JAROMÍR DEMEK, MIROSLAV STŘÍDA et al.

Geography of Czechoslovakia

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Publications giving an overall geographical picture of Czechoslovakia after World War II from the pen of Czechoslovak authors in one of the world languages have so far been wanting. The bulk of them draw their information primarily from sources which are either outdated or distorted in various ways, and cannot, therefore, present an objective view of the country. During the post-war period, the level of geographical research in the state has been greatly increased. Independent geographical institutes at the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences have been established. Their staff have collected new material, together with geographers at universities and other scientific institutions, containing a wealth of information on both the physical background and new relations in Czechoslovakia's national economy, resulting from its adaption into a socialist state. Substantial changes have taken place in the structure of Czechoslovakia's industry and agriculture, foreign trade has been reoriented, together with changes in transport qualities (e.g. the densest bus transport network in Europe), further the administrative division of the country's territory has resulted in massive inland migration of the population, together with many other factors. This, in turn, has led to much new literature on Czechoslovakia.

This book is the first comprehensive work on the geography of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, written by native authors and published in English. It includes information on the country's territory, its development and basic cartographic regions data, its geomorphology and landscape climate, hydrology, soil conditions, flora and fauna, problems of protection of nature, population, settlement, industry, agriculture, transport and tourist traffic. Relevant literature on these topics is also included. The text is accompanied by many original illustrations and maps. The glossary contains a large number of lesser known geographical names within the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

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The Ethnographic Map of the Czech Lands 1880–1970



ROZPRAVY ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AKADEMIE VĚD

ŘADA MATEMATICKÝCH A PŘÍRODNÍCH VĚD

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ACADEMIA NAKLADATELSTVÍ ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AKADEMIE VĚD

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS BASED ON STATISTICAL EVIDENCE AND MAPS

I/1

Since the Second World War the world has witnessed a new upsurge of nationalism. This has had its repercussions on various scientific disciplines in increasing the attention to the notion of nationality; and further to population distribution with reference to certain language communities. This involves a knowledge of differences in development, both demographic and sociological. Moreover, it comes as no surprise that political and economic views have on occasion to be stressed.

The departure of the German population (1945 to 1947) and the final recognition of Slovakian national self-determination profoundly affected conditions in the ČSSR. It was not considered necessary to deal with problems settled by a simplification of ethnic conditions and by the victory of Marxist ideology. Evidence for this can be particularly deduced from the range of problems set as tasks in population geography. These received a powerful impetus during the same period and began to develop impressively.

During the last 25 years no major work dealing with the question of national geography or cartography has been published. Even in the more prolific sciences, more extensive works that give a thorough treatment of demographic problems, including the geographical aspect, are rarely encountered.

A gradual change seems to have generally set in during the nineteen sixties. This is no doubt connected with the rejection, amongst other things, of dogmatic methods, based on a lack of critical appraisal of previous works and with the revival of creative Marxist thought in Czechoslovakia. Both the theoretical and practical treatment of the nationality question have raised dissactisfaction as applied to the two post-war censuses and as laid down in the Constitution. Many works by historians and demographers have proved acceptable substitutes for the lack of works in geography (yet hardly in map-making).

In our own geographic and cartographic work we shall not start from an analysis of the concept of nation. We are intent on deliberately eschewing any philosophical discussion of theoretical problems, any analysis of the terminology and its development, or any assessment of definitions of such a complex part of social reality. Our endeavour will be to remain in the field of geography. A geographer does not feel so compelled to define or use his terms for example so precisely as a demographer, statistician or historian, being carried away by even the most topical diction. One or two digressions are, however, necessary.

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Significant ambiguities might also arise for linguistic reasons. The English and American term nation differs both as to its political and geographical content from terms used in the languages of continental, and in particular of Central European, nations. Both in English and French specialized literature and in practical usage the concept of nation tends to coalesce with that of state. This conception may be designated as an ethnic-cultural one. The simplest way of differentiating between them can be demonstrated even in terms used for administrative bodies. What one would expect to bear the name of state is referred to as national and vice versa. Institutions referred to as national in Central Europe are designated as state in the USA.

There are other differences as well. What is meant by nation and people in English, by nation and peuple in French but also by nacia and narod in Russian is not identical with what the Czechs mean when speaking of národ and lid. Nor does this frequently coincide with what the Germans understand by Nation and Volk: Volk sometimes tending to include something extremely nationalist or even racist. What the Czechs understand under "lid" (the people) are either the working strata of a class-divided nation, or the mass from which the nation has emerged.

In Czech and Russian there are further differences in interpreting the meaning of the term "národnost" (nationality). For the Russians this is the lower formation out of which nation develops when such a formation has acquired all the attributes of a nation. In Czech there is either no difference in meaning between the terms národ (nation) and národnost [nationality (národnost) being a noun derived from národ (nation)], or this term is reserved for a fraction of a nation (a national minority), ethnically and/or linguistically belonging to a bigger nation beyond the frontier. In some cases the very term "národnostní menšina" (national minority) is rejected by some authors in the socialist countries as though the term itself conveyed inequality in the conditions of a fraction of the nation, which, in a bourgeois state, is being oppressed by the ruling nation. In this work the term has been used in its original and simplest sense.

Differences in the conception and definition of nation tend to become less pronounced in scientific literature as well as in statistical work. Even so it must be acknowledged that these differences are to be encountered even in Marxist literature and that it is up to future developments to clarify the situation.

In Marxist conception the Czech nation, in common with a number of other nations, had constituted itself in association with the development of capitalism, that is as late as last century. It had developed out of its ancestors who had formed the first state more than a thousand years ago, and who developed in a very pronounced way as a "nation" - what we mean are its popular strata as immediate actual producers - as far back as during the Hussite movement in the fifteenth century. The specific features in the development of the Czech nation - though imaginary rather than real - can be taken as an explanation and justification of non-Marxist historians who speak about its "miraculous resurrection" following forcible Germanization in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, after its recatholicization and the loss of its aristocracy in connection with the defeat at the White Mountain. What is really remarkable is the fact that the Czech nation constituted itself in the period when the Czech Lands were being dominated and administered from Vienna.

There had been no theory of the Czech nation until the nineteenth century. It was then that Johann Gottfried Herder developed his nationalistic theory - applying both to Germans and Czechs. What he considers as a nation is really a tribe which has come to realize its unity, and is trying to gain its political independence. A nation is a natural unit - a continuation of the family and the tribe. This concept is in complete contrast to the West-European conception where a nation is a community of citizens of one state.

In a decisive period of Czech national development there appeared František Palacký, the author of the conception of Czech history and at the same time the leading politician of Czech bourgeoisie. He emphasized the role played by the Czech nation in "constant contacts and contentions with the German and Roman world". This view became the justification of the Czech political programme and was also to have its impact on Czech science in the second half of the nineteenth century. Palacký, a conservative politician, was trying to secure the future of the Czech nation in the Central European multinational state and declared that "the true vital force of this necessary bond of nations was the Danube".

T. G. Masaryk, a philosopher and politician, based his idea of a nation on such elements as geographical, biological and linguistic conditions, but in addition to this, he emphasised "moral ideals". As a result, characteristics of older conceptions prevailing in the 19th century as well as the new ones appearing at the turn of the century can be traced in his work. The former regarded the nation as a result of the operation of objectively existing factors, while the latter stressed individual factors. A positive feature in Masaryk's bourgeois-philosophical views on the national question is his convincing way of justifying and defending the small nations' ability to live and survive.

Idealistic theories of nation found an extreme expression in the views professed by E. Rádl. What he conceives under nationality is the individual's internal spiritual matter. Man has nationality or national appurtenance in his own hands, it is not his destiny, but can be altered of his own free will in much the same way as for example one's religion, or one's political world outlook. It is thus a matter of a dayto-day plebiscite (hence elective theory). As against this conception, actual national life and patriotism are secular and material. Rádl expressed his ideas, influenced by Renan and Johanet, in a number of works within the period 1918 to 1929. He is also the author of a de facto pro-German book published in 1935 under the title "The War of the Czechs against the Germans" (Válka Čechů s Němci).

Furthermore, no less "idealistic" - in the philosophical sense - are those nationality theories which were spreading in this country with the upsurge of the Social-Democratic political movement before 1918, the reason being that they laid a one-sided emphasis on the cultural language aspect alone, or that, on the other hand, they degenerated into gross cosmopolitism (anationalism).

The correct, materialistic conception of nationality became more common in the Czech Lands owing to the influence of works written by the classics of Marxism-

Leninism though it is true to say that several Czech scientists came very close to this view quite independently. Of course, Historical Materialism does not regard nation as the basic social group, as a unit of social development. K. Marx and B. Engels only occasionally concerned themselves with the problem of nation, and did not give anything like an exhaustive definition of a nation. In Czechoslovakia, the only definition that was considered adequate was the well known definition by J. V. Stalin dating from 1913: "A nation is a firm historically arisen community of people that has developed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychical character, finding its expression in a community of culture."* This definition is acceptable even today, at least as far as conditions in Central Europe are concerned. In fact, it is on the study of these conditions that it originated in the first place. Thus those authors who call it the traditional Bauer - Stalin conception of nation do so with some justification. From recent Soviet as well as Czechoslovak discussions it follows that this definition has a weak point in its fourth characteristic where it mentions common psychological character having its expression in a community of culture. What ought to have been emphasized rather than this is national consciousness, that is a subjective conscious expression of one's belonging to the national entity. Another fact pointed out by Stalin's critics is that Marx, Engels and Lenin were always prone to emphasize national political and state relationships. In this they were also closer to the national problems in Western Europe which Stalin had left aside.

Having mentioned the Czech idealistic conception propounded by Rádl we are obliged to include a brief mention of the remarkable theory referred to as geographical or superpositional and defended by J. Korčák in his works dating from the years 1931–1947. In his view, nations were formed from the primeval population bases by the impact of a strong political and economic centre. To him such bases are the areas endowed with particularly favourable living conditions which had been ever since primaeval ages the objective of occasional migrations from less favourable regions. Their population asset being small, they merged with the local population. Thus, for example, in each Czech runs not only Slavonic blood, but also that of their Celtic, Germanic and other ancestors. Conversely, part of the East Germans and Austrians are in fact Germanized Slavs.

Which definitions of nationality were applied during the respective censuses in the Czech Lands is mentioned in the appropriate places in this treatise.

In 1872 the International Statistical Congress in Petrograd agreed on the necessity of ascertaining also the language ("langue parlée") during a census. Probably in those days there was hardly any other way of ascertaining nationality. After this, even the Austrian Government did decide to carry out a statistical survey of nationalities to serve the needs of state and local administration as well as those of science and research. The first time this happened was in the year 1880 and subsequently this was to be repeated every ten years. For the Austrian Empire with its numerous

minorities the choice of "langue parlée" (language of communication) had been an unfortunate one. In this manner the actual national conditions could only be ascertained in a very inexact way. The results of such statistical investigations and their interpretation were advantageous to the predominant nationality. It is exactly from the territory of the Czech Lands in the censuses from 1880-1910 that examples of the doubtful validity of the above approach can be quoted. The literal interpretation of the term language of communication - Umgangssprache - on the part of the Germans necessarily led to a logical interpretation detrimental to the Czechs. It was alleged that they could not, at least so far as they were living in a predominantly German environment, employ any other language of communication than German. Private censuses organized by Czech national associations actually proved that in each of the subsequent Austrian censuses several hundred thousands of Czechs were put down as inhabitants with German language of communication, i.e. as Germans, for no other way of ascertaining nationality was being used at the time. "Mother tongue", which was being ascertained already in those days in most countries, including those of Central Europe, was certainly far more reliable for giving a picture or the nationality of the population.*

The first really objective ascertainment of national conditions in the Czech Lands was not effected until 1921.** This time nationality was defined in a far more adequate way than by the language of communication, and, above all, complete objectivity of the investigation was safeguarded.

A. Boháč and other experts on the Czech side — and H. Rauchberg from among the Germans-demanded that the question should be put as "mother tongue". However, the view that ultimately prevailed was that it was correct to ascertain nationality directly. None the less, the other viewpoint was also taken into account and met by an amendment to the effect that "what is generally to be understood under external sign of nationality was the mother tongue". Such a solution suited the Jewish group in the eastern half of Czechoslovakia where there was at the same time a stronger Sionist political movement. However, the Jews there did not speak Hebrew, but for the most part German and Hungarian. A flaw in the national policy and the statistics dating from 1921 and 1930 is that Czechs and Slovaks were regarded as one nation — Czechoslovaks. However, the very low number of Slovaks in the Czech Lands in those days does allow us to identify Czechoslovaks in the Czech Lands as Czechs in both the censuses.

In the 1930 census, too, nationality was being directly ascertained though it was

^{*} Translated from the Czech definition as it appeared in J. V. Stalin, Spisy (Works), svazek 2, str. 281, Svoboda, Praha 1950.

^{*} In Hungary, however, where strict Magyarization prevailed, not even the use of the "mother tongue" category could prevent the exertion of pressure during the census, and the manipulation of results in the same way as in Austria. The first European country to apply in its census the standpoint that "nationality" and "language" were not synonymous was Bulgaria — since 1900 when the recording of both features had been introduced.

^{**} It is a sad irony of fate to note that both West European Great Powers, when they betrayed Czechoslovakia to Hitler in Munich in 1938, accepted his demand that the cession of the territory would be delimited in accordance with national conditions ascertained by the Austrian census of 1910 (!)

"generally determined by the mother tongue" and once again an exception was made for the benefit of the Jews. The fact that Jewish nationality was regarded as a special case in the Czech Lands, as in the whole of Western Europe, was obviously a very serious mistake. Yet it did not serve, as was claimed by the German nationalists, all of whom were anti-Semitic anyway, the purpose of reducing the number of Germans. This aim could have been far better achieved by the introduction of a special Austrian nationality which would have comprised about a quarter of Germans in the Czech Lands. The 1930 census yielded the most adequate picture of the ethnographic conditions in the Czech Lands before the Second World War. The complaints lodged by the Fascist representatives and by their foreign propaganda could not find a basis in any really incorrect methods that would have been employed during the census.*

After the liberation from the Fascist occupation, under entirely different national conditions in the Czech Lands and in the whole of Czechoslovakia, national censuses were carried out in 1950 and 1961. The definition of nationality was not so good then as in the years 1921 and 1930, but of course incomparably better than the one that had been applied in the years 1880 to 1910. It was nationality that was being established directly, i.e. the question put was to a certain extent one of a plebiscite character. In such a case the subject of the census himself decides on his nationality, that of his children, or even of his wife, etc. It should be mentioned that this approach, to a certain degree ignoring the mother tongue, a mark of much greater objectivity, was not grossly abused, at least not in the Czech Lands. This applies to 1950, and even more so to 1961.**

Apart from Czechs and Slovaks, there are four other national groups living in the Czech Lands and in the whole of Czechoslovakia, differentiated in the statistics: Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians-Ruthenians. The Jews and the Gipsies are no longer regarded as nationalities since the war. As compared with the past, the number of Jews, even if judged by religious denomination, has decreased so as to become insignificant. The Gipsies, on the other hand, have become much more numerous and have shown considerable fluctuation while possessing almost none of the marks of a nation. The non-differentiation of Ukrainians and Russians is a surviving error, no longer tenable today, dating from the days when the East-Carpathian population had not yet become sufficiently differentiated.

In the Czechoslovak Constitution of 1960 the national policy of the socialist state had not been embodied in a progressive, democratic spirit. The fact that inhabitants

other than Czechs and Slovaks do not constitute more than 5.9 per cent (in the Czech Lands only a mere 2.6 per cent in 1961) of the population cannot serve as an explanation why citizens of other nationalities have been spoken of but in the second rank and Germans not at all. That is why problems of the status and rights of ethnic minorities in the state had to be regulated anew by a Constitutional act passed in 1968. It is now explicitly stated that, for example, the state guarantees citizens of Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian nationalities a) the right to education in their own tongue, b) the right to all-round cultural development, c) the right to use their language in official intercourse in regions inhabited by the respective nationality, d) the right to associate in national cultural and social organizations, e) the right to the Press and information in their own language. Further, it is emphasized that it is the citizen himself who decides about his nationality, and that nationality can in no way impair his chances of playing his appropriate part in political, economic and social life.

The discussions between scientific and political experts had also resulted in an unambiguous decision to use the most objective possible methods for establishing nationality conditions in the state, already implemented in the December 1970 census. Both nationality and the mother tongue were to be part of the enquiry.

This work is intended to give an outline of the ethnographic development and the present state in the Czech Lands using official statistics, both Austrian and Czechoslovak. The chief means by which we intend to fulfil the task we had set ourselves are two colour maps in the 1:500 000 scale. The first of these records the changes that had taken place between the years 1880 and 1930. That is, from the very first nationality census up to the one that gave most objective picture of the ethnic conditions in the Czech Lands. A map of this kind based on the smallest territorial units has never been made public before. The 1930-1961 (or 1970) was divided by the changes of 1945 to 1947 which were so revolutionary that it is neither appropriate nor possible to use the same cartographical method to depict them. This is why we gave the ethnographic map for 1930 and another one elaborated on the same principles and based on conditions prevailing in 1961. By setting these two side by side one should also be in a position to compare those great changes referred to above that had materialized in the meantime, not in a gradual and continuous way, but primarily in a revolutionary way, in the years 1945 to 1947, thus drawing a line between two periods of normal nationality development, and population development in general. The map of 1961 expresses the existing conditions, as only slight changes occurred up to the 1970 census. What is given in the text section where we wish to be, and must be, as brief as possible is only the most essential characteristics of the phenomenon and period under observation; the most essential comment and elucidation.

Both maps herewith presented have been put together while using a joint network of smallest territorial units. In principle these are constituted by communities as recorded in the 1961 census. However, a few words of explanation should be added. There had been only insignificant changes in the network of administrative units in the Czech Lands from 1880 to the Second World War, both as regards dividing village communities and joining suburban communities to the towns. After the war big 9

^{*} Soviet authors A. J. Bojarskij and P. P. Šušerin in their book Demografičeskaja statistika (Moskva 1951) are aware that even in conditions of free and democratic Czechoslovakia opposite cases had also been known. They write: "In Czechoslovakia at the time of the 1930 census German nationalists under threats forced even Czechs to opt for the Germans. The resulting increased number of Germans was necessary for backing up the rapacious plans of German fascism."

^{**} In Slovakia under the influence of what was known as re-Slovakization several tens of thousands of Hungarians were put down as Slovaks in 1950. These abuses and errors were rectified, however, in later years. In 1961 nationality conditions were not recorded with objectivity in the East-Slovak Carpathians where many thousands of Ukrainians-Ruthenians were put down as Slovaks. (This was also connected with the abolition of the Greek-Catholic Church.)

changes began, this being towards lowering the number of communities by their amalgamation. In the 1961 census there were 8,726 communities in the Czech Lands (compared with 11,417 communities in 1921 and 11,768 communities in 1930). Four years later (i.e. on 1. 1. 1965) there were as few as 7,557. In our work we used the method of further reducing the 1961 network of communities by joining agglomerated communities to big towns though they had still remained independent in their administration in those days, and furthermore by joining to the neighbouring ones the smallest communities as to the number of inhabitants (under 100) or as to their area (less than 250 hectares). Though, for instance, the community of Antošovice in the Opava district comprises an area of a mere 37 hectares, it has remained an independent administrative unit to this very day. It could, of course, not appear on any medium-scale map. A certain number of communities had to be joined together, the reason being that since 1880 the adjoining communities had ceded to each other rather extensive parts of their areas, or that it was found impossible to re-divide their population so as to reflect the situation obtaining back in 1880. All these modifications have yielded the number of 7,845. This has found its expression only in our Tables, since on the maps we have omitted the boundaries where the situation or development in adjoining communities had been the same. Orientation in the maps is made possible by district boundaries, network of rivers, and by spatial relation to the towns whose names are given on the map.

It is no wonder that Central Europe has been the classical area for ethnographic maps, which have really been innumerable especially in the last hundred years starting with the middle of the nineteenth century. It is only natural that these have been used as an inspiration.

Of course, it is not scientific interest alone that seems to motivate the drawing of ethnographic maps, and political aims not infrequently tend to influence the choice of methods, sometimes leading to a severe misrepresentation of the actual state of affairs. Nevertheless, it was once again political interest that had stimulated the making of ethnographic maps in the past and was responsible for the fact that it was recently the problems of ethnographic or linguistic maps that found its best solution in thematic cartography.

From the geographic and cartographic points of view this great legacy can be summarized as follows:

- 1. General geographic maps giving the ethnographic boundaries a none too prominent component. These were made in this country in the older period.
- 2. Quantitative maps using almost exclusively methods of coloured areas occasionally with names included. In the regions with mixed nationalities the intermingling of two or three nations is indicated by stripes of alternating colours, or by their colour splashes. Such maps are of limited value, and can be admitted particularly for periods preceding censuses of population as to nationality or language.
- 3. Quantitative maps with larger scales, based on the results of population censuses. In their making either the point method or the sign method (sometimes both combined) have been used, i.e. absolute and relative methods respectively, in

which the proportional relationship of one nationality to another is expressed. In this case the individual classes of the scale are covered with surface colouring.

Our own maps are of course essentially quantitative, but details are discussed later in this work.

All nationality maps necessarily bear the signs of the way in which the nationality or mother tongue of the population was established. To obviate their deficiencies is a task that is essentially impossible for geography or cartography to cope with. On the other hand, it should evaluate and arrange statistical material in such a way as to give as far as possible a true picture of the actual state of affairs. This has also been the endeavour that animated the author of the present work, particularly in presenting the following ethnographic maps.*

I/2

The first more or less reliable data on the nationality set-up of the population in the Czech Lands date from the early half of the last century. This was a period when even Czechs had been using German, particularly in towns and in the more well-to-do classes. Consequently, the conclusions, based invariably on linguistic differences, show the German nationality represented in rather a larger degree than had actually been the case.

P. J. Šafařík created his map of the Slavonic world published in 1842** also on the basis of the language used, as any other criterion was impossible. This is a work of historical value. Šafařík did nothing to misrepresent the spread of the German language in Czech towns, yet even so he was obliged to sacrifice the Czech national minorities in the border lands and to enter the mixed Czech-Polish area in Silesia as Polish going by the predominating language in those regions.

* It is necessary to include here a mention of the appropriate literature since elsewhere it might be out of place to do so. In his "Kartenwissenschaft" (1912—1925) M. Eckert devoted considerable attention to ethnographic maps, and his "Kartographie" (1939) bears signs of his chauvinistic attitude. Further theoretical works in German specialized literature can be found, e.g. those written by P. Langhans (1900—1909), H. P. Kosack (1937), H. Hassinger (1941) and others. It is quite understable that in view of their well-known difference of approach and treatment of the national question English, French, and especially American geographers and cartographers have been attracted to the problems of ethnographic maps only in exceptional cases. Nor can one witness anything like a strong preoccupation with the subject of ethnographic maps in Soviet literature (N. N. Baranskij, A. I. Preobraženskij).

An outline of ethnographic maps of the Czech Lands was given by F. Roubík in his "Soupis map Českých zemí" [Survey of Maps of the Czech Lands (1952 and 1955)]. Outstanding maps including commentaries had been the work of A. Boháč (1926 and 1935) whom we have taken for our model.

** Its reproduction was published in 1953 by K. Kuchař in The Cartographical Survey (Kartografický přehled) as a supplement to an article by J. Hůrský (Šafaříkova historická mapa Slovanstva — Šafařík's Historical Map of Slavonic Peoples).

Šafařík's findings are borne out by those arrived at by J. V. Häufler in his Sprachenkarte der Österreichischen Monarchie (Pest 1846), who found 27.1 per cent of Germans in Bohemia itself in 1843.

At approximately the same time a work in several volumes "Das Königreich Böhmen, statistisch-topographisch dargestellt" was published by J. G. Sommer. which was to replace Schaller's topography dating from the 18th century. He mentions what language is spoken in each particular community. J. N. Schnabel in his "Tafeln zur Statistik von Böhmen" (Prague, 1848) took into account the language used, thus not differentiating between nationalities, with the result that in his work the proportion of Germans exceeds the figures quoted by any other writer. At the same time this expert, who has not been adequately appreciated in Czech geography, cannot be accused of even the slightest bias. The linguistic situation in individual communities was given by F. Palacký in his "Popis království českého" (Description of the Kingdom of Bohemia) of 1848 based on new investigations. It was Sommer's and Palacký's works that served J. Jireček as his main source for his own map.

As for Moravia, similar work was undertaken by J. F. Schwoy and G. T. Volný who published detailed topographic description of this second Czech Land, R. Kneifel having been responsible for Silesia. Nationality conditions in Moravia and Silesia were recorded cartographically by A. V. Šembera (1863) and K. Kořistka (1861).

An extensive research into the nationality situation in the Austrian Monarchy of which the Czech Lands formed part, was carried out in the forties and in 1851. It was set in motion by K. Czoernig, who was to publish the "Ethnographische Karte der Österreichischen Monarchie" in the 1:864,000 scale in 1855.

The state administration had tried for a long time to ward off any exact inquiry into nationality conditions to prevent the fact being made public that a minority of Germans had dominated from Vienna a state peopled by a majority of Slav population. It was not until the census in 1880 that this point of view had to be included in their programme.

Nationality set-up of the Czech Lands according to Austrian linguistic statistics

	Czech language (Czechs)			Others	Absolute numbers of population
	%	%	%	%	present
1880	62.51	35.79	0.96	0.74	8,222,013
1890	62.41	35-62	1.16	0.81	8,665,421
1900	62-40	35.10	1.60	0.90	9,372,214
1910	62.85	34.65	1.58	0.92	10,078,637

In contradiction to scientific requirements it was decided to establish nationality on the ground of the so called "language of communication" (Umgangssprache).

The above-mentioned Austrian censuses had afforded material for a whole number

of ethnographic maps which, in the majority unlike the older maps, could be worked out with the inclusion of national minorities by communities. There had also been an advance in cartographical techniques. In spite of this, only a few of these maps are really worthy of note.

The nationality boundary is indicated in the leaves of the general map of Bohemia which was designed and drawn by J. P. Wagner (published by F. Kytka). It appeared in the 1:220,000 scale for the first time in Prague in 1882, and subsequently several times until 1895. The National Association of North Bohemia made up, and the same Wagner drew, a valuable "The Ethnographic map of the Kingdom of Bohemia based on the census of 1880" published in the 1: 525,000 scale in 1886. It constitutes a continuation or substitution of Jireček's map of Bohemia of 1850. For anyone wishing to follow the development of the ethnographical boundary in Bohemia this is a good reliable source upon which to draw, the only drawbacks being the deficiencies in the method and practice of the 1880 census.

The results of the first census based on the language of communication were used by F. Held for drawing up an ethnographic map of Moravia and Silesia and a part of Bohemia (or for delimiting the ethnographic boundary). He published this in Brno in 1888 as three leaves in a 1:300,000 scale as part of his work "Das Deutsche Sprachgebiet von Mähren und Schlesien". Similar maps were to be published by him in later years. In 1899 it was F. Langhans who in Pettermans Mitteilungen brought out a methodologically interesting map called "Deutsche und Slaven in Nordböhmen" in a 1:500,000 scale. This indicates ethnographically mixed territories by six degrees of percentage representation based on the 1890 census. The map comprises not only the North of Bohemia but the whole of the border regions except for the South, and there are subsidiary maps added. The text gives a detailed account of the ethnographic boundary in 1880 and 1890.

Among the maps that came out after the 1900 census the two outstanding ones are Rauchberger's for Bohemia and Plesinger's for Moravia and Czech Silesia. The German author H. Rauchberger brought out his "Sprachenkarte von Böhmen" in the 1:500,000 scale (the subsidiary small maps in 1:200,000) as part of the Third Section of his extensive work on ethnographic conditions in Bohemia (Vienna in 1904, Leipzig in 1905). V. Plesinger, author of "The Ethnographic Map of Moravia and Silesia with the adjoining parts of Bohemia, Lower Austria, Hungary and Prussia" in the 1:200,000 scale, published in 1906, did not stay behind Rauchberger's cartographic work. In fact, he even excelled him as he further multiplied the number of degrees and solved difficulties involved in presenting ethnographic conditions on a territory in which three nations are significantly represented. "The Ethnographic Map of Moravia" (Národnostní mapa Moravy) was started by A. Chytil (1906) in the 1:150,000 scale, but was not completed.

Ethnographic conditions in North-West Bohemia were given on several maps by J. Subert making use of both the official census and the one carried out by the National Association of North Bohemia (Národní Jednota Severočeská).

The Czech Lands as a whole, are represented for example on the "Ethnographic Map of the Czech Crown Lands - Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia" (Národnostní 13 mapa zemí koruny české – Čech, Moravy a Slezska) published in Prague in 1910 under the auspices of the National Czech Council (Národní rada česká), and naturally in the ethnographic maps of the entire Austro-Hungarian union of states. Based on the data acquired by the census such maps were issued from 1888 (1:1,000.000) several times, and even F. Machát drew up "The Ethnographic Map of Former Austria-Hungary" in the 1:2750,000 and 1:687,5000 scales based on the 1910 census though this was not published until after the First World War (Ottův zeměpisný atlas – Otto's Geographic Atlas, Prague 1924).

For the negotiations carried out by the Czechoslovak delegation at the Paris Peace Conference a new ethnographic map, or rather the distribution of Czechoslovaks was drawn up by J. Malíř. This was later printed in the 1: 1 000,000 scale as "Carte ethnographique et biologique". There are two authors mentioned as having been responsible for this edition, Malíř and V. Dvorský. The way the map is drawn bears out the intention to stress the geographic distribution of a nation formerly oppressed which has now become the dominant nation in the state.

It was only the liberation of Czechoslovakia that laid the foundation for ethnographic statistics to be put on an objective scientific basis. When it was decided to hold the first census on February 15th, 1921, nationality was defined as "appurtenance to a tribe whose main feature is usually the mother tongue". Heavy losses were suffered by the Germans now that Czechs, previously lacking in national consciousness and dependent on their German employers, were free to acknowledge their nationality and tongue.

The results of the first census of the population were given by A. Boháč in a map and a scientific treatise called "The Ethnographic Map of the Czechoslovak Republic" (Národnostní mapa republiky Československé) published in Prague in 1926. The text is extremely valuable, giving a detailed description of ethnographic borders, enclaves, islands, and minorities. The map in a 1:500,000 scale (together with seven secondary ones in a 1:200,000 scale) is of great methodical value as well. In communities it specifies even minorities not exceeding 2 to 5% of the population. It takes into account only the national appurtenance of state citizens, while foreign nationals could influence the ethnographic structure of the population as a whole only in a small region to the east of Ostrava and even so to only a very limited extent.*

For the second census in 1930 the definition of nationality was given with only a very slight deviation. The Government Decree of 26th June 1930 says: "Nationality is generally entered on the basis of the mother tongue". Once again an exception applied to Jews alone, out of whom almost 31.3% claimed Jewish nationality.

By 1930 the ethnographic situation in the Czech Lands had become rather consolidated, changes in nationality occurring in the case of persons counted only exceptionally, and subsequently the conditions were to change only as a consequence of the natural increase which was higher in the case of Czechs than of Germans. All the greater then is the value of the ethnographic map constructed on the basis of this last pre-war census by A. Boháč for the work "Atlas of the Czechoslovak Republic" (Atlas republiky Československé) of 1935. Its scale is in 1:1250,000, and it is accompanied by five cartograms (1:5000,000). Eight nationalities, totalling more than five thousand members, and forming a more substantial minority are represented (thus Gipsies are not included). The author's guiding concept was a combination of the principle of population and that of territory. It represents every 4,000 inhabitants by a 2 mm square placed inside the areas counting the abovementioned number of inhabitants. The population of those communities where more than 4,000 inhabitants had been counted were supplemented to make up 6,000, 9,000, 12,000 etc., giving rise to squares or rectangles placed on the spot where the particular larger community is situated. In communities and regions with mixed populations Boháč divided these squares or rectangles according to the way the individual nationalities were represented. Thus, for instance, half a milimeter square coloured in red means 251-750 Czechs living there; one square milimeter signifies 751 to 1,250 and one and a half milimeters square 1,251 to 1,750 Czechs, etc. The symbols in the colours of minority nationalities as well as those placed in the middle of the symbol for the predominating nationality are to be understood as constituting one set of symbols only. Only a very severe critic might find fault with this outstanding map pointing out the size of the basic symbol chosen. The map is supplemented with a background print in what is called a relative method. It gives the proportion of Czechs (Czechoslovaks) in six shades of colour ranging from less than 5 to more than 95%, the border of the regions being formed by the administrative borders of the communities' areas.

Ethnographic set-up of the Czech Lands as given by Czechoslovak statistics

	Czechs (Czechoslovaks) %	Germans	Poles	Jews	Others & foreigners %	Absolute number of population present
1921	67.3	29.7	0.7	0.3	2.0	10,009,587
1930	68.5	28.8	0.7	0.3	1.7	10,674,386

There had been quite a number of other ethnographic maps published in the years 1938 to 1939 when the Czechoslovak Republik was disrupted by Fascist aggression and temporarily occupied. In 1930 E. Fastr published the ethnographic map of J. Havránek in the 1:500,000 scale, E. Wingler publishing one in 1936 (with K. H. Frank in Karlovy Vary) called "Nationalitätenkarte der Sudetenländer" (i.e. an Ethnographic Map of the Sudetenland) in the 1:750,000 scale. The geographers from the German University in Prague in their ethnographic map of the Czech Lands of 1931 (Atlas der Sudetenländer, 1:750,000) employ colours different from those used by Boháč (blue for Czechs, red for Germans), and in Liberec B. Brandt published "Eine Bevölkerungskarte der Sudetenländer" (i.e. A Map of the Population of the

^{*} In these parts a considerable number of workers of Polish citizenship and Polish nationality were living. There were 189,853 foreign nationals in Czech Lands in 1921 (158,139 in 1930); their nationality was also being established. Among these there were more Germans than Czechs and more Poles than others.

Sudetenland) based on the census of 1921. This was also elaborated in the Geographical Institute of the German University. The scale used was 1:200,000, the absolute point method being applied. The Military Institute of Geography (Vojenský zeměpisný ústav) in Prague published an Ethnographic Map of the ČSR (Národnostní mapa ČSR) using the 1:750,000 scale and the absolute point method as above.

In the period between 1938 (or 1939) to 1945 (or 1946) it is extremely difficult to trace in any great detail the ethnographic development in the Czech Lands in which German-Fascist rule prevailed. This is exemplified even from the point of view with which we are concerned in this work. Several hundred thousands of people were murdered in a bestial way. Whole regions were evacuated and there were new "colonists" coming from Germany.

Towards the end of the war, the German population took flight and later, it was transferred in an organized way. For the purposes of the transfer and re-settlement the Settlement Office (Osídlovací úřad) in Prague published — as early as 1945 — two simple ethnographic maps in the 1:750,000 scale indicating the absolute numbers of Czechs and Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

It is only since the years 1946–1947 that the Czech Lands became once again a monolingual territory. Though during the Czechoslovak census of 1950 a rather subjective definition of nationality had been applied — "what is understood by nationality is the appurtenance to a nation with whose cultural and working community the subject is intimately tied up and to which he proclaims himself as belonging" — nevertheless, the results obtained in the Czech Lands do represent the real state of affairs. It is, indeed, impossible to charge Czechs with trying to enlarge the numbers of their compatriots by assimilating others, particularly by assimilating Germans. In fact, among the Sudeten Germans who were being transferred there were many tens of thousands of people knowing the Czech language and willing to adopt Czech nationality. The correctness of the 1950 ethnographic census was also borne out by the results of 1961 when the ethnographic census was already quite free from national prejudices which might possibly have been discovered — and, of course, explained and understood — in 1950.

Ethnographic Set-up of the Czech Lands according to Postwar Czechoslovak Statistics

à	Czechs	Slovaks	Germans	Poles	Others	Absolute number of population
	%	%	%	%	%	present
1950	93.8	2.9	1.8	0.8	0.7	8,896,133
1961	94.3	2.9	1.4	0.7	0.7	9,571,531
1970	94.7	3.2	0.8	0.7	0.6	9,815,465

Apart from the transfer of the German population the biggest change in the ethnographic composition in the Czech Lands is the presence of a significant number of Slovaks. In the years 1918 to 1938 the small linguistic distinctions between Czechs

and Slovaks had made it possible not to differentiate between them with regard to nationality. After the liberation in 1945 and already in the course of the national liberation struggle Slovaks were recognized as constituting an independent nationality. In 1930 the number of Slovaks living in the Czech Lands had been a mere 44,000. As a result of their having migrated to the border regions involuntarily left by the Germans the number of Slovaks in the Czech Lands had grown to 258,000 in 1950.

All postwar population censuses were not utilized for drawing up any ethnographic maps of greater significance, these problems being not topical for geographers and cartographers. In the Atlas of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of 1966 only a 1:2,000,000 ethnographic map was included. In its square method it represents five additional nationalities apart from the Czechs in the Czech Lands as long as they reach more than 5% of the population (and comprise more than 25 inhabitants) or more than 2,500 persons. There are seven classes, in four of these the proportion of three nationalities being combined. A serious drawback of the map is the fact that it omits the differences in the density of the population (the scale used did not allow of any other method) and that for Slovaks who are in fact so close to Czechs a very different colour had been selected. On the other hand, the fact is that no maps had been enclosed giving a historical ethnographic survey, for this was the task to be accomplished by the Atlas of Czechoslovak History, another outstanding work of Czech cartography dated 1965. True, this was carried out merely in the 1:3,000,000 scale, indicating the development on the territory of Czechoslovakia up to the beginning of the twentieth century. On the other hand, one finds here a very successful ethnographic map of 1930, the scale used being 1:1,500,000. The absolute method is employed to represent Czechs and Slovaks (with a common colour), Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles and others by symbols having the values of 100, 200, 500, 1000, 3,000 and 5,000 inhabitants respectively.* Towns above 5,000 inhabitants are indicated on the map by circles whose area is directly proportionate to the number of inhabitants (1 mm2 = 2,250 inhabitants). There are segments for nationalities in the appropriate symbols in Prague, Brno and Bratislava. The individual communities are given with the accuracy of \pm 50 inhabitants.

^{*} Symbols for 100, 200 and 500 persons had to be made larger than the appropriate size by a few hundredths of a milimeter.

II. ETHNOGRAPHIC POPULATION CHANGES FOR THE CZECH LANDS BETWEEN 1880 AND 1930

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In the economic and political spheres the few decades of the last century and the first of the early part of the present in the Czech Lands were a period of advanced capitalism. An outstanding feature of the second part of the period under review was the World War and the revolutionary change in 1918 — when the independent state of the Czech nation was renewed.

In the Czech Lands it was as early as the beginning of the twentieth century that industrial production had grown to a large degree, while agriculture had been modernized and the construction of a railway network had been completed. In consequence of industrial development Prague, Brno, Plzeň (Pilsen), Ostrava, Liberec (Reichenberg) and other cities had greatly expanded, attracting population from the country-side. Economic development also underlies the strengthening of national consciousness and a flowering of Czech culture, and parallel to this, a larger social mobility within society.

However, natural increase was so large that in spite of economic development in the Czech Lands and significant internal migration a large part of the Czech population, unable to find enough job opportunities at home, migrated to other countries.

The largest migration took place as early as the 1880–1890 decade, when after the preceding economic boom a certain stagnation had set in. Population increase in the Czech Lands was 5.4 per cent, less than for many preceding decades. At the same time thanks to natural exchange the population increase was a little larger in the Czech Lands than in Moravia and Silesia. The 1890–1900 decade had all the attributes of economic prosperity. Also it is in this particular decade that the largest ever population increase was registered, with Moravia surpassing Bohemia in its natural increase. This became even more evident during the early twentieth century when natural increase declined in Bohemia and rather significantly in Moravia and Silesia. However, population losses resulting from migration to Vienna and other places within Austria–Hungary, and particularly to more distant foreign countries (the USA) continued to be clearly noticeable up to the liberation.*

Population development within the Czech Lands was affected by regional differences

Population Growth in the Czech Lands

Period	Growth in number of those present	Annual average	Natural increase in thousands	Growth in no those present natural in	less than
11		in %	in thousands	in thousands	in %
1880—1890	443.5	+5:4	702,8	259,3	36.7
1890 - 1900	706-8	+8.2	908,6	201,8	21.5
1900 - 1910	706-4	+7.5	989,0	282,6	28.6
1910 - 1921	-69.0	-0.7	175,9	244,9	(140.5)
1921—1930	664-8	+6.8	741,3	76,5	10.2
1880—1930	2452-5	+5.2	3,517,6	1,065,1	30.0

brought about by unequal economic development. The Northern parts of the Czech Lands (Plzeň and Brno in the other parts) had been developing as part of an intensive capitalist economy. These districts contained very good industrial potential (coal and ores, rivers, labour) as well as agriculture. The Southern parts of the Czech Lands were largely deficient in such prerequisites and the proximity of Vienna (drawing heavily upon manpower) was a definite drawback. Ethnographically speaking, they contained an exclusively Czech population, whereas the Northern territory was ethnographically a mixed one. Thus the greater part of emigration losses abroad were at the expense of the Czech nation. The latter showed rather a higher natural increase than the local Germans throughout the period under observation. In spite of this, however, the proportion of Czechs in the Czech Lands continued to be on the same level for a long period, just as that of the Germans who made up more than one third of the total population.* It was not until the last Austrian census that a rather more significant increase appeared the Czechs' case (or of inhabitants with Czech as the language of communication) and a relative decline in the number of Germans was registered. The fact is that after the introduction of a universal, direct, equal and secret ballot in 1907 it was no longer so easy to manipulate the ethnographic census, or at least not to the former extent. Thus, for instance, the situation at Rychvald in the Těšín District was an example of the census qualification of Austria (in this case of coercive Polonisation). In 1900 merely 11 Czechs had been counted. Yet the local private Czech school was being attended by 600 Czech children!

In Greater Austria, where the German minority ruled from Vienna a majority made up from other nationals, the Czechs Lands did not constitute an independent unit, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia being merely three administrative units among

^{*} In the treatise by S. J. Bruk "Čislennost i nasselenie narodov mira" (Moscow 1962) the present number of Czechs in the USA is given as 670,000, that in Canada as 45,000, in Yugoslavia as 35,000, in the USSR as 25,000 etc.

^{*} This was the result of the denationalization of Czechs. Even F. Machatchek, a man of not exactly impartial propensities, does concede in a book published in 1927 — in view of the numerical development of both nationalities and at the same time of a higher natural increase of Czech population — that Germanization did in fact occur under Austrian rule.

the others. There is no doubt that economically they were the most advanced. Yet in the political sphere they had nothing like a backing from Vienna, for the Czech population majority was in opposition, demanding to be granted their inalienable rights. On the other hand, too, the leading class was represented by the bourgeoisie. However, the struggle for a just settlement of the national question was not being waged merely by the working class against the bourgeoisie, but also by progressive bourgeoisie against a reactionary one. It had become evident by the end of the last century that a total Germanization of the Czech Lands was no longer a feasible proposition. It was not until during World War I that the hopes of nationalistic Germans in the Czech Lands were once again to be strengthened, realizing the possibility of their anti-Czech plans, since this time they were no longer being assisted by a weakened Vienna, but by the German Reich. In connection with the growth of the Czech majority in the Czech Lands the local Germans tried at least to preserve the positions they had acquired in the past by means of Germanization, coming forward with a plan for Bohemia to be divided (Deutschböhmen). At that time this was, of course, in clear contradiction to the total geographic and economic unification of the country.

Division of Population Increase according to Nationality

	Czechs %	Germans %	Others
1880 - 1890	61	32	7
1890-1900	63	29	8
1900-1910	70	29	1
1910-1921	88	-*	12
1921-1930	86	14	_*
1880—1930	88	6	6

A number of authors made it their concern to follow the development of both nationalities in the Czech Lands (A. Rauchberg, A. Oberschall, A. Boháč and others). In the first decade after the 1880 census the increase of both Czechs and Germans was approximately the same.** In Bohemia itself, however, the Germans increased

rather more. In the decade of 1890-1900 the Czech population grew considerably more that of the Germans (8.2% as against 6.6% in the case of the latter), but the differences between the individual countries had grown. In Bohemia the German population increased by 8.2%, while the Czechs increased by only 7.8%; in Moravia and in Silesia, however, the Czechs increased by more than 8.9%, while the Germans by less than 2.8%. Since 1900 the development has been unequivocally favourable to the Czechs, this being the case all over the country. In the years 1900-1910 they multiplied in the Czech Lands by 8.3%, whereas the Germans only by slightly over 6.1%. Also in Bohemia itself the increase in the number of the Czechs (7.8%) exceeded that of the Germans (5.7%). It is also this century that heralds the historic change in the development of the two nationalities which is then to reach its culminating point in the 1910 Austrian census and the first Czechoslovak census of 1921. The Czechs had increased by more than 6.2%, the Germans decreasing by 14.9%. In Bohemia itself the increase in the number of Czechs was lower (not quite 3.3%), than was the decline in the number of Germans (not quite -12.3%). The last section in the 1921 – 1930 period under observation can be considered as normal, which – owing to the World War and the change in the census procedure - can hardly be said about the years 1910-1921. The Czechs in the Czech Lands increased by almost 8.6%, the Germans by only slightly over 3.2%. At the same time the increase in those years (1921-1930) was much higher in Moravia and Silesia itself (over 10.5%) while the Germans showed no increase at all.

The above survey is to be supplemented by further surveys. By natural change the increase in the numbers of Czechs in the whole period under consideration was higher than that of Germans, this being more applicable in Moravia and Silesia, for in Bohemia the natural change tends to become balanced with the two nationalities. A closer and more detailed analysis is difficult to outline, since in the older period there is no other way but to scrutinize whole districts, whereby the higher natality of the Czech minorities is generally credited to the Germans.

In Bohemia and Moravia the Czech districts (in the following table they are represented by line I) constituted more than 57% of the area, i.e. 42,315 km², mixed districts with Czechs predominating (II) 14.7%, i.e. 10,959 km², German districts (III) about 2.7%, mixed with Germans predominating (IV) a mere 7.5% of the territory of Bohemia and Moravia. Owing to frontier changes we could not take into account

Increase by natural change (%)

	Bohemia			Moravia				
	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1881—1890	1891-1900	1901-1910		
I	9.6	9-8	9.2	9.8	11.8	11.9		
II	7.6	8.5	8.7	7.9	10.8	11.8		
III	6.4	9.7	9.6	6.0	6.6	5.9		
IV	7.8	12.2	13.2	6.5	7.2	6.8		

^{*} The Germans in the period of 1910—1921 and others in the period 1921—1930 declined in numbers. The proportions in these two lines were thus calculated without taking into account the total balance of population increase.

^{**} This was the case in the whole of Austria. There had been an increase of over 5.6% in the case of Germans and over 5.6% in that of Czechs, but the population as a whole increased almost by 7.7 per cent. Between 1890—1900 the number of Czechs throughout Austria had risen by more than 8.8%, while that of Germans by less than 8.4%. The population as a whole by 9.2%. (H. Rauchberg).

the conditions in Little Silesia (4,420 km²) which apart from German and Czech territories included a Polish one.

According to Austrian statistics the Czech nationality had been on the decline in the Czech Lands right up to 1900. Development was more favourable for the Czech nationality from the beginning of the period under observation, in Bohemia itself, in Moravia and in Silesia. The German language territory had been growing more rapidly than the Czech, and a part of the Czech minorities was attributed by the existing census practice of going by the language of communication, to the Germans. Thus even the percentage of Czechs (or of inhabitants with Czech as language of communication) had declined to 62.4% in 1900, in Bohemia itself the percentage of Germans (or of inhabitants with German as language of communication) had risen to as many as 37.3%. In Moravia and Silesia the situation was different in that the German section of the population constituted a smaller portion and this was declining since 1880 (31.1% in 1900). However, the number of Poles either increased or declined (except for 4.9% in 1900) owing to migration from Galicia as well as through Polonization supported by the Germans in the Ostrava region. However, the Czechs were at a disadvantage, the reason being that both Brno with Olomouc and Ostrava with Jihlava and other large towns (except for Prostějov, Kroměříž, Přerov) bore an ethnographically heavily mixed character, and their administration was dominated by a strong German minority.* Vienna, too, exercised its influence more effectively in Moravia than in Bohemia. Even more so the Czechs in Moravia saw Prague as their capital, though Moravia and Silesia constituted independent units from an administrative point of view.

According to A. Boháč as well as A. Oberschall and H. Rauchberg the Czech population was growing more quickly than the German, this holding true both for the predominantly Czech, the mixed, and in particular the German, territory. This was the case at the turn of the last century, and even more so in subsequent years. Thus the German language territory was becoming ever more mixed, and the mixed territory ever more Czech. In Bohemia, even as late as the last century, there was a numerous nationality group not consciously Czech using the German language. However, even before the turn of the century many of these people were returning to accept their real nationality and their own language, due to the influence of the intensifying efforts at revival. Czech towns in Bohemia and Moravia saw this development being retarded by a few decades, the so-called "dajčfrajndlišství", i.e. siding with the Germans, surviving until as late as after the liberation of 1918. In places this was supported by strong Jewish minorities.**

At the beginning of the 20th century the Czech patriotic organization succeeded in preserving the Czech minorities from the onslaught of Germanization. The activities of the German Schulverein (School Association) were being counteracted by the Ústřední matice školská (Czech School Association), founded as early as 1880, to be followed by the "Národní jednota severočeská" (National Association of North Bohemia), "Národní jednota Pošumavská" (the National Association of the Bohemian Forest Region), and a number of other similar organizations centred on Prague, Brno Olomouc, Opava, and Ostrava. The unequal distribution of productive forces was not disadvantageous merely for the Czechs. It resulted in the migration of Czech workers into Germanized towns, particularly into North Bohemia where it was possible to strengthen the old Czech minorities, and to prevent the formation of a really continuous German belt. Once again the region of the North Bohemia Brown-Coal Basin evinced a tendency towards bilingualism, the area affected by these trends comprising seven adjoining districts, or more than 1200 km² (350,000 inhabitants in 1900). In fact the development after the liberation was merely a continuation of what had gone before.

Czechs (Czechoslovaks) recorded at individual censuses

Jurisdiction District	1880	1890	1900 %	1910 %	1921 %	1930 %
Most	13.7	25.6	31.3	27.8	46.5	48-8
Duchcov	15.5	16.9	21.1	30.7	42.1	42-4
Bílina	6.8	8.4	11.2	19-2	34.1	38-1
Hor. Litvínov	1.0	4.1	25.3	24.8	37-1	37.0
Teplice	5.2	6.1	10.3	12.9	22.7	23.7
Chabařovice	1.5	0.5	1.0	6.1	19.6	21.3
Ústí n. L.	1.9	2.0	1.4	5.4	16.6	19.6

During the period 1880-1900 only the German and demographically mixed districts — at least in Bohemia — registered an increase due to internal migration. Later on the situation changed. In Moravia and Silesia, there was rather a different development for even here in the North (the Jeseníky Mountains) a predominantly German area lost population through migration. The direction taken by the German speakers was to Vienna rather than to places in the Czech Lands (especially between 1890-1900).

The First World War — as expected — proved catastrophic both for the Czech and the German inhabitants from a population point of view. It has been estimated that by the end of 1918 there were 9,987,000 inhabitants living in the Czech Lands (J. Srb). The 1921 census established an absolute decrease even compared with the 1910 census. Thus the number of Germans had declined by 519,000 compared with the 1910 census, with reference to those using German as their language of communication. It must also be remembered that the war losses had been heavier for the Germans than for

^{*} Of the large Czech towns in Bohemia only the German minority in České Budějovice dominated the scene during the Austria-Hungary monarchy, for instance at Nýřany. Plzeň (Pilsen) had stood its ground from the nationality point of view even though bulges of a predominatingly German language territory drew close to it, for instance at Nýřany.

^{**} As an example one may quote the town of Lipník nad Bečvou. Until the liberation thanks to Jewish influence the domination of Germans had been preserved, though in 1930 their number established by the census was not more than 12%. As early as 1880 the Czechs made up 67.7%. Notwithstanding the pressure exerted by German authorities and employers none of the censuses had registered more than one-third of the population as German speaking (most in 1890).

the Czechs. The predominantly German districts returned figures showing 35 killed per 1,000 inhabitants, the Czech districts only 25 per 1,000. It is certain that the Jews who had reclaimed their nationality (over 30,000) gave German in most cases as their language of communication. A part of the German bourgeoisie and aristocracy along with their servants had emigrated, or had become citizens of other states. However, this is not enough to explain this large population decline of Germans, or, in fact, of inhabitants with German as their language of communication and the concomitant growth of Czechs by 395,000. Demographic changes can only be rightly understood firstly by taking into account the incorrect practices perpetrated during the Austrian census, including the last census in 1910, and, conversely, the objective approach to establishing nationality adopted in 1921. Information from previously quoted private censuses alone, was now proven, i.e. that the Czech majority exceeded two-thirds and that in 1921 the number of Germans living in the Czech Lands amounted to 29.7% while that of Poles, 0.7% of all the state citizens.

The Czechoslovak Republic was a democratic state where its ethnographic minorities enjoyed more extensive rights than those guaranteed by the international agreements negotiated in Paris. As laid down by the Constitution in communities comprising a minority exceeding 20% the administration was bilingual. A community lending library was established for even as few as 400 persons of German or other nationality in accordance with an act passed in 1929. In the sphere of social policy the Czechoslovak state appeared as one pursuing an absolutely just national policy.* German political representatives were not justified in complaining about cultural, economic, or any other kind of discrimination. German capital in the economy of the Czechoslovak Republic comprised even a larger share than that to which the Germans were entitled by virtue of their comprising about 23% of the population. It was, of course, necessary to uphold and sponsor in education and culture more the Czech, or Czechoslovak than the German institutions; the latter had previosly been enhanced out of all proportion. As late as in 1930 the situation in education was as follows:

One class: primary schools in existence per pupil	Grammar schools ("Gymnasien")
311 Czechoslovaks	4.269
270 Germans	3.549
203 Poles	6.311

There were three Universities in the Czech Lands, one of these being German. The Germans also had two German Polytechnical Colleges here.

Extensive shifts in favour of the Czechs were established by the 1921 census in what are today the districts of Most, Louny, Litoměřice and Ústí nad Labem, i.e. in

an area where the Czech element had been registering great progress even before the liberation. This time the proportional representation of the Czech nationality had risen from one-tenth to one-fifth. While in 1880 in the whole of the North-Bohemia Coal Basin it was only Souš that was a Czech community, it has now been established that there was a Czech majority in as many as 31 communities forming a large and an ever growing island. Another example is České Budějovice, where as little as one-sixth of the inhabitants claimed German nationality in this South-Bohemia metropolis. In Moravia the Czechs had gained a large predominance (70-72%) in both the capitals of the country (Brno, Olomouc), and also Hodonín, Břeclav and other places had gone Czech, and even Znoimo showed a Czech majority. The most profound changes in ethnographic conditions were registered in what are today the districts of Karviná and Frýdek-Místek where Czechs regained what they had previously lost in favour of the Germans and Poles having been unjustly registered as either of these by the census officials as late as in 1910. In the whole of Moravia and Silesia less than a quarter of the population were registered as Germans in 1921, the larger increase in the number of Czechs indicating that by peaceful evolution over three to four decades that country would become monolingual. More than one-third of the Germans here lived in districts with a prevailing number of Czechs, i.e. with a minority status, while the largest compact area of German settlement was economically underdeveloped.

A detailed account of the ethnographic border based on the prevailing situation in 1921, including a great number of examples of changes compared with the Austrian results, is given by A. Boháč in the book quoted above (1926)..

The 1930 census confirmed the correctness of the results registered in 1921 which had been subjected to attacks particularly from the German side.* And this was not all, it also bore out the continuing trend of a moderate increase of the Czech majority and of a decline in the relative representation of the Germans. Out of the local population there were 68.47% Czechs (Czechoslovaks) and 28.77% Germans, out of all population present (including foreign nationals) there were 68.89% Czechs and 29.50% Germans. The number of Czechs had grown by change alone, for since 1930 the return of the "dajčfrandlichs" (i.e. friends of Germans) especially in Moravia-Silesia from the German language of communication to the Czech language and nationality had been in progress, while quite a number of Czechs from Vienna had returned to their own country. Also the continuing differentiation of Silesians in the Ostrava region and in the Těšín Silesia served to reinforce the Czechs.

^{*} See J. Brügel ("Tschechen und Deutsche"), p. 191 etc. The German proletariat could entertain grievances rather against German firms — e.g. closing down the iron works at Rotava, which was German, and transferring the production to a Czech town — Karlova Huf. As to expropriated large estates Germans received a much larger share than the Czechs (p. 539).

^{*} Among Czechs it was E. Rádl (1928) who criticized the first Czechoslovak census. Overlooking the differences in age composition between Czechs and Germans he was comparing the results of the 1921 census with election results registered in 1925 (when the international Communist Party gained hundreds of thousands of votes), which in fact could not be used for proving the ethnographic composition of the voters. However, Rádl was right in stating that a proportion of German civil servants (disloyal to the state or having no command of the Czech language) had been dismissed. This was a necessary step and no state, not even one having such a democratic system as Czechoslovakia, could avoid taking it.

Těšín Silesia (originally a principality) had been part of the lands of the Czech Crown until the First World War. In 1920 this small country was divided. The Eastern part (1,023 km² with 149,000 inhabitants) went to Poland. This was done from the ethnographic point of view, which had to give in rightfully to a historical one, since the Poles constituted a majority of its population. The larger part (1,269 km²) and more populated (285,000 inhabitants), and economically more advanced, remained part of Czechoslovakia, the heir of the Czech State. Here, too, lived a large Polish minority. During the 1921 census 72,217 Poles (plus 20,706 Poles who were foreign nationals) were counted among the population. A considerable part of the population in the area — 47,314 persons — who spoke a dialect closer to Polish than Czech, wished to embrace a specific Silesian nationality. In the days of the Austria-Hungary monarchy this group was "dajčfrandliš" (friendly to Germans) and received a certain measure of their support. In the part ceded to Poland this group was also numerous, opposed division, and did not agree with being joined to Poland. Of course, not even in a democratic Czechoslovakia could a Silesian nationality be introduced, and so out of the "Silesians" 24,299 registered as Czechs and 21,607 as Poles (1,408, Silesians opted for German nationality). Until 1930 the process of differentiation had advanced to such a degree that only 24,439 inhabitants of the Czech Těšínsko (Těšín District) claimed to be Silesians and out of these 13,842 registered as being of Czech nationality, 6,368 of Polish (and mere 191 were German). Those who did not give their nationality for the census, i.e. 4,308 persons, were included as Poles by the Czech census authorities, which was correct. In 1930, 79,450 Poles were counted among inhabitants possessing Czechoslovak state citizenship and 9,676 as foreign nationals, the latter having declined with emigration but also due to their newly acquired Czechoslovak citizenship. Prior to the Polish aggregation of 1938 the differentiation process of the so called Silesians had not been fully completed.

The increase registered among Germans in the Czech Lands did not exceed 97,520. This low figure was certainly due to migration to Germany and Austria, besides the lower natural increases and losses incurred by the return of Germanized Czechs to Czech nationality.

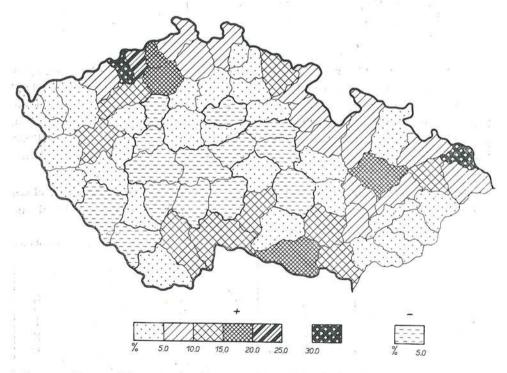
In Bohemia itself the increase in Czech nationality was additionally assisted by migration from Moravia-Silesia and from Slovakia. During the period of 1921 – 1930 this represented about 30 thousand people (particularly to Prague and the industrial towns of North Bohemia). Population growth during the years 1921 – 1930 saw an increase registered in districts with a predominantly German population as already mentioned. This was due to a higher natural increase among the Czech minorities (represented mostly by the working strata and young people) and to Czech immigration. With regard to Bohemia, the largest increase in Czech nationality was established in what are today the districts of Havlíčkův Brod, Louny, Česká Lípa and in the North-Bohemia Brown-Coal Basin. In Moravia-Silesia the Czech element rose both in districts largely German and in those with a Czech majority, where the German minorities were declining. Conversely, in Bohemia a new phenomenon appeared, i.e. that some German minorities had increased through migration (e.g. Prague).

Between 1921-1930 several dozen formerly ethnographically mixed communities became Czech. It was generally assumed, both on the Czech and the German side, that the Czechization of a further more than sixty communities could be expected in the near future, i.e. those where 50-60% of the Czechs had been counted in 1930, and about 85 communities where Czech representation totalled between 40-50%. Over a longer period ethnographic conditions would have registered pronounced

changes in favour of the Czechs even in communities where they had formed strong minorities of 30-40% in 1930 — of which there were over 150 (mostly in Bohemia).*

The development after 1880 — (when the ethnographic composition of the population in the Czech Lands had been investigated for the first time, mainly on the basis of the so called "language of communication") — to 1930, when the census was carried out according to an objective criterion and free from the post-war ethnographic upheaval and its repercussions (including nationality change, migration) can be most briefly indicated by the relative representation of the respective nationalities:

v	Czechs (Czecho- slovaks) %	Germans %	Poles %	Jews	Others %	Foreign- ers %	Absolute number of those present
1880	62-51	35.79	0.96	_	0.04	0.70	8,222,013
1930	68.47	28.77	0.76	0.28	0.24	1.48	10,674,386



 Increase (Decrease) in proportional representation of Czechs for the years 1880 to 1930 by district.

^{*} Understandably based on the territorial and administrative division valid in those days. After adjustments for our map this concerns 45, 71 and 98 villages or settlements agglomerations.

The number of Czechs had grown to 42.95%, absolute numbers being 2,195,694 persons among the native population, Slovaks contributing only a mere 44,000 people to the so-called Czechoslovaks. The number of Germans increased by only 4.89%, i.e. 143,254 persons. Only a small change in favour of the Germans will be noticed if account is taken of the nationality of the foreign nationals of whom 158,139 were living in the Czech Lands in 1930 (only 57,946 in 1888). Of these 49.9% were of German nationality, whilst those of Czech nationality amounted to 25.1%.

Percentage of Czechs (Czechoslovaks) by district between 1880-1930

Growth:	Number of districts	Decline:	Number of districts
by more than 30·1%	2	up to 5%	14
20.1-25 %	1	-	
15.1 - 20.0%	4	total of districts	71
10.1-15.0%	9		
5.1-10.0%	13	9.1	
up to 5%	28		
10-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20-20			

The fact that the Czech Lands were divided into three kinds of ethnographic areas, i.e. the Czech, the mixed, and the German one, makes it easy to understand that ethnographic changes must have borne a widely differing character. They are here given in a table and a small map based on present-day districts. For statistical purposes Prague has been taken as comprising the two adjoining districts, Plzeň together with the Plzeň-South district, Brno including the surrounding district, and Ostrava with Karviná district.

Such a survey is naturally still very generalized, and does not substitute for a closer examination of ethnographic development, based on the smallest territorial and

Increase/Decrease in the Czech Population

	over 75·6%	50.6 + 75.5%	25.6 + 50.5%	10.6 + 25.5%	5.6 + 10.5%	2.5 + 5.5%	up to + 2.5%
Number of Communities	4	31	211	401	323	462	1785
Per cent	0.1	0.4	2.6	5.1	4.1	5.9	22.7
Population 1930 in							
thousands	17,3	55,2	948,7	1158,2	2011,0	815,8	2267,1
Per cent	0.2	0.5	9.1	11.1	19.2	7.8	21.6

Population Distribution by Communities based on Increase/Decrease of the Czech Population between 1880-1930*

		1880			1930	
Degree of Increase/Decrease in Czech Population %	Total Population %	Czechs	Germans and Others	Total Population	Czechs**	Germans and Others
	i i	5544				
over 75.6	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0
50.6 + 75.5	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.5
25.6 + 50.5	6.1	2.9	11.7	9-1	8.3	10.6
10.6 + 25.5	9.7	3.6	20.3	11.1	6.3	22.0
5.6 + 10.5	12.7	9.9	17.5	19-2	19.0	19.7
2.6 + 5.5	8.6	4.1	16.4	7.8	4.2	16.1
up to $+ 2.5$	25.3	23.4	28.5	21.6	19.8	26.0
Situation unchanged	11.7	17.5	1.6	8.5	11.6	1.3
up to - 2.5	23.2	35.5	2.1	19-9	27.6	2.3
2.6 - 5.5	1.5	2.1	0.4	1.4	1.8	0.6
5.6 - 10.5	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
10.6 - 25.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
25.6 - 50.5	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
50·6 — 75·5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0-1
	100-0	100-0	100-0	100-0	100-0	100-0

^{*} Population of state citizenship.

administrative units. This has been accomplished during the preparation of the map of ethnographic changes from 1880-1930.

Only summary tables are given here.

by Communities between 1880-1930

Situation un- changed	up to — 2.5%	2.5 - 5.5%	5.6 – 10.5%	10.6 - 25.5%	25·6 — 50·5%	50.6 – 75.5%	Total
2164	2275	127	32	24	4	2	7 845,0
27.6	* 29.0	1.6	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	100.0
886,7	2088,3	150,6	44-4	26,5	3,1	2,1	10 475,0
8.5	19-9	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	100.0

^{**} Slovaks added to Czechs.

Proportional Changes between 1880-1930

Degree of Increase/Decrease of Czech Population	Total Population	Czechs	Germans and Others
%	%	%	%
over 75·6	+0.1	+0.2	-0.2
50.6 + 75.5	+0.2	+0.4	-0.3
25.6 + 50.5	+3.0	+5.4	-1.1
10.6 + 25.5	+1.4	+2.7	+1.7
5.6 + 10.5	+6.5	+9.1	+2.2
2.6 + 5.5	-0.8	+0.1	-0.3
up to $+ 2.5$	-3.7	-3.6	-2.5
Situation unchanged	-3.2	-5.9	-0.3
up to — 2.5	-3.3	-7.9	+0.2
2.6 — 5.5	-0.1	-0.3	+0.2
5.6 - 10.5	0.0	-0.1	+0.1
10.6 - 25.5	-0.1	-0.1	+0.1
25.6 - 50.5	0.0	0.0	+0.1
50.6 - 75.5	0.0	0.0	+0.1

The conception of the map of the ethnographic development in the Czech Lands at the 1:500,000 scale for the period 1880-1930 has essentially followed the changes from a Czech nationality viewpoint. Territorial units are according to communities, including 7,845 small territorial units, as in our other maps.

Representational change of the Czech population is indicated by 13 degrees. They indicate how far the percentage has risen up to 2.5%, 2.6-10.5%, 10.6-25.5%, 25.6-50.5%, 50.6-75.5%, or even increases exceeding 75.6%.

Only in 2,164 communities (27.6% of the total) a more conspicuous change in the proportion of Czech nationality was not established in 1930 in relation to the other, or others. In more than two-fifths of all communities (3,216, i.e. 40.9%) there had been a relative — and rather a substantial — increase in the number of Czechs. Thus, for instance, in 213 communities their proportion grew from 25.6 to 50.5%. In 2,464 communities (31.5% of the total) the proportion of the Czech nationality declined, albeit very slightly, i.e. up to 2.5%. Details are given in the Table on page 28-29 and extreme cases are discussed in the appropriate places of this Chapter.

Communities which even in 1930 contained other than a Czech majority, i.e. having a German majority, or, in the case of the Ostrava region, a Polish or a Polish-German one, and in three communities in South-East Moravia a German-Croatian one, are differentiated by being covered with a meshing. This serves to bring out clearly the predominantly German territory, or a territory with other nationalities in the Czech Lands, while at the same time the map draws attention to the significance of changes in the ethnographic composition of their population. Those communities where as a result of growth in the Czech population numbers the change had been so farreaching as to turn them — in comparison with the situation prevailing in 1880 when they had been mostly inhabited by other nationalities (German and — in the Ostrava

region Polish as well) — into predominantly Czech ones by 1930, are covered with a meshing. Thus they denote a shift in the ethnographic boundary.

A certain correction of the relative indices is afforded by the designation of absolute increases or decreases in Czech population by means of five-grade signs starting from 1,001 persons (1,001-2,000, 2, 001-5,000, 5,001-25,000, 25,001-100, 000, more than <math>100,001). The absolute increases or decreases in the German and Polish populaare designated in the same way

These settlements are given by name, orientation being assisted by the network of rivers and by district borders.

Avoidance of smaller deficiencies in our own map has not been accomplished. These follow from the fact that in 1880 the census had been carried out according to the language of communication, not on a nationality basis as was the case in 1930. This had been a grave handicap for the Czechs, especially in those communities where they did not constitute a majority. No account is taken in the map of foreign nationals, yet this could not have given rise to any misconceptions as these represented a mere 0.7% of the population in 1880 and 1.4% in 1930. Finally, using terminology then in use, the so-called Czechoslovaks were also regarded as Czechs. However, the number of Slovaks living in the Czech Lands was only 44,400 even in 1930 (0.4%) so that our method is hardly open to anything like a serious criticism.

The subsequent pages are devoted to explaining the greatest changes and to a description of both the results and lines taken by the ethnographic evolution under review with regard to individual areas.

II/2

Prague and Central Bohemia

From the ethnographic point of view the capital had been Czech at the beginning of the period under review, and even before.* In 1880 Prague had 314,442 inhabitants living on 172 km², out of whom 86% claimed Czech as their language of communication.** The genuinely Czech character of the capital as early as the end of the last century had a very significant part to play in the way the Czechs opposed the efforts

^{*} In the first censuses registering ethnographic, or linguistic conditions before 1850 a two-third Czech majority had been established in Prague. Even many nationally unconscious German-speaking Czechs and all the Jews registered as Germans. According to J. N. Schnabel Prague, but excluding the Czech suburbs, had 66,046 Germans and Jews, whilst 36,687 Czechs living there in 1846.

^{**} The Germans and the Jews, claiming German nationality, were living mainly in the centre of the city. This in itself, from the administrative point of view, represented Prague as late as 1880 covering an area of only $8~\rm km^2$ (the number of inhabitants counted there being 155,818), during the 1890 and the 1900 censuses Prague was understood to cover only $14~\rm km^2$, while in the 1910 census it had an area of $21~\rm km^2$.

made by both the Germans and Vienna to divide Bohemia after its complete Germanization had proved no longer practicable. Furthemore, as Prague had in the meantime grown into the largest industrial centre in the entire Czech Lands, while as late as the end of the nineteenth century its power, whether economic, cultural, or political, had been steadily on the increase. By 1930 the number of Prague's inhabitants increased to 899,098 inhabitants present over an area of 290 square kilometres. Out of these more than 94% claimed Czech (or Czechoslovak) nationality, excluding, understandably, foreign nationals. In fifty years the number of Czechs increased by half a million inhabitants. There was also an absolute increase in the number of Germans, though only by about 11,000. In those days, i.e. in 1930, Prague covered 172 km² with 848,823 inhabitants living in the area. Even in that case the Czech majority amounted to 93.6% (the German minority being 5%, and the Jewish 0.8%).

The number of foreign nationals -18,233 — was not so large as to modify these figures in any significant way if we were to calculate them from the total of the population present during the census.

Central Bohemia had represented - as early as the close of the last century - a wide hinterland of Prague from all the viewpoints that may come into consideration for purposes of such a statement. Up to 1930 the population everywhere had increased, only the districts of Beroun, Příbram and Kutná Hora, (less economically developed), registered some population decrease. This resulted from the stagnation of their towns and with the depopulation of the countryside (particularly migration to Prague). It was Central Bohemia in particular that had always constituted the metropolitan area of the Czech nation. Yet even in 1930 there was the ethnically mixed territory settled predominantly by Germans that reached as far as the Northern and Western periphery of what is today the Central Bohemia region. In the Mělník district there were then 5 communities with a German majority, in the Mladá Boleslav district two, and in the Rakovník district as many as 17. Nevetheless, there had been a slight change in the ethnic borders over the 50-year period, for in 2 communitites in the Mělník area, one in the Mladá Boleslav area and 3 in the Rakovník area where Czechs had been a minority in 1880 they were to constitute a majority by 1930. During the severest ethnic and social oppression, Germanization even affected a purely Czech town, like Kladno lying exclusively within Czech national territory. German capital predominated in the Kladno mining and metallurgical industries even under bourgeois Czechoslovakia. Of course, the Czech majority had always been an absolute one, 98.9% in 1880 nad 96.3% in 1930 (Kladno agglomeration had 53,425 inhabitants).

The migration of Germans and other nationalities, together with the introduction of the Jewish nationality, led to a decline of the Czech nationality in half of Central Bohemian communities, although only superficially.

(4)	up to 2.5%	2.6-5.5%
number of communities	667	19
inhabitants in thous.	682,4	49,4

On the whole, however, even in the metropolitan part of Bohemia the Czech majority increased during the 50-year period (from 95.1% to 96.8%).

South Bohemia*

No other large part of the Czech Lands experienced such unfavourable development, both economic and demographic, as South Bohemia between 1880-1930 (as well as prior to and after this). It had been losing population through migration either to Prague and to other parts of Bohemia, or to Vienna and even more distant foreign parts. This emigration had been so strong that in spite of a relatively high natural increase the overall balance for the period 1880-1930 is negative - by as much as 11,078 inhabitants. Only two areas showed population increase — the district of the largest town in South Bohemia, and Český Krumlov. A rise in Czech nationality took place at the same time though the only other district where the proportional representation had risen was the district of Jindřichův Hradec. The whole of this part of the Czech Lands had, of course, always been predominantly Czech (80.6% in 1930 and 77.4% as early as 1880). The most remarkable ethnographic development was experienced by České Budějovice which in 1880, had 26, 679 inhabitants within its geographical boundaries. Out of these just over a half professed German as their language of communication, and not quite a half embracing Czech. It was not until the eighteen nineties that the first house in the town square passed into Czech hands. In 1910 Germans accounted for about one-third of the total population and in 1921 only about one-sixth. In the 1930 census 61,842 inhabitants were counted within the conglomeration. The number of Germans decreased and was lower even in absolute numbers (9,266 as against 13,562 in 1880), their proportional representation having sunk to 15.1%.

Most of the South-Bohemia communities do not register any representational changes of the Czech population. In about 30% of the localities the proportion of Czechs declined, for the most part, down to a mere 5.5%. In nearly a quarter of the communities containing more than one-third of the total population of this part of

Proportional Growth of Czechs in the South-Bohemian Communities

£ .	up to 2·5	2.6-5.5	6-10-5	10.6-25.5	25.6-50.5	50.6—75.5
number of commu-	139	38	31	36	27	1
population in thou- sands in 1930	181.7	53.2	42.3	28.4	75.8	6.0

^{*} Including a part of South Moravia encompassing an area of what is today the South-Bohemia Region. Analogously, the division into regions has been used in the whole of our description.

the Czech Lands (36.9%) the representation of Czechs had increased, sometimes in a rather pronounced way.

Among the South-Bohemia districts the only town to have had a German majority throughout the period under review was Český Krumlov. All the more valuable, then, for the local Czech element was the fact that at least one community though previously a minority one had turned Czech with a large majority. This kind of change prevailed in 8 communities in the České Budějovice district, and in 3 in that of Prachatice. A smaller border area, predominantly German, ran along the Austrian frontier in the East reaching as far as the neighbourhood of Jindřichův Hradec. In what is today Jindřichův Hradec district 4 communities had turned Czech, including the town of České Velenice.

West Bohemia

It was West Bohemia that had accounted for the largest proportion of the population of the Czech Lands as early as 1880, and then once again in 1910. In absolute terms the population was highest in 1930. As late as 1930 and even later, until the involuntary departure of most of the Germans after the Second World War there had been a sharp ethnographic division in West Bohemia into the South-Western half belonging to the Czech ethnographic territory and the North-Western half representing the most compact part of the German ethnographic territory in Bohemia. Even as late as 1930 Czechs constituted only 42% of the population present at the census in West Bohemia (in 1880 this had been as low as 39.7%), while four districts had had a strongly predominant German majority throughout the period under review (i.e. Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Sokolov, and Tachov). Before 1880 the ethnographic boundary had differed considerably in favour of the Czechs. Thus the neighbourhood of Stříbro near Tachov had been Czech (as late as 1880 there were as many as 5 Czech communities, but even these were largely Germanized later on) and in the older period even such market towns as Žlutice, Teplá and others had had a Czech population.

In the years 1880 – 1930 there was an increase in population in all districts except the Czech Rokycany. The greatest increase had, of course, been registered in Plzeň which was to grow into the second largest city in Bohemia though as late as 1880 it had for the last time been exceeded in size by Liberec. Even in those early times the Czech majority in Plzeň had amounted to as many as 86%. By 1910 Plzeň had grown into a city comprising 110,000 inhabitants. The largest West Bohemian German town was Karlovy Vary with a population of 23,933 in 1880 among which there were hardly any with Czech as a language of communication, while these made a mere 5% in 1930 (67,000 inhabitants in the natural boundaries of the agglomeration).*

The proportion of Czechs in the West Bohemian communities

	50·6 to	25·6 to	10·6 to	5.6 to	2.6 to	up to	situation
	75.5	50.5	25.5	10.5	5.5	2·5 U	unaltered
number of					II a la	Tails	
communities	1	19	42	47	59	244	240
per cent	0.1	2.2	4.8	5.4	6.8	27.9	27-4
population in thousands in				A F y C	10 E	5 . 7 . 1	
1930	0,5	23,4	84,4	231,3	160,2	413,7	86,9
Czechs in	1 18	(40,118)	30 %	758 548	1 2	1000	
thousands	0,4	14,0	26,5	136,7	24,4	74,6	63,5
decreased by	1				- CO		
	up to	2.6 to	5.6 to	10·6 to	25-6-	-50.6	
	2.5	5.5	10.5	25.5			sum total
	%	%	%	%	%	6	
number of com-					. 32		
munities	196	17	2	7	1	- 3	875
per cent	22-4	1.9	0.2	0.8	0	·1	100.0
population in thousands in	Van se			1.000	-7/6		
1930	160,0	8,2	8,6	4,9	1	,0	1183,1
Czechs in		100					
thousands	145,5	7,0	2,0	1,4	0	,1	496,6

In the West Bohemian districts of Cheb, Karlovy Vary and Sokolov all the communities contained a German majority; in 1930 these were joined by Tchov as well. Here one community (Vranov) had had 62.0% of Czech population as latea as 1880 only to succumb to Germanization in the succeeding decades. Thus only 38% of its population claimed Czech nationality in 1921 and 48.2% in 1930. Furthermore among Czech losses there was a conspicuous decline in the numbers of Czechs in a small village of Javorná (Klatovy District), i.e. from 38.3% to 11.9%. On the other hand, in one village in the Domažlice District Czech population increased and in the wider surroundings of Plzeň there were eight such communities, including the town of Dobřany (together with Chlumčany numbering 8,074 inhabitants) and Zbůch.

North Bohemia

Extensive mineral wealth (brown coal, fertile soil, etc.) and a favourable geographic position (the Elbe, the proximity of Prague as well as the neighbourhood of the advanced Saxonia) have attributed to North Bohemia's large economic development 35

^{*} There were 23,901 inhabitants living within the close administrative boundaries in Karlovy Vary in 1930, including 22,592 Czechoslovak citizens, Czechs or Czechoslovaks comprising 6.4% (while Germans totalled 92.3%, Jews mainly accounted for the rest).

and therefore high population increase, which has amounted to 40.5%. In the German nationalist literature the whole of the present-day North Bohemia region was included as part, in fact as a certain core, of the continuous and ancient German ethnographic territory of Bohemia. True facts differ from such claims, the majority of North Bohemia having always been an ethnographically mixed territory. In 1930 26.5% of the population were Czechs. The district of Litoměřice, bilingual since 1880 (42.2%) had once again turned Czech (57.7% Czechs in 1930). The rest were predominantly German even in 1930, but at the same time, for instance, in the Most district Czechs formed 40.8% of the population, in the Jablonec district 35.1%, in the Teplice district 30.8%. Even in 1930 the highest percentage of Germans was living in what are today the districts of Děčín (mere 6.4% of Czechs) and of Chomutov (mere 7.9% of Czechs).

The proportion of Czechs in the North-Bohemia communities

increased by	75·6 and more %	50·6 to 75·5 %	25·6 to 50·5 %	10·6 to 25·5 %	5.6 to 10.5 %	2.6 to 5.5 %	up to 2.5 %
number of communities	1 0·1	11 1·5	68 9·3	147 20·0	81 11·0	128 17·4	186 25·3
population in thousands in 1930	0,2	32,6	186,5	557,7	233,7	224,4	221,6
Czechs in thousands	0,2	22,0	77,9	127,1	28,3	27,2	58,0
decreased by	upto2·5	2.6-5.5	10-	6-25.5		Total	
number of communities	78	5		1		735	
per cent population in thousands	10-6	0.7		0.1	21	100-	0
in 1930 Czech population	59,6	2,9		2,1		1530,	0
in thousands	52,0	1,7		1,8		406,	2

Liberec, the largest town in North Bohemia (52,485 inhabitants), Ústí nad Labem (25,166) and Teplice (23,545) — all values of 1880 for the towns within natural frontiers — had only a very small proportion of the Czech element (6.8%, 6.3% and 2.3%). At the same time Liberec went on losing its Czech population. Yet in Teplice as many as 9.6% of the population registered as Czech in 1900. There the Czech minority increased to 23% by 1930, the same development took place in Ústí nad Labem (21%) and more or less in Liberec as well (19.8%), the latter two towns with a population exceeding 80,000 in 1930, had become bilingual.

Examined on a community basis the German minority can be registered throughout the period in all the communities of the districts of Děčín, Chomutov and Česká

Lípa (the last had not participated in the economic prosperity of North Bohemia and even lost part of its population). In the Litoměřice district the ethnographic majority changed in favour of the Czechs in 8 communities, including the town of Terezín (7,125 inhabitants in 1930), in the Louny district this happened in 4 cases, in the Ústí nad Labem district another single community had once again turned Czech. In the ethnographically mixed districts of Most and Teplice another 5 and 3 Czech communities respectively were added to the number, including Lom u Mostu with a population of 12,350 in 1930.

East Bohemia*

This part of the Czech Lands had been predominantly Czech from the beginning (74.6%), even more so at the end of the period under review (78.7%). There had been only a low increase in population, including the period up to 1910. And for years 1921—1930 the increase was a mere 2%. Conversely, from the regional point of view, the increase was rather uniform, no large industrial centre analogous to the West-Bohemian Plzeň having arisen here. In half of the districts under review the population had decreased (the highest decline was registered at Rychnov nad Kněžnou), a large increase having been established in only two districts, Hradec Králové (24,621 persons) and Náchod. Only a small part of the area in the North and the East was settled by Germans so that only two present-day districts were predominantly German, Svitavy and Trutnov, while the former was ethnically mixed in the true sense of the word (48.3% of Czechs in 1930 and 45.9% as early as 1880).

Proportional Increase of Czechs in Communities

	up to 2·5	2.6-5.5	5·6—10 %	10·6—25 %	25·6—50·5 %	50·5—75·5 %
number of communities population in	212	53	44	43	9	2
thousands in 1930	244,0	99,7	192,3	58,7	7,3	1,1

In a majority of East-Bohemian (and West-Moravian as far as they belong there) communities there had been an increase in Czech population until 1930, or the representation had remained the same as fifty years previously. They comprised majority of the population of the whole region, yet the total included a mere 43% Czechs. As a result, the ethnographic development from a territorial point of view with its changes in favour of the Czechs did not come to be expressed to any outstanding degree. The Czech gains included the township of Štoky and another 2 com-

^{*} Including the adjoining part of West Moravia (Svitavy).

munities in the district of Havlíčkův Brod, 1 community (Chvalkovice) in the Náchod district, and 1 community (Moravská Chrastava) in the Svitavy district. The nationality corridor joining the Czechs in East-Bohemia with those in West-Moravia (separated by the German enclave of Svitavy) had held its own, Cokytle in the most exposed position having resisted Germanization. In the remote settlement of Janoušov there had been only 3 Germans in 1880. In spite of this the militant Schulverein established a German school there in 1886 which embarked on its work of denationalization. This was to have been assisted by making Cokytle an independent locality for administrative purposes. However, when ten years later a Czech school was founded at Janoušov by the Matice školská (Czech School Association), the German school declined, and was actually abolished in later years.

The figures denoting an increase in Czech population in the respective communities, though very frequent, represent almost exclusively the lowest degree (573 communities with a decrease of up to 2.5%). In 4 East-Bohemian communities alone the Czechs had decreased by more than 10.6 per cent.

Near Náchod, and this even as late as in 1930, the continous Czech national territory extended into Kladsko, a self-governing part of Bohemia seized by Prussia in 1742. Similar to the whole of Bohemia, there were inhabitants with both Czech and German as their mother tongue, here, though the revivalist movement in the last century which had restored the Czech language to its original position, could no longer exercise its influence in these parts. The Czechs from Kladsko found themselves an oppressed minority, and the only places that survived the rigid Germanization between 1880 to 1930 were about 12 to 15 communities covering an area of 40-50 square kilometres and constituting a small part of the continuous ethnic Czech territory beyond the borders of Bohemia.

The Southern Half of Moravia including Brno

This wide and densely populated area had been going through a very successful. economic as well as demographic development after 1880, and especially from 1921. With small exceptions it was an ethnically Czech territory. The border strip with a predominantly German population was narrow and far from continuous.*

* In places at the same time even rather significant Czech minorities reached even beyond the Austrian border. In the West (districts of Lea and d. Thaya) even the 1910 status counted 8 to 16% of the citizens as of Czech communications language at Ungerndorf, Pottenhofen, and Kottingneusiedel, while in the settlement of Rothenseehof (Neudorf) this was as many as 38%. Rabensburg, situated on the Lower Dyje, had a Czech majority as late as 1890 and more than a third of the Czechs in 1910. In 1910 12% of the Czechs had been counted at Steinabrunn, 11% at Beinhardsthal, less than one tenth at Kl. Schweibarth, Nd. Absdorf (one quarter of the Czechs in 1880), Ringelsdorf (a Czech majority in 1880), Hohenau (over 28% Czechs in 1890), Dürnkrut, and further minorities claimed Czech nationality at Zinstersdorf, Drösing, Sierndorf and others. In the above communities Czechs and Slovaks represented a much larger proportion of the population until at least 1921, but the census based on the language of communication failed to register them.

On the other hand, surrounding the Czech settlement, larger and smaller German islands existed. In 1880 Czechs had represented a majority of 80.4%, which was to increase to 87.4% by 1930. Even in the year 1880 all the districts had been Czech, or predominantly Czech, with only the district of Znojmo ethnically mixed. Here the proportion of Czechs in its population amounted to 48.1% in 1930. In the period under review an increase in population was registered in all districts with the exception of Žďár nad Sázavou. In Brno, the capital of Moravia, a city with a lot of industry, the number of inhabitants had increased by 155,796. At the same time, as early as 1880, a majority of its inhabitants - calculated as included in its subsequent borders - had optioned for the Czech language of communication - 52.1% of the population. In 1930 the Czech predominance of 78.2% was established in this second largest city of the Czech Lands (272,989 inhabitants). The decline of the German element in Brno (similarly as in other South Moravian towns was) due to the fact that the neighbourhood was predominantly Czech, and it was mainly Czechs who were migrating from these places to the city, while the German colony was not receiving such reinforcements. In Brno itself the Germans had been maintaining their superiority and rule until the rise of Czechoslovakia, particularly by insisting that no suburbs should be joined to the city.

In the vicinity of Brno there were only 9 communities that were German or whose nationality was strongly mixed, this being so even as late as 1930. However, Ledce, largely German in 1880, had become almost entirely Czech by 1930. In the Břeclav district it was the town of Pohořelice that had gone Czech in this way (31.3% Czechs in 1880 and 66.8% in 1930).

In the Znojmo district 6 communities had undergone this process, in particular the district town itself which within its natural boundaries contained 29,399 inhabitants present. Of these 59.2% were Czech though as to language of communication used as a criterion in the Austrian census of 1880 they amounted to only 12.4% (out of the then population of 16,120). A number of communities in the Prostějov and Vyškov areas constituted small German enclaves, one such community in the Vyškov district subsequently becoming Czech. Large demographic changes were registered on the Bohemian-Moravian Plateau (Českomoravská vrchovina) where the German

Percentage Increase of Czechs in the South Moravian Communities

	up to 2.5%	2.6-5	5.6-10	10·6 to 25·5	25.6-50	50·6 to 75·5	75·5
number of communities population	510	81	52	53	39	5	1
in thousand in 1930 Czechs	519,6	106,1	89,3	192,3	412,7	1,9	0,1
(in thousands)	489,3	93,5	57,1	165,6	305,8	1,4	0,1

enclave gradually shrank. Jihlava itself was above all the best example of a German town (as it was in 1880 with only 16.9% of Czechs going by the language of communication) turning into a town where Czechs came to predominate (59.7% of Czechs in 1930). In the Jihlava district the Czechs achieved a majority position in more than 10 communities as well as in the last formerly German community in the district of Žďár nad Sázavou. In nearly half of the communities, gains were registered by the Czechs, while losses were incurred in rather more than one-fifth of the others. No changes were recorded in the remaining communities.

The community of Hubenov in the Jihlava demographic island is an extreme case of the increase in the number of Czechs, where only 26 citizens of Czech language of communication had been counted in 1880 (out of 152 inhabitants), while in 1930 the number of Czechs was 137 (out of a population of 142).

Percentage Decrease of Czechs in the South-Moravian Communities

	up to 2.5%	2.6-5.5	5.6-10.5	10.6-25.5	25.6-50.5	50.6-75.5
number of communities population in thousands	307	14	5	6	2	2
in 1930 Czechs	256,3	9,0	4,2	6,7	1,1	2,1
(in thous.)	247,2	5,7	3,2	5,4	0,3	0,2

In the Břeclav district the Germans gained Smolin (61.2% Czech in 1880 but only 27.1% in 1930). Of special interest is the ethnographic development of 3 communities in the Břeclav district which had become Croat in the sixteenth century. In the 1880 census a large majority of them registered as having Czech as language of communication. At Jevišovka (formerly Frélichov) 75.8%, in Nový Přerov 85.8% and in Dobré Pole 67.3% (one-third Germans). No Croats were registered here. In the following census Nový Přerov registered an overwnelming majority (82.0%) of Croats. (Czechs representing, according to language of communication, only 4.3%) and Dobré Pole had become almost entirely Germanized, 93.6% being recorded as using German for communication (Czech only 6.4%). Similar reversals took place at Jevišovka. This community reverted to the Croatian language in 1900 (70.1%) and including Nový Přerov as well (77.4%) while even the Croat minority in Dobré Pole saw resurgence (14.6%) though the village had still remained predominantly German (80.8%). The Czech population always remained an insignificant minority here (5-7%). This trend, so characteristic of the Austrian census, reached its peak in 1910 when large German majorities were "established" everywhere. During the census in the liberated country the population was divided, with no kind of pressure being used, into three nationalities, as follows:

		1921			1930			
	Czechs %	Croats %	Germans %	Czechs %	Croats %	Germans %		
Jevišovka	5	51	44	9	47	44		
Nový Přerov	11	63	26	18	28	64		
Dobré Pole	20	45	35	31	23	46		

On our map they are all indicated as communities where the former ethnic character changed from a Czech majority to one of a different nationality in the period of 1880-1930.

North Moravia and Czech Silesia

In this region, where the population had been on the increase throughout the period 1880–1930 at a higher rate than anywhere else, it is necessary to differentiate between the economic core around Ostrava registering gains particularly by migration, and other areas of which some (e.g. in the west) did not share in this prosperity. Yet even the region as a whole can be seen to have increased its population more than any other, i.e. by as much as 452,968. This is not surprising, since this period includes the development of the coal and metallurgical industries (Ostrava district) besides other branches of industry, transport, and agriculture (Haná). The regional city of Ostrava grew from a town of 45,945 in 1880 to a metropolis with 199,182 inhabitants in 1930. Ostrava had been largely Czech from the beginning of the period (79%), and became monolingual as early as 1930 (85% Czechs). Among all the regions it is North Moravia and (Czechoslovak) Silesia that show the largest increase in Czech nationality — by 14.9%. Not even half the population claimed Czech as their language of communication in 1880, while in 1930 this was already 62.1%.

The most extensive demographic changes resulting from both a return to the original nationality and labour immigration in industry were registered in the whole district of Karviná, the proportion of Czechs at the beginning of the period under observation amounting to 18.2% and to 61.6% at its close. Only two districts, those of Bruntál and Šumperk, were still largely German even in 1930, being situated away from industrial progress, the former Bruntál even registering a decline in its population.

All the communities in the Bruntál district preservered a German majority, this being the case in a large part of the Šumperk district as well, though here strong Czech minorities were to be encountered and one community had turned Czech again (Pavlov). Úsov, situated on a kind of nationality watershed (in relation to the Svitavy German enclave), became bilingual again. In 1880 the percentage of Czechs totalled 14, by 1890, 21.1. However, by 1900 the Czechs declined (owing to the Au-

Population Development according to Districts

1985 N N	Population present (in thous.) excluding foreigners		Increase — decrease	Czech	s in %	Increase in % 1880/1930
18 .	1880	1930	1880/1930	1880	1930	i de des-
Ostrava – Karviná	111,7	360,0	222-2%	43.9	85.8	41.9
Bruntál	158,7	151,6	-4.4%	0.2	3.0	2.8
Frýdek - Místek	120,8	160,6	33.1%	68.2	75-9	7.7
Nový Jičín	109,6	134,7	22.8%	47.5	58.7	11.2
Olomouc	165,8	215,8	31.2%	51.6	67.0	15.4
Opava	121,4	159,8	32.0%	56.8	65.3	8.5
Přerov	95,4	126,3	32.5%	85.5	92.1	6.6
Šumperk	188,5	201,8	7.0%	21.9	30.2	8.3
Vsetín	86.8	101,2	16.5%	98.3	99.0	0.7
e Victoria	1158,7	1611,8	39·10%	47.2	62·1	14.9

strian censuses methods) to a mere 7.5%. Yet in 1930, 40.4% of the population of this small town claimed Czech nationality. In Zábřeh, the Germans ruled over a Czech majority until the liberation of 1918. The working class suburb of Rudolfov (founded as early as 1830) had 421 Czech and only 10 German inhabitants in 1880. In twenty years only 77 people dared to register as speaking Czech owing to German oppression (the number of those optioning for German being 615). Then a decisive turn set in (549 Czechs and 91 Germans in 1921). In the Olomouc district, where there were strong German minorities including whole enclaves, one community and even the city of Olomouc itself turned Czech, the Czechs having grown from a minority of 42% to a majority of 72.1%. The demographic evolution of Litovel was equally complex. In 1880 the Czechs had a majority of 55.3% here, but they lost it temporarily in 1890 only to show a convincing majority again as early as 1900. By 1930 this had grown to as many as 94.3%. In the Nový Jičín district, though the Czechs had attained a predominance, even the district town itself remained largely German (only 30.3% Czechs in 1930), in the Opava district one community became Czech and in Opava itself Czechs registered substantial gains having achieved a population growth of 47.2%. It was obvious that the town would soon become Czech if for no other reason than that of being surrounded by Czech territory. The most substantial shifts in the language character of communities were recorded on the territory where apart from Czechs not only Germans (and Jews) but large numbers of Poles were living as well. In the Těšín part of the Frýdek-Místek district five communities showed a Czech majority though no inhabitants whose language of communication would have been Czech had been found there by the Austrian authorities in 1880. As to the number of inhabitants even larger shifts are found in the Karviná area, the core of the basin, the localities being very thickly populated in those parts: 9 of these

turned predominantly Czech, including Doubrava-Orlová with a population of 28,809 in 1930 and a Czech majority of 81.6% (only 8,543 inhabitants including officially - 39.2% of Czech as language of communication), and Petřvald with more than 10,000 inhabitants (93.5% Czechs in 1930, but a mere 8.5% in 1880 when only a small number of inhabitants, 2,911, were living there). Rychvald, which officially had hardly 1.2% of the population with Czech as their language of communication in 1880, had almost 90% Czechs by 1930, while the numbers of inhabitants had grown almost threefold by then. Karviná (37,671 inhabitants) and Český Těšín were ethnographically mixed towns even by 1930; however, the number of Czechs living in Karviná at that time was almost equal to that of the Poles (44.5%), for, apart from these two nationalities, it is the Germans who also come into the picture, and in Český Těšín the number of Czechs (41.5%) is larger than that of Germans (30.9%) or Poles. The evolution as described had been possible in the Karviná district and further south, among others, because here a substantial part of the original Czech population had not only been Germanized owing to pressure exerted by the authorities, the employers, the Church and the schools before 1921, as in other places. In addition, others were forced to accept Polish nationality, whilst some not having any feeling of nationality became Silesians. The latter were to acquire national consciousness after the liberation, but this is dealt with in greater detail in another part of our discourse.

As shown in the above Table, a very substantial loss was incurred by the Czechs during the 1880-1930 period in a single case. This was the community of Radkov

Percentage of Czechs in Communities

Increase by	2.5	2.6 to 5.5	5.6 to 10.5	10.6 to 25.5	25·6 to 50·5	50·6 to 75·5	75·6 and	situation
	%	%	%	%	%	%	over	
number of communi-		· · · ·						
ties	307	91	57	66	44	7	2	101
% population	36.3	10.8	6.8	7.8	5.2	0.8	0.2	12.0
(in thousands)	411,0	150,2	334,2	223,1	245,6	11,9	16,9	53,3
Czechs in thous.	242,0	71,2	211,0	107,4	142,6	8,0	15,9	48,0
	2.5	2.6 to	5.6 to	10·6 to	25·6 to			1.2
Decreased by		5.5	10.5	25.5	50.5	Total		
	%	%	%	%	%			
number of communi-	E							
ties	140	19	6 -	4	1	845		
% population	16.6	2.3	0.7	0.7	0.1	100-0	9	
(in thousands)	126,1	22,4	10,8	5,2	0,9	1611,6		
Czechs in thousands	120,5	20,2	9,8	4,1	0,1	1000,7		
							- 1	

in the Opava district out of whose population of 1063, 43.2% had registered as Czech in 1880, whereas out of a slightly lower number (948) only 10.7% were recorded in 1930.

In 1880, but even as late as 1930, the present state frontier in the part from Krnov to the Oder did not coincide with the ethnic boundary line. This ran further north, in the then Prussian Hlubčice and Ratibořice areas, only separated from the Czech Lands in 1742. Only part of this Czech territory (i.e. Hlučínsko, the Hlučín district) was returned after the First World War extending over 316 square kilometres and comprising 54,773 inhabitants (including 89.1% Czechs). The greater part, with approximately the same predominantly Czech population, remained part of Germany. Nearly 25 predominantly Czech communities and about 20 mixed ones were represented even in 1930, and even all more so in 1880, part of a continuous Czech ethnic territory beyond the state border. This is a statement we cannot desist from even though we know that German statistics in 1925 gave just a little over 13,000 people with Czech or Czech and German language.

III. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE CZECH LANDS IN 1930 REVOLUTIONARY DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES DURING THE YEARS 1938—1947

III/1

Around the tenth anniversary of its origin the Czechoslovak Republic introduced itself to the world as a politically and economically consolidated bourgeois democratic state. It seemed as though even the original fundamental resistance of the largest ethnic minority against the Czechoslovak state might be succeeded by permanent active co-operation. The world economic crisis which hit Czechoslovakia in the years 1929 to 1934 understandably made the building of the country more difficult. What is more, it announced even worse things to come in connection with the onslaught of international reaction and fascism.

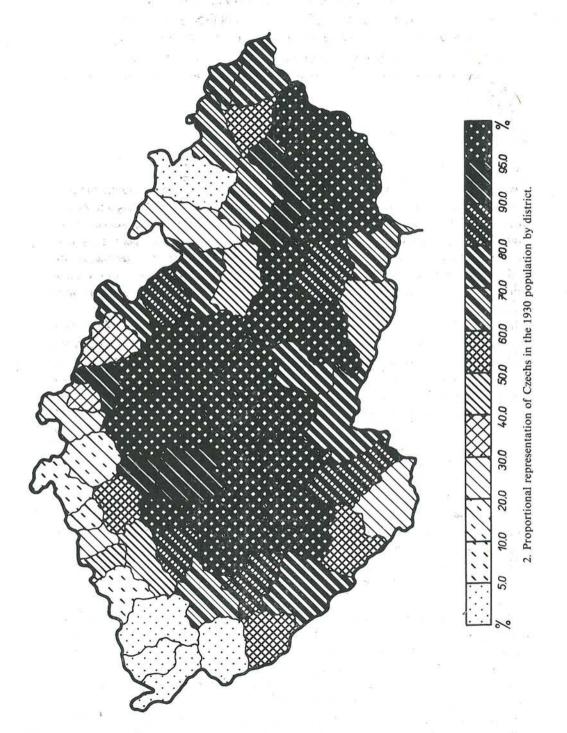
In the 1930 census 10,674,386 persons were registered in the Czechs Lands. Out of these the official numbers recorded were as follows: 68.4% Czechs and 0.4% Slovaks (68.8% Czechoslovaks), 29.5% Germans, 0.9% Poles, 0.3% Jews, 0.2% Ukrainians and Russians, 0.1% Hungarians, 0.2% others. Out of this population total 98.5% were Czechoslovak citizens.

Of the total area of the Czech Lands (78,861 square kilometers), Czechs inhabited more than two thirds as a majority. German population predominated on nearly one-third of the area of the Czech Lands, and Czechs were living there as minorities. In Slovakia the number of Czechs amounted to 121,696, i.e. considerably more than that of Slovaks in the Czech Lands, even in what was then Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. The number of Czechs recorded by districts as delimited today was three times that of the Ukrainians and Russians in the Czech Lands. The way Czechs were represented in the respecive districts - using present day borders - is indicated on the attached small map and the following Table.

In view of excessive generalization and given the considerable ethnically mixed character of such large units, this information can only serve as a preliminary example.

A graphic picture from the territorial and administrative points of view on ethnic conditions in the Czech Lands can only be gained by using the network of the smallest communities, i.e. of communities and agglomerations. In making adjustments (for the purpose of the map) we find that three quarters of these were Czech until 1930. Not even Germans, nor all the ethnic minorities taken together constituted more than one-tenth of the population of each of them. (Indeed, in more than 2,200 communities no other nationality at all but Czech has been established.)

Altogether in the 1921 communities and agglomerations, Germans exceeded 10% and out of these they represented half or a majority in 1740. The Poles appeared in



Ethnic Structure of the Population by Districts in 1930

Czechs	Germans and others	Number of districts	Czechs	Germans and others	Number of districts
%	%	/ %	%	76	
- 5.0	95.0—	5	50.1 — 60.0	40.0 — 49.9	4
5.1 - 10.0	90.0 — 94.9	2	$60 \cdot 1 - 70 \cdot 0$	30.0 — 39.9	- 5
10.1-20.0	80.0-89.9	2	$70 \cdot 1 - 80 \cdot 0$	20.0 - 29.9	7
20.1-30.0	70.0 — 79.9	4	80.1 - 90.0	10.0-19.9	4
30-1-40-0	60.0 — 69.9	2	90.0-95.0	5.0 - 9.9	5
40.1 — 50.0	50.0 — 59.9	4	95.1—	- 4.9	27

excess of one-tenth of the population in 44 communities and agglomerations, including 24 places where they represented half, or a majority.

The Czech ethnic territory had not been incorporated wholly in the newly liberated state. Even from an ethnic point of view both revisions of frontiers with the Republic of Austria were carried out correctly. By joining the Valtice area near the mouth of the Dyje (93 square kilometres with 11,000 inhabitants) and part of Vitoraz area in the source area of the Lužnice (118 square kilometres containing 11,000 inhabitants) small territories with a Czech majority (as established particularly in 1930) and connected with Czech national territory came to be returned to the Czech Lands. Also the division of the Těšín area, i.e. the cession of its Eastern part to the new Poland, must be viewed as having been just. Nevertheless, in the re-adjustment of frontiers in the Prussian-German Upper Silesia the existing ethnic conditions were not duly taken into consideration. Here only what is called "Hlučínsko" (the Hlučín area), a part of "Ratibořsko" (Ratiboř district) covering an area of 316 square kilometres and comprising 50,000 inhabitants (54,773 in 1930) was included. For the most part the Czechs here, though with little national consciousness (the so called "Moravci"), had been under Prussian-German occupation for 178 years. Germany retained 7 nationally conscious Czech communities in the Ratiboř area* apart from 10 mixed communities. The new Czechoslovak state frontier here could, and should, have been made to run along the Oder as far as Ratiboř. In the adjoining Hlubčice area Germany retained 17 Czech or predominantly Czech villages.** while in at least 10 others Czech minorities had been living. Even the Ratiboř and Hlubčice regions had been included in the large plebiscite territory of Upper Silesia after the First World War. However, the Poles, being little nationally conscious, surprised everyone by optioning mostly for Germany.

Had the plebiscite decided in favour of Upper Silesia being joined to Poland, the greatest part of the Hlubčice region (except for Hlubčice) would have become part of

^{*} Bořetín, Boleslav, Chřenovice, Ovsiště, Petřatín, Šamařovice, Velké Petrovice.

^{**} Bobolusky, Branice, Děhylov, Držkovice, Hradčany, Chrastilov, Jakubovice, Kaldouny, Klemštýn, Násile, Nekázanice, Štibořice, Vehovice, Vodka, Vysoká, Turkov, Útěchovice.

	Germans						
g mass	up to 10	10·1—25 %	25·1—50 %	50·1—75 %	75·1—100 %	up to 10 %	
Central Bohemia	588	1	6	7	17	6	
South Bohemia*	331	10	19	25	108	-	
West Bohemia	209	12	∗15	19	373	6	
North Bohemia	104	6	21	100	453	6	
East Bohemia*	571	13	12	20	182	5	
South Moravia	588	9	18	37	107	10	
North Moravia-	1						
Czech Silesia	347	26	13	21	271	47	
	2738	77	104	229	1511	80	

^{*} Including part of adjoining Moravia.

Czechoslovakia without any further negotiations. This was laid down in paragraph 83 of the original Versailles proposal which was signed by the German representatives.

Nor were modified the frontiers with Kladsko into which the Czech ethnic territory extended from Bohemia. In the so called "Czech Corner", an area of 50 square kilometres, nationally conscious Czechs constituted a majority in nearly all the communities.* Czech minorities stood their ground in other places as well in those days (Vambeřice, Kladsko). Vain had been the efforts at liberating the Kladsko Czechs from the Prussian-German occupation, which had lasted 178 years. Even an exchange of territory with Germany was offered, including the cession of the North-West bulge of the Opava district, or a part of the Cheb (Eger) region. E. Beneš proposed in exchange for the Aš district the rectification of the frontiers in Kladsko. This request was even approved by the five foreign ministers on 2nd April 1919. A few days later, however, it was rejected, Great Britain and the U.S.A. having been responsible for this solution.

Thus a small section of the Czech ethnic territory containing about 50,000 nationally conscious Czechs had to remain outside the borders of the Czech Lands in Upper Silesia and Kladsko.**

and Agglomerations in 1930

Poles		Jews	Ukrainians and Russians		Croats			
10·1—25 %	25·1—50 %	50·1—75 %	75·1—100 %	up to 10 %	up to 10 %	10·1—25	10·1—25	25·1—50
				81	31			
				49	11			
8.7				80	12			
				97	12			
				65	30	1		
				142	20	5	2	1
7	13	20	4	89	13	=		
7	13	20	4	603	129	6	2	1

The Czech ethnic territory formed the interior of the Czech Lands, Czechs reached to the neighbouring countries borders, only on one-fifth of their total length. This, above all, was on the border with Slovakia.

The main differences in the distribution of the individual nationalities (according to settlement size structure) show that in 1930 the Czechs were mainly inhabitants of small country communities, whereas the Germans lived in small towns, Poles in medium-size towns and Jews in the large cities. This was compared as always with the average total population of the Czech Lands.

Proportion of the Czech Population according to Communities in 1930

	Number of communities	in %	Number of population	in %
over 90·1%	5,848	74.6	6,181	57.8
80.1-90.0%	86	1.1	534	5.1
70.1 - 80.0%	41	0.5	430	4.0
60.1 - 70.0%	40	0.5	59	0.6
50.1-60.0%	45	0.5	139	1.3
40.1 - 50.0%	71	0.9	256	2.4
30.1-40.0%	98	1.3	184	1.7
20.1-30.0%	149	1.9	384	3.6
up to 20 %	1,467	18.7	2,507	23.5
	7.845	100-0	10,674	100-0

^{*} Březová, Bukovina, Dušníky, Chudoba-Blažejov, Jelenov, Jarkov, Levín, Nouzín, Ostrá Hora, Ředeč, Slaný, Stroužné-Jakubovice, Velká Čermná, Žakš.

^{**} Of course by the end of the Second World War their composition had changed as a result of Germanization and the Hitlerite-fascist persecution. After the war (when the Czech part of the Hlubčice and Ratiboř regions were badly damaged) the former German-Silesia including Kladsko (almost entirely undamaged by the war) went to Poland. The remaining Czechs either became Polish, or were transferred along with the Germans (the nationally non-conscious part), or they moved to Czechoslovakia, only a very small number now living in the People's Republic of Poland.

Population according to Settlement Size Groups in 1930

T	Percentage of total	Out of the totals of			
In communities with a population of	population living there %	Czechs %	Germans %	Poles %	Jews %
up to 1,999	42-2	46.6	33.8	21.9	2.7
2,000 - 4,999	15.1	12.8	21.0	12.0	6.6
5,000 - 9,999	7.5	6.2	10.7	6.9	8-2
10,000 - 19,999	9.0	8.2	10.2	27.5	14-0
20,000 - 49,999	7-4	5.3	11.4	29.3	14-3
50,000 - 99,999	4.6	2.8	8.7	0.2	9.3
over 100,000	14-2	18-1	4.2	0.2	44.9
	100-0	100.0	100-0	100.0	100-0

Even in the big cities, especially Prague, Czechs show a larger representation than any other group except the Jews.*

The ethnic borders of the territory of Czechs and Germans and the main enclaves in 1930 will now be briefly described.

In the West, the Czechs only extended as far as the state frontier in the Chodsko area where the borough of Klenčí pod Čerchovem (1372 inhabitants including 86.6% Czechs in 1930), Česká Kubice and other Czech communities were separated from the border line only by the predominantly German Folmava (with 16.7% Czechs) and the small village of Černá Řeka**. Farther from here the main boundary area of Czech ethnic territory is delimited, at the same time, by the main part of the German territory in Bohemia. It runs west of Blížejov (68.7% Czechs), Pudice (60.2% Czechs) and Neuměř (89.4% Czechs) to the town of Nýřany, where the Czech majority totalled 71.8%.

In the Plzeň district, west of the above described line, it was only the Czech community of Sulislav and Czech minorities within the local German communities that reached the line of the Czech ethnic territory in the relatively recent past. From Manětín the ethnic border extended to the North-East, where Jesenice (only 10% Czechs) together with the adjoining localities represented Germa nterritory spreading to the very edge of what is today the Central-Bohemia Region. In the same way as in the Plzeň district the ethnic conditions in the Rakovník district had been developing in favour of the Czechs after the liberation in 1918. The Central Ohře Valley district was divided by an ethnic watershed in the vicinity of Postoloprty (42.4% Czechs and

55.3% Germans). From here to the West it was already German territory by 1930. However, Czech minorities in Žatec (17.6% Czechs) and at Podbořany (21.5% Czechs) tended to remind us of the formerly Czech character of the districts. In 1930 the ethnic watershed of the Czech Ohře Valley district as opposed to the German, or ethnically mixed, districts below the Ore Mountains was held by Hnojnice (56.7% Czechs), Podsedice (65.% Czechs) and Třebenice (84.8% Czechs). The border reached the Elbe, where Litoměřice had remained predominantly German, but the growing Czech minority was impressing upon it the bilingual character on the town. From Litoměřice the line ran in a South-Easterly direction towards the Bohemian interior partly along the Elbe, and at Štětí (38.6% Czechs, 60.4% Germans) the predominantly German territory approached Prague, as to south of Dubá, where Želízy (21.2% Czechs, and 78.2% Germans) was the German community nearest to Prague (not quite 50 km from the capital). Further the line delimiting the largest predominantly German area ran north of the purely Czech Mšeno and largely Czech Bělá pod Bezdězem (93% Czechs) north towards Liberec where Světlá pod Ještědem was almost purely Czech. It then returned to Hodkovice nad Mohelkou, mainly German (38.2% Czechs and 60.7% Germans) and subsequently continued northward again, or north-east, where Velké Hamry was almost exclusively Czech (97.9% Czechs); further on it included Tanvald, with a mixed population (48.5% Czechs and 50.2% Germans). The Paseky community lay close to the state frontier and was purely Czech, whilst Harrrachov had a significant Czech minority (32%).

The area to the west and to the north of the above dividing line represents the most extensive part the German ethnic territory in the Czech Lands. From this line to the interior the Czech ethnic territory was practically exclusively Czech, while analogously it may be said that the Western half of this ethnic territory was virtually exclusively German. Places where Czech minorities were really more significant included Karlovy Vary, Cheb, and Sokolov (Svatava), while in Cheb the numbers were swollen by the military garrison, totaling 12.3%. The area below the Ore Mountains (Podrudohoří) and also the lower Elbe (Polabí) regions and Liberec destrict were ethnically mixed. The area below the Ore Mountains contained a large territory with a Czech majority, divided by a narrow belt from the homogeneous continuous Czech ethnic national territory. In Chomutov there were only 13.2% Czechs (as against 83.4% Germans) but at Nové Sedlo (Bílina) their numbers totalled 30.3%. In the whole of the Most district out of a population total (127,424) 40.1% claimed Czech nationality and 58% registered as Germans. A Czech majority was to be found in the following communities Čepirohy, Kamenná Voda, Lom (including Libkovice), Patokryje, Třebušice; in Most half the population was Czech (including Kopisty and Souš) and at Komořany; almost half at Ervěnice, Hořany, Louka near Litvinov and Obrnice. In all the other communities in this district, large Czech minorities existed during the 1930 census (with the exception of Bečov, Brandov, Český Jiřetín, Hora sv. Šebestiána, Klíny, Meziboří, Nová Ves-Mníšek and Slatinice). Similar conditions were established in the Teplice district. Apart from the 71.6% German majority the district town itself (the Teplice agglomeration) had a considerable Czech minority (22.1%). A Czech majority was recorded in such large commun-

^{*} Other nationalities except for those given in the table and foreign nationals, taken together lived in big cities (25.4%).

^{**} Part of Chodsko together with the borough of Klenčí pod Čerchovem was, in contradiction with the existing ethnic conditions, forcibly taken by Hitlerite Germany as a result of the Munich agreement.

ities as the mining villages of Břežánky, Hostomice and Hrdlovka, almost half of the Czech population was found in Duchcov (including Jeníkov and Ledvice), Kladruby, Košťany, Liptice, Světec and Zabrušany. More than one-third claimed Czech nationality in Bílina and in a further four communities. The number of such communities where the Czechs did not make at least one-fifth of the population was limited to 12. The Germans in the Ústí nad Labem district represented a large majority of 78.5% while the Czechs were only 18.3%. Nevertheless a number of towns and villages had significant Czech minorities, with one containing a Czech majority (Roudníky). In 10 out of 46 communities, including the Ústí nad Labem agglomeration, there were 10 in which more than one-fifth of the population were Czech. The border district of Děčín (including the whole of the Šluknov bulge) was predominantly German (90.6%), but the Litomerice district was even more Czech (57.3%) than German (40.5%). The Česká Lípa district was German, too, though its centre contained 20.1% Czechs, and in another three communities the Czechs minority represented more than a quarter. At Svor this totalled almost one-third, of the population. The Liberec agglomeration was nearly one-fifth of Czech origin, but there were three communities in the district where the Czech element prevailed, three having at least one-third of their population of Czech nationality etc. The Jablonec District was mixed rather than German, for the proportion of those claiming German nationality amounted to 63.7%. Out of the 33 present-day communities there were 6 with a Czech majority, 2 showed half their population to be Czech and half German, in two of them the Czechs constituted more than a quarter of the population. Korenov having 18.1% Czechs. Another German border area encompassed the regions below the Giant-Mountains (Podkrkonoší) and most of the Broumov bulge. It may have remained rather insignificant had it not been for the fact that along the Elbe it extended deep into the interior. The western part of the Giant Mountains found that the Czechs had extended almost as far as the state border. However, after this the ethnic borderline ran to the south. There were 14.3% Czechs living at Rokytnice nad Jizerou while at Jablonec nad Jizerou they constituded a majority (83.7%). At Vrchlabí (including Strážný) the percentage of Czechs totalled only 12.8% and at Hostinné 13.4%. The German territory formed a bulge close to Dvůr Králové where it is true only 10.5% of Germans had been registered but several small German communities stretched even farther down to the south. Further the ethnic border continued essentially in a northwesterly direction, leaving of course old Czech minorities the German territory, including Trutnov (with Libeč) where the Czechs constituted 19.7% of the population. From time immemorial the Czechs had extended into the Náchod area and even beyond the frontier into Kladsko. However, further to the South-East there began a narrow belt of exclusively or predominantly German communities in the Orlice Mountains among which the largest were Rokytnice v Orlických horách (19.6% Czechs and 78.6% Germans), Orlické Záhoří (93% Germans) and Uhřínov (96.4% Germans).

Only the purely Czech Klášterec nad Ohří divided this border German enclave from the other large German ethnic territory which, in Bohemia, began with the small villages of Petrovice and Lichkov (90.5% Germans), taking up the entire Krá-

líky area, and bulged out further into Moravia including Štíty (31.2% Czechs, and 67.5 Germans). It was only the large purely Czech community of Cotkytle and a number of further Czech villages (Crhov, Herbortice, Horní Heřmanice) that separated this North-Moravian-Silesian German ethnic region from the largest interior German enclave around Svitavy. From Štíty the ethnic border ran as far as Bohdíkov (65.2%) Czechs and 33.9% Germans), which was the most northerly Czech community in Moravia. At Hanušovice farther to the north Czechs represented a mere 14.4%. Sumperk, the centre of the area below the Jeseníky Mountains (including Rapotín and Vikýřovice), was predominantly German (18.7% Czechs and 77.9% Germans), Sumvald was entirely Czech (95.7%) but the German territory spread through a number of communities from here again almost as far as the Svitavy German enclave (Mohelnice 14.4% Czechs and 81.2% Germans). Even in the most exposed areas one could find the Czech communities of Lipinka-Pískov, Klopina, Police, Třeština, Stavenice etc. but Úsov, too, was gradually becoming Czech (40% and 58% German). Sternberk below the Jeseníky Mountains was German (10.5% Czechs and 87.7% Germans). The Germans formed a continuous belt as far as Hlubočky but even the territory between these extreme points of the continuous German area and Olomouc was purely Czech. Thus the German minority in this large city (23.9% Germans in 1930 for the whole agglomeration) did not possess a sufficiently large hinterland. That is why the North-Moravia Germans were bent on transferring their centre from here to Sumperk. From Hlubočky the ethnic border ran essentially eastward to Potštát (92.2% Germans). Then it moved northwards thanks to the bulge near Spálov, this town being almost exclusively Czech (95.3% Czechs). In this district only two German communities linked the German bulge in the Nový Jičín area with the extensive German area in Northern Moravia and Silesia. The German strongholds in this bulge were in Odry (86.9% Germans), Fulnek (15.8% Czechs and 80.2% Germans), Bílovec (19.2% Czechs and 78.5% Germans), whereas Nový Jičín was becoming a mixed town (29% Czechs and 67.4% Germans in the agglomeration). Příbor (94.2% Czechs), Studénka (91% Czechs), and Klimkovice (including Polanka 94·1% Czechs): they all formed a barrier against this most easterly bulge of the German ethnic territory in the Czech Lands. Further to the North in Silesia the continuous Czech area reached as far as the communities west and south of Opava. Opava itself was more German than Czech (including Vávrovice 45.3% Czechs and 48.9% Germans) but it was on its way to becoming predominantly Czech. The Czechs spread up to the frontier (and even beyond it in part) all along a line extending from Petrovice to beyond Holasovice. Only Třebom and Sudice were German. In the Ostrava region isolated German minorities remained in Ostrava itself (11.9% within the agglomeration), in Bohumín (Starý and Nový plus Skřečoň 28·1%), in Karviná (7·4%), in Český Těšín (including Chotěbuz 24·1%), and similarly in Frýdek-Místek (13% Germans within the agglomeration). The Jeseníky area was, of course, overwhelmingly German, analogous to the Karlovy Vary and Cheb districts in Bohemia. The existing Czech minorities apart from those already mentioned were small, e.g. Krnov (7.8% Czechs) and Jesenik (9.8%).

The largest German enclave inside the Czech ethnic territory was round Svitavy, 53

along both sides of the land border, but largely in Moravia. It has already been mentioned that near Cotkytle and Usov this island approached the continuous German territory in the North. In 1930 Zábřeh was firmly in Czech hands (72·6% Czechs and 26% Germans) but Lanškroun still formed part of the German enclave (16·8% Czechs and 81·5% Germans), the border in the West being marked by the communities of Janov (95·7% Germans) and Pomezí (92·9% Germans), in the South by Jedlová (91·2% Germans) and Březová nad Svitavou (29·9% Czechs and 68·9% Germans). The interior of the enclave covered an area of more than 1,000 km². It was overwhelmingly German, with even Svitavy having only 8·8% Czech and, similarly, Moravská Třebová just 8·9%. In 1930 the whole of what is today the Svitavy district was almost half Czech (47·9%) and half German (50·7%). During the aggression brought about by the Munich agreement the entire Svitavy island was occupied including the belt of Czech settlement which divided it in the North from the German East-Sudeten region.

In the Bohemian Forest (Šumava) a very narrow strip of German border communities extended into the areas of Nýrsko and Kašperské Hory. These were small German boroughs with only a small Czech minority. Vimperk (24% Czechs and 73.6% Germans) was the centre of the Bohemian Forest German element, since Prachatice was gradually becoming Czech again (50.5% Czechs and 47.6% Germans).* To the east of this several small communities extended German territory into the Bohemian Forest region, but farthest into the interior of Bohemia (Záboří). The southernmost district of Bohemia, that of Český Krumlov, was predominantly German (76.1%) though in its metropolis the percentage of Czechs had grown to 25.9% (Český Krumlov including Přísečná and Kájov). The ethnic border crossed the upper Vltava north of this town, a further stretch of the German territory bypassed Kaplice (a quarter of the population were Czechs) and went on along a narrow belt near the state frontier even in the district of České Budějovice. However, the community of Hranice near Nové Hrady was predominantly Czech (including Vyšné 64.4% Czechs and 31.4% Germans).

The centre of the South-Bohemian Germans had been in České Budějovice, but this was no longer so in 1930 when the German minority had declined here to 14.2%. Thus it was rather Český Krumlov that took over this role.

The ethnic German area in the Bohemian Forest and in South Bohemia was not significant numerically while economically it lagged behing the others. However, it differed from the others in one respect, i.e. by its higher natural increase.

Another, albeit none too large-German area, began in the Jindřichův Hradec district along the frontier with Austria. In addition, there was also a remote group of German communities farther in the interior (Lodhéřov being the most Northern of these). From Nový Vějířov and Nová Bystřice the German border region spread towards Moravia where it narrowed, and as near as being very nearly broken east of Slavonice (Písečná on the border having 39.9% Czechs and 56.5% Germans). The

Czech border community of Uherčice (86·3% Czechs and 12·2% Germans) was still surrounded by German communities but near Znojmo the Czechs spread as far as the state frontier itself. Podmolí registered 62·1% Czechs and 36·1 Germans, while for example the small town of Šatov had 31·8% Czechs and 63·1% Germans. Znojmo, the largest town in South Moravia, was more Czech than German (56·8% Czechs and 38·8% Germans in the agglomeration), the conditions being analogous in the town itself, i.e. 64·3% and 33·2% respectively. In spite of this, it was seized by the Nazis as early as in 1938. The ethnic border turned to the North East of Znojmo so that the area continuously settled by Germans reached as far North as Pohořelice (65·8% of Czechs and 28·2% Germans).

From here it was not far to the German or mixed communities in the vicinity of Brno (Hajany-Želešice 30·4% Czechs, 68·8% Germans). However, not even the proximity of the German border region (or of the small enclave near Vyškov) could maintain Brno as a bilingual city any longer. Brno (including Chrlice and German Modřice as well as Moravany) had only 20·2% German inhabitants in 1930. The ethnic development in the Jihlava district was rather analogous. In 1930 the town itself was Czech by a very small majority (with Hruškové Dvory 58% Czechs and 39% Germans, 1% Jewish, 2% others), yet the strong German minority could not survive, for in the whole of present-day Jihlava district only 16 small communities out of a total of 140 were German(the proportion of Germans in the total population of the district being 18·8%).

In the Eastern part of the Southern borderland the German belt narrowed once more and ended in front of Břeclav (86% Czechs and 9·2% Germans), where the Czechs reached the frontier, and at Hustopeče, an ethnically mixed community (46·1% Czechs and 50·2% Germans, 1·8% Jewish).*

The Eastern frontier of the Czech Lands coincided with the continuous spread of Czech nationality. Lanžhot in the most Southly part as well as Hrčava in the North near the Polish border, and all the border communities were purely Czech, only two communities south of Jablunkov being mixed, i.e. Polish-Czech. Even several communities that had sprang up as a result of colonization from Slovakia (around Velká and Starý Hrozenkov) had become Czech long before 1930.

* The dispersed and discontinuous character of the German ethnic territory in the Czech Lands made it impossible to form part of the separate administration containing a German majority towards the end of the Austria—Hungary monarchy. The so called Deutschböhmen was what German M. P.'s (headed by R. Pacher) demanded in January 1918 soon after the so-called Epiphany Declaration had announced the aim of the Czechs— an independent Czechoslovakia. After 28th October 1918 the Germans rebelled against the new state in which they had become citizens. And the very fact of 4 separate units demanding independence or incorporation in the Austrian Republic had proved the impossibility of separating the German ethnic territory from the whole of the Czech Lands. The four provinces declared at the time were: Deutschböhmen (in Liberec), Sudetenland (in Opava), Böhmerwaldgau (the Bohemian Forest and the southernmost part of Bohemia) and Südmähren (Znojmo). The Cheb area (Egerland) demanded a special position and attachment to Germany. The Czech army occupied the German territory within a few weeks and without fighting, and the Czechoslovak authorities did not call the leaders of the revolt to account.

^{*} In spite of this, however, Prachatice together with other Czech villages in the neighbourhood were occupied by Hitler's Germany as a matter of course in 1938.

The unification, both linguistic and cultural, of the Czech nation within the Czech Lands was complete even before the liberation. That was the reason why neither at that time nor later on the enemies of the Czech nation attempted to emphasize or seek tribal differences. These had been preserved to only a small degree in the case of the Czechs in Eastern Moravia (Moravian Slovaks and Wallachians). In Czech Silesia only a small group of Silesians could be differentiated from the rest — 13,842 people claimed Czech (Czechoslovak) nationality in the 1930 census but at the same time they registered as "Silesians" ("Slezané"). In the Hlučín district, which had not been returned to the homeland until 1920, the consciousness that had been handed down from the 18th century was one for Moravia, the feeling of belonging to the unified Czech nation was not to develop until later years. And so in the 1930 census most of the Czechs living here — 39,010 people in all — simultaneously registered as "Moravians").

The Germans in the Czech Lands (3,149 thousand of all those present) had a majority over an area of 26,186 km² (according to V. Slamínka, while only on 24,800 km² according to A. Boháč).* Part of this territory, however, was to a considerable extent ethnically mixed, i.e. included significant Czech minorities. With the division into districts then in force it turned out that there were 15.5% Czechs living in the predominantly German districts. Were the present division into large districts to be used, the proportion of Czechs in their population would amount to as many as 21.1% in 1930. Yet even when the territory is defined in terms of the smallest territorial units the percentage of persons of Czech nationality would still make more than 11.5% of the total population involved. On the other hand, in the Czech ethnic territory, when defined in terms of communities, the number of Germans did not represent quite 5.5% of the population. The Germans formed half or a majority in 1740 communities or agglomerations, but in only 34 small villages (having 200 to 300 inhabitants) they were the sole inhabitants. The Liberec agglomeration (66,978 Germans), Karlovy Vary (62,804 Germans), Ústí nad Labem (61,880 Germans) were among the largest German towns, but quickly followed by Prague and Brno (54,506 and 42,161 Germans, respectively), where the Germans lived as a minority. The largely German part of the Czech Lands had a rather higher settlement density than their ethnically Czech layer part. From an ethnographic point of view there was considerable differentiation.

The Germans in the Czech Lands remained divided into four main tribes and dialects (J. Blau). The most numerous was the Silesian tribe involving more than one-third of all the Germans (especially Northern Bohemia including Liberec, Northern Moravia and Silesia, the Svitavy ethnic enclave). Second place regarding the number of members — more than a quarter of all Germans in the Czech Lands — was taken by the Saxon (Upper Saxony) tribe. It settled at the foot of the Ore

Mountain region, and the North of Bohemia, Chomutov, Ústí and Labem, Děčín and Varnsdorf becoming their main centres. The North Bavarian (Upper Palatinate) tribe had their settlements in a part of Western Bohemia (Cheb, Karlovy Vary) and totalled about one-fifth of the German residents. The remainder of the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia represented the Bavarian-Austrian tribe and dialect in the Bohemian Forest, the southernmost parts of Bohemia and Moravia and included the German minority in Brno. Not only Czech authors, but also some German (F. Machatschek) authors, regard the tribal and lingustic differences of the Germans in the Czech Lands as proof that they were the descendants of colonists, and not those of the Marcomans.

The territory of the Polish ethnic group (92 thousand persons of all those present) covered a mere 525 km² in 1930*). This was a small, but densely populated border strip in what used to be the Těšín Silesia, i.e. in present-day districts of Karviná and in the eastern part of that of Frýdek-Místek. This territory was highly mixed, and nearly divided by a bulge of Czech communities reaching up to the Polish state frontier, Český Těšín being more Czech than Polish. In 1930 the percentage of Czechs and Poles living in Český Těšín was 41.6 and 22.7 respectively, but that of Germans amounted to 24.1%. The largest number of Poles lived in the Northern part of the ethnically mixed territory in Karviná (including Stonava 44·1% Polish, 41·3% Czech) with a total population of more than 40,000 inhabitants of a variegated nationality structure. In this area this was repeated in several substantially smaller settlements but, taken as a whole, the number of Poles living here was even higher in Doubrava-Orlová and in the settlement groups that have been joined together east of present-day Havířov. In the southern part there were other settlements with a Polish majority, including the industrial town of Třinec (with Vendryně 32.6% Czech and 53.8% Polish, among the rest 7.6% German) as well as the smaller town of Jablunkov (29.9% Czech and 61.8% Polish). Along the larger part of the state frontier with Poland, except for the Czech Hrčava and the ethnically mixed Český Těšín, there extended communities containing a Polish majority up to Petrovice, but, from here including Petrovice itself – the state frontier was once again the border for the Czech ethnic territory as well.

The small Croatian ethnic enclave in south-east Moravia covered 26 km².

Among the small ethnic groups neither the Jews nor the Ukrainians and Russians formed a continuous ethnic territory in the Czech Lands and were living here in a diaspora. Ethnographically speaking, the number of Jews totalled 30,000 out of the population of the citizenship (37,000 out of all those present). In Bohemia their number was smaller than in Moravia, and, at the same time, half of them lived in Prague (6,752, i.e. 0.7% of the population of the capital), others in towns among which Teplice deserves to be mentioned (901 citizens, i.e. 1.4%). In Brno 3,300 Israelites with Czech. citizenship registered as being of Jewish nationality (1.2% of the city's population), in Ostrava 1,200 (0.6%), these being followed by Olomouc and the present-

^{*} According to communities, for with the then existing delimitation by the so-called judicial districts this was only on 23,775 km², and when applying the present-day large district units only 19,774 km² (18 districts even when the Znojmo district is counted as German; the one district which was most Germanized in 1930 was what is today the district of Karlovy Vary (94.7% of Germans in 1930).

^{*} Judged according to the then existing classification of communities. If their present-day delimitation (combination) is applied this territory would be only 473 km².

day district of Karviná 1·1% (1,850 persons, out of these 560, i.e. 4.2% in Český Těšín, 432, i.e. 2·4% in Bohumín). A more significant representation of Jews was registered in towns in South-East Moravia: Hodonín (464, i.e. 3.1%), Kyjov (276, i.e. 4·6%), Břeclav (440, i.e. 2·3%), Pohořelice (188, i.e. 4·3%), Uherský Brod (384, i.e. 4·3%) and the largest number at Protivín where they formed 6·4% of the population (164 persons of Czech. citizenship). In towns in the other parts of Moravia, e.g. at Boskovice 4·6% (318) and among country villages it was only at Šatov in the Znojmo district where the Jews represented 5% (38 persons) of the population.

As to Ukrainians and Russians, the number of those registered and possessing Czechoslovak citizenship was 11,200 (22,600 of all those present). Speaking in absolute terms the largest number of these were in Prague and Brno (1623 and 941 state citizens, forming 0.2 and 0.3% of the population respectively). Geographically speaking, the most interesting is the temporary settlement of Ukrainians-Ruthenians in 10 communities in the district of Žďár nad Sázavou (similarly to a smaller degree in a number of communities of the adjoining districts), where the 1930 census established 1,584 citizens of this nationality while in some of the communities they formed considerable minorities: mostly at Herálec 20.6% (505), Polnička 20.0% (283), and Kadov 18·1% (66), less so at Fryšava 13·4% (118), at Vojnův Městec 11·1% (157), Svratka 8.7% (185) and elsewhere. At Borová in the Svitavy district the number of Ukrainians living there was 121 (i.e. 11.5%) of the village population, others were at Jedlová, while in the Chrudim district the largest number was at Trhová Kamenice. Actually, in the winter of 1929 – 30 extensive forest areas were destroyed in this part of the Bohemian-Moravian Plateau, and that is why workers from East Slovakia and from what used to be Sub-Carpathian Russia were called (at the big estate at Nové Město nad Metují) to deal with the timber. They did not work here for more than 2 to 3 years but they were caught there by the census in 1930. Neither in 1921 nor in any further census people of Ukrainian or Russian nationality were registered in the area. Though a few individuals did remain here permanently (Fryšava) they gradually became Czech. It is surprising to note that neither A. Boháč in his ethnographic map in the Atlas of the ČSR, nor F. Koláček in his Geography of Czechoslovakia (where so much attention was devoted to ethnic conditions) knew anything about these Ukrainian minorities in the Žďár region. However, in the above quoted Ethnographic Map of the ČSR published by the Military Institute of Geography these Ukrainians were duly noted.

The Ethnographic Map of the Czech Lands in 1930 in the 1:500,000 scale

This map attempts to register the results of the most objective population census that had ever been made according to nationality in the Czech Lands prior to the forced transfer of the Germans.

As to its method it represents a combination of the relative and absolute principle, paying due regard to classification by communities. The measure to which Czech

(and Slovak) nationality is represented is noted in nine degrees. Absolute indexes are used to denote the extension of 6 ethnic groups: Czechs (with Slovaks), Germans, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians (including Russians), and others foreign nationals comprising group 6. The presence of as few as 50 persons of a different nationality in the community has also been duly noted. Starting with 850 upward an individual mark has been chosen calculated according to the formula $d = 0.5\sqrt[3]{10a}$ (a = the number of the population). In mixed settlements signs or points are placed around the mark for the dominant nationality serving to denote the other nationalities. Those communities which do not contain a Czech majority are made more conspicuous by their borders, or else territories where individual nationalities prevail are clearly differentiated.

III/2

The development of ethnic conditions in the Czech Lands after 1930 has to be classified into a number of considerably different stages in which the factors determining this developments come to be applied with varying force. These are a) natural change (natural increase), b) migration, c) assimilation (changes in nationality, denationalization).

In the years of the German-Fascist aggression in 1938 and 1939 it was natural change that exerted the most decisive influence even on changes in differentiating the population on grounds of nationality. The importance of migration and assimilation had declined.

The decline in the birth-rate towards the end of the twenties resulted in a situation where the proportion of children upto 15 years in the population of the Czech Lands declined to 23.8%. Further decline in the birth-rate during the thirties which had been brought about by demographic and particularly economic reasons (world crisis) justified the worst fears as far as the future population development in the Czech Lands was concerned. Actually, the degree of change amounted to a mere 0,656(!) in 1937, i.e. considerably less than the preservation degree of "1". The former population

Natural increase per 1,000 inhabitants for the years 1931-1937

Ť	Czech Lands entire population	Czechs in Bohemia	Germans in Bohemia	Czechs in Moravia- Silesia	Germans in Moravia- Silesia
1931	4.8	4.2	3.5	7-9	2.7
1932	4.4	3.6	2.8	7.7	2.9
1933	3.2	2.6	1.5	6.4	1.8
1934	3.2	2.5	1.8	6.3	2.2
1935	1.9	1.2	0.2	4.9	0.7
1936	1.7	0.9	0.3	4.7	1.0
1937	1.5	(0.7)	(0.4)	(4.5)	(1·1)

prognoses had proved completely unrealistic, though from an ethnographic point of view the situation was steadily developing in favour of a Czech majority. Like in the period before 1918 the depopulation process advanced more quickly in the German case. Some idea of this can be formed from the figures in Table (p. 59).

Jewish natural increase was even lower than that of the Germans in Bohemia, and that of the Poles even higher than that for the Czechs in Moravia-Silesia.

Migration to other countries had gradually declined to a minimum — a few thousands of persons a year — and only ostensibly affected Czechs more than it did Germans, for among the latter the illegal, unregistered migration to Germany went on. Internal migration served to reinforce the Czechs, Slovaks also being counted among them ("Czechoslovak" nationality being officially recognized until 1938), and the numbers of the latter having increased to 65,000 by 1937 (J. Srb). The Czechs in Bohemia were being reinforced by the migration of Czechs from Moravia.

Forcible denationalization, as a factor in ethnic development, did not come into consideration in Bohemia. However, voluntary assimilation, or even change of nationality, did exert a certain influence in this respect. It was a matter of a decline of the ethnic differentiation process in the Těšín area, the Bohemization of Slovak immigrants and Jews, and cases of embracing another nationality were naturally to be registered among both Czechs and Germans. Particularly, the mixed marriages provided an avenue for this, though their number in the Czech Lands did not exceed 3.8% in the thirties (V. Ziegenfuss). During the years 1931 – 33 the Czechs concluded homogamous marriages in 97.4% of cases (2.6% were mixed marriages), the Germans 94.8% (and 5.2% of mixed marriages, mostly with Czechs), in the case of Jews heterogamous marriages amounted to 14.7%, in that of Poles to 17.0%, while they were strongly predominant for Ukrainians and Russians (78.4%). Naturally, the other partner to the marriage was mostly of Czech nationality.

It can be presumed that within 3 to 4 decades of normal development significant changes in favour of the Czech ethnic majority in the Czech Lands would have occurred. It would have reached a proportion of more than 70.0% in the population. The German ethnic territory would have grown smaller by many several dozen hitherto mixed communities, both in the border area and in the enclaves. Above all, it would have become much more mixed, for in these regions the Czechs had a permanently higher natural increase and this territory was becoming the destination of a significant migration inflow. The Czechs would also have gained by the assimilation of Slovaks, Ukrainians and Jews coming from the Eastern part of Czechoslovakia. The majority of the large German cities would have become mixed, bilingual, with the exception of those lying in the midst of such German areas as Aš, Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Varnsdorf, Krnov etc. The German minorities in Brno, Olomouc, Jihlava and Znojmo would also have considerably declined. At the same time the minorities in Prague and other large Czech cities might have grown. In any case, the German section of the population in the Czech Lands represented more than a quarter of the total, and thus both as regards numbers as well as economic position they would have maintained the safeguards of their significant position. This would probably have been acknowledged all the more readily by the Czechs once the ethnic situation had been decided. The issue had lasted for more than a hundred years as a struggle for bilingualism in the Czech Lands. Of the other nationalities both Poles (owing to natural change) and Jews (due to migration from the East) would have kept their proportional representation intact.

However, all the prerequisites of the ethnic development in a state which guaranteed its citizens equal rights regardless of their nationality were not given. On the one hand, these were rendered impossible by the treasonable fascist movement among the Germans in the Czech Lands which had come to dominate most of them*, and on the other hand, by the brutal pressure of Germany (which occupied Austria early in 1938), and, finally, by the treacherous behaviour of France and Great Britain who threw their own ally, the only truly democratic country east of the Rhine, at the mercy of Hitlerite fascism.

Even when considered merely from the ethnic point of view, the consequences of the Munich agreement were terrible. Germany had acquired by robbery a territory of nearly 29,000 square kilometres, i.e. 36.8% of the Czech Lands with 3,637,000 inhabitants out of which 860,000 were Czechs. Thus for the first time in their long history the natural frontiers of the Czech Lands were liquidated. Ethnic conditions became simplified but problems remained. Above all, the German occupation had been guided by strategic considerations, by preparations for a new aggression and by a fervent aim - genocide of the Czech nation. Through Munich Germany acquired not only the Czech Most and Opava areas, the Chodsko (district of the Chods), the Czech surroundings of Plzeň (Litice, Dobřany and others), the Czech South Moravia (Břeclav, Znojmo, Moravský Krumlov), but also Příbor, Štramberk and Kopřivnice, a belt of Czech settlements surrounding Svitavy enclave, etc. In places the way the frontier ran in relation to the Czech interior was nothing short of curious with frequent bulges designed to take in isolated German communities, or particularly to cut major communications, or make the territory of Germany come close to important Czech centres. In the occupied territory of Moravia-Silesia as many as 17.4% of all Moravian and Silesian Czechs resided. In the occupied territories Czechs were either being Germanized, or driven out. At the same time over 250,000 Germans remained on the truncated Czech territory, a new fifth colum for Hitlerite fascism.

On more than one occasion Czechoslovak representatives gave convincing proof of how impossible it was to solve ethnic conditions by dividing the Czech Lands. In an indirect way this fact was to be borne out even by the complicated incorporation of the occupied territories into the German framework. The majority of the territory – 22,500 km² with 2,900 thous. inhabitants – formed a new unit of the Sudetengau with Liberec as its capital and three governmental districts. Yet even so this territory was divided near Náchod; the largest governmental district – that of Opava – was cut off. The Bohemian Forest (Šumava) was joined with Bavaria (Regensburg), the

^{*} In the 1935 General Election the Henlein fascists gained 44 seats (i.e. 1,2 million German votes), 2 German bourgeois parties which were to join them later on winning 11 seats. Only the German Social Democrats (11 seats) and the Communists were the only representatives of major antifascist forces at that critical time in the Czech Lands.

Hlučín area with the governmental district of Opolí, the South-Bohemia borderland with Upper Austria (Oberdonau), or with Lower Austria (Niederdonau), where the occupied Southern Moravia was incorporated.

The first country to become the booty of Hitlerite Germany was Czechoslovakia. After the occupation of the borderland, and of ethnically mixed areas, the Nazis occupied the whole of the Czech Lands only a few months later (15th March 1939) and installed their reign of terror there.

The second was Poland whose half-fascist and pro-German Government had joined in the attack on betrayed Czechoslovakia. By an ultimatum issued after the German model Poland robbed Moravia-Silesia of the Těšín territory covering an area of about 800 km² on which more than 120,000 Czechs and nearly 80,000 Poles were living, while a majority of the latter were loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic and did not wish to join with Poland with its undemocratic regime and its lower standard of living. Not even in the way they treated the Czechs in the Těšín area did the Polish occupying troops remain behind the Germans. About 40,000 Czechs were expelled, while others were being forced to transfer to Polish nationality.

The years 1938, 1939 and the subsequent ones, so tragic for the Czech nation from the state and political point of view, appear unfavourable even when seen from the ethnic development of the Czechs Lands. For the first time in several years, a more substantial increase was registered among the German than among the Czech population. The natural increase in the Czech Lands as a whole grew from $1.8^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1938 to $4\cdot1^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1939. Contemporaneously, the Czech population in the so-called "Protectorate" showed a natality of 14.90/00, while the German population in the separated borderland registered as much as 22·10/00 owing to fascist population policy, immigration of Germans from Germany and possibly also to denationalization of the Czechs. The former findings on differences in the development of Czech minorities in the predominantly German territory are also borne out by the results registered for this year. The Czech population in the separated borderland showed a natality of $17.8^{\circ}/_{0.0}$, the German population in the protectorate $9.9^{\circ}/_{00}$ (the population of the Czech Lands as a whole that of $17.3^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1939). In 1940 natality increased to $19.5^{\circ}/_{00}$ in the Czech Lands as a whole and, at the same time, the German population registered a higher percentage here than in both the borderland $(25^{\circ})_{00}$ as against $22 \cdot 6^{\circ})_{00}$ and interior $(20\cdot2^{\circ})_{0}$ as against $16\cdot7^{\circ})_{00}$. A similar picture, one also in favour of the Germans, can be established for 1941 as well, when natality in the Czech Lands as a whole declined to $18.8^{\circ}/_{00}$. Even natural increase appears likely to have been higher in the German case, whose war losses were not yet so heavy at the time, while the Czech nation was hit by the German-Fascist terror in the most horrible measure imaginable. The balance of migration was entirely in favour of the Germans. Germans from the Reich were migrating to the Czech Lands, while thousands of Czech patriots were fleeing the country to be able to fight for their country's freedom, and hundreds of thousands of them were being dragged away to concentration and labour camps in Germany. Jewish compatriots were gradually exterminated with great bestiality almost to the last. The number of Czechs murdered by the German-Fascist occupiers up to 1945 was over 300,000. A small gain was represented by the return of Czechs from Slovakia

from where they were being expelled by the collaborationist government of Slovak fascists after 1939. A change in the population development, and one in favour of the Czechs, did not commence until 1942 and later. Though natality dropped down to $18^{0}/_{00}$ in the Czech Lands, and natural increase to as little as $4\cdot2^{0}/_{00}$ in 1942, the German population policy scored no further successes among the German population whose males were departing to fight for Hitler's Reich. Conversely, the Czech people gained hopes of the war ending in their liberation, and they resisted the fate being prepared for them by the German-Fascist occupiers also biologically. The rise in natality in the Czech Lands to $20\cdot4^{0}/_{00}$ and $20\cdot7^{0}/_{00}$, or in natural increase to $6\cdot5^{0}/_{0}$ and $6\cdot2^{0}/_{00}$ in 1943 and 1944 respectively went primarily in favour of the Czech population.

With the end of the Second World War, the civilian population living in the Czech Lands totalled 10,840,000. The German population, afraid of incurring just punishment, had begun fleeing even before the 9th May, 1945. Their numbers decreased during the war by the hundreds of thousands of those killed or captured, but, on the other hand, a great many new "colonists" and refugees from the East were living here. However, from the end of the war to the Potsdam Conference the number of Germans who either left or were transferred amounted to 800,000. According to statistical records, there were 2,645,000 Germans — old settlers — living in the Czech Lands at the end of July 1945. Towards the end of 1945 there began the organized transfer of Germans resulting from the agreement reached by the leading statesmen of the three victorious great powers. The total of those to be transferred was 2,500,000 Germans, and by the end of 1947 when the transfer ended this number was even slightly exceeded. Half of this number was transferred during 1947.

In May 1947 the preliminary census of the population in the Czech Lands established a new population basis of 8,762,000 inhabitants (10,674,000 in 1930, 11,109,000 in 1944).*

The greatest success achieved by the Czechs in the first post-war years was the new settlement of the border regions deserted by the Germans. As early as May 1947, those living in these territories, were overwhelmingly Czechs, totalling nearly 2,230,000 inhabitants (as compared with 3,306,000 mainly Germans in 1930). Out of these 729,000 had been living here prior to liberation of May 1945 and 119 children had been born here since then. 1,366,000 new settlers moved here in the preceding two years (including 116,000 from Slovakia).

In 1945 when the Czech Lands became a battlefield natural increase declined greatly (0.9%) but the year 1946 indicated a powerful population development, and increase of 75,886 inhabitants due to natural change was registered. The subsequent year proved to be a record one — death rate having declined, an increase of 101,468 persons was registered owing to natural change, i.e. the greatest rise since 1906 when the population of the Czech Lands had been larger. It was, of course, those early days when the Germans had been engulfed by a population process and were to be responsible for a decline in the Czech Lands as a whole right up to the Second World War.

^{*} In the years 1945 to 1947 only slightly more than 100,000 Czechs returned to their country from the Soviet Union, Austria, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, etc.

The true rate of reproduction reached 1,346 in the Czech Lands in 1947 and was still higher in the following years than in Slovakia, a phenomenon that had never been noted before but also never since. Optimistic predictions surmised that the population decrease in the Czech Lands caused by the transfer of Germans would be made good even before 1970.

In 1950 a census was carried out which confirmed the results anticipated.

Population according to nationality in the Czech Lands, 1950*

			%
Czechs	(3)	8,343,558	93.8
Slovaks		258,025	2.9
Germans		159,938	1.8
Poles	100	70,816	0.8
Ukrainians and Russians		19,384	0.2
Hungarians		13,201	0.2
Others	4	31,211	0.2

In the fifties, population development in the Czech Lands, and thus primarily of the Czech nation, began to change in an unfavourable way. If natural increase was still $9.5^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1950 it was to decline to as little as $3.3^{\circ}/_{00}$ by 1959.

A new feature in the ethnic development of the Czech Lands after the war was the significant increase in the number of Slovaks, now recognized as an independent nation, although similar as regards language to the Czech nation. Since 1947 the Slovaks have constituted the most numerous non-autochthonous ethnic group living by the side of Czechs in the Czech Lands. As already mentioned, more than a quarter of a million Slovaks were established by the census as living in the Czech Lands in 1950. This number would have to be lowered as it includes all Slovaks present at the time including those whose permanent dwelling place was in Slovakia, and this applied to several tens of thousands inhabitants. In the period upto 1960 the number of Slovaks in the Czech Lands increased by 169,700 persons, out of whom 51.8% are accounted for by natural increase and 48.2% by migration. By the end of 1960 the number of Slovaks living here was 357,000 (Š. Očovský), not so many then as recorded in official statistics adding the totals of increases to the exaggerated basis of 1950. However, it was even smaller than the figure given above, since the 1961 census established their number as amounting to nearly 276,000.

The reason put forward for this was assimilation. After a shorter or longer stay several tens of thousands of Slovaks, and particularly of Slovaks in mixed marriages and the offspring of such marriages, were to register as being of Czech nationality. A majority of the marriages concluded by Slovaks living in the Czech Lands within the period 1950 to 1960 were mixed. During this period, Slovak mothers in the Czech Lands gave birth to about 20,000 children, and in at least one third of the cases the father was Czech. These as well as children of Slovak fathers and Czech mothers

can be counted as Czech. In view of their structure Slovaks in the Czech Lands show a higher natural increase than in Slovakia, which is, of course, several times higher than that of the Czechs. Thus, for example for the years 1950 to 1954 natural increase of the Czechs was $8^{\circ}/_{00}$, Slovaks in the Czech Lands was $28\cdot 4^{\circ}/_{00}$ (the Czech Lands as a whole $8.6^{\circ}/_{00}$) in the years 1955 to 1959 the Czechs had only $5.2^{\circ}/_{00}$. Slovaks $21^{\circ}/_{00}$ (the Czech Lands as a whole $5.9^{\circ}/_{00}$). The settlement of the Czech Lands – especially of the borderland which was formerly settled largely by Germans, and in the Ostrava region - represents a major benefit, both from the population and economic viewpoint. This is not affected by their relatively high fluctuation rate, one of the advantages for Slovakia, where the indigenous people usually return with a higher qualification acquired in Bohemia or Moravia. The benefits accruring from the assimilation of a small section of them to the Czech nation are a form of repayment for the Slovak debt from the time when evangelical Czechs migrated to Slovakia and were to become, after having turned Slovak, the core of the more nationally conscious and more advanced part of what was to become the Slovak nation. Likewise Czechs who migrated to Slovakia after 1918 (121,696 of them were living there in 1930) did not demand, in view of the close proximity of the two languages, any special Czech schools for their children, nor did they set up any other separate institutions.

Another very large ethnic group in the Czech Lands in post-war years are the Germans. After the transfer had been carried out the number of those who remained did not exceed more than 180,000, whether they were well-proven antifascists, indispensable specialist workers, or, finally, old people exempted from the transfer for humane reasons. The 1950 census registered nearly 160,000 Germans. By 1961 their number had declined to 134,000, for they had been dying out as a result of a highly abnormal age structure (since 1956 the balance of natural change has been permanently negative), or they lost through assimilation (nearly 20,000 for the years 1950 to 1961). German men and women have been contracting marriages more often with a Czech partner than with one of the same nationality (this development being aided by dispersed settlement as well as the predominance of the number of women over men) and children born of these marriages became for the most part Czech.

In 1950 the number of Poles in the Czech Lands amounted to 70,816, being lower than before the war owing, firstly, to the complete ethnic differentiation of the Silesians, and, secondly, to voluntary emigration of those Poles who preferred acquiring the citizenship of the People's Republic of Poland to remaining citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic. During the German occupation the Těšín region had been directly attached to the third Reich. The Germans introduced a special nationality, Silesian, which was embraced by a great many Poles. This was subsequently interpreted by the occupiers that they constituted what was called Deutsch-Schlesier, a kind of racially less valuable branch of the German nation of whom an overwhelming majority did not have a command of the German language. They did not enjoy the rights of Germans, but they did have their duties. No wonder then that the inhabitants of the Těšín region, including the non-Czech ones, were sometimes

^{*} The number of Czechs living in Slovakia was found to be only 40,365, i.e. 1.2% of that country's population.

apt to relate the beginning of their hard fate during the war with the Polish conquest of their territory in 1938. By 1961 the number of Poles had dropped to a certain extent despite the fact that they had had all cultural institutions and language equality in the Těšín region as well as a comparatively favourable population development. The reason is to be sought in the assimilation of about 11,000 Poles between the censuses of 1950 and 1961 and in their having embraced Czech nationality. In more than a half of the marriages contracted, Polish bridegrooms and brides had chosen Czech partners. This, too, is perhaps the explanation to be found for the development of the Polish ethnic group in the fifties, one which is far more surprising than in the case of the German minority.

Other ethnic groups have formed only insignificant minorities after the War. The Jews, once the third most numerous national minority, had been exterminated by the German-fascist occupiers, the rest had emigrated, or claimed Czech nationality. The Gypsies are no longer acknowledged as a special nationality after the War, but their numbers have grown owing to migration from Slovakia. The Ukrainians and Russians have essentially retained their representation among the population of the Czech Lands (0.2%).

New data on the ethnic structure of the population in the Czech Lands emerged from the results of the 1961 census.

IV. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE CZECH LANDS IN 1961 DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT UP TO 1970 AND ITS PERSPECTIVES

IV/1

The second post-war census to give a picture of ethnic conditions was carried out on 1. 3. 1961. For the first time the s.c. resident population was counted (previously this had always been population present in the area). Changes in ethnic structure established through a comparison with the results of the 1950 census were not significant, at least not at first sight. However, they tend to become more interesting when a further search is made for their causes.

Ethnic structure of the population in the Czech Lands 1, 3, 1961

	In thous.	%		In thous.	%
Czechs	9,024	94.3	Ukrainians and		
Slovaks	276	2.9	Russians	20	0.2
Germans	134	1.4	Hungarians	15	0.2
Poles	67	0.7	Others and not ascertained*	36	0.3
	74			9,572**	100-0

^{*} Among "others" the following can be quoted: Bulgarians, Croatians, and other Yugoslavs, Greeks, members of non-European nationalities.

Once again the Czechs had increased their percentage representation in comparison with 1950 (then it was 93.8%), which is surprising at first sight, for their natural increase had been lower than the average for the entire population of the Czech Lands. At the same time, it is a well-known fact that migration abroad influenced ethnic development and the development of the number of population in the Czech Lands in general. This acquired a slight degree for the years 1950 to 1961 with the exception of the German group (emigration) while migration between the Czech Lands and Slovakia tended to strengthen chiefly the significant Slovak group.

The explanation is to be sought particularly in the assimilation of a few tens of thousands of Slovaks who had voluntarily gone over to Czechs nationality during

^{** 99.7%} Czechoslovak state citizens.

the years 1950-1961. This will be discussed later. Out of the Germans 19,000 had gone over to Czech nationality within the same period, and over 12,000 had gone out of the Poles. Ethnic minorities that evolved even in the Czech Lands after the Second World War have been exposed to strong influences from the Czech national environment, both linguistically and culturally related (this goes mainly for Slovaks but also for Poles) and were so dispersed in the territory containing a Czech majority (mainly Germans, Ukrainians etc).

Natural increase in the Czech Lands per 1,000 inhabitants

	1950	1950-1954	1955—1959	1961
the state of	97 1	-	18	2.0
Population as a whole*	9.5	8.6	5.9	3.8
Czechs	8.6	8.2	5.2	3.1
Slovaks**	36.8	28-4	23.0	24.2
Germans	1.2	1.2	-0.5	-3.6
Poles	13.5	11.3	6.9	5.0
Ukrainians and Russians	27-6	1.9	0.7	1.6
Hungarians***	37-6	29.6	26.4	29.4

^{*} The section entitled "Other" nationalities and not ascertained had a higher natural increase than the population of the Czech Lands as a whole. E.g. $12.6^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1950 and $9.7^{\circ}/_{00}$ in 1961.

The Czech ethnic territory is almost identical for practical purposes with the area covering the Czech Lands. Today, of course, it no longer goes beyond the frontier and include neither Upper Silesia nor Kladsko. However, it does reach nearly all along this frontier with some exceptions (mainly in the Ore Mountains-Krušné hory). The German and Polish majorities together cover an area of more than 260 km² and include 20 communities. In 4 communities there was a strong Slovak majority in 1961, so that a territory of 91 km2 has to be excluded. However, we should take into account all the communities with a Slovak population majority and disregard the fact that language nationality rights are not being made use of and that a process of ethnic assimilation is in progress here (fluctuating population) even so the Czech language territory covers over 98% of the area composing the Czech Lands. Indeed, only 1.25% of the communities (98 in all) do not possess a Czech majority. Actually it is no longer possible to view ethnic conditions in the Czech Lands as national territories, as formerly although rewarding and correct from the geographical viewpoint, and accepted by many authors before the war. In fact it is no longer the method for establishing the characteristic ethnic features in the Czech Lands, which are basically mixed in their ethnic structure.

The ethnic structure of the population by districts in 1961

% of Czechs	% others	Number of districts	% of Czechs	% others	Number of districts
55.1 — 60.0	40.0-44.9	1	80.1-85.0	15.0-19.9	4
$60 \cdot 1 - 75 \cdot 0$	25.0-39.9	0 .	$85 \cdot 1 - 90 \cdot 0$	10.0 — 14.9	4
$75 \cdot 1 - 80 \cdot 0$	20.0-24.9	4	90.1-95.0	5.0 — 9.9	6
			95.1—	- 4.9	48

Admittedly, only one small district, Sokolov, has a two-third Czech majority, while at the same time, a one-quarter of the inhabitants are German (25.3%), together with a substantial number of Slovaks (12.9%), some Hungarians (1.1%) and others (1.4%). Yet even the districts of Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Chomutov and Bruntál contain more than one-fifth of the non-Czech population, though in three of these this is due mainly to Slovaks, living near to Czechs. In the fourth, i.e. the Chomutov district, the number of Germans and Slovaks are balanced equally.

Altogether in 1092 communities and agglomerations, i.e. 14% of the total, another nationality, or nationalities in addition to Czechs have been living there amounting to no less than one-tenth of their population. But more than one-fifth of non-Czech population was registered in only 572 communities and agglomerations, i.e. in 7.3% of the total. Only these can be designated as ethnically mixed. Another majority nationality group has been recorded in 98 communities in the Czech Lands, mostly in small ones dispersed all around the borders of Bohemia and Czech Silesia.

Proportion of the Czech population according to communities in 1961

%	Number of communities	%	Number of inhabitants in thous.	%
over 90·1	6.753	86-5	8,017,0	83.8
80-1-90	520	6-4	912,1	9.5
70.1-80	240	2.9	292,2	3.0
60·1 — 70	164	2.0	243,8	2.5
50.1-60	70	0.9	52,0	0.5
40.1-50	46	0.6	32,2	0.3
30.1-40	30	0.4	14,6	0.2
20.1-30	14	0.2	5,6	0.1
up to 20	8	0-1	2,5	0-1
	7-845	100-0	9,572,0	100.0

West and North Bohemia (the West-Bohemia and North-Bohemia regions) appear as ethnically the most mixed parts of the Czech Lands. The North-Bohemia Region is the only one in which only half the communities have over 90.1% Czechs (371,

^{**} In 1958 this dropped to $19.5^{\circ}/_{00}$, in 1959 and 1960 to $16.6^{\circ}/_{00}$ but later on, e.g. in 1963, it rose to $24.4^{\circ}/_{00}$.

^{***} Hungarian nationality was claimed also by a part of the Gipsy population which had immigrated from Slovakia.

i.e. 50.8% with 475,600 inhabitants, i.e. 43.8%). The West-Bohemia Region is again the only one in which 4.8% of the communities (43) and having 3.3% of the inhabitants (27,700) does not account for even half the Czech population. In the Czech Lands as a whole only 0.3% of all the Czechs live in minorities. This is undoubtedly the most convincing proof of the favourable situation they received with the newly constituted position after World War II.

The new border settlement, i.e. the territory involuntarily left by the Germans (who had been living here largely in quite prominent majorities until 1945) can be counted among the successes of the Czech ethnic policy. In 1961, when the population of the Czech Lands reached 89.6% of that in 1930, it was 70.1%, of the local, formerly mainly German population of 1930 that was recorded in the border areas. What is understood under "border area" is the so-called reconstructed frontier covering 28,630 km² in present-day districts terms.*

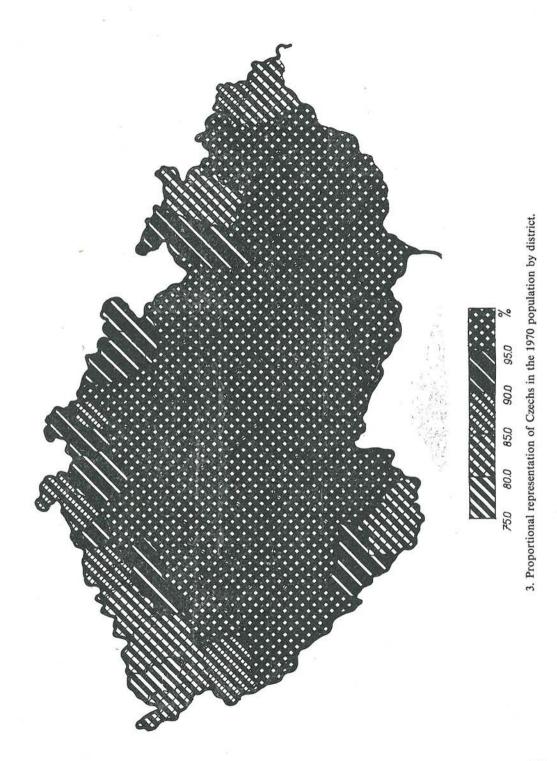
The Czech Lands' internal and frontier population

		Interior		Population density per km ²		
	Czech Lands	in thous.	Borderland	Czech Lands	Interior	Border- land
1930	10,674,4	7,036,6	3,637,7	135	140	127
1947	8,762,3	6,532,9	2,229,5	111	130	79
1950	8,896,1	6,525,8	2,370,3	113	131	81
1961	9,566,2	7,013,6	2,552,6	121	140	89

Conversely, a pronounced failure was the decline of natural increase which showed its warning as early as in 1959 ($3.3^{\circ}/_{\circ\circ}$). The solution to these population losses was deferred, and postwar prognoses have proved too optimistic.

The dominant Czech superiority of numbers in the population of Czech Lands, and the fact that Czechs have settled over their entire territory as a majority nation, the well-known population indices as a whole virtually held for the Czech nation. This is not literally so, as already seen from the table above (natural change). There are also certain small differences in settlement conditions.

A great deal of the Czechs live in large cities (over 50,000 inhab.) and to a greater extent in capital cities $(27\cdot0\%)$; in comparison the Slovaks $(25\cdot0\%)$ and particularly the Germans $(13\cdot9\%)$ are less urbanized. It is only the Poles the less numerous Hungarians, and the Ukrainian-Russians that show a larger percentage. Conversely, in small communities and small towns (up to 10,000 inhabitants) the proportion of Czechs living there is lower $(58\cdot2\%)$ than in the German case $(66\cdot2\%)$ and of other ill-defined categories for other nationalities $(64\cdot5\%)$. Deviations from the average for the Czech Lands are slight.



^{*} Český Krumlov, Jindřichův Hradec, Prachatice, Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Sokolov, Tachov, Ústí nad Labem, Česká Lípa, Děčín, Chomutov, Jablonec nad Nisou, Liberec, Louny, Most, Teplice, Svitavy, Trutnov, Bruntál, Opava, Šumperk, Nový Jičín, Břeclav, Znojmo.

That is why we shall devote closer attention to the settlement and demographic conditions of Slovaks and the minority ethnic groups which are often seen to differ a great deal from the average.

Population according to settlement size groups

In communities with a population of:	% of the popula- tion in the Czech Lands	% of all Czechs
1 000	40-4	38.5
up to 1,999 2,000 — 4,999	13.8	11.8
5,000 — 9,999	8.4	7.9
10,000 — 19,999	7.3	7.6
20,000 — 49,999	7.8	7.2
50,000 — 99,999	5.0	7.9
over 100,000	17.7	19-1
	100-0	100-0

No European country covering anything like the area of the Czech Lands is ethnically monolithic. In addition, starting with German colonization the proportion of the non-Czech element in the country had always been considerably higher than at present (hardly 6%). In practically every country it was by assimilation and at the same time the majority nation, that was gradually acquiring members of the minority nations. However, this was not the case in the Czech Lands where in recent times the majority nation had not been the ruling one and where until 1945, with the exception of the two decades of the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic, Germanization had been the prevailing factor. Thus the fact that the Czech nation has been gaining, as can be gathered also from an analysis of the results of the 1961 census, both in numbers and by members of other nationalities being converted to the Czechs is by no means an extraordinary phenomenon. After all these gains can never really be expected to compensate for the losses suffered by the Czechs as a result of denationalization (in favour of Germans and Austrians but also of Poles and even Slovaks), and through emigration (particularly to the USA, followed by other overseas countries, in Europe to Austria, Germany, France), for had it not been for these two factors the number of its inhabitants would have been at least half as high again than it is today.

Apart from Czechs living in the Czech Lands, the largest ethnic group is that of Slovaks. Until 1961 Slovaks, in view of the closeness of the two languages, did not even demand separate schools for their children or the other rights deriving from ethnic differences, the same as Czechs in Slovakia of whom a considerable number had been living there in the days of the pre-war Czechoslovak Republic. Of the other ethnic groups it was the Poles that circa 1961 as previously, were enjoying all their rights. However, the German group had mostly been denied such rights. As to Hungarians and Ukrainian-Russians, these were practically unable to implement all their ethnic rights owing to both their lack of numbers and their dispersed nature.

Slovaks in the Czech Lands

The years preceding 1918 found the number of Slovaks in the Czech Lands to be very small, and deducible not even from Austrian statistics. During the first Czechoslovak Republic their numbers grew merely to fractions of a per cent (0.2% in 1921)

and 0.4% in 1930), hardly reaching one-third of the figure for Czechs living in Slovakia. A mass migration of Slovaks (and, to a smaller degree, also of other nationalities from Slovakia as well as Gipsies) occurred after the liberation in 1945 and after the forced departure of the Germans from the border areas.

The status of the Slovaks, who in the same way as the Czechs, constituted a nation state with equal rights, cannot be compared with that of the minority nationalities, one of the primary reasons being their considerable linguistic and other affinity with the Czechs. The Czech and Slovak languages are very much alike. This was the main reason why no separate Slovak schools had been opened except in the Ostrava region, where these were none too numerous anyway. Thus it is not surprising to note that many of the Slovaks were fit for, and inclined to, assimilation. Again, on the other hand, this was being counteracted by fluctuation to a relatively high degree, both past and present. A great many Slovaks returned to Slovakia after a short stay in the Czech Lands only to be replaced by others coming from that country.

The number of Slovaks recorded in the Czech Lands in 1961 was 275,997. Š. Očovský has proved that in addition to this number more than 80,000 Slovaks have voluntarily become Czech, largely through mixed marriages, since 1950. Before the 1961 census considerably less than a quarter of the marriages contracted by Slovak inhabitants in the Czech Lands were ethnically unified (homogamy). In most cases Slovak women have married Czechs and Slovak men have taken Czech wives. About one-third of the mixed marriages in the Czech Lands claim one nationality after a short period of time. Almost 90% of children born of mixed Slovak – Czech marriages in so far as these families continue to live in the Czech Lands are being brought up as Czech and registered as possessing Czech nationality.* This applies to more than one-third of the children born of Slovak mothers in the Czech Lands in the nineteen fifties and sixties.

Slovak natural increase in the Czech Lands has been extremely high, about twice as high as that of Slovaks in Slovakia itself. Their share in total natural increase in the Czech Lands amounts to between one-sixth and one-fifth. This also results from the highly favourable age structure of Slovak immigrants. Children aged between 0–14 years make up 33.5%, the 15 to 19 age group 62.6% and population older than 60 only 3.9%. In the Czech nation the group of 60-year-olds and older people is represented by 18.4%! Another favourable feature of the Slovak population in the Czech Lands is their sex structure. The men-women ratio is 1,000: 1,023 while in the case of Czechs there are 1,059 women to 1,000 men. Slovaks in the Czech Lands are active in industry, 45.6% (Czechs 42.3%) and in agriculture, 21.2% (Czechs 20.9%).

The geographic distribution of Slovaks in the Czech Lands in 1970 is shown by the small map No 4. on page 75. The highest absolute numbers are encountered in Prague and adjoining districts, Ostrava and adjoining districts, being followed by the districts of Bruntál, Karlovy Vary, Sokolov, Cheb, Most, Teplice, Chomutov,

^{*} Analogously in an overwhelming majority of cases as Slovak by mixed marriage living in Slovakia.

The proportion of Slovaks in ethnically mixed communities

	10-25%	25-50%	50-75%	over 75%
Central Bohemia including				132
Prague	33	777	_	-
South Bohemia	18	30	7	3
West Bohemia	130	56	10	_
North Bohemia	156	19		
East Bohemia	24	4	1	_
South Moravia including Brno	19	7	1	-
North Moravia and Silesia	94	38	10	1
	474	154	29	4

and Ústí nad Labem. The Slovaks are most highly represented, relatively, in the districts of Bruntál, Český Krumlov, Sokolov, Cheb, and Tachov.

Of the 661 communities and agglomerations more than one-tenth of the Slovaks are found while in 33 communities the Slovaks have a majority. All these communities are situated in the border areas. In four of these the Slovak majority is so strong that it is most likely to remain. Expressly Slovak communities remain even in cases of further fluctuations and a higher degree of assimilation. They are represented by one community in the Prachatice district (Libínské Sedlo), two in the neighbouring district of Český Krumlov (Ostrov and Světlík) and one in the Bruntál district (Těchanov).

Two-thirds of the Slovaks recorded in the 1961 census were living in border districts areas. This is logically related to the motives of their arrival and settlement in the

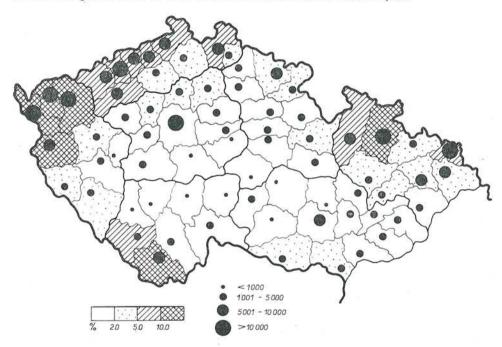
The Slovak population according to settlement size-groups

In communities with a population of	Number of Slovaks living there is (in ,000 of inhab.)	%
up to 1,999	104-4	37-9
2,000 — 4,999	32.5	11.8
5,000 — 9,999	21.9	7.9
10,000 — 19,999	20.5	7.4
20,000 — 49,999	27-7	10.0
50,000 — 99,999	35.5	12.9
over 100,000	33.5	12.1
	276.0	100-0

Czech Lands. Further information regarding settlement conditions of Slovaks is given in Table.

However, as early as 1961 the Slovak element was represented to a larger measure than the one previously indicated by the population structure based on the census. Above all, the fact that several tens of thousands of Slovaks have claimed Czech nationality has not yet completed the process of their assimilation. In the Czech Lands there were a further 56,000 Slovaks living in the Czech Lands on the day of the census, who were present here for employment reasons, 8,000 students from Slovakia, and, in addition, about 31,000 Slovaks were commuting to the Czech Lands (the Ostrava region and others) to work.

The migration of Slovaks to the Czech Lands has been going on even after 1961. Migration increase for the period 1950 to 1960 totals approximately 82,000, while that for the period 1961 to 1970 can be estimated at more than 50,000.



4. Proportional and absolute representation of Slovaks in the 1970 population by distrit.

In the 1970 census the number of the Slovaks counted rose by 32,700 as compared with 1961. In the North Moravia region the number of the Slovaks amounted to 70,812, i.e. 4·7% of the population. In the Karviná district the population included 24,488 Slovaks, i.e. 8·6%. This represents a large decrease as compared with 1961, while in Ostrava itself a similar phenomenon was also registered. The highest proportion of Slovak inhabitants was to be found in the South-Bohemia district of Český Krumlov, 13·1% of the total, followed by the West-Bohemia districts of Sokolov and Cheb. In 1970 there were altogether 17 districts where the number of inhabitants of Slovak nationality exceeded 5%.

Minority nationalities in the Czech Lands

The pre-war ethnic group the Germans (or more correctly Germans and Austrians) totalled more than three millions, but only a small fraction remained after the compulsory transfer. By 1961 their numbers had declined because of natural change, assimilation and migration, to a mere 134,000. Even so it is still the Germans who formed the strongest outside nationality minority even as late as 1961. This of course is so unless we accept Slovaks in a simplified way (and for reasons already given) — as another nationality group.

The German ethnic group differs from that of the Czechs and Slovaks and other ethnic minorities in all respects. Their age structure is highly unfavourable, with a high percentage of old people. Almost a half of the Germans in the Czech Lands was fifty years old or even older in 1961. The child age group represents only 12%. The men-women ratio was 1,000: 1,321, the highest here amongst all the ethnic groups. Since 1956 the number of Germans has been declining through natural change, and particularly after 1961 even more so owing to migration.*

The assimilation of Germans has been assisted by their entirely dispersed settlement as well as by mixed marriages. In 1961 more than half the Germans (52.8%) lived in communities and agglomerations in which they formed less than one-tenth of the

% of Germans in comm. or agglom.	Number of comm. or agglom.	% of all Germans in Czech Lands
up to 10.0%	437*	52.8
10.1 - 50.0%	193	41.9
50.1 - 60.0%	9 -	2.6
$60 \cdot 1 - 70 \cdot 0\%$	4	1.5
over 70·1%	4	1.2
	647	100-0

Dispersion of Germans in communities and agglomerations

population. Another quarter were represented in settlements where there proportion amounted to 10-20%, nearly a quarter of the Germans in the Czech Lands were living in settlements where they represented a fifth or more of the population in 1961. At least these could and should have had their own German schools and enjoyed all their rights. In the early post-war years it may be possible to excuse this policy

towards the Germans who had remained in the Czech Lands. Later, however, it no longer expressed the attitude of the majority of the Czech nation to the German minority which was, after all, represented primarily by antifascists from the years of German occupation. 85% of the Germans in the Czech Lands are members of the social group of workers, but of those economically active about two-thirds (64%) belong to industry (9% to agriculture).

Only one district - that of Sokolov - had more than one quarter of its population German (25.3%) in 1961. Only another three, also in the Czech border area, had a substantial percentage - Chomutov (10.3%), Jablonec nad Nisou (9.9%), Karlovy Vary (8.7%).

The German population according to settlement size-group

In communities with a population of	% of Germans living	For comparison out of Czechs %
up to 1,999	32.4	38.5
2,000 — 4,999	20.4	11.8
5,000 — 9,999	13.4	7.9
10,000 — 19,999	6.7	7.6
20,000 — 49,999	13.4	7.2
50,000 — 99,999	11.1	7.9
over 100,000	2.6	19-1
		S S
	100.0	100-0

The largest absolute population group of Germans are to be found in large industrial cities in the border area. In Jablonec nad Nisou 3,953 (11.3%), in the Sokolov agglomeration 3,848 (17.6), in the Teplice agglomeration 3,113 (5.6%). In 17 small border communities the Germans still possessed a majority population. The largest number of them has been recorded in the Sokolov area - Stará Chodovská, Přebuz, Bukovany, Dolní Nivy, Vřesová, Lipnice, Lítov and particularly Chlum nad Ohří (78.8% Germans). In the Karlovy Vary district the following German villages are to be found: Abertamy, Horní Blatná, Pernink and especially Boží Dar (70.9%). In the Chomutov district Měděnec and Kovářská have a majority German population. České Hamry and Loučná a large majority (75.4 and 90.5% respectively). In the Teplice area there is only one village (Mikulov) having a German majority.

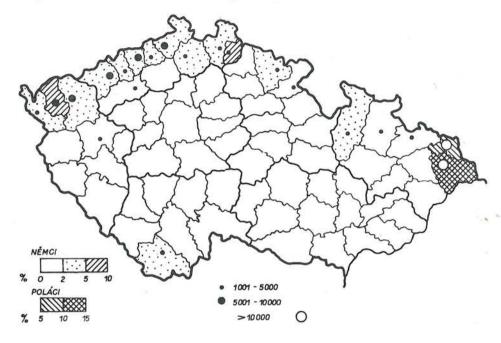
The change from a political standpoint towards the German ethnic group received its official expression comparatively late so neither emigration nor assimilation was stopped. At least in 10 districts it is desirable to apply and implement the principles of the new national policy in a better and more concrete way.

By the 1970 census the numbers of the Germans had decreased considerably (-53,900, i.e. -40.2%). In the Sokolov district the decline was one of 11,700 persons, 77

^{*} Marked on our map; % which cannot be expressed on the map and in fractions of % Germans are, of course, represented in more than one-fourth of all communities and agglomerations.

^{*} The number emigrating in 1961 totalled 1,059 persons while it amounted to as many as 2,246 persons in 1964.

in absolute numbers, though this is even today the district where the largest number of them is still living (8,300, i.e. 9.2% of the population). Today the Germans do no longer constitute a majority in any single community, however small. So high is the degree of their present dispersion that they make up a 10% minority in 147 communities while in 165 communities their number exceeds 100 persons (the highest number being in Jablonec nad Nisou -1,563 persons).



Proportional and absolute representation of Germans (Němci) and Poles in the 1970 population by district.

Decrease	in	numbers	in	communities	and	agglomerations	in
the 1961-	-19	970 period	i				

% of Germans in comm. or agglom.	Absolute decrease in thous.	% in 1961
up to 10%	-9.9	-13.9
10.1 - 50.0%	-35.8	-65.1
over 50·1%	−8·2	-100.0

Unlike the Germans, the Poles, the second most numerous minority nationality with 67,000 members in 1961, have enjoyed all their ethnic rights (legally after the war since 1952) and, also unlike them, their settlements are considerably concertated.

The age structure of the Poles is unfavourable, even more so than in the case of the Czech population, and, in particular, more adverse as compared with the Czech

population of the Ostrava region. The child's age group component represents mere 21.1%, the age groups from 15 to 49 contain 47.6% Poles, and thus the remaining 31.3% covers those over fifty (the median of the age being 35,9 years). There are 1,212 Polish women to every 1,000 Polish men. Nevertheless, in individual years natural increase is usually higher than that of the Czechs; of course, not so in comparison with the Czech population in the Ostrava region and even less with the Slovaks whose numbers in the Ostrava region equal those of the Poles. As for migration from abroad, the Poles in the Czech Lands have been gaining ever since 1950, except for the years 1958 and 1959, though this has amounted to only a few dozen each year. In spite of this, the numbers of Polish nationality declined between the two post-war censuses absolutely as well (by 4,000). The reason is to be sought in assimilation, acquiring Czech nationality. By natural change and migration the number of Poles in the country should have grown by at least 8,000 persons. Unlike pre-war years, Poles have been contracting ethnically mixed marriages, and children born of these have generally been brought up as Czech and registered as being of Czech nationality. This is a new factor that has been operating even after 1961.

Over 88% of the total Polish group are living in two districts. More than half even in 6 towns, or agglomerations: Karviná - Stonava 13,000 (25·6%), Třinec 8,000 (31·3%), Havířov 7,000 (12·4%), Český Těšín 3,600 (14·3%), and Jablunkov 3,000 (32·2%). Like the Germans the Poles have also been engaged in industry, and have belonged to it in a greater measure (56·6, or 49·9%) than the Czechs. The percentage of those working in agriculture amounts to a mere 16·1% (respectively 10·4%).

Concentration of Poles in communities and agglomerations

% of Poles in comm. or agglom.	Number of comm. or agglom.	% of all Poles in Czech Lands
0.1-10.0	32	8.1
10.1 - 20.0	7	20.2
$20 \cdot 1 - 30 \cdot 0$	5	30.1
30.1-40.0	15	27.5
$40 \cdot 1 - 50 \cdot 0$	10	11.2
$50 \cdot 1 - 60 \cdot 0$	1	1.2
over 60·1	2	1.7
		,
	72	100.0

A large majority of Poles $-71\cdot1\%$ - has been living in bilingual communities, i.e. where they constitute more than one-fifth of the population. At the same time, they inhabit large towns, a majority of them $(56\cdot7\%)$ living in towns with a population exceeding 20,000. Before the war a great majority of Poles lived in villages and small towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants.

Polish population according to settlement size-group

In comm. with a population of	% of Poles	In comm. with a population of	% of Poles
up to 1,999 2,000— 4,999 5,000— 9,999 10,000—19,999	15·9 13·3 6·0 8·7	20,000 — 49·999 50,000 — 99,999 over 100,000	20·2 33·2 2·7
9 KU T - 145	J. 43		100.0

Outside the Ostrava region Poles are to be found in more noteworthy numbers in the adjoining district while in Bohemia they are encountered in the districts of Teplice, Děčín and Karlovy Vary.

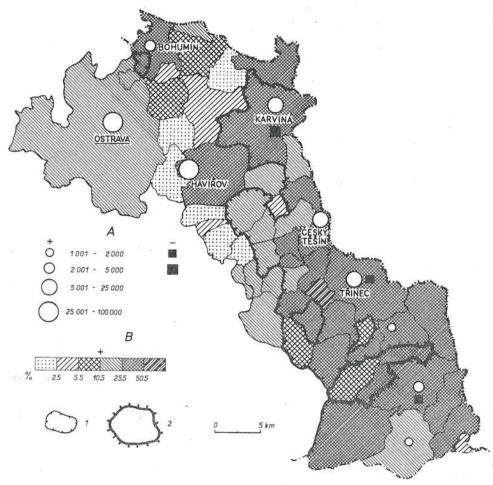
In 1961 the Polish majority was recorded in only a few communities. After the modifications in the territorial and administrative network the only three remaining communities have a Polish majority and cover an area of 36 km². Only the mountain villages of Milíkov and Košaryska (neither of them on the frontier) have a predominantly Polish character guaranteed even for the future. In 1930 the Poles had a majority in a further 20 communities or agglomerations (Třinec) and, in addition to this, though they did not reach a real majority their numbers exceeded those of the Czechs in the Karviná - Stonava agglomeration. The most prominent changes upto 1961 took place in the communities of Nebory (decline in the % of Polish nationality from 70% to 30·3%), Písek (from 66·1% to 37·5%), Smilovice (from 72·6% to 41·5%), Tyra (from 67·9% to 40·5%), Bukovec (from 76·4% to 46·3%), Horní and Dolní Lomná (from 78·8% to 34·8%). In the Třinec agglomeration the percentage of Poles was 53·8% in 1930, but only 29% in 1961, even so the population had increased by nearly 80,000. On the other hand, in a few communities, there was an increase in the percentage of the Polish nationality (Petřvald, Záblatí).

The large Polish colony in the Karviná and Třinec agglomerations has transformed these towns into centres of Polish nationality. An advantage for Poles living there is the fact that there are Polish communities south of either of the two towns and that both these towns lie on the state frontier with Poland. It is from here that thousands of Polish workers, citizens of the Polish People's Republic, commute to work in and Karviná industrial plants, thus enhancing the bilingual the Třinec character of these towns and their surroundings.* In any case it should be added that daily

commuting for work in Czech enterprises has been on the increase also in the border areas of North and East Bohemia.

By 1970 the number of the Poles in the Czech Lands registered a slight decline. In the Frýdek-Místek district there was a slight increase, while in the Karviná district the number of the Poles dropped by 3,000 persons. In spite of this Karviná has remained the town with the highest absolute number of Polish inhabitants. Of course, the relatively highest representation among the towns is to be found in the small town of Jablunkov.

Ukrainians and Russians have retained their numbers between both the post-war censuses (19,549 in 1961 and 19,384 in 1950) and essentially even when



6. Ethnographic development of the Czech Těšín region (and Ostrava) for the yers 1930 to 1970:

- A absolute increase of Czechs in individual communities or agglomerations in 5 categories; absolute decreases of Poles (black square).
- B growth in proportional representation of Czechs
 - 1 communities or agglomerations with a majority of Polish or Polish and German population in 1930 and with a majority of Czech population in 1970.
 - 2 communities with a majority of Polish population even in 1970.

^{*} Large numbers of Poles are living in Havířov, the satellite town of Ostrava, which has, however, grown (1961—1970) by immigration of Czechs and Slovaks to a double, (81317), thus considerably reducing the relative representation of Poles. That is why Český Těšín has remained the third Polish cultural centre (there is also a Polish theatre here), of whose population more than one-fifth have been Poles.

compared with the conditions before the war.* This development had, among others, been assisted by migrations from Slovakia. The child's age group in their case forms an even lower proportion than with the Germans (11.7% up to 14 years of age), but the number of those of 50 or older is lower (36.7%), a majority of them belonging to the 15-49 group (51.6%). The median age amounts to 40.5 years. There are 1,277 women to each 1,000 Ukrainian and Russian men, this number being again higher only in the German group. Ever since 1950 natural increase has continually tended to decline, in 1962 it was actually negative. The long-term average has been the lowest with the exception of the Germans (1.9% in 1960 and 1961). Unlike the case of the Czechs and Slovaks and even other minority nationalities the percentage, within this ethnic group, of those economically active and working in industry is lower (42.1% or 32.2% respectively), the same being true of agriculture (15.1% or 11.3% respectively); many are employed in services. Assimilation has been considerable, one of the primary reasons being the fact that most of the marriages contracted are mixed. From the geographical point of view the Ukrainians and Russians in the Czech Lands are entirely dispersed. In Prague the number of Ukrainians and Russians is 3,726, i.e. 19.1% of the members of the two nationalities taken together. Of course in the population of the capital this is a very small fraction (0.3%). Only in Brno the number of Ukrainians and Russians total 625, otherwise their number nowhere exceeds 400. In other large cities (Ostrava, Karlovy Vary, Ústí nad Labem, Teplice, Liberec, Plzeň) Ukrainian-Rusian colonies are found. More than three quarters (76.9%) of the members of this minority live in towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. They are also found in a few dozen communities in the border area. Yet only in three of these have they a noteworthy representation. At Lučina this totals 23.8% (192 persons out of 807) and at Halže exactly 10% (56). Both villages lie in the Tachov district (on the state border) and Czechs do not constitute even half of the population, many of the inhabitants being Slovaks. At Milotice nad Opavou in the Bruntál district 45 Ukrainians, i.e. 7.3% of the village population, have been counted, most of the 609 inhabitants being Slovaks.

The number of Hungarians living in the Czech Lands in 1961 was 15,152, i.e. considerably more than before the war. Age structural and natural increase as well as migration have been influenced by the fact that this nationality has been claimed by a part of the Gipsy immigrants from Slovakia. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand why natural increase is four times higher in the case of Hungarians in the Czech Lands than of Hungarians in Slovakia. Even so it should also be emphasized that those Hungarians who migrate to the Czech Lands are almost exclusively young people. The percentage represented by Hungarians in the natural increase in the Czech Lands has been higher than for example that of the Poles who are four and a half times more numerous. Not even assimilation (they contract largely mixed

marriages and children born of these are brought up only as Czechs) can put a stop to a large increase in the Hungarian ethnic minotiry of the Czech Lands.

Geographically speaking, the Hungarians are completely dispersed. Most of them live in Ostrava (721), Prague (534) and Karlovy Vary (528), but represent an entirely insignificant population in these cities. In the community of Hobšovice in the Kladno district (with 397 inhabitants) 45 immigrants from Slovakia are registered as Hungarians, which amounts to 11·3%. In the Czech and Moravian border area they live in several dozen villages, but always in groups of a few dozen members. In the community of Roudno in the Bruntál district (population 463) they total 6·7% of the population. In others the numbers are smaller, e.g. West-Bohemia at Otovice (5·1%) at Sadov, Chodová Planá, Lázně Kynžvart, Oloví and Třebešice in North Bohemia, and also at Leskovec in the Bruntál district.

The Ethnographic Map of the Czech Lands in 1961 in the 1:500,000 scale

This map is based on virtually the same methodical principles as the map registering the conditions in 1930.

The map thus represents a combination of the relative and absolute methods. The representation of the Czech nationality in the respective communities and agglomerations is indicated in eight categories: over $90\cdot1\%$, $80\cdot1-90\%$, $70\cdot1-80\%$, $60\cdot1-70\%$, $50\cdot1-60\%$, $40\cdot1-50\%$, $30\cdot1-40\%$, $20\cdot1-30\%$.

Six ethnic groups are marked on the map by means of absolute indices: Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians and Russians, Hungarians and others. The category of Hungarians and others has been chosen because the number of those of Hungarian nationality was too small to be marked individually on our map. In 1930 "others" include Hungarians as well, and thus, of course, are much more numerous than in 1961. On the other hand, out of the 51,000 of other than the 5 individually noted nationalities, Hungarians are by far the most numerous. On the map the presence of only 50 persons of one nationality in the village has already been noted. One to four points of the respective colour indicate 50-249, 250-449, 450-649 and 650-849 persons of the same nationality in the settlement or agglomeration. For more than 850 persons the individual size of the circle has been calculated according to the formula $d = 0.5\sqrt[3]{10a}$ (a = number of inhabitans). Settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants are described by name. Otherwise, orientation is aided by the network of rivers, district borders, and positions between named localities. Communities not containing a Czech majority are accentuated by their borders. In larger or mixed settlements Slovaks, Germans, Poles, Ukrainian-Russians, Hungarians and others are indicated clock-wise around the circle denoting the majority (i.e. Czech nationality).

^{*} All the more surprising then is the large decline in the figure of Ukrainians and Russians in Slovakia where they are autochthonous inhabitants (only 35,000 in 1961, 48,000 in 1950, but as many as 96,000 persons in 1930).

The sixties brought another decline in actual fertility in the Czech case (and – although to a smaller degree – the other population of the Czech Lands). All this even in spite of age-structure conditions having improved, for womem born during wartime and post-war years of increased natality were reaching the age of fertility. From 1963 to 1965 alone, the number of children born increased. In the latter half of the sixties natural increase in the Czech Lands declined to 3·1%. At the same time it was lower in the Czech case than in those of the other nationalities in the Czech Lands taken together, a phenomenon found in the previous case as well.

Natural increase in the Czech Lands per 1,000 inhabitants for the years 1960-1964

Population					
as a whole	4.3	Poles	5.8		
Czechs	3.7	Ukrainian-Russians	0.5		
Slovaks	23.8				
Germans	-3.1	Hungarians	30-4		
	1	others	8.8		

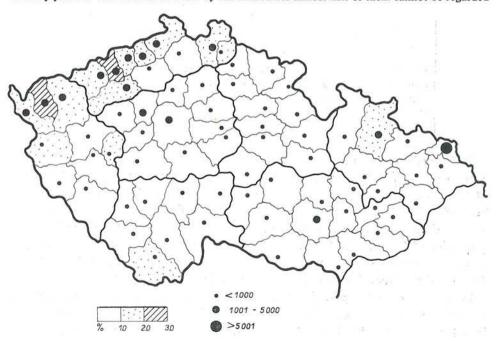
The five-year period 1960 to 1964 showed how the Czech nationality still contained share in natural increase amounting to at least more than four-fifths (Slovak 17.7%, Hungarian 1.2%, Polish 0.9%), in subsequent years, however, this was even less.

The declining birth-rate (or death-rate during stagnation) results in a gradual deterioration of the age structure of Czech population and of that of some minorities, though not of the Slovak and Hungarian population. In the latter half of the nineteen sixties, population development in the Czech Lands was further affected by migration abroad, the resulting sum total being negative. The nationality mainly affected by emigration were particularly Germans, but to a smaller extent, Czechs, too.

We can and must state that population policy in the sixties was an utter failure. Nor is this surprising when one admits lagging behind other comparable countries and the fact that plans in the housing sphere were not fulfilled. It is only the non-autochthonous population of Slovak and Hungarian nationality consisting of low-age groups and supplemented by such groups through migration that has maintained a high natural increase. There are still other circumstances tending to aid this development. In the Czech Lands the immigrants from Slovakia found substantially better housing, health and other conditions than those in which they had previously lived. To be sure, the high natural increase was also influenced by the fact that the Gipsies who show perhaps the highest birth-rate among all population groups in Europe tend to claim Slovak and Hungarian nationality more frequently than they register as being of Czech nationality.

The Gipsy population in the Czech Lands

Before the war a specific Gipsy nationality used to be distinguished in the censuses carried out in the Czechoslovak Republic. In the Czech Lands 227 persons claimed Gipsy nationality in 1930. In actual fact the number of Gipsies living there was higher, but they regarded themselves as either Czech or German. An overwhelming majority were to perish in the Germanfascist concentration camps. After the war the numbers of Gipsies grew considerably by migration from Slovakia and even from abroad (Hungary, Rumania and Poland). The Gipsy nationality, as such, was no longer re-introduced, but a check on the Gipsy numbers was kept by police statistics authorities and, later on, by those of National Committees. Shortly before the 1950 census the number of Gipsies registered in the Czech Lands was 16,752 (in 1947); not long after the 1961 census their number reached 56,519 persons (1966).* During the census carried out on December 1st, 1970, an objective investigation was made regarding the Gipsy population. The number counted was 50,542. This in itself is enough to underline the importance of the solution of the "Gipsy question" which possesses other more urgent aspects than those connected with nationality. There is not even a common language to characterize the Gipsies in the Czech Lands as an ethnic group. Their language is one of which only the older people have a real command, and the various dialects of the Gipsy language are not even unified. The languages in which most Gipsies communicate even among themselves are Czech, Slovak or Hungarian. The main solution for giving this community equal rights in Czechoslovakia is dispersal and assimilation while at the same time respecting the specific features of this group unless they prove to be antisocial.** More than half of all the Gipsies in the Czech Lands regarded themselves as fully civilized in 1970. As to nationality, they claim to be Czechs, Slovaks, or Hungarians. Yet in spite of many years of care devoted to them by the authorities almost half of them cannot be regarded



7. Proportional and absolute representation of Gipsies in the 1970 population by district.

^{*} Slovakia, where over 166,000 Gipsies now live (nearly 3.7%) and especially East Slovakia can be said to be an area with the relatively highest number of Gipsies in Europe.

^{**} The Association of Gipsies-Romanies was founded in 1968.

an enjoying equal rights with the rest of the population. They fluctuate, have no permanent lodging or employment, the upbringing of children does not correspond with current usage in the Czech Lands by a long way, and the level of hygiene and enlightenment is very low. From an ethnic point of view, they are generally counted as belonging to the Slovaks or Hungarians rather than to the Czechs.

What is surprising in the age structure of the Gipsies is the way the child's age group is represented: over 48% of all Gipsies in the Czech Lands are in the 0 to 14 age. The number of men and women is balanced. Natural increase is high (26.2% in 1968), while the average number of Gipsy family members was 5.6 (in 1968).

The Gipsies are very dispersed in the Czech Lands; every fifth community includes a Gipsy population, but only 30 to 40 persons on average. The attached cartogram No 7. shows that in 1970 the highest number of Gipsies is to be found in the districts of Sokolov (2.2%). Most (2·1%) 24,000 persons in absolute numbers, Ústí nad Labem and Louny (2·1% each), Teplice (1.7%, 2,200 persons), Český Krumlov (1.4%), etc. There are 2,600 Gypsies living in Prague and 2,800 in Ostrava.

Ethnic assimilation by which the Czech nation has been gaining 10,000 inhabitants annually at most tends to acquire importance when considered in relation to the low natural increase. Indeed, it represents up to one quarter of the actual annual increase of the Czech nation. Mixed marriages are a frequent means of such assimilation. In the nineteen sixties these tended to become almost identical for Slovaks and minority nationalities in the Czech Lands.

Mixed marriages in the Czech Lands for 1961-1965

% hete	rogamy	% heterogamy	
Czechs	5.3	Ukrainian and Russians	86.5
Slovaks	77.0	Hungarians	88.9
Germans	70.6	Others	64.7
Poles	66.8		

Such a high percentage is in no way surprising, for the smaller groups (Hungarians, Ukrainians and/or Russians), particularly when living totally dispersed. The case of Slovaks is more conspicuous for those living in the Czech Lands. Such large numbers often constitute significant minorities (even majorities) in some communities and districts. Once again explanation must be sought in the cultural and linguistic proximity of Czechs and Slovaks. Let it be also noted that it was established by a specific research in 1965 that in families where one of the married couple was Czech and the other Slovak both would speak Czech alone together.

In the sixties there appeared large regional differences in the population development of the Czech Lands, particularly in Bohemia itself. These were due to differences in natural change and to internal migration. Since 1961 the population increase has been higher internally than in what used to be called "border area", or in newly settled districts after 1945. For instance, until 1968 this was 3.2% in internal districts, but only 2.5% in the border areas. However, such a simple division of the Czech Lands is no longer adequate. Actually, all the districts with higher increases are situated in the Czech border areas – the ethnically mixed Sokolov district (15.3%, Chomutov (10.7%), Cheb (8.5%) etc. (Most, Tachov, Ústí nad Labem, Karlovy Vary). These not only possessed favourable demographic conditions (young population) but also good economic conditions (development of industry, housing). Districts with population decrease are to be encountered in the interior (particularly Jičín – 4.2%) as well as in the border areas (Louny, Svitavy, Jablonec nad Nisou). It was the demographic rather than economic causes that proved decisive for such unfavourable development.

The ethnic population structure of Czech Lands on 1, 12, 1970

	In thous.	%	Change over years in thous.	1961—1970 %
Czechs	9,293,3	94.7	269,8	3.0
Slovaks	308,7	3.1	32,7	11.8
Germans	80,3	0.8	-53,9	-40.2
Poles	65,3	0.7	-1,3	-1.9
Hungarians	18,7	0.2	3.5	23.1
Ukrainian and Russians	16,5	0.2	-3.0	-15.5
Others and not established	32,8	0.3	-3.9	-10⋅5
	9,815,6	100.0	243,1	2.5

The provision of adequate statistics on population has permitted greater knowledge on ethnic development even after 1961, and thus the new 1970 census was unable to bring any more substantial surprises. The latter census is of significance, for it is better informed than preciding post-war censuses. It gives a reliable pattern of ethnic and linguistic conditions in the Czech Lands, which have resulted from an inquiry both into nationality and mother tongue. The 1970 census, much the same as the 1930 census for the first half of the twentieth century (there is no such objective record of ethnic conditions in the Czech Lands for the older period), give a perfect nationality census for scientific purposes.

In the latter half of the nineteen sixties the unfavourable long-enduring population development of the Czech Lands reached its zenith. It particularly affected the Czech nationality a heavy impact was felt by the German, and partly the Ukrainian-Russian nationality also.

The registered numbers of those belonging to the Czech nation were higher than those based on the nationality of mothers of live-born children, on the nationality of the deceased and the migrating. Thus the trend of the preceding period continued. The Czechs gained by the assimilation of the Slovaks and of all ethnic minorities. The Slovaks' share in the total population increase was more than 13.5%. The high increase in the minority number of Hungarians goes on, and it may be that, in future, Hungarians together with Germans and Poles, will develop into a rather significant ethnic group in the Czech Lands. Ukrainians and Russians have been on the decline, for in 1966 they registered a natural decrease of -3.3%. They are also not being reinforced by migration, for they originate in the East-Slovakian Carpathians and they already have Slovak nationality. The Polish ethnic group has slowed down the assimilation process already and our Poles need not be concerned about their future in the Czech Lands, or particularly so in the Ostrava region. The ethnic group that has suffered the heaviest impact even of the present situation is the German group. The unfavourable age structure does not allow any alternative but a pessimistic prognosis of further development. This has also been influenced detrimentally by migration to other countries, the rate increasing in the late sixties. In 1965 the number of Czechoslovakian Germans who emigrated to the FRG, Austria, the GDR and elsewhere was 2,500, in 1966 rising to over 5,000, in 1967 to nearly 10,000, and over 10,000 in 1968.

Ethnographic structure of population in districts in 1970

% Czechs	% others	Number of districts	% Czechs	% others	Number of districts
75.1-80.0	20.0 — 24.9	1	90.1-95.0	5.0-9.9	8
80.1 — 85.0	15.0-19.9	6	95·1-	-4.9	50
85.1-90.0	10.0-14.9	6			

It is the district of Sokolov that has remained the most ethnically mixed district, yet even there the proportion of inhabitants of Czech nationality amounts to as many as 75.5%, while the largest other-nationality group are the Slovaks (12.8%).

Districts with the highest percentage of ethnically mixed population in 1970

a (80 %)	Czechs	Slovaks	Poles	Germans	Others
Sokolov	75-5	12.8	0.2	9.2	2.3
Karviná	77.8	8.6	12.0	0.2	1.4
Cheb	81.5	12.7	0.2	4.0	1.6
Bruntál	81.7	12-2	0.4	1.3	4.4
Karlovy Vary	82.9	10.0	0.2	4.8	2.1
Český Krumlov	83.6	13.1	0.2	2.3	0.8
Chomutov	83.8	9-3	0.2	4.9	1.8
Frýdek - Místek	84-7	3-3	11.4	0.1	0.5

Not even the below-average increase was able to bring about a situation in which the Czechs would have suffered more significant losses, and in which the Czech Lands would not remain entirely ethnically unified, as they had become following the German transfer after the war. Indeed taken together, the German, Polish, Ukrainian-Russian and Hungarian ethnic minorities even lowered their proportional population representation in Czech Lands during the decade 1961–1970. It is only the Slovaks who have contributed to the ethnic pattern. This is a more variegated one, as their proportion has increased from 2.9 to 3.9%. Since 1968 their national self-confidence has grown, and branches of the Matice slovenská (Slovak Association) as well as Slovak schools have been established, though not very numerous at present. Only the future will show, however, whether they will form themselves into a specific ethnic group separated from the Czechs and implementing their national rights which until the present they have not been utilizing in the Czech Lands. This is at the same time conditioned, among other things, by a decline in fluctuation that is still taking place, and by an increase in the percentage of homogamous marriages, which, however, has not been noted in recent years.

Inquiries as to the mother tongue were expected with a great deal of interest. About ten thousand Czechs gave their mother tongue as Slovak or German while those who indicated Polish as their mother tongue counted 6,000. At the same time out of the Germans about 12,000 declared Czech as being their native language. The number of Slovaks by nationality who gave Czech as their mother tongue was considerably higher.

Forecasts of anticipated population development until 1985 by demographers of the Central Statistical Service (M. Kučera) are being based on 1965 figures. For the first time in history they are also including an estimate of external and internal migration. Calculations have been made for the respective five-year periods on a regional basis. Inside the Czech Lands only Prague and Central Bohemia will gain by internal migration, followed by North Moravia-Silesia (here population increase will be highest, as this is also an area with a higher natural increase) and, to a lesser extent, Western Bohemia. All the other regions will be registering losses due to internal migration, most of all Southern Moravia (where this will be made possible by higher natural increase). As a whole, the Czech Lands will gain by migration from Slovakia, but to an ever decreasing degree.

The number of inhabitants recorded in the Czech Lands in 1930 will not again be reached prior to 1985. Only in two territorial units — Central Bohemia + Prague and Southern Moravia — the number of inhabitants had been exceeded as early as 1961; in Northern Moravia it was achieved in 1963. In all the four peripheral regions of Bohemia the number of Czechs living there, even in 1985, will not quite reach that of the population that had lived there in 1930. Among these, in Eastern Bohemia, though traditionally a region of low natural increase, the level of nearly 89% will be reached, yet again with small population losses due to the German transfer. In Northern Bohemia, on the other hand, even by 1985 one-fifth will still be short to equal the number of inhabitants in 1930. The two remaining regions will stay in-between the two above-mentioned ones as regards the population level attained in 1985, as compared with that of 1930.

Ethnically, the Czech Lands will remain even in perspective unified as a territory of the Czech nation. By approximately 1985 the number of Czechs living in their

own state will have reached 10 milion. In the Czech Lands they will always represent a majority of at least 92%. Apart from them, the most numerous ethnic group will be the Slovaks, which - it is assumed - should count about half a million by the early eighties. At least in those places where they will have a majority, or for example half the population, which will be the case in the small mountainous border areas as today, they will be safeguarded and enjoy their own cultural institutions and all their national rights. The question remains of legally solving the problem whether such communities will be officially bilingual, and the like. This will depend on a number of factors, in particular on the political development of the Czechoslovak Federation, on rapprochement or estrangement between the Czech and the Slovak languages, and mainly on the wishes of the Slovak settlers in the Czech Lands.

The German minority will decrease well below the number of Polish nationality, which is going to grow by one-fifth, or even more. Ukrainian-Russians have hardly any prospects of maintaining their existing representation in the population of the Czech Lands, while the Hungarians do. In our view the 1980 census can bring no surprising results. In the Czechs' case it is impossible to anticipate anything like a substantial change in population development, although a large increase in the number of Slovaks is generally expected. Perhaps only in the case of the Gipsies acquiring the status of a nationality can anything like a more substantial change in the population structure of the Czech Lands be anticipated.

Ethnographic map of Czech Lands (including the count of population in 1961) which corresponds with the text of this book will be published as a separate title in the first half of 1974.

Národnostní mapa Českých zemí (zachycující výsledky sčítání z r. 1961), která se vztahuje k textu této publikace, vyjde jako samostatný titul v prvním pololetí 1974.

NÁRODNOSTNÍ MAPA ČESKÝCH ZEMÍ 1880-1970

Práce má část textovou, rozdělenou do 4 kapitol, a část mapovou, představovanou 3 vícebarevnými mapami v měř. 1:500 tis.

V prvé kapitole se pojednává o zvýšeném zájmu o národnostní otázky a o problémech terminologických (filologických). Do 19. stol. teorie o národě neexistovala; podle J. G. Herdera je národ přírodní jednotkou – pokračováním rodiny a kmene. V rozhodující době českého národního vývoje vystoupil do popředí F. Palacký a zdůraznil úlohu českého národa ve "stálém stýkání a potýkání s němectvím a římanstvím". T. G. Masaryk vycházel z takových prvků národa, jako jsou podmínky geografické, biologické, jazykové atd., navíc zdůrazňoval "mravní ideály". Idealistické teorie o národu našly u nás extrémní vyjádření v názorech E. Rádla (teorie elektivní).

Správné materialistické pojetí problému národnosti se v Českých zemích stává všeobecnější vlivem prací klasiků marxismu-leninismu. Stalinova definice z r. 1913 je v podstatě přijatelná pro středoevropské poměry i dnes.

V r. 1872 se usnesl mezinárodní statistický kongres v Petrohradě na nutnosti zjišťovat při sčítání lidu i jeho obcovací řeč. A tak se r. 1880 a dále každých 10 let až do r. 1910 i v Rakousku sledovala "Umgangsprache". Bylo to nešťastné řešení, protože skutečné poměry národnostní bylo možno zjistit daleko výstižněji podle řeči mateřské, jak se dělo v jiných zemích. Mezi oběma světovými válkami zjišťovala národnostní poměry vědecky objektivně československá statistika r. 1921 a 1930. Po revolučních změnách v národnostním složení Českých zemí následovala sčítání r. 1950 a 1961. Sčítání r. 1970 podalo podobně výstižný obraz národnostních poměrů Českých zemí pro druhou polovinu 20. stol., jako sčítání z r. 1930 pro polovinu první.

Pro naše mapy byla provedena revize nejmenších územních jednotek, podle kterých jsme postupovali tak, aby byla jednotná síť pro celé období (7845 obcí a aglomerací). V přehledu dosavadních národnostních map pro České země se uvádějí nejdůležitější, od díla P. J. Šafaříka v první polovině minulého století až k mapám A. Boháče a příslušným mapám v obou velkých atlasech r. 1965 a 1966.

V druhé kapitole se probírá národnostní stav a jeho změny v letech 1880 – 1930. V Českých zemích přibylo za 50 let 2452,5 tis. obyvatel, tj. průměrně ročně 5,2 na 1000 obyv. středního stavu. Vzrůst počtu přítomných byl menší o 30% než přirozený přírůstek (vystěhovalectví). Na Čechy připadlo 88% z uvedeného počtu, na Němce pouze 6% a 6% na ostatní národnosti. Hlavní příčinou toho je rozdíl mezi teorií a praxí rakouských sčítání na jedné straně a československých na straně druhé, návrat neuvědomělých Čechů k vlastní národnosti, větší přirozený přírůstek Čechů a zavedení národnosti židovské. Od začátku 20. stol. se již českým vlasteneckým 91 organizacím dařilo chránit české menšiny před nápory germanizace. A proces opětného počešťování smíšeného území je nejlépe demonstrován na příkladu oblasti Severočeského hnědouhelného revíru (str. 23).

Československá republika byla buržoazně demokratickým státem, který zajistil svým národnostním menšinám větší práva, než vyplývalo z mezinárodních úmluv. V obcích s více než 20% menšinou byla správa dvojjazyčná. Političtí představitelé Němců si neoprávněně stěžovali na diskriminaci. V ekonomice zaujímal německý kapitál ještě větší podíl, než připadal na Němce ve složení obyvatelstva (23% v celém státě). Ve školství a kultuře bylo ovšem nutno více podporovat české instituce, neboť před osvobozením byly nadměrně preferovány německé.

Vývoj v období 1880–1930 ukazují nejstručněji čísla relativního zastoupení národností. Slováci přispěli do počtu tzv. Čechoslováků v Českých zemích r. 1930 pouze 44 tis. osob (na Slovensku žilo Čechů téměř třikrát tolik), takže nesprávnosti v klasifikaci nemohly ovlivnit výsledky. Ve všech okresech kromě 14 se procentní zastoupení Čechů zvětšilo, v 16 o více než 10% (ve 2 dokonce o více než 30%). Sledování národnostního vývoje podle nejmenších územně správních jednotek, které jsme provedli pro přípravu naší mapy, nemůže být nahrazeno nějakým generalizovaným pohledem. Souhrnné tabulky najde čtenář v cizojazyčném textu na str. 28–30.

Mapu národnostního vývoje Českých zemí 1880-1930 jsme zásadně pojali tak, že se sledují změny z hlediska české národnosti. Vyznačujeme je 13 stupni. Určují, o kolik se zvětšilo nebo zmenšilo procentní zastoupení Čechů (do 2.5%, 2.6-10.5%, 10.6-25.5%, 2.6-50.5%, 2.6-50.5%, popřípadě vzrůst přes 2.6%).

Pouze ve 2164 obcích se v r. 1930 nezjišťuje výraznější změna v zastoupení české národnosti. Ve více než dvou pětinách všech obcí (3216) Čechů relativně přibylo, a to i velmi značně. Vždyť např. ve 213 obcích se jejich podíl zvětšil o 25,6-50,5%.

Obce, jež měly i r. 1930 jinou národnostní většinu než českou, tj. hlavně německou (též polskou, německo-polskou i německo-charvátskou), odlišujeme tím, že jsou pokryty řídkým rastrem. Obce, v nichž se v důsledku zvětšení počtu českého obyvatelstva uskutečnila taková změna, že na rozdíl od stavu v r. 1880, kdy byly většinou jinonárodní, se staly většinou české, jsou výrazně označeny. Představují posun národnostní hranice.

Určitou korekturou ukazatelů relativních je znázornění absolutních přírůstků či úbytků Čechů značkami o pěti stupních, počínaje od 1001 osob (-2000, 2001-5000, 5001-25 000, 25 001-100 000 a přes 100 001). Podobně znázorňujeme absolutní přírůstek či úbytek jinonárodního obyvatelstva.

Malým nedostatkům jsme se nemohli ubránit. Vyplývají z toho, že r. 1880 bylo sčítáno obyvatelstvo podle obcovací řeči, nikoli podle národnosti jako r. 1930. Byli tím poškozeni Češi, zejména v těch obcích, kde netvořili většinu. V mapě nepřihlížíme k cizím státním příslušníkům; nesprávnosti tím vzniknout nemohly, neboť představovali r. 1880 jen 0,7% a r. 1930 1,4% ze všeho obyvatelstva. Konečně jsme v r. 1930, podle tehdejší terminologie, považovali za Čechy tzv. Čechoslováky.

Další stránky této kapitoly jsou věnovány vysvětlení největších změn a popisu výsledku i průběhu sledovaného národnostního vývoje podle jednotlivých oblastí.

Ve třetí kapitole se v první části píše o národnostních poměrech v Českých zemích r. 1930. Při sčítání lidu zde bylo registrováno 10 674 386 osob. Z nich bylo objektivně zjištěno 68,4% Čechů a 0,4% Slováků (68,8% Čechoslováků), 29,5% Němců, 0,9% Poláků, 0,3% Židů, 0,2% Ukrajinců a Rusů, 0,1% Maďarů, jiných 0,2%. Z přítomného obyvatelstva 98,6% byli českoslovenští státní příslušníci.

Z celkového rozsahu Českých zemí (78 861 km²) obývali Češi ve většině a souvisle více než dvě třetiny plochy. Téměř na třetině plochy Českých zemí převažovalo německé obyvatelstvo. Celkem v 1921 obcích a aglomeracích bylo Němců víc než 10%, z toho v 1740 měli polovinu nebo většinu. Poláci se vyskytovali v počtu přesahujícím desetinu obyvatelstva ve 44 obcích a aglomeracích, z toho ve 24 případech představovali polovinu a většinu. Tabulka na str. 49 cizojazyčného textu ukazuje podíl českého obyvatelstva podle obcí v r. 1930.

České národní území nebylo pojato do osvobozeného státu celé. Části, které sahaly do Horního Slezska (Ratibořsko a Hlubčicko) a Kladska, zůstaly Německu.

Pouze na jedné pětině z celkové délky hranic Českých zemí vůči okolním státům a Slovensku sahali Češi souvisle až k těmto hranicím.

Následuje popis národnostních hranic, vymezení národnostních území a ostrovů, uvádějí se národnostní skupiny, které žily v diaspóře.

Národnostní mapa Českých zemí r. 1930 se snaží znázornit výsledky nejobjektivnějšího sčítání obyvatelstva podle národností, jaké bylo u nás provedeno v době do nuceného odchodu Němců.

Ve své metodě představuje kombinace relativního a absolutního principu a respektuje postup podle obcí. Devíti stupni je znázorněno zastoupení české (a slovenské) národnosti. Absolutními ukazateli je vyznačeno rozšíření 6 národnostních skupin: Češi (k nim připočteni Slováci), Němci, Židé, Poláci, Ukrajinci spolu s Rusy a jako šestá skupina ostatní a cizinci. Znázorňujeme již přítomnost 50 osob jedné národnosti v obci.

Obce, které nemají českou většinu, jsou zvýrazněny svými hranicemi, resp. jsou zřetelně oddělena území převažujícího rozšíření jednotlivých národností.

V druhé části třetí kapitoly se sleduje vývoj po roce 1930 a zejména revoluční změny v národnostním složení obyvatelstva Českých zemí v období 1938–1947. V letech do německo-fašistické agrese r. 1938 a 1939 to byla hlavně přirozená měna, která ovlivňovala změny národnostní. Význam stěhování a asimilace se zmenšil. Můžeme předpokládat, že za další 3–4 desetiletí normálního vývoje by došlo k významným změnám ve prospěch české většiny. Dosáhla by více než 70% podílu v obyvatelstvu. Německé národnostní území by se zmenšilo o mnoho desítek smíšených obcí, především pak by se stalo značně smíšenější. Češi by získávali i asimilací Slováků, Ukrajinců a Židů, přicházejících z východních částí Československa. Německá část obyvatelstva by v každém případě představovala více než čtvrtinu a udržela by si své významné postavení.

Předpoklady pokojného vývoje však zhatilo vlastizrádné hnutí mezi našimi Němci, brutální nátlak Německa a zrada Francie a Velké Británie. Následky mnichovského diktátu byly strašné i jen z hlediska národnostního.

Po roce 1938 a 1939 přibývalo zase po mnoha desetiletích více německého než českého obyvatelstva. Obrat v populačním vývoji ve prospěch Čechů však nastal v r. 1942 a později.

Když skončila druhá světová válka, žilo v Českých zemích 10 840 tis. civilních obyvatel. Německé obyvatelstvo prchalo ze strachu před oprávněným trestem. Koncem července 1945 žilo v Českých zemích podle statistické evidence 2645 tis. Němců-starousedlíků. Na základě Postupimské dohody mělo být odsunuto 2500 tis. Němců a do konce r. 1947, kdy odsun skončil, bylo toto číslo dosaženo. V květnu téhož roku zjistil provizorní soupis jako novou populační základnu 8762 tis. obyvatel.

Největším úspěchem Čechů v prvních poválečných letech je nové osídlení pohraničí a šťastným příslibem pro budoucnost zvyšující se přirozený přírůstek. Sčítání lidu r. 1950 potvrdilo očekávané výsledky. Z 8 896 133 obyvatel Českých zemí představovali Češi 93,8% (Slováci 2,9%). V padesátých letech se začal populační vývoj měnit nepříznivě. Jestliže ještě r. 1950 dosahoval přirozený přírůstek 9,5°/00, v r. 1959 klesl na 3,3°/00.

Novým rysem v národnostním vývoji Českých zemí po 2. světové válce je významný vzrůst počtu Slováků, představujících nejpočetnější neautochtonní národnostní skupinu. Sčítání v r. 1961 jich zjistilo méně, než se předpokládalo – 276 tisíc. Příčinou je asimilace, zejména prostřednictvím smíšených manželství. Většina manželství, která v letech 1950–1960 Slováci uzavřeli, byla s českým partnerem.

Ve čtvrté kapitole se zabýváme národnostními poměry r. 1961, vývojem do r. 1970 a perspektivami. Češi v letech 1950–1961 ještě zvětšili své zastoupení, a to na 94,3% (r. 1970 94,7%). Na první pohled to překvapuje, neboť jejich přirozený přírůstek byl nižší než průměr veškerého obyvatelstva Českých zemí. Vysvětlení najdeme zejména v asimilaci několika desítek tisíc Slováků, kteří dobrovolně přestoupili k české národnosti, dále v asimilaci Němců (19 tis.) i Poláků (12 tis.).

České národní území se stalo téměř totožné s rozsahem Českých zemí. Jejich hranice ovšem již nepřekračuje. Sahá však k hranicím skoro všude, jen s několika výjimkami. Německá a polská většina, celkem jen ve 20 obcích, zabírá území velké pouze 260 km². I kdybychom respektovali všechny obce s většinou slovenskou a neuvažovali skutečnost, že v nich nejsou využívána národnostní práva (probíhá tu asimilace, trvá fluktuace), představuje i tak české národní území přes 98% Českých zemí. Jen 98 obcí (1,25%) nemělo r. 1961 českou většinu.

Nicméně menší, pohraniční části Českých zemí se vyznačují značnou národnostní smíšeností. V 1092 obcích a aglomeracích, tj. 14% všech, žije vedle Čechů jiná národnost či jiné národnosti v míře nejméně desetiny z jejich obyvatelstva. Více než pětinu nečeského obyvatelstva vykazuje 572 obcí, resp. aglomerací. Podrobnější přehled podává tabulka na str. 69. Zvláštní odstavec je věnován Slovákům v Českých zemích a dále národnostním skupinám německé, polské, ukrajinské-ruské a maďarské.

Národnostní mapa Českých zemí r. 1961 je založena v podstatě na stejných metodických principech, jako mapa pro stav r. 1930. Představuje tedy kombinaci relativní a absolutní metody. V osmi stupních je znázorněno zastoupení české národnosti v jednotlivých obcích a aglomeracích: přes 90.1%, 80.1 - 90%, 70.1 - 80%, 60.1 - 70%, 50.1 - 60%, 40.1 - 50%, 30.1 - 40%, 20.1 - 30%. Absolutními ukazateli je v mapě vy-

značeno 6 národnostních skupin. Češi, Slováci, Němci, Poláci, Ukrajinci s Rusy, Maďaři a ostatní. Znázorňujeme již přítomnost 50 osob jedné národnosti v obci. Jeden až čtyři body příslušné barvy vyznačují 50-249, 250-449, 450-649 a 650-849 osob téže národnosti. Pro více než 850 osob je vypočtena individuální značka, podle vzorce $d=0.5\sqrt[3]{10a}$ (a = počet obyv.). V národnostně smíšených sídlech jsou kolem značky pro většinovou národnost umísťovány značky či body, vyznačující národnosti ostatní.

Šedesátá léta přinášejí další pokles realizace plodnosti u českého národa. A to přesto, že se zlepšují věkové strukturální podmínky, neboť dorůstají do věku plodnosti ženy z let zvýšené natality. V druhé polovině let klesl přirozený přírůstek v Českých zemích na $3.1^{\circ}/_{\circ\circ}$. V letech 1960-1964 se na celkovém přirozeném přírůstku podílela česká národnost alespoň více než čtyřmi pětinami (slovenská 17.7%), v dalších letech méně. Negativní vliv má i zahraniční stěhování. Musíme konstatovat, že populační politika nesklidila úspěch. Na významu nabývá národnostní asimilace, kterou Češi získávají; představuje až čtvrtinu skutečných ročních přírůstků.

Díky soustavné evidenci obyvatelstva jsme zpraveni i o národnostním vývoji po r. 1961, takže nové sčítání lidu r. 1970 nemohlo přinést větší překvapení. Neočekávaný vzrůst počtu Maďarů naznačuje, že se snad v budoucnu stanou významnější národnostní skupinou. Je to i vlivem cikánského obyvatelstva, jehož neasimilovaná část se hlásí k Slovákům nebo Maďarům. Ukrajinci a Rusové početně ustupují, u Poláků se zdá, že proces přestupování k české národnosti se již zpomalil. Nejtíživěji doléhá i současný stav na národnostní skupinu německou (stěhování, vymírání, asimilace).

Počet obyvatel Českých zemí z r. 1930 bude asi znovu dosažen před rokem 1985. Ve čtyřech pohraničních krajích Čech však nebude ani v r. 1985 žít tolik lidí, jako r. 1930.

Národnostně zůstanou ovšem České země jednotné území českého národa i v perspektivě. K malému zpestření národnostních poměrů přispěje jen obyvatelstvo slovenské a otázkou zůstává další vývoj Cikánů-Romů.

Vysvětlivky k perovkám

- 1. Vzrůst (úbytek) zastoupení Čechů v 1. 1880-1930.
- 2. Češi r. 1930 v obyvatelstvu okresů.
- 3. Češi r. 1970 v obyvatelstvu okresů.
- 4. Slováci r. 1970 v obyvatelstvu okresů relativně i absolutně.
- Němci a Poláci r. 1970 v obyvatelstvu okresů.
- Národnoství vývoj Českého Těšínska (s Ostravou) v 1. 1930—1970.
- A absolutní přírůstek Čechů v jednotlivých obcích či aglomeracích podle 5 stupňů; absolutní úbytek Poláků (černý čtverec).
- B vzrůst procentního zastoupení Čechů:
 - 1 obce či aglomerace, které byly r. 1930 většinou polské, resp. polsko-německé a nyní mají většinu obyvatelstva českého
 - 2 zbývající 3 obce, které mají i r. 1970 většinu obyvatelstva polského,
- 7. Cikáni-Romové r. 1970 v obyvatelstvu okresů, relativně i absolutně.

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