

Studies in the Population of Slovakia II.

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Pavol Tišliar – Slavomír Čéplö (eds.)

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Introduction

This second volume of *Studies in the Population of Slovakia* consists of five papers covering selected issues of population development and population mapping in the first half of the 20th century. The primary focus lies on the census which took place in the period after the formation of Czechoslovakia, their organizational aspects and the analysis of their results and their potential use in historical and demographic sciences. Additionally, the papers included here examine some issues related to migrations and economic activities of the population, as well as issues of ethnic and population policy in broader sense.

The first paper examines the extraordinary Slovak population census of 1919 and compares its results with the first regularly scheduled population census in Czechoslovakia which took place in 1921. Despite the fact that the 1919 census only covered a part of the Czechoslovak republic, it became an important milestone in the history of Czechoslovak population statistics by introducing the concept of „nationality“ to be freely chosen by the respondent and not bound to any other social or cultural attribute. The preparation of the 1919 census also served as a model for the 1921 census and in many ways ensured its success.

The next paper analysis the issue of outward migration from Slovakia after the creation of Czechoslovakia. The organized economic migration by thousands of people in the 1920s was strongly driven by the period understanding of migration as a „natural and necessary release“ for the pressure cooker that was the Slovak society at the time. Agrarian overpopulation and the government's failure to address unemployment forced thousands of people to look for economic opportunities outside of Czechoslovakia which had a clear and pronounced effect on the population of pre-WWII Slovakia by skewing various demographic processes and their outcome.

The third paper examines economic population activity, especially that of women, based on the data from the 1921 and 1930 censuses. The interbellum period marks the beginning of the transformation of the economic role of women away from the traditional primary role as a homemaker. This is largely to the changes in public policy which favored a broader involvement women in the society as a whole. The 1939 break up of Czechoslovakia and the resulting change of leadership of independent Slovakia to a more conservative one marks an end of that phase and a return to public policy based on conservative views on the

Introduction

role of women as as mothers and homemakers.¹

The fourth chapter analyses the results of the 1940 population census which had not previously been fully evaluated and appreciated as a source of information on the population of Slovakia. In this paper, we describe the logistics of the census, especially from the point of view of its various negative aspects which ultimately influenced the results. We also discuss this effect on the census data and describe the reasons why it has never been fully published.

The final paper examines the ethnic policy in the early 1940s which was tied not only to the population policy of the newly independent Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945), but also into the international relations of the period and the position of Slovakia in Central Europe. The paper also addresses the issue of population statistical data collection and the concept of ethnicity in population statistics in the first half of the 20th century.

The editors would like to express our deepest gratitude to the reviewers, Karol Janas and Martin Hetényi, for their feedback, help and guidance in putting together this volume.

Bratislava, 24 May 2014

Editors

¹ See also HRNČIAROVÁ, Daniela – ŠKORVÁNKOVÁ, Eva. Ženy v období autonómneho Slovenska. In: *Historické štúdie*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2013, p. 261-298 or papers from our *Studies in the Population of Slovakia I* such as ŠKORVÁNKOVÁ, Eva. Postavenie žien v období Slovenského štátu. In: *Populačné štúdie Slovenska I*. P. Tišliar (ed.). Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013, p. 167-332; HRNČIAROVÁ, Daniela. Ideál slovenskej ženy – gazdinej a domácej panej. In: *Populačné štúdie Slovenska I*. P. Tišliar (ed.). Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013, p. 333-389.

Introduction to the Problem of Population Censuses of Slovakia in 1919 and 1921¹

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1919 marks the first non-scheduled population census in Slovakia. The primary purpose of the census, in addition to the conventional collection of data on the population, was to determine the ethnic composition of Slovakia after the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic. The description of the census and its results were partially published in a separate lexicon of municipalities. In this paper, we briefly describe the logistics of the census and analyse some of its results in comparison with the results of the country-wide census of 1921.

Keywords:

Population censuses of 1919 and 1921 – population development – 1918-1939 – Slovakia

Although the first post-war and first official population census in the Czechoslovak Republic took place on 15 February 1921, the first attempt to determine the population size of Slovakia was made somewhat earlier, in 1919. One of the key bases for the negotiators of the Czechoslovak peace delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and a practical basis for the functioning of internal administration in Slovakia was a plan to determine the exact size and ethnic composition of those living within the Slovak territory. The preliminary population census was to show the real ethnic situation in the Slovak territory and the results of this census were to underpin the negotiating position of the Czechoslovak delegation

¹ This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 “*Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia)*”. Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0026/14 “*Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050*” and the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0145/12 “*Migračné procesy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1948*”.

in Paris.² The population census in 1919 was initiated and conducted by the Ministry Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia.³ This was despite the fact that by the beginning of 1919, a State Statistical Office was already established and was in full operation on a national scale.⁴

As early as 30 December 1918, the Board of Ministers decided that a preliminary population census would be held within the territory of Slovakia. The Board charged the *Land Statistics Office*, a predecessor of the Statistical Office, with the task to send one of its more experienced officials to Slovakia to provide expert assistance.⁵ Preparation works were focused mainly on organisation of the census and statistical readiness. Instructions for the so-called "description officials" (census takers), census sheets, census subdivisions and overall management of the census were planned during several meetings with the Minister Plenipotentiary, Vavro Šrobár. The key person in charge of the submission of basic proposals and plans for organisational issues was Jozef Mráz, the Delegated Official of the Land Statistics Office.⁶

At the beginning of February 1919 final drafts of the printed materials had been prepared and a consensus was achieved on the translation of those materials into the Hungarian and later also the German languages. The initial preparation phase of the project was finished by the end of February. The date of the census was originally set for 24 March 1919 but this could not be met due to technical and organisational issues.⁷ The primary technical condition for a successful census was to prepare a sufficient number of printed census sheets, summaries and instructions, and this turned out to be one of the biggest problems. In total, several hundreds of thousands of printed materials were necessary and as late as 12 March 1919 mainly German sheets were still being printed. The first shipment was sent to Bratislava on 15 March. As a result, the deadline of

² MRÁZ, Jozef. O předběžném sčítání lidu na Slovensku roku 1919. In: *Československý statistický věstník* vol. II, part I, 1920, p. 1-2.

³ *Soznam miest na Slovensku dľa popisu ľudu z roku 1919*. (henceforth: *Soznam miest ...*) Bratislava: Ministerstvo pre správu Slovenska, 1920.

⁴ Act 49/1919 as amended, see also http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/zakladni_informace_scitani_v_1_republice (retrieved on 3 April 2014).

⁵ MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶ Id., p. 2 ff.

⁷ State MVSR - Štátny archív v Košiciach, pobočka Rožňava (henceforth: ŠA Košice, Rožňava), f. Circuit Clerk Office in Stratená (henceforth: CCO Stratená), unsorted fonds, box. Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 329/1919 adm.; see also §2 of Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive on the population census in Slovakia dated 20 February 1920 no. 13 pres. Published as an appendix to MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 18.

24 March as the census day could not be met. Moreover, the last census sheets in German as well as the provincial overviews were printed as late as 4 April.⁸

Another problem was an absolute shortage of personnel capable of performing the duties as census takers in Slovakia. Initially, teachers and municipality notaries were considered potential candidates since they knew the situation in their own municipalities. The census takers were to be selected by individual provincial executives, but some of these officials were deemed politically unreliable and therefore assistance from the Western part of the republic was required. However, advertisements in the Czech daily newspapers to recruit census takers among Czech teachers were published as late as 23 March 1919. This turned out to be too late.⁹

Due to foreign policy issues, gradual mobilisation and imminent war with neighbouring Hungary, the population census could not be conducted even on the postponed date in May. The starting date of the census was again moved, this time to midnight on 20-21 August 1919.¹⁰ However, as with the March deadline, the recruitment campaign for census takers began quite late.¹¹ Just like in the March plan, the scheduled period of the census was set to 10 days between 21 and 30 August.¹² Within this period, the recruited census takers were to record all inhabitants present in the country within the respective subdivisions into their census sheets. The total size of the population was also to include military troops.¹³

The shortage of census takers also led to difficulties in determining the size of the census subdivisions. To ensure accurate implementation of the census, municipalities had to create precise lists of the inhabited

⁸MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 4 and 5. Four types of census questionnaires were printed: I. house sheet – 560,000 in Slovak, 90,000 in Hungarian, 50,000 in German; II. subdivision (or municipality) summary sheet – 30,000 in Slovak; III. county summary sheet – 1000 in Slovak; IV. province summary sheet 200 in Slovak. Additionally, instruction sheets for census takers were printed, 12,000 in Slovak, 1,000 in Hungarian.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 6 and 13.

¹⁰ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 329/1919 adm. and §1 of Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive no. 2558 dated 8 August 1919.

¹¹*Soznam miest.*, explanatory notes.

¹²ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 329/1919 adm. and §2 of Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive no. 2558 dated 8 August 1919; see also MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 6.

¹³*Soznam miest.*, explanatory notes.

houses, which were later to be used by the census takers. On average, one census taker was to cover 600 inhabitants living in 100 houses within the territory of 10 square kilometres. Originally, it was envisaged that one census subdivision would represent one municipality. But due to the shortage of census takers this rule was violated and as a result, one census subdivision could cover two or three municipalities.¹⁴

As for the factual content of the gathered data, it was regarded as crucial to include a first name and surname (including a previous surname, i.e. prior to the last change in name, if any) of all persons onto the census sheet, as well as gender, current age, relation to the owner of the house, marital status, knowledge of languages, religion, place of birth (municipality and county) and literacy. Nationality was regarded as one of the key pieces of information in terms of significance. Other information collected by census takers included participation in a war, disability, accurate name of the municipality in the Slovak language, information on the introduction of the Hungarian language as the official language by the local municipal authority, school or church, and finally, the number of casualties and missing persons due to the recently ended world war.¹⁵ As with the subsequent first nation-wide census, the question of nationality or mother tongue was addressed in the form of direct collection of nationality data from individuals subject to the census who were free to report any nationality they wished.¹⁶ Thus, the instruction for the census takers defined nationality as *"national and political creed in adults (over age 14) based on their basic affiliation to a certain national unit or nation. There can be only one nationality. The decisive factor is solely the own will of the signatory, and the information shall be regarded as unconditionally accurate..."* In the case of persons less than age 14 the census takers were bound to consider the nationality of their parents.¹⁷

¹⁴ MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁵ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm. and §§ 35–38 of Detailed Instructions for Description Officials, p. 15; see also §2 of Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive dated 20 February 1920. Published in MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 18–19.

¹⁶ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm. and §31 of Detailed Instructions for Description Officials, p. 13; see also MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁷ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm. and §31 of Detailed Instructions for Description Officials, p. 13; see also BOHÁČ, Antonín. Analytická část. Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921. Díl I. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 9, series VI. (Sčítání lidu, sešit I) (henceforth: ČSS, vol. 9). Praha: Státní úřad statistický v Praze, 1924, p. 77*.

The key census unit was an occupied house, for which a separate census sheet was completed. The census sheets formed the basis for the preparation of subdivision (or municipality) summaries, which in turn formed the basis of county overviews. Subsequently, the data was consolidated for individual provinces. Crucial data was consolidated in subdivision sheets, which may have been divided into individual municipalities provided that one subdivision consisted of several municipalities. The sheets contained sections for recording of data such as the availability of railway and telegraph services, a birth registry office, post office, parish office, etc.¹⁸ and these data were then used to elaborate a catalogue of municipal services.

Problems arising during the population census in 1919 were diverse. In an effort to learn from the mistakes of the extraordinary census of 1919, a survey was conducted by the Statistical Office, which pointed to a number of deficiencies that may have impacted the overall results of the first census. These deficiencies were related mainly to preparation and organisation. A shortage of time and inexperience in organising similar projects impacted the process of data gathering. One of the issues present in the previous "March deadline" for the census was the shortage of persons capable of taking on the duty of census takers and the already mentioned and repeated instance of a delayed campaign to recruit census takers, especially from among the community of Czech teachers. The February Decree of the Minister Plenipotentiary already set out an obligation of the addressed person to accept the duty of the plenipotentiary – census taker. The acceptance of such duty was defined as an obligation and expression of citizenship. However, the calls for the vacant positions as census takers were again published just before the census actually started.¹⁹ Another drawback of this approach was the effort to deploy "Czech assistance" in mostly Hungarian speaking regions. This was due to the fact that either the interpreters had to be hastily recruited or the census takers had to communicate in German.²⁰ This led to further delays in some regions and it also could have had a negative impact on the results. Despite the fact that the expected duration of the census was 10 days beginning 21 August and ending 30 August, in some cases, the duration was unduly prolonged. Understandably,

¹⁸ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm. „Sostavenie okršľekového súhrnu”: §§ 42–45 of Detailed Instructions for Description Officials, p. 17–19; see also MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹ §12 of Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive dated 20 February 1920. Published as an appendix in MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁰ MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 124.

with further delays in the collection of data, an increasing number of errors may have been committed with respect to individual questions in the census sheets. In some regions with inordinately large census subdivisions or several subdivisions assigned to one census taker, the process of collecting data was prolonged. In some cases the collection of data was performed as late as in mid-September and in one case the period of data collection was extended to 101 days.²¹

Response to the census among the inhabitants of Slovakia varied significantly. In some areas census takers were faced with a lack of interest and indifference from the inhabitants and military assistance was necessary in some cases. Enumerators were unable to perform data collection in some municipalities of the Šariš and Zemplín provinces and consequently the results of the census had to rely on data from the 1910 census.²² According to the questionnaires sent by census takers to the Statistical Office, various rumours began to circulate among the population related to the "true intentions" of the census. Some saw the census as a cloak for new or higher taxes while others considered it a military preparation for war against Hungary, among other reasons. Quite often, various economic reasons with a positive or negative charge were suggested, such as the division of land or, conversely, preparation for confiscation of land, and others.²³ Instances of negative experiences recorded by the census takers in the questionnaires also included potential duplications of persons in the census. The duplication could have occurred mainly in relation to economic migration. In connection with the extended gathering of data a person could have been recorded in the place of permanent residence as well as in the person's place of employment.

In the end, the results of the extraordinary and hastily-completed population census were only partially published in the form of the catalogue of municipal services. Due to the forthcoming nation-wide population census which was to take place on 15 February 1921, public attention became focused primarily on the forthcoming results of this new and "proper" census. Therefore the published *Soznam miest dľa popisu ľudu roku z 1919* (List of Towns for the Purpose of Description of the People of 1919) hereinafter referred to as the "List of Towns" contains

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126 and 128.

²² These were villages in the Šariš province Lipovec (Lipovce), Mokrolúky (Mokroluh), Gulváš (Dulova Ves), Mlynárovce and Olšavka and the village Kiskövesd (Klenová) in the Zemplín province, see *Soznam miest*, explanatory notes.

²³ MRÁZ, Jozef, op. cit., p. 133 ff.

only the most significant results and data, which reflected the actual purpose of the census of 1919.

In addition to the introduction, the List of Towns is divided into 7 parts. The most important part of the List of Towns is the description of localities elaborated based on the administrative division, i.e. by individual counties, which were further divided into processus districts, or towns with municipal governments. These were incorporated separately just like the municipality towns, which enjoyed the same status as individual counties. Processus districts were further divided into individual municipalities.

Each locality was specified in 25 sections. The sequence number of localities ordered alphabetically within processus districts was followed by the name of the locality. The name was stated in Slovak with a Hungarian equivalent in brackets. To determine the Slovak names of localities the Administrative Department of the Ministry Empowered to Administer Slovakia cooperated with the university lecturer Bohumil Haluzický. To determine the Slovak names of individual localities for the lexicon, the works of professor Lubor Niederle *Mistopis a národnostní statistika obcí slovenských* (Geography and Nationality Statistics of Slovak Municipalities) and Ján Lipský's *Repertorium Locorum objectorumque in XII. tabulis Mappae Regnorum Hungariae* were used. The number of occupied houses was recorded in the third section. The specification of the population of individual municipalities was recorded in sections 4 – 17, and the population was subdivided based on gender, nationality and faith. These tracked indicators were stated in absolute figures only. Subsequent sections were gradually amended by data related to the seat of the notary office, birth registry office, county court, tax office, post office, and telegraph, including the distance from the municipality in kilometres, as well as the nearest railway station and also the seat of the police station and parish office.

The second, third and fourth part of this catalogue contains comparison tables and overall summaries, followed by a very useful locality index for the sake of clarity. Changes made during the elaboration of the lexicon and printing errors form the final part of the List of Towns.

Since a proper nation-wide population census was held in 1921, a comparison can be made between these two censuses conducted within a relatively short period of time. The final results of the population census of 1921 were published in 1924. From the methodological perspective the nation-wide census of 1921 was different in several aspects from the 1919 census, and these changes had to be accommodated based on the dataset of 1919. The 1919 census covered a larger territory than the census

conducted in 1921. The territory of the preliminary population census corresponded to the authority of the Office of the Minister Empowered to Administer Slovakia. Therefore, it also included the territory west of the Uh river and the railway connection from Užhorod to Čop, which were subject to the administration of Subcarpathian Ruthenia.²⁴ Thus, to make the results of the 1921 population census comparable to the 1919 census, some of the municipalities had to be excluded. The List of Towns points to several municipalities within the Snina, Sobrance and Veľké Kapušany counties, which include an explanatory note "... territory of Slovakia based on the Peace Treaty but located until the present time under the administration of Subcarpathian Ruthenia". In the processu county of Kapušany, the following municipalities were administrated as parts of Subcarpathian Ruthenia Botfala (Botfalva), Homoky (Homoky, Homok), Jovro-Derma (Őradrma), Ketergiň (Ketergény), Koncház (Konczháza), Lekart (Lakárd), Minaj (Minaj), Šišlovce (Sislócz) a Trnovce (Ungtarnócz), 9 municipalities with 5,235 inhabitants total.²⁵ In the Snina processus district, these were municipalities Malé Berzné and Veľké Berezné ((Kis-, Nagyberezna), Bystre (Verhovinabisztra), Domašina (Domasina), Kňahyňa (Knyahinya), Kostriny (Kosztrina), Ľubňa (Lubnya), Mirče (Mircse), Soľa (Szolya), Stričava (Sztricsava), Nová a Stará Stučica (Új-, Ószsztuzsica), Užok (Uzsok), Volosjanka (Voloszánka), Záhorb (Zágorb) and Zausina (Zauszina), 16 municipalities with 12,691 inhabitants total.²⁶ Finally, in the Sobrance processus district, 7 municipalities were administered as parts of Subcarpathian Ruthenia: Dubrinič (Dubrinicz), Huta (Unghuta), Kamenica (Ókemencze), Neviczky (Neviczke), Novoselica (Újkemencze), Onakovce (Felsődomonya) and Perečín (Perecsény) with 7,167 inhabitants total.²⁷ There were 32 such municipalities with a total number of 25,093 inhabitants. Except for the adjustments related to the aforementioned municipalities, there were also some minor changes on the county level. The final results of the 1921 population census included a separately added

²⁴ Compare the area charted on the map „Podrobný přehled politického rozdělení Slovenska a Podkarpatskej Rusi“ Vojenský zeměpisný ústav, 1924, 1:360000, currently located in the Archív geodézie a kartografie SR; see also PONIČAN, Pavel. *Politický miestopisný soznam Slovenska dľa župného a okresného sriadenia*. Bratislava: Universum, 1923, p. 44-46.

²⁵ *Soznam miest*, p. 135-136, the names listed here are given in the form published in *Soznam miest*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143-145. The names listed here are given in the form published in *Soznam miest*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 145-146. The names listed here are given in the form published in *Soznam miest*.

Kremnica – a county formed by excluding seven municipalities from the processus district of Svätý Kríž (Žiar nad Hronom).²⁸ Because this county did not exist in 1919 this change was not accepted and the statistical data for the given county was added to the Svätý Kríž county. The formerly separately reported municipal towns of Bratislava, Košice, Komárno, Banská Štiavnica and Banská Belá remained reported separately, but the former towns with municipal government, which were later declared big municipalities, were added to the counties, to align the data set with the second census.²⁹ The separately reported processus districts of Turňa and Moldava were recalculated for year 1919 as one county due to their merger in 1920 into one joint county with the seat of Moldava nad Bodvou.³⁰

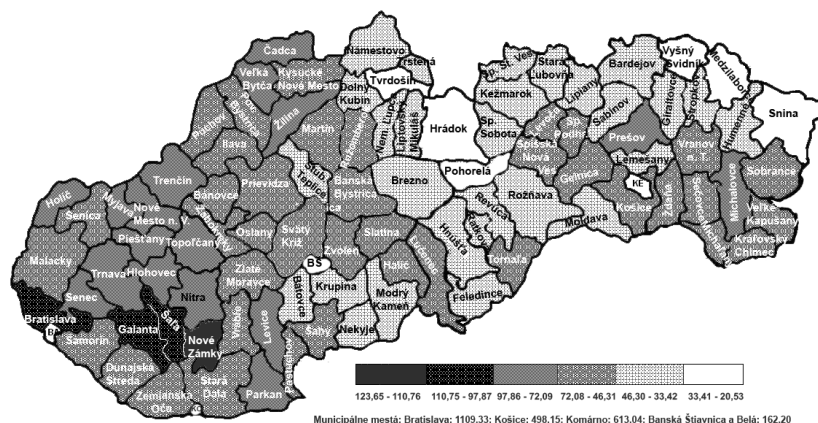
Density of population based on the results of the 1919 population census is illustrated by Cartogram 1. On the area of 48,936 square kilometres there were 2,923,214 inhabitants, i.e. almost 60 people per square kilometre. The highest concentration of inhabitants was in the South-Western part of Slovakia. This also prevailed in the subsequent nation-wide population census in 1921. The total number of inhabitants increased to 3,000,870 persons counted in the census area in 1921. This was an increase of more than 77,500 persons, a rise of 2.66% in the population. At the time of the 1921 census, the population density in the then-designated territory of Slovakia had increased to more than 61 inhabitants per square kilometre.

²⁸ These municipalities are: Blaufus (Krahule), Koprnica (Kopernica), Konošov (Kunešov), Lúčky, Piargy (Kremnické Bane), Šváb (Dolná Ves), Ves Horná (Horná Ves).

²⁹ In our analysis, we added the figures for these cities with a municipal government – Modra, Pezinok, Trnava, Svätý Jur, Rimavská Sobota, Jelšava, Rožňava, Ružomberok, Nitra, Nové Zámky, Skalica, Lučenec, Kremnica, Trenčín, Žilina, Brezno, Banská Bystrica, Levice, Zvolen, Spišská Belá, Kežmarok, Levoča, Spišské Podhradie, Poprad, Spišská Nová Ves, Spišské Vlachy, Bardejov, Gelnica, Prešov and Sabinov (large municipalities) – to the figures for the counties in which these cities were later incorporated pursuant to Government Decree No. 275/1922 as amended and Ministry of Interior and Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia Directive No. 412/1922 as amended.

³⁰ Processus districts Turňa and Bodva were merged by the Government Decree No. 606/1920 as amended. *Soznam miest* in section „Zmeny behom tlače“ already mentions this impending change.

Cartogram 1: Population per square kilometre in individual counties based on the preliminary population census of 1919³¹

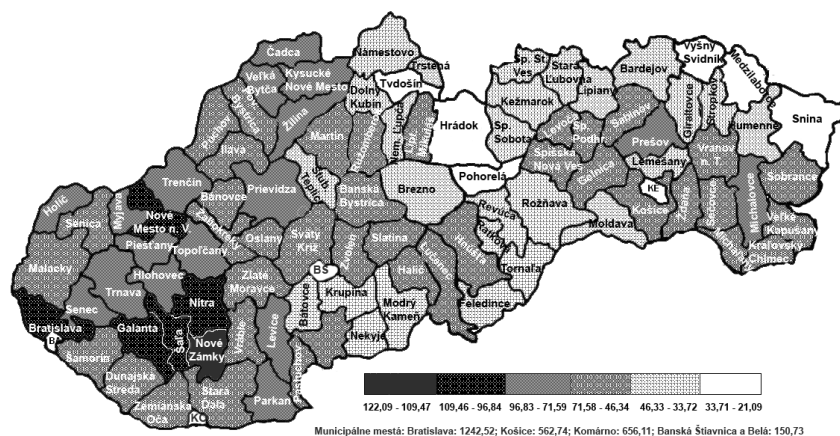


From the perspective of individual counties, the highest rate of increase in population density was recorded in the Prievidza county, in which the density increased by more than 18 inhabitants per square kilometre. This was an extreme increase, one that was by far not attained in any other process district in Slovakia. The reason behind the high rate of increase was the different time of the year in which the two censuses took place. The extraordinary 1919 population census was conducted in the second half of August, i.e. in the period of seasonal work, while the ordinary nation-wide census of 1921 began on 15 February, i.e. “outside the season” of agricultural work and migration. In our opinion this was

³¹ Calculated based on the data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 25–27 and *Soznam miest*, p. 158–167. The cartogram published in the appendix to ČSS vol. 9 was selected as the basic for our cartograms. The data corrections we implemented involve the county of Kremnica okolie the data for which we included in the county of Svätý Kríž (Žiar nad Hronom). Additionally, we chose to use the original names of counties and names of county seats from 1919. For the county of Komárno – the original county seat was in Zemianska Oľča (Zemianska Olča) – the county seat was transferred to Komárno pursuant to Gov. Decree No. 436/1920 as amended; Rimavská Sobota – Hnúšťa; Veledín – Feledince (Jesenské); Bardiov – Bardejov; Medzi Laborce – Medzilaborce. The cartograms also include the following 1919 county seat names: Parkan (Štúrovo), Nekyje (Vinica), Vyšný Svidník (Svidník), Slatina (Zvolenská Slatina), Štubňanské Teplice (Turčianske Teplice), Hradok (Liptovský Hrádok), Pastuchov (Pastovce).

the major factor for the sharp increase in the population density in the Prievidza county, and also, to a considerable extent, to the differences between the results of the 1919 and 1921 census. It should be noted that the vocational composition of the population of the Prievidza county in 1921 recorded a 42.5% share of agricultural labourers, excluding assisting family members, in the total number of economically active persons in the agricultural sector.³² It is likely that at the time of the population census in 1919, a part of the group of labourers inhabiting the Prievidza county were engaged in seasonal work outside the territory of the county and had been included in the population of other counties. This is supported by the list of persons, who at that time of the 1919 population census, stayed outside the Prievidza county for seasonal work.³³

Cartogram 2: Population per square kilometre in individual counties based on the 1921 population census³⁴



³² Recalculated from data in *Sčítanie ľudu v republike Československej zo dňa 15. februára 1921. II. Diel Povolanie obyvateľstva. 3. časť (Slovensko a Podkarpatská Rus)*. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 22, series VI, issue 4. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1925, p. 4.

³³ MVSR - Štátny archív v Nitre (henceforth: ŠA Nitra), f. Nitrianska župa I., 1464 - 1922, list of people who were not present during the census, county of Bojnice (should be county of Prievidza - P.T.); f. Služnovský úrad v Prievidzi, 1851 - 1922, box no. 1, shelf mark 111/1919 and shelf mark 121/1919. The incomplete lists included approximately 500 persons who were away on seasonal work during the 1919 census.

³⁴ Recalculated from ČSS vol. 9, p. 25-27.

From the perspective of individual counties, the highest rate of increase in population density was recorded in the Prievidza county, in which the density increased by more than 18 inhabitants per square kilometre. This was an extreme increase, one that was by far not attained in any other process district in Slovakia. The reason behind the high rate of increase was the different time of the year in which the two censuses took place. The extraordinary 1919 population census was conducted in the second half of August, i.e. in the period of seasonal work, while the ordinary nation-wide census of 1921 began on 15 February, i.e. "outside the season" of agricultural work and migration. In our opinion this was the major factor for the sharp increase in the population density in the Prievidza county, and also, to a considerable extent, to the differences between the results of the 1919 and 1921 census. It should be noted that the vocational composition of the population of the Prievidza county in 1921 recorded a 42.5% share of agricultural labourers, excluding assisting family members, in the total number of economically active persons in the agricultural sector.³⁵ It is likely that at the time of the population census in 1919, a part of the group of labourers inhabiting the Prievidza county were engaged in seasonal work outside the territory of the county and had been included in the population of other counties. This is supported by the list of persons, who at that time of the 1919 population census, stayed outside the Prievidza county for seasonal work.³⁶

Understandably, the highest rate of increase in the number of inhabitants was recorded by municipality towns as a result of the increased attractiveness of migration. In Bratislava the number of inhabitants increased from 83,200 to almost 93,200, which corresponded to an increase in density by 133 inhabitants per one square kilometre. The population density in Košice and Komárno also increased by 64 and 43 inhabitants per square kilometre, respectively. In Banská Štiavnica and Banská Belá the total number of inhabitants and the density increased

³⁵ Recalculated from data in *Sčítanie ľudu v republike Československej zo dňa 15. februára 1921. II. Diel Povolanie obyvateľstva. 3. časť* (Slovensko a Podkarpatská Rus). In: *Československá statistika* vol. 22, series VI, issue 4. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1925, p. 4.

³⁶ ŠA Nitra, f. Nitrianska župa I., list of people who were not present during the census, county of Bojnice (should be county of Prievidza – P.T.); fonds Slúžnovský úrad v Prievidzi, 1851 – 1922, box no. 1, shelf mark 111/1919 and shelf mark 121/1919. The incomplete lists included approximately 500 persons who were away on seasonal work during the 1919 census.

by more than 11 inhabitants per square kilometre.³⁷

Cartogram 3: Increase/decrease in population in 1921 by individual counties compared to the basis of 100 inhabitants in 1919³⁸



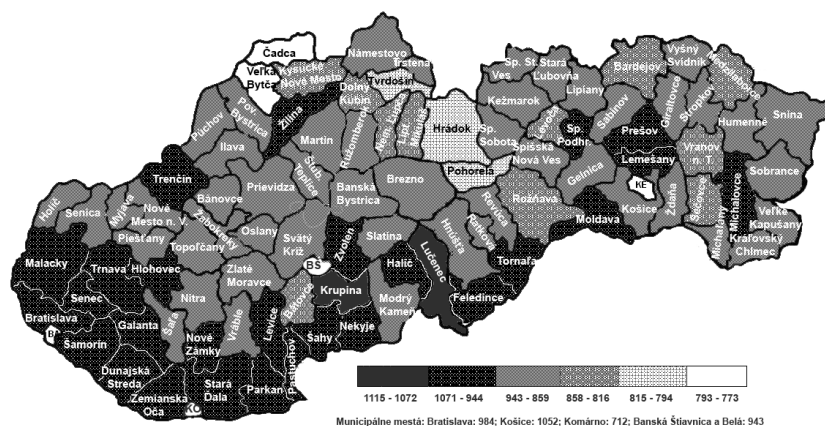
In both censuses the proportion of each gender was primarily influenced by the concentration of persons in active military service. Because the size of military troops and the concentration of military forces was regarded as a state secret, the results did not include exact figures that could be used to “make corrective adjustments” to the gender ratio. Thus, only the possible changes occurring during the short period between the two censuses can be identified based on available data. In both censuses the most significant imbalance was recorded in the Kysuce region. Čadca, Kysucké Nové Mesto, as well as Veľká Bytča county reported a particularly significant higher prevalence of women. As illustrated by Cartogram s 4 and 5, the situation in that respect remained unchanged between 1919 and 1921. These regions were among the most underdeveloped regions in the Slovak territory, characterised by more emigration and seasonal work patterns. Due to application of the principle of only considering the number of present inhabitants, persons who were not residing in the place of their domicile due to work arrangements were not included in the census. Migratory employment

³⁷ Recalculated based on data from *Soznam miest*, p. 4, 17, 36 and 40; ČSS vol. 9, p. 25-27.

³⁸ Recalculated based on data from *Soznam miest*, p. 158-167 and ČSS vol. 9, p. 25-27.

was mainly related to the male population and with men leaving their permanent domicile for work this quite naturally resulted in unusual gender ratios skewed towards women in these regions. The List of Towns includes a summary which outlines the retrospective recalculation of the number of inhabitants by gender. The summary makes it clear that in the case of the Veľká Bytča county, as well as other counties in the Kysuce region mentioned above, this was not a seasonal or short-term fluctuation, but rather a long-term trend originating in 1900 or earlier.³⁹

Cartogram 4: Gender ratio based on the results of the preliminary population census in 1919. Number of males per 1000 females by counties⁴⁰

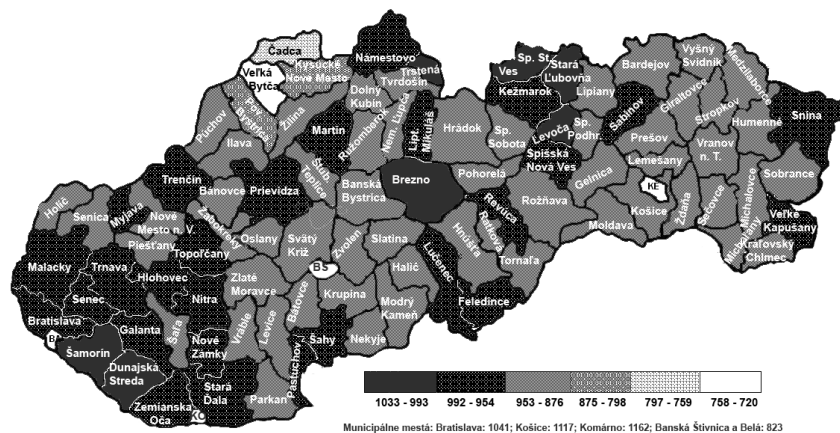


An inverse situation with significantly higher ratios of a male population in 1919 can be traced mainly in the South-Western part of Slovakia. This was probably due to the aforementioned seasonal work factor, which can also be found when comparing the results with the off-season population census conducted in 1921, when the male/female ratio converged to a balance. As mentioned above, "seasonal fluctuations" can also be found in other agriculture-orientated counties with the implication of a slight decline in the total number of present inhabitants in the 1921 population census.

³⁹ *Soznam miest*, p. 165.

⁴⁰ Recalculated based on data from *Soznam miest*, p. 158-167, but excluding the data for the municipalities administrated as a part of Subcarpathian Ruthenia listed above in counties Snina, Sobrance and Kapušaný.

Cartogram 5: Gender ratio at the time of the population census in 1921. Number of males per 1000 females by county⁴¹



In big cities such as Bratislava or Košice the gender ratio in the 1921 population census was skewed towards the male population due to the aforementioned attractiveness of migration, related mainly to employment and income opportunities. Work migration was primarily the domain of the male population and consequently the regions with better income opportunities tended to attain a higher ratio of men in the productive age. The gender ratio increased in Bratislava from 984 males per 1000 females in 1919 to 1041 males per 1000 females in 1921. In the same period in Košice, the ratio increased from 1052 males to 1117 males per 1000 females. In view of the nature of the increase in these localities, the increases were clearly related to job migration.

Table 1: Basic results of the preliminary population census of 1919⁴²

Gender		Total	Nationality									
Male	Female		Czechoslovak		Ruthenian		Hungarian		German		Other	
			abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
1422506	1525801	2948307	1962766	66,57	93411	3,17	692831	23,50	143589	4,87	55710	1,89

⁴¹ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 8-10.

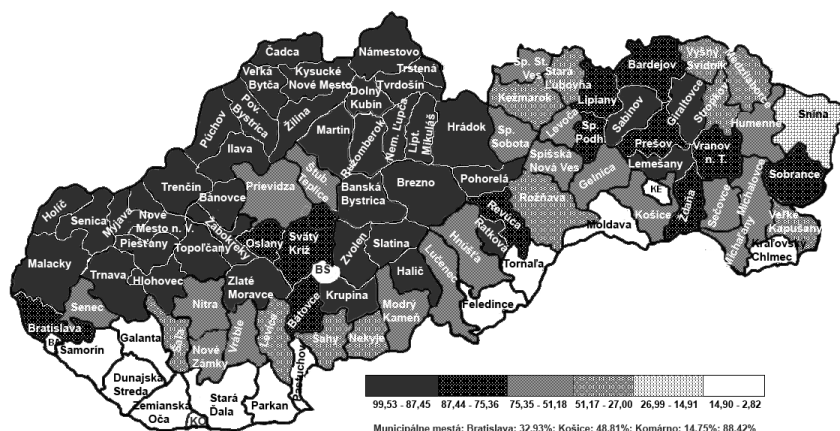
⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

Table 2: Comparison of the results of the population censuses by nationality in Slovakia in 1919 and 1921⁴³

Year	Population	Nationality				
		Czechoslovak	Ruthenian*	Hungarian	German	Other
1919	2923214	1954446	81332	689565	143466	54405
1921	3000870	2025003	88970	650597	145844	90456
Absolute difference	+77656	+70557	+7638	- 38968	+2378	+36051
Share in %						
1919	100	66,86	2,78	23,59	4,91	1,86
1921	100	67,48	2,96	21,68	4,86	3,01

* in 1921 this jointly included a grouping classified as the "Great-Russian, Ukrainian, Carpathian-Russian nationality"

Cartogram 6: Share of population reporting Czechoslovak nationality by individual counties based on the results of the preliminary population census of 1919 shown as a percentage⁴⁴



Basic results of the 1919 population census are presented in Table 1. The table presents the total number of inhabitants based on the results published by the Administrative Department of the Ministry Empowered to Administer Slovakia. These results also included localities subject to the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 170, excluding the 32 municipalities administrated as a part of Subcarpathian Ruthenia and ČSS vol. 9, p. 52-54 and 79-81. Cf. also the calculations in BOHÁČ, Antonín, op. cit., p. 77*.

⁴⁴ Recalculated based on data from *Soznam miest* excluding the municipalities mentioned above administrated as a part of Subcarpathian Ruthenia.

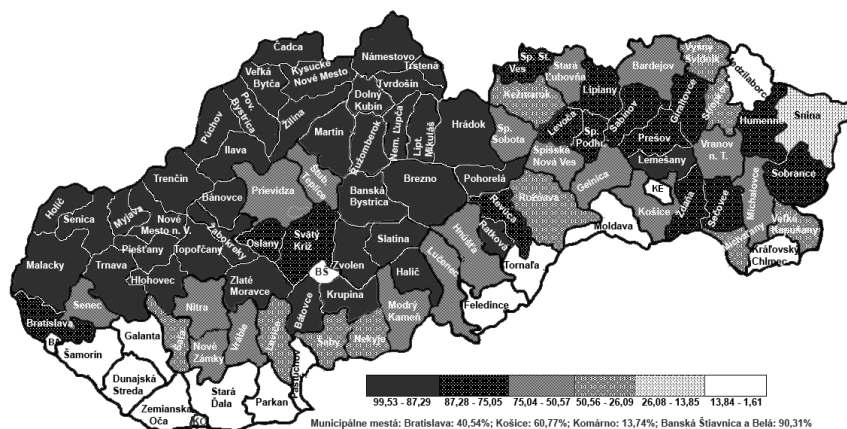
administration of Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Table 2 presents the results of the 1919 population census adjusted to the territory of the 1921 census.

In addition to the recalculated size of the population in 1919 and 1921, Table 2 also presents the composition of the population by nationality, with significant shifts among particular nationalities.

A general conclusion can be drawn here that the ethnic composition of the then-existing territory of Slovakia was diverse. Differences between the two censuses were partially caused by a change in the methodology of determining nationality and, obviously, the growth of the Slovak population in this period. The population reporting the artificially created Czechoslovak nationality formed a majority.

No significant differences can be found between Cartogram s 6 and 7, which present the ethnic composition of the population in the two censuses. The only exception is the Medzilaborce county. In 1919 the reported share of the Czechoslovak nationality was nearly 36% but in 1921 it was less than 10%. Thus, the share of inhabitants of the Czechoslovak nationality in 1921 in this county had declined by more than 74% compared to the 1919 census. Significant declines were also recorded in Southern counties such as Šamorín, Dunajská Streda, Zemianska Oľa (Zemianska Olča, later Komárno), Parkan (Štúrovo), Pastuchov (Pastovce) and Kráľovský Chlmec with declines of 40% or more.

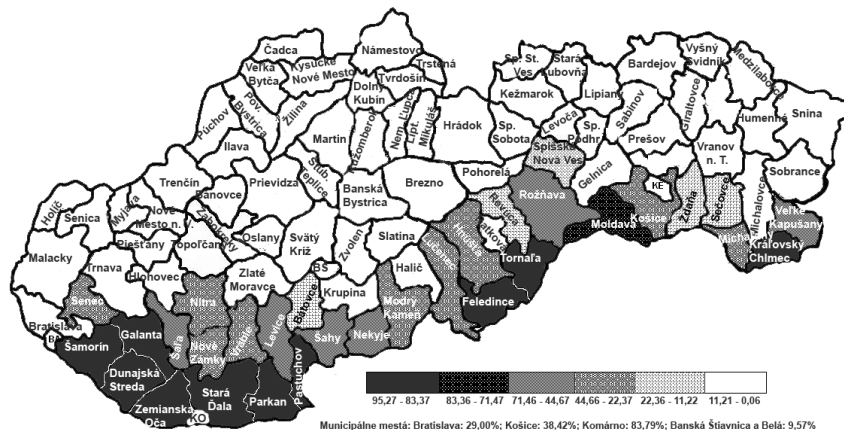
Cartogram 7: Share of population reporting Czechoslovak nationality by counties based on the results of the 1921 population census shown as a percentage⁴⁵



⁴⁵ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 35-37 and 79-81.

In 1919, persons reporting Hungarian nationality accounted for 23.5% of population with the highest shares recorded – quite naturally – in the Southern parts of Slovakia. In 1919, the highest share of the Hungarian nationality was concentrated in the Dunajská Streda county, reaching more than 95%. The overall share of the population reporting Hungarian nationality declined by more than 5.5% compared to the 1919 levels. The decline was more significant in the Stará Ľada (Hurbanovo) county with a clear shift toward the Czechoslovak nationality (approximately 3,500 persons had a different nationality in 1921). Nevertheless, the share of the population reporting Hungarian nationality in this county reached levels of around 85 persons per 100 inhabitants. A more significant decline of persons reporting Hungarian nationality could be traced in the Northern counties of the Liptov region with declines at around 40%, the Orava region with an average decline of over 43%, and in Spiš region a decline of 48%, although in absolute numbers the decreases corresponded only to a few hundred persons.

Cartogram 8: Share of population reporting Hungarian nationality by county based on the results of the preliminary population census in 1919 shown as a percentage⁴⁶

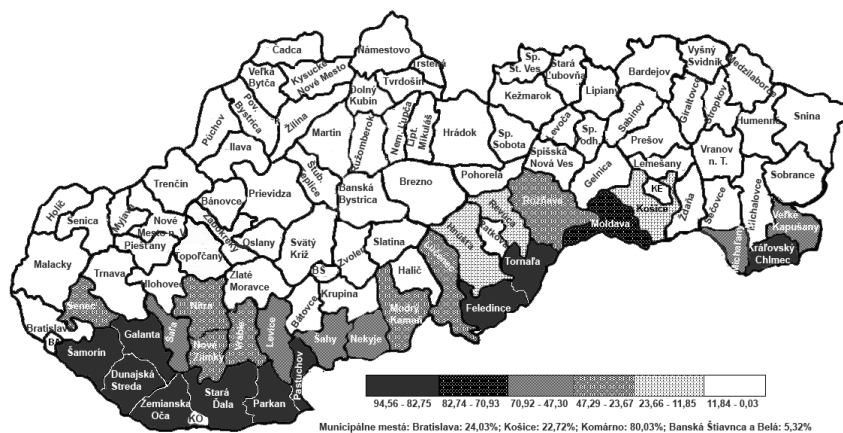


In addition to the Stará Ľada (Hurbanovo) county, a major difference in the number of the Hungarian nationality was recorded in the county of Sečovce (a decline of more than 2,500 persons); Kráľovský Chlmec (a

⁴⁶ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

decline of almost 2,000 persons); and Nové Zámky and Nitra (a decline of over 3,000 persons); however, the biggest difference was recorded in the city of Košice with a decline of almost 6,000 persons reporting Hungarian nationality. This is likely to have been caused to some extent by people switching from Hungarian nationality to Czechoslovak nationality on a broader scale, but another reason can be illustrated by the situation in the Nitra county (an increase of more than 5,000 persons of Czechoslovak nationality and a decrease of more than 3,000 of persons reporting Hungarian nationality). Obviously, this can only be suggested as an assumption since no exact data on individual changes in one's nationality is available. This is because it was not part of the census to determine whether a person had previously reported a different nationality.

Cartogram 9: Share of population reporting Hungarian nationality by individual counties based on the results of the 1921 population census shown as a percentage⁴⁷

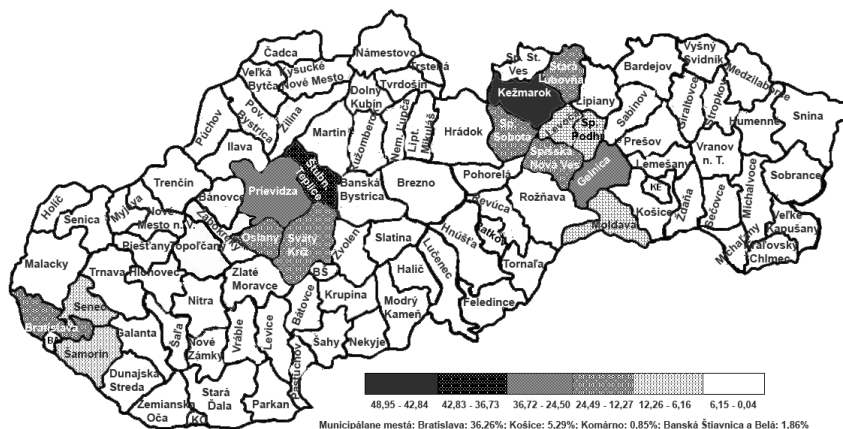


Several regions were traditionally associated with a higher concentration of persons reporting German nationality, including Spiš, Upper Nitra and Kremnica regions, Bratislava and the Malé Karpaty region. This pattern was confirmed in both censuses. There were no significant differences between the two censuses in the identification of the population reporting German nationality. This can be substantiated by an increase of less than 1.7% or almost 2,500 persons (in absolute terms). Thus, both Cartogram s (Nos. 10 and 11) confirm the absence of

⁴⁷ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 35-37 and 79-81.

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any significant movement within this group.

Cartogram 10: Share of population reporting German nationality by individual counties based on the preliminary population census in 1919 shown as a percentage⁴⁸



The only exception characterised by more significant movement was the Prievidza county mentioned above. In 1921, the number of people reporting German nationality grew by more than 4,000 in the county compared to the previous census of 1919. The increase can also be explained by the seasonal work effect and this assumption can be substantiated by the results of the previous censuses conducted by Hungary.⁴⁹ The most significant relative change in the ethnic composition of Germans was recorded in the Orava region. The number of persons reporting German nationality increased threefold in the period 1919 – 1921. This, however, corresponded only to 260 persons in absolute numbers.

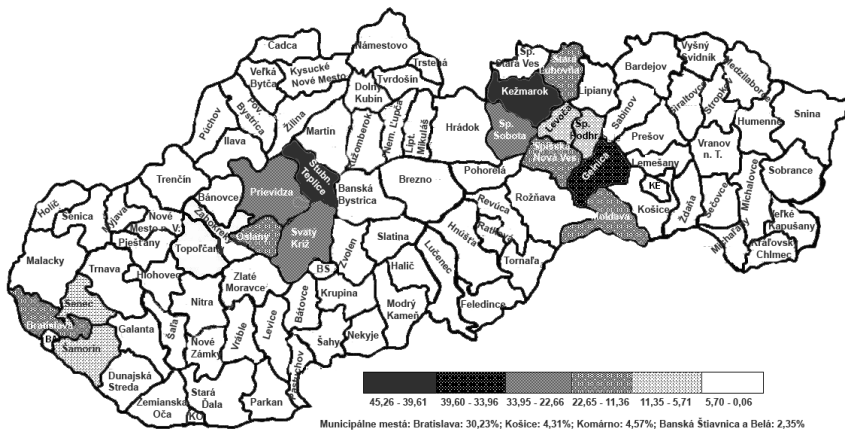
The only exception characterised by more significant movement was the Prievidza county mentioned above. In 1921, the number of people reporting German nationality grew by more than 4,000 in the county compared to the previous census of 1919. The increase can also be explained

⁴⁸ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

⁴⁹ In 1880 over 11,000 reported German as their native language, in 1890, that figure was over 12,500, in 1900 – 13,000, in 1910 – over 13,500. In 1919, slightly over 10,500 persons entered their nationality as German, in 1921, that figure was over 14,500. Cf. *Soznam miest*, p. 161 and the combination of absolute population data in ČSS vol. 9, p. 35 a 79.

by the seasonal work effect and this assumption can be substantiated by the results of the previous censuses conducted by Hungary.⁵⁰ The most significant relative change in the ethnic composition of Germans was recorded in the Orava region. The number of persons reporting German nationality increased threefold in the period 1919 – 1921. This, however, corresponded only to 260 persons in absolute numbers.

Cartogram 11: Share of population reporting German nationality by individual counties based on the results of the 1921 population census shown as a percentage⁵¹



A high concentration of ethnic Germans was also recorded in the municipality of Bratislava with 36% of the inhabitants reporting German nationality in 1919. Despite a decline of 6.5% in 1921, Bratislava had more than 28,000 inhabitants with German nationality and remained the biggest centre in the Slovak territory. Bratislava's surroundings also reported a large share of ethnic Germans among the total population. Ethnic Germans living in the Spiš region accounted for 5% of the total population of Slovakia and this was clearly the region with the highest

⁵⁰ In 1880 over 11,000 reported German as their native language, in 1890, that figure was over 12,500, in 1900 – 13,000, in 1910 – over 13,500. In 1919, slightly over 10,500 persons entered their nationality as German, in 1921, that figure was over 14,500. Cf. *Soznam miest*, p. 161 and the combination of absolute population data in ČSS vol. 9, p. 35 a 79.

⁵¹ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 35-37 and 79-81.

concentration of this ethnic group. In 1919 the Kežmarok county recorded more than 48% of its inhabitants of German nationality and in 1921 the share somewhat declined, but remained on the relatively high level of more than 45%. Another high rate of increase of German inhabitants in the Spiš region was recorded by the Levoča county (more than a 32% increase, by 500 persons). In the southern region of Turiec, it was the Štubňanske Teplice county (Turčianske Teplice) with a high concentration of those with German nationality. With an average of 39.5% these two counties had the highest share of persons reporting German nationality. The recalculated results for the area that would later become Kremnica – surrounding county, which was published separately in the final results of the population census in 1921, point to a share of more than 57.5% persons reporting German nationality. In the subsequent nation-wide census of 1921, this nationality accounted for more than 51.5%.⁵²

The problem with differentiation of Ruthenians living in the territory of Slovakia is their changed self-understanding in 1921, reflected in a different definition of this group of the population. As a result, in 1921 a new group was formed consisting of persons of "Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality".

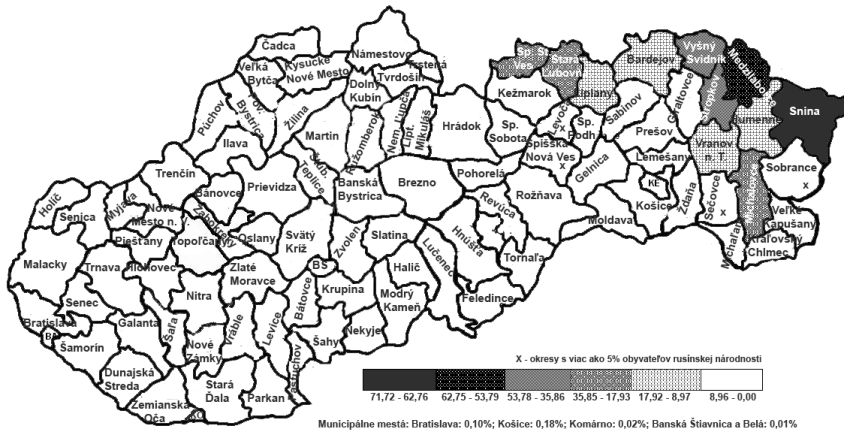
In the 1919 population census, the Ruthenian nationality was included in the summaries under the section "other". The increase in the number and share of the Ruthenian population can be explained by the retrospective addition of the Russian population. Thus, Cartogram s 12 and 13 cannot be directly compared and direct conclusions cannot be drawn, since they represent two qualitatively different groups of the population. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the Ruthenian population that freely decided to report Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality in 1921 was concentrated mainly in the Eastern and North-Eastern parts of Slovakia. The counties of Snina and Medzilaborce recorded more than a 50% share of this nationality based on the total size of the population of these counties. Naturally, the change in methodology in data collection led to a change in the absolute size of the population as well as the share of the newly-defined population group. In 1921 the group composed of Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality represented more than 80% and 68% of the total population of the Medzilaborce and Snina counties, respectively. This is also an indirect explanation for the decline in the number of inhabitants indicating a Czechoslovak nationality, especially in the Medzilaborce county. Thus, a general assumption can be drawn that in 1919 the question of one's

⁵² Recalculated based on absolute data from *Soznam miest*, p. 102-104 and 108; ČSS vol. 9, p. 35 and 79.

affiliation to the Ruthenian, or Slovak- Czechoslovak nationality was not yet clarified among the population inhabiting the North-Eastern part of Slovakia.

The problem with differentiation of Ruthenians living in the territory of Slovakia is their changed self-understanding in 1921, reflected in a different definition of this group of the population. As a result, in 1921 a new group was formed consisting of persons of "Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality".

Cartogram 12: Share of population reporting Ruthenian nationality by individual counties based on the preliminary population census in 1919 shown as a percentage⁵³



In the 1919 population census, the Ruthenian nationality was included in the summaries under the section "other". The increase in the number and share of the Ruthenian population can be explained by the retrospective addition of the Russian population. Thus, Cartogram s 12 and 13 cannot be directly compared and direct conclusions cannot be drawn, since they represent two qualitatively different groups of the population. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the Ruthenian population that freely decided to report Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality in 1921 was concentrated mainly in the Eastern and North-Eastern parts of Slovakia. The counties of Snina and Medzilaborce recorded more than a 50% share of this nationality

⁵³ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

based on the total size of the population of these counties. Naturally, the change in methodology in data collection led to a change in the absolute size of the population as well as the share of the newly-defined population group. In 1921 the group composed of Great-Russian,

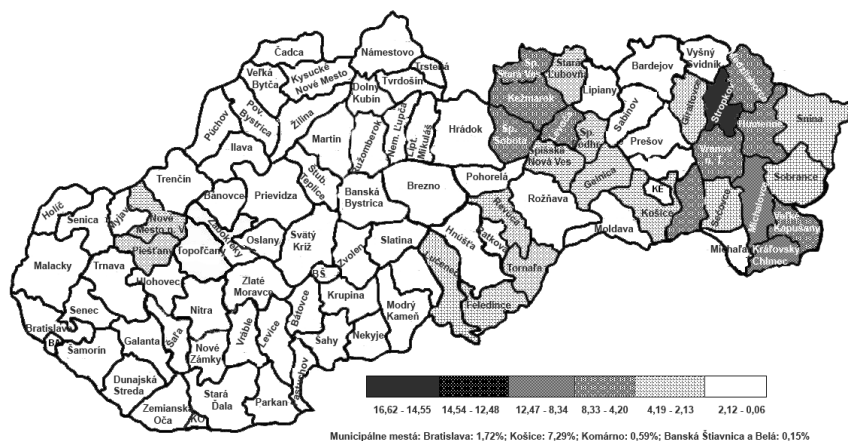
Cartogram 13: Share of population reporting Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality by individual counties based on the results of the 1921 population census shown as a percentage⁵⁴



Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian nationality represented more than 80% and 68% of the total population of the Medzilaborce and Snina counties, respectively. This is also an indirect explanation for the decline in the number of inhabitants indicating a Czechoslovak nationality, especially in the Medzilaborce county. Thus, a general assumption can be drawn that in 1919 the question of one's affiliation to the Ruthenian, or Slovak- Czechoslovak nationality was not yet clarified among the population inhabiting the North-Eastern part of Slovakia.

⁵⁴ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 35-37 and 79-81.

Cartogram 14: Share of population reporting “other nationalities” by individual counties based on the results of the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁵⁵



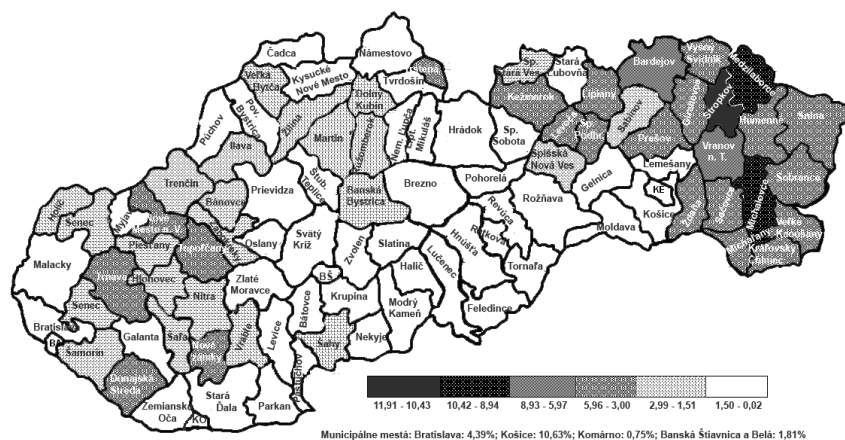
The remaining nationalities were grouped under the section “other nationalities”. It would be interesting to compare the number of persons reporting Jewish nationality between the two censuses. However, separate data on this group of the population was not presented in the List of Towns. These persons were included in the last group – other nationalities, which, according to the instructions contained all remaining nationalities that could not be reported separately. In 1919, Jewish nationality was not recorded whatsoever.⁵⁶ However, in terms of size this was quite a large group of the population. This is also supported by the results of the 1921 census in which the Jewish nationality was reported separately. Based on the results of the 1921 population census there were 73,500 persons reporting this nationality in the then-existing territory of Slovakia. As for geographical concentration, this group had a greater share of the population in the territory of Eastern Slovakia, especially in the Stropkov county with a 12% share of the population reporting Jewish nationality. Despite a partial match of the data in Cartogram s 14 and 15 it cannot be automatically concluded that a majority of the population

⁵⁵ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

⁵⁶ See also Detailed Instructions for Description Officials – ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm; cf. BOHÁČ, Antonín. p. 77*.

under the “other nationalities” section in the Stropkov county in 1919 would consist of persons reporting Jewish nationality. However, the same can be accepted as an assumption based on a comparison of the share of persons reporting the Jewish religion in this county (Cartogram 16) in 1919. In the Stropkov county, just over 1,400 persons with Jewish nationality were reported in 1921, while the Jewish religion was reported by more than 1,500 persons. Understandably, persons professing Jewish religion might not report Jewish nationality. For instance, in 1921, Israeli nationality was reported by almost 136,000 persons while only about 73,500 persons reporting Jewish nationality. What nationality was predominantly reported by persons reporting the Jewish religion in 1919? The summary comparison in Table 2 points to the fact that between the two censuses the size of the population of Hungarian nationality decreased.

Cartogram 15: Share of population reporting Jewish nationality by individual counties based on the results of the 1921 population census shown as a percentage⁵⁷



Conversely, the number of inhabitants recorded under the section “other nationalities” increased. This group also included persons reporting Jewish nationality, which was separately reported in 1921. Here the data points to one of the reasons for the decrease in the share of population of Hungarian nationality between 1919 and 1921. Some proportion of inhabitants who reported Jewish nationality in 1921 must have reported

⁵⁷ Recalculated based on data from ČSS vol. 9, p. 35-37 and 79-81.

a Hungarian nationality to a greater extent in 1919. As mentioned previously, the size of the population reporting Hungarian nationality in the town of Košice decreased by almost 6,000 persons. Part of this group quite surely reported Czechoslovak nationality in 1921. In 1921 in Košice, the group reporting Jewish nationality included more than 5,600 persons, whereas the group of "other nationalities" in the same town in 1919 represented only something over 3,400 persons and by 1921 the share of German nationality declined by 200 persons. Such a major decline in the number of persons reporting Hungarian nationality clearly points to the fact that at least partially the decrease was caused by the introduction of the option to report Jewish nationality in the 1921 population census.⁵⁸ This pattern can also be found in the Prešov county, where the number of inhabitants of Hungarian nationality in 1919 reached more than 4,000 and "other nationalities" was reported at just over 600 persons. In 1921, the number of persons reporting Hungarian nationality declined by more than 1,800 and the separately reported group of inhabitants of Jewish nationality represented almost 2,500 persons. A similar situation can be seen in the Nové Zámky county.⁵⁹ More examples could be provided to support this pattern, although with a limited impact in absolute terms. Surely, movements related to migration also had some impact on the above results. However, it cannot be reasonably assumed that migration could have led to fluctuations in the structure of nationalities in some of the counties by as much as thousands of persons.

The remaining nationalities were grouped under the section "other nationalities". It would be interesting to compare the number of persons reporting Jewish nationality between the two censuses. However, separate data on this group of the population was not presented in the List of Towns. These persons were included in the last group – other nationalities, which, according to the instructions contained all remaining nationalities that could not be reported separately. In 1919, Jewish nationality was not recorded whatsoever.⁶⁰ However, in terms of size this was quite a large group of the population. This is also supported by the results of the 1921 census in which the Jewish nationality was reported separately. Based on the results of the 1921 population census there were 73,500 persons reporting this nationality in the then-existing territory of Slovakia. As for geographical concentration, this group had a greater

⁵⁸ *Idem*.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Soznam miest*, p. 4 and ČSS vol. 9, p. 37 and 81.

⁶⁰ See also Detailed Instructions for Description Officials – ŠA Košice, Rožňava, CCO Stratená, box Administratives 1918 – 1920, shelf mark 331/1919 adm; cf. BOHÁČ, Antonín. p. 77*.

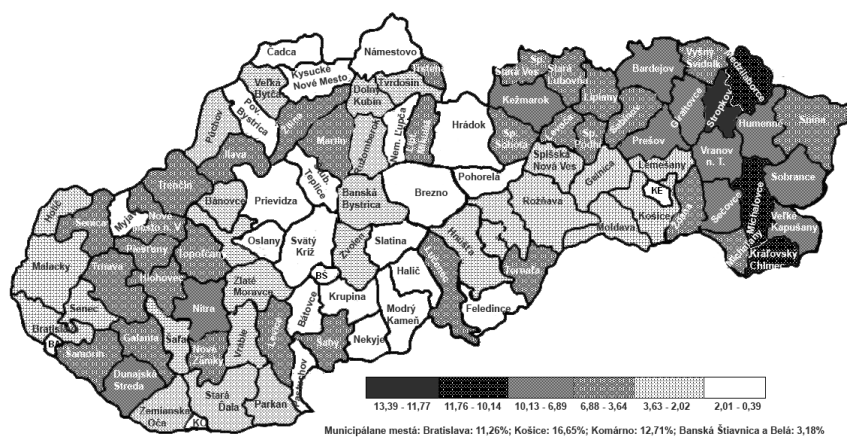
share of the population in the territory of Eastern Slovakia, especially in the Stropkov county with a 12% share of the population reporting Jewish nationality. Despite a partial match of the data in Cartogram s 14 and 15 it cannot be automatically concluded that a majority of the population under the "other nationalities" section in the Stropkov county in 1919 would consist of persons reporting Jewish nationality. However, the same can be accepted as an assumption based on a comparison of the share of persons reporting the Jewish religion in this county (Cartogram 16) in 1919. In the Stropkov county, just over 1,400 persons with Jewish nationality were reported in 1921, while the Jewish religion was reported by more than 1,500 persons. Understandably, persons professing Jewish religion might not report Jewish nationality. For instance, in 1921, Israeli nationality was reported by almost 136,000 persons while only about 73,500 persons reporting Jewish nationality. What nationality was predominantly reported by persons reporting the Jewish religion in 1919? The summary comparison in Table 2 points to the fact that between the two censuses the size of the population of Hungarian nationality decreased. Conversely, the number of inhabitants recorded under the section "other nationalities" increased. This group also included persons reporting Jewish nationality, which was separately reported in 1921. Here the data points to one of the reasons for the decrease in the share of population of Hungarian nationality between 1919 and 1921. Some proportion of inhabitants who reported Jewish nationality in 1921 must have reported a Hungarian nationality to a greater extent in 1919. As mentioned previously, the size of the population reporting Hungarian nationality in the town of Košice decreased by almost 6,000 persons. Part of this group quite surely reported Czechoslovak nationality in 1921. In 1921 in Košice, the group reporting Jewish nationality included more than 5,600 persons, whereas the group of "other nationalities" in the same town in 1919 represented only something over 3,400 persons and by 1921 the share of German nationality declined by 200 persons. Such a major decline in the number of persons reporting Hungarian nationality clearly points to the fact that at least partially the decrease was caused by the introduction of the option to report Jewish nationality in the 1921 population census.⁶¹ This pattern can also be found in the Prešov county, where the number of inhabitants of Hungarian nationality in 1919 reached more than 4,000 and "other nationalities" was reported at just over 600 persons. In 1921, the number of persons reporting Hungarian nationality declined by more than 1,800 and the separately reported group of inhabitants of Jewish nationality represented almost 2,500 persons. A similar situation can be

⁶¹ *Idem.*

seen in the Nové Zámky county.⁶² More examples could be provided to support this pattern, although with a limited impact in absolute terms. Surely, movements related to migration also had some impact on the above results. However, it cannot be reasonably assumed that migration could have led to fluctuations in the structure of nationalities in some of the counties by as much as thousands of persons.

Therefore the 1919 population census can only be used to determine or recalculate the share of persons who reported the Jewish religion. Such recalculated structure is presented in Cartogram 16.

Cartogram 16: Share of Jewish population by individual counties based on the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁶³



In terms of religious faith, the population in Slovakia in both 1919 and 1921 can be described as mainly Roman Catholic. On average, this faith was reported by more than 70% of the Slovak population. This pattern is also evident within individual counties (Cartogram 17). Most of the counties in Slovakia recorded more than a 50% share of Roman Catholics, except for counties in the Gemer region (Ratková, Revúca, Rožňava, Hnúšťa – Rimavská Sobota and Tornaľa), where the average share of this group reached slightly more than 37% and in parts of the Liptov region, with counties like Liptovský Mikuláš and Liptovský Hrádok, where only

⁶² Cf. *Soznam miest*, p. 4 and ČSS vol. 9, p. 37 and 81.

⁶³ Recalculated based on data published in *Soznam miest* by excluding municipalities administered as parts of Subcarpathian Ruthenia.

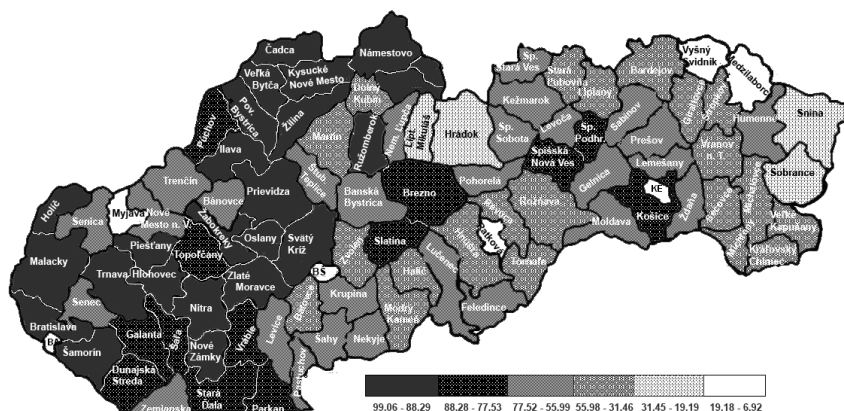
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just above 26% of population reported the Roman Catholic faith.

Table 3: Comparison of religious structure of the population in Slovakia based on aggregate results of the preliminary population census of 1919 recalculated to the territory existing in 1921 and based on the 1921 population census⁶⁴

Year	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic (Uniat)	Lutheran	Reformed	Jewish	Other
1919*	2088751	203255	369414	143807	139134	3946
1919	2083997	186510	369338	142840	136607	3922
1921	2128205	193735	382428	144549	135918	15945
Share in %						
1919*	70,85	6,89	12,53	4,88	4,72	0,13
1919	71,29	6,38	12,63	4,89	4,67	0,13
1921	70,92	6,46	12,75	4,82	4,53	0,53

* results published for the territory of Slovakia in 1919, including 32 Subcarpathian municipalities

Cartogram 17: Share of population reporting Roman Catholic faith by individual counties based on the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁶⁵

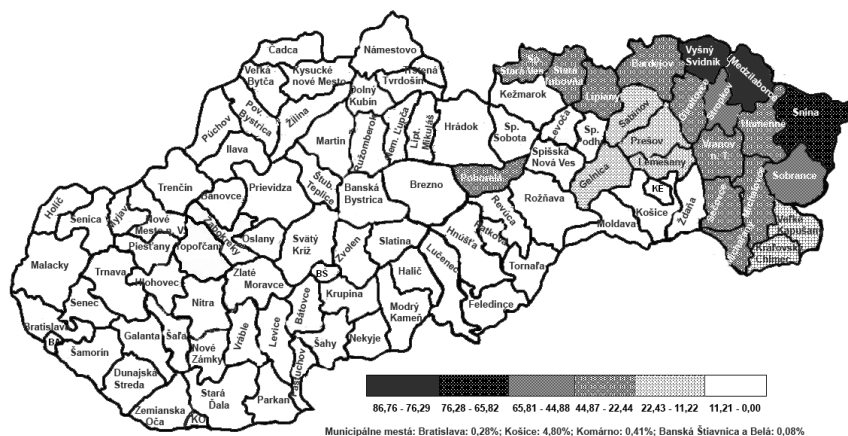


Municipálne mestá: Bratislava: 76,50%; Košice: 68,54%; Komárno: 62,31%; Banská Štiavnica a Belá: 84,43%

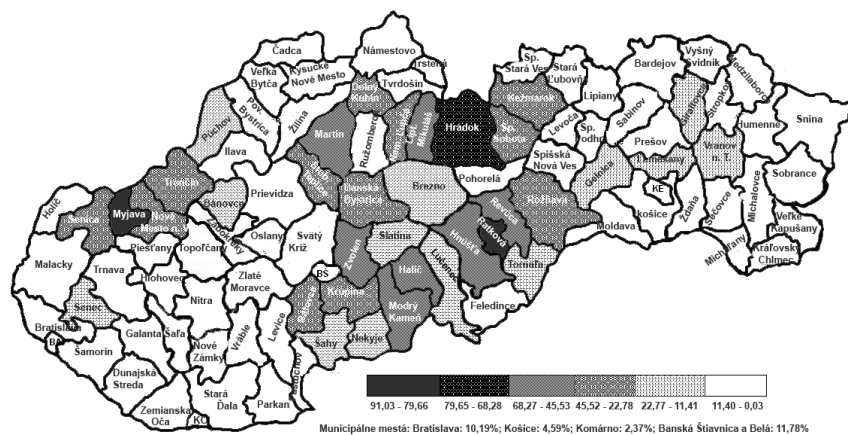
⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁶⁵ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

Cartogram 18: Share of population reporting Greek Catholic faith by individual counties based on the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁶⁶



Cartogram 19: Share of population reporting Lutheranism of Augsburg Confession by individual counties based on the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁶⁷



⁶⁶ *Idem.*

⁶⁷ *Idem.*

Quite naturally, with respect to the presence of other religions, a modest share of Roman Catholics was reported in the North-Eastern part of Slovakia. This is because the region was dominated by Greek Catholics (Cartogram 18). Thus, in view of the overall ethnic composition, the share of those reporting the Greek Catholic faith correlated with the share of persons reporting Ruthenian nationality. In counties such as Vyšný Svidník (Svidník) or Medzilaborce, Greek Catholics accounted for more than 85% of the total population.

The Lutheran Church was well established in Central and Southern Slovakia. Lutherans of Augsburg Confession were concentrated in Central Slovakia, the Liptov region, and in the Myjava county with a share of more than 91% of the total population of these counties (Cartogram 19). The largest share of the persons claiming a Reformed affiliation was in Southern Slovakia, i.e. a region with a higher share of the population reporting Hungarian nationality (Cartogram 20).

Based on the recalculated data for 1921, movements in the religious composition of population on the then-existing territory of Slovakia were insignificant.⁶⁸ Thus, the results of the 1919 population census were confirmed.

Cartogram 20: Share of population reporting Reformed Church affiliation by individual counties based on the results of the 1919 population census shown as a percentage⁶⁹



⁶⁸ Cf. absolute results in ČSS vol. 9, p. 98-103.

⁶⁹ Amended and recalculated data based on final results of the 1921 census, see *Soznam miest*.

The final part of the List of Towns also includes a retrospective recalculation of the ethnic composition of the population in the whole territory subject to the census based on previous Hungarian population censuses conducted in the period 1880 – 1910 (Table 4). It should be noted, however, that in the case of older censuses, it was not nationality but mother tongue that was reported and recorded. In view of the aforementioned, the table reveals a noticeable shift in the structure of individual groups based on mother tongue in 1910. The share of the population with Slovak mother tongue recorded a significant decline in favour of the Hungarian language compared to the previous census in 1900 and compared to the extraordinary census in 1919, in which however, nationality was reported instead of mother tongue.

Table 4: Retrospective recalculation of the ethnic composition in the territory subject to the census in the period 1880 – 1919⁷⁰

Year	Total population	Nationality*				
		Czechoslovak	Ruthenian	Hungarian	German	Other
1880	2474221	60,69	3,60	22,37	9,11	4,23
1890	2606655	61,52	3,70	24,77	8,98	1,03
1900	2816912	60,51	3,52	27,12	7,65	1,20
1910	2952781	57,22	3,77	30,54	6,74	1,73
1919	2948307	66,57	3,17	23,50	4,87	1,89

* between 1880 – 1910 mother tongue was recorded

Soznam miest na Slovensku dľa popisu ľudu roku z 1919 (List of Slovak Towns For the Purpose of Description of the People of 1919) represents an interesting resource on the characteristics of the population in Slovakia shortly after the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic. Even though population statistics usually rely on the 1921 Czechoslovak census as the primary source, the results of the preliminary population census have maintained their significance as a valued source. In view of the preparation works for the nation-wide census initiated in 1919, several insights and conclusions were drawn from the previous experience of the extraordinary census. This contributed to successful conduct of the

⁷⁰ Idem.

nation-wide census in 1921.⁷¹ The List of Towns as a historical source also illuminates the situation in individual processus districts in the area of road development and transportation or incorporation of individual municipalities into individual administrative or official divisions. Therefore it is reasonable to use this source as well as a description of municipalities that includes key information about individual municipalities in the period immediately following the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

From the demographic perspective, the List of Towns should be highlighted as a significant static source of data providing a snapshot of the characteristics of the population in Slovakia at a completely different time of the calendar year as compared to the modern population censuses conducted in Austria-Hungary as of 31 December (in 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910) or the first population census conducted in the Czechoslovak Republic on 15 February 1921.⁷²

Úvod do problematiky sčítaní obyvateľstva na Slovensku z rokov 1919 a 1921

Pavol Tišliar

Podnetom k mimoriadnemu sčítaniu 1919 bola snaha o získanie vybraných údajov pre československú mierovú delegáciu v Paríži. Tomuto cieľu napokon plne zodpovedala aj snaha o urýchlený zber údajov, pričom dôraz bol kladený predovšetkým na zistenie etnicity obyvateľstva Slovenska a jeho regiónov. Tento census sa stal prvou rozsiahlejšou akciou štatistického charakteru v Československu, hoci sa organizoval výlučne len na území Slovenska. Aj z tohto dôvodu mal len predbežný charakter. Už od začiatku prípravných prác ho sprevádzalo viacero menších či väčších problémov, ktoré pramenili nielen z problematickej medzinárodnej situácie (Maďarská republika rád a vojenský konflikt), ale aj z vnútropolitických problémov (predovšetkým vyhlásenie Slovenskej republiky rád). Pravdepodobne aj tieto udalosti

⁷¹ The end of 1919 saw the first preparations of a Czechoslovakia-wide census which finally took place in 1921. For details, see Ministry of Interior Decree No. 61.742/8 dated 13 December 1919. In: *Věstník Ministerstva vnitra republiky Československé*. Praha: MV ČSR, 1919, roč. I., p. 331-334.

⁷² For details, see *Retrospektivní lexikón obcí Československé socialistické republiky 1850 – 1970*. Díl I. Svazek I. Praha: Federální statistický úřad, 1978, p. 27-29.

vplývali napokon na celkové výsledky sčítania.

Vybrané výsledky mimoriadneho sčítania obyvateľstva 1919 boli čiastočne publikované vo forme osobitného lexikónu sídel. Zverejnené tak boli najmä počet prítomného obyvateľstva, náboženstvo, no hlavne jeho etnická štruktúra. Predbežné sčítanie z roku 1919 zmenilo metodiku zisťovania etnicity, keď sa priklonilo k možnosti slobodnej voľby, deklarovania národnosti. Tento spôsob zisťovania sa nepriamo využil aj v nasledujúcom sčítaní ľudu v roku 1921.

Cenzus 1921 bol prvým celoštátnym sčítaním. Okrem spomenutej inšpirácie z priamej voľby národností a skúseností z dotazníkovej akcie, ktorá prebehla tesne po sčítaní 1919, bola využitá v novom cenzu najmä pripravenosť už raz aktívovanej verejnej správy na Slovensku. Treba spomenúť aj skutočnosť, že pokým cenzus 1919 organizoval a riadil splnomocnený minister so svojim úradom (MPS), celoštátne sčítanie z roku 1921 už bolo riadne organizované a metodicky pripravené československým štatistickým úradom. Práve to sa aj stalo istou zárukou vyššej kvality a presnosti získaných údajov, ako to bolo v prípade mimoriadneho cenzu 1919.

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Beginnings of Organisation of Emigration in the Czechoslovak Republic¹

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Studies in the Population of Slovakia II, p. 43-62

This paper details the organisation of emigration in the year following the emergence of Czechoslovakia. We analyse the conflicted population policy of the new country which resulted from the absence of a complex solution to existing social problems. The practical aspects of organisation of emigration focused on the health of the migrants in the light of the conditions placed upon them by the target countries and on the safe passage through the republic considering the fact that the migrants often represented a high risk of spreading various diseases. A specialized medical station in Svatobořice u Kyjova was established to examine the migrants' health status and issued health certificates to that effect. Additionally, an emigration station was established in Libeň near Prague where the emigrants were assembled before leaving Czechoslovakia.

Keywords:

migrations – outward migrations – migration policy – Czechoslovakia

Throughout the 19th century Slovakia recorded progressive population growth. The combination of the way of life in the rural areas of Slovakia and the type of the economy dominated by agriculture or the so-called primary sector as the basic source of income led to an agrarian overpopulation and a rise in unemployment.² This phenomenon could not be successfully overcome by cultivation of larger areas of land. Thus, the only solution was restructuring of the economy of that time. However,

¹ This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 "Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia". Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0026/14 „Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050" and the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0145/12 „Migračné procesy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1948".

² JAKEŠOVÁ, Elena. Sociálno-ekonomické aspekty migrácie obyvateľstva Slovenska v dvadsiatych rokoch 20. storočia. In: *Historický časopis*, 35, 3/1987, p. 381.

this was unrealistic due to the poor infrastructure and limited potential of the underdeveloped Hungarian industry. Therefore, economic migration abroad turned out to be an alternative to provide subsistence to the growing population, which in many cases took the form of permanent emigration.

The origins of emigration as a mass phenomenon in the territory of Slovakia can be found in the 1880s.³ Ján Svetoň estimated the number of emigrants from Slovakia in the period 1871 – 1914 to approximate 650,000.⁴ The Ministry of Social Care (MSC) of the Czechoslovak Republic estimated more than 477,000 emigrants for the period 1899 – 1914, which would statistically reflect about 30,000 persons leaving Slovakia annually.⁵ A Large number of emigrants prevailed also after the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. After the end of war and a new arrangement of Central and South-Eastern Europe resulting in the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the territory of Czechoslovakia also became a destination country for a wave of immigrants (repatriates). One motivation for inbound immigrants was land reform, which was supposed to address the existential problems of the population in rural areas by redistribution of land.⁶ The number of repatriates was estimated at around 200,000 persons, and around 50,000 of them headed for Slovakia. This wave of immigration was soon followed by a “period of traditional emigration”.⁷ One of the factors was a rather unsuccessful land reform, the implementation of which was delayed during the

³ BIELIK, František. Slovenské vysťahovalectvo a jeho miesto v našich národných dejinách. In: *Vysťahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982, p. 25.

⁴ SVETOŇ, Ján. Slovenské vysťahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu. In: *Vývoj obyvateľstva Slovenska: výber z diela k nedožitým 65. narodeninám J. Svetoňa*. Bratislava: Epoque, 1970, p. 191.

⁵ *Deset let Československé republiky*. III. Praha: Státní tiskárna v Praze, 1928, p. 94.

⁶ WEITH, Karel. *Zákony o reformě pozemkové*. Praha, 1920, p. 3.

⁷ *Idem*. In addition to economic migration, one must not forget the politically motivated emigration of a number of former Hungarian officials who left once the newly established administration started requiring the knowledge of Slovak or Czech and an oath of allegiance as a condition of employment for all government officials. No detailed data is available, but the general estimate of the total number of persons in this emigration wave headed for Hungary is approximately 70 thousand while Hungarian statistical sources for the period between 1918 and 1924 report a population gain of 106,841 persons. The positions formerly occupied by the migrants were due to a lack of qualified Slovak personnel filled by immigrants from Western parts of Czechoslovakia. For details, see e.g. JAKEŠOVÁ, Elena, op. cit., p. 382.

whole inter-war period. Eventually, the reform failed to bring about any significant difference in the structure of land owners.⁸

The temporary decline of migration losses shortly after the formation of Czechoslovakia was mainly the consequence of the arrival of these repatriates. However, this wave of repatriates further increased the already high unemployment in Slovakia. In an effort to address the problem of high unemployment, the new republic passed the first act on welfare support in 1938.⁹ The rise of unemployment was further affected by demobilisation of military forces. It should be noted that the changes in the economic landscape related to the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire resulted in the loss of previous Hungarian markets for agricultural and industrial products supplied by underdeveloped Slovakia.¹⁰ In addition, the territory of Slovakia gradually became the target market for the more developed Western parts of Czechoslovakia and the underdeveloped Slovak businesses were unable to directly compete with their western counterparts. This had an adverse effect on economic activity and employment.¹¹ The vacated administrative positions after the withdrawal of the Hungarian administration from Slovakia was largely filled by Czech intelligentsia, who filled the shortage of qualified positions of clerks and teachers in Slovakia.¹² Thus, in the face of such an emergency situation, economic migration had become a matter of necessity. The migration gradually developed into two basic forms – seasonal work migration and permanent emigration.

Seasonal migration of parts of the population was a frequent and traditional matter, mainly for inhabitants of Northern Slovakia. It took on the form of either internal migration within Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) with seasonal migrants very often temporarily moving to the South-Western part of Slovakia, but also moving to other countries (especially Hungary, Austria, Germany or France). During the inter-war period more than 220,000 persons migrated abroad for seasonal work (more than 11,000 persons annually). More than 40,000 persons annually engaged in internal migration (within the territory of Czechoslovakia) in the first half of the 1920s. These levels prevailed until the period of a more

⁸ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska v sčítaniach ľudu 1919 – 1940*. Brno: Trbun EU, 2012, p. 220.

⁹ Act No. 63/1918 as amended.

¹⁰ BRIŠKA, Rudolf. Slovenské vysťahovalectvo. In: *Hospodárske rozhľady* č. 1 – 3, VIII/1933, p. 25.

¹¹ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1940*. Bratislava: Infostat, 2009, p. 151 ff.

¹² ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz*, p. 157 ff.

significant economic decline in the 1930s related to the beginning of the Great Depression.¹³

However, traditional emigration from Slovakia did not take on the nature of seasonal work. Many migrants left the country for longer periods and if they managed to get more permanent jobs they were often followed by their family members. Naturally, this led to permanent settlement abroad. This type of migration was focused on overseas countries, especially the United States of America (USA), Canada and Argentina, and to a lesser extent also countries of Western Europe. This led to a permanent loss of population in Slovakia.

The Czechoslovak Republic took two seemingly contradictory approaches to population policy. On one hand the approach can be characterised as Neo-Malthusianism, expressed in the emigration policy. Emigration was regarded as a sort of '*necessary pressure release*' eliminating potential sources of economic and social conflicts and acting as a kind of preventive measure.¹⁴ This attitude should be perceived as an attempt to resolve the condition of agrarian overpopulation in rural areas and a way to keep unemployment in check. On the other hand, the Czechoslovak population was also viewed from the perspective of the so-called "populationists". A typical example would be an effort to improve the status of mothers and children mainly from lower social strata or efforts to implement a comprehensive social and pro-family policy. However, the positions of individual representatives of Czechoslovakia differed on migration policy. Some politicians approved and embraced mass emigration, while others expressed concerns that migration to foreign countries would lead to a loss of economically active persons. The resulting direction of the policy was to a certain extent a compromise between these two political attitudes. The key idea was to effectively organise the migration flow from the Czechoslovak Republic, manifested mainly in the protection of and assistance to individual emigrants.¹⁵

The active organisation of emigration from Czechoslovakia was on the agenda as early as in spring 1920. At that time central authorities in

¹³ SVETONĚ, Ján. *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 1958, p. 176-178.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164-165. However, administrative officials in Slovakia were instructed to, in an "appropriate manner", discourage the population from leaving for America. This is evidenced by a circular published by the Ministry Plenipotentiary on 21 June 1920 which is addressed to province officials. For details, see MVSR State Archives in Nitria located in Ivanka pri Nitre (henceforth: ŠA Nitra), fonds Nitra Province I, 1919 - 1922, shelf mark 914/ 1920 prez.

¹⁵ *Deset let*, p. 97.

Prague recorded an increased number of applications for the issuance of an emigration passport primarily by persons from the territory of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Since Prague was both the starting point and transit hub for emigrants heading mainly to Western European ports, and a city with many offices of sea transport operators, a large number of migrants flocked to Prague. This health risk of the spread of infectious diseases was also associated with this trend. In the case of Slovak and Subcarpathian-Russian emigrants, these risks included typhus, trachoma and smallpox, endemic in some regions in that period, as well as lice infestation.¹⁶ For this reason it was necessary to resolve this situation by organising the transfer of migrants through Prague. The health condition of potential emigrants turned out to be a serious problem not only for Czechoslovakia but also for the receiving countries. Migrants with a bad health condition were sent by immigration authorities back to their country of origin and quite often back to Czechoslovakia. It should be noted that there were concerns that the USA would close its borders to the countries which were sending emigrants who had unacceptable health conditions. However, the USA was not the only country with an immigration policy that insisted immigrants meet certain health requirements. For example, the Brazilian immigration act which came into force in 1921 directly barred some immigrants from entering the country, mainly delinquents and foreigners over age 60, but also applied to blind, disabled, mentally ill, and incurably ill people as well as those infected with contagious diseases. The ban also applied to prostitutes. Therefore female emigrants had to provide written evidence on their moral integrity to steamboat operators transporting passengers to Brazil. The health certificate had to be submitted in English, French or Italian, which resulted in additional cost for emigrants. Migration to Brazil did not represent the main migration flow, however in August 1922 in Bratislava, for example, there were 200 pending requests for emigration passports to Brazil alone.¹⁷

Tighter controls on immigration by foreign countries put pressure on the government to pay more attention to this problem, not only by passing legislation governing and overseeing the emigration, but also through active intervention to manage and organise the emigration flow. The idea was not just to maintain the image of the country but also to

¹⁶ Národní archiv České republiky v Praze (National Archives of the Czech Republic in Prague, henceforth: NÁČR), f. Ministerstvo vnitra I. – stará registratura, 1918 – 1953 (henceforth: f. MV-SR), shelf mark 8794/1921; 13450/IV. ai 1921; 13450/IV. ai 1921.

¹⁷ NÁČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 7499/1921.

allow the aforementioned '*natural pressure release*' in order to avoid social unrest. Therefore, the Czechoslovak government in March 1921 resolved to address the health condition of emigrants and attempted to implement a more purposeful organisation of their flow from the republic.

In the first place, measures were taken to divert the emigrant flow so as to avoid the centre of Prague. Most migrants usually got off the trains at two Prague railway stations (*Masarykovo nádraží* and *Wilsonovo nádraží*) and travelled often in small groups, which hampered any effort to manage the emigration flow. The Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education (MPH) of the Czechoslovak Republic suggested building a "detention" centre in which the migrants would be grouped in order to continue their journey in an organised manner. For this purpose the Libeň emigration station was built, which in its initial stages could temporarily accommodate some 200-300 migrants a day.¹⁸ The capacity of the station was later increased to 600 persons per day. Its main task was to provide basic care for emigrants. In addition to the aforementioned accommodation, emigrants received cheap meals at margin-free prices and also useful information about their destination. A symbolic fee was introduced at Libeň in the amount of Kč 2 per day.¹⁹ The Libeň station operated under the patronage of the Czechoslovak Red Cross and it was administered by the MSC.²⁰ However, building the detention centre was not enough. It was necessary to ensure that migrants would actually make a stopover and register at Libeň. This was because migrants usually sought accommodation in cheap Prague hotels or private lodgings even after the emigration station was built and ignored the centre in Libeň. A mechanism was created to directly coerce emigrants to get off the train at Libeň and not continue their journey to Prague.

In addition to efforts to bypass the centre of Prague and group the emigrants in one place, it was also necessary to provide for medical examinations that would eliminate the potential spread of infectious diseases and minimise the number of emigrants rejected in their destination countries. In 1920 a proposal was made to create a temporary and later also a permanent health care centre to provide medical examinations and issue special certificates on the health condition of emigrants. Initially, the use of a former refugee camp in Uherské Hradiště seemed to be an option for that purpose. This location would even provide temporary accommodation for the passing migrants. However, the need to establish a military garrison in the camp seemed problematic. Although this

¹⁸ NAČR, f. MV-SR. shelf mark 8794/1921.

¹⁹ NAČR, f. MV-SR, sign. 13450/IV. ai 1921.

²⁰ *Deset let*, p. 95-96.

location was eventually made available to the MSC, by 1921 it was still not in operation. The MPH turned to the Ministry of National Defence of the Czechoslovak Republic with a request to set up a quarantine station in Košice to be administered by the ministry that could be used to perform health examinations and disinfect emigrants from Subcarpathian Ruthenia and the adjacent parts of Slovakia. At that time it was an issue of specific concern since a typhus epidemic had broken out in the Eastern part of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, with isolated cases in Slovakia in Trenčín and Gemer-Malohont provinces. Initially, building preventive health-care facilities at the Prague railway stations (*Masarykovo nádraží* and *Wilsonovo nádraží*) was also considered as a tentative solution. Despite the fact that such temporary stations were eventually set up, reports show that they were often ignored by emigrants.

The main area of concern was not only the health condition of migrants from Eastern Czechoslovakia but also numerous Romanian emigrants passing through Czechoslovakia and visiting Prague to obtain a visa to Germany.²¹ The use of the Děčín-Podmokly railway station was also contemplated. This station might have served as a hub for emigrant traffic from Czechoslovakia abroad. On 9 February 1921 the Ministry of Railways informed the Directorate of Public Railways in Prague that starting 15 February 1921 migrants would be transported from the Libeň station to Podmokly every Tuesday by a special train with third-class carriages. The prescribed number of emigrants allowed per one train was set at 200 to 550 persons. If necessary, the special train would also operate on Fridays. The journey was to be organised by a special train dispatched by German railways via Dresden and Leipzig to Hamburg or other ports (Bremen, Rotterdam, and Antwerp). It was thought that in the case of an insufficient number of migrants for transport, emigrants could be transported based on the standard timetable in separate carriages connected to regular trains. The train from Libeň to Podmokly was supplied by the Czechoslovak Railways and the train to and via Germany by German Reich Railways and in the Netherlands and Belgium by other respective railway companies. The transport fee corresponded to a third-class ticket. Every Monday and Thursday steamboat operators and travel agencies were to report the number of registered emigrants, including their destination, to the Directorate of Czechoslovak Railways. Based on these figures the Directorate then decided whether to send a train only on Tuesdays (operating regularly) or also on Fridays. If the number of

²¹ NÁČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 23072/1921. The situation involving Romanian nationals was finally resolved by issuing them German visa at the Děčín – Podmokly train station in which manner they avoided Prague.

emigrants was not sufficient, they had to alert the German side that the special train would not be dispatched. In such case migrants had to be transported in special carriages connected to a regular passenger train. To prevent emigrants from taking their own route, the tickets for emigrants obtained by the travel agents and steamboat operators could not be used for standard trains.²² Thus, emigrants had to get off the train in Libeň and continue as part of an organised group.

Due to the need for medical examinations, the rebuilding of the camp in Uherské Hradiště was still considered as an option. However, by June 1921 this refugee camp was still not fully available and therefore other options for conducting medical examinations were considered. One suggestion was to establish a temporary medical examination station in Svatobořice near Kyjov in Moravia.²³ It should be noted that in the initial phases, establishing a medical examination station in Slovakia was also considered. However, the aforementioned camp in Košice did not have the ideal geographical location and another suggestion to establish a health station in Žilina did not materialise due to a shortage of suitable premises and financial implications related to the fact that a new facility would have to be built.²⁴ Therefore it was agreed that the best solution would be to use the medical examination station in Svatobořice, which officially started its operation on 1 September 1921.²⁵ Initially this station was envisaged as temporary solution until the full availability of the former refugee camp in Uherské Hradiště; however, it eventually retained the status of a permanent station. Officially entitled *State Health Review Emigration Station Svatobořice*, the facility was to serve as a gateway for all emigrants from Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia.²⁶ The key role of the Svatobořice examination station was to perform a medical examination of every emigrant and to provide a written confirmation of such a check. The health check was provided free of charge. The station was managed by a physician who performed medical examinations daily from 8 am to 3 pm.²⁷ The station included a reception room for registration of emigrants and payment of the daily fee in the amount

²² NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 6895-VI/1/1921.

²³ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 44351/1921.

²⁴ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 13450/IV.ai 1921.

²⁵ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 60775/1921.

²⁶ *Deset let*, p. 95-96; for details see also <http://www.nrsr.sk/dk/>, parliament bulletin 1439, NZ 1920 – 1925 (retrieved on 24 May 2014).

²⁷ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 18179/IV.ai 1921.

of Kč 12.²⁸ Emigrants had to submit a certificate of vaccination and also a medical certificate from their local physician. At the inter-ministerial committee in Prague beginning July 1921 an agreement was reached that the issuance of passports to emigrants would be subject to the submission of a medical certificate on health condition issued by the provincial or processus judge county physician in the domicile of the emigrant.²⁹ Thus emigrants were obliged to pass through a double check.

In order to increase the importance of the transfer via Svatobořice and Libeň for emigrants, i.e. to make the emigration plan work, a scheme of conditions was created which the emigrants were bound to meet before leaving the country. The emigration management was performed in cooperation with the existing public administration. In Slovakia, the emigration passports were issued by provincial offices through processus offices. In addition to personal data, the passport had to include information on the destination country of the emigrant as well as an invitation from the persons to be visited. The passport was officially issued by the provincial office within 8 days of the submission of a maximum 3-day-old medical certificate on the health condition of the emigrant. However, emigrants did not directly obtain their passport in Slovakia. The provincial office had to send the passports to the MSC in Prague. An applicant for the emigration passport only obtained a special certificate confirming the issuance of the passport. The information on such issuance was to be reported to the medical station in Svatobořice. Emigrants were then obliged to arrive at Svatobořice and pass through a medical examination, and upon receiving a certificate of medical fitness, then leave for the Libeň station. Once there, emigrants obtained their visa and passport from the respective clerks.

An important role in the emigration system and the obligation to pass a medical examination in Svatobořice camp was played by the representatives of sea transport operators. According to the agreement with MSC, representatives of these operators had to notify and call upon emigrants not to travel directly to Prague, but to first arrange the required certificates through the refugee camp. In addition, their task was to instruct the emigrants to travel from their homes to Moravia so as to arrive at Kyjov – Svatobořice before noon. It was explicitly recommended to travel via Trenčianska Teplá to Kyjov by train No. 712, departing from

²⁸ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 18212/IV.ai 1921. In addition to this daily fee, the following fees were charged for drinks: 1 Kč for soup and white coffee, 0.70 Kč for black coffee, 1.80 Kč for tea with rum, 0.90 for tea without rum and 2.80 Kč for cocoa with milk. These were revisited every months, see shelf mark 66636/1921.

²⁹ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 18179/IV.ai 1921.

Teplá at 2:50 am for Kyjov arriving at Kyjov at 6:52 am. Thus, emigrants could continue in their journey to Prague on the same day immediately after the medical examination.³⁰ Also the staff of processus district offices in Slovakia was to be instructed accordingly since some emigrants did not travel based on the calls of the sea transport operators but had received their tickets directly by mail from their relatives in the USA. According to a police report of October 1921, as many as 90% of migrants passing through Svatobořice had received tickets by mail from their relatives.³¹

The camp staff was obliged to wait for emigrants at the Kyjov railway station and instruct them to continue to the medical examination station in Svatobořice. Migrants were allowed to stay in the station for a maximum of 2 days. The only exception was if an infectious disease had been identified. If emigrants arrived at the station ill or became ill in the station, they were either returned home or referred to the closest hospital provided that their health condition allowed such transport. In exceptional cases and for an indefinite period of time, emigrants could stay for treatment directly in the station but were bound to cover their cost of subsistence and treatment on top of the daily fee.

It was also contemplated that the representatives of the sea transport operators would call upon emigrants to arrive at the Svatobořice camp in groups and on certain agreed days. Then they would head for Prague in larger groups so as to arrive there in the morning. The recommended train in this scheme was the train No. 718, departing at 7:16 pm that would take the migrants to Libeň.³² The Ministry of Railways was to provide special direct carriages and the number of migrants was to be communicated by telegraph from Svatobořice to the Libeň camp, which was supposed to accept and accommodate the emigrants. The medical certificates substantiating the medical examination were issued at the Kyjov station before the train's departure. This was to ensure that emigrants leaving the station were grouped in one train that was specifically reserved for them.

At the handover of passports in Libeň, clerks of the MSC were to make sure that the identity of each emigrant matched the respective documents. Despite the adopted measures it was anticipated that not all migrants would wish to stay in Libeň overnight. Therefore, the initial plan was to cooperate with selected inexpensive Prague hotels.³³ Thus, on 21 September 1921 the MSC arranged accommodation of emigrants

³⁰ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 10269/A-1921.

³¹ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 76560/1921.

³² NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 10269/A-1921.

³³ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 8845/Ai. 1921.

in five Prague hotels: *Monopol*, *Auto*, *Mika*, *Ungelt* and *Garni*. Those emigrants who refused to stay at the Libeň emigration station could thus be lodged at one of these hotels. Of course, the emigrants had to pay higher rates. For administrative purposes, such accommodation requests were supposed to be reported to the administrator of the Libeň station. Migrants had to pick up a special voucher for a specific hotel written with his name that included the signature and stamp of the administrator of the Libeň camp. Without this voucher the hotel could not accept the emigrant.³⁴

The scheme described above was the method to directly manage the flow of emigrants from the Czechoslovak Republic. However the first major flaws of this scheme surfaced already at its launch and they disrupted the smooth functioning of the system from the very beginning. Complaints began to pile up at the MSC about inadequate procedures governing the issuance of emigration passports in Slovakia. As early as on 30 September 1921 the MSC reported delays in sending passports to Prague. In some cases passports arrived one or two days after the arrival of migrants at Libeň who obviously wished to continue their journey. The problem was not the delayed postal service – as passports were physically shipped to Prague within several days – but mainly with the sloppiness of authorities. For example, passports issued on 17 and 18 August 1921 by the Provincial Office in Michalovce were sent by mail on 31 August 1921 and arrived in Prague on 3 September 1921. Passports issued 24 and 25 August were sent based on a postal stamp dated as late as on 7 September and arrived in Prague on 10 September. Apparent deficiencies could also be identified in the certificates of issuance of the passports. The Provincial Office in Bratislava was the only office in Slovakia to follow the correct procedure for issuance of the certificates. In Košice these documents were included in the certificates of medical fitness; elsewhere they were not issued at all (!). The information entered into the passports proved to be very inaccurate. Passports issued in Michalovce and Banská Bystrica quite often lacked a signature. The Provincial Office in Michalovce, for instance, repeatedly left the date of birth blank, although migrants knew these dates. The Michalovce office often did not even state accurate information on the destination of the emigrant. General information stated in the passports such as “*to America, back to my uncle, father, etc.*” was common. There were numerous instances of passports lacking the government stamps. Therefore the MSC repeatedly called for more precision in issuing these documents. It was emphasised that each emigrant must obtain the certificate of issuance of the passport,

³⁴ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 99190/1921.

which the emigrant needed to submit at the medical review station in Svatobořice.³⁵

A report by the head physician of the medical review station in Svatobořice pointed to a number of deficiencies during the first 14 days of its operation. He wrote that from 1 September to 14 September, 373 emigrants were examined and a considerable number of them did not know why they were obliged to make a trip to the medical review station. Most emigrants with passports issued at an older date had outdated medical certificates from their physician and most of the emigrants did not submit the certificate on the issuance of passport. The station's physician complained that the only data obtained by the medical station from most of the provincial offices were passport numbers based on the respective submission protocols without the names and surnames of those persons or other required information. There were also several cases clearly related to the lack of information on the part of the public as many emigrants thought they were supposed to pick up the medical certificate in Svatobořice and did not need to continue to Prague but rather returned home with an intention to travel to the USA at a later date. Of course, in those cases they did not obtain the medical certificate and thus lost both time and money. In November (14 November 1921) the MSC complained that the provincial offices were stating the destination of emigrants too generally. Most of the times the statement read "to America" without specifying at least a specific destination state. Moreover, some emigrants completely ignored Svatobořice and travelled to Prague without the certificate of medical condition. Therefore, the MSC suggested putting more emphasis on informing the public. The MSC prepared a separate information sheet³⁶ that provided an overview of the required procedures – from the submission of the application for the issuance of passport as well as the departure from the republic with a valid medical certificate required by the immigration authorities. It was emphasised that emigrants should avoid travelling directly to Prague and take the route Trenčín - Trenčianska Teplá - Uherský Brod - Uherské Hradiště to Kyjov; the instruction also included an exact specification of the train connection. This guideline directly emphasised not to take any other than the train to Kyjov departing at 2:50 am from Teplá. In addition to an overview of the whole process of submission and processing of emigrant applications, another common problem was also addressed in this document. Various kinds of "agents" attempted to exploit the situation of emigrants by offering them various services ranging from

³⁵ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 12386/A-121.

³⁶ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 89769/1921.

the arrangement of the journey to mediation of job in the destination country.³⁷ This was a relatively common problem in Slovakia.³⁸ The information sheet also emphasised that migrants should avoid selling their property before arranging all formalities and explicitly prior to the issuance of permit by the American consulate in Prague to leave for America.³⁹

There were also various instances of accommodation advertisements in Prague hotels targeting emigrants. In one particular case the Czech bank "*Bohémie*" was offering transport services for emigrants to the USA including five rooms with a 32-bed capacity 32 in its property called "*At The Golden Pheasant*" in Prague. The Police Directorate in Prague, in cooperation with the Prague municipality government, intervened and called on hotels and travel agencies to refrain from any special offers or other services offered at the railway stations in Prague.⁴⁰

Eventually, the wave of migration overseas faded. However, it was not a consequence of an improved social status among the weakest strata of population or lower unemployment levels in Slovakia. The reason for the decrease in emigration was the new rules adopted by the receiving countries. Since the destination country of a majority of emigrants was the USA, the US immigration policy and legislation had the most significant impact on emigration from our country. A new immigration act in the USA came into force on 19 May 1921. The act became known as the so-called Three Percent Act. The basic idea of this act was a principle that the number of immigrants of any nationality was limited to 3% of the total number of foreign-born persons from that country recorded in the 1910 population census. This led to the imposition of exact quotas. The quota for the Czechoslovak Republic for the fiscal year 1921-1922 was set at 14,369 persons.

³⁷ Contemporary press covered a number of incidents of this type, such as the Prague daily "*Večer*" which published a story in issue 118 dated 23 May 1924 under the title "*Neštěstí slovenských vystěhovalců, zaviněné podvodnými agenty*" ("*Misfortune Befalls Slovak Emigrants Caused by Fraudulent Agents*") on a man identified as "*Juhás*" who would arrange trips to the United States for prospective emigrants in Eastern Slovakia. In reality, however, they would end up in Mexico with slim chances of finding work. They would then attempt to enter the US, but were apprehended at the border and after a 3-month detention, they would be deported back to Czechoslovakia.

³⁸ MVSR – State Archives in Bytči, Čadca branch, f. County Clerk Office in Čadca, 1923 – 1945, shelf mark 1422/1926.

³⁹ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 20909/IV-ai 1921.

⁴⁰ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 69581/1921.

In 1923, the *Institute for Economic and Colonisation Relations* was established at the Masaryk's Academy of Work in Prague, with a mission to elaborate a theoretical framework for the migration policies in Czechoslovakia. According to the memorandum developed in 1924 by the institute, Czechoslovakia was the sixth biggest country in Europe in terms of the number of emigrants. According to the statistics, 39,429 persons emigrated from Czechoslovakia in 1922 and 32,342 in 1923.⁴¹ In the first quarter of 1924, another 33,597 applied for a passport, 27,805 of which were to the USA. These figures resulted from the efforts to ensure a place on the list for emigration to the USA in response to the reduced immigration quota for Czechoslovakia of 2,871 persons a month, i.e. an annual quota of 14,357 persons. Moreover, in 1924 the quota was further reduced to less than 3,100 emigrants from Czechoslovakia.⁴² These figures imply that the interest in emigration was considerably high at that time and virtually prevailed during the whole inter-war period. But it was not only the immigration quotas overseas that hindered emigration of many people. Another problem was expensive ticket prices. For example travel to the USA or Canada cost about Kč 7,800 and Kč 6,800, respectively; in addition, the *money-in pocket law* was in force which required foreigners to have a certain financial amount available upon arrival to provide for minimum subsistence.⁴³ In October 1920 the "Emigration Division" of the voluntary Christian organisations, the YMCA and YWCA⁴⁴, published an overview of the requirements imposed by the United States.⁴⁵ The summary contained 5 points, which included health fitness with the required medical certificate, an invitation letter from the relatives of the emigrant, the ability to read and write, consent to a 2-4 days' quarantine at the incoming port at one's own cost, and the payment of tax for entering American soil in the amount of \$8. The associations estimated the total cost of emigration to the USA including all required fees at about Kč 15,000.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Migration statistics were first compiled in 1922. BOHÁČ, Antonín: Rodišť obyvatelstva a bilance vnitřního stěhování: Analytická část. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 37. Praha: SÚS, 1927, p. 45* a n.; see also our ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Plodnosť a celková reprodukcia obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1937*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2008, p. 112 ff.

⁴² NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 86032/1924;

⁴³ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 29890/1922; JAKEŠOVÁ, Elena, op. cit., p. 394.

⁴⁴ YWCA - Young Women's Christian Association; YMCA - Young Men's Christian Association.

⁴⁵ ŠA Nitra, f. Župa Nitra I, shelf mark 1171/1920 prez.

⁴⁶ *Idem*.

The question of emigration was also raised in the parliament and addressed by legislation. In the Czechoslovak parliament emigration began to be a part of the debate by the end of 1920, when the first specific proposals to manage emigration from the Czechoslovak Republic were presented. Several Slovak MPs challenged the government with questions such as what did the government do to prevent such a high number of emigrants, or what steps was the government about to take in response to this situation.⁴⁷ The Minister of Social Justice, Josef Gruber responded by referring to the preparation of a government proposal of the new emigration act.⁴⁸ The government proposal of the act on emigration was discussed in parliament on 5 August 1921.⁴⁹ At that time Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia were governed by the then-valid Emigration Act of 1909.⁵⁰ This act, however, was not applicable on a nationwide basis due to the previous reception of two different legacy jurisdictions following the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic.⁵¹

The justification report to the proposed act on emigration emphasised the need to protect emigrants mainly from exploitation by “emigration agents”. The introduction to the justification report implies certain kind of resignation on prevention or effective reduction of emigration. By emphasising positive work and positive influence on persons who decided to emigrate, the intention of the Czechoslovak government was not just to ascertain the reasons behind emigration, but also to: “...*properly manage the emigration flow – so as to pursue an efficient government emigration policy...*”. The proposed emigration act did not prohibit emigration and the legislators approached the subject by accepting emigrants’ freedom

⁴⁷ <http://www.nrsr.sk/dk/>, parliament bulletin 632, NZ 1920 – 1925, parliament bulletin 725, NZ 1920 – 1925, parliament bulletin 782, NZ 1920 – 1925 (retrieved on 24 May 2014)

⁴⁸ <http://www.nrsr.sk/dk/>, parliament bulletin 1439, NZ 1920 – 1925 (retrieved on 24 May 2014). Josef Gruber was one of the proponents of populationism, a political ideology founded on the importance of large and growing population, for details see ŠUBRTOVÁ, Alena. *Dějiny populačního myšlení v českých zemích*. Praha: Česká demografická společnost, 2006, p. 169 ff.

⁴⁹ <http://www.nrsr.sk/dk/>, parliament bulletin 3001, NZ 1920 – 1925 (retrieved on 24 May 2014).

⁵⁰ Royal Hungarian Emigration Act, article II: 1909.

⁵¹ Act No. 11/1918 as amended. In the Western part of Czechoslovakia, formerly a part of Austria, Austrian legal measures were in effect. In the Eastern part of Czechoslovakia, formerly a part of the Kingdom of Hungary, Royal Hungarian laws remained in effect.

of choice to leave the country.⁵² After minor adjustments and the approval of the government proposal by the social, political and budget committee, the act was eventually passed by both chambers of the National Council.⁵³

Compared to the Hungarian emigration regulations, the new act viewed the key term "emigrant" differently. Previous Hungarian regulations defined the term emigrant as any person who travelled abroad for permanent employment – they did not regard as emigrants those persons who emigrated to work in any European country for a period of less than one year.⁵⁴ The new act provided a broader definition of this term and included also seasonal workers employed outside the borders of Czechoslovakia.⁵⁵ This new definition resulted in the biggest changes in the new act compared to the previous legislation. The new act also governed the relations of emigrants to employment offers and contracts, and their relation to emigration agencies. These agencies were bound to apply for a permit to perform their activities from the MSC and were bound to organise the transport of passengers in accordance with the rules and conditions prescribed by law, which also pertained to transport rates. It should be noted that according to the wording of the act, emigration in itself did not constitute the loss of citizenship.⁵⁶

The emigration act governed the basic rights and obligations of migration from Czechoslovakia during virtually the whole inter-war period. Amendments were made in 1936 and 1937.⁵⁷ The reason behind those amendments was Art. 6 of the Emigration Act, which prohibited any agreements on emigration.⁵⁸ The amendment allowed the submission of colonisation projects to be reviewed by the MSC which was authorised to determine the conditions for building a new "settlement" in the immigration country within the context of the situation in the immigration country.⁵⁹

⁵² MVSR – Slovak National Archives in Bratislava, f. Land Office in Bratislava, 1928 – 1940 (henceforth: f. LO), shelf mark 16849/36 prez.; *Deset let*, p. 96.

⁵³ The Emigration Act was approved on 15 February 1922 and published under Act No. 71. For details on the Act as well as its accompanying Execution Directive No. 170/1922 as amended see MĚZL, František. *Výklad zákona o vystěhovalectví a prováděcího nařízení k němu*. Praha, 1924.

⁵⁴ NAČR, f. MV-SR, shelf mark 53633/1922.

⁵⁵ §1 of Act No. 71/1922 as amended.

⁵⁶ *Idem*.

⁵⁷ Government Decree No. 164/1936 as amended and Government Decree 154/1937 as amended.

⁵⁸ Act No. 71/1922 as amended, §6.

⁵⁹ SNA, f. LO, shelf mark 16849/36 prez.

In addition to the amendments to the aforementioned legal regulations, the information campaign on “accurate” information about the situation in the immigration countries finally became to take shape, although, one could argue that this was quite a late initiative. Beginning 1928 the MSC started issuing *Vystáhovalecký zpravodaj* (Emigration News Report)⁶⁰ and in the 1930s a more detailed *Zprávy z oboru vystěhovaleckého* (News from the Sphere of Emigration), which were regularly distributed to individual county offices.⁶¹ In 1926 the MSC had created a special advisory body dealing with emigration issues. Members of the *Committee for Emigration and Colonisation* included representatives of several ministries. The Committee held regular monthly meetings and established several Sub-Committees.⁶²

On 10 December 1934 the first emigration advisory centre began its operation in Bratislava headed by the “Curatorial Board”, which included representatives of the *Regional Council, Czechoslovak Institute of Foreign Policy, Slovak Employment Office for Agrarian Workers, Agrarian Board for Slovakia*, the city of Bratislava and *Slovak Branch of the National Council of Czechoslovakia*. The primary mission of the Curatorial Board was to provide information related to potential emigration to foreign countries. The emigration advisory centre was also to monitor seasonal migration of the population.⁶³

The issue of emigration from Slovakia or the Czechoslovak Republic is a broad and still open topic. The scope of the subject extends to several scientific disciplines. In many cases emigration permanently divided families and its consequences directly affect the Slovak population even today. With thousands of economically active people in their fertile age leaving the country, the reproduction process in the inter-war period in Slovakia slowed down, leading to gradual decline in the total increase of population in this period. The state and its population policy developed over the 1930s on the principles mentioned above. On one hand, it was a policy of “populationists”, who attempted to improve the situation of families and, on the other hand, a migration policy seen as a regulatory instrument.

⁶⁰ *Deset let*, p. 97.

⁶¹ MVSR State Archives in Košice, Rožňava branch, f. County Clerk Office in Revúca, 1923 – 1944, shelf mark 748/1934 adm., shelf mark 1006/1936 adm., shelf mark 915/1938 adm.

⁶² *Deset let*, p. 99-100.

⁶³ MVSR State Archives in Levoča, Poprad branch, fonds County Clerk Office in Kežmarok, (1921) 1923 – 1945 (1947), shelf mark 13120/1935 adm.

The organisation of emigration from Czechoslovakia in the early 1920s was well-disposed towards emigrants. Medical examinations paid by the state helped reduce the number of persons rejected by immigration authorities based on medical reasons. To a large extent the organised and regulated emigration restrained the exploitation of emigrants by various agents and racketeers, and also represented an active health policy by regulating a part of those migrating within the population of Czechoslovakia.

K počiatkom organizovania vysťahovalectva z Československej republiky

Pavol Tišliar

Vysťahovalectvo zo Slovenska na prelome 19. a 20. storočia patrilo k najväčším v Európe. Jeho hlavnou príčinou bola agrárna preľudnenosť a nedostatok príležitostí k zárobku. Migrácia za prácou sa tak stala v tomto období jednoducho nutnosťou. Po prechodnej stagnácii vysťahovalectva tesne po vzniku Československa sa emigrácia opätovne rozvinula. Jedným z jej vonkajších prejavov bola aj hrozba šírenia infekčných ochorení vo vnútri Československa, ale tiež problémy migrantov, ktoré mohli nastať v súvislosti s ich prijatím v imigračnej krajine. Československá republika z týchto dôvodov pristúpila k istej forme organizovania vysťahovaleckého prúdu z republiky. Bola zriadená špecializovaná zdravotná revízna stanica v Svatobořiciach u Kyjova, ktorá kontrolovala emigrantov a vydávala osvedčenia o ich zdravotnom stave, ktoré napomáhali vstupu migrantov do imigračných krajín. Túto revíznú stanicu v organizovanom odchode migrantov dopĺňala vysťahovalecká stanica v Libni pri Prahe, v ktorej sa vysťahovalci pred odchodom z Československa sústredili.

Migračnú politiku v Československu do značnej miery limitoval zákon o vysťahovalectve z roku 1922, ktorý s menšími úpravami ostal v platnosti počas celého medzivojnového obdobia. Migračná politika pritom v mnohom pripomínala pozície neomaltuzianizmu, tvrdeniami vrcholových predstaviteľov Československa o istej nevyhnutnosti ventilovať sociálne napätie v krajine, ktoré vyvolávala najmä nezamestnanosť. Tou ventiláciou bolo práve vysťahovalectvo. Istým paradoxom bola pritom skutočnosť, že pokým v západnej časti Československa začal už na prelome 19. a 20. storočia populačný rast stagnovať a ozývali sa hlasy po vytvorení podmienok k zakladaniu

rodín a zlepšeníu rodinnej politiky, na Slovensku a ďalej na východe na Podkarpatskej Rusi, existovala naďalej situácia relatívneho preľudnenia zapríčineného nedostatkom pracovných príležitostí.

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On employment of women in Slovakia in the inter-war period¹

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Studies in the Population of Slovakia II, p. 62-95

This paper analyses the gradual inclusion of women in the workforce during the years between the two world wars based primarily on selected data from the 1921 and 1930 population censuses which attempted to map the population's economic activity. From the terminological standpoint, the paper focuses on the concepts of housewife (homemaker) and helping family member as distinct categories of economic activity during the period in question.

Keywords:

economic activity – women – inter-war period – Slovakia

The term “economic activity” as used in population studies refers to any wage-earning or non-wage activity in the manufacturing and service sectors related to the creation of products of the whole society.² This definition most frequently used in demography describes the relational analysis between the material aspects of human lives and the development of a particular group of the population.

In demography, economic activities of people are mainly approached in three ways:

1) the population is categorised into individual economic categories by their prevailing livelihood; this creates and defines the economic

¹ This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 “*Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia*”. Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0026/14 “*Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050*” and the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0145/12 “*Migračné procesy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1948*”.

² ROUBÍČEK, Vladimír. *Úvod do demografie*. Praha: Codex Bohemia, 1997, p. 160.

structure of the population, with fluctuations within this structure also being monitored; and

2) the population is categorised by job positions, classifying people into social groups within individual economic categories; thus a social structure of the population is formed in which movements between individual social groups (social mobility) are also tracked; and

3) it differentiates between fundamental demographic processes (nuptiality, mortality and natality) and overall population reproduction; it classifies and describes individual demographic events with respect to the population's affiliation with specific social and economic classes.

The economic activities of both genders are analysed. In demography, activities of women are analysed in detail as one of the factors influencing various characteristics of fertility and natality, such as the total number of children in a family, intervals between successive births, the mother's age at individual childbirths, etc. and also in regard to the social and economic position of the mother and the whole family.

The population's economic activities are directly related to current economy and the underlying wage-earning activities. After the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Empire the largest proportion of industrial production remained in the newly established Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia) but primarily within the Czech regions.³ After establishment of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, from the point of view of the national economy was the part of the newly-created state primarily focused on agriculture. Most industrial production, as well as more developed commerce, services and transport were located in the western regions, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia.

That Czech regions had a more developed economy became clear in the first population census, when the proportion between industry and agriculture in this part of the country was 40% to 32%, respectively. In the early 1920s, only 17% of population in Slovakia worked in industry, while as much as 61% of the population was active in agriculture. Surprisingly, although agricultural production prevailed in Slovak areas and the majority of the population was dependent on this sector, 75% of overall Czechoslovak agricultural production came from the Czech regions.⁴

³ FALTUS, Jozef – KRAJNIAKOVÁ, Emília. *Hospodárske dejiny*. Bratislava: VŠE, 1992, p. 60.

⁴ *Mýtus a realita hospodárskej vyspелosti Československa medzi svetovými vojkami*. Praha: Karolinum, 2000, p. 16.

After the establishment of Czechoslovakia a major issue arose regarding the sale of goods. The creation of new state units resulted in the loss of previous markets; a replacement had to be found in the Czechoslovak economy. The more industrial western part of Czechoslovakia dealt with the issue of lost markets by building a stronger position in the Slovak and Subcarpathian Ruthenia markets, resulting in stronger pressure on the meagre economy existing in these regions.⁵

During the inter-war period, the Czechoslovak economy underwent two major crises. The first, an after-war recession that had been preceded by a period of more intensive production, started at the end of 1921 and peaked in 1923.⁶ During this crisis the Czechoslovak economy was adjusting to new conditions in both global and internal markets. Overall production then dropped by approximately one-quarter from the 1921 figures. From the beginning of 1924 the after-war crisis was gradually overcome and the overall economy recovered, reflected in the 1925 economic output reaching the pre-war industrial level.⁷

After a rather peaceful period of gradual upswing in economic indicators in the period from 1924 to 1928, a more substantial crisis occurred in agriculture in 1928.⁸ Following an abundant harvest with large surpluses of agricultural commodities, grain prices gradually dropped until the situation developed into an agrarian crisis. In effect, this crisis lasted until 1933 when the fall in prices stopped and in 1934 a slight price increase was recorded.⁹

However, in addition to the agrarian crisis an extensive global economic crisis began towards the end of 1929, affecting almost all economic sectors in the majority of developed countries in the world. In Czechoslovakia the crisis caused a 40% decrease in production in 1933. The sectors most affected by the economic crisis included metallurgy,

⁵ HALLON, Ľudovít. *Industrializácia Slovenska 1918 – 1938. (Rozvoj alebo úpadok?)*. Bratislava: Veda, 1995, p. 44.

⁶ On post-war reconstruction, see e.g. FALTUS, Jozef. *Povojnová hospodárska kríza v rokoch 1921 – 1923 v Československu*. Bratislava: SAV, 1966; PRŮCHA, Václav et al. *Nástin hospodářských dějin v období kapitalismu a socialismu*. Praha: Svoboda, 1987, p. 126.

⁷ FALTUS, Jozef – KRAJNIAKOVÁ, Emília. *Hospodárske dejiny*. Bratislava: VŠE, 1992, p. 63; see also *O priemysle Slovenska: Výročná správa Krajinskej skupiny pre Slovensko Ústredného zväzu čsl. priemyselníkov v Bratislave*. 1924. Bratislava: Ústredný zväz čsl. priemyselníkov, 1924, p. 9; PRŮCHA, Václav, op. cit., p. 126.

⁸ BARTLOVÁ, Alena. *Hospodárska kríza na Slovensku v rokoch 1929 – 1933*. In: *Historický časopis* č. 2/32, 1984, p. 219.

⁹ LACINA, Vlastislav. *Kríze Československého zemědělství 1928 – 1934*. Praha: ČSAV, 1974, p. 38.

coal mining, construction, wood processing, and glassworks with a major drop also recorded in textile production.¹⁰

The overall production decrease was partially caused by the population's rather low purchasing power. A strong restriction on foreign exports, hindered by various protective customs duties imposed by crisis-afflicted countries, also greatly added to the production decline.¹¹

A more visible revival of production was only recorded in 1936 due to better foreign trade conditions on one hand and expansion of the arms industry on the other. However, recovery to pre-crisis levels was achieved in only certain sectors and the overall pre-recession production level was not reached until 1938.¹² Before dissolution of Czechoslovakia, export levels were about 58% of the pre-crisis levels.¹³

The population of Slovakia coped with the effects of these economic crises with great difficulty. Even though Slovakia had not previously been considered as one of the countries with developed agriculture, almost instantly after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia began to gain the image in economic circles as the agrarian region of Czechoslovakia.¹⁴ In the 1920s, the greatest portion of agricultural exports from Slovakia headed to Czech markets, with the export of raw materials and semi-finished products prevailing.¹⁵ The aforementioned agrarian crisis, during which grain exports to Czech regions dropped 70%, triggered a change in this perception.¹⁶

The situation in Slovak industry was even worse. The low competitiveness of Slovak industry caused gradual flattening of smaller industrial companies by Czech capital.¹⁷ Higher production costs together with significant transportation fees weakened the position of Slovak companies in the Czechoslovak market as well as in the overall

¹⁰FALTUS, Jozef – KRAJNIAKOVÁ, Emília, op. cit., p. 63.

¹¹KŘÍŽ, Karel. *Perspektivy naší soudobé hospodářské krise*. Praha: Svaz národního osvobození, 1935, p. 8; MÝTUS a realita, p. 49.

¹²FALTUS, Jozef – KRAJNIAKOVÁ, Emília, op. cit., p. 64.

¹³HALLON, Ľudovít, op. cit., p. 148.

¹⁴BAUCH, Vlastislav. *Sociálno-ekonomický vývoj slovenského poľnohospodárskeho obyvateľstva*. Bratislava: Ústav marxizmu – leninizmu, 1986, p. 36 ff.; FALTUS, Jozef – PRŮCHA Václav. *Přehled hospodářského vývoje na Slovensku v letech 1918 – 1945*. Bratislava: Vyd. politickej literatúry, 1967, p. 105.

¹⁵HALLON, Ľudovít. Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štrukturálnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. In: *Slovensko v Československu 1918 – 1939*. M. Zemko, V. Bystrický (eds.). Bratislava: Veda, 2004, p. 323.

¹⁶BARTLOVÁ, Alena, op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁷HALLON, Ľudovít, op. cit., p. 48.

exports.¹⁸ For the very fragile Slovak industry, the impacts of the global economic crisis in the 1930s were a heavy blow from which Slovak industry only began to recover in 1936. The reduced exports also had adverse implications for industrial production in Slovakia. Typically, the export destinations for Slovak products included Hungary, Austria, and Germany. Protection of local markets in these countries complicated exports and consequently made the crisis even worse.¹⁹

Naturally, the economic situation described above affected the economic activities of the Czechoslovak population. In the inter-war period a higher rate of employment of the male population was typical compared to the number of working women. This disproportion, though gradually reduced over the interwar period, originated from the economic structure on one hand, but on the other hand a major role was also played by social and cultural conditions and impacts. Revolutionary demographic development that was effectively demonstrated in Slovakia after the end of World War I had even more substantial impact.²⁰ The demographic revolution was characterised by higher mortality, as well as a substantial decrease in natality, sometimes as drastic as an increasing trend of single-child families.²¹

The head of the immediate nuclear family in households was the father – head of the household (head of the family) whose main task in family matters was to “earn money and sustain the family”. The primary task of the woman – mother was to take care of children and the household. This basic distribution of family “duties” determined the extent and proportion of female employment in Slovakia’s population. Not many opportunities to place children in institutions providing child care (nurseries, kindergartens) were available during this period that could help mothers share the all-day care of their children.²²

However, the existence of dependent children was not the only determinant preventing higher employment of women. Their employment was also to a certain degree limited by their level of education. During the inter-war period education was therefore already becoming a prerequisite for greater employment of women as well as for higher earnings. During

¹⁸ For details, see FALTUS, Jozef – PRŮCHA, Václav, op. cit., p. 77 ff.

¹⁹ BARTLOVÁ, Alena, op. cit., p. 228.

²⁰ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Úmrtnosť na Slovensku v rokoch 1919 – 1937*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2008, p. 11 ff.

²¹ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Plodnosť a celková reprodukcia obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1937*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2008, p. 12-15, 46.

²² MVSР – Slovak National Archives, f. Slovak Statistical Office, 1952 – 1960, box no. 50, no shelf mark.

the whole period reviewed, there were substantial differences in wages, as women's wages were much lower on average than those of men.

The economic activity of the population in the inter-war period can be analysed mostly based on two officially planned and conducted population censuses in Czechoslovakia in 1921 and 1930. In 1930, a special count of agricultural businesses and tradesmen was conducted that also provided, among other information, some data on the population's economic activity. Nevertheless, all necessary data are not available for the reviewed period that would allow precise classification of the Slovak population's economic activity with detailed differentiation by gender. This problem is apparent mainly in the reporting of certain demographic events with, for instance, only the role of the family provider considered, i.e. in this period the typical family nucleus being the man. Consequently, women were more-or-less background figures even though leading statistical experts in Czechoslovakia were aware of the inappropriateness of this in data reporting. But this was not only the issue when considering the role of family provider. Another issue arose with the classification of work of housewives; the question at hand was whether or not these activities could be considered as equivalent to typical wage-earning activities. In this respect, the 1929 congress of the International Statistical Institute recommended that married women staying at home were not to be included directly as actively employed persons, but rather that a special register be created for quantification of female heads of households who performed all housework by themselves without any hired labour.²³

In his analysis of employment of the Czechoslovak population, Václav Sekera stated in 1935 that the Statistical Office complied with this requirement. In the 1930 population census, the Statistical Office of Czechoslovakia therefore counted women managing their own households among helping family members or family members without employment, with separate categories for wives or partners of heads of families. Unfortunately, these data were not published by the Statistical Office in the tabular section "to save money". Only aggregate data for all of Slovakia include these categories. Later, these data were used for presentation of data on female fertility as of 1930.²⁴

²³SEKERA, Václav. Analytická část. Sčítání obyvatelstva v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl II. Povolání obyvatelstva. Část I. Druhy, skupiny a třídy hlavního povolání, poměr k povolání a sociální příslušnost, třídy vedlejšího povolání. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 104, series VI. Issue 8. (henceforth: ČSS vol. 104). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1934, p. 16*.

²⁴SEKERA, Václav, , op. cit., p. 16* and 41*.

1) Structure of population by economic sectors

A summary of the total economically active population in Slovakia at the time of both official inter-war censuses is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of economically active population in Slovakia in 1921 and 1930 by official statistics²⁵

Year	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries (A)		Industry and manufacture (B)		Trade, finance and transport (C)	
	E	H	E	H	E	H
1921	533 364	218 414	223 015	4 181	83 056	4 280
1930	530 883	337 443	245 902	1 430	112 679	5 003
Year	Public service, freelance and military		Domestic and personal servants*		Other / not given*	
	(D)		(E)		(F)	
	E	H	E	H	E	H
1921	87 135	47	533 364	218 414	223 015	4 181
1930	112 052	56	530 883	337 443	245 902	1 430

* in 1921 classes E and F reported jointly, class F was established only in 1930; E - employed; H - helping family members

This table describes the number of persons employed in individual sectors according to the criteria of the official statistics. The data show that in 1930 the total share of economically active persons increased from about 44% to almost 46%. This resulted from an overall increase of over 200,000 in actively employed people.²⁶ However, the official statistics also included, for example, persons serving compulsory military service, pensioners, disabled persons, etc. in the category of economically active population. In response to this, we prepared Table 2 showing only the number of persons actively earning wages in 1921 and 1930.

The majority of the Slovak population earned wages in the primary sector - agriculture and their share was reduced only slightly over the reviewed period. Although the number of employees in industry and manufacture trades increased by more than 8%, the total share of

²⁵ *Statistická příručka republiky Československé III.* (henceforth: SPRČS III., 1928). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1928, p. 310; ČSS vol. 104, p. 26.

²⁶ Cf. *Hospodářský vývoj Slovenska*. Bratislava: Pravda, 1971, p. 7.

people earning wages in this sector dropped from 19.7% to 18.3% by 1930. However, the share of persons earning their living in commerce, transport, state and public service increased. In 1921, wage-earning persons represented more than 38% of the Slovak population and by 1930 this share had increased to almost 41%.

Table 2: Number of wage-earning inhabitants of Slovakia in 1921 and 1930²⁷

Year	Agriculture (A)	Industry and manufacture (B)	Trade, finance (C ₁)	Transport (C ₂)	Public service, Free-lance (D ₁)	Military (D ₂)	Other and not given (E+F)	Total
1921	751 778	227 196	47 387	39 949	46 892	2 757	38 712	1 154 671
1930	868 326	247 332*	71 515	46 167	64 195	4 949	46 063	1 348 547
As a share (in ‰) of the total number								
1921	651.07	196.76	41.04	34.6	40.61	2.39	33.52	1000
1930	643.90	183.41	53.03	34.23	47.60	3.67	34.16	1000

*excluding trades providing personal care services

Table 3 includes persons who did not earn wages in a respective sector but were economically dependent on it. When comparing the results of both censuses it is apparent that the share of population dependent on agriculture gradually fell by almost 11%. The proportion increased in other sectors. In the reviewed decade, the most significant increase in dependent persons linked with a specific sector was reported for transport, specifically by almost 36%.

Cartograms 1 and 2 and Table 4 show that the primary sector – agriculture – provided a livelihood for a majority of the Slovak population. Only a few regions reported lower than 50% affiliation of the population to agriculture. These exceptions were particularly in more industrial centres such as Bratislava and its vicinity, Banská Štiavnica,

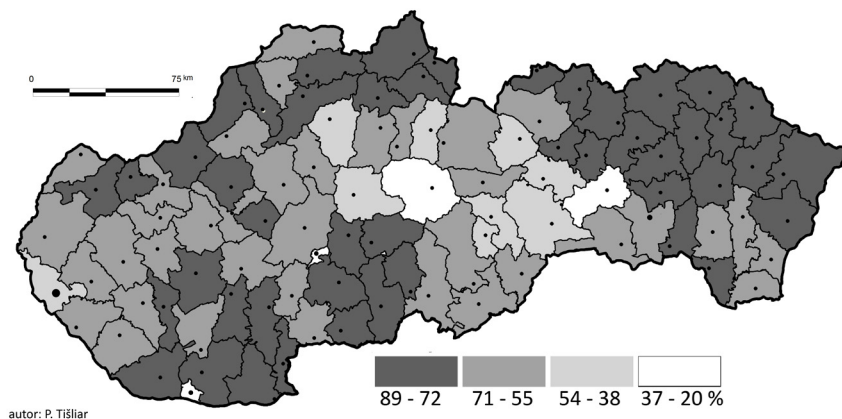
²⁷ Compiled based on data from *Statistická příručka republiky Československé II.* (henceforth: SPRČS, 1925). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1925, p. 409-410; ČSS vol. 104, p. 26-37; SPRČS III., 1928, p. 301-307; *Statistická příručka republiky Československé IV.* (henceforth: SPRČS IV., 1932). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1932, p. 13-14; *Príručka hospodárskej štatistiky Slovenska*. Ed. Pavel Horváth. (henceforth: PHŠS). Bratislava: Ústredné združenie slovenského priemyslu, 1935, s. 38. Prepočítané dáta porovnávajú s dátami J. Svetoňa – SVETONĚ, Ján. *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 1958, p. 100-101. Any deviations were caused by different criteria for recalculation and different rounding to thousands used by J. Svetoň.

Banská Bystrica, Spišská Nová Ves and Gelnica, where transport and commerce had more considerably expanded.

Table 3: Number of wage-earning persons in Slovakia between 1921 and 1930, dependent on (affiliated to) the sector²⁸

Year	Agriculture (A)	Industry and manufacture (B)	Trade, finance (C ₁)	Transport (C ₂)	Public service, Freelance (D ₁)	Military (D ₂)	Other and not given (E+F)	Total
1921	1 067 070	302 996	76 766	66 536	58 282	40 076	234 473	1 846 199
1930	1 023 716	387 465	109 763	111 467	91 788	49 141	207 906	1 981 246
As a share (in ‰) of the total number of non-earners								
1921	577.98	164.12	41.58	36.04	31.57	21.71	127.00	1000
1930	516.70	195.57	55.40	56.26	46.33	24.80	104.94	1000

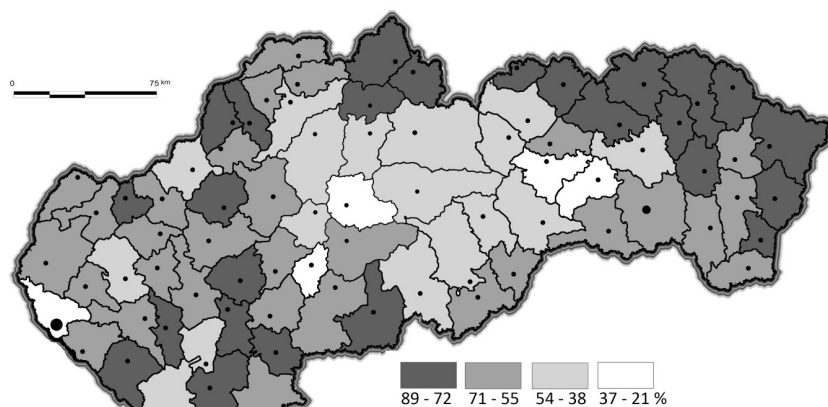
Cartogram 1: Affiliation of population to agriculture in 1921 in ‰²⁹



²⁸ SPRČS II., 1925, p. 409-410; ČSS vol. 104, p. 26-37; SPRČS III., 1928, p. 301-307; SPRČS IV., 1932, p. 13-14; PHŠS, p. 38.

²⁹ Sčítanie ľudu v republike Československej zo dňa 15. februára 1921: II. diel Povolanie obyvateľstva, 3 časť Slovensko a Podkarpatská Rus. In: Československá statistika vol. 22, series VI., issue 4 (henceforth: ČSS vol. 22). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1925, p. 3-7, 43-47.

Cartogram 2: Affiliation of population to agriculture in 1930 in %³⁰



autor: P. Tišliar

Table 4: Total number of persons in Slovakia in proportion to sectors in 1921 and 1930³¹

Year	Agriculture (A)	Industry and manufacture (B)	Trade, finance (C ₁)	Transport (C ₂)	Public service, Freelance (D ₁)	Military (D ₂)	Other and not given (E+F)	Total
1921*	1818848	530192	124153	106485	105174	42833	273185	3000870
1930	1892042	634797	181278	157634	155983	54090	253969	3329793
As a share (in %) of the total number								
1921	,	176.68	41.37	35.48	35.05	14.27	91.04	1000
1930	568.22	190.64	54.44	47.34	46.84	16.24	76.28	1000

*total present population

³⁰ PHŠS, p. 26-27.

³¹ *Ibid.* See also the figures in *Statistická ročenka ČSR 1936* (henceforth: SRRČS 1936). Praha: Státní úřad statistický 1936, p. 10. This recalculated data took into account the territorial changes of 1920, the figure for the proportional representation differ only in their decimal parts: agriculture – 60.6 %; industry and manufacture – 17.4 %; trade and finance – 4.1 %; transport – 3.5 %; public service and freelance – 3.6 %; military – 1.4 %; other and not given – 9.3 %; see also DOBRÝ Anatol. *Materiály ke studiu dějin československého hospodářství v letech 1918 – 1945*. Praha: SPN, 1955, p. 5 in the appendix and *Stručný hospodářský vývoj Československa do roku 1955*. Praha: Svoboda, 1969, p. 114.

In general terms, the share of dependency on agriculture dropped during the reviewed period by approximately 6.3% while livelihoods earned in industry and manufacture trades increased by slightly more than 7%. In this period, the share of transport recorded the most substantial increase, as much as 25%, which indicates an increased proportion of persons affiliated with this sector.

Table 5: Structure of population by source of livelihood in retrospect for the period from 1900 to 1930³²

Year	Population	Economic sector			
		Agriculture (A)	Industry (B)	Trade, finance, transport (C)	Other
1900	2 790 234	1 849 003	440 320	191 240	309 671
1910	2 925 251	1 830 428	538 001	233 523	323 299
1921	2 998 244	1 817 878	522 593	229 869	427 904
1930	3 329 793	1 892 042	634 797	338 912	464 042
Economic structure by sector in %					
1900	100	66,27	15,78	6,86	11,09
1910	100	62,57	18,39	7,99	11,05
1921	100	60,63	17,43	7,67	14,27
1930	100	56,82	19,07	10,17	13,94

Thus in general terms, the structure of the Slovak economy can be characterised as stagnating with a clear prevalence for agrarian production on which the majority of the Slovak population was dependent.

The share of the population included in the work process increased very slowly in the inter-war period. In 1921, there were about 1.6 economically inactive persons for each economically active person. This share dropped only slightly by 1930 when the records showed almost 1.5 dependent persons (including helping family members) per each economically active person. But this was in part caused by the gradual decrease of both the net and gross population reproduction rate which had recorded a continuous decrease in Slovakia from 1921.³³ A more substantial development can be observed in changes within individual economic sectors. In agriculture, forming the essential means of subsistence for the Slovak population, the number of dependent persons

³²SRB, Vladimír. *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska 1918 – 1938*. Bratislava: Infostat, 2002, p. 8.

³³ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, op. cit., p. 101 ff.

decreased from 1.42 to 1.18 by 1930, while in industry and manufacture trades the dependency increased from 1.34 to 1.57 persons.

Table 6: Number and share of economically active women in individual economic sectors³⁴

Year	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries (A)	Industry and manufacture (B)	Trade, finance and transport (C)	Public service, freelance and military (D)	Domestic and personal services * (E)	Other and not given * (F)
1921	182 253	36 829	24 785	19 676	84 273	*
Per 100 economically active persons	24 %	15.7 %	24.9 %	20.4 %	64.6 %	*
1930	306 182	40 938	36 652	28 158	12 961	63 572
Per 100 economically active persons	35.1 %	16.1 %	27.2 %	22.8 %	7.4 %	50.4 %
Share of economically active women per sector in %						
1921	52.4 %	10.6 %	7.1 %	5.7 %	24.2 %	*
1930	62.7 %	8.4 %	7.5 %	5.8 %	2.7 %	13.0 %

* in 1921 classes E + F reported jointly

Lower economic activity by women was present in almost all basic economic sectors. The data collection methodology used in 1921 was reflected in a higher proportion of active women in households and personal services, as well as other professions (classes E+F) where women represented an absolute majority of active persons. Their proportion in other spheres was small. In 1930, partly because the data collection method had changed, the share of economically active women increased in almost all basic sectors. This increase was most apparent in the primary sector with economic activity by women increasing to over one-third. On the other hand the categories of domestic and personal services that were reported together with other professions in 1921 recorded a decrease. This was mainly due to differences in statistical reporting. Thus some portion of women were taken from the last categories and included in agriculture.

³⁴ ČSS vol. 22, p. 48-50; ČSS vol. 104, p. 212-215. We added figures for female domestic servants.

2) Social structure and mobility

In the inter-war period, the economically active population was structured in three basic groups. The most numerous group were the so-called employed persons who were directly employed and earned wages (pursued business) in individual economic sectors. This group comprised almost 80% of the total economically active population in 1921. This share dropped below 75% by 1930. Helping family members who filled in for or substituted for paid workers to a large extent represented the second most numerous segment of the economically active population. In 1921, these helping members represented almost 20%, with their share increasing to almost 25% by 1930. In addition to these two main groups, domestic servants represented the third, less populous, segment comprising about 3% of the economically active population.

As mentioned above, mostly men were among the economically active persons. Economically active men – family providers – represented approximately 66.5% and 64.5% of the total number of men in Slovakia in 1921 and 1930, respectively.³⁵

The share of direct wage-earning women reached 16% of the total number of women or almost 24% of all active persons in 1921, with stagnation recorded in this indicator.³⁶ Despite the total number of economically active women increasing in the following decade, no substantial increase was recorded in wage-earning women, while the category of helping household members tripled. As mentioned earlier, this was largely due to the fact that a majority of women were not registered as helping household members in 1921 but as persons without their own employment. This was partly due to the data collection during the 1921 census, where the main employment was only stated for the head of a family. If, for instance, a man stated a job in a factory while the management of the farm, fields and household was the responsibility of a woman, she did not have to be counted as a person helping her husband.

In 1930, the aforementioned change in separate reporting of wives of household heads brought a new count for the total number of 52,631 women in this category who were classified as helping family members (15.3%) in Slovakia, while as many as 489,041 women were categorised as family members without their own employment (27.2%), i.e. as the

³⁵ *Demografická příručka*. Ed. Vladimír Srb. (henceforth: DP). Praha: Svoboda, 1967, p. 34.

³⁶ 1921 data was recalculated based on data from SPRČS III. 1928, ref. 27, s. 310 def. č.; tiež SPRČS II. 1925, p. 410, preliminary data. By 1930, the absolute number of women in the workforce increased by more than 15 thousand, see data published in ČSS vol. 22, p. 50 and ČSS vol. 104, p. 212.

economically inactive population.³⁷

Women formed an absolute majority among domestic servants with this disproportion becoming even higher by the end of 1930. In total, women had a 26.3% share in economic activity in 1921, increasing to almost 32% in the following decade.³⁸

Table 7: Economically active population in Slovakia in 1921 and 1930 by gender, according to official statistics³⁹

Gen- der	Economically active population by gender										
	Population figures		1921			1930			Difference between 1921 and 1930 in %		
	1921	1930	Of which			Of which			Of which		
			H	S	E	H	S	E	H	S	E
Male	1459540	1614024	803751	167405	1351	877032	163223	653	9.12	-2.50	-51.67
Fe- male	1541330	1715769	247820	59844	40152	262520	180844	45099	5.93	202.19	12.32
Total	3000870	3229793	1051571	227249	41503	1139552	344067	45752	8.37	51.41	10.24
As % of total population											
Male	100	100	55.1	11.5	0.1	54.3	10.1	0.04	*	*	*
Fe- male	100	100	16.1	3.9	2.6	15.3	10.5	2.6	*	*	*
Total	100	100	35	7.6	1.4	35.3	10.7	1.4	*	*	*
Gender representation in the economically active population in %											
Male	*	*	76.4	73.7	3.3	77	47.4	1.4	*	*	*
Fe- male	*	*	23.6	26.3	96.7	23	52.6	98.6	*	*	*
Total	*	*	100	100	100	100	100	100	*	*	*

E - employed; H - helping family members; S - domestic servants

For men, the number of economically active individuals increased by nearly 70,000 in the reviewed decade, with the number of direct wage-earning men positively increasing. In the category of domestic servants, a substantial decrease in active men occurred. A slight decrease in the number of men was also reported in the category of helping family

³⁷ Recalculated based on data in Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl II., část 2. Povolání obyvatelstva. Povolání podle věku a rodinného stavu, podle velikosti místa pobytu, objektivní povolání, veřejní zaměstnanci, vedlejší povolání, nezaměstnanost. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 113, series VI., issue 9 (henceforth: ČSS vol. 113). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1935, p. 138.

³⁸ Recalculated based on data from ČSS zv. 113. ref. 41, s. 138.

³⁹ Recalculated based on data from SPRČS III. 1928, p. 310 and ČSS vol. 113, p. 138.

members.⁴⁰

The economic structure of the population reflected the structure of Slovak economy. The prevailing agrarian character of the country was mirrored mainly in a higher number of helping family members in this sector. Usually the whole family or household participated in agricultural activities, not only the head of the family, but also the wife along with older children or other relatives who could have earned a salary for their help. In statistics, however, problems are encountered in the recording of this segment of the population, as it was often difficult to distinguish between such assisting activities and help in the household, which was mainly the domain of women. Thus a person was not necessarily recorded as a helping household member, but could be categorised as a person without employment.⁴¹ Helping household members were therefore grouped mainly in agriculture and less so in production trades, commerce and transport.

From the perspective of individual regions we can conclude that higher economic activity of women was recorded in northern Slovakia where the main source of livelihood was related to agriculture. However, in these counties mainly helping women prevailed as shown in Cartograms 5 and 6 summarising the overall data of economically active women. The proportional share between economically active women and female helping household members as illustrated by Cartogram 7 further confirms the foregoing conclusions. In almost exclusively agricultural regions such as Orava, northern Spiš and Zemplín helping women dominated.

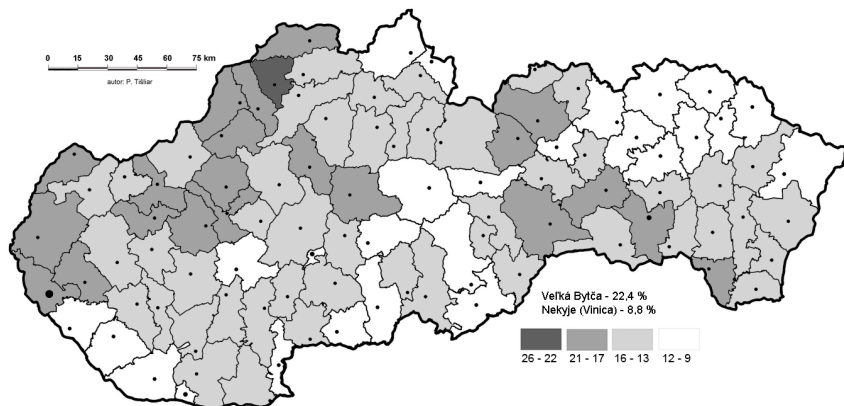
For further illustration we prepared Cartogram 8 that shows the regional disproportion of female employment according to data collected in the census of agricultural and trade businesses in 1930. This census marginally identified the numbers of employed persons in individual businesses, but these data are of different nature compared to the data provided by official population censuses, since the primary objective of the census of businesses was to obtain an economic overview and demographic data were therefore considered circumstantial. Nevertheless, the core of these results was confirmed by the subsequent population census in 1930. Increased economic activity by women was most obvious in the regions of Kysuce and Považie. This was mainly the result of a higher femininity in these regions, which in turn was a result of

⁴⁰ Compare the results of recalculated figures for economic activities in DP, p. 34.

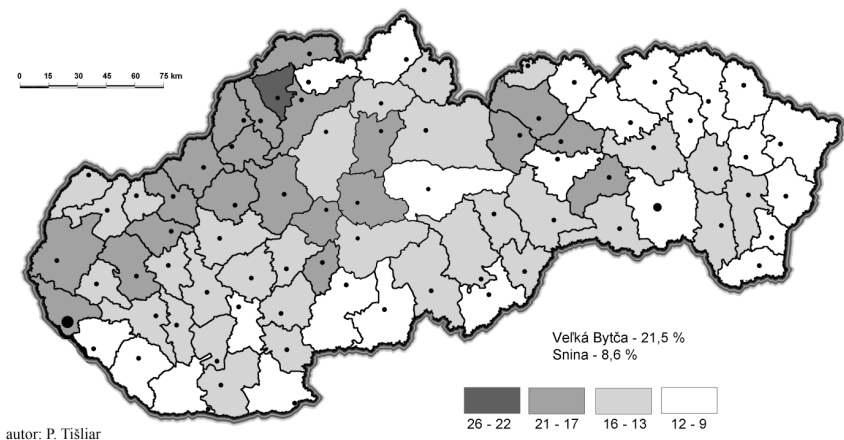
⁴¹ DP, p. 12*; see also ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1940*. Bratislava: Infostat, 2009, p. 167-168.

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job migration by the male population.⁴²

**Cartogram 3: Proportion of active women to 100 women
in the respective county in 1921⁴³**



**Cartogram 4: Proportion of active women to 100 women
in the respective county in 1930⁴⁴**

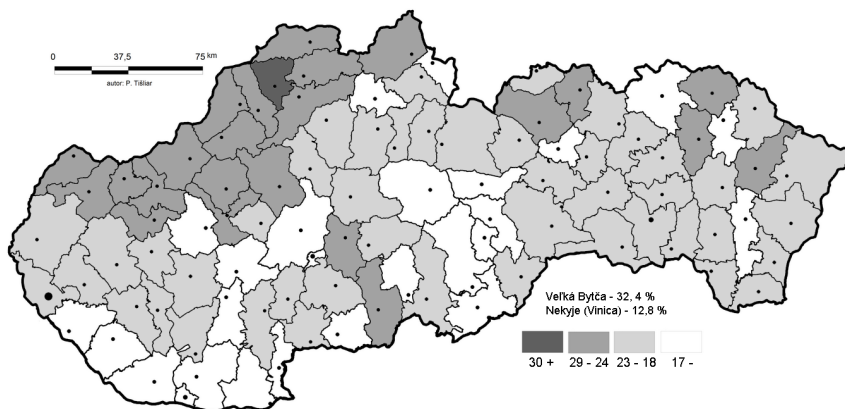


⁴² ŠPROCHA, Branislav - TIŠLIAR, Pavol, idem, p. 54-57.

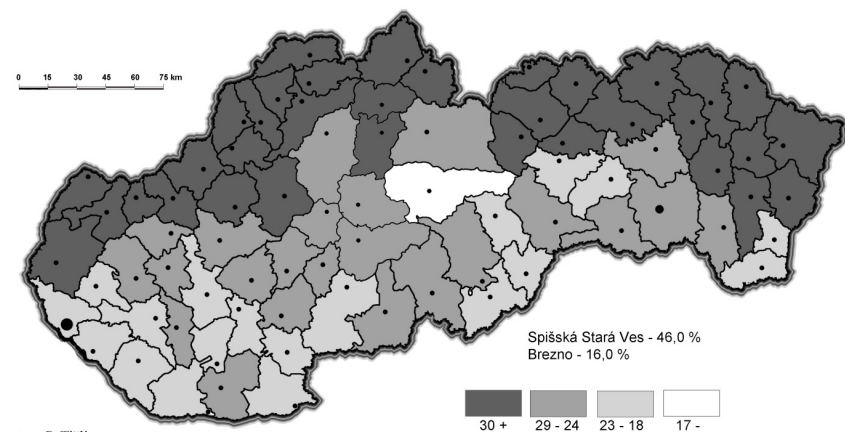
⁴³ ČSS vol. 22, p. 48-50.

⁴⁴ ČSS zv. 104. ref. 23, s. 212-215.

Cartogram 5: Share of economically active women (employed, helping women and domestic servants recognised jointly) in 1921 in %⁴⁵



Cartogram 6: Share of economically active women (active, helping women and domestic servants recognised jointly) in 1930 in %⁴⁶

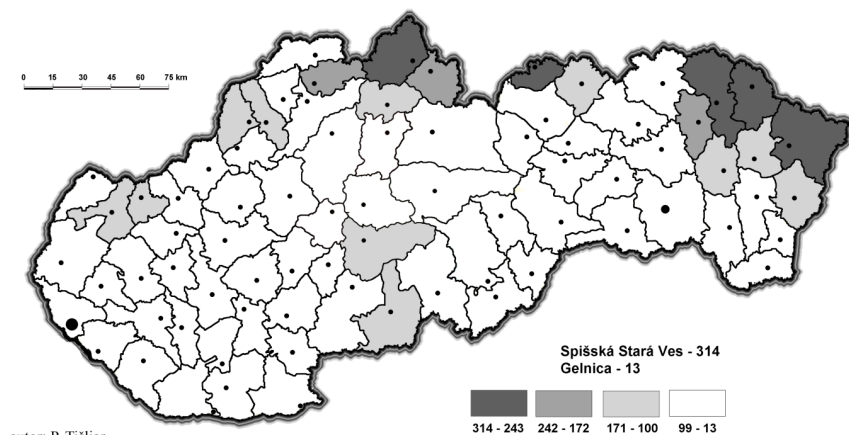


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⁴⁵ ČSS vol. 22, p. 48-50.

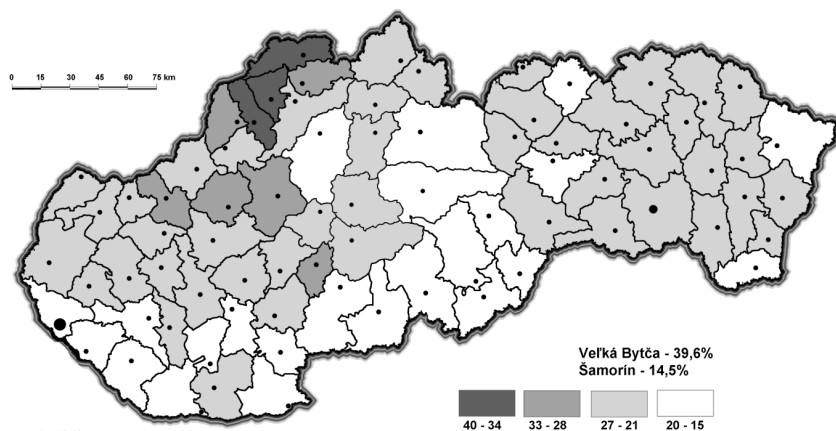
⁴⁶ ČSS vol. 104, p. 212-215.

Cartogram 7: Proportion of helping women to 100 active women in 1930⁴⁷



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Cartogram 8: Share of employed women in the total number of employed persons in individual counties in 1930 in % according to the results of the census of agricultural and trade businesses⁴⁸



autor: P. Tišliar

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212-215.

⁴⁸ Compiled and recalculated based on data from PHŠS, p. 30-33.

No major social mobility of active wage-earning women occurred between 1921 and 1930 (Tables 8 and 9). The share of female independent farmers and business operators as well as tenants dropped while the share of workers and clerks gradually increased. This fact is supported by the relative figures representing shares of employed women in individual social groups, as well as by age structures of women differentiated by social groups (Tables 10 and 11).

A profession or more precisely the occupation of teacher was included in the clerk category. In 1930, 4,717 women worked in the "education system" in Slovakia, representing almost 41% of the total number of employees.⁴⁹ Since in 1921 only 3,055 women had worked in this sector, a proportion of 36.1%, it follows that their number had increased.⁵⁰

The reports of freelance occupations of women are also noteworthy. These occupations, just as in the education system for instance, were classified as "clerk class" D, which also included sculptors, painters, writers, actors, musicians or singers. Again, women represented a minority in this category of freelance occupations. In 1921, the category "other public service and freelance occupations" comprised 5,347 women (34% of the group), while in 1930 with more detailed classification of data 3,105 (25.2%) women earned their living in freelance occupations.⁵¹

Table 8: Share of employed women in individual economic sectors per 100 persons employed in the respective social group in 1921 in %⁵²

Sector	Independent	Renters	Clerks	Workers	Apprentices	Day laborers	Total
A	18.4	13.8	6.4	14.7	4.9	31.8	21.9
B	9.8	3.1	16.9	14.7	7.5	19.1	13.0
C	16.9	13.1	22.6	9.8	5.6	8.5	14.1
D	43.2	0.0	22.2	4.4	0.0	24.8	12.3
E	69.0	0.0	48.6	31.8	13.0	37.3	63.4
Slovakia	29.2	12.7	20.4	12.6	7.5	31.2	23.6

⁴⁹ ČSS vol. 104, p. 82.

⁵⁰ ČSS vol. 22, p. 148.

⁵¹ ČSS vol. 104, p. 82.

⁵² ČSS vol. 22, p. 48-50.

The higher shares of clerical and working classes were mainly concentrated in urban centres. On the other hand, more typical for rural areas were independent farmers managing mostly smaller farms, as well as day labourers, with a majority involved in the primary sector.

Table 9: Share of employed women in individual economic classes per 100 persons employed in the respective social group in 1930 in %⁵³

Sector	Indep.	Rent.	Clerks	Low-level clerks (servants)	Workers	Appr.	Day laborers	Domestic workers	Total
A	21.0	8.7	2.7	0.9	15.9	0.0	34.6	0.0	23.6
B	10.1	1.7	18.5	2.5	13.4	8.9	16.7	98.0	13.2
C	18.0	14.0	21.8	10.1	13.3	9.6	5.2	0.0	14.9
D	40.6	9.1	27.0	13.9	3.2	9.0	15.6	0.0	15.1
E	9.8	0.0	38.7	31.5	83.8	27.4	0.0	0.0	73.6
F	53.4	0.0	0.0	33.3	29.4	0.0	32.0	0.0	48.3
Slovakia	26,1	8,9	23,4	9,5	16,3	9,8	32,2	98,0	23,0

Table 10: Age structure of women by social position in employment in 1921⁵⁴

Age	F	C	W and D	H	Total active	NO	DS	Total
< 19	6393	2056	32131	26779	67359	571024	19065	657448
20-29	10181	5753	29055	19815	64804	185958	13879	264641
30-39	18418	2126	15040	5707	41291	141220	3255	185766
40-49	24326	885	11030	1773	38104	118616	1695	158325
50-59	28909	447	8934	1632	39922	91755	1158	132835
60-79	39659	220	8170	3678	51727	78139	933	130799
80+	3044	10	307	367	3728	5095	35	8858
undetermined	398	48	280	93	819	1707	132	2658
Slovakia	131328	11545	104947	59844	307664	1193514	40152	1541330

F - independent farmers and business operators, C - clerks, W and D - workers and day labourers, H - helping household members, NO - without occupation, DS - domestic servants

⁵³ CSS vol. 104, p. 212-215.

⁵⁴ CSS vol. 22, p. 322-323.

Table 11: Age structure of women by social position in employment in 1930⁵⁵

Age	F	C	A	W and D	Total active	H	NO	DS	Total
< 19	5348	2404	1280	27955	36987	49992	583921	17333	688233
20-29	8524	7658	2717	35754	54653	58611	178116	18603	309983
30-39	16462	3522	1382	19998	41364	29810	160912	5117	237203
40-49	23631	1321	729	13919	39600	17514	110735	1969	169818
50-59	25965	456	397	9665	36483	13252	88566	1114	139415
60-79	40201	143	278	8300	48922	11071	96055	848	156896
80+	3713		3	313	4029	435	7803	27	12294
undetermined	255	26	8	193	482	159	1198	88	1927
Slovakia	124099	15530	6794	116097	262520	180844	1227306	45099	1715769

F - independent farmers and business operators, C - clerks, A - assistant clerks, W and D - workers and day labourers, H - helping household members, NO - without occupation, DS - domestic servants

3) Demographic processes

Differentiation of demographic events according to social and economic affiliation shows how employment of women affects population development. The economic activity of the population was more obvious in areas like natality, but less so in mortality rates, while in nuptiality it determined the nature of future family and household.

However, lack of appropriate data is a drawback for more detailed analysis of these circumstances in the inter-war period, as the Statistical Office published some structured data only on family providers rather than directly on employment of women - mothers and their position in employment. Moreover, the methodology of publishing the collected data changed frequently thus rendering it unable to be compared with current individual data categories. Consequently, we will concentrate only on outlining certain selected trends in population development in three fundamental demographic processes.

As discussed above, regarding nuptiality the social structure of betrothed couples reflected the starting of families according to the social position of the family provider. Table 12 illustrating the reviewed structure by gender shows a major disproportion between the social position of grooms and brides.

⁵⁵ ČSS vol. 113, p. 138.

**Table 12: Social structure of betrothed partners in selected years
between 1923 and 1933⁵⁶**

Year	Social group of the bride / groom								
	Independent		Clerks*		Workers**		Helping family members***		Total
1923	14573	560	1513	467	9466	1764	660	23421	26212
1928	12752	700	2628	502	10623	1411	2672	26062	28675
1933	10388	673	2946	855	11001	4305	2270	20772	26605
As share in %									
1923	55.60	2.14	5.77	1.78	36.11	6.73	2.52	89.35	100
1928	44.47	2.44	9.16	1.75	37.05	4.92	9.32	90.89	100
1933	39.05	2.53	11.07	3.21	41.35	16.18	8.53	78.08	100

* including military officers, military servants

** including military crew

*** including persons without specified affiliation, domestic servants and auxiliary staff

In the period from 1923 to 1933, the largest share of brides were concentrated in the category of helping family members, in which we also included persons with no specific occupation stated, domestic servants and auxiliary staff. Despite the almost 90% share of brides from this social group it is apparent that their share dropped slightly in 1933. On the other hand, the share of brides from among workers and clerks increased in 1933. This was partly caused by increasing employment of women in these social groups already illustrated by comparison of the findings of both inter-war population censuses.

The situation with grooms was different, with the largest share concentrated in the category of independent farmers and business operators, although in 1933 this social group also reported a decrease. On the other hand, a growing tendency was reported in the category of

⁵⁶ Calculated based on Pohyb obyvatelstva v Československé republice v letech 1923 – 1924. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 63, series XIV., issue 3. (henceforth: ČSS vol. 63). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1930, p. 42-44; Pohyb obyvatelstva v Československé republice v letech 1928 – 1930. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 121, series XIV., issue 5. (ČSS vol. 121). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1936, p. 67; Pohyb obyvatelstva v Československé republice v letech 1931 – 1933. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 145, series XIV., issue 6 (henceforth: ČSS vol. 145). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1938, p. 92-95.

clerks and helping family members.⁵⁷

Table 13: Number of grooms and brides by economic categories of occupation in the selected years⁵⁸

Year	Bride / groom main occupation class										
	A		B		C		D		E**		Total
1923	15440	16975	5980	3167	2194	1307	2105	795	493	3967	26212
1928	15949	14217	6186	2350	2313	1388	1483	769	2744	9951	28675
1933	13693	13896	5962	2505	2101	1440	1751	996	3098	7768	26605
As share in %											
1923	58.90	64.76	22.81	12.08	8.37	4.99	8.03	3.03	1.88	15.13	100
1928	55.62	49.58	21.57	8.20	8.07	4.84	5.17	2.68	9.57	34.70	100
1933	51.47	52.23	22.41	9.42	7.90	5.41	6.58	3.74	11.64	29.20	100

* A – agriculture; B – industry and manufacture trades; C – commerce and services; D – transport; E – household and other services

** classes E + F reported jointly in 1933

When considering the economic categories of the betrothed partners' occupations, class A, i.e. agriculture, clearly dominated, since it represented the main source of livelihood for the Slovak population in this period, as mentioned earlier. Despite a decrease in the period between 1923 and 1933 (Table 13), which to a certain degree reflected the overall drop in the proportion of agriculture to the total economic activity of the population, this economic category of agriculture maintained an absolute majority among betrothed partners.

In average figures from the period between 1920 and 1922 regarding the social and economic structure, the highest nuptiality was reported for independent farmers from the prevailing primary sector, i.e. agriculture. This is further confirmed by calculation of differential nuptiality by Ján Svetoň (Table 14). A group of independent farmers and business operators, however, reported high nuptiality also in class C, i.e. commerce and transport. At the turn of the 1930s, the social group of workers reported a higher share, which is further confirmed by the results presented in Table 14.

⁵⁷ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Náčrt vývoja sobášnosti na Slovensku v rokoch 1919 – 1937*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2008, p. 128.

⁵⁸ ČSS vol. 63, p. 42-44; ČSS vol. 121, p. 67; ČSS vol. 145, p. 92-95.

Table 14: Differential nuptiality of certain social groups in Slovakia according to Ján Sveton⁵⁹

Social group 1920 - 1922		Number of nuptials per 1000 single gainfully em- ployed men aged 20-59		Of 100 grooms in the re- spective social group under 30:	
		1920 - 1922	1929 - 1931	1920 - 1922	1929 - 1931
Independent and freelan- cers	A	299	210	81.3	86.3
	B	277	257	63.6	64.6
	C	189	175	54.8	68.2
Clerks		91	85	53.9	60.3
Workers	A	151	104	79.8	85.5
	B	111	111	83.7	84.3
	C	97	95	69.4	68.9
Total		183	148	77.0	81.3

A - agriculture, B - industry, C - commerce and transport

Table 15: Rate of male differential fertility and complete fertility by categories of occupation⁶⁰

Age	Occupation class			
	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	Mining, metallurgy, other industrial and manufacturing trades	Trade, finance and transport	Public service, freelance and military
	Fertility share per 1000 men			
15 - 24	42.3	30.0	18.3	4.1
25 - 39	197.2	150.9	120.9	92.4
40 - 49	87.1	65.3	64.3	38.0
50+	11.4	10.5	10.9	7.2
Total fertility (per 1 man)				
Spolu	4.08	3.12	2.59	1.77

⁵⁹ SVETONĚ, Ján, op. cit., p. 234-235.

⁶⁰ Calculated based on data published in ČSS vol. 145, p. 196-199 and in Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl II., část 3. Povolání a sociální rozvrstvení obyvatelstva podle národnosti (také cizinců) a podle náboženského vyznání. In: Československá statistika vol. 116, series VI., issue 10 (henceforth: ČSS zv. 116). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1935, p. 96, 114, 122, 130, 132, 138.

**Table 16: Average number of children per 1 woman
in 1930 by economic and social affiliation⁶¹**

Occupati- on class	Social class	Average number of children per 1 woman	Occupation class	Social class	Average number of children per 1 woman
Agricultu- re, fore- stry and fisheries	Independent and renters	3.9	Transport	Independent and renters	3.7
	Clerks	2.6		Clerks	2.0
	Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	4.2		Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	3.4
	Workers and day laborers	3.9		Workers and day laborers	3.4
	Total	3.9		Total	3.2
Industry and ma- nufacture	Independent and renters	3.5	Public servi- ce, freelance and military	Independent and renters	2.8
	Clerks	1.9		Clerks	2.1
	Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	3.3		Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	2.7
	Workers and day laborers	3.2		Workers and day laborers	3.9
	Total	3.3		Total	2.5
Trade and finance	Independent and renters	3.3	Other oc- cupations and occupa- tion not given	Independent and renters	4.1
	Clerks	1.7		Clerks	*
	Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	2.4		Low-le- vel clerks (servants)	1.0
	Workers and day laborers	2.8		Workers and day laborers	3.8
	Total	3.0		Total	4.1

⁶¹ CHURA, J. Alojz. *Slovensko bez dorastu?* I. diel. Bratislava: Roľnícka osveta, 1936, p. 103.

Great disproportions existed in the population's fertility and natality rates in individual groups of occupations in the 1930s.⁶² The highest fertility was recorded in persons working in agriculture where one man (the family provider) had more than four children. Fertility was almost one child less for families where men worked in mining, metallurgy, other industry and in their own trades. Persons working in commerce, finance and transport had approximately 2.6 children per family provider and persons employed in public service, freelance occupations and in the army had a fertility rate far below the level of two children. These categories had the lowest overall fertility rate.

The effect of employment of women on overall population reproduction in the inter-war period cannot be precisely quantified due to the lack of relevant data. Nevertheless, it may be concluded that even gradual inclusion of women in the working process without doubt contributed to the decrease in overall natality in Slovakia during this period. The gradual decrease in the number of births, however, was brought about by more complex reasons triggered by the aforementioned demographic transition (demographic revolution) before World War I, as well as the drop in nuptiality and fertility during the World War I, which was further affected by the economic crisis in the inter-war period and other existing social and economic factors (such as unemployment, emigration, etc.). Increased employment of women can be considered as one of the social and economic factors that reduced the population's nuptiality mentioned earlier.⁶³

An outline of the population's mortality from the perspective of social and economic position in occupation for selected years of the inter-war period is shown in Tables 17 and 18. Employment is also related to a certain risk rate that is applicable to some of the occupation categories.

⁶² The 1930 census also collected data on female fertility which were published separately as a part of *Československá statistika: Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930 Dil IV část 1.: Počet dětí živě narozených v posledním manželství*. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 126. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1936 and *Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930 Dil IV. část 3.: Plodnost manželství, konkubináty*. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 153. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1938.

⁶³ Idem, p. 148 ff.

Table 17: Number and share of deceased by affiliation to economic categories in the period from 1919 to 1937⁶⁴

Year	Number of deceased males / females by affiliation to economic categories												
	A*		B		C		D		E**		Total		
											M	W	Total
1919	16028	14596	3644	2197	1191	898	1408	400	3038	10466	28309	28557	56866
1921	16467	14346	4279	2607	1367	977	932	542	9023	12967	32068	31439	63507
1924	14365	12432	3773	2252	1187	821	809	442	8534	11707	28668	27654	56322
1926	15485	12013	3898	2350	1600	1165	832	511	7976	14871	29791	29910	59701
1928	15922	13629	4326	2721	1711	1323	839	602	6748	10499	29546	28774	58320
1930	14245	12080	3696	2349	1587	1219	766	552	5987	9737	26331	25937	52268
1933	13563	11815	3262	1958	1351	940	727	519	6391	10129	25294	25361	50655
1935	13561	13350	3346	2260	1335	1085	731	531	5917	7708	24890	24940	49830
1937	13412	13584	3602	2688	1378	1259	804	567	5714	6519	24910	24617	49527
Share of deceased males / females in %													
1919	56.62	51.11	12.87	7.69	4.21	3.14	4.97	1.40	10.73	36.65	100	100	-
1921	51.35	45.63	13.34	8.29	4.26	3.11	2.91	1.72	28.14	41.24	100	100	-
1924	50.11	44.96	13.16	8.14	4.14	2.97	2.82	1.60	29.77	42.33	100	100	-
1926	51.98	40.16	13.08	7.86	5.37	3.90	2.79	1.71	26.77	49.72	100	100	-
1928	53.89	47.37	14.64	9.46	5.79	4.60	2.84	2.09	22.84	36.49	100	100	-
1930	54.10	46.57	14.04	9.06	6.03	4.70	2.91	2.13	22.74	37.54	100	100	-
1933	53.62	46.59	12.90	7.72	5.34	3.71	2.87	2.05	25.27	39.94	100	100	-
1935	54.48	53.53	13.44	9.06	5.36	4.35	2.94	2.13	23.77	30.91	100	100	-
1937	53.84	55.18	14.46	10.92	5.53	5.11	3.23	2.30	22.94	26.48	100	100	-

* A – agriculture; B – industry and manufacture trades; C – commerce and transport; D – public service, army, freelance occupations; E – domestic and personal services, no occupation stated.

** E – classes E + F reported jointly, F – other occupations and with no occupation stated since 1930

⁶⁴ Recalculated based on data from Pohyb obyvateľstva v Československé republike v letech 1919 – 1920. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 53, series XIV., issue 1. (henceforth: ČSS vol. 53). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1929, p. 156–161; Pohyb obyvateľstva v Československé republike v letech 1921 – 1922. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 59, series XIV., issue 2. (henceforth: ČSS vol. 59). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1929, p. 152–157; ČSS vol. 63, p. 348–353; Pohyb obyvateľstva v Československé republike v letech 1925 – 1927. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 77, series XIV., issue 4. (henceforth: ČSS vol. 77). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1932, p. 545–549; ČSS vol. 121, p. 338 and 339; ČSS vol. 145, p. 453; Pohyb obyvateľstva v bývalém Československu v letech 1934 – 1937. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 163, series XIV., issue 7 (henceforth: ČSS vol. 163). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1941, p. 617, 627.

Table 18: Mortality in Slovakia by affiliation to social groups in the period from 1919 to 1937⁶⁵

Year	Mortality for males / females by affiliation to social groups										
	Independent		Clerks, low-level clerks (servants)		Workers		Family members and other*		Total		
									M	W	Total
1919	7366	1996	463	54	6965	2843	13515	23664	28309	28557	56866
1921	7614	2190	394	58	4923	2127	19137	27064	32068	31439	63507
1924	7292	1819	394	50	4326	1547	15607	23141	27619	26557	54176
1926	7948	2418	392	43	3213	463	18238	26986	29791	29910	59701
1928	9434	4248	869	65	4863	1854	14380	22607	29546	28774	58320
1930	8806	4328	776	83	4551	1976	12198	19550	26331	25937	52268
1933	13984	14349	1341	905	9347	7769	622	2338	25294	25361	50655
1935	14016	14478	1204	944	9460	8471	210	1047	24890	24940	49830
1937	13526	14142	1371	1100	9928	9126	85	249	24910	24617	49527
Share of deceased males / females in %											
1919	26.02	6.99	1.64	0.19	24.60	9.96	47.74	82.87	100	100	-
1921	23.74	6.97	1.23	0.18	15.35	6.77	59.68	86.08	100	100	-
1924	26.40	6.85	1.43	0.19	15.66	5.83	56.51	87.14	100	100	-
1926	26.68	8.08	1.32	0.14	10.79	1.55	61.22	90.22	100	100	-
1928	31.93	14.76	2.94	0.23	16.46	6.44	48.67	78.57	100	100	-
1930	33.44	16.69	2.95	0.32	17.28	7.62	46.33	75.37	100	100	-
1933	55.29	56.58	5.30	3.57	36.95	30.63	2.46	9.22	100	100	-
1935	56.31	58.05	4.84	3.79	38.01	33.97	0.84	4.20	100	100	-
1937	54.30	57.45	5.50	4.47	39.86	37.07	0.34	1.01	100	100	-

* since 1933 the reporting method of individual indicators has changed; family members were included in other social groups

Higher mortality is reflected in the social group of workers and day labourers with the highest risk of accidental death and with shorter lifespan due to physically harder work. However, higher mortality was also seen in the families of workers and day labourers and was related to the general standard of living of these population classes.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ ČSS vol. 53, p. 156-161; ČSS vol. 59, p. 152-157; ČSS vol. 63, p. 348-353; ČSS vol. 77, p. 545-549; ČSS vol. 121, p. 338 and 339; ČSS vol. 145, p. 453; ČSS vol. 163, p. 617, 627.

⁶⁶ SVETONĚ, Ján, op. cit., p. 314 ff.

The issue of the economic activity of women but also of the general population in Slovakia is rather complex. In addition to a detailed analysis of the published statistical sources it requires more in-depth regional research mostly of the economy, but without doubt also of the "everyday life of families and households" that were affected by these activities. Economic activities were reflected in day-to-day life not only by creation of social and economic pressure to start families and form households, but the inclusion of women in employment also affected the population's overall reproduction. Subsequent in-depth research conducted mainly in archives can thus bring answers to the question to what extent the progressive inclusion of women in employment impacted the overall reproduction rate of the population.

K problematike zamestnanosti žien na Slovensku v medzivojnovom období

Pavol Tišliar

Ekonomická aktivita obyvateľstva predstavuje jeden z dôležitých výskumných problémov hospodárskych dejín, ale rovnako je nevyhnutná k osvetleniu celkového populačného vývoja. Jednotlivé demografické procesy sú totiž silno naviazané na prostredie, v ktorom prebiehajú. Najmarkantnejšie sa to prejavuje v prípade sobášnosti, ale aj plodnosti obyvateľstva.

Slovensko síce hospodársky patrilo k najrozvinutejším častiam niekdajšieho Uhorska, no po vzniku Československej republiky sa jeho hospodárska pozícia výrazne oslabila. Prispôsobovanie sa novým trhovým podmienkam, no najmä hospodársky a finančne vyspelejší český kapitál spôsobili, že prevažne agrárne Slovensko sa počas medzivojnového obdobia výraznejšie neindustrializovalo. Celková úroveň hospodárstva v podstate len mierne rástla a obyvateľstvo bolo existenčne závislé predovšetkým na primárnom sektore, pôdohospodárstve.

Ekonomická aktivita prioritne pripadala na mužskú časť populácie a zamestnávanie žien v medzivojnovom období možno označiť len ako pozvoľný a pomalý proces. Rola ženy sa tradične vnímala v spoločnosti skôr v domácom prostredí, prípadne ako osoba, ktorá vypomáha mužovi/manželovi pri práci na poli, v remese a pod. Práve status „žena v domácnosti“ a žena ako „pomáhajúci člen rodiny“ boli pozície, ktoré z hľadiska zamestnanosti predstavujú značne nejasnú skupinu osôb.

Československá štatistika vnímala obe skupiny ako ekonomicky aktívne., ktoré boli navyše značne početné.

Podiel priamo zarábajúcich žien sa pohyboval na približne 16% úrovni zo všetkých žien, z pohľadu všetkých zarábajúcich osôb tvorili asi štvrtinu a tento stav prakticky v medzivojnovom období stagnoval. Ekonomická aktivita sa prejavovala priamo aj v demografických procesoch, najmä pri plodnosti obyvateľstva. Napríklad ženy, ktoré boli zamestnané na úradníckych postoch vykazovali spravidla nižšiu plodnosť. Prevažujúci agrárny charakter obyvateľstva, pri ktorom je početnejšie potomstvo skôr výhodou, kvôli lacnej pracovnej sile detí pri poľných prácach, do značnej miery spomaloval demografický prechod Slovenskom, ktorý sa prejavoval najmä od začiatku 20. storočia.

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Notes on the Organisation of the 1940 Population Census¹

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Studies in the Population of Slovakia II, p. 97-119

This paper discusses one of the lesser known studies population census in Slovak history, the 1940 census, the results for which have never been published in full. We discuss the preparations, the logistics and the results, but also some of the problems associated with the execution of this census, especially the way in which the nature of the 1939 – 1945 Slovak Republic as a client state of the Third Reich, the totalitarian nature of its government and wartime conditions affected the census and ultimately its results.

Keywords:

population census – methodology and logistics – Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945)

Organising a population census is one of the most extensive operations of a country's administration system and this has always been the case in the past. The first censuses in the Slovak territory were conducted in the 18th century mainly for the purpose of obtaining data for military and tax purposes. Over the years, interest in population developments also extended to other spheres of data. The main focus was on the practical uses of the results of population censuses for administrative purposes. During the so-called first modern population census in 1869, the organisers of the census emphasised the scientific interest in population developments and the practical use of the collected data in public administration and economic matters. This approach eventually led to a decision to set a ten-

¹ This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 "*Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia*". Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0026/14 "*Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050*" and the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0145/12 "*Migračné procesy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1948*".

year cycle for censuses, which despite slight adjustments has prevailed until today. Despite some efforts to view the practical and scientific dimension as central, censuses were soon adulterated by political interests, something that became a permanent part of the preparation, conduct and, in particular, the interpretation of the population censuses since 1880. After 1880 the ethnicity of the population became a part of the census in our territory and one's mother tongue was the key attribute of ethnicity.

The conduct of the 1940 population census was to a large extent based on experience from previous censuses. Political interests shaped not only the organisation and conduct of the census, but also the publishing (or failure to publish) the results. Even though the then-most recently planned and conducted census in the territory of Slovakia had occurred ten years before the 1940 census, the new census was in its own way a special and unique event in the territory of the Slovak Republic 1939 – 1945. The uniqueness of the 1940 census also stemmed from the fact that it had been preceded by an extraordinary regional census in 1938.² The immediately preceding census was organised without any traditional preparation – neither methodical nor statistical – and without any efforts to communicate with the populace. This was because the official aim of the 1938 regional census was to gather data for the “nationality registry” of Slovakia. The Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic did not disclose the intention of conducting a census in advance so as to avoid any potential efforts to influence the inhabitants by various political groups. This was clearly due to concerns regarding the German minority, which after the splitting off of the southern parts of Slovakia represented the most numerous minority in Slovakia. The regional census was not methodologically directed or managed by the Statistical Office of the Czechoslovak Republic, and due to political pressures from the German population the results of the census were not disclosed except for regional overviews.

² Summary data for counties was published in *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky a prehľad obcí a okresov odstúpených Nemecku, Maďarsku a Poľsku*. Bratislava: Štátny štatistický úrad, 1939, p. 8-13; see also MVSР Slovak National Archives in Bratislava (henceforth: SNA), f. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1939 – 1945 (henceforth: f. MZV), box no. 163, shelf mark 51509/40. This file also contains a list of municipalities with Hungarian majority populations

Okres: Dobruša

Obec: -1-

Ulica: Grada Vojna' Sluša

Číslo domu: 137

Popisný hárok

Bežné číslo	Priezvisko (meno rodinné)	Meno (krstné)	Deň, mesiac a rok narodenia	Štátna (krajinská) prislušnosť										Národnosť								Nábo- ženstvo	
				Slovensko	Čechy	Morava	Podkarp. Rus	Nemecko	Maďarsko	Poľsko	Ind	Slovenská	česká	rusínska	nemecká	maďarská	poľská	židovská	cigánska	ind			
1	Lichner	Leol	1/121.																				
2	-v rod. Lauj	Fridricha	6/1.																	18. a. 7r			
3	Lichnerova	Helma	31/121																	-11-			
4	Lichnerova	Olga	6/11.																	-11-			

1938 questionnaire

The first reference to a plan to organise a new population census in Slovakia was reported by the press beginning in October 1940. The *Slovenská Pravda* daily published a short reference that by year-end the “first population census” would be conducted, but did not include an exact date. The information published in the newspaper was based on the justification report to a draft government act on population census which was later discussed in the Slovak Council. The regional population census that had been conducted two years before this census was regarded as incomplete. It was argued that its biggest deficiency was the lack of data necessary for devising sound economic, population and social policies by the new state.³ This argument was the key justification for the new population census in 1940. In fact, in the previous census, the collected

³ Do konca roka má byť prvé sčítanie ľudu. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 5 October 1940, p. 3.

data were limited to date of birth, nationality, citizenship and religion.⁴

As early as in October 1940, the first announcement was published including some specific details about the passing of a special act on population census, which determined the traditional ten-year cycles. The first census conducted as part of this cycle was referred to as "the first population census".⁵ Unlike the regional census of 1938, this time the census was managed and organised by the State Statistics Office, and in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior, employed the existing public administration network.⁶ The role of the State Statistics Office was to methodologically manage the census and publish the results after completion of the census.

Lack of enthusiasm was definitely not an issue. A statement of the council rapporteur, Dr. Anton Hudec, for *Slovenská pravda*, given shortly after the act on population census was passed, illustrates the enthusiastic atmosphere. In his statement, Hudec "...emphasised the need for a proper population census performed without duress or false data so we can arrange our internal political life based thereupon."⁷

Several days later, the act on population census was amended by a government regulation, which set out the date of the census as well as the criteria for the appointment of census takers and inspectors.⁸ The census date, which was used as a basis for planning of the period and timing of the data gathering process, was set to midnight 14-15 December 1940. The time was selected in accordance with statistical best practice. December was the time of the year with minimum migration fluctuations among the population.

However, a political agenda permeated the 1940 population census and was present even in the basic regulation. In this regulation, Jews and Gypsies (Roma) were subjected to special treatment. Jews were

⁴ MVSR State Archives in Košice, Rožňava branch (ďalej: ŠA Košice, Rožňava), f. County Clerk Office Dobšiná, 1938 – 1945 (henceforth: f. OÚ Dobšiná), box no. 2 and 3, Census questionnaires for Dobšiná county.

⁵ *Population Census Act* No. 265/1940 dated 8 October 1940. The bill was discussed as early as September 1940 by the government presidium as well as by the upper echelons of the Ministry of the Interior which was tasked with the preparation and execution. See also SNA, f. Ministry of the Interior, 1938 – 1945 (henceforth: MVSR), box no. 700, shelf mark 3091/40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, §3. The State Statistical Office in Bratislava was established by Government Decree No. 58/1939 dated 12 April 1940.

⁷ Snem schválil zákon o sčítaní ľudu: Sčítanie ľudu bude každých 10 rokov – Prvé sa prevedie do konca roku 1940. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 10. október 1940, p. 2.

⁸ Government Decree *Setting up the Population Census* No. 270/1940 dated 18 October 1940.

only allowed to report Jewish nationality and Roma could only report their Gypsy nationality. It was argued that in the past these population groups were allowed to report other nationalities and “...it was previously impossible to obtain a satisfactory insight into the number of Jews and the social stratification of the Jewish population. It is therefore purposeful in view of the regulations, that the registration obligation of Jews is adjusted. The same treatment is applied to the members of Gypsy race.”⁹ Based on this resolution, the previous statistical practice to collect nationality based on individual choice was significantly changed. During the inter-war period, nationality was usually associated with one’s mother tongue, which was taken as the decisive factor, mainly in problematic cases. Inhabitants with the Israelite faith were completely excluded from application of this rule in 1940 even though during the 1921 population census they were allowed to report their special Jewish nationality regardless of their mother tongue, and even regardless of their membership in the Jewish religious community. The motives behind making this exception in 1940 were mainly political. In a sense, it can be seen as a way the Czechoslovak Republic attempted to cope - at least statistically - with the reality of a large German and Hungarian minority in its territory.¹⁰

The instruction for census takers and inspectors specifying and clarifying the rules for data gathering in 1940 set out the mother tongue as the basic attribute of nationality.¹¹ The nationality of parents was reported for children and young adults under age 18. In the case of different nationalities within families the nationality of the father or the nationality of the determined caregiver was used. Jews were allowed to report only Jewish nationality.¹² The instruction referred to Government Decree 63/1939, defined the “term Jew”.¹³ This definition was incorporated into the 1940 population census rules, which governed the determination of Jewish nationality. According to this definition it was “obligatory” to report this nationality not only by persons with the Israelite faith, but also by those who had converted from this faith to a different faith, and also for persons having at least one parent as a member of this religion. And

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See our discussion of this subject in ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1940*. Bratislava: Infostat, 2009, p. 98 ff.

¹¹ §§18 and 19 of Instructions for census takers and inspectors. ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 65, shelf mark D_1732/44.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ §1 of Government Decree *Defining the Term “Jew” and Limiting the Number of Jews in Certain Freelance Occupations* No. 63/1939 dated 18 April 1939.

regardless of how absurd the fourth and the fifth sections of this decree, in particular, might sound, those who had married a Jew or lived with a person of Jewish faith in the same household, including their offspring, were also counted as Jews.¹⁴

The treatment of persons reporting Gypsy nationality was slightly different. The term "Gypsy" was defined in the Decree of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic dated 18 June 1940.¹⁵ In this decree, Gypsy was defined as "...a member of the Gypsy race, whose both parents have origin in this race, and who lives either a nomadic or settled life, but avoids work." This definition was ambiguous in several respects and prone to misuse. This was because it did not provide a clear answer to the very basic question of who was a Gypsy (Roma) and who was not. It should be noted that before the State Statistics Office began to gather the data, it informed the public in a separate statement about the invalidity of the obligation of the Roma population to report Gypsy nationality. This declaration was also published in the *Slovenská pravda* daily on 15 December 1940, i.e. on the day of the official beginning of data gathering,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Decree of the Ministry of the Interior No. 18.635-Ic/1940 implementing §9 of the Decree *Temporarily Adjusting Work Obligations of Jews and Gypsies* no. 130/1940 dated 29 May 1940. The topic of the status of the Roma people has been thoroughly researched by Karol Janas, such as his JANAS, Karol. *Organizačná štruktúra pracovných útvarov v rokoch 1941 – 1944*. In: *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VII*. Bratislava: ÚPN, 2008, p. 329-341; JANAS, Karol. *Zabudnuté tábory*. Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita A. Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008; JANAS, Karol. *Trenčianska župa (1940 – 1945): K niektorým otázkam vzniku, existencie a fungovania verejnej správy na Trenčiansku*. Trenčín: TU A. Dubčeka, 2007; JANAS, Karol. *Perzekúcia rómskeho obyvateľstva v slovenskej historiografii (Súčasný stav a perspektívy)* In: *Nepriznaný holokaust Rómov v rokoch 1939-1945*. Bratislava: Minorita, SNM, ÚE SAV, 2007, p. 15-20; JANAS, Karol. *Zánik Zaisťovacieho tábora pre Cigánov v Dubnici nad Váhom*. In: *Slovenská republika medzi Povstaním a zánikom 1944-1945*. Slovenská republika očami mladých historikov V. Banská Bystrica: ÚVaV UMB, FF UMB, ŠVK. 2006, p. 215-219; JANAS, Karol. *Perzekučné opatrenia slovenského štátu a ich zásahy do bežného života slovenských Rómov v rokoch 1941-1943*. In: *Tereziínske listy*, 35, 2007, p. 112-119 et al.

without providing any justification for this step.¹⁶ It remains open to conjecture as to whether the reason for such treatment was the previous ambiguous definition and specifically its practical unenforceability. On the other hand, the obligation of persons subject to the definition of the “term Jew” to report the Jewish nationality was enforced in full.

Slovenská republika. Sčítanie ľudu 1940.

Okres _____ Obec _____

Soznam
domových (popisných) čísiel.

Číslo sčítacieho obvodu _____ Sčítací komisár _____

Osada (mestská štvrť)	Miestna časť	Domovné čísla v sčítacom obvode	Poznámka

House list sheet, 1940 census

Every population census usually consists of three stages: the methodological and preparation phase, data gathering and finally, the processing and publishing of data.

The methodological and preparation phase is characterised not only by the creation of comprehensive methodological instruction, preparation of budget and clarification of questions related to the organisational aspect of the census, but emphasis is put also on clear and precise information for the general public. In the case of the 1940 population census, the condition to inform the public was handled with a detailed

¹⁶ Staráme sa, aby sčítanie ľudu bolo čo najdokonalejšie: Práva a povinnosti majiteľa bytu – Národnosť Cigánov. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 15. december 1940, p.3: „... The definition of the term Gypsy as set forth by the Ministry of the Interior Decree No. 18635-Ic/1940 dated 18 June 1940 cited on p. 21 of the Instructions according to the local office circular No. 1230/I-40 dated 30 November 1940 shall not apply to the population census...”

analysis of the survey data to be collected that was published in several periodicals. However, on the other hand, the relatively short period of the informational campaign cannot be left unnoticed. The first, more detailed reports about the subject matter of the census and the interpretation of questions contained in the census were published as late as in November 1940.

 **Slovenská republika** **Sčítanie ľudu 1940**

DOMOVÝ HÁROK
(Vyplní sčítací komisár)

Okres _____ Popisné číslo domu _____

Obec _____ Vo väčších obciach a mestách { ulica alebo nám. _____

Osada (mestská štvrť) _____ orient. č. domu _____

Miestna časť _____ Číslo sčítacieho obvodu _____

Vložené sčítacích hárkov _____ *

Poznámka: Pohyblivé a núdzové obydlia (ako: lode, vozy kočovníkov, cigánske budy bez domového čísla atď.) nie sú domy a preto sa pre ne domový hárok nevyplňuje.

House sheet, 1940 census (front page)

1.º) Druh obydliä: _____

2.º) Koľko má dom majiteľov? _____

3.º)

Meno a priezvisko majiteľa domu (u právnických osôb názov)	Povolanie majiteľa domu (u právnických osôb druh podnikania)	Podiel spoluvlastníkov na dome (vyjadrený zlomkom)	Bydlisko majiteľa domu (jeho adresa, u právnických osôb sídlo)
1	2	3	4

4.º) Dom je: obývaný, neobývaný, prázdny, k obývaniu nespôsobilý. (Čo sa nehodí, prečiarknite.) _____

5.º) Koľko bytov je v dome: spolu _____; z nich: obývaných _____, neobývaných _____, prázdnych _____.

6. Kedy bol dom postavený? (Ak sa nedá presne zistiť, uďte približne.) _____

7. Dom je postavený: z tehál, kameňa, hlíny, dreva. (Čo sa nehodí, prečiarknite.) _____

8. Dom má strechu: škridlicovú, bľachovú, bridlicovú, šindľovú, slamenú, papierovú.
(Čo sa nehodí, prečiarknite.) _____

9. Po roku 1920 bola v dome prevedená: prestavba, prístavba, nástavba. (Čo sa nehodí, prečiarknite.) _____

House sheet, 1940 census (inside page)

The second phase of a census is the actual survey. In the case of the 1940 census, this phase was organised by the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic in cooperation with the Statistical Office, which managed the survey. The actual data gathering was within the full competency of the regional administration bodies – county offices. The territory of Slovakia was divided into census zones, with smaller municipalities representing one zone and bigger municipalities divided into several zones. According to the reports of the State Statistics Office, some 10,000 census takers and inspectors were deployed in the field. The number of direct stakeholders in the census points to the actual scope of the operation. Data were recorded in the census sheets and the key sheet, “House and Description Sheet”, was completed for each

occupied house, flat or household. Each head of the household was responsible for the accuracy of the data contained in the census sheet and provided a guarantee in the form of his signature. In addition to the traditionally surveyed personal data the census takers also recorded data on nationality, citizenship, religion and literacy, as well as occupation and actual position in the given occupation, i.e. a set of data suitable for the analysis of the economic activity of the population. The sheets also included data on the specific relationship of individual members of the household to the head of the household.

As mentioned above, the decisive time for the data to be recorded was set to midnight 14-15 December 1940 and the period of data gathering lasted from 15-21 December 1940. After completion of the census, the Minister of the Interior, Alexander Mach, held a special press conference and informed the public about the smooth conduct of data gathering. He admitted that several minor issues were reported, however these – as he noted – proved unjustified.¹⁷ In his press conference the minister omitted the fact that already upon publication of the initial information on the intended census, members of the German and Hungarian communities began to engage in propaganda and political agitation to persuade inhabitants to report their German or Hungarian nationality.¹⁸ This occurred in spite of the stipulation in the act on population census that the spreading of printed materials and urging inhabitants to enter false data in the census sheets was a misdemeanour.¹⁹ The efforts of the activists of the aforementioned nationalities can be substantiated by several reports, especially those by the heads of county offices.²⁰ For instance, the Head

¹⁷ Nijaké prechmaty pri sčítaní ľudu: Porada vedúcich novinárov u podpredsedu vlády Macha. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 31. december 1940, p. 2.

¹⁸ So for example, according to the 1938 census data, there were 67,502 Maďarov (2.5 %) people of Hungarian nationality in the post-Vienna Awards territory of Slovakia, of whom 17,510 were citizens of Hungary. In 1940, once the international position of Slovakia had stabilized, only 53,128 persons reported their nationality as Hungarian, of whom 45,880 were citizens. The leaders of the Hungarian minority would typically give higher figures, roughly 100,000. For details, see HETÉNYI, Martin. Postavenie maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1940. In: *Slovensko medzi 14. marcom 1939 a salzburskými rokovaniaми: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VI*. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita, 2007, p. 94.

¹⁹ Act No. 265/1940, §8.

²⁰ In the Nitra county, the county police noted the increased organizational and propaganda efforts by members of Slovakia's Hungarian Party. For details, see HETÉNYI, Martin. Spoločenské aktivity maďarskej menšiny v okrese Nitra v rokoch 1939 – 1944. In: *Historický časopis*, vol. 55, 2007, issue 3, p. 512-513.

of the Senica County informed the Ministry of the Interior as early as in October 1940 that the planned population census would considerably change the results in the county compared to the previous census of 1930. These concerns were related to the existence of a German garrison in Senica. The Head of the County Office in Senica expected a considerable increase in the number of inhabitants reporting German nationality in the town as well as other municipalities of the county. He mentioned that the local German nationality group was taking the population census very seriously, which was reportedly clear from the greater interest of the commander of the Freiwillige Schutztaffel (FS) in Senica in the results of the previous population census. He was also interested in the process of the appointment of census takers and the composition of the population by nationality in the local *Volksschule*.²¹ According to the final results of the 1940 census in the Senica county, there were 136 persons of German nationality and 73 specifically in the town of Senica compared to 81 for the county and 38 for the town of Senica in the inter-war population census in 1930.²² Agitation on the local level peaked in December shortly before the population census began. One of the closely watched stories was the controversy over the nationality of the Haban people (Hutterites) from Sobotište, with pro-German propaganda trying to get these persons counted as German nationality. However, as concluded by the Head of the County Office of Senica, these efforts were rather unsuccessful. According to the results of the 1940 population census, none of the inhabitants of Sobotište reported German nationality despite these attempts.

Similar reports came from the neighbouring county of Malacky. According to the Head of the County Office there were “...isolated attempts by the members of DP (*Deutsche Partei*) aimed at increasing the number of the German population.” Before the census, the pro-German agitation was applied mainly in German-owned companies, or it was aimed at persons reportedly of German ancestry. However, as concluded by the Head of the County Office, these attempts were largely unsuccessful. He also described the population census as peaceful and smooth. In the Malacky county, 690 persons with Slovak citizenship reported German nationality in 1940.²³ It should be noted that compared to 1938 the total number of

²¹ MVSR - State Archives in Bratislava (henceforth: ŠA Bratislava), f. Bratislava Province III., (1931) 1940 - 1945 (henceforth: f. BŽ III), box no. 3, shelf mark 565/40 prez.

²² SNA, f. State Planning and Statistical Office, 1945 - 1951 (1952) (henceforth: f. ŠPŠÚ), box no. 1, no shelf mark; *Územie a obyvateľstvo*, ref. 2; *Štatistický lexikón obcí v krajine Slovenskej*. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1936, p. 88.

²³ ŠA Bratislava, f. BŽ III., box no. 3, shelf mark 565/40 prez.

Germans increased more than twofold. In the Malacky county, just over 290 persons had reported German nationality in 1938.²⁴

The existing protective zone under military control of Germany was of much significance for the Záhorie region.²⁵ There were concerns on the part of the Slovak political elite that an increasing number of inhabitants living in these areas would act pragmatically and report German nationality. Therefore, a "business trip" by the Minister of the Interior and the Chief Commander of Hlinka's Guard, Alexander Mach, to the Záhorie region was planned to squash these efforts. On 8 December 1940 Mach visited several municipalities in the Malacky and Senica county. According to the preserved reports, his trip had a major impact on the inhabitants of the visited municipalities. As concluded by the Head of the County Office of Malacky, "...his presence raised the spirits of all inhabitants of the municipalities he visited ... and his trip had a very invigorating effect on the final results of the population census."²⁶

The political impact of the propaganda was not the only problem related to the question of nationality in this period.²⁷ One of the perpetual issues was a quite frequent misconception of nationality and religion by the inhabitants of Eastern Slovakia. This common misconception had originated in mid-19th century and prevailed despite the fall of the monarchy and the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic. The problem was that the nationality of Greek Catholics was often confusing and they


²⁴ *Územie a obyvateľstvo*, p. 9.

²⁵ SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 1883, shelf mark 26791/1941.

²⁶ ŠA Bratislava, f. BŽ III., box no. 3, shelf mark 565/40 prez.

²⁷ The nationality / ethnicity data were to have some effect on members of the ethnic minorities for some time to come. For example, the charter of Slovakia's Hungarian Party specified that the membership in the party is limited to ethnic Hungarians only (this, in turn, was related to the policy of reciprocity in the relationship between Slovak and Hungarian governments). This, however, was a problematic points, since the party itself favored self-reporting as the only way of determining nationality / ethnicity while the government strictly adhered to data from the last census. But even if government officials determined that a member of the party reported their ethnicity as other than Hungarian, they could not revoke the membership in the party due to the fact, that the leadership of the party keeps two sets of records – one for government purposes, one for internal use – and applications by Heads of County Offices for the dissolution of local chapters of the party had to be rejected for reasons of reciprocity given above. For details, see HETÉNYI, Martin. Maďarská strana na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1945. In: *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století II: Sborník z mezinárodní konference. Ústí nad Orlicí: Oftis, 2007*, p. 63-64.

were considered Ruthenians.²⁸ Therefore, *Slovenská pravda* published a statement by the Education Committee in Prešov, addressed mainly to the inhabitants of Šariš and Zemplín provinces, which called on them to discern between their faith and the language they used in their daily lives.²⁹

 **Slovenská republika.** **Sčítanie ľudu 1940.**

Okres: *Dobšiná*

Okresný prehľad.

Sustavi okresný úrad pre okres a to podľa okresných prehľadov, a pokiaľ ide o obce, ktoré tvoria jediný sčítací obvod, podľa prehľadov sčítacích obvodov. Obec sa zapisujú v abecednom poradí. Na konci vypočíta sa v stĺpcoch 3 — 10 súčet pre celý okres, pričom súčet stĺpca 3 musí sa rovnáť súčtu stĺpcov 4—7. Okresný prehľad sa vyhotoví dvojmo. Ak nestačí jeden hárok, použije sa ďalší.

Radové číslo obce	Meno obce	Počet domov					Počet bytov	Počet prítomných osôb	Z nich je židov	Poznámka
		doviedna	z nich	z nich	z nich	z nich				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	<i>Bodliar</i>	282	252	11	12	7	318	985	—	
2	<i>Bodlarka</i>	39	36	1	—	2	38	169	3	
3	<i>Bystre-Bodlarka</i>	126	122	1	2	1	132	517	4	
4	<i>Dobšiná</i>	83	82	—	—	1	85	550	—	

County overview, 1940 census

The exact impact of the above-noted political influences on the national results of the 1940 population census cannot be determined. Several reports include references to local agitation, propaganda or other activities aimed at individual groups to influence their decisions. These were not just the activities of the members of minorities but one can also gather from the contemporary press that in several instances, the Slovak nationality was also promoted as a state-building majority.

After the data gathering officially ended, several complaints were filed with respect to the procedures employed by census takers, the most

²⁸ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Etnická a konfesionálna štruktúra Gemera a Malohontu: prehľad stavu podľa vybraných statických prameňov v 18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia*. Brno : Tribun Eu, 2009, p. 100 ff.

²⁹ Iné je náboženstvo a iné je národnosť: Šarišania a Zemplínčania, nezabúdajte, že ste Slováci. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 7. december 1940, p. 2.

striking of which was related to the problem of the so-called "settlement of nationality". In several cases the census takers doubted that the nationality reported by the individual was genuine. Based on the census rules these cases were to be decided by the respective county office.³⁰

The case of four inhabitants of the Malacky county caused perhaps the greatest uproar. Based on a detailed investigation, the local county office arrived at an opinion that these four persons could not report German nationality and listed their nationality as Slovak. Ján Hackl and František Píruš from Pernek and Imrich and Gustáv Herman from Rárbok (Rohožník) were official citizens of the Third Reich. By January 1941, the German embassy protested in the form of a verbal note at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and requested that the issue be thoroughly investigated. The investigation was carried out in February and March 1941. It involved not only the Ministry of the Interior as the highest administration body in Slovakia, but also the Provincial Office in Bratislava, the County Office in Malacky and the respective Notary Offices in Sološnica and Kuchyňa. The investigation decided that the County Office in Malacky had acted correctly. It was found that the four persons did not speak German. Or, more precisely, German was neither their mother tongue, nor *"the language they would use in day-to-day communication"* (i.e. the language commonly used by those persons). In both cases it was the Slovak language. Based on this finding and by virtue of the valid regulations governing the census, the head of the county office issued a notification and "settled" these persons' nationality as Slovak. The Ministry of the Interior prepared a final report on the investigation and stated directly that in accordance with the census rules the action of the County Office in Malacky was correct. Even though the persons did not speak German, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly advocated a change in the decision of the Ministry of the Interior in order to respect the choice of the persons and made the following statement: *"The County Office in Malacky failed to realise that affiliation to a certain nationality is independent of the knowledge of that nation's language. The affiliation of the complaining party cannot be doubted since all of them come from German ancestors, which is also substantiated by their unquestionably German names. The population census instructions confirm that each person is completely free to report his or her own nationality, which is by all means independent of the language spoken by the given person. Thus, the county office has based its formulations on false premises by considering the 'mother tongue' as the basis of determining nationality; such a basis, however,*

³⁰ For example in the Malacky county, 18 cases were reported which had to be resolved in 1941. For details, see SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 1883, shelf mark 23891/41.

does not in any respect comply with the principle of 'völkish'."³¹ Regardless of whether use of the mother tongue complied with this principle, this attribute was considered the decisive factor especially in questionable cases by the 1940 population census rules. However, despite the correct procedures having been taken by the County Office in Malacky, all four persons were eventually acknowledged to be of German nationality on 1 July 1941 based on the request of the German Embassy. The lack of knowledge of German was not the only source of trouble.³²

A complaint by Ján Progner from Nižný Medzev was another interesting case. The County Office in Gelnica settled his nationality as German since both his mother tongue and the language used in day-to-day communication was German, or as stated by the Head of the County Office, he "*spoke Mantakisch*".³³ Progner, however, rejected his affiliation to the German nationality and insisted on Hungarian nationality. In his complaint addressed to the President of the Slovak Republic he argued that he had been acting as the chairman of the Hungarian Party in Nižný Medzev for 12 years. The Hungarian Party reportedly had 800 duly paying adult members who voluntarily considered themselves Hungarians. According to Progner, many of them did not even sign the census sheets because they had not been acknowledged as Hungarians. The report by the Head of the County Office in Gelnica pointed to the fact that only about 200 members of this party officially "*reported Hungarian nationality*" in Nižný Medzev.³⁴ This was to a certain extent confirmed by the results of the 1930 population census with 240 persons reporting Hungarian nationality in Nižný Medzev and almost 2,100 persons reporting German nationality.³⁵ The head of the local county office stated that the members of the party were Germans who speak "*Mantakisch*". He also mentioned that a considerable part of the population had probably succumbed to propaganda spread in Nižný Medzev. The propaganda was based on the idea that if there were a sufficient number of persons of Hungarian nationality, the whole region could be successfully annexed to Hungary. The Head of the County Office in Gelnica also pointed to the fact that in 1939 approximately 200 inhabitants of Medzev had fled to Hungary. At the time of the 1940 census, Nižný Medzev reported 216 persons of Hungarian nationality and 1,835 persons of German

³¹ SNA, f. MVS, box no. 1882, shelf mark 13406/1941. A letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of the Interior 27 March 1941.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ SNA, f. MVS, box no. 1882, shelf mark 18880/1941.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Head of the County Office report dated 22 March 1941.

³⁵ *Štatistický lexikón obcí* 1936, p. 65.

nationality. Thus, three nationalities cohabitated alongside each other in this borderland area - German, Hungarian and Slovak. As stated by Ján Jurkovič, the local commander of Hlinka's Guard (HG), the events of 1938 - 1940 caused a significant shift in the situation in Nižný Medzev in terms of nationality. Whereas in 1930 the German nationality was clearly dominant with an approximately 78% share of the population and a group of Slovaks and Hungarians of about 240 to 250, in 1938 it was reported that the Hungarian population dominated the region with approximately 1,900 persons, complemented by about 480 Germans and 220 Slovaks.³⁶ However, it should be noted that based on some preserved population census sheets from 1938, Nižný Medzev was not included in the list of predominantly Hungarian municipalities that had been elaborated by individual counties after the 1938 regional census.³⁷ Therefore the precision of the data included in the report of Jurkovič, the local commander of HG, is questionable. It should be noted that the complaint of J. Progner was eventually resolved by the Provincial Office in Ružomberok, which changed the decree of the Gelnica County Office and acknowledged Hungarian nationality to Progner.³⁸ However, based on the aforementioned results of the 1940 census, it is clear that the 800 people mentioned by Progner as persons voluntarily reporting Hungarian nationality could not have lived in Nižný Medzev.

In May 1941, the chairman of the Hungarian Party in Slovakia, János Esterházy, turned to the Prime Minister, Vojtech Tuka, with a complaint that 1,147 persons were not acknowledged to be of the Hungarian nationality in the population census. The county offices had allegedly decided on Slovak and German nationality for these persons. It remains unknown whether and how this case was eventually resolved.³⁹

In general, however, it can be concluded that no major discrepancies were reported during the 1940 population census and the finalised data obtained from inhabitants was sent for evaluation to the State Statistics Office in Bratislava. Between 1 and 20 January 1941 additional data gathering was conducted. This additional data gathering was aimed at persons who had been present in the Slovak territory on 15 December 1940, but for various reasons had not been included in the census sheets.⁴⁰

³⁶ SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 701, shelf mark 3593/1940.

³⁷ SNA, f. MZV, box no. 163, shelf mark 51509/40.

³⁸ SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 1882, shelf mark 18880/1941.

³⁹ HETÉNYI, Martin. *Postavenie maďarskej menšiny*, p. 106-107.

⁴⁰ Predbežné výsledky sčítania ľudu: Slovenská republika má okolo 2,653.564 obyvateľov - V Bratislave žije 138.000 ľudí - Slovenské mestá podľa veľkosti. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 23 March 1941, p. 1.

The additional inclusion of this data was followed by the third stage of the population census, i.e. data processing and publishing. The State Statistics Office disclosed the first results of the population census in the second half of March 1941.⁴¹ However, these were only preliminary data, which did not include the data from the additional January survey. The preliminary results contained only the data on the number of persons, houses and flats and preliminary information on the number of persons of Jewish nationality. In fact, more detailed data remained unpublished throughout the existence of the Slovak Republic 1939 – 1945. It seems that one of the most probable reasons for not publishing the results of this census is the one suggested by Dr. Michal Schvarc. According to Schvarc, the underlying reasons were fears of the reaction by the German political elite in Slovakia.⁴² The information about the number of inhabitants in houses of the municipalities was later published as part of a separate topographical catalogue in 1942.⁴³

During the processing of data, the Statistical Office had to overcome another major problem. It was related to the name of the ethnic group consisting of Ruthenians or Russians. This question was also discussed later in 1941 in the form of a follow-up review of the census at the insistence of the chief official of the Šariš - Zemplín province, a region with the most numerous minority of Ruthenians. During the inter-war period, a category of Greater Russian nationality had been formed, which included Carpathian Russians, Great Russians and Ukrainians.⁴⁴ In its published materials the Statistical Office of the Czechoslovak Republic referred to Greek Catholics and Orthodox Christians as Russians, unless they reported Slovak or other nationality. As stated by the Chairman of the State Statistics Office, Pavel Horváth, the Czechoslovak Statistical Office did not try to arrive at a definitive term for this ethnic group, the members of which called themselves Rusyns, Russians, Ruthenians, Hutsuls, Ukrainians or Little Russians depending on their respective dialects; the underlying reason was only to avoid misconception and fragmentation. *“The State Statistics Office did not want to support any of the three political factions dividing the then-existing Ruthenian society. This statement expressing the government’s policy of the then-existing Czechoslovak*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; for details, see Štatistické zprávy, issue 6, vol. II/1941, series A, 1.

⁴² SCHVARC, Michal. Majorita – minorita. Vzťah Nemcov a Slovákov v rokoch 1939 – 1945 na príklade obce Handlová. In: Mičko, P. a kol. *Historické špecifiká stredného Slovenska v rokoch 1938 – 1948*. Banská Bystrica: UMB, 2009, p. 65.

⁴³ *Lexikón obcí Slovenskej republiky*. Bratislava: Štátny štatistický úrad, 1942.

⁴⁴ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva Slovenska v rokoch 1919 – 1940*, p. 123.

*state was also shaped by the fact that the Eastern autonomous part of the former Czechoslovak Republic was named Subcarpathian Rus, and not Subcarpathian Ruthenia."*⁴⁵ The Provincial Office in Prešov suggested overcoming the problem by returning to the previous usage which had been common at the time of the monarchy. At that time, the term Russian had been used solely for persons coming from Russia while the domestic population had been known as Ruthenians. The Statistical Office had no objections and so the Ministry of Interior proposed that the government pass a special resolution on this matter. Thus, on 30 October 1941 the government passed a resolution stating that *"members of the ethnic group who call themselves Rusyns or Russians, Ruthenians, Hutsuls, Little Russians, etc. and who reported these nationalities in the previous population census and were recorded in the census sheets as members of Rusyn, etc. nationalities, shall be named Ruthenians in the published materials of the State Statistics Office. Individuals born in Ukraine or Russia ... may declare themselves Ukrainians or Russians."*⁴⁶

The first aggregate and final data of the 1940 census were published by the newly formed Slovak Planning and Statistical Office in 1946 and 1947, i.e. after the end of the World War II and the restoration of Czechoslovakia.⁴⁷ In 1940, the data were published only on the county level including data on nationality, religion, economic activity and the aggregate nationwide information on the age structure of the Slovak population.

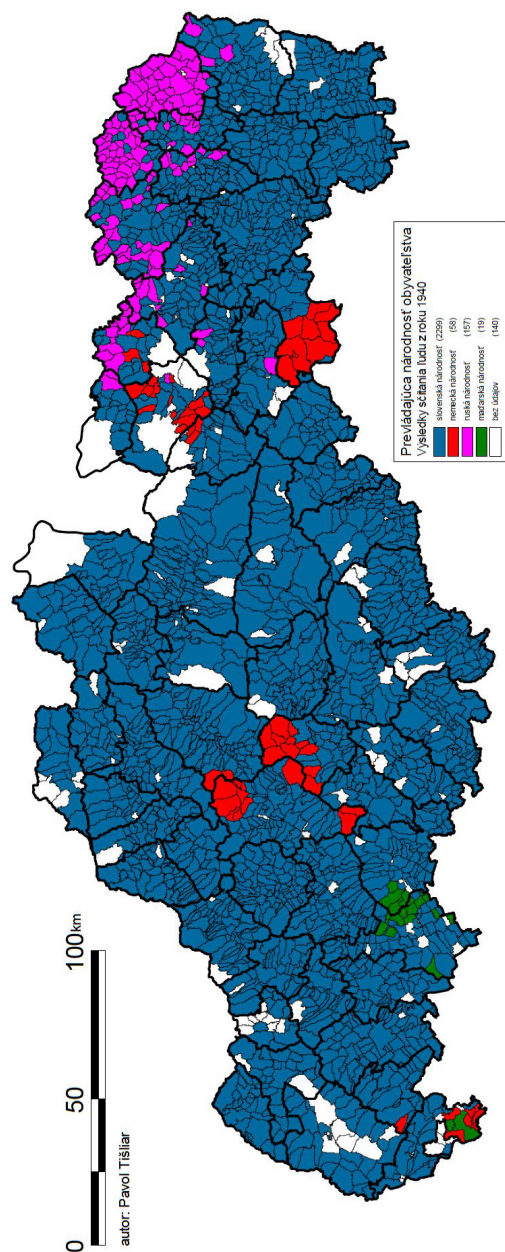
Much of the data from this population census has remained unprocessed until today, however, a complete dataset including the original census sheets is currently in the custody of the Slovak National Archive in Bratislava tagged as a special archive fund.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 1885, shelf mark 56668/41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Zprávy Štátneho plánovacieho a štatistického úradu 1946*. Bratislava: Štátny plánovací a štatistický úrad, 1946; *Štatistická príručka Slovenska 1947*. Bratislava: Štátny plánovací a štatistický úrad, 1947. We published the ethnic structure data in TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Národnostný kataster Slovenska v roku 1940*. Bratislava: SNA, 2011.

⁴⁸ SNA, f. 1940 census.



Prevailing nationality based on 1940 census data

K príprave a organizovaniu sčítania ľudu z roku 1940

Pavol Tišliar

Sčítanie obyvateľstva na Slovensku v roku 1940 patrilo k riadnym plánovaným štatistickým akciám, ktoré organizovala štátna správa za pomoci metodických inštrukcií štatistického úradu. Sčítanie sa uskutočnilo na vtedajšom území Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945), teda netýkalo sa odstúpených území, ktoré zabralo Maďarsko a Nemecko. Zvláštnosťou tohto cenzu bol silnejší politický vplyv oficiálnej štátnej politiky, ktorý sa uberal smerom k rasovej intolerancii. Priame vyjadrenie našli tieto snahy v povinnosti konkrétnej skupiny obyvateľstva hlásiť sa k židovskej národnosti, pričom spočiatku boli definované obdobné pravidlá i pre rómske (cigánske) obyvateľstvo. Cenzus sa konal napriek tomu, že len na konci roku 1938 bol vykonaný krajinský súpis za účelom vytvorenia „národnostného katastra“ na Slovensku. Vykonalo ho autonómne ministerstvo vnútra a jeho výsledky neboli nikdy oficiálne publikované. Potreba nového cenzu bola zdôvodňovaná rovnako ako kedysi, keď sa pripravovalo sčítanie obyvateľstva v roku 1921, absenciou údajov o zamestnanosti, ale naznačované boli aj nepresnosti o počtoch židovského obyvateľstva, ktorému bolo umožňované hlásiť sa aj k iným ako židovskej národnosti v predchádzajúcom období.

Pokojný priebeh zberu údajov bol narušený len niekoľkými prípadmi sťažností na nesprávne uvádzanú národnosť obyvateľstva, ktorá sa zväčša riešila politickou cestou a nebrala do úvahy jasne definované pravidlá sčítania 1940.

Výsledky sčítania obyvateľstva z roku 1940 boli publikované len čiastočne. Išlo najmä o základné údaje o počte obyvateľov, domov a bytov, či regionálne prehľady o národnosti a konfesii obyvateľstva. Väčšina údajov ostala nepublikovaná najmä z obáv reakcie nemeckej politickej špičky na Slovensku.

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Statistical Practice and Ethnic Policy of the Slovak Republic 1939 – 1945¹

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Studies in the Population of Slovakia II, p. 121-146

This paper analyses the understanding of ethnicity and the development of ethnic policy in World War II Slovakia. We draw attention to the large differences in the legal status of the largest ethnic minorities in Slovakia after territory loss in late 1930s which brought about a sudden decline in absolute population numbers for those minorities.

Keywords:

ethnic groups – ethnic minorities – ethnic policy – Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945)

Characteristics of the ethnic policy in the period 1938 – 1945

The ethnicity of its population has always been inseparably associated with the foreign and internal policies of an individual country. One example is the ethnic policy of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945). The internal policy of Slovakia in this period employed an individual approach to minorities mainly based on the foreign relations of Slovakia with its neighbouring countries. This partial approach was finally reflected in several specific ethnic policies. The first type was a segregation policy on which selected minorities were involuntarily excluded from the society and this approach found its articulation in social as well as economic, welfare and cultural separation. The segregation policy gradually led to an openly racial policy applied to persons of Jewish and Gypsy nationality, for whom affiliation to their designated nationality became

¹ This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 “*Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia)*”. Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0026/14 “*Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050*” and the MŠ SR VEGA grant no. 1/0145/12 “*Migračné procesy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1948*”.

obligatory.

Another dimension of ethnic policy was focused on a set of reciprocal measures. A reciprocal policy by the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1940) was applied to the members of the Hungarian minority, whose status depended on the situation of the Slovak minority in Hungary. Such reciprocity was officially enacted in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) in the form of a condition to ensure the legal status of a particular minority based on the status of Slovaks in the homeland of that ethnic minority.² Although the wording of this constitutional provision was general, in practice it was applied only to the Hungarian minority.³

A different approach was applied to the German minority. This approach can be described as a privileged policy. The characteristic feature of this policy was privileged status for the German minority. The German minority gained a strong position in internal politics not only thanks to its size but also because of its strong ally abroad – Germany – and its “protective relation” to Slovakia. In the case of the Jewish and Gypsy minorities the principle of segregation and a racial approach was applied, for the Hungarian minority it was an approach of reciprocity, while for the German minority it was a relation described as “*a bridge of mutual understanding*” between Germany and Slovakia.⁴ However, the misuse of the German minority by Germany to split the Czechoslovak Republic, the declaration of the Slovak state as a German satellite, the signing of the protective treaty between the countries, and creation of an extra-territorial protection belt by Germany in the Záhorie region as well as open “protection of the German minority” by the Third Reich clearly determined the structure of that policy.

In addition to the aforementioned minorities, the Ruthenian minority was also among the more numerous groups in Slovakia. This minority represented one of the state-building nations in the inter-war

² Act No. 185/1939, §95.

³ For a detailed analysis of the issue, see the works of Martin Hetényi, such as HETÉNYI Martin. *(Zjednotená) Maďarská strana na Slovensku 1939 – 1945*. Nitra: UKF, 2011; HETÉNYI, Martin. Postavenie maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1940. In: *Slovensko medzi 14. marcom 1939 a salzburskými rokovaniami: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VI*. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita, 2007, p. 93-111 and HETÉNYI, Martin. Maďarská strana na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1945. In: *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století II: Sborník z mezinárodní konference*. Ústí nad Orlicí: Otfis, 2007, p. 58-67.

⁴ SCHVARC, Michal. Pozícia Karmasinovej Deutsche Partei vo vnútropolitckej kríze na jar a v lete 1940. In: *Slovensko medzi 14. marcom 1939 a salzburskými rokovaniami*. Prešov: Universum, 2007, p. 77.

period because Subcarpathian Ruthenia was part of the Czechoslovak Republic. Use of inconsistent nomenclature and the problem of their misrepresentation as Russians were, to a large extent, related to Russian immigrants living in the inter-war Czechoslovakia. All of this led in 1921 to the artificial creation of the Russian nationality. This group included Carpathian-Russians, Great-Russians and Ukrainians. Officially, the Russian nationality represented the "*Subcarpathian branch of the Russian nation*"⁵ and in 1930 this group was basically renamed to the Russian and Little-Russian nationality, but retained the same meaning.⁶ After the formation of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) this minority, or its political representatives, were regarded in Slovakia as politically unreliable. Slovak authorities did not trust them and suspected them of either Hungarianism or Bolshevism.⁷ For the most part, the distrust was related to the Ruthenian politics in the inter-war period. This was due to efforts to incorporate selected parts of eastern Slovakia into Subcarpathian Ruthenia, as well as frequent identification of this ethnicity with the Greek Catholic faith.⁸

The status of the Czech minority in Slovakia was also special. The peculiarity of the relation of Slovak policy to this minority after constitutional changes in 1939 consisted not only in the understanding of the nationality but also a specific status for Czechs in Slovakia in the inter-war period. This led to the formation of a common Czechoslovak nationality, but another, and perhaps more significant reason, was the administrative assistance in the form of teachers and clerks from the western part of the republic after 1918, initially perceived by Slovaks as temporary. After the formation of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) the number of persons reporting Czech nationality with Slovak citizenship decreased dramatically. This minority did not belong among minorities that would specifically engage in political life or pursue cultural or social activities. The Slovak policy toward the Czech minority after the

⁵ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska v sčítaniach ľudu 1919 – 1940*. Brno: Tribun EU, 2012, p. 179 ff.

⁶ Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl I. Růst, koncentrace a hustota obyvatelstva, pohlaví, věkové rozvrstvení, rodinný stav, státní příslušnost, národnost, náboženské vyznání. In: *Československá statistika* vol. 98, series VI., issue 7 (henceforth: ČSS vol. 98). Praha: SÚS, 1934, p. 46*.

⁷ KOVAL, Peter. Otázka slovensko-rusínskych etnických hraníc v čase formovania slovenskej štátnosti. In: *Slovensko medzi 14. marcom 1939 a salzburskými rokovaniami*. Prešov: Universum, 2007, p. 116-117.

⁸ Iné je náboženstvo a iné je národnosť: Šarišania a Zemplínčania, nezabúdajte, že ste Slováci. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 7. december 1940, p. 2.

departure of the class composed of clerks and teachers, along with their families, can be described as neutral or indifferent.

In addition to this nationality-specific approach, there was also an official “single” ethnic policy enacted in the basic act of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945), i.e. in the Constitution. As part of a separate section, the Constitution officially guaranteed the right to freely claim one’s nationality affiliation and defined the punishable activities that might lead to de-nationalisation of a minority. The Constitution also guaranteed freedom for cultural and language development as well as for organisation of a minority’s political activities. As stated above, the scope of rights of minorities depended on the status of the Slovak minority in the mother countries of individual nationalities.⁹

Perception and forms of expression of ethnicity

In the first half of the 20th century, the multi-ethnic Slovakia went through significant political changes that have directly shaped the ethnic composition in its territory. The ethnicity of the population of Slovakia can only be traced based on the organisation of modern population censuses. Initially, the basic attribute of ethnicity was language. This characteristic, or its prevailing form, was used to determine the ethnicity of individual localities already by the end of the 18th century. The first numeric data for individual localities that allow for the definition of ethnic composition of the population are included in the population census of 1880, in which ethnicity was defined by the mother tongue. Subsequent politicization of collection of statistical data, which can be seen already before the end of the 19th century, resulted in a significant shift in the meaning of this attribute at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1910, for instance, a child could learn his or her “mother tongue” at school.¹⁰ Moreover, an important factor in this period were various political pressures (including the activities of Hungarian regional associations in

⁹ Act No. 185/1939, §§91-95.

¹⁰ MVSР – Slovak National Archives in Bratislava (henceforth: SNA), fonds Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia, 1918 – 1928, box no. 277, shelf mark 10688/1919 Adm. Pres. We also discussed this issue in TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Mimoriadne sčítanie ľudu z roku 1919: príspevok k populačným dejinám Slovenska*. Bratislava: Statis, 2007, p. 57 ff.

Slovakia, the acts on nationality or education, and others).¹¹ As a result, the methods of gathering data about mother tongue at the beginning of the 20th century were subject to criticism and non-Hungarian nationalities have never acknowledged these data as reliable. After the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic this criticism resulted in the complete rejection of language as a sign of ethnicity. Thus, one extreme was replaced by another. The new characteristic of ethnicity, or defining of nationality, was based on an individual's free choice during the extraordinary population census in Slovakia in 1919 and pointed to a new direction typical for the whole inter-war period.¹² The new attribute, nationality – which became an established term in the statistical practice in the 1919 population census – was only slightly supplemented during the inter-war period.¹³ However, a full rejection of language as an attribute of nationality in 1919 and its related problems led to further considerations. The threat of individuals stating false information, which surfaced to a limited extent in 1919,¹⁴ might grow substantially. Therefore, in preparation for the 1921 census through which Czechoslovakia was to maintain the tradition of a ten-year cycle of censuses within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the problem of the definition of ethnicity of the population became subject to serious considerations. Again, the significance of one's mother tongue was reassessed primarily at the instigation of Antonín Boháč, the subsequent Chairman of the State Statistical Office of the Czechoslovak Republic.¹⁵ After prolonged discussions it was agreed that nationality would be defined as the basic attribute, an outward sign of which would be usually the mother tongue. Thus, language yet again became, at least formally, one of the decisive attributes. It should be noted that in practice, only a direct expression of free choice of nationality was applied, as

¹¹ KAČÍREK, Ľuboš. Modernizácia Uhorska v 19. storočí a slovenské národné hnutie. In: *Idey a vývoj slovenského národovtvořného myslenia*. M. Martinkovič (ed.). Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2011, p. 295 ff.; KAČÍREK, Ľuboš. Náboženská situácia za prvej Československej republiky. In: *Historická revue*, roč. XXIV., 3/2013, p. 32-37.

¹² TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Nemecké národnostné ostrovy na Slovensku podľa výsledkov Šrobárovho popisu ľudu z roku 1919. In: *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty UK Historica XLVII*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2008, p. 91.

¹³ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Etnická a konfesijná štruktúra obyvateľstva Gemera a Malohontu: prehľad stavu podľa vybraných statických prameňov v 18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia*. Brno: Tribun EU, 2009, p. 106.

¹⁴ We analysed a number of such cases in TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Mimoriadne sčítanie*.

¹⁵ National Archives of the Czech Republic in Prague (henceforth: NAČR Praha), fonds State Statistical Office I., (1916) 1918 – 1946 (1950) (henceforth: f. SÚS), box no. 44, shelf mark P-3511; box no. 45, shelf mark P-3541-1.

emphasised by the Statistical Office after publishing the results.¹⁶ In addition, a new feature was incorporated in the collection of data on nationality – a separately reported Jewish nationality.¹⁷ This nationality was not and could not be assessed based on an outward sign –neither language nor the affiliation to a Jewish religious community was the condition for stating this nationality.¹⁸ Although in the subsequent 1930 census the association of language to nationality was more accentuated in theory, in practice the reporting was based mainly on the free choice of persons.¹⁹ There were repeated discussions on the attribute of ethnicity as well as general ethnic policy in Czechoslovakia.²⁰ The creation of a separate Jewish nationality, which was not bound to any traditional attribute, clearly demonstrates how the Czechoslovak Republic tried to “cope with” numerous minorities in its territory. In the Czech part of the country there was a sizeable German minority of several millions. In Slovakia, the reporting of Jewish nationality was intended to reduce the size of the German and Hungarian minorities in particular.²¹ On the other hand, one cannot argue that there was any government-initiated action to force or even push some part of the population to report any particular nationality. In fact, the legal regulations through which the inter-war censuses were implemented, as well as the associated organisational instructions governing data gathering procedures, strictly prohibited the influence or direct pressure on a person to report a specific nationality.²²

¹⁶ Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921. I. díl. In: Československá statistika vol. 9, series VI., issue 1. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1924, p. 8*; NAČR Praha, f. Ministry of the Interior I. – Old Records, 1918 – 1953 (henceforth: MV-SR), box no. 248, shelf mark 56051/1920.

¹⁷ In Slovakia, Jewish ethnicity / nationality was recorded as early as the 1919 census, but it did not appear in the official instructions for census takers. This was a result of an agreement made during initial preparatory meetings where the participants resolved not to promote this option. For details, see TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Mimoriadne sčítanie*, p. 58.

¹⁸ BERROVÁ, Petra. Zjišťování národnosti obyvatelstva při sčítání lidu na našem území v minulosti a dnes. In: *Demografie*, vol. 50, 4/2008, p. 261 ff.

¹⁹ ČSS vol. 98, p. 17*.

²⁰ One may point to the discussion of the subject in BOHÁČ, Antonín. *Národnost a sčítání lidu: K Rádlovu sociologickému rozboru naší národnostní statistiky*. Praha, 1930.

²¹ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska*, p. 145-146.

²² Act No. 256/1920 and Gov. Decree No. 592/1920 executing the 1921 census, as well as Act No. 47/1927 and Gov. Decree No. 86/1930 which provided the legal basis for the 1930 census.

Data gathering on nationality was conducted also as part of the second extraordinary inter-war population census in 1938. The decisive attribute was usually the mother tongue. Another nationality could not be reported unless the subject spoke that language in the family and in standard daily contact in society. That was the crucial point of this census from the perspective of the ethnic policy of Slovakia. This is because based on this census an accurate ethnic composition of Slovakia was to be ascertained, one which would form the basis of development and evaluation of the so-called "ethnic registry in Slovakia".²³ The mother tongue or knowledge and use of language in day-to-day contact also formed the basis of the 1940 population census. The instructions for census takers unambiguously emphasised language as the key characteristic of nationality, which in many cases led to politicised issues, in which, however, government authorities usually did not hold the upper hand.²⁴

It would not be necessary to discuss the situation during the first half of the 20th century at such length if the changes in statistical surveys on ethnicity did not have a direct impact on the geographical distribution of individual ethnic groups and the official results of population censuses.

Population census: the necessary condition for proper functioning of a country or a political instrument to promote various political interests?

The crisis of autumn 1938 in Czechoslovakia and the related changes had a strong impact on the subsequent political and social development of Slovakia. The declaration and adoption of autonomy by Slovakia, the creation of an autonomous government and international pressures from the expanding Third Reich, led to a gradual erosion and subsequent split of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1939, resulting in the formation of the Slovak state. The conference in Munich in September 1938 decided on the territorial changes, which had an impact on the territory of Slovakia. As a result, Germany took control of Devín and Petržalka. However, more extensive territorial changes were made "after Munich" with Poland claiming a part of northern Slovakia and Hungary claiming extensive southern territories within Slovakia. The Polish problem was resolved relatively quickly by signing a bilateral agreement in Zakopane, Poland,

²³ MVSR – State Archives in Košice, Rožňava branch (henceforth: ŠA Košice, Rožňava), fonds County Clerk Office in Revúca, 1923 – 1945 (henceforth: f. OÚ Revúca), box no. 34, shelf mark 1671/1938 prez.

²⁴ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska*, p. 152-154.

resulting in the loss of some northern parts of Slovakia. The southern border was a more serious problem. After the unsuccessful bilateral talks the question was finally resolved by the First Vienna Arbitration signed on 2 November 1938 in Vienna. The arbiters decided the new Slovak-Hungarian borders, which along with the surrender of an area of approximately 10,000 square kilometres led to a total loss of approximately 860,000 inhabitants.

After the declaration of the Slovak state and the outbreak of the Slovak-Hungarian War, also called the Little War, and the signing of a treaty on the protective relation with Germany, Slovak foreign policy gradually consolidated. However, the loss of the territories and a considerable part of the population made the proper functioning of the public administration difficult. Thus, the administration operated in a temporary or tentative regime. The domestic political situation was further exacerbated by political pressures on the part of the most numerous German minority in Slovakia, politically represented by the German Party (Deutsche Partei) headed by Franz Karmasin. Political leaders of this party called for a special legal status.²⁵ In this situation, an extraordinary population census was thought to be a solution. Such a census would throw light onto the actual size of the population in Slovakia, and, at the same time, the autonomous government would obtain a general understanding of the ethnic composition and size of individual minorities. This information could then be used, *inter alia*, as a supportive argument against the political elite of the German minority in Slovakia for privileged status in the form of cultural autonomy. Moreover, the idea of the extraordinary census was associated with secret organisational preparations. The idea was to circumvent any impact on the results due to traditional promotional efforts and political campaigns that would target minority groups. The organisers of the census managed to catch the political leaders by surprise and thus the data gathering was conducted without any prepared campaigns at the beginning of January 1939 to determine the size of population as of 31 December 1938. Franz Karmasin, as the leading figure of the German minority in Slovakia, immediately protested against the census. He criticised what he called the incorrect manner in which the census was performed and rejected its results as not binding for the German minority.²⁶ Escalation of political tensions was already evident at the time that the preliminary results were published and one can assume that this was the reason why the detailed census data for

²⁵ See also „*Tretia ríša*“ a vznik Slovenského štátu: Dokumenty I. M. Schvarc – M. Holák – D. Schriffl (eds.). Bratislava: ÚPN, 2008, p. 460-461, no. 139.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 547-550, no. 158.

individual municipalities eventually remained unpublished.²⁷ Thus, the original idea of creating and establishing the *nationality registry* to provide accurate information on the situation in individual localities was not attained.²⁸ One of the interesting – but understandable – peculiarities of this census was the criterion of permanently-residing inhabitants. This corresponded to the purpose of the census, which was to ensure proper functioning of administration. Therefore, the persons subject to the census had to be counted in the place of their permanent domicile. This also applied to prisoners, soldiers, visitors staying at hotels, and other persons. However, in broader perspective, this census was quickly forgotten by the public mainly because of the census that took place during the period of the existence of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945).

Characteristics of the 1940 population census and perception of nationality

The 1940 population census was special in several respects. In 1938, only two year before this census, the aforementioned extraordinary regional census was conducted, the aim of which was to provide a basis for creating a nationality registry in Slovakia. The new census of 1940 was an attempt to provide a comprehensive snapshot of the population of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) with an emphasis on the widely-publicised phrase “*no duress and no false data*”.²⁹ The justification of conducting another extremely financially-demanding census after such a short period of time was based mainly on the incompleteness of the previous extraordinary census, which did not include the data necessary to formulate the economic, population and social policies of the new state.³⁰ The 1940 census was focused on detailed data about the economic activity of the population. Data on employment and assignment to economic sectors were not covered in the 1938 census, which was quite logical in view of the objectives of the extraordinary census. As part of the regional census of 1938, only information on date of birth, nationality,

²⁷ County summaries were published in *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky a prehľad obcí a okresov odstúpených Nemecku, Maďarsku a Poľsku*. Bratislava: Štátny štatistický úrad, 1939, p. 8-13; see also SNA, f. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1939 – 1945 (henceforth: f. MZV), box no. 163, shelf mark 51509/40. This file also contains a full list of Hungarian-majority municipalities

²⁸ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. OÚ Revúca, box no. 34, shelf mark 1671/1938 prez.

²⁹ Snem schválil zákon o sčítaní ľudu: Sčítanie ľudu bude každých 10 rokov – Prvé sa prevedie do konca roku 1940. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 10 October 1940, p. 2.

³⁰ Do konca roka má byť prvé sčítanie ľudu. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 5 October 1940, p. 3.

citizenship and religion were collected.³¹

Another characteristic feature of the 1940 population census was its quality, and to a large extent, the professionalism in the preparation phases and overall conduct of the census. From the methodological perspective, the census was managed by the newly-founded State Statistics Office seated in Bratislava,³² unlike the previous regional census of 1938 that was organised by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Region, and prepared, in fact, without official legislative backing. The 1940 population census was properly passed through an authorised legislative body, the Slovak Council, and the act defined ten-year cycles and explicitly articulated the phrase “*first population census*”.³³ However, such symbolism was only formal. In reality, after collecting the data, all published data was compared mainly with the results of the population census of 1930 and in some instances also with the “infamous” census of 1910.³⁴ Thus, statistical continuity was ensured, which was necessary for a modern approach to scientific examination of population trends established in the developed world virtually from the second half of the 19th century until present, as manifested in the aforementioned regular ten-year (or, in some countries five-year) cycles.

The most significant feature of the 1940 census was the politicised approach of the whole undertaking toward selected minorities. The government decree inspired by the act on population census specified the date of the census and it included the segregation of Jews and Gypsies (Roma). Jews were not allowed to report anything other than Jewish nationality and Roma had to report the Gypsy nationality. It was argued that in the past these population groups were allowed to report other nationalities and therefore “...it was previously impossible to obtain a satisfactory insight into the number of Jews and the social stratification of the Jewish population. It is therefore purposeful in view of the regulations, that the registration obligation of Jews is adjusted. The same applies to members of

³¹ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. County Clerk Office Dobšiná, 1938 – 1945 (henceforth: f. OÚ Dobšiná), box no. 2 and 3. Questionnaires for the Dobšiná county.

³² The State Statistical Office in Bratislava was established by the Government Decree No. 58/1939 dated 12 April 1939.

³³ *Population Census Act* No. 265/1940 dated 8 October 1940. The bill was discussed as early as September 1940 by the government presidium as well as by the upper echalons of the Ministry of the Interior which was tasked with the preparation and execution. See also SNA, f. Ministry of the Interior, 1938 – 1945 (henceforth: MVSR), box no. 700, shelf mark 3091/40.

³⁴ The best example is provided by the Townships Lexicohn of 1942: *Lexikón obcí Slovenskej republiky*. Bratislava: Štátny štatistický úrad, 1942.

the Gypsy race".³⁵ This represented a significant shift from the previous statistical practice of ethnic surveys of population because before this attribute was based on the free choice of individuals, and officially, the outward sign of nationality ought to have been the mother tongue, or, as mentioned previously, the language used in day-to-day communication. Thus, a segregation (racial) policy permeated the statistical surveys and, consequently, also the results of the 1940 population census. The instruction for census takers and inspectors that further specified and clarified the rules of gathering nationality data in 1940 determined the mother tongue as the basic attribute of nationality.³⁶ The nationality of parents was reported for children under age 18. In the case of differences in nationalities within families, the nationality of the father or the nationality of the determined caregiver was considered. Jews were allowed to report only Jewish nationality.³⁷ The instruction for census takers and inspectors referred to Government Decree 63/1939, which defined "the term Jew".³⁸ This definition was directly adopted from the population census rules of 1940, which governed the "determination" of Jewish nationality. According to the aforementioned definition it was 'obligatory' (sic!) to report this nationality not only for persons with the Israeli faith, or those who had converted from this faith to a different faith, but also for persons having at least one parent as a member of this faith. And regardless of how absurd and abnormal the fourth and the fifth section of this decree in particular might sound, those who married a Jew or lived with a person of Jewish faith in the same household including their offspring, were also regarded as Jews.³⁹

The persons reporting Gypsy nationality were treated a bit differently. The term "*Gypsy*" was defined in a separate Decree of the Ministry of

³⁵ Gov. Decree on *Population Census* No. 270/1940 dated 18 October 1940.

³⁶ §§18 and 19 of Instructions for census takers and inspectors. ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 65, shelf mark D_1732/44.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ §1 of Government Decree *Defining the Term "Jew" and Limiting the Number of Jews in Certain Freelance Occupations* No. 63/1939 dated 18 April 1939.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Interior of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) dated 18 June 1940.⁴⁰ Gypsy was defined as “...a member of the Gypsy race, whose both parents have origin in this race, and who lives either a nomadic or settled life, but avoids work.” This definition was ambiguous in several respects and in practice absolutely unenforceable. This is because it did not provide a clear answer to the question who was a Gypsy (Roma) and who was not. Undoubtedly this was also the reason why even before the State Statistics Office in Bratislava began to gather data it informed the public in a separate statement about the invalidity of this definition for the purpose of data gathering in 1940. This declaration was also published in the *Slovenská akťor* daily on 15 December 1940, i.e. one day before the official beginning of data gathering.⁴¹

With respect to the difficulties associated with the data on the nationality of population, on 11 December 1940, i.e. several days before data gathering, the Slovak Statistical Office started issuing special certificates about nationality.⁴² The census sheets from the 1930 population census that had been transported to Slovakia after the splitting of Czechoslovakia were used as the key database source for these certificates.

Results of the 1940 census from the perspective of ethnic composition of the population

The ethnic composition in 1938 and 1940 reflected to a large extent the long-term population and settlement developments in Slovakia.

⁴⁰ Decree of the Ministry of the Interior No. 18.635-Ic/1940 implementing §9 of the Decree *Temporarily Adjusting Work Obligations of Jews and Gypsies* no. 130/1940 dated 29 May 1940. The topic of the status of the Roma people has been thoroughly researched by Karol Janas, e.g. JANAS, Karol. *Organizačná štruktúra pracovných útvarov v rokoch 1941 – 1944*. In: *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VII*. Bratislava: ÚPN, 2008, p. 329-341; JANAS, Karol. *Zabudnuté tábory*. Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita A. Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008; JANAS, Karol. *Perzekúcia rómskeho obyvateľstva v slovenskej historiografii (Súčasný stav a perspektívy)*. In: *Nepriznaný holokaust Rómov v rokoch 1939-1945*. Bratislava: Minorita, SNM, ÚE SAV, 2007, p. 15-20 etc.

⁴¹ Staráme sa, aby sčítanie ľudu bolo čo najdokonalejšie: Práva a povinnosti majiteľa bytu – Národnosť Cigánov. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 15. december 1940, p.3: „...The definition of the term Gypsy as set forth by the Ministry of the Interior Decree No. 18635-Ic/1940 dated 18 June 1940 cited on p. 21 of the Instructions according to the local office circular No. 1230/I-40 dated 30 November 1940 shall not apply to the population census...”

⁴² Štatistický úrad začne vydávať osvedčenia o národnosti. In: *Slovenská pravda*, 8. decembra 1940, p. 3.

However, the overall results were influenced by the aforementioned border movements in the southern and also eastern part of Slovakia, which led to significant shifts in the ethnic structure compared to the population of inter-war Slovakia. Southern Slovakia, traditionally inhabited by the Hungarian minority was annexed to Hungary. Thus, less than one-tenth of the originally most-numerous minority remained in Slovakia. Adjustments were also made to the northern border, which largely affected persons reporting the Slovak nationality in the subsequent 1940 census.

Table 1: Ethnic structure of Slovak territory based on the results of the 1938 census⁴³

Slovak Territory	All	Slovak	Czech	Ruthenian (Russian)	German	Hungarian	Jewish	Gypsy	Other
abs.	2656426	2260894	77488	69106	128347	57897	28763	26265	7666
rel. (%)	100	85.11	2.92	2.60	4.83	2.18	1.08	0.99	0.29

Table 2: The ethnic structure of persons with citizenship of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) based on the results of the 1940 census (figures before the January adjustments and review corrections of 1941)⁴⁴

Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945)	Citizens	Slovak	Czech	Ruthenian (Russian)	German	Hungarian	Jewish	Gypsy	Other
abs.	2567555	2214475	3024	61762	129552	46689	74438	37098	517
rel. (%)	96.68	86.25	0.12	2.41	5.05	1.82	2.90	1.44	0.02

Persons of Slovak nationality on the diminished territory of Slovakia were clearly dominant, with Slovaks accounting for more than 86% of the population. The Slovak nationality formed a majority based also on settlement structure, in that this group formed a majority in almost 91% of municipalities in the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945). On the regional level, Slovaks dominated almost all parts of Slovakia. The only exception was the Krupina county, the Medzilaborce and a branch of the County Office in Stropkov seated in Vyšný Svidník, later transformed into a separate Svidník county.⁴⁵

The largest and politically most-significant minority in the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) was the German minority. Over 129,500 persons

⁴³ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 16-17.

⁴⁴ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Národnostný kataster Slovenska z roku 1940*. Bratislava: SNA, 2011, p. 38.

⁴⁵ The county was created by Act No. 107/1942.

(5.05%) reported to be of the German nationality, which represented an increase compared to the 1938 regional census of more than 1,000 persons. Admittedly, to become a member of the German minority at that time was a quite sensible thing to do and one did not even need to speak German, as described below. Members of the German nationality were concentrated mainly in three larger language regions shaped over the centuries mainly as a remnant of several waves of German colonisation culminating in the beginning of the 14th century. Although in the long term this group was exposed to strong assimilation pressures from the Slovak and Hungarian groups, they managed to retain their own culture, language and national self-awareness. A more significant decrease in their size can be seen mainly from the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁶ A large German language island existed in Bratislava and its surroundings, especially in the Malé Karpaty region, the people of which traditionally engaged in wine-making and trades. However, by 1940 the German settlements in this area had diminished significantly. Another and perhaps more significant German language island in the 1940s was the region of Upper Nitra and Kremnica with German settlements in the Southern Turiec region also called *Hauerland*. In the Kremnica county the Germans were the majority population with more than 51% share. They were concentrated mainly in the northern part of this region.⁴⁷ The third region was the northern and southern part of Spiš region, with more than a third of the population reporting German nationality in the Kežmarok and Gelnica counties in 1940.⁴⁸ In 1940, the German nationality represented the most-numerous population group in 58 municipalities in Slovakia.

The second most-numerous minority in Slovakia was persons listed as Jewish nationality. As mentioned earlier, the 1940 population census applied the rule of obligatory reporting of Jewish nationality by persons in this ethnic group. The special emphasis of the 1940 census in determining the size of the population of this particular nationality can be substantiated by the separate reporting of this minority and overviews by individual census zones, as well as municipal and county overviews.⁴⁹ Although this group accounted for a considerable share of the overall

⁴⁶ We have discussed this issue in a number of places, e.g. TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Nemecké národnostné ostrovy*, 89-118 as well as ŠPROCHA, Branislav – Tišliar, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva v rokoch 1919 – 1940*. Bratislava: Infostat, 2009.

⁴⁷ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Národnostný kataster Slovenska*, p. 415.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 307 and 401. 36.01% in the Kežmarok county, 37.47% in Gelnica.

⁴⁹ SNA, f. 1940 Census; see also ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 65, shelf mark D/1732/44.

population, the Jewish nationality was not a dominant element in any municipality in Slovakia. Its members traditionally concentrated in urban areas, although in eastern Slovakia they were also concentrated in rural areas. The overall statistics in 1940 recorded their share at 2.9% (of the total present population including foreigners) and this represented almost 87,500 persons.⁵⁰ In that respect it should be noted that in the previous 1938 regional census the Jewish nationality was reported by less than 29 thousand persons.⁵¹ Here, a continuity of the inter-war period can be seen. As mentioned earlier, the only change in the definition of nationality since 1921 was the Jewish nationality, which was associated neither to language nor any other conditions. Thus in the interwar period it depended solely on the choice of the person. During the inter-war period, about a half of the population of Israelite faith in Slovakia selected this option.⁵² After the territorial changes an overall decline in the number of persons of Israelite faith was recorded, however, during this period the atmosphere of fear may have affected their choice. Whereas in the inter-war period there were about 136,000 persons of the Israelite faith present in the total territory of Slovakia,⁵³ the 1938 regional census on the diminished territory recorded only about 85,000 members of the Israelite faith.⁵⁴ The 1940 census, after further adjustments to borders, counted about 86,500 persons of Israelite faith (by including foreigners, we arrived at the above figure of 87,500 persons reporting Jewish nationality in 1940).⁵⁵

In 1940 Ruthenians represented the third most-numerous minority in the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945). Persons reporting this nationality were concentrated mainly in the north-eastern part of Slovakia. This group in 1940 represented a majority in the Medzilaborce county and in Vyšný Svidník branch (Stropkov county), and in as many as 157 municipalities in this group represented the most numerous nationality. As mentioned earlier, during the inter-war period Ruthenians were reported within the artificially-created group of Russian nationality (within the group of Carpathian-Russians, Great-Russians and Ukrainians). In the published results of the regional census of 1938 this nationality was referred to as

⁵⁰ SNA, f. State Planning and Statistical Office in Bratislava, 1945 – 1951 (1952) (henceforth: f. ŠPŠÚ), box no. 1, no shelf mark.

⁵¹ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 11.

⁵² ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska*, p. 185.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁵⁴ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ SNA, f. ŠPŠÚ, box no. 1 and 38, no shelf mark. For 1940, there is no combined data set for citizenship and religion, only the totals were combined.

Ruthenian nationality.⁵⁶ The instructions for census takers and in other preparation forms and memos related to the 1940 census did not directly address this problem.⁵⁷ However upon the completion of data gathering, i.e. in the final stage of sorting, processing and review of obtained data from the population census, the Statistical Office had to take a clear position on this issue.⁵⁸ In the documents referring to the 1940 population census the aggregate term “Russian nationality” was usually used to describe this group.⁵⁹ This problem was addressed by a recommendation to return to the approach taken in the Hungarian statistics, in which the term Russian inhabitants applied only to persons with origins in Russia and the native inhabitants were stated separately as Ruthenian. This was, however, promulgated as late as the end of 1941 when the Slovak government resolved that persons reporting Ruthenian, Russian and Ukrainian or similar other nationalities in the 1940 census would be treated in the statistical sheets and publications according to the aforementioned recommendation.⁶⁰ The decline in the size of Ruthenian population compared to the inter-war data was caused mainly by the aforementioned military conflict with Hungary (the so-called Little War) after the declaration of the Slovak state. This resulted not only in the annexation of Subcarpathian Ruthenia by Hungary, but also the loss of some eastern parts of Slovakia with a dominant Slovak or Ruthenian population.

The Hungarian minority was already briefly addressed above. The overall “atmosphere of injustice”, feelings of unfair treatment and mutual slandering, which permeated Slovak-Hungarian relations, led to the aforementioned policy of reciprocity. Over several decades of the first half of the 20th century, the Hungarian population experienced perhaps the most turbulent times in terms of their status within society. Before the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the majority Hungarian population had played a key role in the building of the empire. After 1918,

⁵⁶ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 17. Published in 1939.

⁵⁷ ŠA Košice, Rožňava, f. OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 65, shelf mark D/1732/44.

⁵⁸ SNA, fonds MVSR, box no. 1885, shelf mark 56668/41.

⁵⁹ For a detailed analysis of the issue, see our TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Sčítanie ľudu z roku 1940: k niektorým aspektom organizovania a priebehu cenzu*. In: *Život v Slovenskej republike: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov IX*. P. Sokolovič (ed.). Bratislava: ÚPN, 2010, p. 25-35.

⁶⁰ SNA, f. MVSR, box no. 1885, shelf mark 56668/41. After the war, the Statistical Office prepared and in 1946 finally published regional data for the 1940 census where Ruthenians were described as Ukrainians. For details, see SNA, f. ŠPŠU, box no. 1 and 38, no shelf mark, as well as *Zprávy Štátneho plánovacieho a štatistického úradu 1946*. Bratislava 1946, p. 16-19.

it became the most numerous minority in Slovakia but after the territorial changes in 1938-1939 this group was basically tolerated as just the fourth most-numerous minority in the country. After the territory inhabited mainly, but not solely, by persons reporting Hungarian nationality became part of Hungary, in the diminished territory of Slovakia the Hungarian minority became a group of about 46,500. They were concentrated mainly in the traditionally Hungarian regions north-east of Nitra and around Bratislava. The Hungarian nationality represented a majority in 19 municipalities in Slovakia. The Hungarian minority was also more numerous in German-language areas, especially in southern Spiš. This was due to a sharp disagreement by part of the German minority in those areas with Karmasin's policy within the Deutsche Partei and a clearly pro-Hungarian orientation by a considerable part of the local German-speaking population in Slovakia. Relatively effectively-managed Hungarian propaganda also contributed to this trend. The key idea was to annex the whole southern Spiš region to Hungary by the end of the 1930s.⁶¹

Persons reporting Gypsy nationality had a relatively special status. Mass identification by the ethnic environment in which they lived was typical. By the end of 19th century there were attempts by the Hungarian authorities to elaborate separate lists of Gypsies (Roma) with a focus on ethnographic research of their way of life (the nomadic element was specifically studied) in addition to language characteristics.⁶² During the inter-war period the Gypsy nationality was reported by a relatively small group of people. In 1921 it was less than 8,500 persons and by 1930 this number has increased to almost 31,000.⁶³ Growth of this minority group was also recorded in the subsequent regional census of 1938. As many as 26,000 Roma were reported in the diminished territory of Slovakia. This growth can be explained by the fact that a considerable part of the Roma population reported a Gypsy nationality in 1930 in the southern part of Slovakia, which was later split off from Slovakia by the end of the 1930s.

⁶¹ This mostly affected areas around Štós and Medzev, although "pro-Hungarian" Germans lived around Smolník as well. See HETÉNYI, Martin. (*Zjednotená Maďarská strana*, p. 51 ff., as well as SCHVARC, Michal. *Guľka pre štátneho tajomníka. Atentát na Franza Karmasina v Nižnom Medzeve 11. decembra 1938*. In: *Pamäť národa*, 4/2007, p. 42-50.

⁶² *A Magyarországbán 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott Czigányösszeírás Eredményei*. Budapest: Az Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1895; ŠPROCHA, Branislav. Niektoré zdroje informácií demografickej povahy o rómskej populácii na Slovensku. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*, vol. 17, 4/2007, p. 3-11.

⁶³ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Štruktúry obyvateľstva Slovenska*, p. 130.

The increase in the number of Roma was confirmed mainly in eastern Slovakia. In 1940 the obligation to report Gypsy nationality, although without the aforementioned nonsensical definition, was another factor for the increase. Their total number thus exceeded the threshold of 37,000. In 1940, Roma were essentially dispersed throughout the whole territory of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945). In terms of geographical concentration more dense areas included some regions of eastern Slovakia, especially the regions of Spiš, Šariš and Zemplín. More concentrated settlements of Roma in 1940 can be found along the southern border of Slovakia from the region of Hont to northern Gemer. In the western part of Slovakia the Roma minority concentrated mainly in the Záhorie region.⁶⁴ The first legislative measures aimed against the Roma minority were enacted in 1939 and they culminated after 1940 mainly in the form of creating special workforce units.⁶⁵ It was exactly in this period of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) when the foundations of a settled way of life for this minority were laid. Members of this minority made their living through door-to-door sales, collection of iron, but also by traditional crafts such as smithery, production of carved-wood mangers or iron kettles and horse trading. This minority typically had big families with higher fertility rates and a climate of positive population growth.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ We analysed the geographical distribution of the Roma population in our TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Priestorové rozmiestnenie rómskej minority na Slovensku podľa výsledkov obyvateľstva z roku 1940. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*. vol. 21, 4/2011, p. 3-21.

⁶⁵ For detailed analysis of the issue, see Karol Janas. JANAS, Karol. *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939 – 1945)*. Bratislava: ÚPN, 2010.

⁶⁶ The demographic reproduction of the Roma population in the 20th century has been the subject of a number of works by Branislav Šprocha, such as ŠPROCHA, Branislav. Plodnosť Rómov na Slovensku. In: *Demografie*, vol. 49, 3/2007, p.191-201; ŠPROCHA, Branislav. Úmrtnosť rómskej populácie na Slovensku. In: *Demografie*, vol.50, 4/2008, p.276-287; ŠPROCHA, Branislav: Generačná analýza plodnosti rómskych žien. In: *Demografie*, vol. 54, 1/2012, p. 36-46; ŠPROCHA, Branislav: Rozdiely v úrovni plodnosti rómskych žien na Slovensku v závislosti od stupňa integrácie. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*, vol. 17, 1-2/2007, p. 141-149; ŠPROCHA, Branislav. Základné charakteristiky úmrtnostných pomerov vo vybraných rómskych lokalitách na Slovensku. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*. č. 3/2009, vol. 19, p. 52-69; ŠPROCHA, Branislav. Potratovosť a štruktúra ukončených tehotenstiev vo vybraných rómskych lokalitách na Slovensku. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia* 2/2010, vol. 20, p. 74-109; ŠPROCHA, Branislav: Plodnosť rómskych žien na Slovensku. Transverzálna a longitudinálna analýza. In: *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*, vol. 21, 4/2011, p. 69-107.

The size of the population reporting Czech nationality in Slovakia remained unchanged compared to the inter-war period. Prior to the formation of Czechoslovakia persons with origins in the Czech lands, Moravia and Silesia, living in the territory of Slovakia were rather limited, but after the formation of the republic, significant employment migration took place aimed mainly at administrative centres and the filling of positions as clerks in towns or teachers in rural areas throughout Slovakia. Undoubtedly, Czech assistance in this stage of building the Czechoslovak Republic was inevitable and very beneficial. Without such assistance, the proper functioning of public administration could not have been launched so as to normalise day-to-day life in Slovakia within a relatively short period of time. By 1930 the number of Czech nationality in Slovakia, including their family members, had increased to almost 121,000.⁶⁷ However, it should be noted that the initial assistance had grown into a broader trend increasingly directed at such qualified positions and it gradually began to be viewed as the “crowding out of jobs for the local population”. This problem grew into a political agenda and became part of the official propaganda of the autonomist wing of the political spectrum, culminating in 1938 in the declaration of Slovak autonomy and subsequent efforts to immediately repatriate the Czech population from Slovakia. Under growing pressure on the Czechs employed in Slovak administration to leave Slovakia, their number in 1938 declined to almost 77,500.⁶⁸ In the 1940 population census the Czechs present in Slovakia were largely regarded as citizens of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, i.e. foreign nationals. More than 3,000 persons reporting Czech nationality obtained Slovak citizenship, mainly those who had a Slovak spouse. This Czech nationality group was evenly distributed in the whole territory of Slovakia, mainly in administrative centres. This pattern resulted from the aforementioned employment migration since most of the persons of Czech nationality continued to work in public administration, education, self-administrative bodies and also in transportation.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ ČSS vol. 98, p. 47*, see also BOTÍK, Ján. *Etnická história Slovenska: K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov*. UKF Nitra, 2007, p. 171 ff.

⁶⁸ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 8-11.

⁶⁹ ŠPROCHA, Branislav – TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Demografický obraz Slovenska*, p. 209 ff. The economic aspect was discussed in a number of works by Peter Mičko, the most pertinent analysis is MIČKO, Peter. *Hospodárska politika Slovenského štátu*. Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2010.

In addition to the aforementioned minorities, other minorities lived in Slovakia. North and north-east Slovakia along the Polish border was inhabited by a smaller number of persons of Polish nationality. In 1938 the census takers recorded more than 3,800 such persons in the total population (0.14%),⁷⁰ but in 1940 it was only just over 300 persons.⁷¹ The highest concentration of this group was in the Humenné county (70 persons) and Trstená (45 persons).⁷² The decline clearly resulted from the military conflict led by Slovakia against Poland in 1939. Other nationalities in Slovakia in 1940 were of negligible significance.⁷³

After an agreement was reached with Poland in Zakopane in 1938, some parts of Kysuce, Orava and Spiš were ceded to Poland.⁷⁴ However, the attack on Poland in September 1939 led not only to the return of those parts of northern Slovakia but also the return of Slovak municipalities that in the 1920s had become a part of Poland. As of 1 January 1940 these territories were officially incorporated into the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945). The 25 annexed municipalities (without considering Suchá Hora and Hladovka, which had changed their territorial affiliation in 1938 and in 1939 were incorporated into Slovakia) included 27,319 persons, of whom 26,441 had (or obtained) citizenship of the Slovak Republic

⁷⁰ *Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky*, p. 10-11.

⁷¹ SNA, f. ŠPŠÚ, box no. 38, no shelf mark.

⁷² Cf. summary data in TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Národnostný kataster Slovenska*, s. 53 (stĺpec iná národnosť) a SNA, f. ŠPŠÚ, krab. č. 38, bez sign.

⁷³ In this context, one should note the remarkable case of Slovakia's Croat population which managed to preserve its identity for almost all of its history spanning four centuries. By early 20th century, however, it had also succumbed to assimilation and so in 1940, there were only a handful of persons who reported their ethnicity as Croat. For more on the Croats of Slovakia, see ŠKORVÁNKOVÁ, Eva. *Srbi a Chorváti v Bratislave 1918 – 1948*. In: *Stratené mesto*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2011, p. 121-139.

⁷⁴ The Polish military moved in on 27 November 1938 and the new border was agreed upon on 30 November 1938 in Zakopané. MVSR State Archives in Bytča, Čadca branch, fonds County Clerk Office Čadca, 1923 – 1945, box no. 66, shelf mark 49/1939 prez. PKÚ Circular no. 74.588/1938 prez.; MVSR State Archives in Levoča, Poprad branch, fonds County Clerk Office Kežmarok, 1923 – 1945, box no. 33, shelf mark 2758/1938 prez.; also ŠA Košice, Rožňava, fonds OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 1, shelf mark 161/1938 prez. For the situation on the Slovak-Polish border in the run-up to and during WWII, see one of the many works by M. Majeriková-Molitoris, such as MAJERIKOVÁ, Milica. *Vojna o Spiš: Spiš v politike Poľska v medzivojnovom období v kontexte československo-poľských vzťahov*. Krakov, 2007 or the latest overview MAJERIKOVÁ-MOLITORIS, Milica. *Česko-slovensko-poľský spor o Spiš a Oravu*. In: *Historická revue*, roč. XXIV., 3/2013, p. 6-10.

(1939 – 1945). As to ethnic composition, the Slovak nationality was clearly dominant, with a share of 98.24% of the total population in these territories.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The ethnic composition of the population of the Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) was not just the result of long-term development of population settlement in the territory of Slovakia but also a consequence of several political and social factors and changes. The most significant territorial changes were made through the enforced international treaties with the neighbouring countries and internal political changes aimed at the segregation of a part of population of the diminished Slovak territory. This segregation led to an openly racial policy and eventually ended up in the deportation of a part of the population – i.e. deportation of a country's own citizens.

After the end of World War II the territorial integrity of Slovakia was reinstated within its previous borders, however the whole process was associated with much internal migration of the population, both forced and voluntary. The liquidation of a significant part of the Jewish population in Slovakia in the first half of the 1940s was followed by the post-war deportation of much of the German population, exchange of inhabitants between Slovakia and Hungary, and later also by efforts to relocate Hungarians from southern Slovakia to the vacated Czech borderland.⁷⁶ All of the above had a direct impact on the overall ethnic composition of the population of Slovakia, which in later periods never re-acquired its specific inter-war pattern.

Štatistická prax a národnostná politika Slovenskej republiky 1939 – 1945

Pavol Tišliar

Národnostná skladba obyvateľstva Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945) nebola len výsledkom dlhodobého sídelného vývoja populácie Slovenska, ale tiež dôsledkom viacerých politicko-spoločenských faktorov a zmien. Významnejšie sa tu prejavili územné zmeny z konca 30. rokov, ktoré znamenali odstúpenie území obývaných najmä osobami maďarskej

⁷⁵ TIŠLIAR, Pavol. *Národnostný kataster Slovenska*, p. 155-156 and 172-173.

⁷⁶ ŠMIGEL, Michal – KRUŠKO, Štefan. *Opcia a presídlenie Rusínov do ZSSR (1945 – 1947)*. Bratislava: Goralina, 2011, p. 17 ff.

minority. Politický rozmer sa prejavil pri segregácii vybraných skupín obyvateľstva (židovské a rómske obyvateľstvo) a národnostná politika Slovenskej republiky (1939–1945) v tomto prípade smerovala do otvorenej rasovej politiky a vyvrcholila deportáciami židovského obyvateľstva. Odlišný charakter mala národnostná politika voči najsilnejšej nemeckej menšine, postavenie ktorej zaručovalo naviazanie Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945) na svojho spojenca, Nemeckú ríšu. Politika reciprocity sa presadila v prípade maďarskej minority, ktorej postavenie záviselo od možnosti rozvoja slovenskej menšiny v susednom Maďarsku. K ostatným minoritám, z ktorých výraznejšie zastúpenie mala len skupina rusínskeho obyvateľstva, štát zaujímal skôr nevšímavý postoj. Ten sa týkal aj českej menšiny, s ktorou sa Slovenská republika (1939 – 1945) vysporiadala jednoducho, chápaním väčšiny Čechov ako príslušníkov susedného Protektorátu Čechy a Morava.

Štatistická prax vnímala národnosť odlišne ako medzivojnové sčítania, pre ktoré sa základom stala predovšetkým slobodná vôľa opýtaného. V roku 1940 musela byť národnosť podmienená znalosťou jazyka a bola prijatá povinnosť pre židovské obyvateľstvo prihlásiť sa výlučne k židovskej národnosti. Obdobné pravidlá, prijaté aj pre rómske obyvateľstvo boli napokon, pred terénnym zberom údajov, zrušené.

Po skončení 2. svetovej vojny síce došlo k obnoveniu územnej integrity Slovenska v pôvodných hraniciach, došlo však aj k viacerým núteným, ale i priamo nevynúteným vnútorným migráciám obyvateľstva. K likvidácii značnej časti židovskej populácie na Slovensku, ku ktorej došlo ešte v prvej polovici 40. rokov, pribudol po vojne transfer nemeckého obyvateľstva, výmena obyvateľstva medzi Slovenskom a Maďarskom, neskôr snaha presťahovať Maďarov z južného Slovenska do vyprázdneného českého pohraničia. To všetko sa napokon priamo odrazilo aj na celkovej národnostnej skladbe obyvateľstva Slovenska v povojnovom období, ktorá už nenadobudla medzivojnový charakter.

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