

Zlatica Sáposová

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN KOŠICE, SLOVAKIA – AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT OF ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES*

A b s t r a c t

This study presents a concise overview of significant works dealing with the research of voluntary associations in Košice written by Slovak and Hungarian scholars. It hints at abundance of archival sources that have not been investigated yet. The study also draws attention to the fact that an analysis of association activities in Košice at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century belongs to the realm of very sensitive questions in both historiographies due to its involvement in ethnic issues.

Key Words: Historiography, associations, bourgeoisie, societies.

Słowa kluczowe: historiografia, stowarzyszenia, burżuazja, towarzystwa.

A brief description of the necessity of researching associations

In the Kingdom of Hungary, the bourgeoisie formed in a complex and differentiated process. Compared to the countries of Western Europe, the Industrial Revolution arrived here half a century later; nevertheless, the country did its best to make up for lost time by modernizing and reforming the structure of society in general. The changes in the Kingdom of Hungary did not happen all at once and at the same level of intensity. While Budapest became a large city in a short time, some rural regions remained untouched. The traditional culture changed in some locations; in others it just touched some sectors of culture (interior design, fashion, mindset, mentality, etc.). There were two social strata living next to each other: the modern stratum, still in formation (working class, the petite bourgeoisie

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and the high bourgeoisie) and the society living in accordance with the old values (peasantry, lower, middle and high nobility). During the formation of the bourgeoisie, there was not a single town or city in the Kingdom of Hungary without associations, clubs or casinos. Villages had their own various associations, too.

The presence of associations was always an important indicator of the progressiveness of bourgeois society. The kinds, types, numbers of associations and their classes – based on their accepted goals and legal forms – illustrate the economic and spiritual state of the local societies. Seen from a broader point of view, it even shows the culture of the society of the country, as well as its political system and level of tolerance. The form and intensity of the association activities shows the correlation of the power of the state and its citizens, as well as the stability of the political system in use. As Sándor Dobrovits,¹ an expert of the time, said about the interest in associations: “Life in associations [...] deserves a great deal of attention, seen from the aspect of national politics; the growing intensity of the public interest in the state efforts to regulate associations is fully legitimate.”² The activities of associations grouping various social classes were closely related to life in the different cities, towns and villages. At a local or national level, these also depended on political, economical and cultural efforts as well as how these associations could solve a social problem, thus whether the associations could fulfil the needs of the time.

Research of associations never had many advocates in Slovak historiography, especially not at a regional level. We lack the basic syntheses dealing with the process of establishing associations within society at large in certain periods (e.g. the period of reformation, the era of dualism). Moreover, we lack legal definitions of societies, companies, cooperatives, unions, corporations in the light of the changes brought by the changing times.³ Sadly, we are also lacking literature

¹ He was an employee of the national statistical office from 1912 onwards, between 1923 and 1930 he was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* [The Hungarian Statistical Review]. Among other things, he dealt with the changes in the number of inhabitants and edited monographs of counties concerning public education; he authored a publication on the voluntary associations of Budapest, etc.

² Cited: Dr. L. Reisz, “Egyetek a dualizmuskori magyarországon,” [Societies in Hungary in the Age of Dualism], *Statisztikai Szemle* [Statistical Review], 10 (1988).

³ Elena Manová, “Spolky a ich miesto v živote spoločnosti na Slovensku v 19. storočí. Stav a problémy výskumu” [Associations and their Place in the Society of Slovakia in the 19th Century. The Current State and Problems of Research], *Historický časopis* [Historical Magazine] 38, 1 (1990), pp. 15–27; “Spolky na Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1951” [Societies in Slovakia between 1945 and 1951], *Slovenská archivistika* [Slovak Archivers’ Journal] 15, 1 (1980): pp. 63–95. *Znaky spolkov* [Emblems of Associations], *Slovenská archivistika* [Slovak Archivers’ Journal] 21, 1 (1986): pp. 82–108; “Spolky v Bratislave koncom 19. a v prvej polovici 20. storočia” [Associations in Bratislava at the End of the 19th Century and in the First Half of the 20th Century], *Slovenský národopis* [Slovak Ethnography] 35, 2–3 (1987): pp. 363–369.; “Spolky a ich miesto v živote spoločnosti na Slovensku v 19. storočí. Stav a problémy výskumu” [Associations and their Place in the Society of Slovakia in the 19th Century. The Current State and Problems of Research], *Historický časopis* [Historical Magazine] 38, 1 (1990), pp. 15–27.

on associations as civil initiatives. Today, we have seen only publications on certain associations, on certain categories of associations and on the organizational structure of certain categories of associations. As far as Slovak historiographers are concerned, historian Elena Mannová dedicated her time to the research of the establishment of associations and the movements of associations, touching upon many different aspects. A great deal of her efforts was aimed at processing mainly the association movement of the early modern times. In her works, E. Mannová also focuses on the matter of researching associations and the lack of a synthesis on this topic. Apart from E. Mannová, this subject was also covered by Gabriela Dudeková⁴ and Katarína Pekařová.⁵

It is also a matter of fact that not even the Hungarian historiographers have paid the necessary attention to the topic. However, the history of associations has seen a growing interest in the last 15 years. Several works have been written, but these are quite varied and therefore it is difficult to summarize their results.⁶

The state of the research on associations is also poor at the regional level. The city of Košice, despite its significant position in the region, has not yet processed the history of its associations. There are no historical works, monographs or studies on the associations of Košice neither from the 19th century, nor from the era between the two world wars. However, after 1867, due to the modernization of society in general, there was a boom in the number of associations. A wide range of social, scientific, cultural and self-educational associations appeared. Their goal was to increase the level of education using advances in technology and the advent of new forms of business. An important aspect was also the fact that the

⁴ Gabriela Dudeková, *Dobrovoľné združovanie na Slovensku v minulosti* [Voluntary Associations in Slovakia in the Past], Bratislava: SPACE – Centrum pre analýzu sociálnej politiky, 1998.

⁵ Katarína Pekařová, “Prírodovedné a lekárske spolky na území Slovenska 1850–1918” [Scientific and Medicinal Societies in the Territory of Slovakia, 1850–1918], accessed May 15, 2013, http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/e_kniznica/pekarova.pdf.

⁶ Historian Árpád Tóth classifies the register of associations written by Edit Pór (*Magyarországi egyesületek címtára* [Register of Hungarian Associations] (Budapest, 1988)) as one of the relevant works as well as Sándor Bősze’s *Egyesületi élet a polgári szabadság... Somogy megye egyesületei a dualizmus korában* [Association life in the ... of the civil freedom. Associations of Somogy county, Hungary in the era of dualism], Kaposvár, 1997, SML, p. 258 (Somogyi almanach [Almanac of Somogy county] 53.). Further significant works are the statistical analysis of associations in Hungary in the age of dualism by László Reisz, “Egyletek a dualizmuskori Magyarországon,” [Societies in Hungary in the Age of Dualism]. *Statisztikai Szemle* [Statistical Review], vol. 1988., no. 10., as well as the work of Tibor Papházi on the history of German associations, seen from a sociologist’s view, “A német egyesületi modell és kialakulása” [The German model of associations and its development], *Szociológiai Szemle* [Sociological Review] 1993/3–4, pp. 101–119. Árpád Tóth claims that as a specific feature of the research of associations in Hungarian history, the content and the context analysis methods applied did not follow the relevant changes and views of research done in Western Europe. Árpád Tóth, *Önsegélyezés és önszerveződés* [Self-supporting and Voluntary Associations], Korall 2001. Autumn-winter issue.

elite of the Kingdom of Hungary wanted to incorporate Košice and the Slovaks into a united Hungarian cultural life. By the end of the 19th century, so many associations existed in Košice that the citizens themselves complained about them being superfluous and useless, while failing to pay membership fees. Thus, many associations stagnated, and many dissolved or merged with others. The archives of the city of Košice⁷ provide a number of documents needed to create a detailed image of associations, although some of them are incomplete or survived only in fragments. Nevertheless, the publications appearing at the time – memoirs, yearbooks, personal publications, the publications of the respective associations, institutions approving the associations' constitutions (i.e. the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Interior, the Minister Plenipotentiary for Slovakia, the Provincial Offices, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, the Office of the Interior Czar, the police directorates, the archives of counties, as well as the processus, notary and district archives) – provide sufficient information to describe the associations and their operation. Official statistics such as the statistics of associations from 1878 also contain helpful data. However, one also has to take into account the problems that arose at the time of the association census. The fact is that the available registries and statistics are frequently erroneous or incomplete, and the need of surveying the periods when the individual associations suspended their activities make the task almost impossible to tackle. Thus, we cannot bypass these factors when doing research on the topic of associations; the resulting data may be only produced by means of statistical estimation. The subject of association records and the census of the second half of the 19th century was a research topic of the scholars of the time, too, mainly János Hunfalvy and Gyula Varga.⁸

⁷ Štátny archív Košice, pobočka Košice [Slovak State Archives, Košice branch office]: for example, the following document funds: guilds, societies and voluntary associations; Associations in the county of Abov (Abaúj) and Turňa (Torna) 1861–1918; State power, administration and self-government. The county of Abov (Abaúj). Administrative documents 1498–1850; State power, administration and self-government. The county of Abov (Abaúj) and Turňa (Torna). The vice-count. 1882–1919.

The Košice City Archives. For example, the following document funds: guilds, societies and voluntary associations; The index of voluntary associations of Košice and the municipalities belonging to the district of Košice; Unlisted documents of the city of Košice – 1888 and below; the resources of the Police Directorate.

⁸ See Reisz, “Egyletek a dualizmuskori magyarországon” [Societies in Hungary in the Age of Dualism], p. 930–946, and János Hunfalvy, “Magyarország különböző egyletei” [Various Associations in Hungary], *Statistikai Közlemények* [Statistical Journal] vol. IV., brochure I. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Statistikai Bizottsága [the Statistical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], 1862.; Gyula Varga (1880): “Magyarország egyletei és társulatai 1878-ban” [Hungarian Societies and Associations in 1878], *Hivatalos Statisztikai Közlemények* [Official Statistical Journal] XLII, Budapest: Országos magy., ed. Statisztikai Hivatal [Hungarian National Royal Statistical Office, Budapest], 1880; János Bocz, “Egyesületi statisztika Magyarországon” [Statistics of Associations in Hungary], [in:] *Statisztikai Szemle* [Statistical Review], 70, 10 (1992), pp. 840–852; Sándor Dobrovits, “Magyarország egyesületeinek statisztikája” [Statistical Data of Associations in Hungary], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* [Hungarian

Another source of information for researchers of associations in Košice is the work of Michal Potemra: *Kultúrna a osvetová práca na Slovensku v rokoch 1901–1918* [Cultural and Public Enlightenment Work in Slovakia between 1901 and 1918], volumes I–IV (to be precise: Volume II: *Kultúrna a osvetová práca na Slovensku v rokoch 1901–1918, Časť II* [Cultural and Public Enlightenment Work in Slovakia between 1901 and 1918, part II], *Kultúrne a osvetové spolky, organizácie a podniky na Slovensku* [Cultural and Public Enlightenment Societies, Organizations and Corporations in Slovakia], SVK Košice, 1983.). Katarína Pekařová’s study entitled *Ročenka regionálnych spolkov ako prameň k dejinám regiónov na Slovensku do roku 1918* [Yearbooks of Regional Societies as a Source of Regional History in Slovakia until 1918] is another work that helps researchers find less-known types of documents. It draws the attention of regional historiographers to precious information included in yearbooks.⁹

Selected data on the number of associations in the Kingdom of Hungary:

Contemporary statistics are very important sources for research in the field of associations. According to the statistics of 1878, 100 to 200 new associations emerged annually in the 1860s, while in the 1870s this number reached 300 to 500. In 1878, there were 3995 associations having more than 672.000 members in Hungary (in Austria there were 11017 associations at the time).

Associations were most numerous in towns and cities. The 1878 Hungarian statistical data show that there were 1,036 associations in royal free cities having a total of almost a million inhabitants. The counties with a population of almost 13 million people had 2,959 associations. In the cities, there was one association per 927 inhabitants – this ratio was one association per 4,328 inhabitants in the case of the counties. In the Kingdom of Hungary, only 6.8% of the municipalities

Statistical Review], 13, 1 (1935), pp. 23–37; Sándor Dobrovits, “Társadalmi szervezete” [Social Organizations], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* [Hungarian Statistical Review], 16, 4 (1938), pp. 414–418; A. D o m o k o s, “A társadalmi egyesületek statisztikája” [Statistics of Voluntary Associations], *A magyar hivatalos statisztika történetéből. Az V. statisztikatörténeti vándorülés előadásai és korreferátumai* [From the History of Official Hungarian Statistics. Proceedings of the V. Conference on the History of Statistics], Gödöllő, Hungary, May 23–25, 1967. Magyar Közgazdasági Társaság Statisztikai Szakosztály Statisztikatörténeti Szakcsoport. [Hungarian Economic Society, Statistical Department, Statistical History Working Group], Budapest 1968, pp. 220–229.

⁹ Eva K o v a ě i ě o v á and Štefan Š t v r t e c k ý, *Almanachy, ročenky a zborníky na Slovensku v rokoch 1701–1965 provizórny súpis* [Almanacs, Yearbooks and Anthologies in Slovakia from 1701 to 1965: A Temporary List], Bratislava: Univerzitná knižnica [University Library], 1983, p. 268. Eva K o v a ě i ě o v á and Štefan Š t v r t e c k ý, *Bibliografia almanachov, ročeniek a zborníkov na Slovensku 1919–1944* [The Bibliography of Almanacs, Yearbooks and Anthologies in Slovakia, 1919–1944], Martin: Matica slovenská, 1991, p. 296. Eva K o v a ě i ě o v á and Štefan Š t v r t e c k ý, *Bibliografia almanachov, ročeniek a zborníkov na Slovensku 1945–1965* [The Bibliography of Almanacs, Yearbooks and Anthologies in Slovakia 1945–1965], Martin: Matica slovenská, 1995, p. 430.

The aggregated number of associations in Hungary in 1878

The main groups (forms) of associations	Number of associations
Self-supporting	535
Charities	225
Educational	131
Social	964
Physical training	312
Industrial	1275
Production cooperatives	3
Consumer	12
Economic	82
Commercial	42
Water regulation	19
Firefighting	246
Scientific and literary	59
Artistic	4
Religious	43
Other	43
Total	3995

SOURCE: Magyarország egyesületeinek statisztikája. [*Statistical data of associations in Hungary*] Statisztikai Szemle [*Statistical Review*], vol. 1935, no. 1.

had associations. However, more than 73.5% of the municipalities having more than 2,000 inhabitants had associations. The most troublesome point in these statistical data is that we lack data on the dissolution of associations. The number of associations does not contain the data on the previously existing organizations dissolved just before the census. Moreover, we miss the data on the associations dissolved before 1914, still existing during the 1878 association census.

The number of associations in Košice at the end of the 19th century

According to the available data, Košice had 57 associations. Thus, there was one association per 457 inhabitants at the time, as in 1880 Košice had a population of 26,097 people. In the monograph “Magyarország vármegyéi és városai”

[Counties and Cities of Hungary] (chapter “Kassa társadalma” [The Society of Košice]), the associations of Košice were classified into three groups:¹⁰

1. Social associations: 19 associations¹¹
2. Public educational associations: 15 associations (aimed at literature, arts, sciences, as well as self-education)¹²
3. Charitable associations: 23 associations¹³

¹⁰ János Sziklay and Samu Borovszky, *Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa* [The County of Abauj-Torna and Košice]. *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai* [Counties and Cities of the Kingdom of Hungary], Budapest: “Apollo” Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság [“Apollo” Literary and Printing Co., inc.], 1896.

¹¹ Társalgási egyesület (Nagy kaszinó) [Discussion Soc. (Great casino)] 1828; Polgári társaskör [Bourgeois Assn.] 1867; Honvédegyelet [Patriotic Soc.] 70’s; Rózsafüzér egyesület [Rosary Soc.]; Kath. vallási társulat [Catholic Religious Soc.] 1871; Kereskedő ifjak egylete [Soc. of Young Traders] 1872; Önkéntes tűzoltó-egyesület [Voluntary Firefighters’ Assn.] 1872; Korcsolyázó egyesület [Ice Skating Soc.] 1874; Kir. jogakadémiai dalkör [Glee Club of the Royal Academy of Law] 1877; Kassai kaszinó [Casino of Košice] 1878; Kir. jogakadémiai olvasókör [Readers’ Club of the Royal Academy of Law] 1878; Eisler-féle székgyár önkéntes tűzoltó-egylete [Assn. of the Voluntary Firefighters of the Eisler Chair Factory] 1881; Kassai izraelita anyahitközség koma-egylete [Assn. of Supporters of the Israelite Community of Košice] 1882; Kassai vadász-társulat [Košice Hunters’ Assn.] 1885; Állatvédő egyesület [Animal Protection Assn.] 1885; Kassai tornázó- és vivő-egyesület. [Košice Gymnastics and Fencing Assn.] 1893 (1868 “Torna-egylet” [Gymnastics society]); Katholikus olvasókör [Catholic Readers’ Club] 1893; Kassai társaskör [Košice Community Club] 1893; Kassai falkavadász-társulat [Košice Dog Hunting Assn.] 1894; Magyarországi Kárpát-egyesület “Keleti Kárpátok” osztálya [“Eastern Carpathian Mountains” Department of the Hungarian Carpathian Assn.]

¹² Orvos-gyógyszerész egyesület [Medical and Pharmaceutical Assn.] 1866; Kassai régi dalegyelet. [Košice Old Glee Club] 1870; Kassai dalkör [Košice Glee Club] 1891; Fröbelkert-egylet [The Fröbel Garden Soc.] 1873; Felsőmagyarországi Múzeum-egyesület [Upper Hungarian Museum Soc.] 1873; M. kir. gépészeti középiskola önképző köre [Self-Educating Club of the Hungarian Royal Secondary School of Mechanical Engineering] 1877; Asztalossegédek önképző-egylete [Self-Educating Club of Assistant Carpenters] 1883; Közművelődési egyesület [Public Education Assn.] 1886; Katholikus Legényegyesület. [Young men’s Catholic Assn.] 1887; Czipészsegédek önképző-egylete. [Self-educating Club of Assistant Shoemakers] 1893; Cs. és kir. katonai tudományos és kaszinó-egylet; [Imperial and Royal Military Scientific and Casino Club] Felsőmagyarországi kertészeti egyesület [Upper Hungarian Horticultural Soc.] 1893; Gazdasági egyesület [Economic Assn.]; Irodalmi társaság [Literary Soc.] 1893; Kassai hírlapírók “Otthona” [Home of Košice News Reporters] 1893; Könyvnyomdászok önképző egyelete [Printers’ Self-Educating Club]

¹³ Jótékony nőegylet [Women’s Charitable Assn.] 1838; Szt. Péter temetkezési társulat [St. Peter’s Funeral Soc.] 1848; A kassai egyházmegyei szegénysorsu tanulókat segélyző egyesület. [Soc. Helping the Poor Students of the Diocese of Košice] 1867; Kassai izraelita jótékony nőegylet. [Charitable Israelite Women’s Soc. of Košice] 1867; Kassa szab. kir. városi rendőrség önszegélyző egyesület [Self-Supporting Soc. of the Municipal Police of the Royal Free City of Košice] 1869; M. kir. gazdasági tanintézet segélyző egyete [Supporting Soc. of the Hungarian Royal Economic School] 1876; Munkás betegsegélyző és rokkant pénztár [Sick and Disabled Workers’ Chest] 1876; Kassai kőműves és kőfaragó segédek segélyző egyete [Supporting Soc. of the Košice Bricklayer and Stonemason Assistants] 1876; Kassai ác- és molnársegédek temetkezési egyete. [Funeral Soc. of the Košice Carpenter and Miller Assistants] 1877; Kir. jogakadémia és államtud. kar hallgatóit segélyző egyesület [Soc. Supporting the Students of the Royal Academy of Law and the Faculty of State Sciences] 1877; Kassai m. kir. gépészeti közép-ipariskola önszegélyző egyesülete [Self-

During the second half of the 19th century, Slovaks had no associations of their own in Košice. Discrimination of nationalities other than the Hungarians was evident even in exercising the right of supervision of the associations. Ethnic minorities could have only literary and educational associations, the word “national” was forbidden in association names.

Table 2

The population of Košice, classified by mother tongue / by ethnicity in 1921

Mother tongue (in 1921: ethnicity)	1880	1890	1900	1900 with the army	1910	1921*
Hungarian	38,3%	49,9%	66,2%	64,8%	75,4%	21,1%
German	16,1%	13,5%	8%	8,5%	7,2%	4%
Slovak	39,5%	33,6%	22,9%	23%	14,8%	59,6%
Romanian	0,04%	0,08%	0,03%	0,12%	0,2%	0,04%
Rusyn	0,06%	0,12%	0,13%	0,76%	0,47%	0%
Croatian	0,04%	0,58%	0,05%	0,08%	0,06%	0%
Serbian	0%	0,03%	0,03%	0,03%	0,04%	0%
Other	5,9%	0,6%	0,5%	2,8%	1,75%	15%

SOURCE: data from the Hungarian Royal Statistics Office

Non-Hungarians only had limited possibilities in establishing associations and gathering members. The lack of transparency in the procedures and official approval, the forbidding and supervising of cultural associations was intentional. Executive power was in the hands of the district offices, so the rules and regula-

Supporting Assn. of the Hungarian Royal Secondary School of Mechanical Engineering] 1878; Vörös kereszt-egyesület kassai fiók-egylete [Košice Branch Assn. of the Red Cross Assn.] 1879; Kassai kir. r. kath. férfi-tanítóképzőben fennálló “Segélyző pénztár” [Supporting Chest of the Košice Men’s Royal Roman Catholic Teachers’ School] 1879; Chevra-Kadischa. Jótékony egylet [Charitable Soc.] 1880; Tíz krajczáros egylet [Ten Pence Assn.] 1880; Szabó segítők segély- és önképző egylete [Supporting and Self-Educating Soc. of Assistant Tailors] 1880; Kassai kereskedelmi ipartársulat betegápoló alapja [Sickness Fund of the Košice Commercial and Industrial Assn.] 1886; Kassai vallásos és jótékony egylet [Religious and Charitable Assn. of Košice] 1889; Kassai kerületi betegsegélyző pénztár [Košice District Health Insurance Chest] 1892; “Humanitas” jótékony nőegylet [‘Humanitas’ Charitable Women’s Club]; Kassai ipartestületi betegsegélyző pénztár; [Sickness Chest of the Košice Industrial Assn.], Könyvnyomdászok beteg-, rokkant-, özvegy-, árva- és munkanélkülieket segélyző egylete [The printers’ Soc. Supporting the Ill, Invalid, Widowed, Orphaned and Unemployed] Kassai kerékpár-egylet [Košice Cycling Soc.]; Az orsz. m. gyógyszerész-egylet 8-ik járása [The 8th District of the National Hungarian Pharmaceutical Assn.]; Tanító-egyesület [Teachers’ Assn.]; Vendéglősök egylete [Restaurateurs’ Soc.]; Turista-egyesület [Touristic Assn.]

tions applicable to the associations were used differently in the various counties and sometimes even in the different districts at the processing offices. However, we do find Slovaks in readers' societies, bourgeois associations and Catholic circles. In Košice, the Katolícky Čitateľský Kruh [Catholic Readers' Club] operated as a Slovak organization at the beginning of the 20th century, with Slovak members coming from the outskirts of Košice.¹⁴ The publications *Kresťan* [Christian], *Katolícke Noviny* [Catholic News], *Naša Zástava* [Our Banner], *Národné Noviny* [National News], *Národný Hlásnik* [National Herald] and *Slovenský Týždenník* [Slovak Weekly] regularly informed the public about the activities of the Catholic societies (such as those of the Catholic Readers' Club, the Kresťansko-Sociálny Spolok [Christian and Social Society] and the Katolícky Továrišsky Spolok [Catholic Workers' Society] and Catholic women's societies) such as lectures, dances, theatre plays, church concerts, musical soirées, etc.¹⁵

The situation between the two world wars

The change started after the fall of the monarchy with the establishment of Czechoslovakia. During the first Czechoslovak Republic, all conditions for the development of civil society were given. The state provided the right to establish associations not only in the national constitution, but also by implementing measures in public administration. It supported the development of the voluntary sector, mainly in the field of social services. The network of associations spread swiftly across the whole country in almost every field of society. Associations and foundations were established according to their goals: for religious, ethnic,

¹⁴ Michal P o t e m r a, *Kultúrna a osvetová práca na Slovensku v rokoch 1901–1918* [Cultural and Public Enlightenment Work in Slovakia between 1901 and 1918], I–IV (vol II., part 2).

¹⁵ *Kresťan*, March 9, 1907, p. 10. List pomadžarčovaní v čitateľskom kruhu v Košiciach [Hungarizing Letter in the Readers' Club in Košice]; *Katolícke noviny*, January 26, 1906, p. 4., V Košiciach založili Katolícky kruh členovia radov z miestnej inteligencie [Local Intellectuals Establish Catholic Club in Košice]; *Kresťan*, apríl 25, 1914, p. 11. O účinkovaní kresťansko-sociálneho spolku: činnosť jeho knižnice, podpory členom [On the Operation of the Christian and Social Society: its Library and Support Given to its Members]; *Naša Zastava*, March 3, 1912, pp. 10–11; *Katolícke ženy ochraňujúci spolok a Jednota krajinjských Domašních žien v Košiciach ... správa o výročnom zhromaždení dvoch ženských spolkov – výsledky ich činnosti* [The Society Protecting Catholic Women and the Union of Household Women in Košice: Report on the Assembly of Two Female Associations and the Results of Their Activities]; *Národný hlasník*, May 20, 1901, p. 157; *Založenie "Šovinistického spolku v Košiciach" s pomadžarčovacími úlohami* [The Establishment of the "Chauvinist society in Košice" to Perform Hungarization]; *Národné noviny*, May 9, 1901, *Kresťan*, January 18, 1908, p. 9; *Divadlový večierok Kat. tovarišského spolku* [Theater Soirée of the Catholic Workers' Club], *Naša Zastava*, May 11, 1913, p. 5; *Koscelný koncert* [A Church Concert] *Krajinjská jednota kat. ženských spolkov v Košiciach* [Provincial Union of the Catholic Women's Associations in Košice]; *Slovenský týždenník*, February 9, 1906, p. 6; *Košický Slováci* [Slovaks in Košice]; *Kresťan*, February 18, 1911, pp. 10–11; *Fašiangová zábava, divadelné predstavenie košického čitateľského kruhu* [Carnival Merriment, Theatrical Performance of the Readers' Club in Košice]; *Kresťan*, May 18, 1912, pp. 10–11; The activities of catholic societies.

professional and political reasons, though the social and health-care associations and foundations were going strong, too. Most of the support associations in Slovakia were Jewish.

The number of voluntary associations rose to 16,033 in Slovakia – there were 987 in Bratislava and 201 in Košice (in 1923). The 1925 police statistics of Košice show the following: there were 9 voluntary associations, 64 professional organizations, 235 employees' societies, 28 public enlightenment and educational societies, 24 humanitarian associations, 31 physical training associations, 4 touristic associations, 5 religious associations and 5 hunters' associations. The numbers grew constantly. In 1924, there were 26 associations registered, none of them dissolved. In 1924, there was a total of 56 public meetings, 119 members' assemblies and 151 general assemblies held. In 1930, there were 260 associations or their branch offices. Other towns also had significant numbers of associations. In 1929, Prešov had 97 associations, 9 more than in 1928. These were: 34 professional, 24 sports and hunting, 11 charitable, 21 cultural in general and 7 other associations. As far as the language of meetings is concerned, Prešov had 52 Slovak, 6 Russian, 20 Slovak-Hungarian, 10 Slovak-Hungarian-German, 1 German, 1 Hungarian and 7 Slovak-German associations.

In the period between the two world wars, 300 new associations were established in Košice. Some of them were short-lived or they did not start their work, but we can also find some very interesting and significant ones.

Association continuity after 1918

Opinions on the continuity of the associations after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 differ. Some Slovak historians claim that some associations founded in the age of dualism managed to ensure their continuity, while many were dissolved. The continuity of Hungarian and German associations was not significantly interrupted due to the fact that a part of the members were now in Hungary, and did not lose contact with the former nationwide headquarters. This was, to a certain extent, also managed by admitting former officers of the terminated associations into newly established associations.¹⁶

In some studies, Hungarian authors perceive continuity differently. They claim that the organs of the new country stopped the operations of the existing associations. These often had to operate under new names with new constitutions, and getting the new constitutions approved by the state authorities often took years.¹⁷

¹⁶ Gabriela D u d e k o v á, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Kornélia Csaláné E r d é l y i, Kassa magyar kulturális életének újrászervezése Trianon után [New Organisation of the Hungarian Cultural Life in Košice after Trianon]. *Nyelvünk és kultúránk* [Our Language and Culture], 2010, 163, sz. 53–60. old. Online: www.matarka.hu/cikk_list.php?fusz=79771?

Zlatica Sáposová

OCHOTNICZE STOWARZYSZENIA W KOSZYCACH. WSTĘP DO BADAŃ
NAD STOWARZYSZENIAMI I ICH DZIAŁALNOŚCIĄ

Streszczenie

Prowadzenie badań nad czynnikami społecznymi wpływającymi na powstawanie i działalność stowarzyszeń ochotniczych jest złożone. Stowarzyszenia powstają w odpowiedzi na zapotrzebowanie pewnej grupy społecznej; są tak specyficzne, jak i charakterystyczne dla danych społeczności. Badanie ich powstawania musi być złożone i dogłębne. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi wprowadzenie do historiografii stowarzyszeń w Koszycach, wskazując na istniejące i prowadzone badania, jak również podkreślając i przywołując bogate i różnorodne źródła historyczne do takich badań.