



Population Processes

Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN 2500-1051
2017, 2(1). Issued once a year

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Postal Address: 1367/4, Stara Vajnorska
str., Bratislava – Nove Mesto, Slovak
Republic, 831 04

Website: <http://ejournal44.com/>
E-mail: aphr2010@mail.ru

Founder and Editor: Academic Publishing
House Researcher s.r.o.

Release date 23.12.17.

Format 21 × 29,7/4.

Headset Georgia.

Order № 3.

Population Processes

2017

Is. **1**

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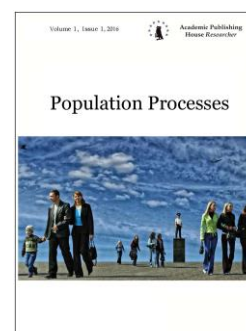
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Published in the Slovak Republic
Population Processes
Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN: 2500-1051
2017, 2(1): 3-10

DOI: 10.13187/popul.2017.2.3
www.ejournal44.com



Articles and Statements

Causes of Death of Inhabitants of Greenland: Age and Gender Dimension

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Abstract

The subject of this article is to examine the mortality statistics among the inhabitants of Greenland. According to the World Bank, life expectancy Greenlanders in 2012 amounted to 71.31 years. In his article the author makes an attempt to analyze the reasons because of which came the natural (non-violent), or forced on the statistics for 2013. Special attention is paid to gender and age aspect, the author highlights the cases of death, which are most typical of which is aged or sex group. As the main method of research is the statistical analysis of the data StatBank Greenland, and also used the modern scientific literature on health issues. As a result, consideration of the causes of death among the inhabitants of Greenland, the author found that 82.46 % in the case of natural death occurs, and only a small number of cases violent. The paper examined the disease that caused the death and the number of deaths, as well as the reasons for the onset of a violent death: accident and accidents, homicide and suicide. We select the most striking features of gender and age.

Keywords: mortality, population of Greenland, mortality rate, cause of death, natural death, violent death, not violent death, suicide, murder, accident.

1. Введение

В большинстве стран мира ведётся постоянный учет рождаемости и смертности, при этом при сборе статистики о смерти граждан учитываются такие вопросы, как возраст и пол умершего, причины смерти, а также место смерти и некоторые дополнительные данные. По состоянию на 2013 год население Гренландии составляло 56370 человек, из которых 29838 мужчин и 26532 женщины. При этом уровень рождаемости в 2013 году составил 821 новорожденный, а число умерших 439 человек. Несмотря на превышение числа новорожденных над числом умерших, на острове наблюдается отрицательный прирост населения, что связано с высоким числом эмигрантов ([Befolkningens bevægelser, 2013](#)).

Как уже было отмечено, всего в 2013 году на острове Гренландия умерло 439 человек. Как мы видим из данных ([таблица 1](#) и [таблица 2](#)) ([Statbank Greenland](#)), среди них было 262 мужчин и 177 женщин. В данной работе мы рассмотрим более подробно причины вызвавшие наступление летального исхода.

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2. Материалы и методы

1. Основным источником при написании данной работы стали статистические данные статистической службы Гренландии (StatBank Greenland), а также современные исследования в области демографии, социологии и медицины.

2. В ходе нашего исследования были использованы такие методы как статистический анализ, системный и сравнительный анализ данных. Выбор методов был сделан на основе принципов научной объективности, системности, и обусловлен объектом, предметом, а также целью и задачами, поставленными в рамках данного исследования.

3. Обсуждение и результаты

Естественная смерть

Естественная смерть включает в себя все виды смерти, не связанные с насилием, аварией, стихийным бедствием и т.д. ([Криминалистическая энциклопедия, 2000: 46](#)). Таким образом, естественная смерть включает в себя прекращение жизнедеятельности организма по причине болезни или угасание по причине старости.

Таблица 1. Причины смерти среди мужчин в 2013 году

	Естественная смерть	Смерть вследствие аварии	Самоубийство	Убийство	Неизвестная причина	Всего
до 4	6	0	0	1	2	9
5-9	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-14	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-19	0	2	5	0	1	8
20-24	0	1	9	0	0	10
25-29	0	0	4	1	0	5
30-34	1	0	3	0	0	4
35-39	1	0	2	0	0	3
40-44	3	0	3	0	0	6
45-49	10	1	4	0	2	17
50-54	15	1	3	1	0	20
55-59	27	5	0	0	1	33
60-64	27	0	1	0	0	28
65-69	25	2	0	0	0	27
70-74	29	0	0	0	0	29
75-79	38	1	0	0	0	39
80-84	18	0	0	0	0	18
85-89	5	0	0	0	0	5
90+	1	0	0	0	0	1
Всего	206	13	34	3	6	262

Таблица 2. Причины смерти среди женщин в 2013 году

	Естественная смерть	Смерть вследствие аварии	Самоубийство	Убийство	Неизвестная причина	Всего
до 4	4	1	0	0	0	5
5-9	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-14	2	0	0	0	0	2
15-19	0	0	6	0	1	7
20-24	0	0	1	0	0	1
25-29	0	0	0	0	0	0
30-34	0	0	2	0	0	2
35-39	1	1	1	0	0	3
40-44	3	0	1	0	0	4
45-49	3	1	0	1	0	5
50-54	9	0	0	0	0	9
55-59	7	1	0	0	0	8
60-64	10	1	0	0	0	11
65-69	21	2	0	0	0	23
70-74	24	0	0	0	0	24
75-79	28	0	0	0	0	28
80-84	23	0	0	0	0	23
85-89	16	1	0	0	0	17
90+	5	0	0	0	0	5
Всего	156	8	11	1	1	177

По данным статистики в 2013 году естественная смерть была зафиксирована в 362 случаях, т.е. 82,46 % от общего числа смертей.

11 младенцев умерло в 2013 году. Уровень младенческой смертности на территории Гренландии составляет – 9,63 (146 место в мире) по данным ЦРУ ([The World Factbook](#)). При этом в Дании этот показатель составлял 4,14 (197 место в мире). По данным Всемирного банка средняя продолжительность жизни гренландцев на 2012 год составил 71,31, в то время как среди датчан этот показатель составил 80,5.

Если до 44 лет у мужчин и 49 лет у женщин случаи естественной смерти единичны, то уже с 45 и 50 лет соответственно, виден существенный рост смертей по естественным причинам.

Рассматривая естественные причины, мы уделим внимание болезням, вследствие которых наступила смерть ([Таблица 3](#)).

Таблица 3. Смертность вследствие заболеваний

Заболевания	Распространённость, кол-во случаев	Распространённость, %
Инфекционные заболевания, включая паразитные	22	6,36
Рак	105	30,35
Другие опухоли	7	2,02
Болезни эндокринной системы, расстройства питания и обмена веществ	11	3,18
Психические расстройства	11	3,18
Расстройство нервной системы, органов зрения и слуха	8	2,31
Сердечные заболевания	55	15,9
Другие заболевания кровеносной системы	34	9,83
Болезни дыхательной системы	30	8,67
Болезни пищеварительной системы	17	4,91
Болезни кожи и подкожной клетчатки	1	0,29
Болезни костно-мышечной системы и соединительной ткани	1	0,29
Болезни мочеполовой системы	4	1,16
Беременность, роды и послеродовой период	0	0
Отдельные состояния, возникающие в перинатальном периоде	11	3,18
Врожденные пороки развития и хромосомные аномалии	0	0
Симптомы, признаки и отклонения от нормы, не отнесенные к другим категориям	29	8,38

Как мы видим, наиболее распространёнными причинами естественной смерти среди заболеваний является рак (30,35 %) и сердечные заболевания (15,9 %), а также другие заболевания кровеносной системы (9,83 %) и дыхательной системы (8,67 %).

Смерть от инфекционных заболеваний и паразитов по данным статистики наступает с возрастной группы 35-39 лет. Также как и рак, однако, если случаи смерти от инфекционных заболеваний менее распространены и равномерно распространены по возрастным группам, то смерть от онкологических заболеваний становятся с возрастом более частыми от 1 в возрастной группе 35-39 лет, до 19 в возрасте 70-74 года. Другие опухоли как причины смерти менее распространены и в основном подобные случаи приходятся на людей от 70 лет.

Болезни эндокринной системы, расстройства питания и обмена веществ по данным статистики становится причиной смерти только с 55 лет.

Психологические заболевания как причина смерти среди гренландцев распространены лишь в 3,18 % случаев, при этом среди мужчин это происходит в раньшее (с 45 лет), чем с женщинами (с 75 лет). Летальный исход вследствие расстройства нервной системы, органов зрения и слуха встречаются в 2,5 раза чаще среди мужчин. Заболевания сердца как причина смерти также более распространены среди мужчин 40 случаев против 15 среди женщин. Это же относится и к другим заболеваниям кровеносной системы – мужчины более подвержены этим заболеваниям.

Как демонстрируют статистические данные, среди мужчин в большей степени причинами смерти становятся такие заболевания как рак, заболевания сердца и кровеносной системы, в то время, как среди женщин более распространены такие заболевания, как различные виды опухолей (кроме раковых), а также болезни пищеварительной системы.

Смерть вследствие аварии или несчастного случая

По данным статистики в 2013 году вследствие аварии погибло 21 человек или 4,78 % от общего числа смертей (таблица 4). Наиболее распространенной причиной при этом стало падение и утопление. При этом первое наиболее распространено среди пенсионеров, а утопление среди лиц среднего возраста. Первые, вероятно, в силу возраста испытывают проблемы в передвижении, а вторые ведут более активный образ жизни, поэтому в условиях жизни на острове, где рыбная ловля является важной отраслью хозяйства, а водный транспорт позволяет добираться между населёнными пунктами, в условиях отсутствия дорог.

При этом, в 2013 году не случилось смертей по причине дорожно-транспортных происшествий и происшествий на водном транспорте, а также по причине случайного выстрела.

Таблица 4. Смертность вследствие аварий или несчастных случаев

Вид происшествия	Количество происшествий
Дорожно-транспортные происшествия	0
Авария на водном транспорте	0
Падение	3
Пожар	1
Перегревание	1
Утопление	3
Случайный выстрел	0
Другое	13

Самоубийство

Число самоубийств в Гренландии резко возросло в конце 1970-х годов, и оно продолжало расти до 1986 года. В 1986 году, самоубийство являлось ведущей причиной смерти в нескольких городах, например Сарфаннгуак. По состоянию на 1987 год, частота самоубийств составляла 128,4 на 100000 человек (Björkstén et al., 2009).

Всего, в 2013 году в Гренландии произошло 45 самоубийств лиц в возрасте от 15 до 64 лет. 34 самоубийства из них совершили мужчины и 11 женщины.

Наибольшее распространение суициды получили среди старших подростков и молодёжи, на которых приходится почти половина всех случаев: 15-19 лет – 11 человек; 20-24 года – 10 человек. При этом среди мужчин суицид наиболее распространён в более старшем возрасте, в 20-24 года (9 человек), в то время как среди женщин в 15-19 лет (6 человек). При этом, если среди женщин самое позднее по возрасту самоубийство произошло в группе 45-49 лет, то у мужчин 60-64 лет.

Таким образом, мы видим, что самоубийство, как причина смерти жителей Гренландии, составляет 10,25% от общего числа смертей. Наиболее часто данная причина выявляется среди молодых людей: у девушек от 15 до 19 лет, и у парней от 20 до 24 лет.

Уровень самоубийств в Гренландии является одним из самых высоких в мире. Специалисты связывают это с несколькими важными причинами: алкоголизм, депрессия, бедность, трудное детство, а также неравномерное распределение солнечного света в году, кроме того среди коренного населения – инуитов, самоубийства могут быть связаны со столкновением с европейской культурой и культурным шоком, возникшим вследствие политики G60, когда они подверглись урбанизации, а их жизнь и быт модернизации (Björkstén et al., 2009; Bjerregaard, Curtis, 2002; Leineweber, 2000; Björkstén et al., 2009).

Убийство

Всего в 2013 году в Гренландии было совершено 4 убийства. При этом было совершено одно удушение (ребенок до 4 лет), одно удар тупым предметом (мужчина 25-29 лет), два убийства было совершено ударом острым предметом (мужчина 25-29 лет и женщина 45-49 лет). Таким образом, мы видим, что количество криминальных смертей на острове очень мало. Стоит отметить, что ещё в 1990 году число убийств составляло 24 случая, но уже к середине 1990-х их число сократилось вдвое.

Неизвестная причина смерти

Кроме всех обозначенных выше причин, в статистических данных Гренландии есть информация о семи случаях, когда не была установлена причина смерти. При этом шесть из них среди мужчин от младенческого возраста и до 59 лет, и лишь один у девочки-подростка (15-19 лет).

4. Заключение

Проанализировав данные статистики по причинам смерти среди жителей острова Гренландия, мы видим, что в большинстве случаев это естественные смерти, вследствие заболеваний или старости (82,46 %), также, среди причин можно назвать самоубийство (10,25 %), смерть вследствие аварии (4,78 %), а также криминальные смерти – убийства (0,91 %). Лишь в небольшом числе случаев не была установлена причина смерти.

Как мы видим, наибольшее число смертей происходящих в Гренландии происходит от естественных причин, в то время как гибель вследствие аварии, несчастного случая или убийства довольно редки. Однако, уровень самоубийства довольно частая причина и отмечается в каждом десятом случае. Среди заболеваний мы выделим те, которые стали причиной наибольшего количества смертей: рак, болезни сердца и кровеносной системы, болезни дыхательной системы.

Полученная информация может быть полезна при формировании основных задач и определении наиболее значимых направлений санитарно-медицинской и просветительской работы в Гренландии, а также и в других Северных регионах.

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Причины смерти жителей Гренландии: половозрастной аспект

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Аннотация. Предметом данной статьи является рассмотрение статистики смертности среди жителей острова Гренландия. По данным Всемирного банка средняя продолжительность жизни гренландцев на 2012 год составил 71,31 год. В своей статье автор делает попытку анализа причин, из-за которых наступала естественная (ненасильственная) или насильственная по статистическим данным на 2013 г. Особое внимание в статье уделяется половозрастному аспекту, автор выделяет те случаи летального исхода, которые наиболее типичны для какой-то возрастной или половой группы. В качестве основного метода исследования выступает статистический анализ данных StatBank Greenland, а также используется современная научная литература по вопросам здравоохранения. В результате рассмотрения причин наступления смерти среди жителей острова Гренландия, автор

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определил, что в 82,46 % случаев наступает естественная смерть, и лишь в небольшом количестве случаев насильственная. В работе были рассмотрены заболевания, ставшие причиной смерти и численность умерших, а также причины наступления насильственной смерти: аварии и несчастные случаи, убийства и самоубийства. Выделены наиболее яркие половозрастные особенности.

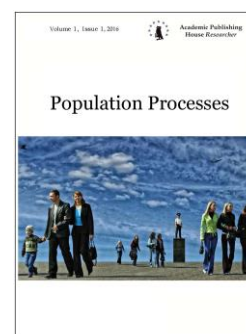
Ключевые слова: смертность, население Гренландии, уровень смертности, причины смерти, естественная смерть, насильственная смерть, ненасильственная смерть, самоубийство, убийство, несчастный случай.

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Published in the Slovak Republic
Population Processes
Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN: 2500-1051
2017, 2(1): 11-19

DOI: 10.13187/popul.2017.2.11
www.ejournal44.com



The Social Policy in the USSR (1945 -1953 years) in the Field of Protection of Motherhood and Childhood

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Abstract

The article deals with social policy in the field of motherhood and childhood in the USSR in the postwar period (1945-1953).

The source base of the work were, first of all, the statistical yearbooks "National economy of the RSFSR" and reference publication of the Committee on statistics of the Russian Federation "Population of Russia for 100 years. 1897-1997". It contains the valuable statistical information of a general nature about the birth rate, mortality and marriage of the Russian population. All-union population censuses of 1939 and 1959 are of exceptional value for the study of this topic.

The traditional scientific principles in research of problems of social development were used in work: the principle of historicism, the principle of systematicity, the principle of objectivity.

The author concludes that during the recovery period, despite the difficult terms of the post-war period, a number of constructive measures were taken in the field of demographic policy that ensured, as far as it was possible then, the protection of motherhood and childhood, the social protection of street children, which ultimately contributed to a noticeable increase in the birth rate, including through the so-called effective birth rate (i.e., taking into account only surviving infants). A considerable role in this belonged to the Soviet medicine.

Keywords: social policy, the USSR, motherhood, childhood, state protection.

1. Введение

Актуальность данного исследования определяется необходимостью рассмотрения социальной политики в области охраны материнства и детства в послевоенный период, то есть в 1945–1953 гг. Всесторонний научный анализ социальной политики советского государства в 1945–1953 гг. представляется перспективной темой исследования, в контексте изучения послевоенных мероприятий направленных на улучшение государственной опеки детей.

2. Материалы и методы

Источниковедческую базу работы составили, прежде всего, статистические ежегодники «Народное хозяйство РСФСР» и справочное издание Комитета по статистике РФ «Население России за 100 лет. 1897-1997». Здесь содержатся ценные статистические сведения общего характера о рождаемости, смертности, брачности российского населения (Население России, 1999). Для исследования данной темы исключительную ценность

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представляют Всесоюзные переписи населения 1939 и 1959 гг. ([Всесоюзная перепись, 1992](#); [Всесоюзная перепись, 1999](#); [Итоги Всесоюзной переписи, 1963](#)).

В работе были использованы традиционные научные принципы в исследовании проблем общественного развития: принцип историзма, принцип системности, принцип объективности.

3. Результаты

В сложившейся демографической ситуации на правительственном уровне были разработаны меры социально-демографического характера по следующим основным направлениям.

1. Материальное и моральное стимулирование рождаемости.
2. Охрана здоровья женщины в дородовой и послеродовой периоды.
3. Борьба за укрепление здоровья детей.
4. Социальная защита сирот и беспризорных детей.

1. Меры государственной политики по охране материнства и детства

В целях восполнения людских потерь правительство стремилось обеспечить высокий уровень рождаемости в стране. Уже в конце войны, в 1944 г., был издан специальный указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР «Об увеличении государственной помощи беременным женщинам, многодетным и одиноким матерям, усилении охраны материнства и детства, установлении почетного звания "Мать-героиня" и учреждении ордена "Материнская слава" и медали "Медаль материнства"».

В этих же целях указ 1935 г. о запрещении абортот не спешили, рассчитывая, что он сыграет свою положительную роль. Указ продолжал действовать до 23 ноября 1955 г. (отменен указом Президиума Верховного Совета СССР «Об отмене запрещения абортот») ([Сборник законов, 1968: 423](#)).

По решению правительства с 1 января 1948 г. одновременно выплачивались матерям, имеющим двух детей, при рождении третьего ребенка 200 рублей, четвертого – 650 рублей, пятого – 850 рублей, шестого – 1000 рублей, седьмого и восьмого – 1250 рублей, девятого – 1750 рублей, при рождении каждого последующего ребенка – 2500 рублей.

Особая забота была проявлена о матерях-одиночках, либо никогда не вступавших в брак, либо оставшихся без регистрации брака по указу 1944 г., в том случае, если их фактические мужья погибли на фронтах Великой Отечественной войны, не успев зарегистрировать брак, или не захотели этого сделать по возвращении с войны. Дети в этих случаях оставались без всякой материальной помощи, пенсии за отцов не выплачивались. В связи с этим одиноким матерям, не состоящим в браке, выдавались государственные пособия на содержание и воспитание детей: на одного ребенка 50 руб. в месяц, на двух – 75 рублей, на трех и более детей – 100 рублей.

В помощь матерям-одиночкам была снижена на 50 % плата за содержание детей в детских яслях и садах. Но эта льгота предоставлялась лишь одиноким матерям, имеющим заработок, не превышающий 600 рублей в месяц.

Матерям, имеющим детей в возрасте до одного года, а также беременным (с момента установления беременности) женщинам-работницам и служащим предоставлялось право перехода на другую работу по месту жительства с сохранением за ними непрерывного трудового стажа ([Сборник законов, 1968: 419](#)).

Правительству удалось увеличить расходы из государственного бюджета СССР на выплату пособий одиноким и многодетным матерям. Если в 1940 г. эти расходы составляли 123 млн рублей, то в 1950 г. - 366, в 1960 г. - 496 млн рублей, т. е. в 1950 г. по отношению к 1940 г. они увеличились на 33,6 %, а в 1960 г. по отношению к 1950 г. – на 73,8 %. Пособия по беременности и родам, а также на предметы ухода за ребенком выросли соответственно на 31,8 и 34,6 %. Расходы на обслуживание детей в детских садах, яслях, пионерских лагерях, детских домах и учреждениях по внешкольной работе с детьми увеличились на 33 и 74,4 % ([Сборник законов, 1968: 420](#)).

Однако эта материальная помощь была минимальной, поскольку материальные затраты на содержание детей постоянно росли. По подсчетам А.Я. Кваши, ежемесячные расходы на воспитание одного ребенка на рубеже 1940-1950-х годов составляли приблизительно 50 % от среднемесячной зарплаты женщины. Даже в полной семье

содержание второго ребенка было сложным, учитывая, что мужчины, вернувшиеся с войны, не всегда по состоянию здоровья могли содержать семью и работать в полную силу.

Что же касается пособий на третьего, четвертого, пятого и т.д. ребенка, то они были единовременными. К тому же в РСФСР у славянских и некоторых угрофинских народов эти третьи, четвертые, пятые и шестые дети вряд ли рождались, семья была малодетной. Многодетные семьи встречались, как правило, у тюркских народов, причем чаще у проживающих за пределами РСФСР.

Таким образом, выплаты единовременных пособий в связи с рождением ребенка в том виде, в каком они предлагались, в РСФСР почти не достигали цели.

Поскольку на резкое увеличение рождаемости в связи с потерей мужского населения было трудно рассчитывать, то усилия правительства в области медицины были направлены на сокращение младенческой смертности, уровень которой в РСФСР продолжал быть высоким.

Высокая смертность младенцев от врожденной слабости и пороков внутриутробного развития была тяжелым следствием войны.

В РСФСР в 1945 г. родилось живыми 784,5 тыс. младенцев, из них недоношенными – 37,5 тыс., или 4,8 %. Мертворожденных было почти 18 тыс., 14 тыс. детей умерли вскоре после рождения, среди них преобладали недоношенные – 9 тыс., или 64 %. Кроме того, после войны была высокая детская смертность и почти 11% детей умирало, не дожив до года.

В этих условиях был предпринят ряд мер по охране здоровья женщины в дородовой и послеродовой периоды. В постановлении правительства РСФСР от 26 января 1946 г. отмечалась необходимость расширения сети родовспомогательных и детских учреждений.

В 1950-е годы были введены массовые профилактические осмотры 1-2 раза в год женщин всех возрастов. С 1952 г. на крупных предприятиях стали создаваться гинекологические кабинеты и женские консультации⁹. Количество женских и детских консультаций, поликлиник и диспансеров было увеличено в стране с 8,6 тыс. в 1940 г. до 16,4 тыс. в 1960 г., т. е. на 52,4 %. Число женских и детских консультаций выросло в городах с 2,2 тыс. в 1945 г. до 3 тыс. в 1950 г., а в селе, соответственно, с 1,7 до 2,8 тыс. ([Население России, 2005: 206](#)). Увеличилось и число роддомов.

Однако довоенную сеть родильных домов не удалось восстановить даже в первой половине 1950-х годов, хотя было издано специальное постановление правительства. в июне 1949 г.

Большое внимание уделялось родовспоможению. Причем старались охватить грамотным медицинским родовспоможением как городское, так и сельское население. Для этого в сельской местности кроме роддомов разворачивали свою деятельность акушерские пункты, больницы, лаборатории

После небольшого уменьшения количества содержащихся в яслях детей в начале 1950-х годов вновь увеличивается число яслей и наблюдается наплыв детей в них. Так, в 1957 г. насчитывалось 13,4 тыс. яслей, из них в селе – 6,9 тыс. Детей в них было соответственно 609,7 тыс., в том числе в селе – 157 тыс.

Однако минусом яслей была высокая детская заболеваемость, особенно детей до одного года. Между тем именно младенцы до одного года очень активно обслуживались яслями. Эта ситуация была устойчивой в связи с малым размером декретных отпусков в городах и отсутствием их в деревне. В деревне особенно были популярны сезонные ясли, куда матери отдавали детей в летний период.

В послевоенные годы наблюдалась частая заболеваемость детей туберкулезом, рахитом, пневмонией, трахомой. Сохранялся высокий уровень распространения среди младенцев воспаления легких и желудочно-кишечных заболеваний. В городах РСФСР в конце 1940-х годов 32,9 % младенцев умерло от воспаления легких и 28,6 % – от болезней желудочно-кишечного тракта.

Особенно активно проводились мероприятия по снижению заболеваемости туберкулезом: число больных детей держалось на довольно высоком уровне – 7 тыс. в год. Пик же пришелся на 1949 г. – 8 тыс. Пик этот не случаен. На детях дольше сказываются последствия пережитого голода и нервных стрессов, и влияние это опаснее. Затем начался спад: в 1950 г. наблюдалось 6 тыс. больных детей.

В 1945 г. в детских туберкулезных больницах содержалось 5,2 тыс. больных. Хотя в этот период штат медицинского персонала больниц и санаториев был далеко не полностью укомплектован, в детских туберкулезных больницах он был укомплектован на 90% (Министры здравоохранения, 1999: 281-282).

Борьба с туберкулезом не ослабевала все 1950-е годы. К концу десятилетия в детских туберкулезных больницах лечилось 4,6 тыс. детей, в детских туберкулезных круглогодичных санаториях – 97 тыс. (в год).

Особой проблемой были детские инфекции, с которыми медицина вела упорную борьбу. Детские инфекционные клиники обслуживали ежегодно сотни тысяч детей (в 1946 г. – 96 тыс., в 1947 г. на порядок больше – 113 тыс., в 1948 г. – 119 тыс.). Здесь сказались последствия голода, так как наряду с распространением желудочно-кишечных инфекций детей определяли в больницы в связи с голодным истощением, в частности с так называемыми голодными поносами (Жиромская, 2009: 112).

На рубеже 1950-х годов система детских инфекционных больниц продолжала расширяться и обслуживать очень большое число детей (в 1950 г. – 137 тыс.). Последствия войны и голода, особенно длительного и латентного, приводят к ослаблению и снижению сопротивляемости организма, к его подверженности различным инфекциям. Такие детские заболевания, как корь, скарлатина, приходилось лечить стационарно. У детей с ослабленным от недоедания и нервного стресса здоровьем часто наблюдались осложнения на печень, почки, зрение, слух.

В начале 1950-х годов прививками было охвачено свыше 90 % детей.

Медицинским учреждениям, как и во время войны, удалось не допустить распространения массовых детских эпидемий.

В борьбе за снижение заболеваемости детей большую роль играли специализированные детские санатории. Мы уже упоминали о существовании специализированных детских противотуберкулезных санаториев, дневных и ночных, круглогодичных и сезонных, где за год проходили лечение тысячи детей.

Особо важную роль сыграли начавшие функционировать с 1947 г. санатории общего типа для детей до 3 лет. Собиравшие и лечившие прежде всего ослабленных и истощенных детей, они внесли немалую лепту в преодоление желудочных и нервных заболеваний, разрушительных в младенческом и раннем детском возрасте.

Хотя осуществлялась политика по расширению сети санаториев (в конце 1950-х годов и госбюджетных, и хозрасчетных детских санаториев насчитывалось 542), их все равно катастрофически не хватало и попасть в них было непросто, очередь иногда длилась годами.

Особое внимание было обращено на медицинское обслуживание детей с различными увечьями. Остро стояла проблема детей-инвалидов. Для них создавались специальные инвалидные дома. В РСФСР по окончании войны было 64 детских инвалидных дома, в них содержалось 4,3 тыс. детей, в том числе 1,7 тыс. девочек. Детям-инвалидам оказывалась медицинская помощь, осуществлялось протезирование, велся учет нуждающихся в нем, проводилось их обучение.

Принятые меры способствовали улучшению к концу 1950-х годов во всех возрастно-половых группах детей показателей физического развития. В СССР повсеместно вес детей при рождении был выше, чем до войны, в среднем он составлял 3,5-3,7 кг. Рост детей к одному году достигал 75 см, вес - 10-11 кг, к двум годам – соответственно 12-13 кг и 86 см (50 лет советского, 1967: 118).

Было усилено внимание к медицинскому обслуживанию учащихся-подростков в школах рабочей и сельской молодежи. В конце 1940-х годов к этим школам прикреплялись врачи или работники среднего медицинского персонала.

Под наблюдение медиков были взяты учащиеся школ фабрично-заводского обучения (ФЗО) и ремесленных училищ. В основном это была молодежь в возрастных группах 14-20 лет. В Москве, например, уже в начале 1946 г. медицинским осмотром были охвачены 62 870 подростков (96,7%). Одновременно осуществлялся комплекс оздоровительных мер: занятия с подростками физкультурой и спортом, направление в пионерские лагеря, лечение в санаториях, специальное питание и т. д. С 1951 г. в лечебно-профилактических учреждениях начал применяться диспансерный метод обслуживания учащихся школ ФЗО и ремесленных училищ²¹.

Таким образом, в послевоенный период активизировались меры демографической политики, направленные на повышение рождаемости, и прежде всего создавались условия для повышения жизнеспособности младенцев и преодоления получивших распространение вследствие войны мертворождений, пороков внутриутробного развития и врожденной слабости новорожденных.

Последствием войны было распространение *безотцовщины, сиротства и беспризорности*. В наиболее тяжелой ситуации, особенно после ликвидации института фактического брака в июле 1944 г., оказались семьи с детьми, рожденными в незарегистрированном браке, чьи отцы не вернулись с фронта. Таким образом дети, родившиеся до войны или в самом ее начале в считавшейся по тем временам законной, полной семье, при совместном проживании обоих родителей, чьи отцы ушли на фронт и пали смертью храбрых, а матери преданно ждали их и не дождались, дети, пережившие известие о гибели отца, вдруг оказались иллегитимными, неполноценными по сравнению со сверстниками, чьи родители были «расписаны» в ЗАГСх и сельсоветах. Вернувшиеся с войны мужчины, состоявшие прежде в фактическом браке, регистрировали отношения со своими фактическими женами, тем самым узаконивая собственных детей. Но погибшие на фронтах такой возможности не имели. Их сыновья и дочери были лишены права на законное происхождение, оказались без отцовского имени, пенсии, даже без права на «светлую память». Отношение к таким детям и их матерям со стороны окружающих их людей, включая и родственников, нередко становилось резко отрицательным и унижающим их человеческое достоинство. Последствиями этого явления часто были нервно-психические заболевания детей и подростков, алкоголизм, преступность.

После войны число матерей-одиночек, никогда не состоявших в браке, год от года возрастало, и в 1946 г. от них родилось 26 % всех детей. Многие из них были не в состоянии содержать ребенка и ухаживать за ним. В 1944 г. был издан указ Президиума Верховного Совета РСФСР, по которому детей, рожденных вне брака, разрешалось принимать на государственное обеспечение в Дома ребенка и детские дома. В 1946 г. в Дома ребенка в РСФСР поступило 25 тыс. детей, половина из них в возрасте до одного года. Из поступивших детей 4 тыс. были круглыми сиротами, 12 тыс. рождены от матерей-одиночек, а остальные – подкидыши, тоже, как правило, от матерей-одиночек, но незарегистрированные. В 1947 г. поступило от матерей-одиночек 18 тыс. детей и подкидышей – 14 тыс. (Зезина, 1999: 42-43).

В целом же в 1947 г. зафиксировано невиданно большое число поступивших в Дома ребенка детей – 42 тыс., из них почти половина в возрасте до одного года. Это связано в значительной степени с вынужденной и активной миграцией из голодающих районов. В страдающих от голода районах мигранты часто отдавали детей, особенно младенцев, в Дома ребенка, надеясь, что там у них будет больше шансов выжить, чем в пути и на новом месте.

В 1950-е годы часть детей подбрасывали матери-алкоголички, часть – молодые незамужние женщины. В середине 1950-х годов в этих домах содержалось 25-26 тыс. детей, как только что отданных, так и поступивших туда ранее.

Судьбы отданных детей складывались по-разному. Значительная их часть в первые послевоенные, особенно в голодные, годы была взята родными или родителями. В 1946 г. таких детей было 7,5 тыс., в 1947 г. – 10,5 тыс., в 1948 г. – около 9 тыс. Но и в 1945 г. забрали их довольно много – 6,6 тыс. Почти по 2 тыс. ежегодно усыновлялись, по несколько сотен определялись на патронат. Помещение детей в эти годы в Дома ребенка было во многом связано с экономической и бытовой неустроенностью, и, как только удавалось более или менее наладить жизнь, родители или родные (в случае смерти родителей) забирали ребенка. В первый послевоенный год, еще до начала голода, часто родственники находили и забирали ребенка погибших на войне родителей. Усыновление также активно велось все эти годы. На рубеже 1950-х годов наблюдается стабилизация состава детских домов. Те, кто временно оставлял ребенка, а также те, кто искал малолетнего родственника или хотел усыновить хотя бы чужого ребенка, уже это сделали.

Кроме Домов ребенка существовали Дома матери и ребенка. Они предназначались главным образом для матерей-инвалидов. Более всего поступило туда детей в 1947 г. Голод дал о себе знать и здесь, ухудшив физическое состояние и экономическую обеспеченность матерей-инвалидов. Кроме того, они не могли мигрировать и старались устроиться в

больницы или в такие учреждения, где был обеспечен хотя бы минимальный уровень питания. Впоследствии на фоне экономической нормализации детей и матерей в эти дома направлялось все меньше, так, в 1958 г. в них по всей России содержалось всего 35 детей ([Население России, 2005: 219](#)).

По подсчетам М.Р. Зезиной, за 9 месяцев 1945 г. в РСФСР было выявлено 256 тыс. беспризорных детей. В областях, подвергшихся оккупации, их было гораздо больше. Число беспризорных, по ее наблюдениям, после войны продолжало расти. В 1947-1948 гг. в детских приемниках-распределителях (ДПР) было зафиксировано почти полмиллиона детей. Процент сирот среди них увеличился с 46 % в 1945 г. до 53 % в 1947 г. А в 1948 г. численность детей, потерявших родителей и подлежащих учету в Центральном адресно-справочном детском столе, составляла 2,5 млн ([Зезина, 1999: 44-45](#)).

Число беспризорных пополнялось не только за счет детей, родители которых погибли в войну. Сиротами стали дети, потерявшие родителей в связи с голодом 1946-1947 гг. Сюда же относились дети, брошенные матерями-одиночками, как правило, рожденные вне брака, а также дети – беженцы из обнищавших или неблагополучных семей. Из районов, охваченных голодом, бежали дети, находившиеся под опекой или попечительством в приемных семьях ([Natolochnaya, 2015](#)). Из-за плохого питания увеличилось число детей-беглецов из детских домов, ремесленных училищ, мест трудоустройства. Среди беспризорников оказывались и дети репрессированных родителей. Дети лиц, находящихся в заключении как по политическим, так и по уголовным статьям, подлежали отдаче в детдома и Дома ребенка. Однако из-за нехватки мест в Домах ребенка при аресте матери детей до 4 лет стали отправлять вместе с ней в места заключения. По данным на 1 августа 1948 г., в лагерях и тюрьмах находилось 24 369 женщин с детьми и беременных. В лагерях также существовали Дома младенца. В 1949 г. детей женщин-заключенных, достигших двухлетнего возраста, предписывалось передавать родственникам или в детские дома. Однако число детей в местах заключения по-прежнему оставалось значительным. К весне 1953 г. число заключенных-женщин, имевших при себе детей до двух лет и беременных, составляло 41 79123.

Устройством беспризорных детей занимались специальные комиссии райисполкомов, созданные еще в 1942 г. Отдел по борьбе с детской беспризорностью и безнадзорностью входил в состав НКВД. В приемные семьи дети поступали на условиях опеки, патроната и усыновления.

Доля опеки была очень высокой. В 1945 г. она составляла более 40 %, а в 1953 г. – около 50 % от числа всех приемных семей. В этих случаях ребенку назначалась пенсия или страховка после смерти родителей. Если подросток работал или учился, он имел либо личный заработок, либо стипендию. Опекун же никакого пособия не получал, поэтому ими чаще всего становились родственники ребенка.

Патронат действовал недолго. В 1945 г. почти 50 % детей были взяты на патронат. Как со временем выяснилось, его целью была выплата семье пособия ([Зезина, 1999: 46-47](#)).

Усыновлений было немного, всего 10 %. В РСФСР к 1945 г. таких детей насчитывалось 308 тыс. Семья, усыновившая ребенка, не получала никакой материальной поддержки со стороны государства. Как правило, на усыновление шли родственники детей или родители, потерявшие в войну своих детей и не имеющие уже возможности по возрасту или состоянию здоровья родить снова собственного ребенка.

Беспризорные дети, переданные в детские дома, попадали в разные условия. В 1946 г. в СССР функционировало 5390 детских домов на 560 тыс. человек, в том числе в РСФСР – 3700 детских домов на 375 тыс. человек ([Население России, 2005: 225](#)).

В лучших условиях оказывались дети, попавшие в привилегированные детские дома, например для детей офицеров армии и флота, погибших на фронте (г. Воскресенск Московской области).

Существовали также специальные детские дома для детей фронтовиков и партизан Великой Отечественной войны. Эти дома содержались не только на бюджетные государственные средства, их поддерживали такие общественные организации, как профсоюзы и комсомол. Были также детские дома для детей иностранцев. Несколько специальных детских домов находилось в ведении ВЦСПС. В этих домах снабжение было лучше, помещения хорошо оборудованы, дети одеты и обуты.

Однако большая часть детских домов содержалась на средства местных бюджетов. Хорошо, если детдом имел подсобное хозяйство или помощь шефов. Чаще всего дети эти испытывали нужду и в продуктах питания, и в одежде. Кроме того, очень много хищений и злоупотреблений было зарегистрировано в детских домах со стороны сотрудников и преподавателей.

Начиная с 1948 г. организуются специальные санатории для воспитанников детдомов на 657 больных и 77,9 тыс. койко-дней. А в 1949 г. кроме санаториев появляются дома отдыха для детдомовцев ([Министры здравоохранения, 1999: 224, 232](#)).

Несмотря на лишения, которые испытывали детдомовцы, и недостатки в работе детских домов эти детские учреждения имели целью подготовить воспитанников к квалифицированной трудовой деятельности. Они получали здесь школьное образование, а затем направлялись в ремесленные училища и школы ФЗО, где их обучали определенной профессии. В основном это были рабочие специальности, хотя полное среднее и высшее образование для воспитанников было вполне реальным. В 1947 г. было принято постановление Совета Министров СССР, которое предусматривало создание для детдомовцев специальных учебных заведений. В связи с этим постановлением было открыто 15 таких училищ. В 1949 г. было запрещено отправлять воспитанников детдомов на предприятия без их предварительного обучения в ремесленных или сельскохозяйственных училищах. Что касается среднего специального образования, то сироты, окончившие в детских домах школу-семилетку на «отлично», принимались на полное государственное обеспечение для продолжения образования (1950 г.). К середине 1950-х годов содержание детских домов улучшается и в них налаживается питание ([Систематическое собрание, 1967: 343](#)).

4. Заключение

Итак, в восстановительный период, несмотря на тяжелые условия послевоенного времени, в области демографической политики был предпринят ряд конструктивных мер, обеспечивавших, насколько это было тогда возможно, охрану материнства и детства, социальную защиту беспризорных детей, что в итоге способствовало заметному повышению рождаемости, в том числе за счет так называемой эффективной рождаемости (т. е. с учетом только выживших младенцев). Немалая роль в этом принадлежала и советской медицине.

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Социальная политика в СССР (1945–1953 гг.) в области охраны материнства и детства

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается социальная политика в области материнства и детства в СССР в послевоенный период (1945–1953 гг.).

Источниковедческую базу работы составили, прежде всего, статистические ежегодники «Народное хозяйство РСФСР» и справочное издание Комитета по статистике РФ «Население России за 100 лет. 1897-1997». Здесь содержатся ценные статистические сведения общего характера о рождаемости, смертности, брачности российского населения. Для исследования данной темы исключительную ценность представляют Всесоюзные переписи населения 1939 и 1959 гг.

В работе были использованы традиционные научные принципы в исследовании проблем общественного развития: принцип историзма, принцип системности, принцип объективности.

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В заключении автор приходит к выводу, что в восстановительный период, несмотря на тяжелые условия послевоенного времени, в области демографической политики был предпринят ряд конструктивных мер, обеспечивавших, насколько это было тогда возможно, охрану материнства и детства, социальную защиту беспризорных детей, что в итоге способствовало заметному повышению рождаемости, в том числе за счет так называемой эффективной рождаемости (т.е. с учетом только выживших младенцев). Немалая роль в этом принадлежала и советской медицине.

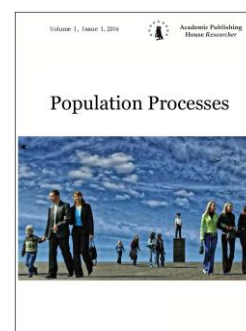
Ключевые слова: социальная политика, СССР, материнство, детство, государственная охрана.

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Published in the Slovak Republic
Population Processes
Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN: 2500-1051
2017, 2(1): 20-34

DOI: 10.13187/popul.2017.2.20
www.ejournal44.com



Gypsies in the Russian Empire (during the 18th and first half of the 19th century)

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Abstract

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, historians continued to focus much attention on the history of minor ethnic groups, but the state of this body of knowledge is quite varied. Russian historical gypsology is in its early stages of development. Progress is being slowed by limits of known written archives. So, one of the key objectives is to identify archival documents that will make it possible to set and address research goals. In this paper, we will introduce the options that were put forward for acting on and reacting to the situation of the Gypsies during the Russian Empire, both theorized on as well as put into practice between the 1780s and the 1850s. The situation of the Gypsies here refers to the relations between the Russian Empire, represented by the emperor and his bureaucratic organization, and the Gypsies who found themselves in its territory. The solution for the issues from the Gypsies' point of view involved their rejection of traditional lifestyles and of integration into economic and social institutions during a particular historical period. Our study makes use of various legal acts issued in the 1780s-1850s. The region-specific variants of the scenarios which addressed the situation of the Gypsies are described from written archival sources from the central and regional archives of the Russian Federation, uncovered by the author during archival investigation and introduced for the first time. The integrated use of various research methods enabled a reconstruction of previously unknown pages in the history of the Gypsies in Russia.

Keywords: the Gypsies of Russia, migration of the Gypsies, integration of the Gypsies, state policy, the situation of the Gypsies, Russian Empire.

1. Introduction

As part of the European community of nations, Russia encountered Gypsies and started to develop policies towards them later than did other countries. Ukraine, which became part of Russia in the mid-17th century, saw the Gypsies in its territory as early as 1428 (Crowe, 2007: 151). With the accession of the Polish Ukraine in the late 17th century, Russia received a permanent Gypsy population (the Servi group). The number of the Gypsies grew in the Russian Empire as a result of the inclusion of new territories in the second half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. In addition, territories in the Caucasus and Central Asia, which became part of Russia, were historically inhabited by authentic Gypsy groups, such as the Bosha in Armenia, the Karachi in Azerbaijan, and the Lyuli (Djugi) and Mazang in Central Asia. Nomadic practices contributed to the formation of local Gypsy groups in different regions across the Russian Empire.

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By the end of the 19th century, the Gypsy population in Russia numbered 44.5 thousand people. It is likely that the actual figure was even higher.

Between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire went through the process of shaping its state policy towards the Gypsies. Unlike other European countries, Russia pursued a policy aimed to integrate the Gypsies into its national organism. By that time, the Russian bureaucratic organization had already gained some experience with the nomadic peoples of the Volga and Siberia, who had shifted to semi-nomadic or sedentary lifestyles by the mid-19th century. Authorities were able to influence stockbreeders through economic incentives, by limiting access to grazing lands. At its heart, the Gypsy economy was based on various handicrafts and trades, which did not tie them to a permanent place of residence. This type of economy pre-set the conditions for governing the length of the program set to stop vagrancy among the Gypsy population and bring it into a sedentary way of life in Russia.

2. Sources and Methods

In this paper, we aim to introduce the activities of the Tsarist administration designed to integrate the Gypsies into the Russian Empire between the 1780s and 1850s. These activities implied that the Gypsies should abandon their traditional life practices by further integration into the economic and social institutions of a particular historical period. To deliver a solution for the research problem, we need to compare Russian legislation, which was in force for the different periods of rule of the Russian emperors, in regard to all groups of the Gypsy population as well as the practical enforcement of this legislation in regions where Gypsies lived. This will make it possible to trace the development of these issues in terms of regulatory and legal dimensions, as well as reveal the mechanisms of state policies devised to address the situation in which the Gypsies lived in the Russian Empire, during the periods under consideration. It will also make possible the determination of how effectively they were put into operation for specific historical conditions.

One of the key issues faced by a researcher of the history of the Gypsy people is the lack of written archival sources. The value of the documents that are uncovered is enhanced and makes it possible to restore various aspects of the past of the Gypsies in Russia and in certain specific Russian regions.

In the course of our research, a range of published and written archival sources became available. The former comprise the legal acts and codes of laws, adopted in the 1730-1850s, included in the first and second editions of the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire and the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire. They are instrumental in reconstructing the vision outlined by Russia's political elite for ideal solutions for issues related to the Gypsies.

Significant importance for studying the history of the Gypsies can be attached to documents stored in central and regional archives. They are essential in understanding the practice of applying various legal norms of the Tsar's manifestos and edicts in specific historical contexts. For example, some archival fonds of the Russian State Historical Archives managed to preserve documents that are relevant to the history of the Russian Gypsies. The fonds of the Binding (State) Council (1801–1810) preserved materials that preceded the issue of some decrees and edicts concerning the Gypsies. By comparing the drafts and the final text of the manifesto, it is possible to identify trends prevailing in the government regarding ways of dealing with issues related to the Gypsies.

For example, the orders passed by the Committee of Ministers in the early 19th century repeatedly highlight information on the resettlement of Gypsies in Siberia. The Governing Senate also addressed the topic of the Gypsies. In particular, its fonds still possesses a number of documents describing efforts to ensure the adoption of sedentary lifestyles by the Gypsies in 1808-1809. The documents also mention the draft edict prepared by the Ministry of Justice in 1809 on sentencing Gypsies to exile to Siberia for vicious behaviour. Individual references to the Gypsies in the Russian regions are found in the documents executed by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Senate, the First Siberian Committee and other state institutions.

The files of the fonds managed by the Police Department accountable to the Ministry of Internal Affairs contain documents on the Gypsies residing in various governorates of the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century. They permit us to reveal the position taken by the governorate authorities towards the Gypsies, and identify the areas where Gypsy communities lived, their sizes and, in some cases, the list of names of family members.

The most valuable demographic and economic information on the Gypsy population in specific Russian regions is stored in the fonds of the Ministry of State Property, which launched a package of measures starting in 1839 aiming at shifting all Gypsies to sedentary lifestyles and integrating them into rural and urban communities. Reports submitted by the governorate treasury chambers in 1840–1841 provide data on the Gypsy population, including the total number of Gypsies, registered name (family) lists of sedentary Gypsies, and places of residence and economic activities. Some documents supply information on Gypsies in different governorates in the late 18th and early 19th century.

The fonds of regional archives have accumulated documents that are helpful in defining local practices used to handle the situation of the Gypsies. For example, records of the early 1790s, kept by the Tobolsk vicegeral government, enable the restoration of one of the earliest episodes in the history of the Siberian Gypsies, associated with their migration from European Russia, including lists of names of camp members. Materials from the first half of the 19th century from the Tobolsk and Tomsk Prikazes (administrative departments in the 18th century Russia) for Exiles provide some idea of whom the Gypsies were who moved to Siberia within the penitentiary system (previous places of residence, natures of offenses, terms of punishment and locations of the correctional facilities).

The published sources include accounts provided by foreigners, which mention the Gypsies in different regions. For example, the Gypsies in Siberia were seen by John Bell in the Tobolsk governorate in the 1720s, about which he made a corresponding entry (Bell, 1763: 157-158). In the late 19th century, Siberian Gypsies caught the eye of an Englishman, Martin Sauer, when members of the Billings-Sarychev expedition passed through Tobolsk (Sauer, 1802: 396). These sources, written by contemporaries, are important for dating the appearance of Gypsies in the Russian governorate.

The Russian archives preserved numerous record keeping and statistical sources. The integrated use of archival and published documents allow for an objective review of the history of the Gypsies in Russia.

The methodological foundation for this study is provided through an integrated approach. We can explore the history of the Gypsies using several theoretical approaches. For example, the theory of modernization can assist in analysing the process of “modernizing” Gypsies over the first half of the 19th century. The theory of adaptation delivers tools for determining the ability of the Gypsy people to adapt to new environmental, climatic, social and economic conditions while preserving or losing their own identity.

Our study makes use of a variety of methods. The comparative method was utilized as a tool for finding out about general regularities and distinctive features of the group’s social and economic development. The chronological technique is instrumental in breaking down the subject into a number of specific issues to be dealt with in chronological order. The statistical analysis makes it possible to locate required information and generalize data from statistical sources. Methods of historical geography help link historical, economic and demographic phenomena with a specific area.

3. Discussion

A specific feature characterizing historiography is the fact that it lacks consistency in the study of the Gypsy population in Russia. A review of the few bibliographic indexes (German, 1930) shows that pre-revolutionary Gypsy studies prioritized ethnographic, linguistic and cultural aspects. As for works on historical subjects, they were like gold dust, pieces few and far between and extremely difficult to find.

Regarding the Russian pre-revolutionary historiography, a reference should be made to the article by a prominent lawyer, I.N. Danilovich, titled “Historical and ethnographic newsletter on the Gypsies” (Istoricheskoye i etnograficheskoye izvestiye o tsyganakh) published by the Severny Arkhiv journal in a series of issues for 1826 (Danilovich, 1826). After delivering an overview of the history of the Gypsies in Europe, Danilovich dedicated one of the sections in his article to a brief review of the Russian laws on the Gypsies (from 1784 to 1811). According to Danilovich, “the Russian legislation will forever leave a mark in the history because it never oppressed the Gypsies by persecution, but from the very beginning it was committed to making them useful citizens of the state” (Danilovich, 1826: 184). Fragmentary historical references to the Gypsies can be found in

works on the history of Novorossia¹ and Bessarabia, written in the period between the 19th and early 20th century (Skalkovsky, 1850).

A historical and ethnographic essay on the Gypsies in Ukraine is presented in the monograph by M.M. Plokhinsky “Foreigners in Old Malorossiia” (Inozemtsy v Staroy Malorossii) (1905), which was created on basis of the dissertation. The author can be praised for the wide use of materials from the Kharkov Historical Archive of the Collegium of Little Russia. Comparing the situation of the Gypsies in Western Europe and Russia, Plokhinsky, along with his predecessors, stressed the absence of discriminatory regulations in Russian laws and the government's failure to “merge them with other inhabitants and turn them into farmers” (Plokhinsky, 1905: 202-203).

In the USSR in the second half of the 20th century, Gypsy studies progressed in the ethnographic framework. Few academic papers on Gypsy-related subjects also focus on historical aspects. We should specifically highlight articles by V.I. Sanarov, published in Soviet and foreign journals, which feature the Siberian Gypsies (Sanarov, 1970: 126-136). The author introduces into research a number of documents from the Tobolsk archives as well as the notes of foreign travellers, which enable him to pinpoint the dates of the first reference to Siberian Gypsies in written sources – in 1721 (Sanarov, 1970: 126).

The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century is characterized in Russian historiography by a large number of new studies on the history of individuals living in the Russian Empire (Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Poles, Finns, Estonians, etc.) both at the national and regional levels (Gorizontov, 1999; Engman, 2008; Shaidurov, 2016).

It seems that a major advancement in historiography was to be achieved by a collective monograph “History of the Gypsies: a New Look” (Bessonov et al., 2000), which devotes one of the chapters to Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, it practically contains no history, but mainly presents ethnographic sketches and the history of the Gypsy culture. This fact can be explained by the sources used. The basis for the study is mainly formed by newspaper material and journalistic magazine articles that are of a subjective nature. We can fully attribute the critical statement expressed in the study to these materials: the authors were extremely biased and only dimly aware of the actual situation and could not separate those matters that were seeming from those that were real (Bessonov et al., 2000).

Most researchers of Gypsy history in the Russian Empire ignore archival sources. This is confirmed more than once by some of the papers by M.V. Smirnova-Seslavinskaya (Smirnova-Seslavinskaya 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017). Neglecting archival sources prevents the author from fully elaborating on the subject. Thus, a researcher who turned to the analysis of Russian law-making practices with regard to Gypsy-related issues, examines only the texts of decrees taken from the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire (Smirnova-Seslavinskaya, 2017: 1-21). But their study only allows us to reconstruct a vision of the problem and ways to deal with it that were put to paper. Without resorting to the documents stored in central and regional archives, it is impossible to develop an understanding of the procedure for implementing a particular legal regulation.

Academic significance is attached to the paper by D.N. Denisov – “Orenburg Gypsies in the 60s of the 18th – early 20th century” (Denisov, 2013), which considered an episode in the regional history of the Gypsy community. The author can be praised as he employed not published materials but actively used materials from the regional archive.

One study made in the early 21st century that is worth spotlighting is a monograph by David M. Crowe titled “A history of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia,” which ran through several editions. The part of the work of particular interest is dedicated to the history of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire (Crowe, 2007: 151-161). Like the overwhelming majority of researchers, this author looks at the problem through the legal prism, confining himself to a superficial and fragmentary review of Russian laws of the 18th and 19th centuries. The published documents he uses cannot give a complete and objective picture of the life of the Gypsies in Imperial Russia.

A review paper “Gypsies as a litmus test for rational, tolerant rule: Fin-de-siècle Russian ethnographers confront the comparative history of the Gypsies in Europe” by O’Keeffe introduces studies by Russian ethnographers in the late 19th and early 20th century. According to the author,

¹ Novorossia (New Russia) is a historical and cultural region in the Northern Black Sea coastal area, included in the Russian Empire following the Russo-Turkish wars in the second half of the 18th century.

these works can have a significant role in the discussion on the ways of integrating Gypsies in different countries (O’Keeffe, 2014: 109-131).

These works, as well as several other publications, can be regarded as an attempt to stir up interest within the academic community for Gypsy history in Russia. We agree with the opinion of V.I. Sanarov, which was expressed back in 1971, that “the study of the Gypsies is interesting not only in terms of the discovery of the ethnic history of the people but also from the point of view of the general problem of relations built and influences caused by vagrant foreign groups and local settled population” (Sanarov, 1971: 67). The few studies introduced above made it possible to identify the range of sources that have already been reviewed by scholars and the topics that were highlighted by authors. The existing gaps in historiography create a range of promising research topics, such as identifying sources on the history of the Gypsies in Russia, their analysis and introduction into research; the Gypsies of the Russian Empire from the perspective of effective legislation at the time and existing practices of law enforcement at the national and regional levels; the dynamics of Gypsy migrations and the position of central and local authorities regarding the process, with confirmations from official statistics; government policies encouraging Gypsies to adopt sedentary lifestyles; the place and role of Gypsies in the economic life of Russian regions.

4. Legislative measures for Gypsy sedentarization

The lands, which became part of the Russian Empire in the 18th century, saw Gypsies arriving between the 16th and first half of the 17th century as a result of migration. They migrated to the lands of the Polish Ukraine from the interior regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or from Wallachia (Plokhinsky, 1905: 165-196).

Already by the first half of the 18th century, Ukrainian lands, which went to Russia under the Treaty of Perpetual Peace in 1686, witnessed nomadic Gypsies at their marketplaces and fairs. On the other hand, Plokhinsky noted that some sotnias¹ were inhabited by sedentary Gypsies who acted as guarantors for their fellow tribesmen (Plokhinsky, 1905: 196). In the first half of the 18th century, the number of sedentary Gypsies officially increased because many of them were registered on census lists and assigned to settlements.

First references to Gypsies in the legal acts of the Russian Empire date back to the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740). Active foreign policies in the mid-1730s required creating new regiments. Since the era of Peter the Great, regiment recruitment and maintenance was a responsibility of the population in the governorates to which the regiments were assigned. In 1733, five new regiments were formed from Ukrainian Cossacks. The edict dated June 7, 1733, ordered that funds, which were collected from the Gypsies in Little Russia (the Hetmanate territory) and Sloboda Ukraine², should be spent for stationary expenses in 5 new sloboda regiments (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6430). It also speaks of both the registered and unregistered (stray) Gypsies. The challenging task of collecting taxes from the Gypsies was mentioned by Prince Shakhovskiy in his report to Empress Anna Ioannovna, pointing out that “Gypsies are not recorded in the census, and it is impossible to record them as they do not live in households” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6454).

An important milestone was the year 1733, when the personal free status of the Gypsies in Russia was actually acknowledged. By a Senate decree dated September 13, the Gypsies were recognized as people born in Ingermanland³ (it refers to the Finnish Gypsies who were evicted to these lands by the Swedish authorities in the period of repression against the Gypsies). They were granted a right to live in the St. Petersburg governorate and trade horses “until further orders.” At the same time, they were included in the system of general taxation: The St. Petersburg Chief of Police's Office was to include them in the poll tax list at the next census and take them into account in payment expenses for the horse guards regiment. At the same time, the decree allowed the

¹ Sotnia is an administrative and military unit of Hetman Ukraine in the 17th and first half of the 18th century.

² Sloboda Ukraine is a historical region that was partially located on the territories of the modern Russian Belgorod, Kursk, Voronezh, Orel and Lipetsk regions and Ukrainian Kharkov, Sumy, Poltava, Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

³ Ingermanland is a historical region in modern north-western Russia. From the 12th century to the 1580s, it belonged to the Novgorod Republic and Muscovite State, and from the late 16th century to 1721 was part of Sweden. After the signing of the Treaty of Nystad, it became part of the St. Petersburg Governorate.

Gypsies to reside in the places “in which they wish to live” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6481). With their legal status, they were positioned closely to state peasants and lower middle class commoners.

In the reign of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1741-1761), the overwhelming majority of the Gypsies lived in Sloboda Ukraine. The surviving principles of the particular law, which were in force on the Ukrainian lands, were automatically extended to the Gypsies. Granting privileges to colonels of Sloboda regiments and to the Cossack Starshina (administrative and military office of the Zaporozhian Host) in 1743, Empress Elizaveta retained the Gypsy tax, introduced by Anna Ioannovna, to pay to regimental offices (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 11. No. 8809). But as part of the customs reform of 1754-1755, it was cancelled along with other internal charges in Little Russia (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 14. No. 10386).

In 1759, Empress Elizaveta had to deal with the Gypsies in St. Petersburg suburbs. This was followed by a written ban on Gypsies living and temporarily staying in St. Petersburg and its surrounding neighbourhoods, such as Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Tsarskoe Selo. Violation of the ban was regarded as an administrative offense that entailed the “irrevocable fine” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 15. No. 10981). This measure affected, above all, the Ingermanland Gypsies. We should point out an essential aspect: this ban had a limited scope and did not apply to other settlements in the St. Petersburg governorate. This fact suggests the repeated recognition of the Ingermanland Gypsies as the indigenous population of these areas. In comparison, we can point to Empress Elizaveta’s position regarding Jews: in 1742, she ordered them sent away from the Russian Empire (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 11. No. 8673), and in 1744, prohibited their short visits to Russia, even on business matters (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 12. No. 8867).

Hence, the position of the Gypsies in Russia until the mid-18th century was regulated from the standpoint of the particular law, which was effective in the territory where they predominantly lived – Sloboda Ukraine. Unlike Jews, they attracted no specific attention from the ruling monarchs. Special decrees and edicts on the Gypsies were sporadic and were not an element of policy towards this ethnic minority. But their nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyle caused the government to adopt various special regulations, some of which were restrictive.

In the reign of Empress Catherine II (1762-1796), many issues were approached using the conceptual framework of enlightened absolutism and pragmatism. This can fully describe activities related to the Gypsies. In October 1767, as part of the effort to implement the Senate Decree on “Including the Raznochintsy of the Sloboda Ukraine Governorate into the Poll Taxation,” the authorities continued a campaign for abolishing remaining Cossack liberties and extending the national Russian tax system to the Ukrainian lands. The local Gypsy population was first mentioned as belonging to the Raznochintsy (literally, people of miscellaneous ranks) (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 18. No. 12987). The same decree exempted the Gypsies from the poll tax, but the Chief of Police’s Office had to submit information on their number to the Senate. Such steps were to lead to the adoption of new legal norms.

The matter of the situation in which the Gypsies lived, was raised in the address of Orenburg Governor Prince A. Putyatin dated December 10, 1767, at a meeting of the Ulozheniye Commission¹ in Moscow. In his speech, he asked for the adoption of appropriate laws whereby “they [the Gypsies – V.Sh.] would live in one and the same place and moving from place to place was not allowed both with their families and alone” (Putyatin, 1871: 431). At the same time, the address also put forward a proposal to restrict their economic activities by denying them access to fairs and auctions. However, these suggestions were not taken into account by the Empress and senior officials in the 1760s – 1770s.

In the first half of the 1780s, the ruling elite looked at the situation of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire from a new angle. Starting in 1783, the government defined measures for handling the situation of the Gypsies, which entailed, first of all, a campaign to combat Gypsy vagrancy. Its start was marked by the Senate’s decree addressed to the Voronezh Treasury Chamber² dated December 31, which stipulated that Gypsies should be endowed with land and “did not loiter idly” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 21. No. 15898). By the same act, legislators equalized Gypsies in terms of fiscal

¹ The Ulozheniye Commission of 1767-1768 was convened by Empress Catherine II to create a new Code of Laws of the Russian Empire. Deputies representing various social estates took part in its work. At the Commission meetings, the deputies presented mandates that reflected local issues and ways of dealing with them.

² The Governorate Treasury Chamber is a collegiate body managing state property and construction projects.

rights with state peasants, entrusting the decision of all related issues to the director of household management in the provincial Treasury Chamber. Thus, legal regulations determined the legal status of the majority of Gypsies in the Russian Empire, recognizing them as personally free subjects, on whom the corresponding duties were imposed.

The consistency in the implementation of the policy adopted by the Senate to bind the Gypsies to the land was embodied in a decree “On the expulsion of the Gypsies from Livonia” dated January 24, 1784 ([PSZ RI-I. Vol. 22. No. 15912](#)). The pretext for its issue was provided by complaints from the local governor-general, Count Yu. Browne to the Senate on the influx of Gypsies from neighbouring provinces. The Senate ordered treating them according to the law, which meant delivering the Gypsies found in Livonia, under police escort, to the provinces where they were registered for taxation and transferring them to the care of local authorities. Whether the execution of this decree by Browne was successful is unknown.

In November 1784, another step was made to end the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Gypsies in Russia. The attempt was initiated by Moscow Governor-General Count James Bruce (1732-1791). On his order, which was confirmed by a Senate decree, all Gypsies who stayed in Moscow and the Moscow governorate, should surrender their passports and be evicted to the places where they were registered in the last census ([PSZ RI-I. Vol. 22. No. 16088](#)). By this time, officials realized the need to introduce administrative supervision over the constant presence of the Gypsies in places of registration. To this end, further control over the Gypsies was given to town governors and Zemstvo police chiefs throughout the country.

However, the measures taken failed to put an end to the Gypsy migrations in Russia. For example, in 1792, in the Tobolsk governorate¹, local authorities found a 113-strong Gypsy camp led by elder Eustathy Martynov, aged 84 ([GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 8-9 ob.](#)). Based on the investigation's findings, it became clear that these families of “Belarus Gypsies” were registered for the Colonel of the Ingermanland Regiment, Aleksey Melgunov ([GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 20](#)). Over many years, they roamed across the Novgorod governorate, engaged in the exchange of horses and other small goods ([GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 27 ob.](#)). It was also found out that as they had no permanent place of residence, they were not included in the census list and therefore paid no taxes and duties. Initially, it was planned to deport Gypsies to the Kostroma governorate. The reason for this was the initiative of the Kostroma Treasury Chamber to track down fugitive Gypsies. However, Martynov managed to prove that they were not runaways. The Tobolsk authorities decided to settle the Gypsies in the Tarski okrug, which was enacted through the appropriate order to the Turin Lower Zemstvo Court². The entire procedure was carried out in accordance with the provisions of the decree dated November 4, 1784. According to the accounts by M. Sauer, who was in Tobolsk for a short visit, Governor A.V. Alyabyev planned to found a special settlement for them, but he had to lodge them with separate families. No success was achieved by his attempt to turn the Gypsies into farmers either. The Gypsies did not cultivate the land they received but led their traditional lives. Their basic activities still included begging, blacksmithing and veterinary medicine ([Sauer, 1802: 331](#)).

As we can see, the prohibitive regulations against the vagrant Gypsy practices failed to lead to the desired results. The Gypsies could easily travel from the Novgorod governorate to Siberia, never having any documents on them. A small cash bribe to the local manager allowed them to move on. Similar cases were not probably uncommon. This suggestion is offered by the content of the decree issued by the Senate on July 16, 1800, which summed up the disappointing results of the years-long campaign to bind the Gypsies to the land. The text, in particular, points out that “many of the Gypsies... have not come to their governorates, and those who came to the places, assigned to them, have not accepted the land for further cultivation due to the lack of knowledge and habit, and soon

¹ The Tobolsk governorate in the late 18th century included part of the Northern Urals, and Western and Central Siberia.

² The Lower Zemstvo Court is a judicial and administrative body in the Russian Empire (1775-1862). The powers of the Lower Zemstvo Court included the duty of controlling orders in an uezd (district), monitoring the condition of roads and bridges, and enforcing orders of the governmental authorities. In addition, the Lower Zemstvo Court functioned as the trade police, took measures to prevent against epidemics, considered cases related to the performance of duties, took fire precautions, dealt with food security issues, monitored beggars, conducted trials on petty crimes and took decisions on minor claims.

they again left for unknown places” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19,484). Most of the Gypsies “are idly loitering everywhere, and according to the checks done, turned out to have been registered nowhere” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19484). The main culprits of the failure of the action undertaken were announced to the landlords who sold Gypsies temporary tickets which enabled them to move within the borders of the uezd or governorate for a year. In the context of military and police absolutism in the reign of Emperor Paul I (1796-1801), this situation was tolerated. As a result, it was prescribed that the identified idle Gypsies should be immediately registered for the poll tax and allocated land in the governorate in which they would be caught without documents.

Considering the dreadful financial hardships of most Gypsies, the many thousands of debts for the payment of the poll tax and other levies and future expenses required to settle in a new place of residence, the authorities decided to write off the arrears of cash taxes for them. It should be stressed that such a step was a novelty in the government's activity. For example, since the second half of the 1760s, foreign colonists already received various tax preferences from the authorities, including the exemption from conscription “in perpetuity,” when settling in rural areas¹.

At the turn of the 19th century, the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies attracted the attention of not just Russian officials. Private individuals also expressed their proposals. For example, on February 9, 1801, the Senate Prosecutor General Petr Obolyaninov, a favourite of Emperor Paul I, was approached by Count von der Pahlen, who proposed a radical project to address the situation of the Gypsies. According to him, the Gypsies of the male gender, fit for military service, should be “taken to soldiers, assigned to regiments located in remote areas and others should be sent to the south of Siberia to settle there on available empty land, which is in abundance there, where it could be possible by holding them under supervision to set them to work and payment of taxes to the treasury” (RGIA. F. 1347. Op. 4. L. 58. L. 2). The practical implementation of such a project under the conditions of that time, was only viable for the first part (the military service of the Gypsies), while the resettlement of several thousand Gypsies in Siberia was unrealistic for a number of reasons. First, to fulfil this, it was necessary to allocate travel and meal allowances from the Treasury and provide police escort (deportation) of the Gypsies. At the place of new residence, the settlers were to be provided with working livestock, implements, seeds, timber to construct housing and farm buildings and, to ensure that they did not scatter throughout the steppe, it was necessary to arrange for the local police to provide continuous controls over the settlers. The Treasury had no available money for this, and local authorities did not have this large a police force. Realization of the first, quite realistic part of Pahlen's proposal was impeded by the coup d'état of March 1801, and the elimination of the political elite of Paul I's era.

Starting in 1767, the authorities tried to register the existing Gypsy population. This challenging job was assigned to governorate administrations. To date, we have no accurate information on the number and distribution of the Gypsies across the governorates of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. The first incomplete statistical data refers to the early 19th century.

In the reign of Emperor Alexander I (1801-1825), the measures targeted at the situation of the Gypsies became part of the general imperial policy towards ethnic minorities. In June 1803, the authorities once again endeavoured to handle the issue of vagrancy of both personally free Gypsies and those who were registered with landlords by the census. To achieve this, in the summer of 1803, civil governors were ordered “to immediately submit the information to the Senate on how many [Gypsies] are registered, with which landowners or in which state-owned settlements they are registered, [and] whether they carry on any economic activities” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 27. No. 20802). By the spring of 1805, this information was sent to the Senate by most of the governorates. Many governors indicated in their reports that the Gypsies were not present in the territory of the

¹ Since 1764, foreign colonists (Germans, Swedes, Swiss, Mennonites, etc.) began to come to Russia to create exemplary agricultural businesses, invited by Catherine II. The immigrants were offered to find special settlements (colonies) in the Volga region, Novorossia, St. Petersburg, Voronezh and Novgorod governorates. The colonists received free land, construction timber, money loans to purchase equipment and seeds. The government introduced different grace periods for different groups of colonists to pay taxes. In the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, the colonists accumulated debts to the state on overdue loans and current taxes. Occasionally, the government wrote off, in part or in full, these debts to the colonists.

governorates entrusted to them. We discovered that the reports, submitted by 27 governors (in the late 18th century, Russia was divided into 50 governorates-general and governorates, and one oblast), contain inconsistent information on the numbers of the Gypsies. It is helpful in roughly reconstructing the geography of the Gypsy resettlement and their approximate numbers in the early 19th century (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41).

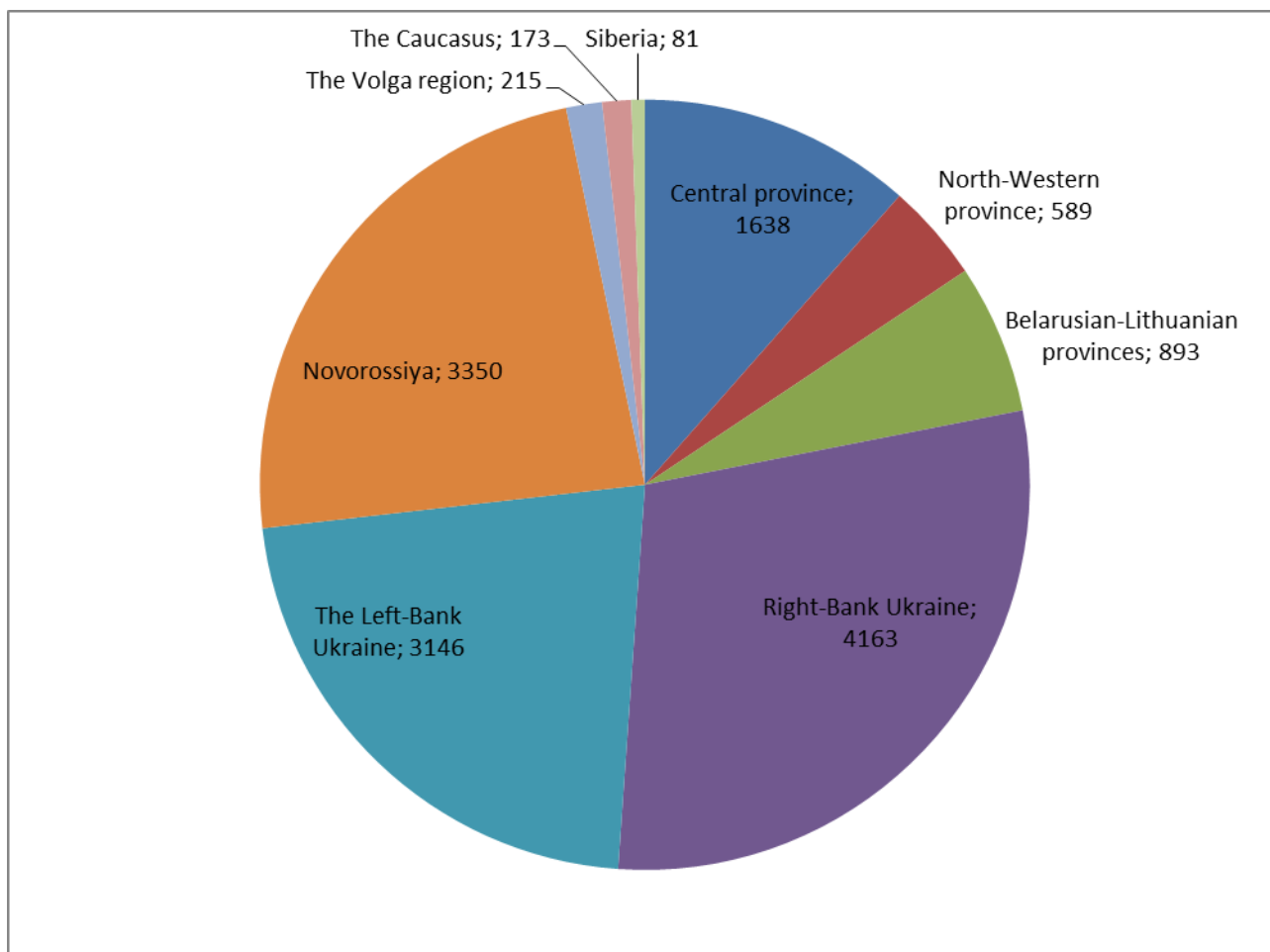


Fig. 1. The number and distribution of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire in 1803–1805

Unfortunately, the documents provide no information on the Pskov, Novgorod, Irkutsk and other governorates in which the Gypsies also lived. Based on the above data, we can determine that the approximate size of the Gypsy population in the Russian Empire at the beginning of Alexander I's reign amounted to 14.5 thousand people. Importantly, we speak only of those Gypsies who were already registered in state-owned settlements or with landlords.

Based on the obtained statistical data, we can say that in the early 19th century, 3/4 of the Gypsies lived in the territory of Ukraine and Novorossia. The largest Gypsy communities were recorded in the Poltava and Podolsk governorates, with the percentage reaching almost 40 % of the registered Gypsies. Since the time of the Crimean Khanate, the Gypsy community preserved its significant size in Novorossia, including the Crimea (almost 30 % of the registered Gypsies). The abundance of the Gypsies in these regions is explained by the history of their settlement in Eastern Europe and in the Black Sea region. For example, the Left-Bank Ukraine turned out to become home for the Gypsies who fled from persecution in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Northern Black Sea region was inhabited by the Gypsies who moved there in the 15th century from the territory of the former Byzantine Empire. Continuous migration of the Gypsies across the Russian Empire in the 18th century contributed to their official registration in more than half of the governorates-general and governorates.

Data, collected by civil governors, show that the Gypsies belonged to various estates in the early 19th century. The largest share of the Gypsy population was assigned to the peasant class in the Russian Empire. About 20 % of the Gypsies were listed with landlords. In the Poltava governorate, 2,559 Gypsies (more than 80 % of the Gypsies in the governorate or almost 18 % of the Empire's registered Gypsies) lived in landowner lands (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 80-85 ob.). The overwhelming share of Gypsies were registered as state peasants.

In the early 19th century, registering them in merchant guilds became a widespread practice. We should say that the registration in the merchant class (as a rule, in the third guild) became commonplace for the Gypsies. The legislation, which was in force during the reign of Emperor Alexander I, retained a simplified entry procedure into the merchant class. Paying a small guild fee allowed the Gypsies to receive a third guild certificate that gave its holder greater freedom to move around the governorate. For example, out of 69 Gypsies in the Ryazan governorate, 13 were registered as merchants (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 17 ob.). According to information provided by the Moscow civil governor dated August 10, 1803, 208 Gypsies with family members were registered in Moscow in merchant guilds (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 26-26 ob.). The Gypsy merchants were in the Tambov (Lebedyan), Voronezh (Boguchar), Vitebsk (Gorodets) governorates and other provinces.

The small number of lower middle class Gypsies (Meshchane) is explained by the difficulties of registering in urban societies. Harsher police controls over the urban population discouraged the Gypsies from becoming part of this estate. For example, of the Moscow Gypsies, only 10 were registered as Meshchane (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 26-26 ob.).

There were also cases of registering Gypsies as Cossacks. For example, the Poltava governorate reported 354 Gypsies registered in Cossack ranks (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 80-85 ob.).

A new step towards integrating Gypsies in Russia was the edict of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Alexander I, dated April 20, 1809 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597). Until 1809, authorities struggled to turn Gypsies into an agricultural population by giving them land. But these actions failed to bring the desired result, and this fact was indicated in Paul I's edict dated July 16, 1800 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19484). The 1809 edict outlined a new vision of the Gypsies' place in Russia (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 114). On the one hand, it confirmed the government's commitment to sedentarize the Gypsies. It was the first time when specific penalties were imposed on landowners and town/rural communities which provided Gypsies with passports: for each Gypsy man or woman who was away from their family, it was specified that one ruble was to be collected from the persons who issued the tickets and money was to be handed to local Orders for Public Charity (governorate institutions responsible for public schools, hospitals, shelters, orphanages). It was at the expense of the same landlords and communities that the Gypsies were returned to their initial place of residence.

Seeing the futile attempts to engage Gypsies in agricultural production, in 1809, the Tsarist administration mounted a bid for the resettlement of the personally free Gypsies in cities and towns by giving them an opportunity to be ranked among the lower classes or townspeople (Meshchane) as craftsmen and workers. According to the law, they were to carry on "legitimate business," such as trade, crafts and other economic activities. Governorate officials were given one year to enforce the Tsarist edict.

A significant aspect should be highlighted regarding the 1809 edict, namely its clause 5, in which the authorities turned to the problem of Gypsy serfs for the first time. Here, the authorities proposed landowners "to return freedom to all the Gypsies registered against them, whom they wished," or "alternatively assign them... to towns" (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597). This approach to the issue was explained by the fact that landlords, according to the authorities, not only benefited from the Gypsies, but were also burdened with state taxes that they had to pay to the state. "It is unlikely that this would have been the case. Landlords had an unstable source of income in the Gypsies, yet it was till a source. For example, the Gypsies paid for passports required for search of work and they paid their landlords a quitrent.

It should be noted that the final version of the decree was somewhat different from the draft submitted by the Senate and the Ministry of Interior to the Binding (State) Council for consideration. In particular, it reflected the above proposal of Von der Pahlen. For example, the Senate offered to take into custody and deport the Gypsies if "they will live in vagrancy..." for a

certain period of time: those who were healthy and fit for service should be conscripted with entrance trials, those who were physically unfit for military service should be sent to mining plants; women, widows and girls should be sent to Siberia for resettlement, and the cripples, elderly and children should be provided with shelter at institutions of the Chambers of Public Charity” (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 115). It prescribed sending those Gypsies to Siberia for settlement, who were deemed “unfit for” cities and towns (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 115 ob.). However, these measures were not included in the final version. The punishment for violating this decree was to proceed “according to general state laws” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597).

Hence, in 1809, the government endeavoured to put into operation a new approach to the issues related to the Gypsies, by focusing on their resettlement in cities and engaging Gypsies in more familiar economic activities: crafts and trade. However, as the history of the early 19th century shows, this step could lead to an even greater impoverishment of Gypsy families. A sufficient reminder is the campaign to relocate Jews from towns to cities in the Pale of Settlement; in the end it brought about the oversupply of offers in the economic sphere traditional for Jews in Belarus and Lithuanian cities, which led to further ruin of the Jews (Shaidurov, 2015: 209).

Practice showed that the 1809 edict was not put into operation. This is confirmed by the subsequent legal acts on the Gypsies. As early as September 28, 1811, His Imperial Majesty’s edict was issued to once again register Gypsies in towns and villages (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). The preamble acknowledges the fact that previous regulatory acts were implemented without due efficiency, which was confirmed by reports from governors.

The new edict not only affirmed the intention of the authorities to settle the Gypsies in cities and towns, but also detailed the procedure itself. From this point, the inclusion of Gypsies in urban communities was carried out by the decision of the governor and took place without the consent of the city community (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). However, some Gypsies retained the right to live in villages. But this only applied to those “who, according to the last census, were assigned to state-owned settlements and had a farming business” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795).

Earlier documents primarily made the Gypsies themselves responsible for putting the newly introduced regulations into practice. In rare cases, they determined Zemstvo and city police as controlling authorities. The legislator placed direct responsibility for enforcing the edict throughout the Russian Empire on the Minister of Police and on governors in governorates that were entrusted to them (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795).

The challenging assignment of implementing the next campaign to end vagrancy was given by Alexander I to the Minister of Police to be carried out in the shortest possible term – in the European part of the Empire by January 1, 1812 and in Siberia by July 1, 1812 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). However, the completion of the campaign activities took several years. So, the Simbirsk governorate accomplished them only by 1814, and as a result, 12 Gypsy families were registered in 11 local cities (RGIA. F. 1286. Op. 2. 1812. D. 241. L. 5-7). In the Crimea, this process lasted until 1819.

In 1812, according to the Treaty of Bucharest, Bessarabia was included into Russia, where state (crown) and landlord Gypsies lived. According to Soviet historians, only the number of state Gypsies is known – approx. 1,700 people (Zelenchuk, 1979: 60).

The first years of the reign of Emperor Nicholas I (1825 – 1855) saw new territories included in the Russian Empire. This led to a serious growth in the Gypsy population in the Russia. Before 1839, authorities focused their attention on the Gypsies in this region.

Another campaign to settle the Gypsies in cities or state settlements for permanent residence was implemented in the late 1820s. It was initiated by Emperor Nicholas I, who “personally saw roaming Gypsy caravans” in his trip across South Russia (RGIA. F. 381. Op. 46. D. 6. L. 61 ob.). This fact provided the basis for the order to Governor General of Novorossia and Bessarabian Count Vorontsov to settle the affairs of the landlords and personally free Gypsies.

In 1828, Vorontsov submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Finance his proposed solution for the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies in the governorate entrusted to him. The first part dealt with landlord Gypsies. According to Vorontsov, it was necessary “to impose a moderate tax on them” (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). However, he did not write what tax amount he considered to be “moderate.” Landlords were to be responsible “for keeping these people at their homes and for installing unnecessary ones on their

lands, but to not let them roam at will” (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). A progressive proposal was to prohibit the separation of Gypsy families in sale.

The second part of the project contained proposals to settle the matters of the personally free Gypsies in Novorossia and Bessarabia. There is little doubt that officials, who prepared documents for Vorontsov, reviewed the unsuccessful local efforts undertaken in previous years. Based upon these, they formulated compromise solutions for the State Council. The dominating idea of sedentary life was retained, but it was offered in place of abandoning the plan to settle the Gypsies only in state settlements or cities. In addition, Gypsies were enabled to found a new settlement on free lands (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). To add attractiveness to this process, Vorontsov proposed to exempt them from taxes and duties for 15 years (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob. – 10).

Proposals put forward by Vorontsov, comments by Minister of Finance Kankrin and the view expressed by Minister of Internal Affairs Zakrevsky provide a foundation for the opinion of the State Council, which was made law February 8, 1829. Its content suggests that the government implemented a “pilot project,” and its outcome would seal the fate of Gypsies in Russia.

We can see a change in rhetoric as early as in the preamble, which indicated a turn in the government's policy. Law-makers used new wording to determine the solution for issues related to the situation of the Gypsies, such as “encourage,” “take care,” or “provide some benefits” (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665). This confirms that to achieve its goal, the bureaucracy rejected the forceful police measures that had been applied in previous years, and employed “soft power.” This shift was linked, among other things, to the fact that new officials came to power who had completed training, including rhetoric courses, in Russian institutions of higher education (Shchukina et al., 2017, 376-384).

The 1829 law was primarily focused on the foundation of rural Gypsy settlements. Each family was to be given a 30-dessiatine land plot. It was the first time that the government declared the allocation of funds from the state budget in the amount of 23 rubles 50 kopecks per family to construct houses (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665). The same sum was given to Russian peasants who moved to the Bessarabian oblast from interior governorates. To sow their plots, the Gypsies were supplied gratuitously by the state with “2 chetverts¹ of various kinds of grain,” such as wheat, barley and oats (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665).

The 1829 campaign is reminiscent of the efforts of Alexander I and his officials to relocate Jews from overpopulated cities and villages in the Pale of Settlement to South Russia to set up agricultural colonies. As was the case in the early 19th century, measures regarding the state Gypsies in Bessarabia ended in total failure.

In the 1830s, Emperor Nicholas I paid much attention to the issue of ethnic minorities. For example, he initiated another attempt to handle issues related to the Jews between 1835 and 1837. It envisioned a plan to start numerous Jewish agricultural colonies in Siberia (Shaidurov 2014: 240).

The core of the campaign, which was launched March 13, 1839, was again formed by military and police methods. This evidence is revealed by a phrase, which defines the nature of the events in many ways: “to take decisive steps to eradicate this disorder” (RGIA. F. 381. Op. 46. D. 6. L. 61 ob.). The task of dealing with the challenge was assigned to the Ministry of State Property and its head Count P.D. Kiselyov.

By January 27, 1841, Kiselyov submitted a report to Nicholas I on the work that had been done. According to the partial information provided by the governorates, more than 11 thousand Gypsies were registered in urban and rural communities, but only 3 thousand of them had led a sedentary lifestyle and were engaged in agriculture, crafts or trade by that time (RGIA. F. 383. Op. 2. D. 1413-30. L. 164 ob.).

The most significant concern for officials on site were Gypsies who were registered in this or that locality but were away someplace else; local authorities identified more than 8 thousand such absentees. Of these, approx. 3 thousand were found in different governorates, while more than 5 thousand Gypsies “have gone away to unknown places without passports,” Kiselyov wrote (RGIA. F. 383. Op. 2. D. 1413-30. L. 165).

¹ Chetvert is a Russian measure of granular materials, ≈ 57.3 kg

Throughout the 1840s, officials unsuccessfully tried to find solutions for the challenges posed to them. On October 7, 1842, the decision of the Senate empowered the Minister of the Internal Affairs to impose administrative punishments up to exile to Siberia on the Gypsies, who continued to live as nomads after registration (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 509 ob. – 510). But this was also not harsh enough to compel the Gypsies to refuse their traditional lifestyle. The minutes of the State Council's meetings in 1846 said that “vagabond Gypsies do not cease to turn up in various governorates, calling themselves natives of Poland and Prussia” (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 510 ob.).

The failure to address the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies in the 1840s and 1850s should be explained only by the government's inability to ensure total control over the Gypsies. A marked effect was exerted by disagreements between departments that were involved in project implementation.

The Ministry of State Property, represented by its head, Count Pavel Kiselyov, took a hard-line stance on this issue, which was voiced, for example, at a meeting of the State Council in 1846. He believed, “the vagrancy of the Gypsies will never cease to exist if they continue trying to settle them, regardless on the expired term” (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 510 ob.). Practical adoption of this approach would mean the end of the campaign and the shift to repression against the unregistered Gypsies.

A different position in this dispute was taken by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Count Lev Perovsky, who insisted on extending the time of the campaign and, simultaneously, recognized as vagrants and prosecuted under law only those Gypsies who were already assigned to some community, but were outside their places of registration and had no passports on them (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 511 ob.).

In this situation, the State Council sided with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This approach was also supported by Nicholas I. As a result, the campaign continued for another year.

In 1854, the State Council again had to review the issue of Gypsies. The reason was a presentation by the Minister of Justice, Viktor Panin, which reported the appearance of 39 Gypsies in the Arkhangelsk governorate. Again, a dispute between the ministries took a turn for the worse. For example, Kiselyov said that a proposal by the Minister of Internal Affairs to extend the term of registration for another year was unlikely to produce the desired result, because a similar measure was adopted in 1846 and failed to achieve the desired result (RGIA. F. 1330. Op. 6. D. 1237. L. 10). It was the introduction of repressive measures, in his opinion, that would do away with the situation of the Gypsies. Repressive measures were defined as prosecuting persons who lodged vagabonds and punishing police authorities that failed to prosecute those who had no passport; stimulating the detention of Gypsies who had no documents, and submitting their files to local chiefs; sentencing to penal settlements in Siberia. But this approach did not show the desired results either.

Nevertheless, the government managed to take a step forward in resolving this issue in the reign of Nicholas I. The positive effect can be clearly seen in statistical data. For example, according to incomplete information from the Ministry of State Property, more than 1,600 families with a total number of over 11 thousand Gypsies lived in state villages in 31 governorates by 1866 (RGIA. F. 1291. Op. 66. 1866. D. 97. L. 3 ob. – 14).

5. Conclusion

The Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century had a small Gypsy community accounting for approx. 0.4 % of the country's population. It was unevenly distributed in the governorates, a fact resulting from the history of the Gypsy resettlement in Eastern Europe. Yet, Gypsies lived almost everywhere. Personal freedom and the liberal laws of Catherine II, which were in force at the time, allowed Gypsies to be included in the unprivileged (lower middle class, state peasants) and semi-privileged estates (merchants, Cossacks). The early period of the 19th century, saw the integration of Gypsies into the economic life of the Russian Empire, where they occupied traditional professional niches (metal processing, footwear manufacture, trade).

Starting in the 18th century, the Russian Empire's governmental bodies faced the need to adopt an approach to the Gypsy population which had grown in the second half of the 18th century – the first quarter of the 19th century, following the accession of new territories (Crimea, Bessarabia, former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth).

Until the middle of the 18th century, the position of the Gypsies in Russia was regulated from the standpoint of particular law, which was effective in the territory where they predominantly lived – Sloboda, Ukraine. Unlike Jews, they attracted no specific attention of the ruling monarchs. Special decrees and edicts concerning the Gypsies were sporadic and were not an element of the policy towards the ethnic minority. But their nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles made the government adopt various special regulations, some of which were restrictive.

The Russian government tried to handle the issues related to the Gypsies, using principles of enlightened absolutism, as early as the 1780s. From this starting point, repeated efforts were made in the 1780s – in the 1810s to encourage Gypsies to engage in farming, handicrafts and trade, by settling them in cities and state-owned settlements and by providing tax preferences. There were also severe punishments imposed for vagrancy, the harshest of which might be exile to Siberia. The campaigns, which were carried out in the reign of Alexander I and Nicholas I, were not very effective. The surviving statistics show that only few Gypsy families abandoned their traditional lifestyles and switched to a sedentary life. The overwhelming majority of Gypsies continued to maintain nomadic or semi-nomadic practices throughout the 19th and early 20th century.

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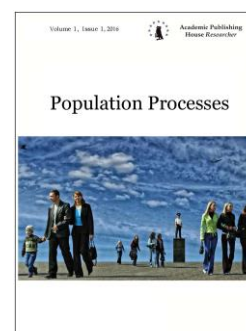
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Published in the Slovak Republic
Population Processes
Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN: 2500-1051
2017, 2(1): 35-47

DOI: 10.13187/popul.2017.2.35
www.ejournal44.com



Anti-Semitism in Slovakia in Post-War Years 1945 – 1948: A Period of “Common People’s Anti-Semitism”

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Abstract

The liberation of Czechoslovakia and the end of World War II did not mean the end of Jewish suffering in Slovakia, although several members of the Slovak Jewish minority virtually (and naively) expected it. On the contrary, a number of problems began, and the negative impacting of the post-war reality through their re-emergence in society was immediately activated. The post-war period as a period of social, political and moral crises was reflected in full, and the Jews faced hostility once again. Anti-Semitic unrest in Slovakia that broke out in the first days and months after World War II and was one of characteristic features of post-war development in Czechoslovakia, fit into the overall situation as existed on European territory.

The heuristic basis of the study includes archival materials from central Slovak National Archives in Bratislava and regional archives of the Slovak Republic. Besides these sources, Slovak and foreign scientific publications dedicated to given issues published in recent years have been used.

Methodologic base of the research involves principles of objectivism and historicism that enable objective and factual approach towards analysis of researched issues, critical evaluation of sources (through analytic, progressive and comparative method, direct and indirect method) and summarisation of knowledge as a result of analysis of the summary of facts. It also allows depiction of facts in the course and context of historical situation.

Finally, the author notes, post-war anti-Semitism undoubtedly emerged or grew out of Holocaust and several years of anti-Jewish propaganda in Slovakia (1939 - 1945), immediate war as well as post-war experiences, although it is impossible to neglect also the older “traditional” anti-Jewish attitudes of Slovak population (already present in the time of the interwar Czechoslovakia and Hungarian period of History). As the main reasons of the growing anti-Semitism in Slovakia (1939 – 1945) we can consider the Jewish efforts to their reintegration into civil society and issues of rehabilitation and of property rights – concerning former Jewish property, which was still in the hands of the former “arizators”, citizens (of lower social classes as well) or under national administration (paradoxically, often as a reward for participating in the resistance) – closely related to them and delays in the issue of its restitution. After all, the inaction of state administration representatives, “benevolent” penalties and mostly vague attitude and inconsistent approach of political leaders of the Republic on the issue (support of Jewish organizations and Jewish refugees versus the issue of restitution, contradictory statements and expressions) did not contribute to the normalization of relations. An unmistakable feature of the tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish population was also the condition of the post-war society in Slovakia itself,

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not excluding the Jews. Anti-Semitic motives, which eventually resulted in many cases in racially motivated attacks were primarily purely personal or, rather, primarily economically and socially conditioned. Postwar common people's antisemitism was also one of important factors influencing the decision of the major part of Slovak Jewish citizens to emigrate from the country. Under the influence of at that time still positive international situation and hidden (but active) support of Czechoslovak offices, the major part of the Jews left (mainly in 1948 and at the beginning of 1949) Slovakia, emigrating mainly to Israel and western countries, i.e. overseas.

Keywords: anti-Semitism, common people's anti-Semitism in Slovakia, anti-Jewish moods, performances and pogroms, anti-Jewish riots in Bratislava, post-war period (1945–1948), Slovakia, Czechoslovakia.

1. Introduction

The liberation of Czechoslovakia and the end of World War II did not mean the end of Jewish suffering in Slovakia, although several members of the Slovak Jewish minority virtually (and naively) expected it. On the contrary, a number of problems began, and the negative impacting of the post-war reality through their re-emergence in society were immediately activated. The post-war period as a period of social, political and moral crises was reflected in full, and the Jews faced hostility once again. Anti-Semitic unrest in Slovakia that broke out in the first days and months after World War II and was one of characteristic features of post-war development in Czechoslovakia, fit into the overall situation as existed on European territory. The wave of post-war anti-Semitism significantly impacted all the neighbouring states, much more than in Czechoslovakia or in Slovakia – here, in comparison with the Czech lands, its physical manifestations were stronger, more unrestrained, due to differences in the causes themselves. The authorities and the general public were not happy about the presence of refugees (from Poland, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine), and in general, the Jews had difficulty adapting to the post-war society, which was characterized by post-war psychosis, administrative chaos and various problems related to the rebirth of the republic. Efforts to remove legislative and administrative barriers imposed on Jewish citizens preventing their full inclusion into society were compounded by manifestations “from the bottom”, motivated by the subjective incentives of the civilian population, taking “justice” into their own hands. The so-called “common people's anti-Semitism” was manifested.

2. Materials and methods

The heuristic basis of the study includes archival materials from central Slovak National Archives in Bratislava and regional archives of the Slovak Republic. Besides these sources, Slovak and foreign scientific publications dedicated to given issues published in recent years have been used.

Methodologic base of the research involves principles of objectivism and historicism that enable objective and factual approach towards analysis of researched issues, critical evaluation of sources (through analytic, progressive and comparative method, direct and indirect method) and summarisation of knowledge as a result of analysis of the summary of facts. It also allows depiction of facts in the course and context of historical situation.

3. Discussion

Despite the relatively positive light abroad, the actual position of the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia or, more precisely, in Slovakia during the first post-war years 1945–1948, cannot be characterized as smooth and safe. The status of Jews was directly influenced by an internal political development and by an overall social situation in the country passing through a period of social, political, moral as well as post-war crisis, while the first post-war years marked a period when the consequences of the Nazi occupation in the Czech lands and fascist influence in Slovakia were fading away. The Jews who returned from concentration camps and emigration, or survived the cruelties of the Holocaust in hiding in Slovakia, were not welcomed everywhere (sometimes rather unwelcome). Their nationality and national reliability were questioned, as well as property claims, as they demanded back the confiscated movable and immovable property, which was once theirs (see also: [Svobodová, 1999: 194](#)). In many cases, they persistently and tenaciously demanded restitution and restoration of their former property rights, but on the other side also some sort of compensation and certain (special) benefits arising from the survival of suffering. This is what

caused the gradual tension in relations with the majority population of Slovakia and led to several anti-Semitic manifestations.

The post-war period opened a new chapter of Slovak-Jewish relations in the country, which can be described as "the Jewish question in Slovakia" (1945-1953). It had several phases: repatriation period (1945 – 1946), a so called common people's anti-Semitism (1945 – 1948), emigration (1948 – 1949) and, finally, a so called political anti-Semitism (1949 – 1953). This study, however, aims to further clarify the impact of post-war common people's anti-Semitism on the status of the Jewish population in Slovakia, while narrowing its focus on anti-Semitic manifestations among resistance forces in society and examining their implications and impacts on the Jewish question in the post-war years of 1945 – 1948.

4. Results

The post-war manifestations of anti-Semitism in Slovakia between 1945 and 1948 (the period of "common people's anti-Semitism") are obviously continuous, but at the same time, waves of their increased occurrence can also be profiled:

- the first major wave (*the period of increasing anti-Semitism*) took place in the first months after the end of the war (July-September/December 1945),
- the second (*the peak period of the anti-Jewish appearances in Slovakia*) – in the summer months of 1946,
- the third (*the period of lingering anti-Semitism*) in the first half of 1947 (connected with the ongoing trial with Jozef Tiso and his subsequent execution) and again in August 1948 in Bratislava (as the last appearance of a common people's character in Slovakia).

Appearing anti-Semitically tuned manifestations were essentially aimed at intimidating the people of Jewish origin and religion or attempting to cause confusion, uncertainty in their ranks, possibly to force them to leave or move out of a certain location, or to emigrate. In form – they were mostly leaflet operations, distribution of alarming hoaxes, minor incidents, although Slovakia was not spared from the public manifestations of anti-Jewish actions of mass character during this period.

4.1. The period of increasing anti-Semitism

As it turned out, the regrets of non-Jewish population of Slovakia about the Jewish hardships during wartime clearly passed quickly and difficulties of early post-war months, the returns of the Jews to the towns of their original residence and the subsequent effort to return the lost properties into Jewish ownership, or the fear of losing the property in the eyes of the majority, became one of the main reasons of sprouting anti-Jewish moods in certain segments of society and regions, as reflected in the number of reporting period. Due to turbulent post-war situation, persistent "revolutionary" moods and, perhaps, also some frustrations with unfulfilled expectations, the wave of anti-Semitism gradually infiltrated the resistance organizations as well. These cases were not isolated and many inadapted people, mainly former guerrilla members, incidentally still armed, were during first post-war years a menace not only to Slovak Jews, but also to other inhabitants of the country. They committed riots that worried the competent authorities, at several places in Slovakia. "*The anti-Jewish moods that are caused by both fascist elements and some acts of Jews spread across the population. It is clear that this movement finds a fertile soil within a population affected by fascism and threatens to grow into large sizes,*" – the head of the 2nd division of the Main Headquarters of National Security (HVNB) warned already in the report of the beginning of July 1945 (SNA-1) and was not far from the truth.

A situation in eastern Slovakia had a particularly difficult development in first post-war years. For example, a worsening of relations and series of conflicts between Jewish and non-Jewish population of the city occurred in Bardejov in the beginning of June 1945. The relations were additionally complicated by "confident" manifestations of former resistance fighters from Bardejov (members of a guerrilla group "Lipa"). There also occurred one of the first post-war anti-Semitic events of mass character – in a form of manifestations of the Bardejov region partisans (led by Capt. Andrej Palša, an official of partisan association in Košice), joined by the local population (number of manifesting people is estimated to 1000). The crowd shouted slogans like "Jews out!", "Jews go work on bridges!" and other anti-Semitic statements and the partisans carried out some

house searches at the local Jews' in order to find out whether they own weapons and scarce goods. *"During all this time, individuals – partisans committed several missteps"* – stated the regional commander of NB in Bardejov (ŠAP-B; SNA-2).

The anti-Jewish demonstration in Prešov immediately after the one in Bardejov had a similar nature. Regional press reported on the events that took place in the town on the 26th and 28th of July 1945 mainly as "hooliganism carried out in typically fascist manner". A crowd joined the morning demonstration of women in Prešov – demanding increase in rationing and pointing out the better supplying of local Jews – and riots began to occur on the streets. Crowd attacked, plundered and demolished the kitchen of the Repatriation office where the Jews of Prešov ate. The Prešov synagogue was also robbed and the Jews in it were insulted. At the same time, insults on Jewish citizens occurred on the streets of the town as well as an attack on a station of National Security (NB) in the city. Evening manifestation (about 2, 000 people) turned into an anti-state demonstration and the crowd was shouting anti-state and anti-Jewish slogans (Hlas ľudu, 1945: 1). Further investigation of the riots in Prešov showed that a similar anti-Jewish demonstration had been planned in Košice as well (SNA-3). Similar moods among the population were recorded in other eastern towns (Levoča, Michalovce) and other regions of Slovakia in the following period (SNA-4).

Events occurring in eastern Slovakia during summer months of 1945 clearly pointed out the reality of escalating post-war anti-Semitism, but the attention of the whole country was attracted to this issue and the urgent need of dealing with it was strongly emphasized among the highest government circles only after the case of anti-Jewish riots in Topoľčianky – sometimes called a pogrom – of 24th September 1945. It was a specific mass anti-Jewish demonstration in Slovakia regarding its extent and nature, greatly unsettling the Jewish population of the country and reflecting on their emigration tendencies (Kamenec, 2000; Šišjaková, 2007). Anti-Jewish demonstration in Topoľčianky showed the clear limits of anti-Semitic manifestations among the population in Slovakia, including the burning question of restitution of Jewish property and persistent anti-Jewish tendencies among the military, security and resistance forces. At the same time, the statements of Slovak politicians fully covered the entire range of views, from the statements that the whole situation is *"a fight of response, which indirectly attacks the central government"* to the statement that *"they are thus the sins of the past"*. Talks about the existence of anti-Jewish underground movement spreading discontent among people were starting (SNA-5). While the murder cases of communists and Jews in the villages of Snina region – Nová Sedlica, Ulič and Kolbasov (in the late November to December 1945; 16 Jews were murdered) went almost unnoticed in the eyes of the public. These events were attributed to illegal armed groups from the Polish borders, or rather members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army operating in south-eastern Poland (Šmigel, 2007).

4.2. The peak period of the anti-Jewish appearances in Slovakia

Anti-Semitism among the former resistance forces, its escalation, and particularly its climax in the summer of 1946 is a specific episode of the issue. The persistent resentment of Jews in the ranks of former partisans was confirmed in August 1945 by Major GS Ján Stanek (before the pogrom in Topoľčianky), who stated in a report to the Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Council (SNR) Karol Šmidke that: *"It is necessary to resolve the ratio of Israelites to stabilize today's peace [...] Jews in Slovakia are enriching themselves at the expense of the poor classes of the Slovak people, who, at the time of Slovak National Uprising and underground activities, brought the biggest sacrifices [...] The blood in veins of the nation boil against the Jews. They are not the echoes of fascism or, perhaps, Hitlerism, but of the patriots who fought against the Germans and for the destruction of Hitlerism and fascism. [...] It is therefore a danger that nation will have had enough, converting to pogroms against Jews"* (Šutaj, 2002: 128-129). Stanek thus indirectly warned about the "tension" in the ranks of Slovak resistance members.

Similarly, other reports of security authorities warned: *"... an anti-Jewish mood can be spotted among partisans, whose origin is that most Jews, although with less merit than partisans of Czechoslovakia or mostly without any merit for the state, have better position in both offices, as well as in trade and industry. Due to this dissatisfaction more and more voices can be heard from the ranks of partisans that they will have to clean up this mess their own way."* While it was stated that: *"Among the population of Slovakia, the rise of anti-Semitism is generally noticeable, which is mainly distributed by reactive elements, but, as previously mentioned, by partisans as well, and the cause of this is also a too self-confident behaviour of the citizens of Jewish faith, a*

disproportionate enrichment in short period of time, while not getting involved in constructional and beneficial work, their disproportionate placement in public life, as well as their disproportionate possession of companies and businesses” (SNA-6).

In this sense, a series of attacks on Jews had been occurring from the beginning of 1946 in Bytča. They were attacks on Jewish homes and businesses, which – as it turned out – were performed by two former partisans Jozef Gallo and František Hanuš (SNA-7). They were uncovered and convicted of these activities in July 1946. They justified their action during investigation by arguing that Jews “*did not participate in any constructional work, do not do anything but business, getting richer and thus directly provoke us*” (Šišjaková, 2006: 153). Incidents between Jews and former partisans from Veľká Lomnica (Kežmarok district) with similar content were reported to the NB (ŠAL).

As the above mentioned cases (not rare) testify, the property aspect became the fundamental cause of the increase in anti-Semitism in post-war Slovak society as the aryanised Jewish property had still been owned by former aryanizers, or had been under national trusteeship (often former partisans and other members of the resistance), and at the same time was the subject of interest of the returned original owners or their relatives. Therefore, in this respect, quite logically, there occurred very frequent clashes and conflicts. It was particularly reflected by the adoption of restitution law no. 128/1946 Coll. of Laws and Regulations (of 16th May 1946), which became one of the main causes of the riots in the summer of 1946 in Slovakia, when, in the beginning of August 1946, despite some security measures (as well as reports on the upcoming anti-Jewish operation and strong anti-Jewish campaign through seditious pamphlets), riots and anti-Jewish manifestations of ordinary members of resistance branches occurred in Bratislava and other places of Slovakia.

The situation is very clearly described in the report of the Regional Headquarters of National Security (OVNB) in Trnava: “*Recently, we can see an indignation at the issued Restitution Act among population, especially among working people. Population had not adopted this law with enthusiasm, because many poor people will lose different furniture equipment that had, at a time, been bought by under the Act on public auctions. This is increased by the fact that the people of Jewish religion do not wait until a transfer regulation is attached to this Act, but are already personally seeking a repayment of the purchased things without giving any compensation for them. [...] After finishing the Restitution Law and its transfer regulation are made in effect, anti-Jewish reprisals can be expected at various locations...*” (SNA-8). Despite the clear signals and also multiplying conflicts in various regions, the ruling power left the situation as it was, in a slope.

Since June 1946, anti-Jewish moods intensified on the whole territory of Slovakia. Anti-Semitic leaflets calling for the eviction of the Jews from the country were scattered in Trnava. Leaflets with similar themes had also appeared in Kežmarok, Prešov and Piešťany. An incident between Jews and a group of partisans took place in Humenné in July 1946. Leaflets “*Jews out!*” were distributed in Nové Zámky and a group of brawlers tried to provoke anti-Jewish riots in Trenčianske Teplice at the end of July. Leaflets titled “*We, the Slovak partisans, are calling!*” were distributed in Zlaté Moravce, Levice and Zvolen in the beginning of August containing ten anti-Semitic oriented articles and ending with a greeting “*Death to the fascists! Honour the partisans! Kill him!*”. At the same time, leaflets “*Now or never, away with Jews!*” appeared in Žilina. There was a reasonable suspicion the mentioned activities were coordinated, since leaflets with similar nature appeared on various location in Slovakia. An increased anti-Jewish mood among the population was detected throughout the country (Šmigel, 2011: 258-259).

It did not miss Bratislava, where small riots, incitement and spreading anti-Jewish moods were happening almost on a daily basis from mid-July 1946. Small groups raided Jews in the city especially in the evening. Leaflets with an appeal “*Beat the Jews!*” appeared lying on the streets. These misdeeds were marked by an Association of racially persecuted by fascist regime (SRP) as “*...riots, which are already detectably organized in Bratislava systematically and may soon be the root of other anti-Jewish public demonstrations, even pogroms*” (SNA-9), and again, it was not far from the truth.

Given information in possession of Slovak NB clearly indicated that something larger is about to happen and its epicentre might just be the 1st Nationwide Congress of Partisans in Slovakia arranged on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of Slovak National Uprising (SNP), summoned in Bratislava during the first days of August 1946. In addition, in sufficient time before the

convention, competent government posts were sufficiently well informed about the upcoming anti-Jewish events in Bratislava as well (Bumová, 2007: 18). Union of Slovak partisans (ZSP), which urged its district branches and ordinary members to remain disciplined during the Congress and to prevent the activities of “reactionary elements” regarding the Jews through internal circulars, had also information about the upcoming anti-Jewish incidents in the city (SNA-10). At the same, the partisan central office reported on the situation of the SRP while assuring that it had earmarked thousand reliable partisan members who would ensure order and security to the Jewish population in the city. However, as stated in article Journal of Jewish Religious Communities (ŽNO) called “What happened in Slovakia”, which captures the overall condition before the Congress, that “... in the connection with the upcoming congress of partisans, there will be anti-Jewish demonstrations and disturbances as every child in Slovakia already knew. Uncovered agitation was happening on trains, at stations and in pubs. [...] Slovak security authorities and the organizers of the Congress were made aware of the danger and pointed it themselves out in warning. Of course, the management of the partisans not only did not have anything to do with these wrongful incidents, but on the contrary, it worked against them. But everything [...] was half-hearted” (Československo a Izrael, 1993: 45).

Slovak security authorities undoubtedly committed a strategic error when they planned the strictest measures for the period from the evening of August the 3rd 1946 till August the 5th 1946 morning, when the mass arrival of partisans was expected (on 2nd and 3rd August 1946 only the General Assembly of delegates of the ZSP branches was held, numbering about 250 to 300 people, and the public manifestation was planned on August the 4th 1946). “Surprisingly” however, 2 000 – 3 000 resistance members already arrived in Bratislava on 2nd August (their overall number on the Congress is estimated at about 15 thousand). The NB’s regional headquarters in Bratislava therefore ordered NB stations an enhanced alert, the emergency squad of NB from Lučenec was called, a school of NB and member of HVNB were available, patrols in the Jewish quarter were reinforced and the local military garrison was in alert as well. SRP has set up a permanent telephone and observational service in Jewish quarter, which immediately informed the NB in the case of any incident occurrence. The waiting was not long and reports on incidents aimed against Jews as well as ordinary fights and riots under the influence of alcohol had been received from different parts of Bratislava (SNA-11).

As early as the night from 1st to 2nd a burglary in the Jewish street was reported, an ambush in a Jewish apartment happened at Kupeckého Street and the owner was insulted and robbed. The next night hand grenades were thrown on Jewish homes; there had been several attempts by partisans and local civilians to break into the Jewish quarter and to provoke incidents, especially near the soup kitchen. They were, however, prevented by the members of the NB and the gathered crowd managed to be dispersed.

On 3rd August 1946 a number of incidents and constant insults of Jewish pedestrians had been reported. A soup kitchen on Zámocká Street had been invaded and vandalized. In the afternoon, the clusters of drunken and armed partisans and civilians (crowd reportedly increased up to a thousand people) tried to break into the Jewish Street while shouting anti-Jewish slogans. In the evening, however, smaller groups raided Jewish citizens and their homes (while also looting) at more places in Bratislava.

On August the 4th 1946, anti-Semitic slogans were being shouted again during a manifestation assembly and celebratory march of partisans in front of the tribune for government officials and guests. Partisans from the ZSP branches in Topoľčany, Žilina, Spišská Nová Ves and Zlaté Moravce acted most actively in this regard. In the morning there were also some disturbances in front of the Slovak National Theatre, mainly by the partisans from eastern Slovakia. In addition to raiding and looting of Jewish flats and torturing their owners on 5th August 1946, an attack on a Jewish girls’ boarding school was even ventured on Šrajberova Street and a Jewish soup kitchen was demolished again (on Zámocká Street) while several people were (some also heavily) injured. In addition to the above mentioned events, other minor incidents, which the affected Jews did not report to NB, happened elsewhere in Bratislava (Šmigel, 2011: 259-263).

The situation in Bratislava considering the safety aspects was clearly managed poorly. In case of larger interventions, the NB members feared more violence. According to information the President of SRP Vojtech Winterstein had: “The police arrives rather late, arresting people, but setting them free in a short time and these people then return to assault, again. This is not a

pogrom, no noise is heard, no large masses there. Ambush is executed by small groups.” The overall statistics of the disturbances were probably much greater than the declared 19 seriously injured citizens of Bratislava (4 of the injured heavily). The number of slightly harmed had not been found (Československo a Izrael, 1993: 43). 31 rioters had been detained (most of them remained unpunished and several cases were later brushed off).

Anti-Jewish riots (in connection with the departure of partisans from Bratislava to the places of their residence) were subsequently extended to almost the whole of Slovakia. Incidents and turmoil took place in Nové Zámky, Žilina, Rajecké Teplice, Zbehy, Leopoldov, Nitra, Šurany, Levice, Čadca, Topoľčany, Banská Bystrica, Trnava, Komárno and Želiezovce. Anti-Semitic leaflets appeared again in several places in Slovakia. The total statistics of these riots were again not quantified (NB declared only a few detainees) (Šmigel', 2011: 263-264).

Two official communiqués on the events came out on the 6th August 1946. Slovak News Agency (SAS) denied the information on the anti-Jewish riots in Slovakia (which were also received abroad) in its report: *“In some of our and foreign newspapers there appeared reports that the participants of the partisan congress in Bratislava were guilty of rioting and demonstrations. Commission of the Interior officially announces that these reports are not based on truth but on misconceptions and incorrect information. Participants of the Congress had not committed any riots or demonstrations and the attempts of reactionary fascist elements to disturb the seriousness and dignity of the course of celebration were destroyed on the spot and a dignified progress of the festivities had been preserved.”* The official version of the Czech News Agency, however, admitted that the riots occurred in Slovakia, but did not consider partisans to be responsible for them, but *“bad elements and provocateurs from the ranks of former members of the Hlinka Guard and the Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party”* who *“tried to [...] tear down some of the participants of the Congress to act violently against people of Jewish origin”*, while it was not supposed to remain in Bratislava, but the riots were supposed to be caused in some other smaller towns on the occasion of the return of partisans home. Apparently after the publication of the above mentioned, SAS had released a new report the following day, according to which the Commission of the Interior had information that seditious leaflets of anti-Jewish and anti-state nature had been handed out before the Congress at different places of Slovakia, and, especially, on trains by which partisans had been arriving to Bratislava. It was happening through illegal groups allegedly linked with foreign countries and influential groups (?), which *“have occupied high positions in our public life”* (Československo a Izrael, 1993: 40-41). As suggested by the mentioned statements, an attempt to hide the participation of resistance members on these anti-Jewish acts was apparent.

At the initiative of Jewish organizations, the issue of anti-Jewish riots in Slovakia started to be dealt with by the central authorities in Prague (Bumová, 2007: 18-22). On August 7th 1946, an official commission had gone from Bratislava to Prague to discuss the situation in Slovakia with the Ministry of Interior. Words of condemnation were raised against some of Slovak newspapers which shaped *“anti-Jewish public opinion”* in Slovakia, accusations fell on security forces, but the criticism also fell on Slovak authorities who did not condemn anti-Jewish moods clearly and did not punish the perpetrators enough. In addition, the government authorities took the situation reluctantly and tried to somehow get rid of the responsibility that was exaggeratedly and calculatingly attributed to *“domestic response”* or to an influence from abroad, mainly Poland and Hungary (see also: Československo a Izrael, 1993: 43; Mlynárik, 2005; Kmeť – Ottmárová, 2010).

Anti-Semitic riots in Bratislava and manifestations in other locations in Slovakia related to them, however, raised concerns at state authorities with regard to the upcoming celebrations of the second anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising on the 29th August 1946 and to reports on upcoming nationwide pogroms against Jews in Slovakia, that resulted in the increased security measures and transfers of several hundred State Security members from the Czech lands to Slovakia (Pešek, 1999: 19).

At the same time, HVNB in Bratislava informed through its circular its subordinated security structures of the Regulation by Commission of the Interior of 19th August 1946, which imposed maintaining public order and preventing anti-Jewish manifestations in Slovakia. *“Recently, there have been some unfortunate anti-Jewish riots in Slovakia. After conducting an investigation of individual cases, it has been found that they were always provoked by reactionary elements, which tried to bring a wave of anti-Semitism into the resistance organizations as well. Individuals*

deceived to believe in the seditious tactics and, in their blindness, not realizing the impact of their actions when committing anti-Jewish riots, have also been found in these organizations" (SNA-12).

Subsequently, a strict attention had been ordered to the heads of the district national committees and district administrative committees and chairmen of these offices to prevent similar infringements of order and public security in their districts. NB members and regional security officers were literally warned that the most stringent sanctions will be drawn if they do not intervene decisively and energetically against any anti-Jewish, anti-state or other riots with all seriousness. The Commission of the Interior ordered all the officials of the resistance organization branches in Slovakia to make an effort to suppress any spread of anti-Semitism among its own membership base at an early stage (SNA-12).

The Commission of the Interior issued a special "security" circular to celebrate the SNP on the 21st August 1946. It strongly appealed to the local government components (ONV and MNV), the structures of NB and the regional security departments and, ultimately, the resistance organizations and trade unions to maintain the celebrations of the SNP dignified (ŠABB-Z). Celebrations of the second anniversary of the SNP in Slovakia ultimately bypassed without major incidents (anti-Jewish moods were expressed mainly in the form of leaflets).

Anti-Semitic manifestations in Bratislava, which subsequently spread to several cities in Slovakia, can be considered a culminating point of the issue. The significance of these events lay in the fact that the overall political direction of the Slovak national representation had begun to take different direction while dealing with the issue of "the Jewish problem". While after the events in Topoľčany (September 1945), the Government considered the accelerated passing of Restitution Law, it now announced that the law would not be carried out in Slovakia until instructions would be issued to its design. The anti-Jewish act of resistance members thus achieved its effect and, clearly, there was a concession, just not in favour of Jews (see also: Krejčová, 1993: 169). The effort to maintain the status quo, however, rightly mobilized the leaders of Jewish organizations in Slovakia and in the Czech lands. On 11th September 1946, the representatives of the SRP and the Central Union of the ŽNO handed a "Memorandum on the Jewish Question", which declared the problem of the Jewish minority in Slovakia, over to the Office of the President of the Republic. It mainly focused on the issues of the safety of the community and the restitution of Jewish property (SNA-13). However, no shift in the solution of the Jewish question occurred in fact or, better, the waiting game of the governmental authorities brought "fruits" in a form of changing Jewish names of the Jewish citizens to Slovak, a mass internal migration of Jews (from villages to urban environment, from Slovakia to the Czech Lands) and their emigration from Czechoslovakia (to eastern Europe, overseas, Palestine, or Israel).

4.3. The period of lingering anti-Semitism

By the end of year 1946 and during 1947 anti-Semitic manifestations reached another level related to process taking place at the National Court in Bratislava with former Slovak State president Jozef Tiso. It was obvious that course of proceedings together with handing down a death sentence were politically motivated and, of course, the „real“ culprit was a thorn in the side of supporters and followers of the former regime and J. Tiso personality, seeing him anywhere and in anybody. Often uncritically and regarding previous facts (i.e. solution of the Jewish question during the existence of the Slovak State 1939 – 1945) he was found in many cases in the Jews, alternatively in cooperation of the Jews with the Czechs or the communists (Šišjaková – Šmigel', 2008: 216).

During years 1946 – 1947, antisemitism became one of the quite important points within power-political struggle between the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) and the Democratic Party (DS). Although both political parties have officially condemned any form of antisemitism, they have accused each other of direct responsibility for it. This was not rare in the press as well, it gradually published clear anti-Semitic statements of representatives of these parties. Involving of this question in power-political conflict between KSS and DS (as one of demagogic means of gradual discrediting of DS in years 1946 – 1947 in internal politics sphere) has even deepened the crisis between Jewishness and majority society and shifted it from lower class to position of political perception. At the same time, a phenomenon of so-called Jewish Bolshevism came alive due to which political orientation shifted „to the left“. These tendencies appeared particularly in the major part of the Jewish citizens who acted in this way not only under the influence of resistance activities during the former regime but they also regarded orientation on the Communist Party as

guarantee against possible repeating of fascist practice and „progressive“ internacionalism (sobering up from these illusions came soon) (compare: [Salner, 2008: 58-62](#)). As historian Ivica Bumová stated: „*Jews with their effort to reach civil rehabilitation have become captives of internal-political conflicts and struggle for power*“ ([Bumová, 2007: 16](#)).

Generally speaking, the Czechoslovak government and other authorities at a higher state level formally condemned any anti-Semitic attacks on Jewish citizens and advocated for their severe punishment (as indicated by a number of contemporary regulations and circulars) ([SNA-14](#)). Despite the increased security measures in this issue, the mere situation had been soothing too slowly, as illustrated by other anti-Semitic acts even with the participation of military members (for example in Michalovce in mid-September 1946) ([Východoslovenská pravda, 1946: 1](#)) and resistance components (in Bytča (see also: [Šišjaková, 2006: 154-155](#)) and Bardejov ([SNA-15](#)) during the second half of 1946 and in 1947). After all, other anti-Jewish riots in Bratislava in August 1948 – though not so extensive as in August 1946 – are the clear testimony of that.

These had roots in rather banal reason, however, they indicated persisting anti-Semitic tendencies in the country even after the change of the regime, including Bratislava. The case had started on a marketplace in the early morning on 20th August 1948 where two women had an argument – Jewess and pregnant Slovak. The conflict allegedly started due to jumping the queue of Jewess Alica Franková in stand with apples, where pregnant Slovak woman accused a clerk that „*she gives goods more promptly to stinky Jewesses*“. Franková answered Prášilová „*You guard, SS, we are not in year 1942 anymore, these times when the Jews were treated this way are gone!*“. Women laced into each other and other standing Bratislava women shouted „Beat that stinky Jewess up, beat her“ and „Jewess is beating pregnant woman!“ ([SNA-16](#)). Although this clash was quickly suppressed after market watchman intervention (later with members of Security) it had caught attention of curious people from the whole market and people had spread news that Jewess beat Christian woman who immediately had a miscarriage and fought for her life in a hospital.

Angry mob (cca 600 persons) supposed that the Sbor národní bezpečnosti (SNB) protects guilty Jewess and blocked activity of SNB members, shouting anti-Semitic mottos. Attacked and injured were also other Jewesses from the market who had to be protected by order services. Then the mass of protesters moved in front of Bratislava City Hall and near the streets (the number of persons increased to 1300) that could not have been prevented by a few SNB guards. Demonstrators tempestuously shouted „Down with Jews“, „Kill Jews“, „We had not fight for Jews“, „Jews to Palestine“ etc. Agitators spread entirely mindless news about the pregnant Slovak woman which had caused even bigger antisemitism and increased number of demonstrators. Only when more Security members with LtCol Sedmík arrived about 1 p.m., it was possible to push demonstrators out of Primate’s Square into sideways streets (rocks, apples and tomatoes had been throwing from the crowd shouting mottos „Ugh, SNB protects Jews“, Shame on SNB“ etc.) and gradually separated them (22 persons were placed in detention by Security) ([SNA-17](#)).

Morning anti-Semitic demonstration had a strong response in ranks of Bratislava citizens. After 4 p.m., groups of citizens discussing previous events began assemble, about 100 persons, mostly women shouting anti-Semitic mottos, assembled near the marketplace. Although these manifestations had also been pacified and a strict emergency of SNB divisions was ordered, incidents intensified and continued until late night hours. After 8 p.m. the Security had been pacifying about 600 demonstrators at the Stalin Square, however, at that time other groups on Kapucínska, Židovská, Zámocká, Šulekova and Panenská Street and on Palisády were formed, shouting anti-Semitic mottos, breaking windows (estimated at hundreds of windows) in Jewish houses and buildings. Persons of Jewish religion had been attacked in some places. There happened a demolition of Jewish canteen on Zámocká Street, throwing bricks into windows of Jewish hospital on Šulekova Street, demolition of offices and show windows of Jewish trade company in Suché Mýto and breaking windows in some Jewish institutions – Jewish old people’s house and a building of Jewish society of girls’ orphans on Markovičova and Podjavorinská Street. According to information by the Security, it was mostly young people, students, workers and a lot of women that participated in night riots (another 15 persons were arrested) ([SNA-18](#); [SNA-19](#)).

Attempt to provoke anti-Semitic demonstration took place the following day, on 21st August 1948 when several hundreds of citizens spreading anti-Semitic appeals assembled in morning

hours in front of marketplace on the Stalin Square. This manifestation was (contrary to previous day) quickly eliminated by strict intervention of the Security (SNA-20).

Slovak Jewish organisations characterized Bratislava events during 20th – 21st August 1948 as an „act of fascism“ which „is absolutely not suppressed in Slovakia and supposed to be strong enough to develop into an attack against people’s democratic order in a suitable moment“ (SNA-20). Political elites and government adopted similar rhetoric and the incident was evaluated as a political attack against themselves (i.e. anti-state character), not as an act followed from antisemitism in society (Šisjaková, 2010: 44-47; see also: Baláž, 2010: 44-47). In contrary to stated announcements, the Country Headquarter SNB in Bratislava declared that the cause of riots is persisting anti-Semitic atmosphere in the city. More specifically, the issue was characteristic negatives reproached the Jews in first post-war years in other places in Slovakia as well, i.e. inadequately huge percentage of representation of Jews in offices, national companies and well paid posts; demonstration of material sufficiency (the way of dressing, wearing jewellery, sitting in cafes, using of recreation etc.); demanding priority rights in several spheres (as it was in Bratislava marketplace); absence from honest working, black marketeer affairs etc. „And what is the most important, even today they speak Hungarian or languages of other western nations and generally symphatize with the West, where a lot of them goes. Learning English is a common thing for them. [...] Thus it may be said that the incident which happened on 20th August 1948 on marketplace in Bratislava had not began from some violent racial hatred to citizens of Jewish origin. Its roots are in some presumption and feeling of exploitation of majority of citizens with adequate living standard of the working, minority of citizens with higher living standard and those who does not work, at least not physically.“ Finally, the Country Headquarter SNB in Bratislava also warned of other incidents (SNA-21).

During riots in Bratislava and shortly after them (in the process of investigation), there were about 130 persons in detention and 40 out of them sentenced and sent to work camps in Ilava and Tichá Dolina – Ružomberok district (others got smaller punishments) (SNA-22; SNA-23). There also came to purge among members of Bratislava Regional and District Headquarter of SNB and some city stations (accused of inconsequent doing official duties). Some of commanding staff was suspended, part of the members of the Security punished by redeployment and some of them (according to documents – twenty six) were brought a charge (SNA-24; SNA-25).

5. Conclusion

The post-war anti-Semitism undoubtedly emerged or grew out of Holocaust and several years of anti-Jewish propaganda in Slovakia (1939 – 1945), immediate war as well as post-war experiences, although it is impossible to neglect also the older “traditional” anti-Jewish attitudes of Slovak population (already present in the time of the interwar Czechoslovakia and Hungarian period of History). As the main reasons of the growing anti-Semitism in Slovakia (1939 – 1945) we can consider the Jewish efforts to their reintegration into civil society and issues of rehabilitation and of property rights – concerning former Jewish property, which was still in the hands of the former “arizators”, citizens (of lower social classes as well) or under national administration (paradoxically, often as a reward for participating in the resistance) (Jelínek, 2009: 377) – closely related to them and delays in the issue of its restitution. It subsequently unwound questioning of Jewish participation in the SNP, the state-national reliability and verification of participation in the Germanization and Magyarization as well as fear of inflow of Jews from abroad and so on. After all, the inaction of state administration representatives, “benevolent” penalties and mostly vague attitude and inconsistent approach of political leaders of the Republic on the issue (support of Jewish organizations and Jewish refugees versus the issue of restitution, contradictory statements and expressions) did not contribute to the normalization of relations. An unmistakable feature of the tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish population was also the condition of the post-war society in Slovakia itself, not excluding the Jews. Anti-Semitic motives, which eventually resulted in many cases in racially motivated attacks were primarily purely personal or, rather, primarily economically and socially conditioned. So a “culprit” and “problem” often became a person who was somehow different, which in some cases was true on both sides, and it was no longer only about the individuals, but the community as a whole.

Growing anti-Semitism in Slovak society, including the resistance forces, during the first years after World War II, was a reflection of social climate and the actual social situation in the

country, experiencing moral crisis and the effects of post-war psychosis. Compared to other population strata, the resistance forces in Slovakia were a relevant factor and had “stronger voice”, which, so to speak, was not possible to overhear or ignore. Although anti-Jewish attitudes of Slovak resistance members are not possible to generalize (certainly there were many who rejected anti-Semitism and did not identify with it), they were still eloquent enough and had strong political undertone. They broadcasted a clear message retroactively demonstrating the social environment in Slovakia during the period of “common people’s anti-Semitism” (1945 – 1948), which was subsequently – in late 40s and 50s – replaced by a period of “political anti-Semitism” (1949 – 1953). In other words – antisemitism in Slovakia did not disappear after the change of regime in February 1948, however, its form has been altered to some extent. Many cases were withheld, became „open secret“ or exemplary presented in political processes in the 50’s („Czechoslovak Rajko“ chasing, process with Rudolf Slánský and „bourgeois nationalists“). As a result, antisemitism has been transformed into the form of “condemnation of Zionism, Cosmopolitanism” and its supporters (see also: Šromovský, 2015).

Postwar common people’s antisemitism was also one of important factors influencing the decision of the major part of Slovak Jewish citizens to emigrate from the country. Under the influence of at that time still positive international situation and hidden (but active) support of Czechoslovak offices, the major part of the Jews left (mainly in 1948 and at the beginning of 1949) Slovakia, emigrating mainly to Israel and western countries, i.e. overseas (see also: Jankech, 2015). Gradual assimilation, fear of own identity and not very happy future in totalitarian state waited for those who decided to stay from any reasons.

6. Acknowledgements

The paper was delivered as part of the project Small Nations under Extreme Conditions of War and Peace: A Historical and Comparative Investigation. Delivery time 2016-2018. Code: 100.01.

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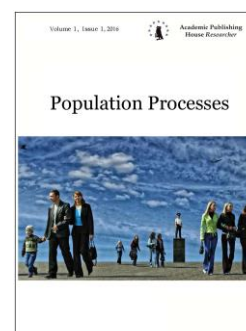
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Published in the Slovak Republic
Population Processes
Has been issued since 2016.
E-ISSN: 2500-1051
2017, 2(1): 48-59

DOI: 10.13187/popul.2017.2.48

www.ejournal44.com


Ethnicity or Language in the Population Census in 1910-1930 Slovakia (Czechoslovakia): Objectivity and Subjectivity of the Ethnic Make-up of a European Country between the Two World Wars

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Abstract

In Slovakia, the concept of ethnicity was historically tied to two fundamental population attributes – language and community membership. While the statistical practice of the second half of 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century favored language as the primary criterion for determining a person's ethnicity, Czechoslovak statisticians assigned a larger role to a person's self-reported membership in a community. The two characteristics of the ethnic composition of the country – the former objective, the latter subjective – were among the most contentious subjects of debate in the preparatory meetings of every census commission. This paper examines some of the logistical and methodological issues related to the issue of ethnicity and language that the census commissions in three censuses: 1919, 1921 and 1930 were confronted with, seeking to place them in a large historical and geographical context.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, ethnicity, language, censuses, 1919–1930.

1. Introduction

Population censuses constitute a valuable source of knowledge to any historian as they capture a snapshot of the population and its characteristics at a point in time and space. The quantitative data they provide is invaluable in offering more insight into the society and its development, putting a human face on it and offering a platform for estimates, interpretations and contextual valuations of the society's many facets relating to its structure, reproductive behavior and various social processes. In Slovak history, such sources of data are available from the 15th century onwards. In the oldest censuses, the primary goal was to create a regional or local tax payer registry which was then later supplemented with muster rolls. This was reflected in the nature of the data collected, and thus the earliest surveys only collected the total numbers of tax-paying units (e.g. farmholds) and later names of heads of households on which the tax would be levied, muster rolls expanded its focus on the male population as a whole, recording their age, but also employment status. The 18th century sees a qualitative shift in the way population data is collected when the Regnicolaris census (Acsády, 1896) surveyed the actual number of taxpayers and thus set the stage for the first realistic estimates of the population size in the Kingdom of Hungary and thus Slovakia as well. The end of the 18th century then marks the first general population census ordered by Joseph II to assess the military potential of the country (Thirring, 1938; Acsádi, 1957). The next shift in population surveys takes place in the early years of the second half of the 19th century

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(1850/1851 and 1857) with the so-called Bach censuses which for the first time in the Kingdom's history seek to gather data that would be useful in the administration of the country (Az 1850... 1993; Hiredetés... 1856; Mikušová, 2014). The first truly modern census which collected data for the purposes of public administration and scholarly enquiry and which affected the territory of modern-day Slovakia took place in 1869. This census also marks the beginning of the practice of conducting decennial censuses that survived the Austro-Hungarian Empire and continued largely unchanged in its successor states, including Czechoslovakia. And finally, in terms of the types of data collected, the 1880 census marks another important milestone: while the previous censuses did not collect comprehensive data on ethnicity (at most, local surveys would record which language was predominantly used in which settlements), the 1880 census was the first to ask the respondents about their native language. In this paper, we examine how this practice (which continued unchanged until the last census conducted in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1910) affected the way ethnicity was conceptualized in the censuses conducted in Czechoslovakia before World War II.

2. Data and Methods

The main primary sources are archival sources of Slovak and Czech state archives and their historical analysis.

3. Discussion and Results

3.1. Creation of a new statistical service in Czechoslovakia

As a product of the break up of Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia incorporated territory from both constituent parts of the Empire with all their differences and idiosyncracies which included among other things legislation and public administration (Tišliar, 2013a: 9), but also different population trends which came about as a result of the different population climate in both parts of the Empire (Tišliar 2013b).

The first steps towards the creation of a statistical service in Czechoslovakia were taken in the immediate aftermath of the new country's formation using the rich tradition of Austro-Hungarian statistics. But even here, there were significant differences between the constituent parts of Czechoslovakia which continued to shape the way statistics and population research were managed in Czechoslovakia as a whole.

In Slovakia, the dissolution of the Empire and the formation of a new nation and its administration created a void where a centralized statistical agency would be. In the western part of Czechoslovakia, however, the former National Statistical Office of the Kingdom of Bohemia (Zemská statistická kancelář království Českého) (NAČR-1) continued its work by transforming into the new nation-wide State Statistics Bureau of the Czechoslovak Republic (Štátny úrad štatistický Československej republiky) in early 1919 (Tišliar, 2009: 8-9; NAČR-3). This new agency began to issue directives governing the collection, analysis and publication of statistical data on the territory of the new nation. As such, it not only acted as an arm of the government by organizing censuses, analyzing their data obtained in them and converting them into information vital for the administration of the country, but it should also be viewed through the scientific work and scholarly contribution of its individual members and associates. This included not only population statistics, but also statistics relating to nearly all facets of public life, especially economy, social affairs and public administration. In addition to providing a framework for the day to day activities of the statistical service, one of the major roles of the Czechoslovak State Statistical Administration was to conduct the decennial censuses, process and publish the census data and provide expert input during the creation of statistica legislation and statistical terminology.

As a successor to the National Statistical Office of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the new Czechoslovak statistical administration was founded on the rich tradition of Austrian statistics, but faced with the challenges resulting from the incorporation of the territory of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, it was compelled to introduce compromise statistical procedures and methods, in order to facilitate temporal and spatial comparability of data obtained in the eastern parts of the country before 1918. This simple fact ultimately came to play a large role in the methodological decisions made during the preparatory phases of each census, especially when it comes to the way ethnicity would be surveyed and analyzed.

Said population census were the largest undertakings in the pre-WWII existence of the Czechoslovak State Statistical Administration. In practical terms, they were intimately tied with the public administration of the country and its large apparatus which was employed in the collection of the data in the field. During the interwar period, two regular nation-wide censuses were conducted in 1921 and 1930 which continued the decennial censuses introduced in by the Austro-Hungarian statistical practice. In Slovakia, two additional census took place in the same period (in 1919 and 1938) without the direct involvement of the State Statistical Administration. Both were conducted by the country's administration, the Czechoslovak Ministry Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia in 1919 and by the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Region in 1938 (Tišliar, 2014).

3.2. The extraordinary Šrobár census of 1919 in Slovakia and its lessons on ethnic survey

The incorporation of Slovakia into the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic was far from a one-time straightforward administrative affair and at one point, it involved military action and international assistance. To the Hungarian political elite, the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, especially its Hungarian part, resulting from the loss in The Great War was first and foremost a national tragedy. The outcome of The Great War was to be formalized during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 which was to provide the international guarantees for the new order in Europe. It was that conference that prompted the Slovak political leadership to map the ethnic make-up of Slovakia and use those data to improve the position of Czechoslovakia at the negotiation table in Paris (SNA-1; NAČR-4). The Czechoslovak government agreed and Vavro Šrobár as the Minister Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia was tasked with the practical realization of the idea which resulted in the extraordinary census of 1919 that would then bear his name (Tišliar, 2007).

The first stage of the preparatory work was guided by Josef Mráz, an employee of what was then still the National Statistical Office of the Kingdom of Bohemia who was assigned to the preparatory committee in Žilina as an advisor (NAČR-2; NAČR-4; NAČR-5). The committee began meeting in January 1919 and, understandably, the issue of ethnicity and how it was to be surveyed played the most prominent role in the discussions (SNA-2; NAČR-4). Much was said on the subject of what ethnicity is, what the principles of surveying ethnicity should be and how to conceptualize ethnicity as one of the population characteristics. Ultimately, the committee focused on two ways in which ethnicity could be surveyed. The first of them was a person's native language which was a category used in the Hungarian censuses since 1880 and adopting it would enable a historical comparison. In fact, the first draft of the census questionnaire that Vavro Šrobár sent to the ministerial committee in Prague in December 1918 for approval did contain this question (SNA-1; NAČR-2). However, in subsequent meetings of the preparatory committee in Žilina, a decision was made not to collect data on native language. It had been pointed out that the instructions for census takers in the last Hungarian census of 1910 defined a 'native language' as not only the language a person reports as their native or preferred (spoken at home), but also allowed for scenarios where a child spoke a language different from the one spoken by their mother, such as a language typically acquired at school (SNA-2; NAČR-2; NAČR-4). This was naturally unacceptable for the purposes of the census. The committee concluded that this way of surveying language use resulted in the artificial statistical increase in the total number for the Magyar ethnic group in the territory of Slovakia, since the Magyar language was not only the official language of the Kingdom of Hungary, but also the primary education vehicle. As such, the language use / ethnicity data collected in the 1910 census and the way they were collected were both deemed utterly useless. The preparatory committee therefore decided to use self-identification as the foundation for the survey of the ethnic make-up of Slovakia.

In general terms, 'ethnicity' was defined as free and direct identification based on the personal conviction of the respondent, much in the same way religious data had been collected in previous Hungarian censuses (SNA-2).

In strict methodological terms, the 1919 instructions for census takers defined ethnicity as "an ethnic and political conviction of mentally sane individuals aged 15 years or more based on tribal affiliation with a specific nation state or ethnic group" (ŠAK-1; ŠAB-1; SNA-2; NAČR-2). Since Slovakia was home to a large Jewish community, the question arose as to whether they

should be given the option of self-identifying as members of a Jewish nation. Ultimately, the conclusion was made that no one could be prevented from self-identifying as such, as long as this is the person's true personal conviction (SNA-2). However, the instructions for census takers did not directly mention the Jewish ethnic group as an option (ŠAK-1; ŠAB-2; SNA-2). This was because the preparatory committee decided not to include it in the list of official (or 'recommended') ethnic groups, only to allow it as a write-in option when the respondent selected "other ethnic group". When filling out the questionnaire, the respondent had the option of identifying as a member of one of the "special ethnic groups" or selecting "other ethnic group" (SNA-2). The "special ethnic groups" only included the major ethnic groups: Slovak and Czech (a single column under the heading 'Czechoslovak'), German, Hungarian and Ruthenian (ŠAK-1; ŠAB-1; SNA-2; NAČR-2; NAČR-4). The broad category "other ethnic group" was defined as comprising all ethnic groups excluding the four above. When this option was selected, the respondent was required to write the specific ethnic group (either in full or using an abbreviation) in the space provided.

The instructions on how to collect ethnicity data provided to the census takers in 1919 were far from clear. This affected various categories of respondents, such as children, i.e. all persons aged 14 and younger. Their ethnicity was to be determined based on the ethnicity of their parents or, in case of orphans, the ethnicity their parents would "most likely" (!) have self-identified as had they been alive (ŠAK-1; ŠAB-1; SNA-2; NAČR-2). Making matters worse, the instructions failed to consider a quite common scenario where both parents identified with different ethnic groups. The questionnaires show that in the majority of such cases, the children were assigned ethnicity based on their father, but it is also quite common to see them included in the same ethnic group as their mother (ŠAN-1). And finally, there was the issue of mentally challenged persons where the census takers were advised to *determine* (!) their ethnicity based on the language they spoke (ŠAK-1; ŠAB-1; SNA-2) while disregarding the opinion of their caretaker. All of this naturally raises a number of questions and issues, especially about the reliability and quality of the collected data.

In spite of all the efforts and planning on the part of the administration, they did not succeed in conducting the census at the originally planned date in March 1919. This delay was caused by the political upheavals related to the proclamation of the Slovak Soviet Republic, but also by errors made during the preparatory and methodological phases (NAČR-4; SNA-2). Not only did printing the requisite number of census questionnaires turn out to be more difficult than envisioned, but it was also equally difficult to find and train a sufficient number of census takers. The actual census had to be postponed and due to the lack of trained census takers (a number of whom had to be recruited from the Czech parts of Czechoslovakia), in some areas, data collection continued well into December of 1919 (Mráz, 1921: 23; NAČR-6). This was one of the reasons why the data from the census was never used by the Czechoslovak delegation at the Paris peace talks.

The data on the ethnic make-up of Slovakia was then made public after a long delay in 1921 in the topographic settlements lexicon published by the Ministry Plenipotentiary for the Administration of Slovakia (Soznam miest..., 1920). However, only the data sets for the four special ethnic groups (Czechoslovak, German, Hungarian and Ruthenian) and for the 'other ethnic groups' category were published. Interestingly, the latter mostly included persons who identified as members of the Jewish nation, as Vavro Šrobár himself pointed out on October 14th, 1919, at which time the final results had not yet been tabulated (NAČR-6).

The nascent Czechoslovak statistical service took a great amount of interest in the 1919 census, both its preparation and data collection, as well as its practical aspects like questionnaire design. The Statistics Bureau saw the Šrobár census as both a valuable source of data on the population of Slovakia and as a trial run of sorts for the first regular census planned for the final months of 1920. This was doubly true of the ethnic make-up of the country and so beginning in September 1919, the Statistics Bureau began to demand that the Ministry of the Interior and the Office of the Prime Minister ensure that the Slovak administration send them all materials relating to the census, especially the questionnaires and the records documenting the entire preparatory phase and the process of data collection.

The Office of the Prime Minister forwarded those requests to the Minister Plenipotentiary on November 13th, 1919, but his office did not respond. For the Minister Plenipotentiary, the goal of the census was not only to collect data (first preliminary and then comprehensive) on the ethnic make-up of Slovakia, but also to compile an official lexicon of settlements for the territory of Slovakia, the absence of which was felt to be one of the major problems facing the new

administration. For this reason, the Minister Plenipotentiary agreed with the proposal to combine the creation of such a registry with the 1919 census data (Tišliar, 2015) even though in early 1919, one of the departments had already started working on a lexicon of settlements, ultimately published in 1920, which would come to be known by the name of his editor-in-chief as the Bezděk settlement survey (Bezděk, 1920). The reason for these duplicate efforts can most likely be found in the simple fact that the 1919 census was a costly affair, both in financial as well as in logistical and material terms, but due to the significant delays in its execution, the data it provided became all but unusable.

In the fall of 1920, the Statistics Bureau once again requested that it be sent the census materials in order to use them and the experience gained during the upcoming nation-wide census, but the more the Slovak administration tarried, the less usable and relevant these materials became (NAČR-7). The Statistics Bureau finally managed to acquire the basic documentation, but the Slovak administration was not able to provide the full set of material, including the questionnaires, until early 1923 (NAČR-8). This was to be used after processing and analysis for the purposes of comparison, but this never came to be. After nearly three decades, all the material was – largely thanks to no interest on the part of the Slovak administration – scrapped and recycled in 1950 (NAČR-9).

3.3 The ethnic survey in the 1921 census

As the first regularly schedule population census designed to continue the Austro-Hungarian practice of decennial censuses, the nation-wide 1921 census, originally planned for the end of 1920, was much more detailed than the extraordinary census of 1919 (NAČR-10). It sought to survey the entire territory of Czechoslovakia and as such, it was managed by the Statistics Bureau and authorized by appropriate legislation. The government originally planned to establish a five-year cycle of follow-up censuses, but this proved to be unrealistic largely for financial reasons (Šprocha, Tišliar, 2009: 12; C-SDPL-2). The Statistics Bureau would also go on to process and analyze the collected data and publish them in detail in a series of volumes of the edition *Československá statistika* (*Československá statistika*, No. 9, 22, 23 a 37). All these efforts were spearheaded by the eminent statistician and demographer Antonín Boháč (NAČR-11) who was also the first to publish a detailed evaluation of the census and its results (Boháč, 1924).

Originally, the Statistics Bureau considered not including the territory of Slovakia in the census and using the data collected in the 1919 extraordinary census. In the end, however, those who considered the Šrobár census data incomplete and insufficient prevailed and ensured that Slovakia would be covered by the 1921 census. One of the key arguments here that swayed the general opinion was the lack of data on the economic activity of the population which the Šrobár census did not collect in any form.

The ethnic survey in the census of February 15th 1921 assumed ethnicity to be a tribal affiliation, with the native language as a common outward sign thereof (NAČR-11), whereby the official methodology strictly forbade the identification of tribal affiliation with territory. The only exception to this definition was the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia which was not defined as tied to either language or membership in a religious community or any other outward manifestation of said affiliation. This definition was the result of a vote taken by the State Statistical Council, a political body charged with outlining the major methodological aspects of the census. It passed by a single vote, 8 to 7, and would become a source of tensions especially in the western-most parts of Czechoslovakia which was inhabited by a large German minority (Boháč, 1930: 3; NAČR-12).

Originally, there were two proposal for the definition of ethnicity. The first one, tabled by the representatives of the Statistics Bureau on the Stater Statistics Council, sought to use a person's native language as the primary sign of their ethnicity in an effort to implement a more objective criterion for the ethnic survey of the country. The aforementioned Antonín Boháč, as the leader in the field of population studies and the person behind the methodology of the interwar censuses in the Czechoslovakia, was the primary proponent of this proposal, as was Jan Auerhan, the director of the Czechoslovak State Statistics Bureau (NAČR-11). The other proposal favored direct self-identification as the main criterion in determining the persons ethnicity. Despite the actual wording of the definition (which was the result of a compromise), it was the latter proposal that finally prevailed and a person's native language was not used to directly determine their ethnicity.

An alternative proposal to collect data on both ethnicity and native language did not gain much currency (Boháč, 1930: 4). The position that the Slovak members of the Population Statistics Subcommittee of the State Statistical Council took is particularly interesting: they supported the first proposal, i.e. native language as the primary criterion in determining membership in an ethnic group (NAČR-13). The surviving records indicate that preferred native language as an objective criterion over self-identification “for specifically Slovak national and political reasons”. One can only assume that this was due to the experience with the 1919 census, the issue of fluidity in ethnic and national self-identification (see below) and the possibility of misuse of the census for political manipulation.

The issue of ethnic survey was an international problem which individual nations approached in different ways, from the total denial of the existence of any minorities to more enlightened attempts to find reliable subjective and objective criteria which were then occasionally swapped during individual population censuses. The first International Statistical Congress in Brussels in 1853 devoted some time to the question and recommend that a person’s main or home language be used as a facultative criterion in the survey of a nation’s ethnic make-up. At the 1872 Congress in Saint Petersburg, the issue was raised again and three members were tasked with the preparation of written opinions on the issue. All three were from Austria-Hungary, a noted multiethnic state where the question of surveying the ethnic composition was a fundamental issue in everyday statistical practice. Ignaz Eduard Glatter of the Statistical Bureau in Vienna viewed ethnicity from the racial (i.e. biological) standpoint and recommended the use of physical and mental attributes for the purposes of surveying ethnicity. Adolph Ficker favored the native or main language as the primary outward sign of membership in an ethnic group arguing that there exist no objective signs thereof. And finally, Károly Keleti, a prominent Hungarian statistician, outlined his view of ethnicity as a form of group consciousness and sense of belonging to a community based on shared history and shared interests. Keleti himself, however, denied the existence of any outward signs of ethnicity and therefore recommended not surveying it at all. The Saint Petersburg Congress thus ultimately only confirmed the recommendations of the Brussels Congress and so for much of the rest of the 19th century, language remained the primary data point in all population censuses. In most countries except Austria and Belgium, a person’s native language was considered an objective outward sign of their ethnicity where it was defined quite straightforwardly as the language the child learned from their mother or their family. The only exception, as noted above, was Hungary, where in addition to this common-sense definition, the statistical practice allowed a scenario where a language which child had learned in kindergarten or at school and which was different from that learned from their mother or spoken at home was recorded as the child’s native language. This is was a blatant attempt by the Magyar political leadership to artificially inflate the numbers of speakers of Magyar and thus the population numbers of the Magyar ethnic group (Holec, 2010).

Austria and Belgium remained the only countries where main language, i.e. the language most often used in the contact with other people or the language of the community a person lived in (*langue parlée* or *obcovací jazyk* in Slovak contemporary parlance), rather than native language was used as the primary data point. A person’s native language was viewed as a personal attribute, whereas main language was considered an attribute of communities or social groups (NAČR-13). In Austria, this data was then used as a basis for the analysis of the ethnic composition of the country.

One major argument against surveying ethnicity directly is the vagueness of the concept itself and the answers to the question in the questionnaire and the related fluidity of self-identification where a person might claim to be a member of one ethnic group in one census, but identify as a member of a different group in the next. The first country which collected data on both ethnicity and language was Bulgarian in 1900. However, as Boháč notes, that in Bulgaria, ethnicity was not a national and political concept, but rather an ethnographic one and, interestingly, the results for both categories differed only minimally. In the interwar period, both language and ethnicity was surveyed in Russia, Latvia and Poland with the ethnicity considered a national and political category. Along with Lithuania, Czechoslovakia thus remained one of the two countries which only surveyed ethnicity.

During the preparation of the 1921 census, one of the major issues that arose in connection with the ethnic survey of the country was the absence of a clear definition of the crucial terms such

as “*národ*” (“nation”, “ethnic group”) and “*národnost*” (“ethnicity”, but also “ethnic minority”),¹ but a lack of a clear and binding definition of what a language is in terms of applicable legislation. The 1920 Constitution guaranteed all citizens the right to self-identify as a member of an ethnic group regardless of race, language or religion (C-SDPL-3). However, the Language Act of 1920 which established the conditions for the use of minority languages in Czechoslovakia did not differentiate between languages and ethnic groups when it established an ethnic threshold for the use of a minority language in government business in a particular locality (C-SDPL-4). In this context, Boháč also notes the Opinion no. 109 of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czechoslovak Republic dated January 7th 1925 which confirms that the Language Act explicitly uses membership in a language community and membership in an ethnic group as synonyms (NAČR-11).

Immediately after the State Statistical Council voted to use self-identification as the primary criterion for a person’s membership in an ethnic group in the 1921 census, several members of the Population Statistics Subcommittee protested and on October 8th 1920 they filed a written petition objecting to the decision not to use a strictly linguistic criterion (NAČR-13). They argued that the adopted solution would lead to problems when using the census data in connection with the administration’s rights and duties as set forth by the Language Act. Additionally, they used the 1919 census which also used self-identification when surveying ethnicity as an example of possible political manipulation. Pointing out that the Language Act required a detailed linguistic survey of the country, they also considered the concept of a Jewish ethnic group a seriously flawed one. And while their concerns regarding the execution of the government’s duties under the Language Act were ultimately proven to be unfounded, the protesters were certainly correct when it comes to the Jewish ethnic group which, after all, did not conform to the definition of an ethnic group by either of the two sets of criteria.

The apparent paradox disappears when we view the issue of the Jewish minority through the prism of the ethnic policy of the Czechoslovak government. By giving Czechoslovakia’s Jews the option of self-identifying as members of the Jewish nation, the government created a transparent and legal way of reducing the numbers for the two largest ethnic minorities, the Germans and the Magyars, since the previous censuses conducted by Austrian and Hungarian statisticians had consistently shown that the Jewish population of Austria-Hungary spoke either German or Magyar. Whether this made sense is an open question – after all, it is just as likely that in the same censuses, those who were recorded as speaking German and Hungarian (and thus counted as members of those ethnic groups) were actually Jews and would now self-identify as such. This, however, could be determined from the actual census data.

All of this clearly shows one of major problems with the first regular nation-wide census conducted by the Czechoslovak government in 1921: an almost crippling inability to agree on clear rules. Consequently, the definition of ethnicity which was intended to be a compromise between two competing factions actually turned out to favor one of them, the one that preferred native language as a determining outward sign of ethnicity. This is evidenced by the census questionnaire where the ethnicity column bore the title “*ethnicity (native language)*” (“*národnost (materinský jazyk)*”). On the other hand, the vote taken by the State Statistical Council said otherwise and, more importantly, the instructions for census takers and in the government decree which governed the 1920 census both of which implemented said vote contained a number of rules which made it clear that self-identification, not language, was to be used as the primary criterion in determining a person’s ethnicity. According to the government decree, when filling out the questionnaires, it was the duty of the head of the household to write down the ethnicity of all persons who were not members of his household *as they themselves professed it to be*. Much in the same way, the head of the household was obligated to write down the ethnicity of all underaged persons and all mentally incapable persons. All mentally sane adults, however, were supposed to *report their ethnicity themselves*. Should someone give two or more ethnicities, the census taker were to *provide instructions (!)* on how to answer the question and “*if the answer continues to be unsatisfactory even after such instruction, the census taker will determine the person’s ethnicity based on their native language*” (C-SDPL-5). Such instruction should, naturally, make it clear that a person can only self-identify as a member of one ethnic group. Non-family members of the household (domestic servants, guests etc.) were to be “asked about their ethnicity directly” (“*opýtat’ na národnost’ přímo*”). However, the census taker was authorized by the government decree to change the entry in the ethnicity column if it was “obviously incorrect” (“*zřejmú nesprávnost*”)

whereby the decree did not make it clear or indeed even define what exactly constituted such obvious error. In such cases, the change had to be approved and confirmed by means of a signature by the respondent themselves. Should the respondent decline, the decision was appealed to the county office. The language was thus used as merely a secondary characteristic in situations where there was uncertainty or the respondent gave more than one answer. And finally, the instructions for census takers made it clear that for all persons aged 15 and above, the census taker was to write down the ethnicity the *respondent themselves freely professed as their own* (Československá statistika, vol. 9: 13*; NAČR-11). This makes it obvious that the data collected in the 1921 census truly reflects the ethnic and not the linguistic make-up of the population which supports the same conclusion reached by Boháč in his analysis of said data (Boháč, 1924: 59*).

3.4 The ethnic survey in the 1930 census

Having learned a number of lessons from the controversial definition of ethnicity in the 1921 census and having endured great amount of criticism, especially from German community in the western parts of Czechoslovakia but also from the Statistics Bureau itself, the Population Statistics Subcommittee of the State Statistical Council tasked with the preparation of the 1930 census was forced to once again address the issue on how to survey ethnicity in the upcoming census. The debate began in the fall of 1929 in a special session of the State Statistical Council (Boháč, 1931: 17) when the proposal to use native language was once again defeated after only four members (Auerhan, Boháč, Rauchberg and Schönbaum) voted in favor. The difference in opinion among the members of the subcommittee resulted in the creation of an *editorial circle* which was assigned the task of preparing a draft of the definition of ethnicity (native language). The text of the first draft read as follows: “*Ethnicity shall be recorded for each person present at census (whether they be a citizen of Czechoslovakia or any other country) based on their native language. Only one ethnicity (native language) can be recorded. A native language is defined as the language which the counted person has been speaking since childhood. Jewish ethnicity (native language) shall therefore be recorded if the counted person’s native language is Hebrew or the so-called Jargon.*”² For children who are not yet able speak and for persons who are unable to speak due to their physical or mental condition, their ethnicity shall be determined based on the ethnicity of their parents or, in case of uncertainty, based on the ethnicity of their mother. Ethnicity (native language) can be recorded based on the free and truthful statement given by the counted person; for children aged 14 and younger and for persons mentally ill, the ethnicity of their parents or legal guardians shall determine theirs. No one, not even the census taker, shall exercise any pressure.” The obvious purpose of this definition was to use the native language as the exclusive objective outward sign of ethnicity, even for the Jewish population. This draft was discussed in detail at the meeting of the editorial circle on November 29th 1929 and the discussion once again ended with a compromise and an ambiguous hybrid definition. Some members of the committee were quick to point out that such a definition would turn an ethnicity survey into a straightforward linguistic survey and would thus be effectively useless for the declared purpose. This is an accurate observation, especially when considering the rather unfortunate wording of the title of the ethnicity column on the census questionnaire – “ethnicity (native language)” (“*národnost’ (materinský jazyk)*”) – which was first implemented in 1921 and left unchanged in 1930 even though the definitions of both terms underwent a shift and there was a clear tendency for identification of one with the other. This decision was defended with arguments concerning continuity in the survey of ethnicity based on the respondents’ native language (Boháč, 1931: 17).

The final compromise reached by the Subcommittee removed the definition of a native language altogether and established a wider definition of Jewish ethnicity. However, it retained the basic principle of determining ethnicity by native language. The updated draft was then submitted to the Population Statistics Committee which finally approved it without any changes in January 1930, even though the preceding debate featured a number of objections. The strongest one came from the Bratislava Chamber of Commerce and Industry (according to Boháč, it was authored by I. Karvaš) and concerned the lack of definition of native language. As the text of the objection pointed out, a clear and unambiguous definition of the concept is especially important for Slovakia, since the definition used in Hungarian census was markedly different and – to put it bluntly – designed to ensure that as many Non-Magyars as possible would be counted as Magyars. The Bratislava Chamber of Commerce and Industry therefore agreed with the original proposal of

the editorial circle and requested that a native language be defined as the language a child learns at home.

The new submissions then forced the Committee to defer the matter to the Subcommittee for renewed reconsideration. A new editorial circle was convened which ultimately recommended to only collect data on native language, but the Subcommittee was once again flooded with proposals that often ran counter to each other. In the end, it was agreed that ethnicity should be recorded for every person present at census based on the language which the counted person has learned best and which they use most often “that is, typically their native language” (“*to jest spravidla jazyk materinský*”) (NAČR-11).

The proposal prepared by the Ministry of the Interior on May 20 1930 then once again changed the definition of ethnicity and its relationship to native language and brought it closer to that used in the 1921 census: “*We take ethnicity to mean tribal affiliation of which the native language is the primary outward sign. An ethnicity different from that manifested by the counted person’s native language can only be recorded if the counted person does not speak their native language either in the family circle or at home, but is in full command of the language of another ethnic group. Jews, however, can always record their ethnicity as Jewish.*” This proposal was accepted by the government with minor editorial changes and the text of the final version of the government decree which governed the 1930 census read: “*Ethnicity shall be typically recorded according to the counted person’s native language. An ethnicity different from that manifested by the counted person’s native language can only be recorded if the counted person does not speak their native language either in the family circle or at home, but is in full command of the language of another ethnic group. Jews, however, can always record their ethnicity as Jewish*” (C-SDLP-6). The government decree also retained the principle according to which native language should be used to determine a person’s ethnicity in case they are unable or unwilling to indicate it or in case they give two or more. Consequently, the 1930 census again failed to provide any objective criteria for Jewish ethnicity and, to complicate matters even further, it allowed the census takers to record ethnicity different from that indicated by the person’s native language if the person in question did not use their native language in everyday communication and was in good enough command of a different language. In J. Auerhan’s interpretation, this would allow people who have fully assimilated to identify with the ethnic group whose language they have adopted. Such persons could also report their (original) native language even when – so Auerhan – they were no longer in perfect command of said language (NAČR-11).

How do we account for the persistent efforts to combine ethnicity and language when these are obviously two different attributes? As we have shown, the Statistics Bureau and its representatives consistently defended the view that only native language should be surveyed. It was the State Statistical Council, a political body, which insisted – although not unanimously – on tying the two attributes together. They did so for several reasons, including the aforementioned continuity of data collection and thus comparability of data. But one of the major reasons was a political one or rather a question of transparency and prestige: some members of the preparatory committee did not wish to change the methodology of surveying ethnicity in order to avoid creating any doubts as to the validity of the 1921 census data and the validity of the 1921 census – as the first official census conducted in the territory of Czechoslovakia – as a whole. Last but not least, there were legal – or perhaps legalistic – reasons for the continuity which arose in connection with the Supreme Administrative Court’s opinion which confirmed that the 1920 Language Act considered membership in an ethnic group and membership in a linguistic community one and the same.

The definition of ethnicity in the 1930 census was undoubtedly more solid than the one used previously, as language played a crucial role in determining a person’s ethnicity and was no longer just an outward sign of membership in an ethnic group to be used only in case of uncertainty. On the other hand, the census – and thus the general statistical practice – did not go far enough and did not establish native language as the general criterion for ethnicity. As a consequence, the Jewish population could – under certain conditions – identify with another ethnic group regardless of the native language of the person, thus calling into question the objective nature of the ethnic survey. This and other similar exceptions cast doubt on the census data that, in turn, continue to cast doubt on the survey of the ethnic make-up of interwar Czechoslovakia to this very day.

4. Conclusion

In summary, while the pre-1918 ethnic surveys in Slovakia used native language to survey the ethnic composition of the country, after the formation of Czechoslovakia, free self-identification became the primary or even the only criterion. In 1880, the Hungarian censuses implemented the recommendations made by the International Statistical Congresses in Brussels and Saint Petersburg to establish language as an objective measure of the ethnic composition of a population, but it became apparent at an early stage in the preparation of the census that the definitions and nature of native language were molded to suit the political interests of the majority ethnic group. The Šrobár census of 1919 was a direct reaction to such manipulation and as such, it refused to continue the Hungarian practice of using a compromised definition of native language in surveying ethnicity and opted for a subjective approach by inquiring about the individuals national and ethnic conviction. The census of 1921 adopted a nearly identical approach by emphasizing self-identification and only adding language for the purposes of clarification. And while the 1930 census emphasized the role of language as an objective way of determining a person's membership in an ethnic group, the continued existence of the Jewish ethnicity as a distinct ethnic group without any objective characteristics and the possibility (albeit limited and confined to a few well-defined scenarios) of ignoring native language and self-identifying with a different ethnic group undermined its methodological underpinnings and, ultimately, the validity of the collected data as well.

And finally, we should briefly note the terminological and practical issues we described above for the Jewish minority were far from unique. In Slovakia, the Ruthenian minority was also affected by the variation in labels and definitions (Šprocha, Tišliar, 2012: 179). And so while the 1919 census used the term "Ruthenian", but also allowed the respondents to identify as Russian by selecting the "other" category, the 1921 census established a new special ethnic group under the label "Russian" which included Ruthenians (i.e. Carpatho-Ruthenians), Russians and Ukrainians. The Ruthenian ethnic group was officially designated as "the Subcarpathian branch of the Russian nation" ("Podkarpatskú vetvu Ruského národa"). In 1930, the definition underwent another modification and the census recognized two Russian ethnic groups, Great Russians and Little Russians, the latter of which included the indigenous Ruthenian population of Czechoslovakia (Korčák, 1934: 46*).

5. Note

¹ To illustrate the terminological and political issues at play, we could cite the commentary to the 1920 Constitution which explicitly states that "*The heading of the Article Six of this Constitution purposefully uses the term 'national minorities' instead of 'ethnic minorities'. Our brethren in Slovakia and in Subcarpathian Ruthenian, like many of other nations of former Hungary, suffered the ignobility of being refused to be considered full nations and being relegated to the status of mere ethnic groups. The constitutional committee strove hard to avoid this injustice*" (see C-SDPL-1).

² "Žargón" in the original, meaning Yiddish or possibly other varieties of German used by the Jewish population of Slovakia.

6. Acknowledgements

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)" and the Ministry of Education grant VEGA No. 1/0113/17 „Populačná a rodinná politika na Slovensku v 20. a 21. storočí.

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C-SDPL-4 – Act No. 122/1920 Sb. z. a n., §2.

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