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POPULATION OF SLOVAKIA
1918 - 1938

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INTRODUCTION

Demography of the Slovak Republic has more than two hundred-year tradition. In the territory of the current Slovak Republic, the first census of population was made within the framework of the Hungarian monarchy in 1784 against the will of national aristocracy. That was also the reason why the results of this census were not kept. The statistical survey on natural population change started in 1852. The first modern census – common for the whole Austrian and Hungarian monarchy - was the census as of 31 October 1857. This census was followed by censuses made always after a decade, as it was recommended by international statistical bodies. Since 1918, Slovakia traced the census activities and the statistics on natural population changes jointly with Czechia within the common Czech and Slovak Republic.

The presented paper is devoted to the population development in Slovakia since 1918 until 1938. After the World War I the borders of Slovakia were determined by the Trianon agreement of victorious countries, including the Czech and Slovak Republic, with Hungary as of 4 June 1920. Thus, Slovakia was determined by the borders surrounding the territory of 48 936 km² with the biases caused by the imprecise delimitation or measurement. Thereby, the Trianon peace agreement for the first time in the history of Slovakia had stated also its borders. It had stated the territory, which was in several versions required by the foreign resistance movement, represented by T.G. Masaryk, E. Beneš, M.R. Štefánik, from the allied governments during the negotiations on the Versailles peace in 1920.

Even the 1st Statistical handbook of Czechoslovakia being compiled in 1919 and released in 1920 by the State Statistical Office¹ stated that in “tables for Slovakia, which had been compiled according to Hungarian data sources, 16 counties and 4 cities having the municipality rights accounting for 56 298 km² with 3 350 600 population were to be considered as a territory of Slovakia².”

Obviously, also the Užhorod County was considered as part of Slovakia. After its deduction, Slovakia, being accordingly delimited, had the area of 53 068 km² with 3 188 511 inhabitants according to the census in 1910. In respect to the mother tongue language, there were 1 672 966 Slovaks, 7 762 Czechs, 90 726 Ruthenians, 203 268 Germans, 1 155 362 Hungarians, 26 448 Polish and 31 939 members of other or undisclosed nationalities.

Before the settlement of the Trianon peace on 20 August 1919, thus immediately after the cessation of fights for freedom with Hungary, the preliminary census was carried out in the territory under the control of the Ministry with the plenary powers on the administration of Slovakia, the results of which were the subject of publication “The List of Cities in Slovakia according to the 1919 Census”.³

2 948 307 people were recorded in total, of which 1 962 766 (66,57%) were of Czechoslovak nationality, 93 411 (3,11%) people declared Ruthenian nationality, 692 831 (23,50%) people declared Hungarian nationality, 143 589 (4,87%) people stated the German nationality and 55 710 people (1,89%) were of another nationality. From 3542 municipalities, in 2 087 municipalities the majority (90-100%) population declared their nationality as Czechoslovak. The area of Slovakia was not stated. Even the analysis of the 1921 census data reported that data on the territorial area of Slovakia and Podkarpatská Rus were only approximate.⁴

Documents of Czechoslovak statistics, series VI. (censuses) and series XIV. (population changes) were the data sources for our analysis. Regarding the 1921 census (document No.9) and the 1930 census (document No. 98), including other six documents on 1921 census and seven documents on 1930 census, the data on the number of population were presented in relation to the territory of those days; as far as the data on the population change are concerned, the recalculations were made in relation to the territorial arrangement as of 1947, i.e. after achieving three municipalities from Hungary and regarding the balanced decrease by 12 municipalities for the benefit of the Soviet Union in 1946. Despite the mentioned methodological notes, it sometimes happens that even in official data sources the data for the same variable are different, which result from the way how the particular characteristics have been processed.

1. TERRITORY AND POPULATION

Due to the lack of more precise data on the area of Slovakia as of the inception of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks on 28 October 1918, we are presenting its area according to its declaration in 1921 census, i.e. 48 936 km². As the number of population related to the above-mentioned date, the following figure has been

¹ Statistical Handbook of Czechoslovakia, 1st edition, Prague, 1920. Released by the State Statistical Office, 106p.

² Bratislava, Trenčín, Tekov, Turec, Orava, Liptov, Zvolen, Spiš, Šariš, Hont, Novohrad, Gemer, Abauj-Torna, Zemplín, Užhorod, and the following cities: Bratislava, Štiavnica, Košice and Komárno.

³ The List of Cities in Slovakia according to the 1919 Census, released by the Ministry with the plenary powers on the administration of Slovakia, Bratislava, 1920, 211p.

⁴ Census of Czechoslovakia as of 15 February 1921. Statistics of Czechoslovakia, document No. 9, p. 1.

shown, which has been compiled based on the reconstruction of census data and data on population changes: 2 968 thousand presented inhabitants, of which there were 1 438 thousand men and 1 530 thousand women.⁵

The administrative layout of Slovakia and Czechia within the framework of the incepted Czech and Slovak Republic was taken over from the Hungarian and Austrian legal system on the basis of the so-called Reception Law No. 11/1918. In terms of Slovakia this meant counties, municipality cities, districts, magistracy cities, notaries and municipalities. In 1910, there were 102 districts including 3 districts in the Užhorod county and part of districts in the following counties: Hont, Novohrad, Gemer, Abauj-Torna and Zemplín.

Tab. 1: Administrative dividing in 1921 and 1930

Year	Number					Average area in km ²		
	Registered settlements	Local municipal.	Political districts	Municipality cities	Court districts	Local municipal.	Political districts	Court districts
1921	3 510	3 510	94	34	76	13,9	521	644
1930	3 524	3 479	77	2	78	14,1	636	628

Source : Československá statistika, Praha 1934
Area: 48 936 km² in 1921 , 49 006 km² in 1930.

The territorial administration was owing to higher territorial areas newly amended by a nation-wide Act of Law No. 126/1926 on the establishment of county offices what meant the nation-wide adoption of the county layout, however, this new amendment entered into force in Slovakia only in relation to the following counties: XV. Bratislava, XVI. Nitra, XVII. Martin, XVIII. Zvolen, XIX. Liptovský Mikuláš, and XX. Košice. The results of the 1921 census were processed according to the counties even in Czechia, where the Law on the county layout did not enter into force. The county layout was cancelled by the Act of Law No. 125/1927 on the territorial organization of the general administration. From the nation-wide point of view this Law had established lands and Slovakia was one of them. This amendment persisted until the end of the first republic and continued again after the World War II until 1949, when the regions were established by the Act of Law No.280/1948 on the regional layout.

The census as of 15 February 1921 discovered that at the territory of 48 936 km² there were 3 000 870 presented inhabitants. Thus, 61 inhabitants fell per 1 km². Slovakia was administratively broken down into 3 510 local municipalities with the average population being 855 inhabitants. As a contrast to Czechia, Slovakia did not recognise a so-called territory of registered settlements. Thus, their number corresponded to the territories of municipalities. The registered settlements arose in Slovakia gradually as a program of the symmetry with the Czech territorial layout. They had some restricted rights of local municipalities; however, they were essentially derived from the rights of local municipalities.

Political administration was characterized by 94 political districts with the average area of 521 km² and average inhabitants of 31 924. Court districts were larger: they amounted for 644 km² and had 39 485 inhabitants at the average. The accessibility of political and mainly of the court districts was not easy, especially due to transport obstacles, and it gradually even worsened.

The census as of 1 December 1930 had found out 3 329 793 present inhabitants at the territory of 49 006 km² what indicated the increase by 11,0%, thus, a significant demonstration of both the vitality and dynamics in growth. The density of population increased up to 68 inhabitants per 1 km². The number of local municipalities decreased down to 3 479 with 957 inhabitants at the average. Within the territorial administration a radical decrease of the number of political districts occurred (decrease to 77) which now had 41 945 inhabitants at the average. On the contrary, the number of court districts had, under the pressure of requests, increased by two up to 78 with 42 960 inhabitants at the average, what was continuously only hardly acceptable. The decrease of the number of municipality cities was radical – from 34 down to only two cities, Bratislava and Košice. The number of registered settlements had increased up to 3 524 what meant a relative and understandable unwillingness of the representatives of municipalities in terms of their breakdown to smaller territorial units because the area of municipalities was only 14,1 km², thus administratively well coped.

2. CONCENTRATION AND URBANISATION OF POPULATION

The concentration and urbanization of population is closely related to its sectoral division. Regarding the re-settling of population in Slovakia, its orthographic profile, breakdown and the height allocation of the basic settlements are to be considered as very important factors. Half of the territory is situated in the altitude above the sea level being 400m and more. In 1910, 40,7% of population resided in municipalities situated in 400m above sea level, in 1921 it was 39,7% and in 1930 still 39,0%.

⁵ Demographic handbook 1981. Prague 1982.

According to the 1921 census, from 3 510 municipalities there were 3 271 municipalities having less than 2000 inhabitants. In 1930, there were 3 199 municipalities having less than 2 000 inhabitants from the total number of 3 479 municipalities.

While the nation-wide increase of population number between two censuses represented 11,0%, the number of inhabitants in pure country municipalities being up to 2000 inhabitants had increased only by 2,8%, which led to the situation that the share of country population decreased from 62,8% down to 58,2%, however, it still was the share witnessing the high deconcentration of population of the country.

Tab. 2: Population by size of municipality in 1921 and 1930

Year	Population	Population in municipalities with inhabitants						
		Up to 2 000	2000 - 4999	5000 - 9999	10000 - 19999	20000 - 49999	50000 - 99999	100000 and more
1921	3 000 870	1 885 848	559 905	223 372	185 658		146 087	
1930	3 329 793	1 938 498	637 130	268 594	180 989	110 621	70 117	123 844
Diff. (in %)	11,0	2,8	13,8	20,2	-2,5		-52,0	
Distribution in %								
1921	100	62,8	18,7	7,4	6,2		4,9	
1930	100	58,2	19,1	8,1	5,5	3,3	2,1	3,7

Since 1921 until 1930, the number of population in larger country cities having 5000-9999 inhabitants increased in a fastest way, that is to say, by 20,2%. At first census, the number of such cities was 33, at the second census it increased up to 41. The number of cities with 10 000 and more inhabitants increased between two mentioned censuses from 15 up to 21, the share of their inhabitants increased from 11,2 up to 14,6%. In 1921 there were 52 898 inhabitants in Košice and 93 189 in Bratislava, thus, both cities were below the boundaries of large towns (metropolises). Only in 1930 Bratislava shifted into the metropolitan category by the number of population being 123 844 as only one Slovak metropolis and Košice remained the only representative of cities in front of this boundary by the number of inhabitants being 70 117. In all cases the number of population at the territory of municipalities and cities as of the census date is in question, thus, not at the so-called territorially comparable area.

The share of population in towns, represented by A. Boháč⁶ also by their surroundings, was in 1910 only 22,7% and although in 1921 it increased up to 23,9% and in 1930 achieved the level of 26,1%, it still remained behind the shares of urbanized population in industrial countries. The higher concentration of population into towns and by that the increase of the share of urbanized population occurred in Slovakia only after the World War II during the process of a fast industrialization of the country.

3. AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

At the beginning of 20th century, the age structure of population in Slovakia belonged to the youngest within Europe. From the total of 3 000 870 inhabitants in 1921, there were 1 459 540 men and 1 541 330 women (51,23%). In 1930, Slovakia had 3 329 793 inhabitants, of which 1 614 024 were men and 1 715 769 were women (51,53%).

Despite the migration losses, the dynamic natural change of population had led not only to remarkable increase of population but also to changes in the age structure which as a contrast to other countries, for example Czechia, did not have any extraordinary unfavourable consequences.

Between first post-war censuses the number of children aged 14 years and less had increased by 8,3% and the share of children in total population decreased from 32,7% to 31,9% only. The number of inhabitants aged 15-39 increased by 14,5%; this increase was even in case of men as well as in case of women (14,6% and 14,4% respectively). During ten intercensal years the number of inhabitants aged 15-39 increased by 4,0%. However, as a contrast to the increase of women by 6,2%, the number of men increased by 1,6% only. The low increase was held in the fact that in 1930 the age groups born during 1871-1890, i.e. the World War I generation, entered this age.

In 1921, there were 58,5% of population in productive age (15-59 years), in 1930 the share had slightly increased up to 58,7%. In 1930, there were 1 953 085 inhabitants in the productive age against the 1 755 834 in-

□ A. Boháč: Population in Czechoslovakia, Prague, 1936

habitants recorded within the framework of the first post-war census. In the non-productive age, the increase from 1 245 036 up to 1 376 708 occurred.

Tab. 3: Basic age groups of population in 1921 and 1930

Year	Total	Males				Females			
		0 - 14	15 - 39	40 - 59	60 +	0 - 14	15 - 39	40 - 59	60 +
1921	3 000 870	492 432	588 228	256 041	122 839	487 450	620 405	291 160	142 315
1930	3 329 793	535 880	674 075	260 058	144 011	525 700	709 719	309 233	171 117
Diff. (in %)	11,0	8,8	14,6	1,6	17,2	7,8	14,4	6,2	20,2
		Males in age groups above in %				Females in age groups above in %			
1921		33,7	40,3	17,5	8,5	31,6	40,3	18,9	9,2
1930		33,2	41,8	16,1	8,9	30,6	41,4	18,0	10,0
		Population in age groups above				Population in age groups above in %			
1921	3 000 870	979 882	1 208 633	547 201	265 154	32,7	40,3	18,2	8,8
1930	3 329 793	1 061 580	1 383 794	569 291	315 128	31,9	41,6	17,1	9,4

In the situation of a slow ageing of the Slovak population, the “youth index” decreased between two first censuses only from 369,6 to 336,9 and on the contrary, the “ageing index” increased from 27,1 to 29,7% only. Thus, both these changes were relatively negligible.

Between 1921 and 1930 the total burden decreased from 70,9 down to 70,5 inhabitants in non-productive age per 100 inhabitants in productive age. However, the change in the structure of this burden was significant. While in 1921 55,8 children, being the children component burden, fell per 100 inhabitants in the productive age, in 1930 it was only 54,5 children; in case of the burden by people older than 60 years, the increase in the index from 15,1 up to 16,1 occurred. Thus, the situation worsened in such direction that the burden was now related rather to older population while in 1921 children were those who “burdened” the population in the productive age. Nevertheless, these indicators were still very favourable as compared to other countries, e.g. with Czechia.

The Slovak population maintained a differently favourable age structure measured by the share of children in relation to the total population as well as in relation to other age groups also many years after the World War II. The situation changed more significantly only in seventies of the 20th century.

4. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

Slovakia belonged to remarkable agricultural areas in Central Europe. At the turn of 19th and 20th century, 66,3% of population depended on agriculture. Even in 1910, 62,6% of population depended on it. This situation did not significantly change even after World War I. Within the 1921 census, 60,6% of Slovak population depended on the first economic sector what was approximately twofold than in Czechia. Although the industrialization of Slovakia was one of the political programmes of the post-war governments, until 1930 the industrialisation did not lead to such increase that the agriculture would be the main source of living for less than 56,8% of population.

Thus, the level of industrialisation had been increasing only slowly. In 1921, 17,4% of population depended on “industry and productive small trading”, according to the definition, what actually was a lower share than in 1910, however, the reason was that the data for 1910 were not convertible to the new classification of branches (e.g. in 1910, the hair-dressers were classified as being active in industry). Only in 1930, 19,1% of population depended on industry and productive small trading. In Czechia of those days, the share of people depending on above-mentioned activities decreased from 33,4% down to 33,2%, hence, the industrialisation was not ongoing also there.

In addition to economic and productive aspects and the development of the sectoral membership of the economically active population as well as of the total population, also the development of the rate of economic inclusion of population was important. In 1921, 112,5 economically active men fell per 100 men aged 15-59 years. This boundary exceeding 100 witnessed that a relatively significant number of men in the non-productive age were self-employed. This was true also in 1930, where 107,0 economically active men fell per 100 men aged 15-59 years. Also the intensity of the economic involvement of women was important. In 1921, only 33,7 economically active women fell per 100 women aged 15-54 years (a conventional boundary of the potential involvement of women into the productive age in the labour force statistics). In 1930, the rate of economic activity of women was 46,2.

Tab 4: Population by the dependence on economic branches during 1900-1930

Year	Total	Branch of economy				In %			
		Agricult., forestry, fishing	Manufact. and small producers	Trade, banking, transport	Others	Agricult., forestry, fishing	Manufact. and small producers	Trade, banking, transport	Others
1900	2 790 234	1 849 003	440 320	191 240	309 671	66,27	15,78	6,86	11,09
1910	2 925 251	1 830 428	538 001	233 523	323 299	62,57	18,39	7,99	11,05
1921	2 998 244	1 817 878	522 593	229 869	427 904	60,63	17,43	7,67	14,27
1930	3 329 793	1 892 042	634 797	338 912	464 042	56,82	19,07	10,17	13,94

Source: A. Boháč: Obyvatelstvo v Československé republice. In: Československá vlastivěda, Národopis I. Praha 1936

Tab. 5: Economic activity of population in 1921 and 1930

Gender	Year 1921			Year 1930		
	Population	of which economically active		Population	of which economically active	
		Total	Share % ¹		Total	Share % ¹
Males	1 459 540	947 611	112,5	1 614 024	998 164	107,0
Females	1 541 330	286 096	33,7	1 715 769	439 062	46,2
Total	3 000 870	1 233 707	72,9	3 329 793	1 437 226	76,3

¹ economically active per 100 males or females in the age group 15 - 59

Tab. 6: Population by selected branch of economy and position in 1930

Branch of economy	Total	Economically active				Family members as assistants	Family members without own occupation	Meine
		Self employed	Clerks	Assistants	Workers & apprentices			
Agriculture	1 822 114	289 010	1 488	2 672	216 236	337 431	971 944	3 333
Forestry & fishing	69 928	117	1 457	3 609	16 294	12	47 484	955
Manufacturing	634 797	52 278	8 135	9 636	175 853	1 430	379 791	7 674
Trade & banking	181 278	30 795	8 436	16 256	11 161	4 867	94 826	14 937
Transport	157 634	3 297	10 074	17 284	15 376	136	109 501	1 966
Public services, free profession	155 983	5 861	34 386	19 239	4 653	56	80 769	11 019
Army	54 030		2 264	2 685	42 904		5 797	380
Domestic services	25 919	1 412	31	127	15 716	37	8 387	209
Others	160 811	93 221		6	128	91	62 115	5 250
Unlisted	67 239				27 395	7	39 808	29
Total	3 329 733	475 991	66 271	71 514	525 716	344 067	1 800 422	45 752

Source: Statistická ročenka Republiky československé 1938. Praha 1938.

The social position of economically active population and other people belonging to main economic branches in 1930 witnessed the traditional structure of the country being less industrialised but with the high share of self-employed persons, with a remarkable share of “family members as assistants” and a non-negligible share of maids. The social classification corresponded to this situation too.

From the total population, there were 34,2% of economically active people. Family members with no own occupation represented 54,1% of the Slovak population. Also the share of “assisting family members and relatives” was high, that is to say, 10,3% of the total population. 14,3% of population was considered as maids, the share of workers, officials and attendants (according to the terminology of those days) was 15,8%, 2,0% and 2,1% respectively.

In 1930, 2,92 inhabitants and 1,58 family members without any own occupation fell on one economically active inhabitant of Slovakia. In case of people, who were involved or depended on agriculture, 3,58 people dependent on this branch and 1,91 family members fell on one economically active inhabitant of Slovakia. If the population dependent on industry was in question, the analogical indicators were 2,58 and 1,54 respectively; as far as the population dependent on trade and banking was concerned, those indicators were 2,72 and 1,42 respec-

tively, while in case of population dependent on public services the indicators reached the levels of 2,43 and 1,26 respectively. From the presented data one can pass the judgement on the size of households or families reported under the category population.

The world economic crisis during thirties had a lower impact on Slovakia than on industrialised countries, nevertheless, in 1931 17,3 thousand applicants for job were recorded, in 1933 it was 88 thousand people and in 1935 this number reached the peak being the 92,3 thousand people representing the annual average of the number of applicants for job. Then the situation changed due to the military production of the Republic; in 1936 there were 87,7 thousand applicants for job and 77,8 thousand people in 1937 what represented 22 persons per 1000 inhabitants.

Industrialisation and a de-agrarian tendency of the Slovak population continued also during the war 1939-1945, however, in 1950 there were 41,9% of Slovak population dependent on the primary economic sector being the agriculture, forestry and fishing against the 56,7% in 1930 (comparable figures according to the same classification) and 18,4% people depended on industry against the 14,6% in 1930 (according to the classification comparable in time).

5. NATIONALITY OF POPULATION

Until 1918, the nationality of population was for the Slovak ethnic group a problem of a great importance. It is evidenced by the data on the development of the number of Slovaks and their share in the post-war territory of Slovakia by the way how these data were reconstructed for the purposes of the Statistical lexicon of municipalities in the Czech and Slovak Republic, part III. Slovakia, Prague 1927 and re-published in the Demographic handbook 1981, Prague 1982.⁷

According to the mother tongue, there were 1 562 603 Slovaks (63,1%) in 1880, in 1890 this number increased up to 1 608 764, however, the share decreased to 62,4%. In 1900 according to the census data, there were 1 694 532 Slovaks and the share decreased to 60,9%. In 1910 also the absolute figure had fallen to 1 680 020 and, at the same time, the share decreased to 57,6%.

Tab. 7: Population by nationality in 1921 and 1930

Year	Total	Slovak	Czech	Russian ¹	German	Hungarian	Jewish	Polish	Romanian	Others
	Number									
1921	3 000 870	1 952 368	72 635	88 970	145 844	650 597	73 628	6 059	588	10 181
1930	3 329 793	2 250 616	121 696	95 783	156 279	585 434	72 678	7 023	427	39 857
Diff. (in %)	11	15,3	67,5	7,7	7,2	-10	-1,4	15,9	-27,4	291,5
In %										
1921	100	65,1	2,4	3	4,9	21,7	2,4	0,2	0	0,3
1930	100	67,6	3,7	2,9	4,7	17,6	2,2	0,2	0	1,1

¹ included Ukrainian, Ruthenian and Carpathian.

Source: Československá statistika volume 9 and 98. Praha.

Although the political bodies and the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Republic recognised as a main nationality the “Czechoslovak nation”, since 1918 the demographic experts and statisticians had been respecting the existence of two sovereign ethnic groups – Czech and Slovak. Despite the official publications during the first republic reported in their tables processed by nationality always only one unique “Czechoslovak nationality”, the State Statistical Office kept its balances also separately for the Czech and Slovak nationality.

Despite the war losses during 1914-1918 with the diminished natural reproduction and migration, the number of inhabitants of Slovak nationality increased – also in 1921 when the nationality was declared according to the mother tongue – according to the 1921 census as compared to 1910 by 16,2% up to 1 952 368 presented inhabitants. The share, thus, increased from the pre-war 57,6% to 65,1% in 1921.

The shift of the state border to the river Danube and Ipel' had resulted into a fact that 650 597 Hungarians became the inhabitants of Slovakia who represented 21,7% of the population of Slovakia. Their number in 1910 in the territory of Slovakia was 893 342 and they represented 30,6% of the population of Slovakia; until 1921 their number decreased by 27,2% partly due to re-slovakisation and in some cases due to assimilation or changes in nationality.

The 1921 census had discovered 72 635 people of Czech nationality living in the territory of Slovakia what meant 2,4% of presented inhabitants. However, a more significant minority according to the numerosness was the russian-ukrainian-ruthenian-carpathian minority (accounting for 88 970 inhabitants, 3,0%) but most of all it was the German minority (145 844 inhabitants, 4,9%). For the nationality structure of Slovakia it was important

⁷ Demographic handbook 1981, Prague 1982, p.298

that Jews had the possibility to enrol with the Jewish nationality although – in contrast with the members of other ethnic minorities – they mustn't speak the Jewish language. Thus, they became an important ethnic minority with 73 628 members and 2,4% share in the population of Slovakia. The Polish and Romanian ethnic group completed the varied nationality spectrum of Slovakia in 1921. However, only the Polish ethnic group was important.

Until 1930, the number of inhabitants of Slovakia increased by 11,0% thanks to the high natural reproduction and a decreased immigration. The number of people with Slovak nationality increased by 15,3% , thus, the share in total population increased up to 67,6%, hence, together with Czechs they represented the “Czechoslovak ethnic group” having the share of 71,3% in the total population of Slovakia. The Czech ethnic group recorded an extraordinary increase by 67,5% up to 121 696 people. The number of Germans increased by 7,2%, however, the number of Hungarians decreased by 10,0%. Their share was, however, still high, that is to say, 17,6%. The decrease in the number of people with Jewish nationality had been only 1,4% what meant that Jews in Slovakia were willing to confess their own ethnicity. The Polish minority in the North of Slovakia recorded relatively high, but absolutely low, increase. The Romanian minority accounted for only a couple of hundreds. The growth of the members of “other nationalities” was significant (+ 291,5%). Among the other nationality in 1930, 31 188 inhabitants with Gypsy nationality were disclosed.

As of the mid-year 1937, the post-censal population balances and estimates by nationality reported the total population number being 3 540 175 of which 2 374 192 inhabitants were of Slovak nationality (67,1%), 161 000 enrolled with the Czech nationality (4,5%), 104 693 people declaring themselves as Ukraine-Russian-Ruthenian nationality (3,0%), 7390 Polish people, 622 843 Hungarian people (17,6%), 158 725 Germans (4,5%) and 111 332 inhabitants were the members of other nationality (3,1%).

The presented development derived from the real data on natural changes in population and data on the external migration and from the net migration in the territory of Czechoslovakia obtained on the basis of results of the differentiated methodology from 1921-1930 witnessed that Czechoslovakia did not perform any forcible denationalisation policy to which it was bound by both Versailles and Trianon peaceful agreements.

6. RELIGION OF POPULATION

The religion of population in Slovakia had a similar political and cultural weight as the ethnic structure of population. After the World War I this weight obviously increased, as compared to the pre-war situation, by the openness of Slovakia to the West. The development of the religion structure was therefore evenly as serious as the development of the ethnic structure.

Tab. 8: Religion of population in 1921 and 1930

Year	Religion									
	Total	Rome Catholics	Greek Catholics	All Lutherans	Czechoslovak	Orthodox	Old Catholics	Israelites	Others	Without confession
	Number									
1921	3 000 870	2 128 205	193 778	530 512	1 910	2 879	145	135 918	210	7 313
1930	3 329 793	2 384 355	213 725	555 900	11 495	9 076	149	136 737	1 208	17 148
Diff. (in %)	11,0	12,0	10,3	4,8	501,8	215,2	2,8	0,6	475,2	134,5
	In %									
1921	100,00	70,91	6,46	17,68	0,06	0,10	0,00	4,53	0,01	0,25
1930	100,00	71,61	6,42	16,69	0,35	0,27	0,00	4,11	0,04	0,51

For comparison between the post-war development with the situation in 1910 let's present the data according to the I. Statistical handbook of the Czech and Slovak Republic (page 9) on the structure of religion of the “Slovak population”, i.e. for 15 regions with 3 188 511 inhabitants: 2 205 205 (69,2%) Rome-Catholics, v 202 301 (6,3%) Greek-Catholics, 201 414 (6,3%) Lutherans of the reformed confession, 417 431 (13,1%) Lutherans of the Augsburg confession, 1 691(0,1%) members of the Orthodox Church, 232 (0,0%) Unitarians, 159 653 (5,0%) Israelites, 584 others or without confession (0,0%).

It is obvious from table 8 that the number and share of Rome-Catholics increased until 1921. The share of Greek-Catholics and Lutherans of all denominations increased as well. The number of Orthodox Church members significantly increased too, i.e. the members of Greek-East non-unified church. The decrease of Israelites by confession was also significant.

During ten intercensal years no such shifts between churches occurred that were likely to be expected and by which the supporters of the preference of the function and importance of religion in Slovakia operated. The number of members of Rome-Catholic Church increased relatively faster than the increase in total population of Slovakia and also their representation in population increased from 70,9% to 71,6%. The number of inhabitants of Greek- and Armenian-Catholics confession increased too and their share decreased only negligibly. Despite the increase of the number of Lutherans of all denominations by 4,8%, their share in total population decreased by one percentage point to 16,7%. The Czechoslovak Church being established in 1920, which enrolled in 1921 in Slovakia only 1 910 confessed people, increased until 1930 to the amount of 11 495 members; nevertheless it represented only 3,35 % of the population of Slovakia. The number of inhabitants with the Orthodox confession increased very remarkably. Their share in total population increased to 0,27%. The number of Israelites by confession increased by 0,6%, however, their share in total population decreased from 4,53% to 4,11%. While in 1921 54,2 Jewish inhabitants fell per 100 people of Israelite confession, in 1930 it was 57,3 people. The ethnic and confession identity of Israelites therefore slightly increased, although some biases should be taken into account, that is to say, not always only Israelites by nationality with the Israeli confession were in question. In 1921, according to the census, 7313 people were “without confession and other religion”. Actually, 6 818 people were without confession, the rest were the members of some other churches. In 1930, it was not possible to differentiate from 17 148 inhabitants without confession the real number of people without confession and the number of people with non-disclosed confession.

The presupposed significant changes in the structure of religion therefore did not occur between 1921 and 1930. This situation happened only after World War II and these shifts were figured out only within the census in 1950.

7. NATURAL CHANGE OF POPULATION

The natural change of population includes the basic reproduction processes of population, i.e. mainly natality and mortality and, as assumptions in our socio-cultural conditions, also the nuptiality and divorces. The effect of the natural change is held in the natural increase or decrease of population.

Tab. 9: Natural change of population 1920-1937

Years	Number						Per 1000 of population					
	Mid-year population	Marriages	Divorces	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Divorces	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	
1920-24	3 056 408	29 763	540	108 164	59 598	48 566	9,7	0,2	35,4	19,5	15,9	
1925-29	3 228 936	28 125	521	100 355	57 962	42 393	8,7	0,2	31,1	18	13,1	
1930-34	3 386 856	27 054	682	90 363	52 073	38 290	8	0,2	26,7	15,4	11,3	
1935-37	3 573 560	26 171	873	81 056	49 301	31 755	7,4	0,2	23,1	14	9,1	

For better orientation in tendencies of the natural changes of population, the absolute numbers of the mentioned components of the population reproduction are presented in a longer time series, i.e. in five-year averages, the last pre-war data for the years 1935-1937 are presented also in annual average indicators.

From the average of the years 1920-1924 until the average of the years 1935-1937 the mid-year population increased by 16,9%. This relatively fast increase had an impact on the quite significant differences in the increase or decrease of the number of reproductive events – the absolute indicators on the one hand and indicators recalculated per 1000 inhabitants on the other hand.

The absolute number of annually contracted marriages during the five years 1920-1924 decreased until the time period of 1935-1937 by 12,1%, however, the crude nuptiality rate decreased by 23,7%. The number of divorces between the mentioned time periods increased by 61,7%, however, owing to significant growth of the number of population, the divorce rate remained in both periods at the level of 0,2. The number of live births decreased by 19,1%, the birth rate however decreased by 34,8%. The absolute number of deaths annually was in the last time period by 17,3% lower than in the first time period, but the mortality rate decreased by 28,2%. The natural increase fell by 34,6%, the rate of increase declined by 42,8%. The following paragraphs will deal with the components of the population reproduction by the means of specific indicators, which more accurately express the intensity of the reproductive processes than crude rates presented in the previous paragraphs.

Nuptiality

The intensity of nuptiality being already characterised by crude rates had maintained the high level even during the period of decrease what witnessed on the vitality of young population and maintenance of the style of living in a form of the family preference in life of the society. This can be evidenced also by other data on nuptiality in thirties.

Tab.10: Age of single engaged couples in 1930 and 1937

Year	Grooms					Brides				
	Marriages	Number of grooms by age in %				Marriages	Number of brides by age in %			
		-20	20 - 39	40 +	Average age		-20	20 - 39	40 +	Average age
1930	26 259	5,6	92,7	1,7	25,7	27 516	43,5	55,6	0,9	22,3
1937	24 105	2,6	95,5	1,9	27,2	25 425	33,2	65,2	1,6	23,6

In 1930, 56,8 marriages fell per 1000 non-married women aged 15 years and over. Mainly the first marriage rate was high. 80,8 contracted marriages fell per 1000 single women aged 15-19 years, at the age of 25-29 years it was 114,5 marriages and at the age of 30-34 years the intensity of nuptiality was the highest: 120,0 marriages. At the age of 35-39 years it still was 66,6 marriages and at the age of 40-44 years it was 29,8 marriages. The average age of single brides was 22,3 years and in case of single grooms it was 25,7 years. Until 1937 the average age of single brides increased to 23,6 years, for grooms it was 27,2 years what signalled a slight shift as a consequence of not only an economic situation, but also an obvious consequence of the increase in the education of population related to the postponement of marriages.

Tab.11: Marriages in 1930 and 1937 by family status of engaged couples (%)

Year	Marriages	Single groom			Divorced groom			Widowed groom		
		Bride			Bride			Bride		
		Single	Div.	Wid.	Single	Div.	Wid.	Single	Div.	Wid.
1930	29 029	88	0,6	1,8	1	0,1	0,2	5,7	0,2	2,3
1937	26 821	87,2	0,9	1,7	1,6	0,3	0,2	6	0,3	1,8

For the Slovak society of thirties, the contracting of first marriages was typical, as it has been mentioned above. In 1930, 88,0 marriages contracted between the single groom and a single bride fell per 100 marriages. Until 1937 the share of mutually first marriages decreased only negligibly to 87,2%. In both calendar years the share of mutually divorced engaged couples was very low (0,1 and 0,3 respectively). This witnessed the fact that divorces, although being not numerous, were not directed to a contract on a new marriage between divorced people.

Divorce

Although after World War I the divorce rate increased also in Slovakia, it was still a seldom phenomenon in the development of the Slovak society. In 1930, only 0,89 divorces fell per 1000 existing marriages. Only 1,3 marriages were divorced per 1000 married women aged 20-24 years in this year; at the age of 25-29 years the divorce rate was 1,7, at the age of 30-34 it decreased down to 1,4 and at the age of 35-39 years it decreased to the level of 1,1.

The average age of women getting divorced was in 1930 32,5 years, for men it was 37,2 years. Until 1937 the average age of women increased to 33,3 years, the average age of men to 37,6 years. The marriages getting divorced had been persisting for ten years at the average. This was the situation being analogical to the situation in Czechia.

From the balance of nuptiality and divorces and in combination with the dissolution of marriage due to the death of married woman or a married man one can derive the balance of marriages or the increase or eventually decrease of the number of existing marriages.

Tab.12: Age of husbands getting divorced in 1930 and 1937

Year	Divorced males					Divorced females				
	Divorces	By age in %				Divorces	By age in %			
		-30	30 - 49	50 +	Average age		-30	30 - 49	50 +	Average age
1930	647	18,7	76,5	4,8	37,2	647	44,5	51,6	3,9	32,5
1937	821	18,4	72,5	9,1	37,6	821	41	54,2	4,8	33,3

Tab. 13: Balance of marriages during 1920-1937

Years	Marriages	Number of dissolved marriages				Increase of marriages	Dissolved marriages in %			Increase of marriages by 1000 of population	
		By divorce	Annulment of marriages	Due to death of			Total	By divorce and annulment of marriages	Due to death of		
				Male	Fem.				Male		Fem.
1920-24	29 763	540	4	9 037	7 110	16 691	13 072	3,3	54,1	42,6	4,3
1925-29	28 125	522	9	9 421	6 942	16 894	11 231	3,1	55,8	41,1	3,5
1930-34	27 054	682	6	9 310	6 674	16 672	10 382	4,1	55,9	40	3,1
1935-37	26 171	873	5	9 533	6 605	17 016	9 155	5,2	56	38,8	2,6

At the average of years 1935-1937, 26 171 marriages were contracted annually what was less by 12,1% than at the average of years 1920-1924. The increase in the number of divorces was 61,7%. The significant impact on the balance of marriages, however, had the deaths of married men and women. The number of dissolved marriages due to the death of men increased between the two time periods under comparison by 5,5%, however, for women a decrease by 7,1% occurred due to the more favourable mortality development of women, especially married. The share of marriages dissolved by divorce increased since twenties until the half of thirties from 3,3% up to 5,2; the share of marriages dissolved due to the death of a married man increased from 54,1% up to 56,0% while, at the same time, the development of the ratio for women from 42,6% down to 38,8% was contradictory. The resulting balance of annual increases of marriages during the observed time period was decreasing: during 1935-1937 the annual increase of marriages was lower by 30,0% than during 1920-1924. The rate of increase of marriages recalculated per 1000 inhabitants fell even by 39,5%.

Natality

The continuously decreasing number of births since the beginning of twenties until the half of thirties was, based of the crude natality rate, figured out as a decrease being 34,8%. The general fertility rate decreased in the same scope; this indicator expresses the number of live-births in the given year per 1000 women aged 15-49 years. The decrease of this more accurate indicator represented between two time periods under observation 34,3%.

Tab.14: Fertility of women by age during 1920-1937

Years	Number of live births per 1000 women in age group							
	15-19 ¹	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	15-49
1920 -24	35,0	217,3	247,0	189,4	148,1	65,5	11,2	136,0
1925 - 29	38,2	180,6	202,8	166,4	116,5	51,0	7,2	118,0
1930 - 34	42,0	162,1	166,4	132,1	95,2	40,2	5,1	103,1
1935 - 37	28,1	149,4	154,7	113,1	78,7	34,5	3,7	89,4

¹ Include life births of women under 15 years

The decrease of realised fertility was in terms of time very even and continuous. From the average of the years 1920-1924 until the average of the years 1925-1929 the general fertility rate had decreased by 13,8%, during the following five years until 1930-1934 another decrease occurred by 12,6% and until 1935-1937 this indicator declined by 13,3%.

However, the decrease of realised fertility was not even by age. For example, fertility of women aged 15-19 years had decreased between 1925-1924 by 19,7%. For women aged 20-24 years a decrease by 31,2% occurred, for women aged 25-29 the decrease was by 37,4%; in case of women aged 30-34 years the decrease represented 40,3% and the older women were, the higher the decrease of the realised fertility was: for women aged 35-39 it was 46,1%, for women aged 40-44 it represented 47,7% and in case of women 45-49 the decrease was 67,0%.

Nevertheless, 3,7 live-births fell per 1000 women aged 45-49 years during 1935-1937. In Czechia it was only one child.

Tab. 15: Reproduction rates during 1920-1937

Years	General fertility rate	Total fertility rate	Cross reproduction rate	Net reproduction rate	Chain indices			
					General fertility rate	Total fertility rate	Cross reproduction rate	Net reproduction rate
1920 -24	136,0	4,565	2,202	1,554	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
1925 - 29	118,0	3,815	1,846	1,305	86,8	83,6	83,8	84,0
1930 - 34	103,1	3,217	1,564	1,108	87,4	84,3	84,7	84,9
1935 - 37	89,4	2,812	1,363	0,965	86,7	87,4	87,1	87,1

Between the time periods 1920-1924 and 1935-1937 the general fertility rate had decreased in Slovakia by 38,4% what could be marked as a serious warning on the changes in the population reproduction. However, it still meant that one woman gave birth 2,8 live children during her life. There were 1,36 girls among them. The cross reproduction rate fell by 38,1%. The net reproduction rate is to be considered as the resulting indicator: during 1935-1937 it had decreased to a low level of 0,965 what meant that only 0,96 of the future mother fell on one woman -expectant mother. The realised fertility decreased below the replacement level "1" for the first time in 1935 when this indicator reached the value 0,974. In 1936 it fell down to 0,963 and in 1937 to 0,957. However, in Czechia in this year it was only 0,666 while the first breaking point below the replacement level "1" was recorded in 1925, by the value of this indicator being 0,976. Thus, Czechia was ahead Slovakia in the decrease of the realised fertility exactly by ten years. The net reproduction rate during 1935-1937 was in Slovakia by 37,9% lower than in the initial time period 1920-1924.

The chain indices of the fertility decrease show that the fastest decrease was between first five-year time periods. Until the average of 1930-1934 a slight slowdown in the decrease occurred and until 1935-1937 the loss of vitality slowed down even more, however, during these years the decrease in case of net reproduction rate was 12,9%.

Mortality

Similarly as in Czechia, the mortality of population was unfavourably high also in Slovakia. It had direct historical roots. Based on the later relations between the mortality indicators in Czechia and Slovakia we estimate that at the average of the years 1869-1880, the life expectancy of children born in those times in Slovakia for the total of both genders was only 32,40 years, for men it was even 31,50 years, however, for women it was almost 33,2 years. The first life tables being calculated during the half of sixties of the previous century by J. Grunt for the time period 1900-1901 had shifted the indicator of life expectancy up to 37,57 years, for men to 36,51 years and for women to 38,64 years. J. Grunt was also the author of life tables for 1910-1911.

The comparison of the indicators of life expectancy in time shall be focused firstly on differences in the mortality of men and women, which are reflected in the differences in the life expectancy of both genders. The excess male mortality during 1869-1880 meant that the indicator e_0 for women was by 5,4% higher than the indicator for men. During 1900-1901 the indicator or the difference increased up to 5,8% and during 1910-1911 it increased to 6,5%. This meant that the mortality of women decreased faster than the mortality of men. Between the first two time periods under comparison, i.e. 1869-1880 and 1900-1901, the life expectancy of men increased by 15,9%, however for women an increase by 16,4% occurred. Similar, although lower, differences were recorded also during the following time period, that is to say, between the average of the years 1900-1901 and 1910-1911: the life expectancy for men increased by 10,0%, for women by 10,7%.

The turning point occurred after the World War I. During 1920-1922 the life expectancy as compared to the time period 1910-1911 was for men higher by 8,0%, however, for women it was only by 5,5%. Thus during 1920-1922, the indicator e_0 was for women higher only by 4,0%. According to the life tables from the average of the years 1930-1932 the life expectancy for women was higher by 5,2% than the life expectancy for men. The decrease of mortality of women had been continuing also during the following years faster than the decrease of mortality for men, thus, according to the life tables for 1937, their life expectancy was yet higher by 5,5%.

Tab.16: Life expectancy according to the life tables for 1869-1880 until 1937

Years	Life expectancy at birth			Years	Life expectancy at birth		
	Total population	Males	Females		Total population	Males	Females
1869–1880 ¹	32,40	31,50	33,20	1920-1922	44,25	43,38	45,12
1900–1901 ²	37,57	36,54	38,64	1930–1932 ³	50,42	49,13	51,71
1910–1911 ²	41,46	40,16	42,77	1937	53,27	51,84	54,70

¹ Authors estimation

² J. Grunt (Demografie, 1964, number .2).

³ Demographic research centre, Bratislava

According to the life tables for 1920-1922 the life expectancy of the Slovak population was, in comparison with the life tables for 1910-1911, higher for men by 8,0%, for women by 5,5% and at the average of both genders by 6,7%. Until the average of years 1930-1932 a significant jump occurred: the life expectancy for men increased by 13,2%, for women by 14,6%, and at the average for both genders it was by 13,9%. Also the following time period was favourable. Until 1937, the life expectancy for men increased by further 5,5%, for women by additional 5,8%, and in terms of the average of both genders it was an increase by 5,7%.

Tab. 17: Mortality of population by sex and age in 1930 and 1937 (per 1000 population)

Age group	1930		1937		Difference in %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
-1	207,0	172,4	180,8	150,2	-12,7	-12,9
1 – 4	11,8	11,5	11,1	10,2	-5,9	-11,3
5 – 9	3,2	3,3	2,6	3,0	-18,8	-9,1
10 – 14	2,4	2,4	1,7	2,0	-29,2	-16,7
15 – 19	3,6	3,9	3,2	3,1	-11,1	-20,5
20 – 24	4,6	4,8	4,7	3,8	2,2	-20,8
25 – 29	4,9	5,1	4,3	4,5	-12,2	-11,8
30 – 34	5,0	4,9	4,2	4,1	-16,0	-16,3
35 - 39	6,1	6,4	5,6	4,9	-8,2	-23,4
40 - 44	7,7	6,3	6,8	5,8	-11,7	-7,9
45 - 49	9,1	8,5	9,1	7,4	0,0	-12,9
50 - 54	14,4	11,0	12,8	11,1	-11,1	0,9
55 - 59	19,8	16,4	19,8	15,0	0,0	-8,5
60 - 64	29,5	26,7	28,3	24,2	-4,1	-9,4
65 - 69	44,6	42,4	43,9	39,3	-1,6	-7,3
70 - 74	69,1	69,0	66,7	63,1	-3,5	-8,6
75 - 79	110,4	103,1	110,3	108,6	-1,6	5,3
80 - 84	181,8	146,8	160,3	159,4	-11,8	8,6
85 +	269,2	244,5	320,7	329,2	19,1	34,6
Total	16,4	15,2	14,4	13,6	-12,2	-10,5

If we summarised the whole post-war or inter-war time period we would find out that from the period of 1920-1922 until 1937 the life expectancy for men increased by 19,5%, for women by 21,2% and at the average for both genders the increase was 20,4%. If we expressed it by the number of years, the life expectancy for men would be higher by 8,46 years, for women by 9,38 years and for both genders by 9,02 years.

From the comparison of age-specific mortality in 1930 and 1937 results that the total mortality of men in 1937 was by 12,2% lower than in 1930; for women the decrease of mortality was by 10,5%. The decrease of mortality differed in the age groups under comparison very unevenly not only in terms of age but also in terms of gender. For men we can find out a significant decrease of mortality not only until the age of adultery but also at the age of a high exposition to external causes of death, i.e. at the age of 20-44 years. Since the age of 50 years the intensity of the mortality decrease diminishes, however, at the age of 80-84 years it unexpectedly. For women the mortality decrease was spread into nearly whole age scale, although unevenly. The growth of the age-specific mortality for women is being discovered already since the age of 75 years. The explanation of sometimes surprising differences in the development of age-specific mortality should be sought in the analysis of

the causes of death according to the fact how the deaths had been diagnosed during 1930 and 1937 by the physicians or by the autopsy findings. This will require a special attention.

In 1930 the mortality of population for both genders was the lowest at the age group of 10-14 years. At the same time, the mortality of both genders was equally high. The lowest mortality at this age was at both genders also in 1937 with the only difference that the mortality of girls was higher than the mortality of boys. However, one has to take into account that in 1930, 282 boys and 289 girls died at the age of 10-14 years and in 1937, 338 boys and 403 girls died at this age. These low numbers can distort the one-year mortality indicators. Therefore, the life tables calculate usually with averages of deaths for several years. Our comparison of one-year indicators resulted from the effort on the symmetry of indicators for the years 1930 and 1937.

Within the mortality some types has a special position. At the first place is the infant mortality and its components which are the neonatal and post-neonatal mortality. The infant mortality rate is the indicator expressing the number of children who died until the first year after birth per 1000 live-born children in the same time period. The neonatal mortality expresses the number of children who died until 28 days (formerly until one month) after birth per 1000 live-born children in the same time period. With the early age also the early neonatal mortality, i.e. until 7 days after birth and the perinatal mortality, i.e. the sum of children who died until 7 days after births and stillborn children, is being traced. In this paper we shall deal only with the first three types of early mortality, which are most frequently the subject of international comparisons.

Tab. 18: Infant mortality and its components during 1920-1937

Years	Infant mortality rate (IMR)	Neonatal mortality rate (NMR)	Postneonatal mortality rate	Share of NMR on the IMR (in %)
1920 - 24	173,0	66,7	106,3	38,6
1925 - 29	173,4	65,2	108,2	37,6
1930 - 34	158,6	57,8	100,8	36,4
1935 - 37	145,0	54,2	90,8	37,4

Slovakia entered the new common state in 1918 with high levels of indicators on infant mortality as well as of its components. At the average of the years 1920-1924 it represented 173,0 and during 1925-1929 even 173,4 died infants per 1000 live-born children. In case of natality being 35,4 and 31,1‰, these figures meant an extraordinary extensive reproduction of the Slovak population. The indicator of neonatal mortality reached during the same time periods the values 66,7 and 65,2‰ respectively and its share in the infant mortality rate – 38,6% and 37,6% respectively – meant that the mortality of older infants, post-neonatal mortality rate, mainly contributed to the high infant mortality rate. At the same time this witnessed also the fact that while the health care coped with the infant mortality rate to a certain extent, the family care on older infants was definitely unsatisfactorily.

The indicators for the following time period under observation also evidenced the disproportion between the neonatal and post-neonatal mortality rate. During 1935-1937 the infant mortality rate was lower by 16,4% as compared to the years 1925-1929, the decrease of both its components did not correspond to already improved social relations: neonatal mortality rate decreased by 16,9%, the post-neonatal mortality rate decreased even by 16,1% only. The share of post-neonatal mortality rate in the total infant mortality rate remained still very high: 63,6 and 62,6% respectively. The indicator had fallen below the level of 100,0 died infants per 1000 live-born children only after World War II in 1952, but very radically and from year to year, from 102,3 in 1951 down to 74,4 in 1952.

Table 19: The maternal mortality and child mortality during 1920-1937

Years	Maternal mortality rate ¹	Mortality of children at age ²		
		1 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14
1920 - 24	2,57	2142,2	505,4	350,9
1925 - 29	2,63	1594,1	386,7	276,8
1930 - 34	3,14	1181,2	281,2	219,0
1935 - 37	3,60	977,9	271,1	197,9

¹ Deaths of women due to pregnancy and childbearing per 1000 of live births

² Deaths of child at the specific age per 100 000 of population at this age

Another important mortality indicator was, and is, the so-called maternal mortality. It expresses the number of women who died in connection with pregnancy, birth and lying-in period per 1000 live-born children in the same time period. During the first republic the maternal mortality represented a significant health-care and social burden in Slovakia. Moreover, for the whole time period 1920-1937 this mortality had been always increasing,

however, this development was recorded also in Czechia where the maternal mortality indicators were furthermore even higher than in Slovakia. The Slovak trend together with the increasing Czech trend were explained in such a way that as the time went on, the pregnancy, birth and lying-in period were continuously under a higher health-care control and that deaths related to these perinatal periods were traced very seriously and that the diagnosis improved and the deaths of mothers or expectant mothers were classified very strictly as a contrast to the pre-war period with a liberal diagnostics carried out very often by laypersons. In Slovakia even at the end of thirties the examination of dead bodies and the diagnostics were made by laypersons: in 1935 33,8% of deaths, in 1936 31,5% and in 1937 30,6% cases were still subject of the mentioned approach.

Among other types of mortality belonged the mortality of children aged 1-4, 5-9, 10-14 years, a so-called child mortality. Similarly as in Czechia, also in Slovakia this mortality was – in relation to the relatively high level of medicine – high.

Despite its decreasing in twenties was favourable, only relatively more favourable levels were achieved as the time passed by. During 1925-1929 the child mortality at the age of 1-4 years was lower by 25,6% than in 1920-1924; the child mortality at the age of 5-9 years decreased by 23,5% and at the age group of 10-14 it decreased by 21,1%, however, also during this second period it meant that 16% of children from the cohort 1-4 years, approximately 4% from the cohort 5-9 years and 3% from the cohort 10-14 years died per 100 000 children at the age of childhood.

In thirties, the decreasing of child mortality continued, however, during 1935-1937 the decrease of child mortality, as compared to 1930-1934, occurred to a higher extent only for children aged 1-4 years (-17,2%), while for children aged 5-9 by 3,6% only and for children aged 10-14 by 9,6% only.

The time development of mortality by the causes of death from 1920-1924 until 1935-1937 shows how its nosologic components between the first and the last period under observation contributed to the decrease of general total mortality by 28,0%. In terms of the rate of mortality decrease, the highest mortality decrease occurred in the category diseases at earlier age, that is to say, by 57,7%; this cause of death category is being classified in the XV. class of the International Classification of Diseases and Deaths. Formally the second greatest success had been achieved in the class of symptoms and obsolescence (class XVI) by the fall being 49,1%, however, at this point only the consequences of the precision of diagnoses of deaths played the role. Nevertheless, really successful results were achieved by the decrease of mortality in case of infectious and parasitic diseases (class I) being 44,8%, although it was the time period before the existence of antibiotics in the health-care practise. However, on the other hand, one has to draw attention on the mortality increase due to neoplasms (class II) and circulatory system diseases (class VII) because of its weight. Some other diseases reported even higher growth rate but they were related to a lower absolute number of deaths, e.g. deaths due to blood and blood plasma diseases, skin and dermal diseases, inherent and hereditary diseases, and some other diseases related to a lower number of deaths.

Although during the whole period of the first republic the health condition of population of Czechia and Slovakia had been developing to a relatively improved status, the mortality indicators remained unfavourable and were behind the other advanced countries. The situation had changed only after the World War II.

The natural population change and to a lower extent also the migration had led after the World War I (1914-1918) to the changes in the population structure in all directions which, however, were not dramatic at all. The age structure changed the dependence of inhabitants on particular branches of national economies changed as well. The nuptiality and divorce rates changed; due to the changes in mortality the changes in marital status occurred and the different rate of the inception and dissolution of families and households was on the way.

The marital status of adult population shows that the way how the population is being profiled in relation to the family, in terms of the way of living of men and women, has also the social aspects, moral aspects and impact on housing etc. However, the time period between 1921 and 1930 was too short to deepen these changes. Actually, it is the time period of only a part of one human generation. Between both censuses the number of men aged 15 and more increased by 111 036, the number of women of the same age increased by 136 189. A significantly high nuptiality in this intercensal period had, in addition to a relatively low divorce rate, an impact on the increase of the share of married men from 57,7% up to 59,2%; for women it was from 55,4% up to 57,1%. The share of single men decreased from 37,4% down to 36,1%, the share of single women aged 15 years and more decreased from 27,2% to 27,1%. The share of widowers in adult population fell from 4,6% to 4,4%, the share of widows declined from 17,1% to 15,3%. At the same time, remarriages (second marriage and/or more) of widowed people among betrothed couples were in 1921 and 1930 represented by a share of only 8% for grooms and almost 4% for brides. The share of divorced men and women remained at both genders and within both censuses the same; in 1930 there were 48,4% married women aged 20-24 years, at the age of 25-29 there were 74,6% married women, at the age of 30-34 there were 82,1% married women, what was the peak of the marriage rate of women. At the age 35-39 the share was lower, i.e. 80,8%. However, even at the age of 75-79 there were 17,5% married women.

Tab.20: Deaths by the causes of deaths during 1920-1937(per 100 000 inhabitants)

Cause of death	1920	1925	1930	1935	Index
	- 1924	- 1929	- 1934	- 1937	1935-37/ 1920-24
I. Infectious and parasitic diseases	369,9	321,9	244,9	204,3	55,2
II. Neoplasms	37,4	61,6	73,4	84,3	225,4
III. Nutritional and metabolic diseases, immunity disor.	10,0	12,7	13,1	14,7	147,0
IV. Diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs	1,0	1,3	2,8	3,4	340,0
V. Mental disorders	0,7	1,2	0,7	0,5	71,4
VI. Diseases of the nervous system and sense organs	124,6	115,9	100,8	92,6	74,3
VII. Diseases of the circulatory system	94,3	115,3	127,7	150,2	159,3
VIII. Diseases of the respiratory system	251,3	300,0	257,0	233,6	93,0
IX. Diseases of the digestive system	124,6	150,6	137,1	111,9	89,8
X. Diseases of the genitourinary system	20,4	29,0	26,9	27,4	134,3
XI. Childbirth and complications of pregnancy	9,1	8,2	8,4	8,3	91,2
XII. Disease of the skin	5,5	8,1	9,3	8,8	160,0
XIII. Musculoskeletal system and connective tissue	2,4	3,5	3,3	3,3	137,5
XIV. Congenital anomalies	0,5	1,6	2,3	3,2	640,0
XV. Certain conditions originating in the perinatal period	309,9	225,5	167,9	131,0	42,3
XVI. Symptoms, signs and ill-defined conditions	541,3	384,3	310,7	275,5	50,9
XVII. Injury and poisoning	47,0	54,4	51,2	50,2	106,8
Total	1949,9	1795,1	1537,5	1403,2	72,0

Pramen: Srb, V. - Haas, V. : Statistika příčin smrti a statistická klasifikace nemocí, úrazů a příčin smrti v Československu. Praha 1956.

Tab. 21: Marital status of population aged 15 and over in 1921 and 1930

Year	Gender	Population aged 15 and over	Marital status				In %			
			Single	Married	Wid.	Divor. ¹	Single	Married	Wid.	Div. ¹
1921	Males	967 108	361 681	558 445	44 804	2 178	37,4	57,7	4,6	0,3
	Females	1 053 880	286 802	584 032	179 584	3 462	27,2	55,4	17,1	0,3
1930	Males	1 078 144	389 669	637 859	47 318	3 298	36,1	59,2	4,4	0,3
	Females	1 190 069	322 449	679 344	182 230	6 046	27,1	57,1	15,3	0,5

¹ Sum of divorces and separations

Tab.22: Number of families and households in 1921 and 1930

Year	Population	Complete families (CF)	Economic households (EH)	Average number of members in		Share of CF on EH (in %)
				complete families	economic households	
1921	3 000 870	584 032	637 000	5,14	4,71	91,70
1930	3 329 793	679 334	745 000	4,90	4,47	91,20

The increase of the number of married men and women between the 1921 and 1930 censuses meant that the number of families had increased too and the increase of the number of households was the consequence of this fact. The number of completed families where both husbands lived with or without children had increased between two censuses by 16,3%, however, the decreasing natality led to the situation that the average size of completed families fell from 5,14 members to 4,90 members, thus, by 4,7%. The number of economic households, i.e. collectives carrying out economic activities for the common budget and living together in the same dwelling, increased by 17,0%, thus faster than the number of completed families. The reason was in separation of parts of completed families within until then jointly economically active households, i.e. new economic collectives arose. Thus, the average number of an economic household decreased from 4,71 to 4,47, what meant the shortage of this society by 5,1%.

Data on the development of families and households during the intercensal time period 1921-1930 thus confirmed the previous findings on the vitality of Slovak population, which maintained also during first years after World War II, as it has been showed by the data on the population reproduction from this time period being elaborated and processed in the previous publications of the Research Demographic Centre.

8. MIGRATION OF POPULATION

For the whole time period for which the demographic data were available Slovakia had to be considered as an emigration country, which had been solving its population problems – similarly as Czechia in those days – by emigration of part of its population. Owing to the emigration balances for Slovakia from the 1869 census until 1910, the differentiated method has found out the following migration losses: –126 thousand inhabitants during 1870-1880, –122 thousand inhabitants during 1881-1890, –122 thousand inhabitants during 1891-1900, –217 thousand inhabitants during 1901-1910.⁸

The statistics of external migration was introduced in Czechoslovakia in 1922. However, neither this statistics was accurate because the information sources were of different kind and were not processed in a reliable way. Despite the above-mentioned aspects, it was possible to compile data for Table 23 for Slovakia by using the estimates on migration for 1920 and 1921.

During 1920-1924 Slovakia had been loosing by external migration still a remarkable number of population. It was more than 18 000 people annually. Also during the next time period 1925-1929, the annual losses had been exceeding 10 000 inhabitants. Only during the World Economic Crisis, when the western immigration countries, including the USA, ceased the reception of migrants, the migration losses of Slovakia decreased to 3000 inhabitants annually (during 1930-1934); during 1935-1937 the loss represented 4000 inhabitants.

Table 23: External migration during 1920-1937

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration
1920 – 24 ¹	9 231	27 639	-18 408
1925 - 29	3 004	13 316	-10 312
1930 - 34	3 344	6 120	-2 776
1935 - 37	1 580	5 598	-4 018

¹ Author's estimation

The analysis of the results of 1930 census, reported the migration losses of Slovakia between 1921 and 1930 censuses as 193 597 presented inhabitants, including losses due to internal migration.⁹

Based on different data sources the different compilations on the structure of emigrants were constructed. For example, the Statistical Yearbook of Czechoslovakia for 1938 reported for the period of 1924-1928 for Slovakia an annual average number of emigrants (including seasonal) at the level of 4 573 people; for 1929-1933, there were 4 947 emigrants. In 1936, 4 831 people emigrated from Slovakia, of which 2 342 people to France and 2 246 people had stated the target of their emigration one of the overseas countries. The more regular data were published in Reports of the Statistical Office and their sample in Statistical Yearbooks of Czechoslovakia. There was no data source which could be considered as perfect, thus, the relatively most reliable data, however only on the net migration, were available only from censuses and the net migration data being derived from them.

9. RETROSPECTIVE POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

Thanks to the fact that all censuses from 1869 were processed also by municipalities, it was possible after 1918, when Slovakia became a political and territorially administrative entity, to reconstruct also the number of population at particular censuses until nowadays.

Tab.24: Population according to censuses as of 1869-1930 (area: 49 035 km²)

Indicator	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1921	1930
Population	2 481 811	2 477 521	2 595 180	2 782 925	2 916 657	2 993 859	3 324 111
Chain indices	100	99,8	104,7	107,2	104,8	102,6	111
Population density	50,6	50,5	52,9	56,8	59,5	61,1	67,8

The increase of population between particular censuses was uneven. It depended on the natural increase rate, thus on the level of natality and mortality, as well as on migration losses, which were always very significant. Between the first and second modern-age census, the number of population in Slovakia decreased by 4 290 in-

⁸ Demographic handbook 1981. Prague 1982, p.90-91

⁹ Czechoslovak Statistics, document No.98, p. 28

habitants although the natality rate was around 44,4‰, but the mortality rate represented 39,5‰ and the rate of natural increase was 4,9‰. However, the net migration was negative.

During the next intercensal time period 1880-1890, an increase in population by 4,7% occurred. Although the decrease in natality to 43,4‰ and in mortality to 34,6‰, the natural increase reached the value of 8,8, however, the net migration had been decreasing too – 122 thousand inhabitants. The fastest growth rate of population was between 1890 and 1900 censuses, when the number of population increased by 7,2% as a consequence of natality rate being 41,1‰ and a more favourable level of mortality being at the level of 30,2‰, thus, the natural increase rate was 10,9‰ annually. The net migration was negative at the level of 122 thousand inhabitants; however, it diminished the total rate of increase by approximately 40% only.

Between the last censuses before the World War I (1900-1910), the number of population of Slovakia increased by 4,8%. The natality decreased to 37,8‰, mortality reached the level of 25,6‰ only, thus the rate of increase was 12,2‰ annually. However, the net migration was very high: almost – 217 thousand inhabitants. During 1881-1910 Slovakia lost due migration approximately 57% of natural increase what was the share being twofold higher than in Czechia.

The increase of population between 1910 and 1921 censuses was 2,6% and consisted from the natural increase of population being 172 512 and migration losses (including war losses) representing 95 310 inhabitants. During 1921-1930 Slovakia reached the highest relative increase of population. Between both censuses of the first republic (1921-1930), the number of population, increased in Slovakia by 11,0% and represented 330 562 presented inhabitants. The increase by 462 823 people was due to the natural increase, due to migration the growth decreased by 132 261 inhabitants. Migration absorbed 28,6% of the natural increase of population. At the end of the first republic, as of 30 September 1938, Slovakia reported 3 580 000 presented inhabitants. The ongoing development is not the subject of this study. However, the development of Slovak population was always more favourable than in Czechia.

10. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF THE POPULATION REPRODUCTION

In the international comparison of both basic indicators of the natural change of population, i.e. natality and mortality, we are comparing Slovakia with European countries, which have provided the indicators on these demographic events for the time period 1920-1939. It has been done on the basis of crude natality and mortality rates because at those times the countries did not submit the calculation of more precise measures. Regarding the fact that twenties did not report the significant deformations from the pyramid age structure in the mentioned countries, a relatively small distortion of crude natality and mortality rates for the former first time period is in question. Unfortunately, this is true to an only restricted extent for the time period 1935-1939, nonetheless, even for this time period the more precise indicators were not retrospectively available.

For the time period 1920-1924, by which we are starting the international comparison, the data for fifteen countries are available, for the closing time period 1925-1939 the data are available for 27 countries, if we consider Slovakia and Czechia as separate countries and if we omit the data for Czechoslovakia.

The time period 1920-1924. According to the natality indicator, from 15 compared countries Slovakia ranked among countries with the highest values of this indicator. Only Bulgaria and Romania had a higher level of natality. As far as the mortality is concerned, Slovakia belonged among countries with the highest levels of this indicator. In addition to Bulgaria and Romania, only Japan had a higher crude mortality rate at those times. One can derive from it that for the beginning of twenties of the previous century the reproduction of the Slovak population was extensive, with the high natality but also with the high mortality.

The time period 1935-1939. As compared to other 26 countries, 8 countries, concretely Bulgaria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Greece and Japan, reported a higher natality than Slovakia. The mortality indicator was higher than in Slovakia in 10 countries, concretely in Bulgaria, Finland, France, Hungary, Portugal, Austria, Romania, Greece, Spain and Japan. Reproduction in Slovakia was still very extensive but at the lower level of ineffectiveness. Nevertheless, in comparison with the beginning of twenties it meant a slight improvement in the effectiveness of the natural reproduction of the Slovak population.

Tab.25: International comparison of natality and mortality

Country	Fertility				Mortality			
	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939
Slovakia	35,4	31,1	26,7	22,7	19,5	18,0	15,4	13,8
Čzechia	24,1	20,4	17,5	15,2	15,6	14,3	13,2	13,0
Czechoslovakia	26,8	22,9	19,7	18,1	16,5	15,2	13,7	13,2
Belgium		22,0 ¹	16,7 ⁷	15,0 ¹⁰	14,0 ¹		12,9 ⁷	13,7 ¹⁰
Bulgaria	39,9 ¹	36,9 ⁴	31,4 ⁸	26,4	21,4 ¹	19,2 ⁴	16,2 ⁸	14,6
Denmark			20,0 ⁵	17,9			11,0 ⁵	10,7
Finland	24,0 ²		22,0 ⁵	19,7	14,0 ²	14,0 ⁵		14,0
France	19,3 ³		16,5 ⁷	14,5 ¹⁰	17,2 ³		15,7 ⁷	15,9 ¹⁰
Italia		31,8 ⁴	23,9 ⁷	23,2 ¹⁰		17,1 ⁴	14,1	13,8 ¹⁰
Yugoslavia			33,0	27,9			14,6	12,0
Hungary		26,0 ⁶	22,4 ⁷	19,9 ¹⁰		17,0 ⁶	15,8 ⁷	14,1 ¹⁰
Germany	26,0 ¹	20,0 ⁴	16,5 ⁷	19,6 ¹⁰	15,0 ¹	12,0 ⁴	11,2 ⁷	12,0 ¹⁰
Netherlands	27,0 ²	24,0 ⁴	21,1 ⁷	20,4 ¹⁰	13,0 ²	10,0 ⁴	8,6 ⁷	8,9 ¹⁰
Norway			15,2 ⁷	15,4 ¹⁰			10,4 ⁹	10,9 ¹⁰
Poland			29,8 ⁹	25,3 ¹²			13,5 ⁹	11,2 ¹²
Portugal		31,1 ⁴	29,0 ⁷		26,4 ¹⁰	19,2 ⁴	16,9 ⁷	15,7 ¹⁰
Austria			15,1	14,7			13,5	13,9
Romania	38,5 ²		33,7 ⁷	29,3 ¹⁰	23,0 ²		20,3 ⁷	19,2 ¹⁰
Greece	21,0 ³		30,2 ⁷	26,8 ¹⁰	15,1 ³		16,8 ⁷	14,5 ¹⁰
United Kingdom			15,8 ⁷	15,2 ¹⁰			12,2 ⁷	12,7 ¹⁰
Spain		29,0 ⁴	27,0 ⁷		21,6 ¹⁰	19,7 ⁴	16,3 ⁷	17,9 ¹⁰
Sweden		18,0 ³		14,5 ¹¹		12,0 ³		11,7 ¹¹
Switzerland					15,8 ¹¹			11,7 ¹¹
Canada	28,2	24,5	22,2	20,3	12,3	11,1	10,0	9,8
USA	22,8	20,1	17,6	17,2	12,0	11,8	11,0	11,0
Australia	24,4	21,6	17,6	17,2	9,8	9,4	8,8	9,6
New Zealand	23,0	20,2	17,5	17,4	9,0	8,6	8,3	9,0
Japan	35,0	34,0	31,8	29,2	23,0	19,8	18,1	17,4

Source Augstín, B.: Pokles natality u kulturních národů. Praha 1928.

Pavlík, Z.: Nástin populačního vývoje světa. Praha 1964.

Srb, V.: Tisíc let obyvatelstva českých zemí.

- | | |
|-----|-------------|
| 1) | 1920 |
| 2) | 1921 |
| 3) | 1921 – 1925 |
| 4) | 1925 |
| 5) | 1927 |
| 6) | 1926 - 1930 |
| 7) | 1931 - 1935 |
| 8) | 1930 |
| 9) | 1931 - 1932 |
| 10) | 1936 - 1940 |
| 11) | 1931 - 1940 |
| 12) | 1936 - 1938 |

CONCLUSION

Since 1918 or 1919, Slovakia belonged to the countries with the dynamic reproduction indicators according to the first reliable indicators of the natural change of population. It reported a high nuptiality typical for the traditional countries with conservative moral of society in which the wedlock and family were of a high prestige. This was confirmed also by the development of divorce rate, which was very low during the whole time period under comparison (1920-1937).

The Slovak population reported a high natality rate and/or the rate of realised fertility, although during twenties and in the half of thirties it decreased; it was substantially higher also at the end of the observed time period than in Czechia. Nevertheless, Slovakia also suffered by the depopulation tendencies what resulted from the fact that in 1935 the rate of net reproduction decreased below the replacement level of "1", what remained hidden by the high level of crude birth rate.

During the whole observed time period Slovakia reported a high mortality rate and an internationally low indicator of life expectancy. Age-specific mortality rates were falling, however not evenly in the scope of the entire age scale but mainly at younger age, what was the consequence of the successful results of the health-care system, mainly paediatric, nevertheless not of the improvement of social conditions of all population layers leading to a significant prolongation of the length of life.

The migration of population was in terms of its cross-borders migration very intensive, however, with negative net migration, what confirmed that Slovakia was during the whole demographic history an emigration country. A significant part – half and later the third of natural increases – was lost by the negative net migration, thus, the country was losing an important reproduction and economic potential.

The analysis of the population structure carried out on the basis of the decomposition of basic characteristics of population according to the 1921 and 1930 censuses has pointed out the specifications of the Slovak population.

The concentration and urbanisation of population had been successfully developing in the direction of an increase of the share of population in medium-sized towns, however, in total it contributed also to the increase of the share of population firstly of one, later of two, metropolises, i.e. of Bratislava and Košice.

The age structure of population characterised the Slovak population as a young one, not only in 1921 but also in 1930. The "rejuvenation index", as the number of population younger than 15 years belonging per 100 inhabitants older than 60 years, was very favourable and by that also the "ageing index" was acceptable. The socio-economic dependency index, representing the ratio of the number of population at productive and non-productive age, was very favourable not only in 1921 but also in 1930. The ageing of population progressed in Slovakia relatively slowly and had acceptable reproduction consequences.

During the first republic the dependence of population on basic economic branches had been shifting from agriculture, forestry and fishing for the benefit of industry and productive branches and for the benefit of the tertiary economic sector very slowly and, as compared to the political and social intentions, very unsatisfactorily. The share of population dependent on the primary economic sector remained still very high and after the World War I undoubtedly contributed to the significant emigration to abroad, to a less extent also to Czechia. The unemployment in thirties, reaching the peak in 1935, also contributed to the slowdown of the industrialisation of Slovakia. The remaining peaceful years could not compensate the previous development.

The political, economic and social character was related to two very important qualitative indicators of Slovak population. The first was the ethnic composition of the population of Slovakia. The denationalisation of the Slovak population of Slovakia, being characterised for the development of the ethnic composition before 1918, had ceased with the inception of the Czechoslovakia. After 1918, the number of population of Slovak nationality had increased and its share stabilised at the level around 66-67%. The importance and the share of Hungarian nationality had been decreasing only very slightly; thus, it was not justified to argue by the "slovakisation" policy of the government. The share of Czechs in Slovakia had been increasing and therefore contributed to the increase of the share of unitary "Czechoslovak nationality" in Slovakia, thus facing the hostile propaganda on the artificially incepted state after 1918 with the high share of ethnic minorities.

The religion structure of the Slovak population was of a high cultural, but also political, importance in Slovakia. The share of Rome-Catholics in total population had slightly increased. This could be the argument against the policy saying that the new regime was fighting against the religious feelings of population. Until 1938, there was no time for the reconciliation of the state policy and church.

The retrospective population development compiled from the results of population censuses of 1869 up to 1930 has shown the particular intercensal phases as demographically different. The growth rate of the population depended not only on its natural reproduction, which had been changing by an uneven rate of both the natality and mortality decrease, but also on the changing net migration. The migration losses of Slovakia were during its entire demographic history very remarkable and decreased only at the end of thirties of the 20th century.

The international comparison of indicators of the natural reproduction of population ranked Slovakia among countries with very ineffective reproduction (high natality but also the high mortality). The ineffectiveness rate was especially high in twenties of the previous century; however, in thirties it slightly decreased. In the Middle-European region Slovakia belonged to the populations with higher dynamics than it was reported by other countries of this region. Slovakia had been keeping this character also for the period of one ongoing generation.

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