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CAUSES OF POPULATION GROWTH AND DECLINE IN KOŠICE IN THE 19TH CENTURY: A HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Abstract

Population phenomena and processes have always attracted great attention in human society, predominantly due to their influence on economic, cultural and social needs. The key aspects discussed in this paper include the main causes of population growth and decline in Košice in the course of the 19th century.

Key Words: population, Košice, 19th century, demographic development.

Słowa kluczowe: ludność, Koszyce, XIX wiek, rozwój demograficzny.

The research into the demographic structures of Košice inhabitants shows that their distribution as well as their natural and spatial movement very much influences population growth. The geographical position of Košice played a significant role throughout its history and caused an influx of many inhabitants of different ethnic origins. An analysis of demographic information in general also describes the social and cultural level of the studied city or region. Thus, research into the population aspects in Košice in the 19th century is very beneficial.

From the historical and demographic point of view, the 19th century is a suitable century for capturing the diverse phases of the population growth curve in Košice. The selection of this topic was also influenced by the absence of scientific research or papers studying the historical and demographic development of the population of Košice in the 19th century. The research predominantly includes analyses focusing on the territory of Slovakia as a whole.

Primary documents about the population archived in the Košice City Archives were invaluable sources of information in conducting this research. As far as the first half of 19th century is concerned, the most valuable resources included

the so called “soul-conscriptions” (*Conscriptio Animarum*),¹ which were used as the only source of demographic data about the urban population. They contained detailed personal information about the inhabitants of the city, and also contained a division of inhabitants according to particular parts of the city. The exact number of inhabitants were given in the source materials, and due to that we can determine a population curve of decline or growth in the particular years when the censuses were held.² The conscriptions not only mentioned taxpayers, but also the broader population. The records made by the city council during soul conscriptions not only contained data on the inhabitants, but also on their property, which served as the basis for the calculation of taxes.³ The structure of the property register was identical to the soul-conscription.⁴

Despite their uniqueness, the population registers showed some deficiencies. They did not mention the age limits for boys and girls. They also did not contain the exact definition of the phrase *head of household*, which could mean the head of the family, the flat owner or the house owner. What was also characteristic for the population register was the listing of population without exact religious affiliations.⁵ Information is missing in the conscriptions relating to the following twelve years: 1804, 1815, 1816, 1820, 1823, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1831, 1832, 1838 and 1845, and has not been preserved in the Košice City Archives.

Another source used when analysing population besides archival materials are historical papers and books written by contemporary authors and authors from that period. The key sources on the first half of 19th century included papers by Czoch Gábor,⁶ and Pavol Šalamón.⁷ Important historical books include town

¹ Košice City Archives (Hereinafter: AMK), *Conscriptio animarum in gremio Liberae Regiaquae Civitatis Cassoviensis* (Hereinafter: Soul-conscription 1800–1847).

² Soul-conscriptions were written in Latin. Since 1840 they were written in the Hungarian language. AMK, Szabad Királyi Kassa Várossa kebelében lelkeknek összeírása 1842/43.

³ Those, who did enjoy *the right of domicile*, did not have to pay such high taxes as those who were living in Košice, but did not acquire *the right of domicile*. AMK, Soul-conscription 1800–1847.

⁴ *Conscriptio Fundorum* – Information contained in the property register was of economic nature. The population was divided into city parts. Information was collected on the owner of the house, the garden, the farmer, the meadow, vineyard, horses, bulls, cows, pigs, sheep, and occupation. There was information on tax responsibilities of citizens and on the sales tax. The inhabitants of Košice as well as those living in the suburbs had to pay the taxes on beer or wine. AMK, *Conscriptio Fundorum* 1800–1847.

⁵ The entries only read “catholicus” meaning Catholic or “acatholicus” meaning non-Catholic. AMK, Soul-conscription 1800–1847.

⁶ Czoch Gábor, *Városlakók és polgárok Kassa tarsadalmá and XIX század első felében*, Budapest: Atelier, 1997, p. 120.

⁷ Pavol Šalamón, “Demografický vývoj obyvateľov Košíc v rokoch 1848–1870,” *Slovenská archivistika* XXVI, 1 (1991) pp. 56–77; Pavol Šalamón, “Demografický vývoj obyvateľov Košíc v rokoch 1870–1918,” *Slovenská archivistika* XXVI, 2 (1991), pp. 44–61.

chronicles and historical lexicons written by Johanness Plath,⁸ Bél Wick,⁹ Jozef Tutk,¹⁰ Ludovicus Nagy¹¹ and Fényes Elék.¹²

The first years of the 19th century were significantly influenced by developments in the fields of culture and education. Many papers on national geography as well as many summary records listing and describing the cities and regions of Hungary were written, and included the characteristic features of their inhabitants. Being a royal city as well as a regional capital, Košice had a significant position at the beginning of the 19th century. The development of scholarship is characteristic for the first years of the 19th century. The city was well known for its permanent theatre and many administrative, military and religious authorities were located in the city. In order to precisely describe the population of the city, the so-called “soul-conscriptions” served as the main resource used in this work.

In the first half of the 19th century, demographic development in Košice continued at the rather slow pace characteristic of the end of the 18th century. Based on the data obtained in the “soul-conscriptions”, we can speak of uneven population growth in Košice in the first half of the 19th century. Although the population of the city was growing in the first half of 19th century, the growth rate was as slow as ever when compared to the other examined years. The population of Košice has declined slightly since 1807. The main cause behind this was a plague. Jozef Tutko wrote about Košice in his chronicles: “in 1809 and 1810 the plague raged in Košice, and in memory of that, Saint Michael’s Chapel was erected.”¹³ As the population diagram show, there was a slight population decline in years 1812, 1813 and 1814. In the given years, unfavourable weather caused a population decline. Floods of the Hornád river in 1813 were yet another reason behind the decline. The floods also destroyed some buildings in the city. “Because of unremitting rain, the river Hornád stepped out of its watercourse. To prevent the flood the Lower Gate was blocked which saved the inner city from the water... The suburbs have survived much flooding. The raging waters took many parts of houses... This happened on August 21”¹⁴ In his paper about Košice, Bela Wick also described the 1813 floods, when the inner city was only saved

⁸ Johanness Plath, *Kronika slobodného kráľovského mesta Košice*, Košice: Okresný archív, 1860, p. 283.

⁹ Béla Wick, *Kassa város története és műemlékei*, Kassa: WIKO, 1941, p. 446.

¹⁰ Jozef Tutko, *Kronika o dejoch slobodného kráľovského mesta Košic*, Košice: Tlač Karola Werfera, 1861, p. 278.

¹¹ Ludovicus Nagy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae inelyti Regni Hungáriáé I*, Buda 1828, p. 304.

¹² Fényes Elék, *Magyarország geographiai szótára melyben minden város, falu és puszta betűrendben körülményesen leiratik. I.–IV. kötet*, Pest 1851, reprint: Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadó, 1984, p. 285.

¹³ Jozef Tutko, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 249.

by the blockades at the Lower Gate.¹⁵ From 1817, the population grew slightly. A change occurred in the 1830s, when the population started declining again.

The most important year for the inhabitants was the year 1831, when a severe cholera epidemic hit the town. This epidemic caused a population decline. “The cholera epidemic has been coming from India since 1829...”¹⁶ Even the measures taken by the authorities could not stop the spread of the epidemic.¹⁷ In June, 5 to 10 deaths per day were recorded in Košice and in July and August this number grew to 20 deaths per day. Bela Wick wrote that from 17 June to 4 September, 1,247 people died of cholera.¹⁸ According to the information provided in the *Budin* newspaper, Johannes Plath wrote in his chronicle that: “... as to 13 June, since the outbreak of cholera in 33 towns and 333 villages 1, 987 people were infected and only 1,400 of them were cured. 10,587 persons died.”¹⁹ According to Samuel Borovsky, the number of those infected with cholera in the town of Košice from 11 July to 8 September 1831 was 1,165, of which 678 died.²⁰ The growing number of Košice inhabitants was evident in the last third of the 19th century. After the cholera epidemic in 1831, the population began to recover. In the following era, the population kept growing despite natural disasters. For example, in 1834 the city was hit by an earthquake and the Hornad River flooded the town again the following year.²¹ Both natural disasters only caused material losses. Towards the end of the first half of the 19th century, the population growth was characteristic for the town. The population of Košice exceeded 11,000 inhabitants.

“Compared to the 18th century, the dominance of Latin decreased, and the Hungarian language as well as another varieties of local languages were used in writing.”²² A similar situation occurred in Košice. The year 1840 brought about a change in the use of the official language, where Latin was replaced with the Hungarian language. Additionally, the “soul-conscriptions” were written only in Hungarian after 1840.²³ A new code was issued in two languages, Latin and

¹⁵ Béla Wick, *Kassa város története és műemlékei*, Kassa: WIKO, 1941, p. 164.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

¹⁷ People fought against the measures imposed by the city government (to prevent the spreading of cholera) and showed their disapproval. They thought that cholera spread because of those measures and thought that the government wanted to get rid of the peasants. Jozef Tutko, *Kronika o dejoch slobodného kráľovského mesta Košíc*, Košice: Tlač Karola Werfera, 1861, p. 252.

¹⁸ Béla Wick, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹⁹ Johannes Plath, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

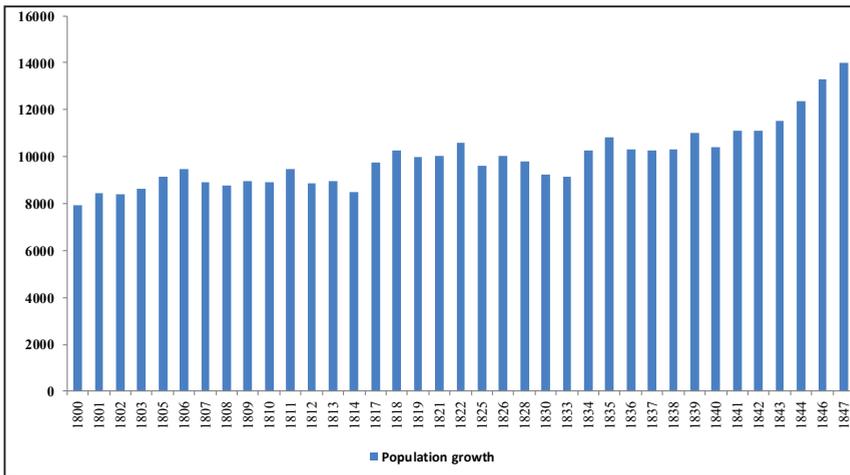
²⁰ Samu Borovský and János Sziklay, *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. (Magyarország monografiája) I. Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa*, Budapest: Apollo, 1896, p. 61.

²¹ Samu Borovský and János Szikay, eds., *Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa*, Budapest: Apollo, 1896, accessed February 2013, <http://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0001/6.html/>.

²² Dušan Škvárna and Peter Šoltés, *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum Bratislava, 2008, p. 14.

²³ AMK, Soul-conscription 1840–1847.

Hungarian. In case of doubt, the Hungarian wording was binding.²⁴ A new element captured in the materials was the counting of the Jewish population. The “soul-conscriptions” began to include Jews in 1843. These conscriptions contained the first ever mentions about the structure of the Jewish population. Data about the Jewish population was preserved in the archives relating to the years 1843, 1844 and 1847.²⁵ The detailed numbers of Košice inhabitants are given in figure 1 below.



SOURCE: The Figure was compiled using the statistical data gathered from the soul conscriptions of 1800–1847. (AMK, Soul-conscription 1800–1847).

Fig. 1: Population growth in Košice between 1800 and 1847
(numbers do not include the Jewish population)

1847 marked the end of censuses held by the city as well as of annual censuses recorded in the “soul-conscriptions”. The population development was influenced by different factors such as the strict city policy against the settlement of foreigners, religious restraint, epidemics and bad weather. The number of inhabitants generally grew in this period despite the circumstances affecting the city.

At the beginning of the 19th century Košice had around 8,000 inhabitants, which, compared to Bratislava and its 30,000 inhabitants,²⁶ is suggestive of relatively slow population growth. The towns in contemporary Slovakia grew slowly. In the first half of the 19th century, the image of Košice changed: new buildings were constructed, new suburbs appeared and the population grew slightly. The entire 19th century was marked by economic, social and cultural growth. The revolutionary years of 1848–1849 played a significant role in the development of

²⁴ Johaness P l a t h, *Kronika slobodného kráľovského mesta Košice*, Košice: Okresný archív, 1860, p. 165.

²⁵ AMK, Soul-conscription 1843, 1844, 1847.

²⁶ Dušan K o v á č, *Dejiny Slovenska* (Bratislava: NLN, 2010), 95.

the Slovak nation. The revolutionary wave touched the whole of Europe, and the city of Košice was no exception. This situation was also reflected in censuses in general. During the revolutionary period, not a single census was held. The first census after this period was held in 1850–1851.

In the second half of the 19th century, there were significant changes affecting the political situation in Hungary that were reflected in the demographic development of its population and of its towns. The neo-absolutist regime present in Hungary in the 1850s was characterised by centralism, bureaucracy and Germanisation.²⁷ The territory of contemporary Slovakia was divided into two districts: the district of Bratislava and the district of Košice. The population movement was limited and strictly guarded. However, a positive element of neo-absolutism was the introduction of economic innovations, the unification of law in the Austrian and Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and the modernisation of the government and of the judiciary.²⁸ “The Austrian neo-absolutism instituted by Alexander Bach that temporarily froze the political life of the monarchy collapsed in 1859.”²⁹ At the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, many ecclesiastical, military, and governmental authorities were based in Košice. Also the head of the district of Košice was based in the town together with the military commander. Despite the economic modernisation of the monarchy, it was impossible in this period to overcome economic stagnation in Košice. Part of the population worked in agriculture, but more people worked in merchandise. They traded commodities, mainly wine, hats, grain and tobacco.³⁰ In the town there were factories for the production of nails, leather, sugar, a paper and gunpowder mill, a printing works and a fabric factory.³¹ Suitable conditions for big business were not in place at that time. The merchants of Košice were not able to overcome the framework of small trade. They mainly focussed on the local market and the surrounding area. The importance of Košice grew significantly in the area of culture. There was a permanent theatre, a number of universities, and a network of secondary and vocational schools.³²

When analysing the demographic development of Košice’s inhabitants in the second half of the 19th century, we based our research on archival materials relating to the censuses held between the years 1850/51 and 1857. After the passing of the new Census Act in 1869, we have a series of censuses at our disposal,

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

²⁸ Ivan Mrva, *Slovensko a Slováci v druhej polovici 19. storočia*, Bratislava: Perfekt, 2010, p. 81.

²⁹ Ivan Halász, *Uhorsko a podoby slovenskej identity v dlhom 19. storočí*, Bratislava: Kalligram, 2011, p. 66.

³⁰ Mária Mihoková, *Politický život v Košiciach v rokoch 1848–1900*, Košice: Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1979, p. 518.

³¹ Fényes Elek, *Magyarország geographiai szótára melyben minden város, falu és puszta betűrendben körülményesen leíratik. I. – IV. kötet*, Pest 1851, reprint Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadó, 1984, p. 285.

³² Mária Mihoková, *op. cit.*, pp. 518–519.

recorded by the Hungarian Bureau of Statistics. Apart from statistical documents there also were documents by different authors that served us as valuable sources of information: Samu Borovský, János Sziklay,³³ Ondrej Halaga³⁴ and Józef Kovacsics.³⁵

After the revolutionary period (1848–49), the life in the city returned gradually to normal. The population growth in the city was mainly influenced by the industrial revolution, economic growth, the effort to tackle healthcare and housing problems, as well as by the number of migrants. Two subsequent censuses held in 1850–51 and 1857 are the last censuses considered part of demographic research carried out in the pre-statistical period. Most of their examined features were quite similar.³⁶ When comparing the number of inhabitants of Košice, according to official statistics, in 1850 there were 13,034 inhabitants, and the city counted 17,150 inhabitants in 1857. The data indicate a population growth of 4,116 inhabitants. The reason behind the growth was the low number of inhabitants in the census in 1850, which was generally considered to be erroneous and caused another census to be held in 1857. One of the causes of such growth was the city's growing attractiveness, which attracted migrants from the surrounding towns and villages. Despite their uniqueness, the biggest disadvantage of the censuses held in 1850–51 and 1857 is the number of missing sheets in the particular volumes of the entire census documentation. In both censuses, it was impossible to find the exact numbers of inhabitants, as the pages were lost or missing. It was also problematic to divide the population according to gender or marital status, as the sheets only contained detailed information on owners of houses, however, not as a rule.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established a new system in the monarchy. The newly created monarchy with a dualistic system entered a new era in history that lasted half a century.

Hungarian statistics was generally on a high level and ranked highly in Europe at the time. Most of the recorded phenomena are explained from a scientific point of view with high informative value.³⁷ In the field of demographics, this is shown

³³ Samu Borovský and János Sziklay, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

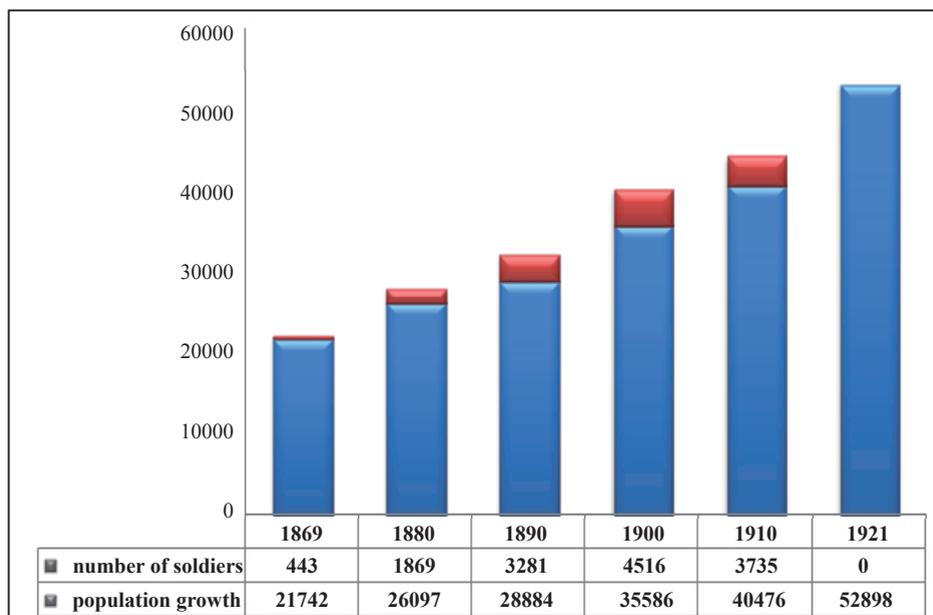
³⁴ Ondrej Halaga, *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta*, Košice: Východoslovenské tlačiarne, 1967, p. 134.

³⁵ Józef Kovacsics, *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, Budapest: Közgazdasági és jogi könyvkiadó, 1963, p. 441.

³⁶ The censuses mentioned above were recorded the same way on nearly identical forms to gather the same type of information about the population. The censuses contained personal information about the inhabitants such as the date of birth, family relations (daughter, son, father...) religion, nationality, number of persons in the house, number of flats in the house, etc. The exception was for nationality, which was not recorded in the census of 1857.

³⁷ Roman Holec, "Zmeny národnostného zloženia miest na Slovensku po roku 1918 a možnosti ich interpretácie," [in:] *Veľká doba v malom priestore. Zlomové zmeny v mestách stredoeurópskeho priestoru a ich dôsledky 1918–1929*, eds. Peter Švorc and Harald Heppner, Prešov–Graz: Universum, 2012, p. 13.

by the fact that population censuses were planned in advance to be held in years ending in a zero. The first census supervised by the Hungarian Royal Bureau of Statistics was held in 1869, and the Census Act was adopted in the same year.³⁸ Summary records of the number of inhabitants, their mother tongue, emigration and other information were then created. After the amendment of the Census Act in 1869, we can speak of a statistical period in Hungarian history.



SOURCE: This figure was compiled using statistical information gained from official statistical censuses held between 1869 and 1921. A Magyar korona országában az 1870. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei a hasznos házi állatok kimutatásával együtt (Pest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1871), 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei. 1. kötet (Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1882), 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei I. rész (Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1893), 20.; A Magyar korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. első rész. A népesség általános leírása községenként (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1902), 10.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. első rész. A népesség általános leírása községenként. (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1912), 12.; Soznam miest na Slovensku dľa popisu ľudu z roku 1919 (Bratislava: Tlačou Slovenskej knihtlačiarne v Bratislave, 1920), 4.; Sčítaní lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921 I.diel (Praha: Štátny úrad štatistický, 1924), 10.

Fig. 2: Population growth in Košice (including the army) from 1870 to 1921

Between the censuses held in 1869 and 1880, the number of inhabitants of Košice grew by almost 20%. Compared with other cities in Hungary, the city of Košice presented positive population growth values. Košice had more inhab-

³⁸ Act No. III/1869 on Census (1869. évi III. törvénycikk a népszámlálás), accessed January 2013, <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5383/>.

itants than New Sas, Temesvar and Pécs.³⁹ The population growth was caused by the industrial revolution in the city and influenced by the railway, which became an important tool in delivering raw materials from the western part of the empire. New industrial companies were established, including urban distillery, a sugar company, brewery and a state tobacco company. These companies were small on the national scale, but played a significant role as far as local employment was concerned.⁴⁰ The accumulation of capital in the city resulted in the need to establish monetary institutions. “In 1867 the Credit Bank of Košice, and in 1871 the National Bank of Košice was established...”⁴¹

After a period of economic expansion in Košice, the global economic crisis followed. It was caused by overproduction, a poor harvest and a cholera epidemic. In 1872, the cholera epidemic was considered the second biggest outbreak in the 19th century.⁴² It caused many deaths in the city. Information on the victims and the course of cholera come from the preserved medical records by the principal doctor in Košice, Jakab Moskovics. From 1 November 1872 to 10 January 1873, at least 552 people were infected with cholera (many of those infected were never reported). In the 3-month period mentioned above, 289 people died of cholera.⁴³ The victims of cholera in Košice were also mentioned by Bela Wick in his paper: “In 1872 an epidemic of cholera occurred. 4,533 people died due to its sequelae.”⁴⁴ The mortality statistics from the Hungarian lands as a whole report 190,000 cholera victims. In reality, the number of victims was much higher and this situation was made even worse by the poor harvest. According to the calculations made by György Kövér the exact number of deaths could possibly range from 350,000 to 400,000.⁴⁵

In the 1870s, under the influence of the bad healthcare situation, poor hygiene, and a stagnating housing problem the mortality rate grew significantly. In this period, throughout Hungary, high fluctuations in the number of deaths were recorded. These fluctuations were caused by the epidemics (1866, 1872 and 1874) and bad healthcare. The last “medieval” type of demographic catastrophe had ended. The first signs of demographic change and demographic growth occurred in the second half of 1870.⁴⁶ The population of Košice suffered mainly from tu-

³⁹ Samu Borovský and János Sziklay, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁰ Nikola Regináčová and Ladislav Gergely, “The Museum”, [in:] *Remembering the City*, eds. Slávka Otčenášová et al., Budapest–Košice: Copyright, 2013, pp. 97–107.

⁴¹ Béla Wick, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴² Pavol Šalamon, *op. cit.*, *Slovenská archivistika* XXVI, 2, (1991), p. 44.

⁴³ Béla Molnár, *Kassa városa orvosi története*, Kassa: Wiko, 1944, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Béla Wick, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴⁵ Gábor Gyáni and György Kövér, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig*, Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2006, pp. 42–43.

⁴⁶ Compared to England, the demographic change occurred 120–130 years earlier. In the territory of Hungary after the year 1874 the morbidity rate no longer was higher than the birth rate. László Katus, *A modern Magyarország születése. Magyarország története 1711–1914*, Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2009, pp. 377–379.

berculosis, respiratory diseases and digestive system disorders: “more than 50% of all deaths were children under 5 years.”⁴⁷ The effort to improve the healthcare situation in the monarchy was reflected by the adoption of a new Healthcare Act in 1876. This Act was very good and was also accepted by international colleges outside the monarchy.⁴⁸ The only problem with the new Act on the Improvement of Healthcare was the time it took until it entered into force in all parts of the monarchy.

In the following decade, between the censuses held in 1880 and 1890, the population of Košice declined. In percentages, the population grew just by 10.6%.⁴⁹ The reason behind this was poor healthcare as well as the unsolved housing problem the inhabitants of Košice had to face. The stationery phase was replaced by significant growth between the censuses held in 1890 and 1900, when the population grew by 11.218 inhabitants.⁵⁰ The significant population growth was also influenced by the growing presence of the army in the town. The significant population growth caused by the presence of the army was recorded in the previously mentioned censuses held in 1890 and 1900. In 1900, the army represented 11.26%⁵¹ of the town’s entire population. According to the last censuses held by the Hungarian Royal Bureau of Statistics in 1900 and 1910, the population of Košice grew by 10.25%. Compared to the previous decade and to the censuses held in 1890 and 1900, the population of the city declined.

Figure 3 shows the growth of the population in decades. The significant population growth caused by the presence of the army was recorded in the previously mentioned censuses held in 1890 and 1900. In 1900, the army represented 11.26% of the entire population of the town. In this decade the entire population ratio was also high. The lowest number of army members in the town was recorded in 1870, consisting of 443 soldiers on duty, home defence, and furlough.⁵² The numerical data indicates a significant influx of army members to Košice mainly after 1890. State support and the growing military units also influenced the life of the city. The units of the common army and Hungarian Honved Defence Force

⁴⁷ Pavol Šalamon, *op. cit.*, *Slovenská archivistika* XXVI, 2 (1991), p. 45.

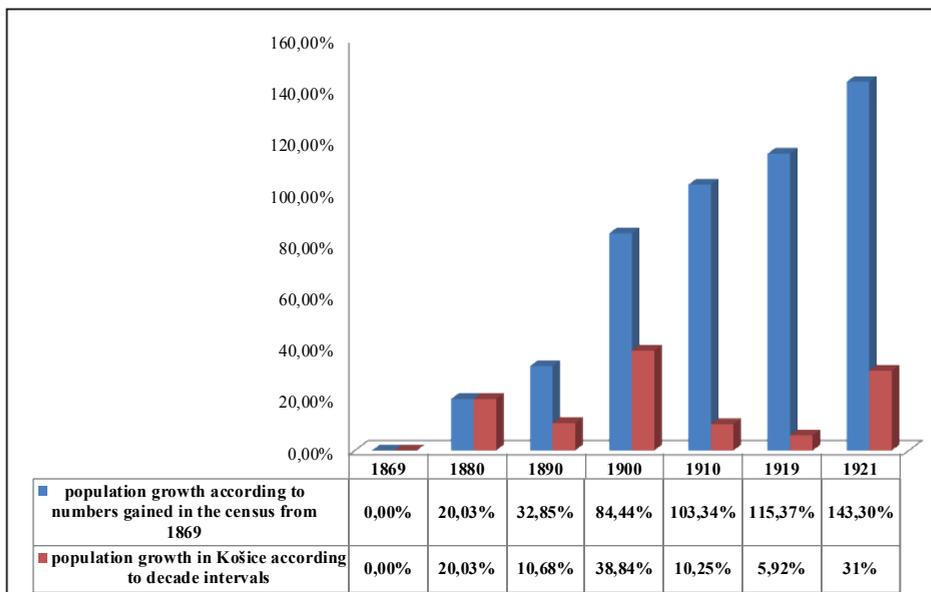
⁴⁸ Act No. XIV/1876 on Healthcare. This Act governed the occupations of doctors and midwives, determined the conditions for the establishment and operation of hospitals, and guaranteed surveillance over workplaces, companies, as well as state and public institutions. Emphasis was placed on the prevention of epidemics. The Act set out that there should be a doctor in every town and village with more than 6,000 inhabitants. László Katus, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁴⁹ Population growth was calculated in percentages using basic information gained from statistical censuses held in Košice. A Magyar korona országában az 1881. I. kötet, p. 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1891. I. rész, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Population growth was calculated in percentages using basic information gained from statistical censuses held in Košice. A Magyar korona országában az 1891. I. rész, p. 20.; A Magyar korona országának 1900. első rész, p. 10.

⁵¹ The population growth was calculated in percentages using basic information gained from statistical censuses held in Košice. A Magyar korona országának 1900. első rész, p. 10.

⁵² A Magyar korona országában az 1870, p. 120.



SOURCE: The figure was compiled using data from the official statistical censuses held in 1869 and 1921. It shows the population growth in Košice in percentages by decades and by numbers according to 1869 census. A Magyar korona országában az 1870. p. 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1881. 1. Kötet, pp. 8–9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1891. I. rész, p. 20.; A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 10.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, p. 12.; Soznam miest na Slovensku dl'a popisu ľudu z roku 1919, p. 4.; Sčítaní ľidu v Republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, p. 10.

Fig. 3: Population growth in Košice in percentages

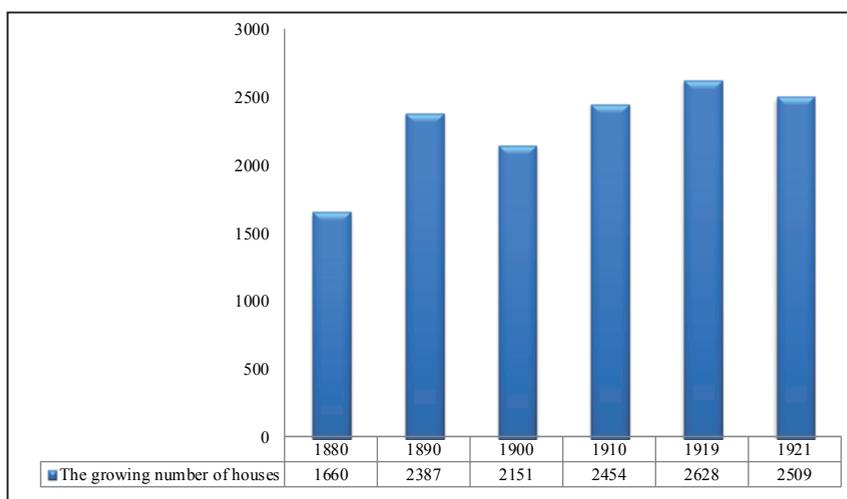
needed a large number of barracks and command buildings, which the city government built up to the end of the 19th century.

The development of the population structure of Košice's inhabitants was also influenced during the dualistic period by migration. Life in Košice was very attractive for migrants. People mainly came there from the countryside and from surrounding districts in the north. Statistics from that period show a significant number of inhabitants with different origins, coming from different parts of Hungary, the Austrian part of the monarchy and also from abroad. Another cause of population growth in the city was the arrival of the Jews, who began to settle down in Košice in the 1840s.

Towards the end of the 19th century, society was strongly influenced by emigration. The most significant wave of emigration headed to the United States. Emigration influenced the development in the district of Abov-Turňa as a whole. From 1894 to 1904, 15,000 people emigrated, out of which 2,000–3,000 returned to their homeland.⁵³

⁵³ Bohumír Kostický, *Slovensko 1848/1949 v zrkadle prameňov*, Bratislava: Osveta, 1983, p. 146.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the pace of urbanisation of the city grew and Košice recorded its most significant population growth since 1850.⁵⁴ Urbanisation sparked construction developments in the city. We can also see efforts to build new flats and houses in the city. The construction of flats was a result of an act dated 1880.⁵⁵ From 1880 to 1921, the number of flats grew by 51.1%.⁵⁶ The construction of houses was documented by the growing average number of houses per square kilometre. (Detailed data about the number of houses in Košice is given in figure 17.) In 1900, there were 23 houses per square kilometre and in 1910 the number of houses per square kilometre grew to 26. The number of people living in one house did not change, however. In 1900⁵⁷ and in 1910, 16.5 persons shared one house in Košice.⁵⁸ In the 1820s, the number of houses in Košice grew to 6,000. More houses were built on the old streets, but a number of new streets also emerged in the suburbs.⁵⁹



SOURCE: The figure was compiled using statistical data on censuses held between 1869 and 1921 in Košice. A Magyar korona országában az 1881. 1. Kötet, p. 8.; A Magyar korona országában az 1891. I. rész, p. 4.; A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 31.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, p. 35.; Sčítaní lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, p. 10

Fig. 4: The growing number of houses in Košice between 1880 and 1921

⁵⁴ Pavol Š a l a m o n, *op. cit.*, *Slovenská archivistika* XXVI, 2, (1991), p. 50.

⁵⁵ From 1848 to 1880 not more than 173 houses were built. *Ibidem*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ The growing number of houses from 1880 to 1921 was calculated in percentages using the statistical data on the number of houses. A Magyar korona országában az 1881. 1. Kötet, p. 8.; Sčítaní lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, p. 10.

⁵⁷ In 1900 there were 1629 houses made of stone or bricks. There also were 505 houses made of mud or clay, and 17 houses made of wood or other material. Roofs were made of shingles (409), broken tiles (1738), and also wood or reed (4 houses in 1900) A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 32.

⁵⁸ A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, p. 35.

⁵⁹ Ondrej H a l a g a, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

In the first decade of the 20th century, there were demographic changes as well as modernisation in the economic, cultural, and social areas. The city created suitable conditions for the development of the state and city authorities, as well as cultural centres and there was a boom in the fields of transportation, construction, science, and elementary education as reflected in the construction of elementary schools. A vocational school was established in 1872, followed by the establishment of a school of economics in 1875, which was turned into an academy for economic studies in 1906. A new grammar school was constructed at the site of the old city brewery. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, a new school of economics for women was established and a new theatre building was erected.⁶⁰ The emerging cultural life in Košice was accompanied by many activities of different societies.⁶¹ The few members of intelligentsia in the city controlled its social life, mainly the political and cultural aspects. As far as the city's economy is concerned, there were more small businesses than industrial companies.⁶² The city government focused on making the city appear more attractive. In 1909 an association for city beautification was established.⁶³

The aim of the Hungarian government was to modernise the country by passing acts to support the development of industry, railways and by making other investments. These acts caused significant changes in the governance of the country. Cities with city right, which from a legal standpoint were on the same level as districts, played a significant role in this process. Only 25 cities in Hungary had city rights in this period. The city of Košice was in the group of these cities, as a former capital of Upper Hungary (*Superios Hungarie Civitas primaria*), and a former free royal city. During the reconstitution of the regulations adopted in 1876, the number of inhabitants was decisive. Municipal cities had to have more than 12,000 inhabitants and, because of that many former free royal cities, mainly from the area of today's Slovakia and Transylvania, lost their rights. Košice fulfilled this condition and could thus maintain and enjoy this right.⁶⁴

The results gained in censuses showed either a growing or decreasing number of inhabitants. The need to specify the number of inhabitants was not important just in order to designate the town to the group of municipal cities (according to the number of inhabitants), but also to specify the number of inhabitants in the town. Censuses were held also because of the need to fill the treasury, as they revealed the amount of taxes paid by the inhabitants. This information was also issued in *Kaschauer Zeitung*. "In some parts of the country, censuses were held

⁶⁰ Béla Wick, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–218.

⁶¹ In the last decade of the 19th century, there were more than 60 societies in the town. Citizens could join religious (for example: "*Katholicus Legényegyesület*," "*Chevra – Kadischa*", etc..), professional, cultural, sporting or charitable societies (for example: "*Tanító – egyesület*", "*Kassai dalkör*, *Turista – egyesület*", etc.). Samu Borovský and János Szikay, eds., *op. cit.*

⁶² Mária Mihoková, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶³ Béla Wick, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁶⁴ Gábor Gyáni and György Kovér, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

with the help of the army. In three villages, the census was held forcibly, for taxation reasons. Some inhabitants would hide in the forest just to avoid being put on the list of taxpayers.”⁶⁵

What was characteristic for the administrative development of Košice were the surrounding parts of the city merging with the centre. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Košice was divided only into urban areas. The merging of the city centre with the surrounding urban areas was pointed out by Ondrej Halaga: “the difference between the inner city and its surroundings (Húšťaky) disappeared and they were assigned to the city as the 5th quarter (“Franz City”), 6th quarter (“Joseph City”), 7th quarter (“Elisabeth City”) and the New City to the east.”⁶⁶ After 1918, the names of these urban areas were no longer used and were replaced by a housing area.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there were undoubtedly more than 30,000 inhabitants in the city of Košice. The law stated that if there are more than 30,000 inhabitants in the city, it could be divided into two constituencies and could assign two members to the National Parliament. According to the last census, Košice had 36,220 inhabitants.⁶⁷

The development of the city in the dualistic era was influenced by many factors of differing influence. After a period of slow population growth at the beginning of the 19th century, Košice had more than 30,000 inhabitants in the second half of the 19th century. This development translated into gradual population growth in Košice. Out of all the other cities with city rights in Hungary, Košice ranked 13th (except for Rijeka). Compared also with cities with a controlled municipal office, Košice ranked 18th. Some important cities such as Budapest, Szeged, Subotica (Szabadka), Debrecen, Hódmezővásárhely, Bratislava, Kecskemét, Arad, Timisoara, Oradea (Nagyvárad), Pécs, Kluž (Kolozsvár), Makó, Szentes, Braşov (Brassó), Miskolc, Kiskunfélegyháza ranked higher than Košice.⁶⁸

The population development in Košice showed a growing curve and, together with Bratislava, the cities were among the most significant free royal cities in the territory of modern Slovakia. As municipalities, the free royal cities had no municipal head until the 1870s. The position of county head did not exist and, before its introduction, was held by municipal commissioners. In 1870, the position of municipality was introduced.⁶⁹ “Since 1886, Košice, Bratislava and some other cities in Hungary were considered specific municipalities on the level of a county.”⁷⁰ These municipal cities included Miskolc, which had a population very similar to Košice.

⁶⁵ “Príprava na sčítanie ľudu.” *Kaschauer Zeitung*, Január 11, 1881, XLIII, n. 5.

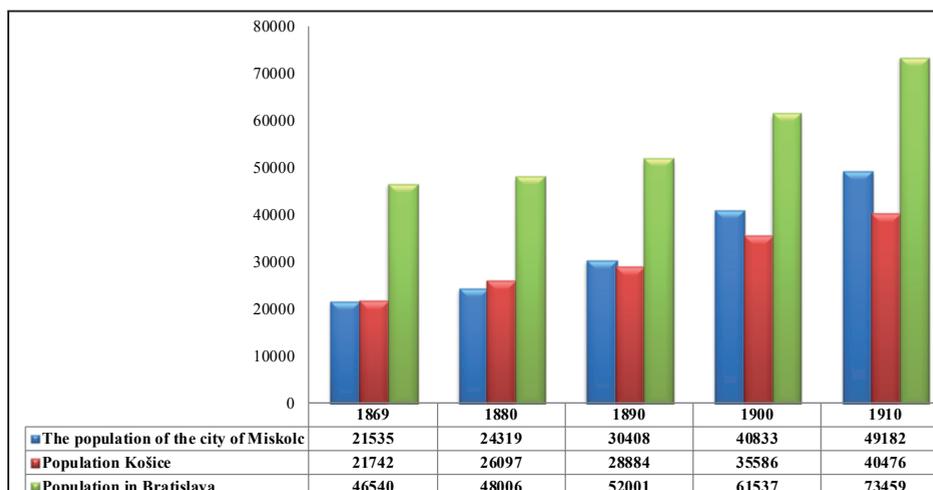
⁶⁶ Ondrej Halaga, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁶⁷ “Dvoch poslancov...” *Felsőmagyarország*, Marec 6, 1901, XVII, n. 54.

⁶⁸ Samu Borovský and János Sziklay, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁶⁹ State Archives in Košice, Hlavný župan mesta Košice 1862–1917, Inventar Hlavný župan miest Bardejov, Prešov, Košice a Sabinov.

⁷⁰ Ondrej Halaga, *op. cit.*, p. 94.



SOURCE: The figure was compiled using statistical information on the inhabitants of Hungary. As for Košice: A Magyar korona országában az 1870. p. 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1881. I. kötet, p. 9.; A Magyar korona országában az 1891. I. rész, p. 20.; A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 10.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, p. 12.; From the town Miskolc (sumarizacion table) A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 609.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, pp. 42–43.; From the town Bratislava (sumarizacion table) A Magyar korona országainak 1900. első rész, p. 537.; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. első rész, pp. 40–41.

Fig. 5: Development in the number of inhabitants in Miskolc, Košice and Bratislava

Along with Bratislava, Košice showed the most significant economic growth among Slovak cities. In bigger cities (in today's Slovakia), modernisation in the field of industry, agriculture and transportation brought about not only economic, but also social changes, mainly in the last third of the 19th century.⁷¹ At the end of the 19th century, Bratislava ranked 5th and Košice ranked 15th in terms of the number of inhabitants in Hungary.⁷² An increased number of bank and court offices strengthened the image of Košice as an administrative centre. The city enjoyed a strong position mainly in the field of governance, culture, education and other fields that were not related to economy or industry.

At the end of the 19th century, the buildings of the new museum and of the new theatre were finished. The developing cultural life in Košice was also enjoyed by a broad segment of society. A small group of intellectuals controlled social life mainly on the political and cultural level. At the beginning of the 20th century, the pace of urbanisation grew and Košice showed the most significant increase in the number of inhabitants since 1850.

⁷¹ Ivan Mrva, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–227.

⁷² Július Mesároš, *Dejiny Slovenska II*, Bratislava: SAV, 1968, p. 406.

Conclusions

The social situation at the time was evaluated using soul-conscriptions, and papers written by the authors of that period as well as those written by contemporary authors. An important milestone in the capturing of the number of citizens in Kosice was the adoption of the regulation that permitted Jewish people to enter the city. This fact was yet another reason behind the population growth in the city. Jews started to settle down in the city in the 1840s. In evaluating the data from archival sources, we can gain information about the language preferred in Košice in the first half of the 19th century. Latin was gradually replaced by Hungarian. The growing number of Košice inhabitants and their distribution was influenced by factors such as epidemics, natural disasters, military riots or the uncompromising policies of the city management against the settlement of foreigners. The industrial revolution, economic development, and the effort to tackle the housing problem and the numbers of immigrants had the greatest impact on population growth. The unsatisfactory hygienic conditions in which the citizens of Košice lived increased the death rate in the 1870s, and resulted in higher mortality. This situation among the population was influenced also by the increased presence of the army in the city and more immigration. Owing to the urbanisation of the town, there was development in the field of construction, as reflected by the fact that the number of houses increased by 51.1%.

Nikola Regináčová

PRZYCZYNY PRZYROSTU I ZMNIĘSZANIA LUDNOŚCI W KOSZYCACH W XIX WIEKU. ANALIZA HISTORYCZNO-DEMOGRAFICZNA

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest zmianom demograficznym w Koszycach w XIX wieku. Badania wskazują, że ludność Koszyc w tym okresie charakteryzowały tendencje wzrostu, chociaż był to wzrost relatywnie najmniejszy w XIX wieku. Badania oparte zostały na materiałach demograficznych z oficjalnych rejestrów, ówczesnych oraz współczesnych artykułów. Ważną chwilą w historii Koszyc jest ustanowienie prawa do osiedlania się Żydów w mieście, na skutek czego obserwujemy wzrost ludności żydowskiej w latach czterdziestych XIX wieku.

Rozwój ludności w Koszycach kształtowany był takimi czynnikami jak epidemie, klęski żywiołowe, wojny oraz polityka władz uniemożliwiająca osiedlanie cudzoziemców w mieście. Największy wpływ na zmiany ludnościowe miała rewolucja przemysłowa, rozwój gospodarczy miasta oraz rozwiązywanie problemów mieszkaniowych przez władze, jak również polityka dotycząca imigrantów. Duży wpływ na śmiertelność miały złe warunki higieniczne w latach siedemdziesiątych XIX wieku. Pomimo tych niedogodności liczba ludności wzrastała na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Niebagatelną rolę na rozwój miało, obok migracji, stacjonowanie wojska w mieście i projekty urbanizacyjne. W konsekwencji ludność miasta wzrosła o 51,1% w latach 1880–1921.