting to conduct their activities in larger centers of Bohemia. Accordingly, with less industry, there was also a lack of a noble class to fund or sponsor patriot activities in Moravia.³⁹

The political scene in Moravia also operated with a lag behind Bohemia. It was not until the 1860s that the Czech national movement in Moravia attained a political significance.⁴⁰ Until a later period than in Bohemia, upper- and middle-class Germans continued to play a leading role in the large urban centers of Moravia, as late as the seventies and eighties. This meant that,

³⁶ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Kimball, p. 32.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

compared with Bohemia, it took nearly two decades for the Germans to acquiesce city government control to the Czechs in Moravia. This lag was mostly due to the rural-style governmental bodies in Moravia, which had acted with more caution to cede power than had occurred in Bohemia.⁴¹ The German element was much stronger in Moravia and rather than living in separate communities as in Bohemia, the German and Moravian populations were closely intertwined and often lived together throughout the entire region. Not only was Brno closer to the imperial capital, but Moravia's capital was more heavily dependent on the German population and on the Austrian economy.⁴²

Additionally some scholars claim that the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church slowed down the dissemination of the Czech national movement, as reform-minded and progressive Moravian political parties were slow to develop in competition with conservative and clerical parties. Unlike political supporters in Bohemia who had opted for progressive and anticlerical political options earlier in the nineteenth century, the first highly liberal Czech political party in Moravia, the People's Party (*Lidový Strana*), was not formed until February 15, 1891. This establishment of a liberal party in Moravia occurred over seventeen years after the Young Czech Party Congress in Prague that established the party's presence in Bohemia.⁴³

The lack of an institutional center and the lagging of the political stage of the national movement were not the only hindrances. In addition, a strong provincial identity prevailed in Moravia in the period immediately following the 1848 and 1849 revolutions. There were many Moravians who were envious of the status of the Bohemian Czechs and did not seek closer

⁴¹ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

⁴² Kimball, p. 32.

⁴³ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

integration with Bohemia in order to preserve their own regional identity.⁴⁴ Not only were Moravians envious of the Bohemian status in the Austrian Empire, but at times had even considered Prague a danger to the development of their own distinctive “Moravian” identity. The Germans exploited this Moravian fear of Prague in order to weaken the Czech national consciousness among the Moravian Czechs and reinvigorate feelings of separatism.⁴⁵

During the mid-nineteenth century, there was still room for the redefinition of self-identity. Similar to other nationalities living within the multiethnic empires of Europe during the nineteenth century emergence of nationalism, Moravians also lived in a situation of overlapping and multiple identities that did not necessarily mean an inevitable self-identification as *Czech*. As T. Mills Kelly states, these nineteenth century identification categories included: imperial, national, regional, occupational, gender, and religious.⁴⁶ Living within the Austro-Hungarian Empire eventually forced a citizen to self-identify into increasingly narrow categories. Typically these choices of identification were not only based solely on ethnicity but also reflected personal circumstances or decisions that would yield the greatest personal benefit.⁴⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, a typical Moravian assumed a Czech identity. What is important to examine is why this regional self-identification of the Moravians ultimately turned into a co-option of Czech identity.

⁴⁴ Kimball, p. 32.

⁴⁵ Kimball, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Kelly, pp. 283-284.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

V. Nineteenth Century Institutions in Bohemia and Moravia

The institutional framework for the national movement in the Czech lands was not equally distributed across regions and the bulk of the institutional framework existing in 1848 was hosted primarily in Bohemia. The nineteenth century witnessed an explosion of nationalist activities throughout and beyond the Austrian Empire and the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia were no exception to this. Learned societies had existed in the Czech lands for nearly a century before 1848, but these institutions were heavily influenced by the German population. Czech patriots had attempted for over thirty years to establish a formal “Czech language society” (*Společnost Česká*); however it was not until the establishment of the *Matice česká* that an institution was able to successfully advocate the revival of the Czech language and propel the Czech national movement forward in a meaningful way.⁴⁸

Influenced by the establishment of the Serbian matice, the Czechs were the first of the Slavic groups to follow the example and establish the *Matice česká* in 1831.⁴⁹ The *Matice česká* was established and directed by the strongly, nationally-minded Czech patriots. These patriots used the Bohemian Museum, founded in 1818, as a springboard for the matice.⁵⁰ The institution was shaped, in large part, by the efforts of František Palacký and became the first truly national, “Czech” organization.⁵¹

The *Matice česká* was the first independent Czech organization to advance the cause of nationalism. It was the strongest supporter of the idea of a Czech nation and the most important legal center up until 1848.⁵² The main goal for the *Matice česká* was to collect funding in order

⁴⁸ Kimball, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁵⁰ Stanley Pech. *The Czech Revolution of 1848*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969) p. 31.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 28.

⁵² Kimball, pp. 21-22.

to sponsor activities to promote Czech culture and the primary method in doing this would be the publication of books and printed material in order to advocate the revival of the Czech language.⁵³ As stated in the original bylaws for the *Matice česká*: “This fund is established for the purpose of aiding and facilitating the publishing of good Czech books whether they be of general interest, scientific, or esthetic.”⁵⁴ The *Matice česká* also acted as an Academy of Sciences and produced a variety of cultural activities and works. This made it of the utmost importance for the national movement and it was one of the strongest pillars of the national struggle.⁵⁵

The lack of an institutional framework in Moravia is one of the primary reasons for the delay of nationally-focused activities in Moravia, as they had to catch-up in terms of establishing organizations that would have the capacity to disseminate the national idea. Due to the profound influence of the *Matice česká* in Bohemia, it was the first institution to inspire the Moravians to establish a similar organization in order to promote their own purposes. In particular the Czech printing market was in dire condition in Moravia and there was no single publisher for Czech-language works, nor were there any literary or scholarly periodicals. To make matters worse, Moravia had no university or even a Czech-language secondary school until 1867.⁵⁶

There had been only two scholarly societies in Moravia, the *Mährisch-schlesische Ackerbaugesellschaft* (*Moravsko-slezká Společnost pro Zemědělství, Přírodu, Vědy, a Vlastivědu*, Moravian-Silesian Society for Agriculture, Natural History, Science, and Home

⁵³ Pech, p. 28.

⁵⁴ Kimball, p. 21.

⁵⁵ Jaroslav Prokeš. “National Self-Help under Foreign Rule: I. The Centenary of the *Matice Česká*,” in *The Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 10. No. 29. pp. 420-427. (December 1931) p. 424.

⁵⁶ Kimball, p. 32.

Science) founded in 1769 and its museum founded in 1818 the Franciseum.⁵⁷ However, one could not include these organizations into a national category because they were heavily Germanized and promoted a provincial, rather than national idea.⁵⁸ The purpose of these institutions was to critically examine the history of the Moravian region and to advance culture and knowledge; however not nationally minded. Both societies witnessed stagnation rather than successful dissemination of a Moravian identity.⁵⁹

Under the circumstances of lacking a Czech-language publisher or major educational institution, the Czech national movement lagged behind developments in Bohemia. However, it did not take long for the Moravians to follow suit and establish their own version of the *Matice česká*. Although the *Matice česká* was established as a national institution in Bohemia, the unique conditions in Moravia allowed for the development of a regional *Matice* that would advocate for the study of the particular culture and history of Moravia. However there were patriots and those interested in developing national life in Moravia. In April 1849 Czech patriots held a meeting in Brno, where Karel Havliček stated in the *Narodní noviny* that although Slavic life was limited in Moravia, it was a good sign that over seventy people attended.⁶⁰

The first Moravian cultural institution for nationally-minded patriots was the *Matice moravská*. Before delving into a description of the *Matice moravská*, it is necessary to lay out the periodization of the organization to understand its evolution and numerous name changes. Due to that fact that the organization went through several name transformations, it can cause easy confusion and the assumption that these may have been separate institutions. From 1836 to 1848

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Jan Janák. "Matice moravská v dějinách Moravy," in *Dějiny Moravy a Matice moravská: Problémy a perspektivy*. Sborník příspěvků konané ve dnech 24.-25. Listopadu 1999 v Brně. (Brno: Matice moravská, 2000.) p. 11.

the *Matice moravská* existed as a private organization known as the *Matice moravská*. In the revolutionary years of 1848 to 1849 it was known for a brief time as the *Jednota Moravská* (Moravian Union). The onset of the absolutist period in the post-revolutionary years caused the need for another transformation in order to appease the imperial government, thus the organization was known as the *Národní Jednota Moravská sv. Cyrilla a Methoda* (National Moravian Union of Saints Cyril and Methodius). It was only after 1853 that the institution reverted back to its original name, the *Matice moravská*.⁶¹

Adopting the model of the other Slavic Matices to the context of Moravia was the brainchild of Alois Vojtech Šembera. Šembera was dismayed by the lack of a Czech book market in Moravia.⁶² Ultimately he believed that the lack of a Czech national identity and cultural life was due to the insufficient levels of Czech-language books published in Moravia.⁶³ He decided to fill this void by creating the *Matice moravská* based on the *Matice česká*.⁶⁴ The major objective of the institution was to advocate the usage of Czech language and to cultivate literature. In Šembera's own words:

The purpose of the matica should be the publication of books which can find a publisher neither at the Czech matica nor at Moravian publishers, especially books written in Moravia about Moravia which merit publication.⁶⁵

Much like the *Matice česká* Šembera started a fund for the publication of Czech books and gave control of published writings of the *Matice moravská* to Jan Helecllet.⁶⁶ In 1836 František

⁶¹ Kimball, p. 33.

⁶² Janák, p. 11.

⁶³ Kimball, p. 33.

⁶⁴ Janák, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Kimball, p. 31.

⁶⁶ Janák, p. 11.

Matouš Klácel, one of the leading figures of the national movement in Moravia, had his poems published by the *Matice moravská*.⁶⁷

Until 1845 the *Matice moravská* acted as a private institution composed only of a small group of cultural intelligentsia. Šembera often complained of the lack of publicity and support for the organization. The lack of interest of the Czech leaders in Bohemia to foster the growth of the *Matice moravská* was due in part to the fear of Moravian literary separatism, which the cultural figures in Bohemia believed would follow the same divergent path as the Slovaks had and eventually lead into separate identification.⁶⁸ In addition the central Moravian newspaper, the *Moravské Noviny* (Moravian News), was an official government paper and thus would hardly be expected to support activities that would stir up feelings of a separate identity.⁶⁹

Due to the lack of support from the imperial government and Czech leaders in Bohemia, the members of the *Matice moravská* sought to give the institution a more permanent strength.⁷⁰ Šembera attempted to alter the institution's model by turning it into a stock company, where members would pay a minimum of five forint. Each member would receive publications proportionate to the amount they invested.⁷¹ However this meant that the *Matice moravská* would become a private endeavor where only those who could afford membership would be able to receive its works, thus excluding the middle and lower-classes from attaining its publications.⁷²

There were some patriots who were against this form of a stock company model for the *Matice moravská*, as some advocated that it turn into a public organization like the *Matice*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Kimball, p. 33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

česká.⁷³ It was not until the revolutionary years that Šembera and other patriots in Moravia were inclined to replace the private *Matice* with a farther-reaching public organization in order to offset the increasing Germanization, especially to counter the activities of Count Jan Antonín Arnošt Schaffgotsch; as the bishop of Brno Schaffgotsch was the primary anti-Czech figure in Moravia.⁷⁴

The activities of the *Matice moravská* were expanded in order to develop literacy and national consciousness among the greater public and in order to foster a cultural expansion, but also to work toward the goal of establishing equality among German and Czech language in schools.⁷⁵ The result of changing the *Matice moravská* into a public organization was the name change into the *Jednota moravská* (the Moravian Union) in June 1848 as a scholarly and humanitarian society.⁷⁶ It was on June 6, 1848 that the new *Jednota moravská* was established and took on the role of creating a foundational base to educate in the Czech language with reading and speech lessons. Additionally the organization also sought to aid the expansion of education and literacy in general to all Slavic nationalities.⁷⁷ According to its new statutes, it was to continue the tradition of advocating literature by gathering funds to establish reading rooms and salons. Additionally the organization would stock these reading rooms with journals and literary works for the purpose of spreading national consciousness, to establish natural history collections, and to support libraries.⁷⁸ However the *Jednota moravská* was a short-lived experiment and was quickly replaced by yet another institution.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Kimball, p. 34.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Janák, p. 12.

⁷⁸ Kimball, p. 34.

Just before the alternative Reichstag in Kroměříž, the *Moravský klub* discussed on March 2, 1848 the creation of this new institution that would replace the *Jednota moravská*. The *Moravský klub*'s leading representative was Jan Ohéral, the editor of the first Czech magazine published in Moravia and the founder of a weekly Moravian national newspaper. Ohéral was also instrumental in drafting the bylaws for the new organization, to be known as the *Národní jednota Moravská*. The group had similar aims to its predecessors and its statutes claimed that they aimed to train Moravian society to spread Moravian civic and national consciousness and for the purpose of spreading Moravian folk culture and awakening and strengthening national identity among Austrian nationals.⁷⁹ This redefinition of their identity would be accomplished through the issuing of books, magazines, and artwork. Additionally, like the *Matice moravská*, the *Moravská národní jednota* would also establish libraries, reading rooms, reading circles, and host regular meetings with discussions based around how to meet the needs of Moravian culture.⁸⁰ These discussions occurred before the parliament in Kroměříž dissolved. It began its activities in Kroměříž on March 9, 1849 and soon relocated to Brno.⁸¹ After the Reichstag dissolved on March 7, 1849 the club members dispersed throughout the province and Moravian deputies returned to their homes. Shortly after, several of these patriots congregated in Brno in hopes that the group would collaborate in order to further spread the idea of a Moravian national unity.⁸²

Although the *Moravská národní jednota* had been established in order to avoid political implications, the organization had to turn to the Ministry of the Interior in order to determine whether it would be considered a political organization by the government. On August 26 a

⁷⁹ Janák, p. 12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 11.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 12.

⁸² *Ibid*.

General Assembly of the *Moravská národní jednota* convened in order to decide whether they wanted to fall under a political category. The association's assembly decided on October 3, 1849 that they did not wish to be considered a political association and unanimously decided to change any wording in their bylaws that could be interpreted as such.⁸³ The bylaws were altered in order to stress the organization's non-political goals, which were promoting books, libraries, reading rooms, and art collections. On November 18, 1849 the *Moravské národní jednoty* won recognition from the imperial government as an apolitical association.⁸⁴

The *Matice moravská* was the closest example of a nationally-minded institution or society in Moravia. Although it was established after the *Matice česká*, the delay was only approximately five years. Given the demographics of Moravia and its less-urbanized population, this lag is understandable and not necessarily a sign of backwardness. Unfortunately, the composition of the Moravian population made it difficult for the *Matice moravská* to garner support from government officials and the general public. Therefore while patriots sought to infuse Moravia with Czech language and national consciousness, it did little in comparison with its counterpart in Bohemia. The *Matice moravská* only published a few works and its gains were quite modest. The *Matice moravská* usually faced both financial and political difficulties.⁸⁵ However these failures must be examined with the advantages of its establishment. The organization did more than any other in Moravia to advance the Czech language and national consciousness. By 1869 it had published thirty-seven scholarly and popular works and had created the second most important scholarly journal in the Czech lands, organized several

⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁴ Janák, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁵ Kimball, p. 33.

libraries, exchanged publications throughout the Slavic world and had over 700 members.⁸⁶ As Stanley Kimball claims the *Matice moravská* sought to not only advance scholarship, but to overcome the indifference of the Moravian population and to battle the onslaught of Germanization.⁸⁷

While cultural institutions were a few years behind developments in Bohemia, a phenomenon not as prevalent in Bohemia during the second half of the nineteenth century also helped to create a distinctive regional and Czech identity in Moravia. Religious (mostly Catholic) institutions, at times, were even more popular than cultural institutions. In Bohemia the Czech clergy was an important integrating force during the earlier stages of the national movement. The clergy were essential in providing daily school sermons and Sunday school lessons in the Czech language.⁸⁸ They also played a role in distributing Czech-language works and founded reading groups and libraries. Religious figures had also played a key influence in organizations like the National Museum and the first Czech social club in Prague, the *Měšťánská beseda*.⁸⁹ During the early stages of the national movement, the clergy was ultimately responsible for educating generations and instilling in them the spirit of the Czech nation.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, as Bradley explains, the Catholic clergy emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Bohemia without strong nationally-minded leaders due to the lack of vocations to priesthood and the lowering of educational requirements to enter theological departments.⁹¹

Although already exhibiting a shift away from the Roman Catholic Church in earlier stages, especially by key figures from Protestant backgrounds including Palacký and Šafařík, by

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸⁸ Bradley, p. 10.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

the end of the nineteenth century there was a strong move in Bohemia away from Church influence. The *Pryč od Řima* or “Away-from-Rome” movement sought to provide evidence that the Catholic Church had committed injustices against the Czech nation throughout history.⁹² There was anti-Catholic sentiment brewing as a way to oppose the Austrian imperial government, who had attempted in the past “re-Catholicize” the Czech lands; increasingly Catholicism became associated with the Hapsburg rule.⁹³ During this movement Catholic priests attempted to regain its former strength by working with the progressive and liberal parties in the Czech lands.⁹⁴

The *Pryč od Řima* movement and prevailing anti-Catholic sentiment was less predominant in Moravia and from 1850 two institutions emerged in Moravia that showcase the relative strength of Catholicism in the region. These associations were organized by priests and the first one, the *Dedictví sv. Cyrilla a Methoda*, eclipsed the popularity of the *Národní jednota*. In Moravia the scholarly priest Father Francis Sušil and his colleague in Bohemia, Father Václav Štulc, established the Association of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Along with this, they also launched a movement that would commemorate the arrival of Cyril and Methodius into Moravia in 863. These ideas soon took hold in Moravia, as Brno and Olomouc soon became centers of Catholic activities in the Czech lands. The *Cyrrillomethodian* idea attempted to show that Catholic and Slavic were compatible notions and not mutually exclusive and to combat the influences that were defining Orthodox and Slavic as synonymous.⁹⁵ The primary focus was, as

⁹² Ludvic Nemeč. “The Czech Jednota, the Avant-Garde of Modern Clerical Progressivism and Unionism,” in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. 112, No. 1. pp. 74-100. (February 15, 1968) p. 79.

⁹³ Nemeč, p. 79.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

pointed out by Ludvic Nemeč, not political and its purpose was to restore confidence in Catholicism as a complimenting idea to nationalism.⁹⁶

The *Dedictvi sv. Cyrilla a Methoda* had received a lot of influence after its establishment and was followed by the founding of another religiously affiliated institution, the *Jednota katolická* (the Catholic Union). The *Jednota katolická* was established along the same lines as the German Catholic Union. The secular *Národní jednota* originally could not compete with the both of these Catholic organization's size and the scope of their activities, especially due to the fact that the activities of the *Národní jednota* had lessened during the 1850s due to the onset of the absolutist period.⁹⁷ Other Catholic organizations had also surfaced in Moravia, including St. Joseph's clubs, unions of Catholic journeymen, and other associations such as the *Spolek sv. Matěje* (St. Matthew's Society), *Svornost* (The Concord), *Láska* (The Charity), *Obrana* (The Defense), and more.⁹⁸ The fact that the secular Matice organization could not keep pace with the religious institutions in Moravia shows the strong influence of religious institutions in Moravia. The presence of religion was not only found in the leading organizations of the mid-nineteenth century, but would also come to permeate Moravian politics in the latter half of the century.

The population of the Czech lands in the second-half of the nineteenth century were also gathering in social organizations and clubs. The period of the 1860s was a time of rapid club development and became not only the primary expression of national life in Moravia, but also an expression of the human need for social connections and activities.⁹⁹ This rapid increase in the level of clubs corresponded with the increasing urbanization of the Czech lands. There was an

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Řepa, p. 107.

⁹⁸ Pavel Marek. "Emancipation of Czech Political Catholicism, 1890-1914," in *East European Quarterly*. XXXVII, No. 1. pp. 1-17. (March 2003) p.6.

⁹⁹ Řepa, p. 118.

influx of the rural population into urban centers, gradually changing the composition of these cities into majority Czech. As Milan Řepa explains the relatively peaceful existence of rural life, based on the tradition of family and neighbors, was followed by newcomers hailing to cities and looking for new forms of social organization. Not only were newcomers looking for new alliances, but also longtime city-dwellers had been influenced by the new infusion of social organizations and sought to join these clubs.¹⁰⁰ As a result club membership exploded in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ This was not a movement simply felt in the more industrialized regions of Bohemia, but clubs were extremely popular in Moravia as well.

There were numerous organizations to fulfill the advancement of Czech cultural and scholarly life. These institutions included the committee for the Czech National Theater, the singing group *Hlahol*, and organizations established to support the performing arts.¹⁰²

Nationally-oriented foundations received support from the population throughout the Czech lands in order to promote Czech interests, especially in areas that were predominantly German, along the borderlands and the northern regions.¹⁰³ These organizations included the Šumava National Union, founded in 1884, and the North Bohemian National Union, founded in 1885. In Moravia, they included the National Union for Southwestern Moravia, founded in 1886 in Brno, and the Political Association for Northern Moravia, founded in February 1892 in Olomouc.¹⁰⁴

Among the most popular clubs in the Czech lands were the patriotic gymnastic organizations, most notably the *Sokol* (Falcon).¹⁰⁵ The Sokol was the most successful of the Czech clubs founded in the early 1860s. Although initially developed in Bohemia (as most

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Řepa, p. 118.

¹⁰² Garver. "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 8.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

cultural institutions were), there was not a significant lag in its establishment in Moravia. Unlike the older elitist Czech clubs, such as the *Měšťanská beseda*, these new clubs drew their membership from the petite bourgeoisie and working class, which were aspiring for social mobility and the affirmation of their national identity.¹⁰⁶ The reason that the Sokol was able to win over these working class groups was due to the universal appeal of fitness and gymnastics training.¹⁰⁷ There was an appeal for the physical improvement, but also the moral education and development of all in the nation, and the nurturing of defense and strength.¹⁰⁸

At its inception the imperial government held great concerns about the activities of the *Sokol*. These concerns were due to the affiliation of Czech radical politicians with the organization, such as Julius Grégr and Thurn-Taxis, as well as the revolutionary activities of the 1848 *Turnverein*.¹⁰⁹ The *Turnverein* was a model for the Sokol, founded by Berlin instructor named Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. It had been a symbol for liberalism and national identity for the Germans and was looked upon by the Hapsburg government with skepticism.¹¹⁰ The Czechs took the example of the *Turnverein* and made their own Czech version, taking into account uniquely Czech national characteristics.¹¹¹ This resulted in close government observation of the *Sokol* and intense scrutiny when examining their constitution or statutes.¹¹²

A much smaller Sokol movement had also developed in Moravia and had followed a similar path to its Bohemian counterpart. After years of decline in the 1870s, the organization began to witness a recovery after the first *Slet* in June 1882 (a *Slet* was a large gymnastics

¹⁰⁶ Claire E. Nolte. *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*. (New York, NY; Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ Sayer, p. 106.

¹⁰⁹ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Claire E Nolte. "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," in *Austrian History Yearbook*. Vol. XXIV. pp. 79-100. (1993) p. 81.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 47.

festival).¹¹³ This was also further stimulated by a large field trip held by the Bohemian Sokol clubs to Moravia months later. The revival was led mostly by the Brno division of the Sokol, the oldest and largest in Moravia. Their membership had increased between 1882 and 1884, when it reached 311.¹¹⁴ The differences between the Bohemia and Moravian organizations went much further than their enrollment statistics and by 1887 the Moravian clubs did not have their own training hall. The Brno Sokol library, the largest held by a Moravian club, had a meager forty-two volumes in their possession.¹¹⁵ There were unique Moravian issues that prevented its popularity to reach the height of the Bohemian clubs, especially with regard to the role regionalism and religion should play in the organization.

In 1889 the *Česká obec sokolská* (ČOS) was established in order to unify all Sokol groups dispersed throughout the Czech lands into an umbrella organization.¹¹⁶ The government had approved an expansion of the ČOS to include establishing clubs in Moravia in 1902; however the Moravian-Silesian Sokol Union (*Moravsko-Slezká Obec Sokolská* or M-SOS) did not immediately respond by taking part in the expansion.¹¹⁷ In reality the M-SOS had been in a vegetative mode for most of the 1890s and only were encouraged into acting when Bohemian Sokol groups took field trips to both Moravia and Silesia. The Sokol attempted to end Moravian separatism by pushing the M-SOS to disband their regional activities, but the M-SOS refused to end the existence of their group.¹¹⁸ However, individual Moravian provinces instead joined the centralized ČOS and ended the Moravian Union in 1904.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 132.

¹¹⁵ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 132.

¹¹⁶ Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," p. 82.

¹¹⁷ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, p. 153.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

One of the largest topics of contention was the role of the Roman Catholic Church in cultural and political affairs. The religious influence in Moravia had given the clerical parties great influence in the region, while in Bohemia anti-clericalism had gained a significant following.¹²⁰ While the Moravians followed the Bohemian path by establishing its own *Sokol* organization, a different phenomenon also occurred in Moravia. In the early years after the founding of the Sokol, there had been a few problems with the Church despite the club's reverence of the Hussites. Miroslav Tyrš maintained that religion was a private matter and should not influence the club membership. The funerals of Miroslav Tyrš and Jindřich Fügner had included religious ceremonies and Sokol clubs sponsored masses in their memory. All of this changed in the later nineteenth century at a time when the newly politicized Church was taking a stronger stand against the Hussite legend. The Prague Sokol purchased Hus's family home in Husinec with the intention of turning it into a museum and Sokol clubs participated in the commemoration of the Hussites, who were increasingly popularized by students in the 1890s.

In response to the demands from some of the club members, the 1896 Sokol handbook specifically prohibited religious events during club ceremonies, stating that "church services have nothing in common with our cause and therefore must be dropped."¹²¹ This growing hostility between the Church and Sokol eventually resulted in the creation of a clerical gymnastic movement called the *Orel* (Eagle) in 1902 (although the name "Orel" was only officially adopted for these groups in 1909).¹²² The Orel was founded as a Christian-Socialist movement and as a

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, pp. 153-154.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

part of the Catholic workers' society in Líšeň.¹²³ The main figure for the Orel was Bishop Eduard Brynych, who was also the publisher of the Catholic newspaper, *Obnova*.¹²⁴

The *Dělnické tělocvičné jednoty* (D.T.J) had been founded by the Social Democratic Party in 1897 and sought to challenge the predominance of the Sokol.¹²⁵ Similar to the D.T.J, the Orel modeled its organization after the Sokol and even had its uniform copied directly from the Sokol organization, although the feather implanted in the official hat originated from an eagle instead of the Sokol's mascot, the falcon.¹²⁶ Due to its religious connotations, it is no surprise that the Orel's main support came from Moravia, where 180 of 205 Orel clubs existed by 1912. As part of a larger, continental-wide clerical movement, the Orel had contacts throughout Europe and even hosted a group of Slovene Catholic gymnasts at its 1912 festival in Kroměříž.¹²⁷

Orel leaders attempted to use the legacy of Tryš and Fügner to justify the existence of their society, claiming that it represented the true traditional heritage. It claimed that the Sokol had morally declined and had been corrupted by liberal influences, especially the newspaper *Národní listy*.¹²⁸ Sokol members fought back by claiming that the Orel had been loyal to the Hapsburg dynasty and criticized its priests for utilizing German instead of Czech.¹²⁹ Critics went further by claiming that religious figures were a danger to the nation, especially in Moravia, because it was not possible to educate them.¹³⁰ Ultimately, although none of the new organizations could rival the influence or membership numbers of the Sokol, they did help to undermine the Sokol's progressive goals. Instead of focusing on disseminating the national

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹²⁵ Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," p. 83.

¹²⁶ Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, pp. 153-154.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

cause, the Sokol instead had to wage a battle against both Germans and its new organizational rivals, especially the D.T.J and the Orel.¹³¹

The commonality among many of these cultural institutions were their goals to employ Czech-language publications to spread the Czech national identity. As with cultural institutions, the Bohemians had a head start on producing publications.¹³² One of Palacký's most important contributions to Czech national life was the publication of the *Journal of the Czech Museum*, established in 1827 with the aid of patriots and intelligentsia.¹³³ It is within this context that publishing history must be examined to see how publications helped to support the Czech national movement.

The Moravians not only had to overcome institutional deficiencies but, as other Slavic nationalities in the Austrian Empire, had to choose a literary language. The 1830s and 1840s were important decades for the Slavic nationalities that faced the challenge of standardizing and developing their national languages.¹³⁴ The decisions of the Moravians were similar to the choices faced by the Slovaks and in both of these regions the adoption of literary Czech had both positive and negative implications.¹³⁵ Ultimately Moravians and Slovaks would have completely divergent paths in their decisions for a literary language; the Slovaks established a separate Slovak language, while the Moravians maintained literary Czech (also pressing for inclusion of aspects of the Moravian dialect).¹³⁶

¹³¹ Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," p. 83.

¹³² Jaroslav Prokeš. "National Self-Help under Foreign Rule: I. The Centenary of the Maticе Česká," in *The Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 10. No. 29. pp. 420-427. (December 1931) p. 423.

¹³³ Prokeš, p. 423.

¹³⁴ Kevin Hannan. "The Language Question in Nineteenth century Moravia," in *Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*. Vol. 11, No. 2. (Winter 1993) p. 123.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 116.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

The literary Czech language had originated primarily from the central Bohemian region. Spoken Czech was close enough to the Moravian dialect during the Czech national movement that there was no impetus by Czech national leaders in Bohemia to incorporate Moravian peculiarities into the standardized literary language.¹³⁷ By the mid-century the language question for both the Slovaks and Moravians had been largely answered with the separation of Czech and Slovak and the lack of a separate Moravian language.¹³⁸ In 1849 a group of Moravian writers had backed the Bohemians in their support for the unity of the Bohemian and Moravian dialects into a single Czech language.¹³⁹ However this decision for the Moravians to adopt the Czech language cannot be looked at as simply a loss in the language battle.

While there was an acceptance of the Czech language in Moravia, there were attempts to tie the literary Czech closer to spoken Moravian after 1848.¹⁴⁰ There were large attempts to do this in 1863, coinciding with the millennial commemoration of the saints Cyril and Methodius's arrival in Moravia.¹⁴¹ Soon after the celebrations, František Cyril Kampelík published a monograph that described German influences into the Czech language. Following the ideas espoused by Trnka, Kampelík urged the Czech patriots to incorporate elements from Moravia and Slovakia into literary Czech.¹⁴² Kampelík criticized German influences that were prevalent in Czech and sought to eliminate these influences and add Moravian and Slovak influences.¹⁴³ Ultimately Kampelík advocated a unitary Czech language, albeit closer to spoken Moravian and Slovak.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹³⁹ Hannan, p. 123.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

There were larger efforts to maintain a Moravian dialect as the standard. In 1863 a group of Moravian students in Vienna created a society called *Moravia* and its newspapers *Krasnice*. The newspaper introduced certain orthographic reforms that were more closely aligned with spoken Moravian and Slovak, such as the substitution of *ú, šč* for Czech *ou, št'*. These changes were ultimately adopted by other publications such as the Olomouc newspaper *Lípa moravská*, which was published in 1865.¹⁴⁵ Although in the end the literary Czech from Bohemia became accepted as the standard, there were many Moravians throughout the nineteenth century who recognized the cultural and linguistic differences that separated the Moravians from the Bohemians and Slovaks. Articles published as late as 1885 still called for the usage of the unique Moravian dialect, which was important for separating Moravian-Czechs from their Bohemian-Czech counterparts.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, Leoš Jánaček had worked tirelessly to collect Moravian folk music in order to create his own Moravian operatic language, incorporating mostly a northern-Moravian dialect. His most well-known opera, *Jenůfa*, was set in a Moravian village and employs this dialect.¹⁴⁷ When answering questions from the *Moravská revue* (Moravian Review) in 1899 he stated that:

We need to plunge to the depths to find the truth: even the tone of our actors' language, in fact the speech melodies of actors' language, have to be *genuinely Czech, genuinely Moravian*.¹⁴⁸

Not only did he seek to utilize the Moravian dialect in his works, but he also sought to remove German influences within the language and infuse Moravian elements into Czech.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Hannan, pp. 123-124.

¹⁴⁷ Sayer, pp. 122-123.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

In the years following 1848 and 1849, the Moravians had the task of building up their non-existent institutional framework. The *Malice moravská* was the first major cultural organization in Moravia and was the closest example of a nationally-based institution in Moravia. The organization did more than any other in Moravia to encourage the development of the Czech language and to spread the idea of national consciousness. Although Moravians were largely influenced by Bohemia and followed similar models, as with the *Malice moravská* and Sokol, the Moravians also established their own institutions to accommodate their regional distinctiveness. Moravian-based organizations were usually religiously affiliated and were extremely popular throughout the province, at times more so than the cultural institutions. Even Bohemian-based organizations like the Sokol would be changed to fit the Moravian environment in order to garner more support, whether by changing their objectives or by creating an institution that would better fit their situation, like the *Orel*. The influence of religion would not be limited to the cultural sphere but would later come to play a large role in politics in the latter half of the century. What is important to gather from the cultural framework is that, although industrialization, urbanization, and printing all came later to Moravia, this delay was usually less than two decades. It is essential to realize that the Moravians were not simply interested in copying the Bohemian institutional framework, but sought to exhibit their provincial distinctiveness and Moravian identity. Thus the Czech national movement in Bohemia and Moravia were not identical, but rather the Moravians took their cues from the Bohemians and altered organizations to better fit their own individual conditions. The cultural framework also set the stage for political parties to emerge and spread their influence among both the Bohemian and Moravian regions.

VI. Nineteenth Century Political Institutions in Bohemia and Moravia

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Czech lands not only experienced a different level of institutional development, but also political maturity. The Czech political parties in Moravia did not develop with an identical trajectory to the Bohemian parties. Instead, despite a similarity in some of their goals, there were some divergent traits and sometimes even different parties operating in each crown land. These variations reflected the difference in industrial development, urbanization, religious composition, demographics, and institutional development of Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁵⁰ It is vital to examine not only the similarities but also differences in order to understand the development of Czech social and political life.¹⁵¹

Most histories of political development in the Czech lands have focused on the historiography of Bohemia. There has been a dearth of histories comparing the similar and divergent situations in both crown lands.¹⁵² For the purposes of this work, the best English-language comparison of nineteenth century politics in Moravia and Bohemia was an article written by Bruce Garver entitled “A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914.” An overall understanding of Moravian politics will lend itself to a better understanding of developments in the Czech lands as whole.¹⁵³ It was only in Bohemia that more radically national and liberal parties won overwhelming support, while clerical and conservative parties held long-lasting support in Moravia until the final decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴ Many Czech and Western scholars have recognized that the Czech case has not been a monolithic one, but instead that politics throughout the Czech lands have shown

¹⁵⁰ Garver, “A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914,” p. 1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵³ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

different trends in different locales.¹⁵⁵ By comparing both Bohemian and Moravian political trends in the nineteenth century, we can enlarge our overall understanding of the main characteristics of the modern Czech nation and social development.¹⁵⁶

The political programs that were formulated during 1848 and 1849 showcased how the Bohemians were far more advanced in their development than the Moravians.¹⁵⁷ Although both Slovaks and Moravians had played a role in formulating the national idea and the political programs during the era of mass politics, the concept of a Czech nation was created in Bohemia.¹⁵⁸ During the revolutionary years, the national idea was still immature throughout the Moravian lands. It would take up until the latter decades of the nineteenth century for the Czech idea to spread throughout Moravia. To see this development it is important not only to look at the institutional framework in Moravia, but also the evolution of political parties and programs in the Czech lands. The Moravian lands were important for Czech politics due to the fact that some of the most important figures in Czech intellectual and political life were raised in Moravia, including František Palacký and Tomáš Masaryk.¹⁵⁹

During the mid-century, there were often more disagreements over the direction of the Czech lands than shared goals. For instance the St. Václav Committee was put in charge of demanding the unity of the Lands of the Czech Crown. The Committee was to put forth a petition to the Emperor to demand certain changes in the crown land relations to Vienna.¹⁶⁰ For instance, the largest changes would have been the unity of the lands of the Czech crown, free election, the rejection of the existing diet, and a push for modern constitutional requirements.

¹⁵⁵ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Hannan, p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ Hannan, p. 117.

¹⁵⁹ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ Pech, pp. 71-72.

Inspired by the success of the Hungarians in gaining increased rights vis-à-vis Vienna, the Bohemian-Czechs felt confident in their demands.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately for the Czechs, the request for the unity of the lands of the Czech crown was rejected. This matter was to be directed to the future central parliament in Vienna where Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia would all have representatives.¹⁶² The demands from the Bohemian lands failed due to the lack of support from Moravia and Silesia.¹⁶³ Due to the lack of widespread Czech consciousness, the strong regional Moravian identity prevailed. Both Moravian ethnic Czechs and ethnic Germans refused the move to strengthen the relationship between Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁶⁴ The Moravian diet brought forth a resounding defeat to the proposal for a Bohemian and Moravian union with a speech from Alois Pražák.¹⁶⁵ Although only a handful of Moravian leaders had taken part in this diet, a later diet that was held, where German and Czech representatives were divided, also voted against the union.¹⁶⁶ While there were segments of the population who did support unity of the crown lands, these numbers were far from constituting the majority.¹⁶⁷ With such strong opposition for the union of Bohemia and Moravia, it was not difficult for the imperial government to ultimately deny the Czech demands.¹⁶⁸

The revolutionary years also marked changes in the political structure in the Czech lands. The assemblies of estates were abolished; however this did not end land assemblies in an “estate-free” form, which reemerged in 1861.¹⁶⁹ The land assemblies began to play a lesser role in the

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁶³ Pech, p. 74.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁹ Oskar Krejčí. *History of Elections in Bohemia and Moravia*. (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995) p. 49.

political life of the Czech lands as increasing centralization brought more power to imperial institutions.¹⁷⁰ This increase in centralization also corresponded with the development of modern-style political parties. The increase in political parties meant that these party systems adapted more quickly in relation to the Imperial Council than to older-style assemblies that resisted democratization.¹⁷¹

It was only following the era of absolutism in the Austrian Empire that the Czechs actively resumed politics. It was not until the 1860s that the Czech national movement in Moravia attained a political significance (whereas it could be said that the Bohemian-Czechs assumed this significance in the 1848/1849 period).¹⁷² The 1860s marked the end of the absolutist period in the Austrian Empire. The defeat of the imperial army in northern Italy and the increasingly complicated interplay of national movements with the center all influenced the establishment of representative democracy in 1860.¹⁷³ From this point the Bohemian and Moravian political institutions began to adopt the same programs such as advocating personal rights for individuals and social groups, economic growth, and overall national well-being.¹⁷⁴ These goals would be achieved through increased industrialization and an improvement in the standard of living, the achievement of literacy through mass education, increased rights for women, and seeking new technologies to improve agricultural and manufacturing sectors.¹⁷⁵

After October 1860 the population in Bohemia and Moravia sought to achieve these ends by creating various organizations, such as political parties and newspapers (which will be elaborated upon in the following section). They also expanded their activities to fraternal and

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

¹⁷³ Krejčí, p. 53.

¹⁷⁴ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

patriotic groups, national foundations, and corporations. Czechs in both Bohemia and Moravia developed these institutions very similarly to one another, although as in previous cases they were late to appear in Moravia.¹⁷⁶ As mentioned in the introduction, this was due to the later industrialization and the subsequent changes of social composition that appeared in Moravia.¹⁷⁷ This meant that until the last decades of the nineteenth century, upper- and middle-class Germans continued to play a leading role in the large urban centers of Moravia. This occurred nearly two decades after the Germans had ceded city government to the Czechs in Bohemia.¹⁷⁸ The slower growth of liberal and progressive parties in Moravia is due to the fact that after 1864 Bohemia hosted self-governmental boards at district levels. These boards, which were elected by a three-class voting system, would oversee self-governmental bodies and communal representative groups throughout each district. These boards, in turn, gave intellectuals, upper-, and middle-class Czechs significant political influence, as they controlled these boards from 1864 until the outbreak of the First World War.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately these boards did not exist in Moravia and therefore Czechs did not have the same opportunities to control local government.¹⁸⁰ After the celebrations of 1863 (commemorating the arrival of Cyril and Methodius to Moravia), the Czech national movement began to seek new opportunities to spread to Moravia.¹⁸¹

After 1860 the main rallying point of most Bohemian and Moravian political parties was the Bohemian State Rights program (*České státní právo*). The Bohemian State Rights program was the territorial patriotism that emerged in the eighteenth century and was based on the

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁸ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁹ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 16.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Řepa, p. 137.

Bohemian State Law from the Bohemian constitution of 1627.¹⁸² The ultimate goal of those advocating the program was to obtain political autonomy and increased citizen's rights within the Austrian Empire. The historical link and tradition of political autonomy was used to justify these claims. They also advanced the idea that Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were incontestably linked and sought for the Austrian Empire to recognize their territorial integrity.¹⁸³ The Bohemian Czechs saw integration of the Moravians as necessary because they were the most direct link to the Slovaks and Poles, as well as to Eastern and Southern Slavs.¹⁸⁴ This link with Moravia was also important due to the fact that key leaders like Palacký and Masaryk had come from Moravia, as well as important regional leaders like Alois Pražak.¹⁸⁵

After the dissolution of the Schmerling government in 1865 and the appointment of Belcredi, the Czechs had hope that there would be policy changes more favorable to the Czech national movement. Optimism had further increased when a decree was issued by the imperial government in September 1865.¹⁸⁶ After the Austro-Prussian War, the Czech population sought to prove their loyalty to the imperial government, hoping that after the war they would be repaid for their loyalty.¹⁸⁷ Their optimistic feelings increased when the Austrian government proposed reforms, but their expectations fell short with the *Ausgleich*, or the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy.¹⁸⁸ The equalization of the Hungarians to the Austrians provoked resistance by the Czechs (who sought increased powers for themselves) and resulted in an

¹⁸² Prokeš, p. 423.

¹⁸³ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*. pp. 49-50.

¹⁸⁴ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 17.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁶ Řepa, p. 137

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

increase in political activities. It also stirred Czech public opinion in both Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁸⁹

After the defeat of the Austrians at the hands of the Prussians, several political negotiations occurred. During these meetings the Moravians were represented primarily by Alois Pražak. It was Pražak, together with Palacký and Rieger who were the leading figures to represent Czech interests in meetings with government officials.¹⁹⁰ The Bohemians had taken the lead in these discussions, while the Moravians had respected the leading role of the Bohemians.¹⁹¹ However, this is not to say that the Moravians always acquiesced to the demands of the Bohemians and often times these discussions did not end in simple agreements.¹⁹²

In February 1867 politicians had met in order to promote federalization. Moravians were in favor of sending delegates to the Imperial Council. However, the Bohemian-Czechs were against attending the meeting, claiming that the centralist constitution of 1867 was invalid. As a result the Bohemians also withheld from electing members to the Diet of Bohemia and the Austrian *Reichsrat*.¹⁹³ It was during these political negotiations that the Moravians acquired a leading role and attempted to convince the Bohemian-Czechs to join the discussions. However, the Moravians were unsuccessful and the uncompromising stance of the Bohemians left them with negative impressions of the negotiations.¹⁹⁴ These negative impressions did little to cause a rift among the Bohemian and Moravian Czech delegates and the Moravians often sought to arrive at a common stance with Bohemian-Czech politicians. It was this striving for a common approach that brought the Moravians to reject the election of the Imperial Council in 1867 and to

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Řepa, p. 137.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Eric Fischer. "New Light on German-Czech Relations in 1871," in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 177-194. (June 1942) p. 179.

¹⁹⁴ Řepa, pp. 137-138.

withdraw from the *Reichsrat*, even though this move went against their program and their willingness to compromise.¹⁹⁵

The Moravians went a step further and followed the Bohemian lead by issuing a so-called “declaration,” which sought to justify their exit from the *Reichsrat*. This declaration, in some ways, was different than the Bohemian one and both of them were ultimately advocating the same political program calling for support of the Bohemian State Rights program.¹⁹⁶ The Moravian joint-declaration was issued by civic members, aristocrats, and Church officials, who ultimately sought implementation of the federalist system. Moravians stated that they did not entirely discount a future compromise or return to the *Reichsrat*.¹⁹⁷ Moravians were more willing to compromise than their counterparts from Bohemia and representatives of Moravia, mostly the work of Pražak and Belcredi attempted to negotiate during the discussions.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand the Bohemians refused any compromise and only sought to implement their demands in their originally conceived form. The Moravians also pressed for recognition for the particulars of their own crown land.¹⁹⁹ The disappointments stemming from the *Ausgleich* allowed for the appointment of Count Karl Sigmund von Hohenwart to the Ministry in 1870 and thus revived the hopes for an Austro-Czech equalization.²⁰⁰ All of the proceedings were closely followed by the population through politician speeches and articles published in periodicals.²⁰¹ As dialogue increased about the possible settlement, so did feelings that Bohemia and Moravia were

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁹⁶ Řepa, p. 138.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

indivisible entities. In Moravia this sentiment was advanced mostly by the representatives of the Moravian National Party.²⁰²

The decade of the 1860s held great hope and ultimately disappointment for the Czechs. The establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and the lack of an Austro-Czech settlement of the same nature caused pessimism among the Czech population in both Bohemia and Moravia.²⁰³ However the period also had its highlights and showcased an unparalleled solidarity between both Bohemian and Moravian representatives. However, this unity was usually accomplished by imitation or compromise on the part of the Moravians, especially when the Moravians followed suit and departed from the *Reichsrat* to prove their solidarity.²⁰⁴ The role of Bohemian and Moravian representatives in political discussions and the *Reichsrat* were only one aspect of the growing influence of Czechs in the political realm.

The period also witnessed the expansion of mass politics and political parties. Bohemians and Moravians from an array of social classes established and joined political parties in order to advance not only local and regional aims, but also national aspirations as well.²⁰⁵ In this arena the Moravians displayed their distinctive regionalism in a clear way, reflecting their different historical development and conditions. Conservative and clerical parties managed to maintain strong support in Moravia right until the end of the nineteenth century, while the growth of liberal middle class political groups in Moravia occurred differently than in Bohemia. The Old Czech Party (or National Party) was predominant in Moravia over the Young Czech Party (*Národní strana svobodomyšlná*) until the appearance of mass political parties in the latter half of the 1890s. This was the opposite of the influence the Young Czechs had in Bohemia where they

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁰⁴ Řepa, p. 140.

²⁰⁵ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 6.

already had significant influence by 1890 and were elected to the *Reichsrat* in 1891 and the Bohemian Diet in 1895.²⁰⁶ The citizens of all groups and affiliations pressed civil liberties, including the freedom of association, freedom of the press, and universal male suffrage.²⁰⁷ Progressives and Social Democrats took this step farther by advocating for women's suffrage.²⁰⁸ The parties representing the agrarian and middle-classes sought to gain Czech political autonomy within a less authoritarian and constitutionally based Hapsburg imperial structure.²⁰⁹ This weaker support for progressive and liberal parties was due to the lack of a strong upper middle- and middle-class in Moravia and explains why these parties only gained support late in the century and why other parties such as the Czech National Socialist Party had little appeal outside of Bohemia.²¹⁰

The Catholic political movement began in the Czech lands in the 1840s.²¹¹ In Moravia the Catholic party emerged to become one of the most influential representatives of Moravia; however in Bohemia the situation was different and Catholic parties were less successful due to the lack of unity.²¹² The stronger support for clerical parties in Moravia can be attributed in small part to the lag in economic development of Moravia.²¹³ Until the 1890s the Catholic societies and associations were linked to two major political organizations: to the right wing of the National (Old Czech) Party and the Catholic-Political Union of the Czech Kingdom (founded in

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 6.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹¹ Marek, "Emancipation of Czech Political Catholicism, 1890-1914," p. 1.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 28.

Prague in 1871).²¹⁴ Later the Catholic movement divided into two parts in both Moravia and Bohemia, resulting in the Catholic National and Christian Social parties.²¹⁵

The Catholic-National Party was a part of the larger Old Czech Party. This party was supported mostly by the Catholic clergy and aristocrats. It was the most influential Catholic faction within the Old Czech Party and until the 1890s the Catholic-National Party and Old Czech Party had formed an alliance in order to benefit politically.²¹⁶ It did not split into a separate entity until the Old Czech policies began to change. Due to the fact that Moravians relied on Catholic cultural and political organizations, the Catholic-National could attain a mass number of supporters, who were usually peasants. These societies provided the Catholic organizations with political influence.²¹⁷

The alliance between the Old Czechs and the Catholic National Party would come into question with the appearance of the Moravian People's Party, established on February 15, 1891 in Olomouc.²¹⁸ In light of their declining support the Old Czechs questioned whether they should maintain their ties with the Catholic National Party or establish new alliances in order to regain their influence. Ultimately the Old Czech Party would choose to end their alliance with the Catholic-Nationals and seek accommodations with the Young Czechs. In March 1896, four Old Czech representatives to the *Reichsrat* joined with the Young Czechs and agreed to a common program until 1901.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Marek, "Emancipation of Czech Political Catholicism, 1890-1914," p. 2.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²¹⁷ Marek, p. 5.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The second religious trend, the Christian Social, also emerged in the 1840s at the same time similar parties were being established in Western Europe.²²⁰ Unlike Bohemia, where the Christian Social Party had been established from above, the Moravians began their local framework from the bottom-up.²²¹ Between 1840 and 1890 Moravian Christian Socials held a significant influence over the worker class owing to the activities of the so-called “Sušil Suite.”²²² The Christian Social Party was stronger in Moravia, but weak in Bohemia where they also had to compete with Social Democrats and Agrarians.²²³

Although Bohemia also had its own Catholic parties, the emergence of these parties and the level of influence between Bohemian and Moravian parties were very different.²²⁴ From 1848 anticlericalism and the separation of Church and state was advocated by all Czech political parties except for the Old Czech Party and Catholic-based parties established in the 1890s.²²⁵ All progressive parties believed that the improvement of the social lot was the answer to the “nationality question.”²²⁶ Parties that catered to the middle classes believed that building a strong technological and educational framework would be the ultimate means to create a modern European Czech nation.²²⁷ This is not to say that the religious parties, especially the Christian Social Party, did not advocate an intellectual and material improvement for the Czech nation. All Czech parties agreed that improvement in the standard of living of the Czech nation, defined as

²²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 6.

²²¹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

²²² *Ibid*, p. 7.

²²³ Agnew, p. 151.

²²⁴ Marek, p. 5.

²²⁵ Garver, “A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914,” p. 6.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

²²⁷ *Ibid*.

workers and peasants, was necessary. However, these parties disagreed on how to accomplish this advancement and how quickly these changes should be implemented.²²⁸

The first real liberal Czech political party in Moravia, the People's Party (*Lidový strana*) was not established until February 15, 1891. This came over seventeen years after the Young Czech Party Congress was held in Prague.²²⁹ The Young Czech Party was established by Julius and Eduard Grégr in opposition to the Old Czech Party's conservative elements. The Young Czechs opposed the withdrawal from the Bohemian Diet to oppose federalization and the abandonment of the Diet in Prague and *Reichsrat*. This resulted in hundreds of meetings and eventually a split.²³⁰ The meeting for the Young Czechs had overwhelming support, especially in light of the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*. By 1874 seven Young Czech representatives took their seats in the Diet, despite the Bohemian boycott.²³¹ Eventually the Young Czechs started to garner support in Moravia. Following the same trend in Bohemia, albeit later, the Old Czechs began to lessen in power. The diet elections in October 1896 in Moravia showed this growing support for the Young Czechs. Stránský's People's Party won a plurality of the Czech seats for the first time, winning seventeen seats in the third and fourth curiaes, while the Old Czechs won only thirteen. Five seats went to clerical parties.²³² This victory was due in large part to an alliance between Stránský and the Old Czechs against the clerical and German parties.²³³

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²²⁹ Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*. p. 224.

²³⁰ Stanley B. Winters. "The Young Czech Party (1874-1914): An Appraisal," in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 28, No. 3. pp. 426-444. (September 1969) pp. 427-428.

²³¹ Winters, p. 428.

²³² Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874-1901 and the Emergence of A Multi-Party System*. p. 224.

²³³ *Ibid.*

An example of a party that had a strong following in Bohemia was the National Socialist Party.²³⁴ In Moravia support for this party only emerged after 1910 and even this was lackluster compared to the number of Bohemian supporters.²³⁵ The Czech National Socialist Party was established in April 1898 from defected members of the Czech Social Democrats and left-wing middle class supporters.²³⁶ The decision to found the party was a result of dissatisfaction with the Czech Social Democrat program, especially its support of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in not supporting State Rights issues.²³⁷ Like other progressive parties the National Socialist Party was strongly anticlerical, feeling that the Catholic Church had imposed too much of their power onto the educational system.²³⁸ The National Socialist Party had a platform advocating egalitarian rights such as freedom of speech, association, and the press, as well as universal suffrage.²³⁹ The party also advocated for the historical rights of the Bohemian crown lands and the autonomy to control the affairs of the Czech nation.²⁴⁰ The strong anticlerical attitudes of the National Socialist Party also hindered it from garnering support in Moravia, especially with the People's Party.²⁴¹

The National Socialist, the Social Democrat, and the Young Czech Party all competed for influence among the urban centers in Bohemia. Their popularity was less apparent in Moravia in a less industrialized and urbanized context.²⁴² After 1900 many liberal and progressive Czech parties had been replaced in the *Reichsrat* by Agrarian, Social Democrat and National Socialist

²³⁴ T. Mills Kelly, "Taking it to the Streets: Czech National Socialists in 1908," in the *Austrian History Yearbook*. Vol. XXIX. Part I. pp. 93-112. (1998) p. 98.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²³⁹ Kelly, "Taking it to the Streets: Czech National Socialists in 1908," p. 97.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

parties.²⁴³ The lack of a district-board system in Moravia, along with a less affluent population and intellectual network allowed for the greater strength of Agrarian and Social Democratic parties, rather than strong progressive and liberal parties. This also helps to explain the strength of the conservative and clerical movement in Moravia. The large influence of the Catholic Church and conservative parties was not as predominant in Bohemia due to its different historical development.²⁴⁴

During the development of political parties, newspapers and educational institutions were utilized as tools of the political parties in order to gain influence and spread the Czech national idea. Rather than discuss these two institutions with the other cultural organizations, newspapers and universities acquired a new importance after the formation of political parties and cannot be understood outside of this context. Therefore they have been discussed in the political section in order to stress this relationship.

Newspapers were utilized by political parties in order to spread their platform and encourage voters to support their party at the polls. Newspapers were the number one resource for readers to obtain updates on current events and discussions occurring within the Hapsburg realm and beyond. Czech national leaders also saw the increasing importance of educational institutions in order to extend the national idea throughout the broad layers of society. Therefore control over schools and the establishment of a Czech-language university in Moravia became a central focus of political discussions among the Moravian Czechs and Germans with the Hapsburg government.

²⁴³ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 16.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

VII. Tools of Czech Political Parties: Newspapers and Educational Institutions

Absolutely vital to the increasing influence of political parties was the establishment of newspapers. During the 1860s, the local Czech governments were often unwilling to allow nationalists to participate, therefore newspapers became the primary method in advocating for nationalist policies.²⁴⁵ Between 1860 and 1880, newspapers were the only successful venture into politics and all other methods resulted in, what Bradley refers to as, a “series of unmitigated disasters.”²⁴⁶

Before delving into the utilization of newspapers by political parties in the late nineteenth century, it is important to become acquainted with the periodical publishing history. Relatively new to the scene in the eighteenth century were the beginnings of the periodical press and the production of newspapers and magazines.²⁴⁷ However, the majority of these works until the nineteenth century were published using the German language.²⁴⁸ Although Konáč z Hodištkova is often regarded as the father of Czech journalism, when in 1515 he published the first Czech newspaper in Bohemia, records of this venture did not survive.²⁴⁹ This operation was relatively small-scale and the technologies of the time were not able to meet output demand.²⁵⁰ It would not be until the appearance of the Rosenmuller family that a regular newspaper was attempted in the Czech lands. The earliest documentation of the periodical venture by the Rosenmullers had begun in 1708. However, as with many documents from this time, the initial newspaper did not survive.²⁵¹ Later the Rosenmuller family published the *Pražské poštovské noviny* (The Prague Post) from 1719 to 1772. Afterward, there was a gap of ten years before any Czech language

²⁴⁵ Bradley, p. 117.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26-27.

²⁴⁸ Bradley, p. 27.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

paper appeared at all in Bohemia.²⁵² It would not be until after the mid-nineteenth century that the technologies were available to make newspapers a mass venture.

The patriotic and liberal Czech-language newspapers had achieved a widespread following in the 1860s, after the *Národní listy* (The National Newspaper) was created in January 1861.²⁵³ The *Národní listy* was edited by Julius Grégr, who turned the paper into the leading platform for the Young Czech party.²⁵⁴ Already in 1860 Alois Krasný began publishing a periodical called *Čas*, which in 1861 was added to the newly established *Národní listy* and *Pozor* in the short list of Czech papers.²⁵⁵

In contrast to larger, nationally-minded Bohemian newspapers, the first Czech newspapers in Moravia had only highlighted local activities. After 1848 there was only one newspaper in Moravia, the *Moravský národní list*, which were originally translations of the official German *Brünner Zeitung*. Its name was changed to the *Moravské noviny*, but the quality of the contents was not improved and its influence did not increase as a result.²⁵⁶ There was a second magazine in Moravia *Hlas*, which dealt mostly with religious issues.²⁵⁷

This lack of focus on developing newspapers began to change in the 1860s when the Czech-speaking representatives needed to promote its objectives and political opinions on Moravian issues. However, most works had been non-influential and dull. The circulation of these newspapers did not reach the outreach of the *Národní listy* and other Bohemian Czech

²⁵² Sayer, p. 77.

²⁵³ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 7.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Jiří Pernes. *Pod Moravskou Orlicí aneb Dějiny Moravanství*. (Brno : Barrister & Principal, 1996) p. 114.

²⁵⁶ Pernes, p. 114.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

liberal journals primarily due to the fact that the upper-, middle-, and intellectual class of Moravia was much smaller by comparison.²⁵⁸

New situations appearing in the Czech lands, such as the new constitutional period and new alliances with Bohemia added further impetus to create a platform. The Old Czech sought to build the Moravian national movement and used newspapers for this. One could use newspapers to find primary election documents of Czech politicians and soon editors became an advisory agent, looked upon by the Czech population to guide their voting decisions.²⁵⁹ However the paper started to change and the relationship with the national party changed and began to show hostility.²⁶⁰

After the loss of the *Moravské noviny*, there was only a single printer body that existed for the newspaper *Moravane*, issued from 1862 in Olomouc by František Slavík. Slavík's political views coincided with the Old Czechs and he began to publish articles for the Czech national cause, embracing federalism and explaining the task of the Moravian people. The newspaper was heavily influenced by its editor, who also demanded recognition for both language groups and pictured the Czech crown as a symbol of Bohemian-Moravian commonality and wrote in the interests of the Czech national movement.²⁶¹ The *Moravane* usually supported the conservative Old Czech Party. The *Moravská orlice* also supported the Old Czech Party and was a daily newspaper centered in Brno.²⁶² It was not until Adolf Stránský's bi-weekly *Moravské listy* (The Moravian Newspaper), founded in Brno in 1889, appeared that a strongly liberal Czech-language press appeared in Moravia to oppose the dominance of the Old Czech

²⁵⁸ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 7.

²⁵⁹ Pernes, p. 114

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁶¹ Pernes, p. 115.

²⁶² Nancy M Wingfield. *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007) p. 88.

press.²⁶³ The Moravian People's Party's newspapers, the *Lidové noviny*, along with the *Moravská orlice* were the two largest dailies in Moravia. Other newspapers also emerged as political parties came into existence. For instance the *Ravnost* (Equality) was published by the Czech Social Democratic weekly in Moravia. It was also centered in Brno and its Bohemian counterpart was the Prague biweekly *Právo lidu*.²⁶⁴

The *Lidové noviny* and *Moravská orlice* were both important in providing the Moravian public with updates on current events. They also helped to incite nationalist feelings, especially against the German population in Moravia. For instance both papers discussed the Czech-German relationship and covered large events like the *Volkstag*. Czech journalists utilized some of the same rhetoric of national struggle that Czechs and Germans had previously employed in Bohemia. The *Moravská orlice* incited nationalist sentiment when it made it clear that the planned meeting for the *Volkstag* had been publicized with German nationalist black-red-gold symbols.²⁶⁵

As Bruce Garver explains, all of these newspapers in both Bohemia and Moravia experienced imperial harassment and such restrictions as censorship accounting to the law of 1862 and the deposit of "caution money" until 1895.²⁶⁶ In December 1899 a tax stamp (*kolek*), also presented another barrier, causing the price of every issue to be increased. This stamp tax hit the Social Democratic and Agrarian newspapers the hardest.²⁶⁷ However, while these newspapers were closely watched and hindered at times by the imperial government, their influence overwhelmingly helped the population of both Bohemia and Moravia to keep updated

²⁶³ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 7.

²⁶⁴ Wingfield, p. 88.

²⁶⁵ Wingfield, p. 88.

²⁶⁶ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 7.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

of current events. The newspapers also helped to publicize the platforms of major political parties by publishing party documents, decrees, and speeches by party representatives. In turn the public looked upon these newspapers as an advisory element when casting their ballots at elections.

One of the number one goals of the nineteenth century Czech political representatives was the establishment of a Czech-language university in Moravia. The Czech national leaders saw education as a means in which to fully integrate Moravian Czechs into the Czech nation. Education would result in the increased awareness of national consciousness, encourage political activities, and pressure from the population to elected representatives for civil liberties.²⁶⁸ Within Moravia there was a vastly different population composition than in Bohemia. The Czech-German relations were vastly different in Moravia. In Moravia industrial areas saw the most major changes. Uherské Hradiště went from less than fifty per cent to over eighty per cent Czech, Kroměříž grew from seventy-five to ninety per cent Czech. However other cities, such as Jihlava, Mikulov, Šumperk, and Znojmo, remained German with eighty per cent and Brno and Ostrava remained sixty-six per cent German and Czechs actually declined in population numbers.²⁶⁹ This meant that the relationship between Moravian Czechs and Germans were decidedly different than Czech and German relations in Bohemia.

The largest ongoing battles between Czechs and Germans in Moravia involved educational systems. Educational institutions were seen as highly important, for both of these groups, in spreading the national identity to the youth population and guaranteed that future generations would carry forward the idea of the nation. The most important endeavor in the last decades of the nineteenth century in Moravia was the establishment of a Czech-language

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

²⁶⁹ Agnew, p.156.

university or institute of higher education in the province. The following section will briefly outline their attempts to establish this university, their political battles with the Germans, and the ultimate outcome. Their Czech-language university would not be established until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, despite all of the attempts to establish one from the late nineteenth century.²⁷⁰

By the 1890s the Moravian Czechs were identifying with the Czech nation. The Bohemian Czechs had pressed for this identification of Moravians with the Czech movement because the Moravians were the most direct link of the Bohemians with the Slovaks and Poles, as well as southern and eastern Slavic nations.²⁷¹ For instance, there were cultural and political relationships established across borders between Moravians and Slovaks, such as the Fine and Decorative Arts academy in Vesna, directed by Moravian artist and leader Joža Uprka.²⁷²

Furthermore, Moravian Czech leader František Vahálík stated in 1892 that:

For all Czechs, bringing Moravia permanently into the Slavic sphere of influence is the greatest addition to the strength of Czech collective endeavor and of greater importance to the Czech national cause than any immediate favor or gift that can be obtained from the powers of the world.²⁷³

One of the key factors in explaining the relative strength of Bohemia in the national movement was the lack of a Czech-language university in Moravia. The industrial, managerial, upper middle and intellectual classes were far more developed in Bohemia because the only Czech-language university until 1919 in all of the Czech lands was located in Prague.²⁷⁴ This meant that Prague drew in many of the young Moravian Czech intellectuals who sought to advance their career in Bohemia by establishing businesses, newspapers, and other organizations

²⁷⁰ Wingfield, p. 104.

²⁷¹ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," pp. 17-18.

²⁷² Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," pp. 17-18.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, p.18.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.15.

instead of remaining in their native Moravia to pursue their interests and careers.²⁷⁵ The push for a Czech-language university in Brno began in 1891, but until 1900 there was not even a Czech polytechnic institute in Moravia that could compete with the one established in Prague in 1869. This resulted in less managerial and technical workers being trained, as well as fewer opportunities for those pursuing professional programs, social sciences, and humanities.²⁷⁶

Within this context, a Czech-language university in Moravia became a major aspiration with the support of the Czech national representatives.²⁷⁷ Parties who did not support the cause usually witnessed a decline in support and the lack of support for the Young Czech Party can be partially explained by their inability to support the university cause.²⁷⁸ The late founding of a Czech-language university in Moravia was completely intertwined with the politics of the time. In this later period, it was the political battles between Germans and Czechs, rather than a lack of industrial or urban development that prevented the establishment of a Czech-language university. The Moravian Germans were strongly opposed to building a Czech university in Brno and went against all Moravian Czech attempts from 1891.²⁷⁹

The Germans set forth on an attempt to increase their influence throughout Moravia in order to challenge the predominance of the Czech population and this policy was known as *Volkstag*.²⁸⁰ Many Moravian Czechs opposed the *Volkstag* and Adolf Stránský, the leader of the Moravian People's Party, had said that it threatened the environment of negotiations between the Germans and Czechs.²⁸¹ Some Czech representatives took the steps farther by calling their own meeting that would stress the demand for the Czech-language university and reply to the

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷⁹ Garver, "A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914," p. 15.

²⁸⁰ Wingfield. *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*, p. 85.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

“thoroughly arrogant provocation of the Germans to which the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia had been subjected.”²⁸² This provocation described the German blockage for a Czech university and their attacks on all Czech cultural institutions.²⁸³ The result was four days of protests beginning in September 1898 and Czech attacks on the German Technical School, the German gymnasium, and other German cultural buildings.²⁸⁴

Relationships declined in subsequent years as the Germans and Czechs both attempted to compete against each other for influence in directing the affairs in both Bohemia and Moravia. Prime Minister Badeni issued a degree on April 5, 1901 that would have the consequence of deteriorating the relationship between the Germans and the Czechs. In order to gain more support from the Young Czech Party, Badeni had required that imperial civil workers pass Czech and German language exams.²⁸⁵ Over two weeks later, on April 22, a similar decree was implemented in Moravia.²⁸⁶

Although relations between Germans and Czechs were never good in any of the Czech lands, they did reach a compromise in Moravia over several issues while relations remained poor in Bohemia from 1890 to 1918 where greater wealth and political influence were at risk. There, the German middle class was more extreme, since it had declined in influence next to the Czech middle class. On other hand the German middle class could still muster up some influence to Czechs in rural areas and had dominance in heavy industry and municipal governments given the weaker Czech upper middle and intelligentsia class in Moravia.²⁸⁷ In 1905 the Moravians had a

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002) pp. 92-93.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Garver, “A Comparison of Czech Politics in Bohemia with Czech Politics in Moravia, 1860-1914,” p. 29.

unique opportunity to compromise with its German elements. As previously examined the Moravian Czechs were more amenable to compromise than the Bohemian-Czechs.

While competition between Germans and Czechs were evident in both Bohemian and Moravian lands, the Moravians were more willing to negotiate due to their demographic structure. A highly intertwined German and Czech population, along with high concentrations of Germans in major urban centers, were the main reasons for compromise. While Germans in Bohemia were calling for the division of the province into administrative units, the Germans in Moravia did not want to do this. Rather the Czech, German, and imperial authorities came to an agreement in 1905 known as the “Moravian Compromise.”²⁸⁸ In 1905 the Moravian Czechs finally acquired a majority representation after a constitutional reform had been implemented.²⁸⁹ The reform had divided the mandates in the diets between nationalities and the representatives of each nationality created their own curiae and elected their own national representatives to diet committees, boards, and executive meetings.²⁹⁰ The lower three curiae were split among nationality and each were given a set number of seats. Voters decided whether they were Czech or German and recorded in registries.²⁹¹ The constitutional reform also altered the representation of the population to tax data. This means that although the Germans had achieve a proportionately bigger influence than their actual numbers, the predominance of the Czech majority was unquestionable.²⁹² The constitution had changed the voting system, allowing for a majority vote on matters concerning both nationalities, but omitting both nationalities from

²⁸⁸ Wingfield, p. 104.

²⁸⁹ Suzanne G. Konirsh. “Constitutional Aspects of the Struggle between Germans and Czechs in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,” in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 27, No. 3. (September 1955) p. 234.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ Agnew, p. 152.

²⁹² Konirsh, p. 234.

voting on the affairs that only concerned a single nationality.²⁹³ Effectively it was a split of administrative lines between two nationality groups, the only two to be recognized.²⁹⁴ By forcing people to choose, it increased divisions among nationalities rather than eased tensions.²⁹⁵

Similar moves had been made in Bohemia in order to stem the tide of German and Czech battles. However, compromise was never made because the two national groups were unwilling to negotiate and compromise on issues.²⁹⁶ It was Moravia's specific composition, which had a higher proportion of Czechs but less conflict between them due to their intermixing that led to the passing of this legislation in Moravia.²⁹⁷ This was due to the different demographic makeup of Bohemia, where the Germans had lived near the borderlands. The new wave of industrialization had introduced many ethnic Czechs to these once exclusively German areas and had caused tensions to increase.²⁹⁸ While these ethnic Czechs had initially been assimilated quickly by the Germans, the influx of larger Czech groups and the sentiment of national identity began to change the dynamics of these relations, leading to calls for equality between Czech and German language and education.²⁹⁹

Although the Bohemian leaders took up political roles in the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849, it was not until the 1860s that Moravians began to play major roles in politics. Since the late 1860s, the question of Moravian identity and independence became increasingly associated with the Czech State Rights Program.³⁰⁰ The State Rights Program advocated the unquestionably unity between the Czech crown lands and called for increase autonomy and

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ Agnew, p. 152.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Konirsh, p. 234.

²⁹⁷ Agnew, pp. 152-153.

²⁹⁸ Konirsh, p. 235.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Řepa, p. 139.

rights for Czech citizens. This shift towards the Bohemian political program meant that the original preference of the Moravians for a regional identity was increasingly overshadowed by a national perspective. It was during the era of mass politics that helped to shift the regional identity into a Czech national identity. The years between 1865 and 1871 were vital and the Bohemian State Rights program helped to erase the separation between the Bohemians and Moravians, instead tying them together as historical and indivisible entities.³⁰¹ It is undoubtedly the influence of political parties and newspapers that helped the general population to accept this new Czech national identity.³⁰²

Although the same political parties emerged in both Bohemia and Moravia, Moravia also hosted an array of religious and conservative parties. These parties managed to maintain strong influence until the end of the nineteenth century, as progressive and liberal parties were slow to garner support in Moravia. Although these progressive parties came later to Moravia, this delay was not due to their backwardness, as much as it was due to the distinctive conditions present in Moravia. The more rural and religiously-oriented population supported more conservative policies than their Bohemian counterparts. These political parties utilized newspapers in order to spread their platform and keeping the public aware of current events and discussions between the provincial and imperial governments. These newspapers were vastly important in disseminating the Czech national identity in Moravia and their support of the Bohemian State Rights Program helped to make the public increasingly aware of their traditional links with Bohemia. Furthermore the Moravians were unique in their political life in that they were more willing to make compromises with their German population. One could claim that their more cautious-

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.140.

³⁰² *Ibid*.

approach to politics helped them to negotiate with their neighbors and prevent some of the rioting and violence that was occurring in Bohemia.

VIII. Conclusion

While the Czech national movement was similar between Bohemia and Moravia, their trajectories were far from identical. Therefore it is necessary to provide a corrective to the assumption that these crown lands should be merged into a single entity or that Moravia should be completely eliminated. What it does show is that the Czech national movement was not a single movement, but rather a movement with several different strands and versions, depending on whether the area examined is Moravia or Bohemia. Therefore scholars should not examine the movement as a singular with a concrete effect, but rather look at the impacts it had in different areas.

Although certain developments did lag in Moravia, there were reasons for this delay in institutional and political organizations. One must examine the Moravian environment that was less urbanized, less industrialized, and more religiously-oriented. Although some scholars claim the institutional and political development lagged fifteen to twenty years, the Moravian context was not as simple as stating that it was a delayed, but identical version of the Bohemian case. Rather it is precisely due to its demographic, industrial, religious, and political composition that it sometimes adopted institutions a few years later than Bohemia. Furthermore this also explains the later development of liberal and progressive parties, because there was a lack of support from the population for these types of parties. Overall this delay does not mean that the Moravians were less-developed or backwards, but rather that their unique environment meant that institutions would surface *differently* with regional considerations, not as insufficient organizations based on imported Bohemian models.

In Moravia the institutional framework did not begin to develop until after the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849. One of the largest hindrances of Moravia was its lack of a

national center. Although a challenge, organizations began to spring up throughout the province, with a majority centered in Brno. The *Matice moravská* was the first nationally-based institution in Moravia. The organization did more than any other in Moravia to encourage the development of the Czech language and to spread the idea of national consciousness, although its success did not measure up to the *Matice česká*. Although Moravians were largely influenced by Bohemia and followed similar models in establishing their institutions, such as the *Matice moravská* and *Sokol*, the Moravians also established their own organizations to accommodate their regional distinctiveness. Religious-based organizations usually found a large following in Moravia and were more popular at times than the *Matice moravská*. Additionally, Bohemian-based organizations like the *Sokol* would be changed to fit Moravan conditions in order to garner more support, whether by changing their objectives or by creating an institution that would better fit their situation. For example the *Orel* adopted a more religious standpoint when the *Sokol* had pushed for prohibiting religion within their organization. The influence of religion would not be limited to the cultural sphere but would later come to play a large role in politics in the latter half of the century. What is important to gather from the cultural framework is that, although industrialization, urbanization, and printing all came later to Moravia, this delay was usually not a significant amount of time (the majority of important Moravian institutions formed less than two decades later). It is essential to realize that the Moravians were not simply interested in copying the Bohemian institutional framework, but sought to exhibit their unique Moravian standpoint. Thus the Czech national movement in Bohemia and Moravia were not identical, but the Moravians took their cues from the Bohemians and altered organizations to better fit their own individual conditions.

While the institutional framework would help set the stage for easy dissemination of the Czech national program, it was the era of mass politics after 1848, and the years after 1860 that would solidify the Czech identity and relationship of the Bohemians and Moravians into a single nation. Since the late 1860s the question of Moravian identity and independence became associated with the Bohemian State Rights Program, which advocated the unity among the Czech crown lands and called for increase autonomy and rights. This adoption of the Bohemian political program by the Moravians meant that the original preference for a regional identity was increasingly replaced by a national, Czech perspective. It was during this era of mass politics that helped to shift the regional identity into a Czech national identity. The years between 1865 and 1871 were vital and the Bohemian State Rights program helped to erase any existing rifts between the Bohemians and Moravians, and instead united them together as historical and indivisible entities.³⁰³ It is undoubtedly the influence of political parties and newspapers that helped the general population to accept the Czech national identity.³⁰⁴

Although the same political parties emerged in both Bohemia and Moravia, Moravia also hosted an array of religious and conservative parties, which managed to preserve strong influence until the end of the nineteenth century. Progressive and liberal parties were slow to garner support in Moravia due to the more rural and religiously-oriented population, which supported more conservative policies than their Bohemian counterparts. Although newspapers came later to Moravia, they played a key role in promoting the platforms of various political parties and keeping the population abreast of developments and current events. Also unique to Moravia was the willingness of their representatives to make accommodations with their German population, mostly due to the difficult nature of their demographics. The Moravian-Czech and

³⁰³ Řepa, p. 140.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Moravian-German populations were highly intertwined, rather than inhabiting separate areas divided by national lines. Additionally, the Moravian-Germans also composed large sections of major Moravian urban centers. Therefore the Moravian Czechs and Germans had to work together, something that was not usually seen in Bohemian politics.

What this study aimed to showcase was that the Czech national movement in Moravia was not a crippled version of the movement in Bohemia. Rather the Moravians followed many Bohemian models in formulating their national identity. However they did not simply copy these models and attempt to implement them in the exact same way. Rather the Moravians were aware of their distinctiveness and differences from the Bohemians and altered their cultural and political organizations accordingly, in order to make them the most effective. The Moravians, of course, had obstacles, such as a lower level of urbanization and industrialization that made the population more dispersed and difficult to reach. The Moravians also lacked any significant organizational framework before 1848 and the lack of institutes of higher education meant that the most talented people relocated to Bohemia in order to acquire educational or professional experience. The high levels of mixing among Germans and Czechs also made for a situation completely different from Bohemia and the Moravians were more amenable to compromising and working with the Germans in certain cases, especially with the Moravian Compromise of 1905. Overall this study attempts to correct the assumption that Bohemia and Moravia followed an identical trajectory or that Moravia hosted a somewhat less sufficient national movement. Rather the Moravian case shows us that the Czech national movement, while developed and spread first throughout Bohemia, had various strands depending on the location and local conditions. Therefore there were Czech national movements and one cannot make the assumption that its consequences were the same everywhere.

Furthermore this study attempts to fill the gap in English-language historiography on the Czech national movement in Moravia by providing an overall picture of the movement. While specific studies exist, there is not a comprehensive history of the national movement in Moravia. Moravia is usually lumped together as a single entity with Bohemia or mentioned only on the margins of larger studies on Bohemia. However it is necessary to analyze the Moravian movement in order to understand the development of the modern Czech nation. This study just scratches the surface on the information that is needed to fully understand developments in Moravia. What is needed is a more in-depth study, utilizing more Czech sources, archival sources, (German-language and Austrian archival material) and a look at more institutional examples. Also looking into correspondence between various national leaders and newspapers would help to develop this study immensely.

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