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**Ethnicity and the Population of Slovakia
Between 1919 and 1940***

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Abstract. This paper discusses ethnicity as a characteristic of the population of Slovakia in the first half of the 20th century. Using data from censuses conducted in the territory of Slovakia between 1918 and 1945, it analyzes the changing concept of Czechoslovak ethnicity in demographics and provides a detailed description of the ethnic make-up of Slovakia and its changes within the period in question.

Keywords: native language; ethnicity; ethnic groups; 1919–1940; census; Slovakia.

Ethnicity as a demographic concept

The ethnic make-up of a population and ways to determine and describe it is one of the issues of population studies that only gained currency in early modern era. In Central Europe, the first attempt to map ethnicity can be dated to the late 18th century and the compilation of the first official survey of townships published in 1773. This lexicon recorded, among other data, the prevailing language in all surveyed townships in the Kingdom of Hungary [1]. As such, this work is invaluable for the reconstruction of ethnic composition of late 18th century Hungary. In contrast, later sources on the subject are of private (and thus geographically limited) nature, such as those published in private topographical surveys [2]. First real figures on the ethnic structure of contemporary population of the Kingdom of Hungary date to the first modern census in Austria-Hungary conducted in 1880 [3]. This census served as a template for the future ones even after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which therefore also collected data on ethnicity. After the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic, official censuses were conducted every ten years; two extraordinary censuses also took place.

Starting in 1880, the concept of „native language” was used as the primary indicator of ethnicity. Defined as the language a person learned at home and spoke most often in their daily communication, this concept is similar to the idea of “dominant language” used in the Austrian part of the Empire and defined as the language most commonly used [4].

One’s native language is undoubtedly an important criterion in determining a person’s ethnicity, but only as long as it is used neutrally in one of its (admittedly varied) definitions. In Hungarian censuses, however, this term slowly took on a new meaning as political goals began to outweigh scientific ones and became an integral part of the preparation of censuses and, most noticeably, of the interpretation of the data. So for example in the 1910 census, the term “native language” was defined as the language the respondent considers their first or primary, but it was a common practice to record different native languages for a mother and her child, even if the child only learned the other language at school [5]. This way of determining ethnicity became one of the manners in which the population number for ethnic Magyars in the Kingdom of Hungary were artificially inflated – the Magyar language was, after all, the only language used in schools.

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Shortly after the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic, the newly created administration proposed to conduct an extraordinary census of the population of Slovakia the results of which were to be used by the Czechoslovak delegation at the Paris peace talks [6]. In contrast to older Hungarian surveys and their obvious pro-Magyar slant, the preparatory committee of the 1919 census decided to radically overhaul the way ethnicity was addressed in census questionnaires. They defined ethnicity as a cultural and political concept based on a person's tribal identification with a particular ethnic group or nation [7]. There could only be one answer to that question and the only determinant was the respondent's free will. This free or direct self-reporting of a particular ethnic group was considered a new democratic element in census taking which was designed to provide a more objective picture of the ethnic make-up of post-WWI Slovakia as opposed to the Hungarian surveys with their skewed view of native language. Naturally, free self-reporting does not necessarily lead to an accurate representation of the reality. For one, a person's self-identification may change over time, and there are also cases of inter-generational and inter-confessional differences which were recorded in the 1919 census as well. Some of the questionnaires offer a particularly complex picture where parents' and children's ethnicity differed or membership in an ethnic group varied wildly not only within a core family, but also within the extended multi-generational household [8].

During the preparations for the 1921 census which was the first that continued the practice of conducting censuses every ten years, the issue of ethnicity was once again a point of contention, especially as far as the role of one's native language was concerned. In the end, a sort of compromise was achieved when ethnicity was defined as a person's tribal identification with native language serving as the most common outward sign thereof [9]. In spite of that, the 1921 allowed for an exception in case of the Jewish ethnic group (as one of the officially defined ethnic groups listed on the questionnaires), the members of which could self-report as such without any connection to their native language or even religious affiliation. The former is hardly surprising – the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia was as linguistically diverse as the entire population of the republic and thus Czechoslovak Jews (i.e. people of the Israelite faith) usually spoke any of the four major languages spoken in Czechoslovakia, i.e. Czechoslovak (according to prevailing theories at the time, the common language of the two nations which consisted of two branches, the Czech one and the Slovak one), Ruthenian, German and Hungarian. Somewhat surprisingly, however, one could also self-report as a Jew even without any affiliation with the Jewish religious community whatsoever. This methodology reflects the difficulties Czechoslovak statisticians faced when dealing with the large number of minorities in what was supposed to be a national state. Additionally, there is a political aspect to allowing people to self-report as members of Jewish ethnic groups: as evidence by census data, most Jews in Czechoslovakia spoke either Hungarian or German. By taking their self-identification and not their native language as the primary criterion for determining ethnicity, the total figures for the German and Hungarian populations would go down.

When it came down to collecting data for the 1921 census, ethnicity was in the vast majority of cases determined by the respondent themselves [10]. Only in a few cases, where the respondent could not or did not make a decision or ticked two or more boxes, the census takers made a decision based on the respondent's native language [11]. This practice continued in the next regular census in 1930. In determining ethnicity, the methodology of the 1930 census did assign more weight to the issue of native language, but in practical terms, very little changed, since the exception for the Jewish population was kept [12].

The next census where ethnicity was a particular concern was the regional population survey of 1938. The purpose of this census was to draw up a so-called ethnic land registry; that is a geographical survey of all ethnic groups living in Slovakia. This census was organized somewhat hastily, not only from the statistical and methodical point of view, but also in relation to the population. The Ministry of Interior did not give the usual notice, worrying that this would give various political groups opportunity to attempt to influence the results. The German minority and its vocal representatives were a particular point of concern, since after the First Vienna Award, the German ethnic group was the largest ethnic minority in Slovakia. Nevertheless, the census continued the established policy of tying ethnicity to native language [13].

The 1938 regional census was largely considered to be incomplete, since it did not contain any data relevant for the economy, population policy and social policy of the newly established

independent Slovakia. The government therefore decided to conduct a new one in 1940 which continued the tradition of ten-year gaps between censuses [14]. The way it surveyed ethnicity, however, constituted a sharp break with the Czechoslovak tradition. Official manuals instructed census takers to use a person's native language as the primary criterion to determine their ethnicity and only allow exception where the person used a different language in daily communication. Additionally, a separate set of criteria was used for two now persecuted population groups, i.e. the Jews and the Roma (or Gypsies in contemporary parlance). Members of these ethnic groups were only allowed to self-report as Jews and Roma, respectively [15]. This was justified by pointing out that in the previous surveys, these groups of people were allowed to consider themselves members of other ethnic groups without any questioning and "...it was impossible to arrive at a reliable overview of the total number of Jews and the social stratification of the Jewish population. It is therefore desirable with regard to the Jews to instruct them to report their ethnicity in this manner. The same is to be for the members of the Gypsy race." [16]. The true purpose of this policy was soon revealed when the National Institute of Statistics in Bratislava issued a separate directive releasing the Roma from this obligation, but maintaining it for the Jewish population [17].

Ethnic structure of the population of Slovakia 1919–1940

The complex ethnic structure of the population of Slovakia in the period in question is the outcome of the long development of settlements and the mutual influence of various ethnic groups that populated them. Table 1 contains a retrospective overview of the ethnic structure of the population of Slovak area between 1880 and 1940 based on two primary criteria: native language and nationality. Admittedly, these two concepts are not identical, but they will more than suffice for a simple comparison. Indeed even a cursory look at the data will reveal the existence of three developmental periods with two clear boundaries: one is the extraordinary census of 1919 conducted shortly after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, the other is 1938 which brought with itself another round of territorial changes.

Table 1.

Overview of the population figures and population breakdown by native language / ethnicity until 1940 [18]

Year*	Population number	Native language / ethnicity				
		Slovak (Czechoslovak)	Magyar	German	Ruthenian	Other
1880	2455928	1498808	549059	225059	78941	104061
1890	2587485	1600676	642484	232788	84787	26750
1900	2792569	1700842	759173	214302	84906	33346
1910	2926833	1685653	896338	196948	97014	50880
1919	2923214	1954446	689565	143466	81332	54405
1921	2955998	2013675	634827	139880	85628	81987
1930	3254189	2345909	571988	147501	91079	97712
1938	2656426	2338382	57897	128347	69106	62694
1940	2591368	2244264	45880	130192	61270	109762
%						
1880	100	61,03	22,36	9,16	3,21	4,24
1890	100	61,86	24,83	9,00	3,28	1,03
1900	100	60,91	27,19	7,67	3,04	1,19
1910	100	57,59	30,62	6,73	3,31	1,74
1919	100	66,86	23,59	4,91	2,78	1,86
1921	100	68,12	21,48	4,73	2,90	2,77
1930	100	72,09	17,58	4,53	2,80	3,0
1938	100	88,03	2,18	4,83	2,60	2,36
1940	100	86,61	1,77	5,02	2,36	4,24

* 1880 – 1919 data represents all inhabitants present on the date of the census, 1921 – 1940 data only includes citizens of Czechoslovakia; in 1921, the questionnaires did not list the Ruthenian ethnicity, but instead gave Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian, in 1930 Russian and Little-Russian (Ukrainian), in 1938 Ruthenian again, in 1940 Ukrainian; 1938 and 1940 data only covers the territory of Slovakia after the First Vienna Award. In 1938, there were 77488 Czechs in Slovakia while in 1940, there were only 3253. In both cases, we added this figure to the total for Slovak (Czechoslovak).

From the point of view of applied demographics and statistics, the first period (between 1880 and 1919) is marked by using the concept of the native language as the primary criterion in determining ethnicity. What is also notable is the gradual increase in the number of native speakers of Magyar and the corresponding decrease in the number of speakers of Slovak. This dynamic is not only a result of more or less natural assimilation, but can also be attributed to a number of political processes (such as the actions of Magyar fraternal organizations). The increase in the number of speakers of Magyar with the accompanying decrease of the total number of speakers of Slovak was most pronounced in the southern parts of present-day Slovakia. One should, however, not underestimate the effect of natural migration processes so typical of Slovakia in this particular period. In this context, one should recall the comments of Ján Svetoň who concluded that in the period between 1871 and 1914, approximately 650 thousand inhabitants of Slovakia left the country in search of work [19].

As for other ethnic groups, in the period before the formation of the Czechoslovak republic, the population figures for the German minority were on a steady decline caused by pressure to assimilate from both the Slovak and the Magyar majority, the later especially in south-western Slovakia. Speakers of Ruthenian, on the other hand, were a relatively stable group and their total population number held steady at 3% of the population of Slovakia, even in the face of growing pressure to assimilate.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic, clear and sharp changes in the ethnic structure of the population of Slovakia can be observed. The results of the 1919 extraordinary census and those of the 1921 population survey stood in sharp contrast to the 1910 data. The 1919 census showed an increase in the representation of persons who identified with the official Czechoslovak ethnic group, even in larger administrative centers where the last Hungarian census recorded high numbers of persons with Magyar as their native language [20]. It should be noted, however, that in some of these cities, this was in large part caused by the transfer of military garrisons in the fight for the control of the Czechoslovak territory in 1919 which had a skewing effect not only on the total population figures, but also on other population characteristics like ethnicity, confessional structure and, considering the typical composition of military units, also on the age and sex distribution of the local population.

The marked increase in the Magyar population was caused by three factors. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, a large number of Magyars, especially officials, left the territory of Slovakia. The Extraordinary Temporary Measures Act of December 10th, 1918 mandated that all government and church officials as well as representatives of local municipalities swear an oath of allegiance to the Czechoslovak republic and established Slovak (Czechoslovak) as the official language of the new administration [21]. As a result, many officials were forced to step down and decided to leave for Hungary together with their families. Although there is no exact statistical data available, we can trace this emigration by observing the changes in the confessional make-up of Slovakia. For example, between 1910 and 1921, the membership in the Hungarian Reformed Church, the members of which are traditionally and predominantly Magyars, declined by 13 thousand [22]. The Jewish religious community was affected as well and one can thus observe that many of those who reported their religious affiliation as Israelite and their native language as Magyar in 1910 did not self-identify as Magyars ten years later. Once again, no exact figures are available, but one can draw this conclusion from a simple comparison: in 1910, there were approximately 107.000 Jews who reported their native language as Magyar; in 1921, only 21.500 members of the Jewish community did [23]. And finally, many Slovaks who in the Hungarian censuses gave Magyar as their native language for reasons of fear or in hope of gaining an advantage no longer had to do so after the establishment of Czechoslovakia.

The German population was also affected by changes taking place in this tumultuous period. Total numbers of those who self-reported as Germans dropped, which was most likely caused by the newly available option of declaring oneself a member of the Jewish community. For the first time since the Middle Ages, the total share of the German-speaking population dropped below 5 %. However, a few enclaves that were predominantly inhabited by Germans survived and most of them held on to their German character until the first half of the 20th century. These include Bratislava in western Slovakia and smaller cities across the Little Carpathians, all of whom had a German-majority population as late as the final decades of the 19th century [24]. Other German-speaking enclaves of similar size could be found in central Slovakia stretching from the Upper Nitra region to the Kremnica and southern Turiec and in eastern Slovakia in Spiš [25]. While parts of Spiš, upper Nitra and southern Turiec remained German at least until the start of WWII, Bratislava and her environs underwent a radical ethnic makeover as a result of changes to the character of the city. As Bratislava became the administrative center of Slovakia, more and more officials and their families – either Slovaks or Czechs – moved in and within 20 years, Bratislava officially became a (Czecho)Slovak majority city.

The Ruthenian population which was – thanks to a comparatively large immigration of Russian population to the territory of Czechoslovakia – since 1921 defined as a part of the Russian minority (first broken down into Great-Russian, Ukrainian and Carpathian-Russian labels, then since 1930 reduced to Great-Russian and Little Russian) also shrank when compared to the 190 figures. This is generally explained by the fact that in 1910, religious affiliation was also used as a determinant of a person's ethnicity and thus all members of the eastern-rite Uniate Church were automatically counted as Ruthenians. This was, of course, unfounded, and thus the general opinion of Czechoslovak statisticians is that the 1921 census „corrected the 1910 figures” [26]. The Ruthenian population was concentrated in north-eastern Slovakia, especially the northern parts of Zemplín, Šariš and Spiš. During the interbellum period, however, all these Ruthenian areas shrank, largely as a result of gradual assimilation to the Slovak majority population.

The period between the two regular censuses in 1921 and 1930 marked a sharp decline in the number for the Magyar population. This was largely caused by an improvement in reporting residency and thus in 1930, the ratio of the Magyar population among non-permanent residents rose to 68.7% [27]. In total terms, the Magyar population shrank by approximately 5.5% as compared to the 1921 census. Conversely, the 1930 census noted a sharp increase in the figures for the Jewish and the Roma populations who, presumably, in the previous censuses self-identified as Magyars. In 23 counties in southern Slovakia, there were 26 640 persons of Jewish and 3 088 persons of Gypsy (Roma) ethnicity in 1921. In 1930, however, the numbers for the Jewish population rose to 37 210 (i.e. almost by a third) and those for the Roma to 18 363 (i.e. almost six times as much). Considering these transfers, the Magyar population decreased by 15 500 persons, i.e. by 1.98% of the total number of Magyars reported in the previous census, and that for the most part in favor of the Czechoslovak majority [28].

In the period in question, the Magyar population was concentrated in southern Slovakia, especially in three compact chains of townships. The first one started south of Bratislava with the Danube isle of Žitný ostrov (which was almost entirely inhabited by Magyars) and reached through Galanta, Nové Zámky, Vráble and Levice all the way to Slovenské Ďarmoty on the right bank of Ipeľ. It should be noted that this predominantly Magyar-inhabited area did not come about in late 19th century, but is a product of long-term migration and growth. In fact, first official population survey of 1773 already notes the prevalence of Magyars in the cities and townships involved [29]. This development was shortly interrupted in late 18th century as border regions formerly under Ottoman occupation were resettled by population from northern – i.e. Slovak – counties which led to the creation of several Slovak-speaking islands, like Kural'any, Nýrovce, Kamenica nad Hronom, Stará Ďala (today's Hurbanovo), Dulovce and others. The pressure from surrounding Magyar areas, however, caused these enclaves to shrink until in 1921, only one such island was left – Kural'any, where the Czechoslovak (i.e. Slovak) population comprised nearly 94 % [30]. A large Magyar enclave in a Slovak-majority region north-east of Nitra could be considered a part of this chain of townships. This enclave was historically Magyar as well, going back as far as the 18th century. Townships like Podhorany, Žirany, Jelenec and Ladice remained firmly Magyar until the beginning of WWII.

Another compact chain of predominantly Magyar townships started in Slovenské Ďarmoty and reached along the southern border of Slovakia all the way to the county Košice-vidiek to the eastern Slovak-Hungarian isogloss. The third compact chain of Magyar towns is located in the entire south-eastern corner of Slovakia, separated from the second one by a number of Slovak-majority townships in the counties of Košice, Ždaňa and Michalovce, and continues all the way to the Carpathian Ruthenia [31].

Southern Slovakia underwent a number of population changes in the interbellum period, largely in terms of internal colonization as a consequence of a series of land reforms. As a result, several new Slovak islands emerged in what had hitherto been Magyar territory [32].

The First Vienna Award in 1938 marks the beginning of another important phase in the development of the population of Slovakia as it lost large portions of southern Slovakia and their population. The majority of the population in the ceded regions was Magyar and only a few Magyar-majority islands (north and east of Nitra) remained under the control of the wartime Slovak republic. Consequently, according to the 1940 data, the Magyar minority suddenly became the fourth largest one, following the German (130 000), the Jewish (72 000) and the Ruthenian or Ukrainian (61 000) ethnic groups [33]. The redrawn borders also affected the German minority concentrated in Bratislava and neighboring townships when, under the terms of the Munich Agreement, Devín and Petržalka became a part of the Third Reich. And finally, the north-eastern part of the Slovak territory with a large portion of the Ruthenian population was transferred to WWII Hungary as a result of the Little War in early 1939.

The artificially created Czechoslovak ethnic group could not remain unaffected. With the adoption of the 1938 Autonomy Act, the concept of a joint Czechoslovak nation was done away with and the concepts of two separate ethnic groups, Czech and Slovak, were introduced in its place. Beginning in late 1938, Czech government employees started leaving Slovakia for the Czech lands, a process which only intensified once Slovakia declared independence in 1939. While in 1938, there were over 77 000 Czechs in Slovakia, in 1940, their numbers dwindled to 3500 [34].

Special attention must be devoted to the Jewish community. Since the extraordinary census of 1919, the questionnaires offered the respondents the opportunity to self-report as such, although according to the detailed reports on preparatory meetings, the census takers were discouraged from recommending this option [35]. No figures for the Jewish population are available from the 1919 census, since they were included in the "other" category [36]. The data from the censuses conducted between the two world wars is much more detailed in this respect and offers a clearer picture of this new minority. In 1921, 70529 citizens of Czechoslovakia with permanent residency self-identified as Jewish, in 1930, that number decreased to 65385 [37]. The Jewish population thus constituted the fourth largest ethnic minority in interbellum Czechoslovakia, concentrated predominantly in cities and towns of eastern Slovakia. In the 1938 census conducted during the early stages of the persecution of Jews in the run up to WWII, less than 29 000 persons self-identified as Jews, but with the compulsory identification of Jews introduced in 1940, government records show the total number of the Jewish population as 72 000, which makes it the third largest ethnic minority in the wartime Slovak republic (1939–1945) [38].

Immediately after the formation of the Czechoslovak republic, the Slovak (Czechoslovak) population constituted a majority in the territory of Slovakia. This had been traditionally true of the northern provinces as well. Of the southern provinces, Zemplín, Novohrad and Hont were also predominantly Slovak while in Above and Gemer, the ratio of the Slovak population hovered around 50 % [39]. During the period between the censuses, the number of persons belonging to the Czechoslovak ethnic group increased especially in north-eastern and northern parts of Slovakia as well as the central part of eastern Slovakia. After the First Vienna Award in 1938 as the territory of Slovakia was reduced to its former northern and central parts, the ratio of the Slovak population rose to 86–88 %.

References:

¹. Lexicon universorum regni Hungariae locorum populosorum. Budapest, 1920. In this paper, the terms "Hungary" (without any modifier), "Kingdom of Hungary" and "Hungarian" are used to refer to the multiethnic country which existed between 1000 and 1918 and formed a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire within which it was also referred to as Transleithania. The term „modern-day Hungary”, "WWII Hungary" "Hungary proper" will be used to refer to the country of Hungary in its borders established by the

Treaty of Trianon including all the changes up until the present day. The majority ethnic group in modern-day Hungary will be referred to as Magyars and their language as Magyar.

² Korabinský J. M. Geographisch-historisches und Produkten-Lexikon von Ungarn / J. M. Korabinský. Bratislava, 1786; Vályi A. Magyar országnak leírása. I. – III. / A. Vályi. Buda, 1799-1799; Fenyés E. Magyarország geographiai szótára / E. Fenyés. Pest, 1851, et al.

³ Az 1869. évi népszámlálás vallási adatai. KSH Levéltár, 2005; A Magyar Korona Országában Az 1881. Év Elején Végrehajtott Népszámlálás Eredményei. I. kötet. Budapest: Az Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1882; A Magyar korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás. II. kötet. (henceforth: Népszámlálás 1880) Budapest: Az Országos Magyar kir. Statisztikai hivatal, 1882.

⁴ Berrová P. Zjišťování národnosti obyvatelstva při sčítání lidu na našem území v minulosti a dnes / P. Berrová // Demografie : revue pro výskum populačného vývoje. 2008. Vol. 4. P. 261.

⁵ MVSR Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave (Slovak national archive in Bratislava, henceforth: SNA), f. Minister ČSR s plnou mocou pre správu Slovenska, 1918–1928 (henceforth: MPS), box no. 277, shelfmark 10688/1919 Adm. Pres. See also Tišliar, P. Mimoriadne sčítanie ľudu z roku 1919: príspevok k populačným dejinám Slovenska / P. Tišliar. Bratislava: Statis, 2007. P. 57–58.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ MVSR Štátny archív s regionálnou pôsobnosťou so sídlom v Košiciach (Regional archive Košice, henceforth: ŠA Košice), pobočka v Rožňave (branch archive Rožňava, henceforth: p. Rožňava), f. Obvodný notársky úrad v Stratenej, 1895–1945, box no. administratívne 1918–1920, shelfmark 331/1919 adm., Podrobné poučenie pre popisujúcich povereníkov, § 31, s. 13 and MVSR Štátny archív s regionálnou pôsobnosťou so sídlom v Bratislave (Regional archive Bratislava), f. Slúžnovský úrad v Trnave, 1856–1922, box no. 11, shelfmark 6855/1921 adm.; SNA, f. MPS, box no. 277, shelfmark 10688/1919 Adm. Pres.

⁸ MVSR Štátny archív s regionálnou pôsobnosťou so sídlom v Nitre (Regional archive Nitra, henceforth: ŠA Nitra), f. Župa Nitra I., descriptive sheets 1919.

⁹ Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921. I. díl. Československá statistika sv. 9, řada VI., sešit 1. (henceforth: ČSS, vol. 9). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1924. P. 8*.

¹⁰ Boháč A. Národnostní mapa republiky Československé: Podrobný popis národnostních hranic, ostrovů a menšín / A. Boháč. Praha: Národopisná společnost Československá v Praze, 1926. P. 15.

¹¹ ČSS, vol. 9, ref. 9, p. 59* „Podle mateřského jazyka byla určena národnost toliko těch osob, které sa přiznávali k dvěma národnostem nebo nedovedli určití svoji národnost.“

2. 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. Československá statistika sv. 98, řada VI., sešit 7 (henceforth: ČSS, vol. 98). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1934. P. 17.

*3. ŠA Košice, p. Rožňava, f. Okresný úrad v Dobšinej, 1938–1945 (henceforth: f. OÚ Dobšiná), box no. 2 and 3, descriptive sheets for every township.

*4. Do konca roka má byť prvé sčítanie ľudu. Slovenská pravda. October 5th, 1940. P. 3.

*5. ŠA Košice, p. Rožňava, f. OÚ Dobšiná, box no. 65, shelfmark D/1732/1944. The official definition of a Gypsy (i.e. Roma) only included “... those members of the Gypsy race with both parents belonging to the same, who leads a nomadic or settled life, but avoids work.” Who was and was not Jewish was defined by the Government Act no. 63/1939 Sl. z. titled *The definition of the term Jew and the designation of the number of Jews in certain free trades* dated April 18th, 1939.

*6. VI. nar. č. 270/1940 Sl. z. o sčítaní ľudu, dated October 18th, 1940.

*7. Staráme sa, aby sčítanie ľudu bolo čo najdokonalejšie: Práva a povinnosti majiteľa bytu – Národnosť Cigánov. Slovenská pravda. December 15th, 1940. P. 3: “... *The definition of the term ‘Gypsy’ as set forth in the edict of the Ministry of the Interior dated June 18th, 1940 no. 18635-Ic/1940 as cited on p. 21 of the Instructions pursuant to this office’s circular no. 1230/I-40 dated November 30th, 1940 for the population census shall not apply...*”

*8. Soznam miest na Slovensku dľa popisu ľudu z roku 1919. Bratislava: Ministerstvo s plnou mocou pre správu Slovenska, 1920. P. 170 (minus the townships of Carpathian Ruthenia); Népszámlálás 1880, ref. 133; A Magyar korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. Első rész. *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, Új sorozat I. kötet. (henceforth: Népszámlálás 1900) Budapest: Az Országos Magyar kir. Statisztikai hivatal, 1902; *A Magyar korona országainak helységnevtára*. Budapest: Az Országos Magyar kir. Statisztikai hivatal, 1892; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész. Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, Új sorozat I. kötet. (henceforth: Népszámlálás 1910) Budapest: Az Országos Magyar kir. Statisztikai hivatal, 1912; ČSS vol. 98, ref. 12, p. 46*; Územie a obyvateľstvo Slovenskej republiky a prehľad obcí a okresov odstupených Nemecku, Maďarsku a Poľsku. Bratislava: Štátny štatistický úrad, 1939. P. 10–11; SNA, f. Štátny plánovací a štatistický úrad v Bratislave, 1945 – 1951 (1952) (henceforth: f. ŠPŠÚ), box no. 38, no shelfmark.

*9. Svetoň J. Slovenské vysťahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu / J. Svetoň // Vývoj obyvateľstva Slovenska: výber z diela k nedožitým 65. narodeninám J. Svetoňa. Bratislava: Epoque, 1970. P. 191.

²⁰ Tišliar P., ref. 5, p. 88 ff.

²¹ Z. č. 64/1918 Sb. z. ff., § 2 and 3. For language policy, see further Act no. 122/1920 Sb. z. ff.

²² Boháč A. Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921: Část analytická I A. Boháč // ČSS, vol. 9, ref. 9, p. 75*.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ For details, see our Tišliar P. Etnická a konfesijná skladba obyvateľov Bratislavy v poslednej štvrtine 19. a v prvej polovici 20. storočia / P. Tišliar // Zborník Múzea mesta Bratislavy XXI. Bratislava: MMB, 2009. P. 53–70.

²⁵ For a detailed study on the German enclaves, see our Tišliar, Pavol. Nemecké národnostné ostrovy na Slovensku podľa výsledkov Šrobárovho popisu ľudu z roku 1919 / P. Tišliar // Historica 47. P. Tišliar (ed.). Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2008. P. 89–118.

²⁶ Boháč A., ref. 23, p. 76*.

²⁷ Korčák J. Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930: část textová / J. Korčák // ČSS, vol. 98, ref. 12, p. 45*–46*.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Lexicon universorum..., ref. 1, p. 99 ff.

³⁰ Štatistický lexikón obcí v republike Československej: III. diel Slovensko. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1927. P. 39.

³¹ For details, see Šprocha, B. Populačný vývoj Podkarpatskej Rusi II.: Štruktúry obyvateľstva / B. Šprocha, P. Tišliar. Bratislava: Infostat, 2009. P. 97 ff.; item Šmigel', M. Opcia a presídlenie Rusínov do ZSSR (1945–1947) / M. Šmigel', Š. Kruško. Bratislava: Goralinga, 2011. P. 17 ff.

³² See also Simon A. Telepesek és telepes falvak Dél-Szlovákiában a két világháború között / A. Simon. Šamorín: Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, 2009.

³³ SNA, f. ŠPŠÚ, box no. 38, no shelfmark, Šprocha B. Demografický obraz Slovenska v sčítacniach ľudu 1919 – 1940 / B. Šprocha, P. Tišliar. Brno: Tribun EU, 2012. P. 159 ff.; for more details, see Tišliar, P. Národnostný kataster Slovenska v roku 1940 / P. Tišliar. Bratislava: SNA, 2011. 1025 p.

³⁴ Územie a obyvateľstvo..., ref. 18, p. 8–11.

³⁵ SNA, f. MPS, box no. 277, shelfmark 10688/1919 Adm. Pres.

³⁶ For details, see Tišliar P., ref. 5, p. 63 ff.

³⁷ ČSS, vol. 9, ref. 9, p. 35–37; ČSS, vol. 98, ref. 12, p. 37.

³⁸ SNA, f. ŠPŠÚ, box no. 38, no shelfmark.

³⁹ Tišliar P. Etnická a konfesijná štruktúra Gemera a Malohontu: prehľad stavu podľa vybraných statických prameňov v 18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia / P. Tišliar. Brno: Tribun EU, 2009. P. 74 ff.

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Этнический состав населения Словакии в 1919–1940 гг.

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена атрибуту этнической принадлежности населения Словакии в первой половине XX века. Целью является найти решение проблемы определения этнической принадлежности во время переписи населения и установить границы этнического пространства. В статье использован материал регулярных и чрезвычайных переписей населения, которые проводились в Словакии после возникновения Чехословацкой Республики и во время существования Словацкой Республики (1939–1945).

Ключевые слова: родной язык; национальность; этническая принадлежность населения; 1919–1940; перепись населения; Словакия.