RESEARCH RESOURCES ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN KOŠICE 1918 – 1938

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Abstract:
The Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic of 1920 enshrined the principle of gender equality. Nevertheless, several legal provisions that were contrary to this principle remained in force. The social emancipation of women, however, had better conditions in the newly created state than it was in the former Austria-Hungary empire. Obstacles to women’s access to higher education had been at least formally removed, just as women had been allowed to pursue occupations filled exclusively by men previously. From the 19th century, women had been involved in public life through activities in clubs, and it was the only possibility for them to move from the private sphere (household and family circles) to the public sphere, which was primarily intended for men. Compared to the latter decades of the 19th century, the emergence of a democratic republic brought about a large boom in the activity of associations, which also affected the female part of the population. Many women were involved not only in the activities of genuinely women’s associations, but also in activities in gender-mixed associations, such as the branches of the Czechoslovak Red Cross or the Masaryk League against Tuberculosis, or other charitable associations. The life of associations was more differentiated, which was reflected not only at national level, but also on a regional scale.

The aim of the paper is to present the various types of sources by means of which it is possible to investigate the position of women in the city of Košice between 1918 – 1938; namely the possibilities of higher (in today’s secondary school) education of girls and women, the employment of women in the field of education and health, and the involvement of women in the public sphere by working in the various associations that existed in the city.

These three areas are among the basic indicators of the position of women in society, since education and associations were both a prerequisite and a means of female emancipation. Higher education enabled women to do work for which a certain qualification was needed. Since in the past women have been defined by the private sphere, which was represented by the family and household, and the related care and work, women naturally found their place in the professional sphere, especially in education and health, as teachers, midwives, nurses and later also as doctors. Košice, as an administrative, cultural and educational centre, provided women (not only) in the interwar period with various opportunities in the field of education, occupation and participation in public life through activities in associations, which had a tradition in the city since the first half of the 19th century. In spite of this, the women question in Košice has not been sufficiently elaborated on yet. It only appears sporadically in the scientific literature, which is one of the reasons for choosing this research topic. The research was carried out in archives and libraries located in Košice, Bratislava and Prague. The research and collection of sources was carried out during the processing of this issue, followed by their critical evaluation. Specific examples and findings were presented in the description of individual types of sources. The sources presented include, in particular, archive sources (catalogues, class books, employee lists as well as statutes, activity reports and various applications of associations), annual reports of secondary schools and courses organized for girls and women, statistics, periodicals, legal standards, manuals for girls and women, reports on the activities and yearbooks, jubilee books, almanacs, city directories and photographs.

Official statistical results from the census, especially from 1921 and 1930, allow for a comparison between the population sizes of both sexes, and comparative data is also used from 1910 statistics. Statistical results also allows for the monitoring the issues of female employment or the state of education. When examining the position of women, it is also necessary to follow the legal norms that defined women’s place in the social hierarchy. Important sources are archival documents which in relation to education were mainly official books (catalogues, protocols and registers), on the basis of which it is possible to monitor the gender, national, religious and social composition.
of students and the development of the number of girls at individual types of schools and courses studied; and also records (minutes, staff matters, teacher lists, timetables, forms and regulations) which were retained from Košice secondary schools and courses for girls and women. In addition, the archives store files of associations, which consist of lists and registrations of associations, statutes, applications, activity reports and accounts. These documents provide information on the possibilities and, in part, the extent to which women are actually involved in society. The lack of information on the existence, functioning and type of school, the number and structure of students, the composition of the teaching staff, as well as opinions on the education of girls and women complete the annual reports of secondary schools, courses and the city music school.

An important source for the influence of women on society and public attitude towards women and their activities is the contemporary periodical press. In this context, it is necessary to examine the focus of articles on women and their frequency in individual regional and national periodicals. The overall picture of the position of women helps to complete the sources of private character, which include diaries, memoirs and private correspondence. However, with this type of source, there are often problems with access to them and the possibility of studying them (as they are mostly found in private archives) or with their non-preservation. Information on the contemporary perception of women and their role within society is provided by guides on raising girls or choosing the right career for a woman. Other sources that can be used to investigate women's issues include publications capturing major events in Košice, e.g. jubilee books, as well as almanacs and city directories, in which existing schools, courses, associations, and lists of occupants of certain occupations (midwives or doctors) were usually recorded.

An essential but rarely used type of source is photography. In researching the position of women in interwar Košice it is therefore necessary to work with materials of several types in order to give the fullest possible picture of the opportunities that women acquired in the newly established democratic state and to what extent women actually realized these opportunities.

Although there are various types of sources related to the education of girls and women, their employment or activities in societies, we find that their use is very limited in many cases. In addition to problems with the wide dispersal of sources, coupled with their non-preservation, with the city of Košice there is also a problem related to the linguistic diversity of the examined written sources which most often occur in Slovak, Czech, Hungarian and German languages, but also in English, French or Russian.

**Keywords**: Women. Archives. Annual reports. Publications. Košice.

**Introduction**

Traditional historical research (focusing mainly on political and economic history) is being gradually complemented by research in other fields of historiography as well as other scientific disciplines. The focus of research is shifting to the examination of everyday life in the private sphere, the family or on women as such, – in addition to exploring the usual themes. If we want to know the past in as great a detail as possible, we must explore it from several different aspects, including the issue of women. In the words of the Czech historian Jana Burešová: „I consider it important to focus on the feminine element of society as it renders the most complete and most colourful image of the historical period and its atmosphere.”

The basic indicators of the position of women in society include education, employment and social activities, as these opened the way for women in social and professional life. The education of women supported their access to the public sphere, to public performance and the possibility of self-realization and presentation of their own claims. It provided them with an overview of world events and an opportunity for better success. Through education, they could gradually cope with the position men had in society. Achieving higher education expanded

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1 BUREŠOVÁ, Jana. *Proměny společenského postavení českých žen v první polovině 20. století*. Olomouc : Univerzita Palackého, 2001, p. 13.

2 A part of the female question and the research of the position of women, in addition to the defined areas, is for example, the issue of prominent female personalities or the issue of women's participation in politics and the related sources to these topics. However, they require further research and separate contributions. They are therefore not included in the present work.
women’s employment opportunities (women were gaining ground in multiple professions including those of teaching, medicine and care) and also allowed them to hold some management positions (as directors of educational institutions). This also strengthened their position socially which was also reflected in their activities in associations (not only women's but also in gender-mixed associations). These allowed women to step out of the home and to integrate into different areas of public life. Women's education, as well as their activities within associations, was not only a prerequisite but also a means of emancipating women.

However, only a few publications focus on the individual aspects of the lives of women in the territory of present-day Slovakia – either nationally or regionally – during the inter-war period. Most written works have dealt only with the position of women in the Middle Ages, the early Modern Age, and in the period from the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. There is a notable deficiency in Slovak historiography during this inter-war period, especially at a regional level. The city of Košice, an administrative, cultural, economic, political and educational center with a varied religious and ethnic composition, while having no compact works mapping its historical development across all historical periods, is not an unexplored area. On the contrary, many aspects of the historical development of Košice in various historical periods have already been researched, to a varying degree, one example being Ondrej Ficeri's publication, mapping Slovak historiography in regards to Košice up to 2008. However, in regards to girls’ education, the professional career of women, their activities within civil associations and their position in Košice society, there is relatively little work apparent.

As the topic still requires further work, we have focused on various types of sources from researchers to explore the possibilities of higher (i.e. today's high/secondary school) education for women, their employment opportunities or involvement in public life between the two world wars. The aim of this work is to introduce various types of research sources related to the position of women in Košice, including: statistics, rules and regulations, archive sources, annual reports, periodicals of the time, handbooks for girls and women, jubilee books, almanacs, city files and photographs. The processing of the topic started with the basic method, i.e. heuristics (exploration and collection of sources). Subsequently, a critical analysis of the sources was carried out, followed by a description of the individual source types to which specific findings and/or possibilities of research use were stated.

A brief outline of the topic

Discussions on the status and role of women divided society not only in the 19th century, but also in the first half of the 20th century; one view maintained that gaining higher education and employment in positions previously held exclusively by men led to a loss of femininity of

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3 Although women were primarily assigned the role of the mother and household carer, they could also be active in charity and religious affairs, as such activity was seen as an extension of the motherhood tasks beyond the family. Since family care and raising children were traditional roles for most women, it followed that they were employed in education as teachers and in healthcare – first as midwives and nurses and later (after gaining access to higher education) as doctors. In social life, they focused mainly on charitable activities.

4 FICERI, Ondrej. Košice v slovenskej historiografii. Košice : Dejepisný spolok v Košiciach, 2016. 266 p.

5 The sources were attained from the Archbishop's Archives in Košice, the Archives of the City of Košice, the National Archives in Prague, the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava, the State Archives in Košice, the East Slovak Museum in Košice, the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague, the Slovak Pedagogic Library in Bratislava, the State Scientific Library in Košice, the Jan Bocatius Public Library in Košice and the University Library in Bratislava.
women.  

Despite this, various forms of education were gradually made available to the female population, although until the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia), the education of girls and boys had to be conducted separately. Co-education was not allowed until 1919 and was fully established by the so-called Minor Education Act. In 1919, the first girls’ grammar school was established in Košice, and subsequently girls were offered full-time study at other types of grammar schools and secondary vocational schools. A new type of educational institute were two-year girls’ vocational family schools (later public vocational schools for women's professions), which did not exist in Slovakia until 1918. In Košice, such a school was founded in 1922. Another possibility of education for girls and

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6 DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Diskurz o poslaní vzdelaných žien pred a po roku 1918. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernére žene. Kapitoly z dejín rodozvých vztahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, p. 99.

7 The issue of development of girls’ education in Slovakia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is dealt with in particular by Daniela Kodajová, who analyses the possibilities of girls’ access to education, its content and its later application. KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Odborné vzdelávanie ako predpoklad a prostriedok emancipácie. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernére žene. Kapitoly z dejín rodozvých vztahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 149-175. KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Vyššie vzdelávanie dievčat na Slovensku v 19. storočí. In Človek a spoločnosť [online], 2006, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 27-36. KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Vzdelanie dievčat – možnosti a limity uplatnenia. In ČADKOVÁ, Kateřina – LENDEROVÁ, Milena – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, Jana (eds.). Dějiny žen aneb Evropská žena od středověku do poloviny 20. století v zajetí historiografie. Pardubice : Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, pp. 291-302. The research results show that the need for the education of girls was related to the development of a national movement and not to the employment of women. Thus, women were supposed to use their education in their families and households, i.e. in the private sphere. Just before World War I, the press published articles promoting exercising women's rights in the public sphere. The education of women was associated with the possibility of their self-realization for the first time in the then society of Slovakia. On women's education see HOLLY, Karol. Podmienky na ženská vzdelanosť v dualistickej Uhorsku a diskurz slovenskej národnosvejoci nej society na prelome 19. a 20. storočia [online]. In Historické studie, 2013, Vol. 47, pp. 187-206. TOKÁROVÁ, Anna. Vyššie vzdelávanie dievčiat a žien. Prekážky a stimuly. In CVIKOVÁ, Jana – JURÁŇOVÁ, Jana – KOBOVÁ, Dubica (eds.). Historie žien. Aspekty písania a čítania. Bratislava : Aspekt, 2007, pp. 227-239.

8 Zákon č. 226/1922 Sb. ze dne 13. července 1922, jimž se mění a doplňuje zákony o školách obecných a občanských [online].

9 BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. „Prestupování dívek na školy chiapecké se nepřipouští.“ Dejiny prvého slovenského dievčenského gymnázia v Košiciach. In Historica Carpathica 45 : sborník východoslovenského múzea v Košiciach. Košice : Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, 2014, pp. 35-53. KOPČÁNYIOVÁ, Milada. Československé štátné dievčenské reformné reálné gymnázium v Košiciach v prvom desaťročí existencie Československej republiky. In Dejiny [online], 2013, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 47-59.

10 Despite this possibility, however, at the Czechoslovak State Industrial School in Košice, girls did not study until the school year 1936/37 when the first girl was enrolled. PŠENČÍKOVÁ, Anna (ed.). 135 rokov Strednej priemyselnej školy strojnickej v Košiciach. Košice : Vienala, 2007, p. 23. Girls had little interest in studying at the State Agricultural School in Košice where they appeared sporadically from the school year 1922/23. Štátny archív v Košiciach [State Archives in Košice] (hereinafter ŠA-K), fund (hereinafter f.) Štátna vyššia hospodárska škola v Košiciach [State Agricultural School in Košice] 1919 – 1948, Hlavný katalóg [Main catalogue], 1922/23, 1. ročník [the 1th class]. Girls were more interested in studying at the commercial academy and commercial school.

11 Adriana Kičková wrote about the education of girls in vocational schools after 1918 in the chapter “Share of education of girls in the school structure”, which is part of the collective monograph Pedagogické myšlenie, školstvo, a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1945 [Pedagogical Thinking, Educational system and Education in Slovakia from 1918 to 1945]. KUDLÁČOVÁ, Blanka (ed.). Pedagogické myšlenie, školstvo, a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1945 [online]. Trnava : Trnavská univerzita v Trnave, 2016, 413 p. Nina Sozanská and Adriana Kičková attended the public vocational school for women's professions in Nitra. In their study, the authors focused on the teaching staff, students and their school activities. SOZANSKÁ, Nina – KIČKOVÁ, Adriana. Premeny odbornej školy pre ženské povolania : Modelové mesto Nitra. In Evropské pedagogické fórum 2014 : Proměny pedagogiky a psychologie [online]. Hradec Králové : Magnanimitas, 2014, pp. 281-292.

12 Výročná zpráva dvojročnej dievčenskej odbornej rodinnej školy v Košiciach za šk. r. 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25. Košice, 1925, s. 3-4.
women were various courses, qualifying them to practice certain professions. These included business courses or midwife training courses, which followed the tradition of courses organized in the previous period. The topic of secondary and vocational education in inter-war Košice was dealt with by several authors whose works provide an insight into the existence of individual schools, their origin, termination, functioning and related problems or present basic statistical data. However, of those which focus on the education of girls and women in Košice, they do so only marginally. More information about education (not only in Košice) in the form of midwifery or nursing courses is included in works on health education in Slovakia.

Gender inequalities of modern society are revealed by research into women's employment and occupations in the past. In the context of the employment of women, older historiography considered World War I to be the milestone in women's entry into paid employment. Nevertheless, women from the lower strata of society were employed in relatively large numbers even before the First World War. During the war, middle-class women managed to make themselves visible in positions until then the preserve of men. The introduction of women to paid employment at that time was considered to be only a temporary necessary condition and women were expected to return to their households after the war. Depending on the economic situation, some women did indeed leave their jobs, while others had to continue their jobs to sustain their families. World War I contributed to breaking stereotypical ideas about the role of women in society. Despite the fact that the issue of women's employment and career opportunities offer broad research possibilities (for example, by comparing women's and men's employment in a particular group), valuable works on selected women's professions exist. However, a publication on the issue of women's employment in Košice in the interwar period has yet to be published.

[13] BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. Primárné problém...druhých škôl v Košiciach medzi rokmi 1918–1938. In ŠUTAJ, Štefan – DZURIKANINOVÁ, Nikoleta (eds.). Štruktúry a fragmenty historického vývoja Košic. Košice : UPJS in Košiciach, 2014, pp. 152-198.

[14] FALISOVÁ, Anna. Ženy v zdravotníctve so zameraním na ošetrovateľstvo (1918–1938). In Človek a spoločnosť [Individual and Society], 2009, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 25-27.

[15] DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Strategia prežitia v mimoriadnej situácii. Vplyv Veľkej vojny na rodinu na území Slovenska. In Forum Historiae [online], 2009, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 25-27.

[16] The collective monograph Na ceste k modernéj žene. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku [On the Road to a Modern Woman. Chapters from the history of gender relations in Slovakia] was a great achievement in this area. In the chapter “Women’s Occupations”, it brought insights into selected women's professions of various historical periods and a view of employment from a gender perspective. FALISOVÁ, Anna. Ženy v zdravotníctve a sociálnej starostlivosti. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernéj žene. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 485-500. KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Povolanie učiteľky. Profesia a pôsobenie pôrodných asistentiek na Slovensku v posledných desaťročiach 19. a v prvej tretine 20. storočia. In Historický časopis [online], 2016, Vol. 64, No. 1, pp. 35-56. MOROVICSOVÁ, Eva. Zdravotnícke školstvo na Slovensku v medzivojnovom období. In Studia Historica Nitriensia, 2017, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 327-347.

[17] DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Ženy v sociálnych vzťahoch v histórii. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 541-563. KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Ženy v tieni mužov: spisovateľky, redaktorky a prekladateľky. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernéj žene. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 563-585. TISLIAR, Pavol. Populačný vývoj a zamestnanosť z roduj perspektívy. Ekonómická aktíva obyvateľstva Slovenska v medzivojnovom období so zreteľom na zamestnanosť žien. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernéj žene. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 343-364. ZAVACKÁ, Katarína. Právnička v Československej republike. Absolventky práva a právnická práx v Československu po roku 1918. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernéj žene. Kapitoly z dejin rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, pp. 586-598.
Another scope of problems concerning the issue of women are civil associations and the association life of women. Although associations were considered to be an area pertinent to the male part of the population, some women also participated in the associations, albeit to a limited extent. Through associations, women could leave the household sphere and join the public sphere. Elena Mannová pointed out that although the image of a "national" woman was that of a "passive counterpart of her man, silently supporting him and sacrificing herself for him", this was not true all the time. Recent research shows that in Slovakia, there were women's associations with a long history, especially charitable associations. The establishment of Czechoslovakia brought new conditions for civil associations. Section 113 of the 1920 Constitution enacted the freedom of assembly and association: "The freedom of the press, as well as the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, and to form associations are ensured." In addition to the new conditions of forming civil associations, the establishment of the democratic republic brought also a significant boom to civil associations that also affected the female population. Despite the fact that the activities of civil associations slowly spread from larger towns to smaller settlements, they remained the privilege of the urban population, mainly in the interwar period. Activities in associations became differentiated and this was reflected not only at a national level, but also on a regional scale. At the beginning of the 1920s, several women's associations existed in different regions simultaneously. Although several works were written about women's social life, they mainly map the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and only rarely examine this issue in the interwar period. Therefore, this topic is still open to research. The issue is inadequately addressed, especially at the regional level. The activities of women in associations in Košice have not yet been sufficiently explored and have only been marginally mentioned in the works.

17 As long as the public sphere belonged to middle-class men, women belonged exclusively to the private sphere. Their field of action was thus defined by the family and household. This classification of sexes into the respective spheres was based on the opinion of men and women having a different physiology and character, and was one of the characteristic features of bourgeoisie. MANNOVÁ, Elena. Verejnosť verzi rodinný krb? Ženy v spolkoch na Slovensku v 19. storočí. In Človek a spoločnosť, 2006, Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 38.
18 MANNOVÁ, Elena. Mužské a ženské svety v spolkoch. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernej žene. Kapitoly z dejín rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, p. 187.
19 The first charity association in Košice was a women's association founded in the years 1837 – 1838 entitled A Kassai Jótkony Nóegyelt [Charitable Women's Association in Košice]. Archival materials from the 1940s date the foundation of the association to 1837, and 1838. Archiv mesta Košice [Archives of the City of Košice] (hereinafter AMK), f. Národný výbor mesta Košice [National Committee of the City of Košice] 1945 – 1948 (hereinafter NVMK), Spolkové oddelenie [Division of Societies] 1915 – 1957 (hereinafter d. of Societies), carton (hereinafter c.) 5, inventory number (hereinafter inv. no.) 23, no. II/7. Nikoleta Lattová is in favor of the formation of the association in the years 1837 – 1839: “Since the oldest statutes were not preserved, it was possible to state that the association was founded sometime between 1837 and 1839. Since 1839, his activity was confirmed by a document on the settlement of the Ferdinandeum nursing home for the period 1839 – 1844." LATTOVÁ, Nikoleta. Spolkový život v Košiciach v rokoch 1867–1914. Dizertačná práca. Košice : UPJŠ v Košiciach, 2017, p. 67.
20 Zákon č. 121/1920 Sb. z. a n. ze dne 29. činor 1920, kterým se uvozuje ústavní listina Československé republiky [online].
21 After the establishment of Czechoslovakia 158 women's associations and regional branches were registered in Slovakia. SALINGOVÁ, Andrea. Združovanie a spolkový život žien na Slovensku. In Aspekt 1/2003 – 2004. Priebyž žien. Bratislava : Aspekt, 2004, pp. 53-54.
22 VRZGULOĽ, Monika. Ženy zo stredných vrstiev a ich aktivity vo verejnom priestore mesta 1918 – 1945. In MANNOVÁ, Elena (ed.). Meštanstvo a občianska spoločnosť na Slovensku 1900 – 1989. Bratislava, 1998, pp. 197-204.
23 DZURIKANINOVÁ, Nikoleta. Ženské spolky v Košiciach v 19. storočí. In Zborník príspevkov z 2. ročníka Jarnej školy doktorandov UPJŠ. Košice : UPJŠ v Košiciach, 2015, pp. 190-194. GAYER, Veronika. Zsídó egyesületek Kassán a két világháború között [online], 25 p. LATTOVÁ, Nikoleta. Spolkový život v Košiciach v rokoch 1867–1914. Dizertačná práca, Košice : UPJŠ v Košiciach, 2017. 208 p. LÁNYI, Menyhért – PROPPERNE BEKEFI, Hermin. Szlovénészkői zsidó hitközségek története. Košice, 1933. 286 p. SÁPOSOVÁ,
Statistics

The development of the total population of Košice in the period under review, as well as the gender composition of the population, can be monitored using the official data of the 1910, 1921 and 1930 censuses.

Table 1: Development of Košice population by sex

| Sex          | 1910  | 1921  | 1930  |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Number of   | 1910  | 1921  | 1930  |
| Males        | 22347 | 27905 | 36419 |
| Females      | 21864 | 24993 | 33698 |
| Both sexes   | 44211 | 52898 | 70117 |

Zlatica. Voluntary associations in Košice, Slovakia – an introduction to the subject of associations and their activities. In Studio Historyczne [online], 2013, No. 4, pp. 527-537. ŠKULECOVÁ, Ivana. Slovenské spolky v Košiciach v prvej polovici 20. storočia. In SUTAJ, Štefan (ed.). Košice a dejiny – dejiny Košie. Košice : Univerzita Pavla Jožefá Šafáriká v Košiciach, 2011, pp. 140-147. TAKÁČ, Artúr. K otázkam starostlivosti o chudobných v Košiciach v rokoch 1918 – 1929. In Historia Carpathica 10 : zborník Východoslovenského múzea v Košiciach. Košice : Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, 1978, pp. 145-162. TAKÁČ, Artúr. Starostlivost v mestskú chudobu v Košiciach v rokoch 1929 – 1938. In Historia Carpathica 10 : zborník Východoslovenského múzea v Košiciach. Košice : Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, 1980, pp. 69-92. VOTRUBOVÁ, Štefana. Žívena, jej osudy a práca. Žívena, spolok slovenských žien, 1931. 348 p.

24 A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész. A népesség főbb adalai közégek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint. 1 Általános jelentés 2 Részletes kimutatások. Budapest : Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai R.-Társulat, 1912. 880 p. A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Második rész. A népesség foglalkozása és a nagyipari vállalatok közégenkint. Budapest : Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai R.-Társulat, 1913. 1092 p. A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Harmadik rész. A népesség foglalkozása részletesen és a vállalati statisztika. Budapest : Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai R.-Társulat, 1914. 1314 p. A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Negyedik rész. A népesség foglalkozása a főbb demográfiai adatokkal egybevetve s a népesség ház- és földbirtokviszonyai. Budapest : Pesti Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság, 1915. 893 p. A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Ötödik rész. Részletes demográfia. Budapest : Pesti Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság, 1916. 635 p.

25 Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921. Díl I. Praha : Státní úřed statistický, 1924. 276 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej zo dňa 15. februára 1921. Diel II. Povolanie obyvateľstva. Časť 3. Slovensko a Podkarpatská Rus. Praha : Státní úřed statistický, 1925. 593 p.

26 Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl I. Růst, koncentrace a hustota obyvateľstva, pohyb, věkové rozmístění, rodinný stav, sociální příslušnost, třídy sociální příslušnost, třídy podle věku a rodinného stavu, povolání podle velikosti místa pobytu, objektivní povolání, veřejná zaměstnanci, vedlejší povolání, nezaměstnanost. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1934. 205 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl I. Povolanie obyvateľstva. Časť 2. Povolania podľa veku a rodinného stavu, povolania podľa velikosti miesta pobytu, subjektívne povolania. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1934. 407 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl II. Povolanie obyvateľstva. Časť 3. Povolania podľa veku a rodinného stavu, povolania podľa velikosti miesta pobytu, subjektívne povolania. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1935. 593 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl II. Povolanie obyvateľstva. Časť 4. Povolania podľa sociálního rozvržení obyvatelstva podle národnosti (také cizíci a podle náboženského vyznání. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1935. 525 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl III. ostatné data demografická (vznik stěhování, telesné vady, znalost čtení a psaní, cizíci). Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1937. 271 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl IV. Část 1. Počet dětí živě narozených v posledním manželství. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1936. 222 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl IV. Část 2. Domácnosti a rodiny. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1938. 127 p. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl IV. Část 3. Plodnost manželství. Konkubináty. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1938. 459 p.

The population is listed including members of the army operating in the city which of course distorts the percentage ratio between the size of the male and female population in Košice. A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész..., p. 28. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 15. února 1921. Díl I..., pp. 226-227. Sčítanie ľudu v republice Československej ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl I..., p. 12.
It is possible to compare how the employment of women in Košice changed during the first Czechoslovak Republic, namely in 1930, compared to the times of Austria-Hungary in 1910, when the last census was performed in this state. In addition to statistical results from population censuses, research may also use statistics related to schools in Czechoslovakia, which include information on students and teachers of schools in the respective cities.  

Rules and regulations

When examining the issue of women, rules and regulations have to be taken into account. As Jana Burešová wrote: “It is necessary to examine the whole system of instruments that defined a woman's place in the social hierarchy, from the unequal status in the legal system to the aesthetic norms and contemporary morality, for instance.” Rules and regulations and their correct interpretation help to create a bigger picture of society. Since their main role is to regulate social relations, they are literally a mirror of society. Yet they are unable to portray reality in its entirety. Thus, they cannot depict the real position of women in the past, but rather clarify what their position should have been. When examining the legal status of women, we must therefore take into account not only the rules and regulations, but also the degree of their enforcement. According to Gabriela Dudeková: “The analyses of law (including critical responses of contemporary lawyers) convincingly show that in practice, the interpretation of written law was distorted and often, rules were de facto violated, which was also associated with women's low legal awareness.” To see the real status of women, it is necessary to get acquainted with the contemporary views on the issue and with the degree of democracy; those being the fundamental aspects of real legal practice.

Archive resources

The basic source for the research of the position of women (their education, employment and activities in associations) in Košice between 1918 – 1938 are public record resources in the archives from the period under review. When researching the education of girls and women in Košice after 1918, the archives are valuable resources including, Košice secondary schools and courses for girls, stored in the State Archive of Košice [Štátny archív v Košiciach] ("ŠA-K").

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28 Střední školy v republice Československé dle stavu koncem školního roku 1920/21. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1923. 146 p. Vysoké, střední a odborné školy v republice Československé ve školním roce 1921-22. Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1924. 344 p.
29 Zákon č. 121/1920 Sb. z. a n. ze dne 29. února 1920, kterým se uvozuje ústavní listina Československé republiky [online].
Zákon č. 252/1923 Sb. z. a n. ze dne 20. prosince 1923, jímž se mění a doplňují některá ustanovení zákona ze dne 17. února 1922, č. 75 Sb. z. a n., upravujícího organizaci odborných škol pro ženská povolání a právní poměry učitelstva těchto škol v republice Československé [online].
Zákon č. 75/1922 Sb. z. a n. ze dne 17. února 1922 upravující organizaci odborných škol pro ženská povolání a právní poměry učitelstva těchto škol v republice Československé [online].
STODOLA, Ivan (ed.). Zdravotné predpisy na Slovensku. Turčiansky sv. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1937. 388 p.
30 BUREŠOVÁ, J. Proměny společenského postavení..., p. 9.
31 PALATOVÁ, Kateřina – KRAUSOVÁ, Vendula – HAVELKOVÁ, Tereza. Žena pohledem právních norem habsburské říše druhé poloviny 19. století. In ČADKOVÁ, Kateřina – LENDEROVÁ, Milena – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, Jana (eds.). Dějiny žen aneb Evropská žena od středověku do poloviny 20. století v zajetí historiografie. Pardubice : Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, p. 502.
32 DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela – LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. Premeny právneho postavenia žien. In DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela et al. Na ceste k modernej žene. Kapitoly z dejín rodových vzťahov na Slovensku. Bratislava : Veda, 2011, p. 307.
33 Grammar schools and vocational schools where boys and girls could study: records of Czechoslovak State Real Grammar School in Košice [Československé štátne reálne gymnázium v Košiciach] 1919 – 1938, records of State Hungarian Real Grammar School in Košice [Štátne maďarské reálne gymnázium v Košiciach] 1927 – 1938,
consisting mainly of official books (main catalogues, class catalogues, classification catalogues, advisory catalogues, adult test reports, registers of school leaving exams), which provide information on the gender, religious, national or social composition of students at the respective schools and courses. They enable monitoring of the development of the number of students at the respective educational institutions and where the girls came from. In the case of the Two-year Girls’ Family Vocational School in Košice [Dvojročná dievčenská odborná rodinná škola v Košiciach] (1922 – 1938), only 2 catalogues from the school year 1925/26 were preserved, as the only source of information on the composition of the school’s students. From the admission catalogue for the first year (53 student candidates) and the main catalogue for the second year (39 students enrolled) it is clear that in the school year 1925/26, 42.4% of girls stated Czech as their mother tongue, 22.8% reported the same in Slovak and Hungarian languages, while German and Russian were the mother tongues of 2.2%, Polish was reported by only 1 pupil and in the case of 6 pupils, no language was recorded. As to the religion of the students, the religious composition of the students was as follows: Roman Catholics (48.9%), Lutheran (9.8%), Jewish and Czech Brethren (both 7.6%), Czechoslovak (5.4%), Greek Catholic and Calvinist (both 3.3 %) and Orthodox (only 1 student). No religion was recorded with the names of 7 students, while 5 students were atheists.

The documents are not at all comprehensive; they survived only in case of some schools (in particular: the minutes of educators' meetings, educators' appointment documents, human resource matters, deeds of foundation, official forms, regulations and circulars of the Ministry of Education and Culture [Ministerstvo školstva a národné osvety] (“MŠaNO”). Documents concerning the education of girls in institutions operated by the Catholic Church can be found records of Order Czechoslovak Real Grammar School of Premonstratensians in Košice [Rádové československé reálne gymnázium premonštrátov v Košiciach] 1935 – 1938, records of State Czechoslovak Secondary School in Košice [Štátna československá reálka v Košiciach] 1919 – 1938, records of State Commercial Academy in Košice [Štátna obchodná akadémia v Košiciach] 1899 – 1945, records of State Commercial School in Košice [Štátna obchodná škola v Košiciach] 1920 – 1945, records of Czechoslovak State Continuation Commercial School in Košice [Československá štátne pokračovacia škola obchodná v Košiciach] 1919 – 1938, records of State Technical School in Košice [Štátna priemyselná škola v Košiciach] 1872 – 1945, records of State Agricultural School in Košice [Štátna vyššia hospodárska škola v Košiciach] 1919 – 1948, records of Czechoslovak State Normal School in Košice [Československý štátny učiteľský ústav v Košiciach] 1921 – 1930.

Girls' schools: records of State Czechoslovak Girls' Real Grammar School in Košice [Štátna československé dievčenské reálne gymnázium v Košiciach] 1919 – 1938, records of Order Czechoslovak Girls' Real Grammar School of Congregation of Dominicans in Košice [Rádové československé dievčenské reálne gymnázium kongregácie dominikánov v Košiciach] 1936 – 1938, records of Roman Catholic Girls Grammar School of Ursulines in Košice [Rímskokatolícke dievčenské gymnázium rádu uršulínok v Košiciach] 1936 – 1944, records of Girls' Family Vocational School in Košice [Dievčenská odborná rodinná škola v Košiciach] 1923 – 1938, records of Roman Catholic Women's Common School in Košice [Rímskokatolícky ženský učiteľský ústav v Košiciach] 1860 – 1919; 1937 – 1938.

Girls' and women's courses: records of Public One-year Girls' Commercial Course of Dominicans in Košice [Veľký jednorocný obchodný kurz sestier dominikánok v Košiciach] 1928 – 1934, records of Women's Commercial Course of Ursulines in Košice [Ženský obchodný kurz rádu sv. Ursúle v Košiciach] 1907 – 1939.

34 ŠA-K, f. Dievčenská odborná rodinná škola v Košiciach [Girls' Family Vocational School in Košice] 1923 – 1938 (hereinafter DORŠ), inv. no. 165, no. XI/1, Prijímací katalóg [Receiver catalogue], 1. ročník [the 1st class], 1925/26. ŠA-K, f. DORŠ, inv. no. 166, no. XI/2, Hlavný katalóg [Main catalogue], 2. ročník [the 2nd class], 1925/26.

35 The documents in ŠA-K survived only in case of these schools: Czechoslovak State Real Grammar School in Košice [Československé štátne reálne gymnázium v Košiciach] 1919 – 1938, State Hungarian Real Grammar School in Košice [Štátne maďarské reálne gymnázium v Košiciach] 1927 – 1938, Order Czechoslovak Real Grammar School of Premonstratensians in Košice [Rádové československé reálne gymnázium premonštrátov v Košiciach] 1935 – 1938, State Commercial Academy in Košice [Štátna obchodná akadémia v Košiciach] 1899 – 1945, State Technical School in Košice [Štátna priemyselná škola v Košiciach] 1872 – 1945.
in the Archbishop's Archives [Arcibiskupský archív] in Košice.\textsuperscript{36} Information about individual schools – such as timetables, private exam reports, or applications to exempt certain students from certain subjects – is also found in the 1922 – 1938 "School Inspectorate II of Košice [Školský inšpektorát II v Košiciach]" records at ŠA-K.

In the education of women, midwife training courses played an important role. In connection with the research of women's education in the field of obstetrics, archive materials from the 1919 – 1929 funds of the Subsidiary of the Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education [Expozitúra Ministerstva verejného zdravotníctva a telesnej výchovy] ("EMVZaTv"), deposited in the Slovak National Archive [Slovenský národný archív] in Bratislava ("SNA") are of help. It contains information on the education of midwives at the Czechoslovak School of Midwives in Košice [Československá babská škole v Košiciach] (1907 – 1945), renamed in 1928 as the State Institute for the Education and Training of Midwives [Štátny ústav pre vzdelávanie a výchovu pôrodných asistentiek]. This file contains data on the respective courses for midwives, organized by the school, their duration, the conditions of admission of applicants, and the number of graduates. However, there is a lack of information on the overall process of the courses, and on the extracurricular activities of students or their success after the course. Information on courses for midwives can also be found in the register of the Department of the Chief Medical Officer of the City of Košice [Úradný hlavný lekár mesta Košice], included in the 1922 – 1938 records of the City of Košice [Magistrát mesta Košic] ("MMK"), stored in the Archive of the City of Košice [Archíve mesta Košice] ("AMK"). However, these are unprocessed records.

One of the possibilities of educating girls and women was also through extracurricular studies in the library. Therefore, another valuable source for researching the education of women in interwar Košice is the list of readers and the statistics stored in the Regional Library in Košice [Krajská knižnica v Košiciach], deposited at ŠA-K. Although these materials do not provide information on the education of the readers, they can complement the overall picture of the education of women in Košice. In the register of readers, information on language knowledge and interest in particular types of literature was recorded, in addition to data on gender, age, nationality, religion and occupation. In the 1928 readers’ list, 621 women (27%) and 1,679 men (73%), were registered. Almost half (49.91%) of the visitors were members of the younger generation; 16-25 years old. More than half of the women were of Hungarian ethnicity (59.9%). The second largest group were Jewish girls and women (13.5%). They were followed by Czech (10.6%), Slovak (8.7%), German (6%) and Russian (0.5%) readers. 0.8% of the readers had another ethnicity. As to language skills, 87.6% of women stated that they spoke Hungarian. The second most common was German, spoken by 82.1% of the readers. This was followed by Slovak (56.2%), French (20.5%), Czech (18.5%), English (6.3%) and Russian (3.1%). In addition to these languages, 3.4% of women spoke another foreign language. In terms of religious adherence, 36.4% were Roman Catholic, 2.6% Greek Catholic, 8% Lutheran, 2.6% Calvinist, 0.6% Czechoslovak, 0.2% Czech Brethren, 0.2% other Christian denominations, and 47.5% Jewish. 0.2% had another religion and 1.7% of the readers had no indicated religion. As to their occupations, 70.2% of women had a tick stating 'housewife' or 'household' at their home address and a 'freelancer' box ticked as occupation.\textsuperscript{37} No less than 3 out of 5 of readers worked in the household or were housewives. 15% of the readers were students. 10.3% of women held office positions and 2.7% were teachers or professors. Only

\textsuperscript{36} In the records entitled Košice Bishopric [Košické biskupstvo] (the 1883 – 1946 division of the Košice Bishop's Ordinary [Košický biskupský ordinariát]).

\textsuperscript{37} It referred to them as housewives.
1.8% of registered women in the list of readers had another profession. Readers were most interested in 'entertainment literature', as well as literature on household and fashion, art, history and sports. Only 10.8% of women had been on the library reader list in previous years.\textsuperscript{38}

A higher level of education placed women in a better position in the labour market. The archival funds deposited at ŠA-K can provide information on the employment of women in Košice between 1918 and 1938 in the education and health sectors.\textsuperscript{39} In researching the employment of women in the area of education, documents from the aforementioned records of secondary schools and courses are very useful, too. Since women were also employed as teachers at the city's music school, researchers can use the documents stored in the MMK records of AMK, related to the operation of this school and its teachers (teacher lists, subjects taught, timetables).

When considering the involvement of the female part of the population in healthcare, it is advisable to use the 1879 – 1948 records of the State Hospital in Košice [Štátna nemocnica v Košiciach] and the 1907 – 1948 records of the State Maternity and Gynaecology Hospital in Košice [Štátna pôrodnica a nemocnica pre choroby ženské v Košiciach], both deposited at ŠA-K. Further materials on this issue can be found in the SNA in the records of EMVZaTV, as well as in the aforementioned records department of the Chief Medical Officer of Košice, deposited at the AMK, which include, statistics on hospital staff and various treatment institutions. Through these, it is possible to outline the positions, at least partly, in which women were able to work in healthcare.

For the research of the activities of Košice women in the respective civil associations and societies of the city between 1918 and 1938, the basic resources are the archived files stored in the AMK, holding the 1945 – 1948 records of the National Committee of the City of Košice [Národný výbor mesta Košice], containing also the 1915 – 1957 files of associations (division of societies). This division of societies contains also the Register of Societies of Košice city and the district of Košice [Evidencia spolkov v Košiciach a okrese košickom] (1915 – 1957),\textsuperscript{40} listing the names of associations sorted into 16 groups according to their scope and the Index of Associations of Košice city and the municipalities of the district of Košice [Index spolkov v obvode mesta Košic a obcí okresu Košice] (1915 – 1957).\textsuperscript{41} Since both the Register and the Index lack the exact dating of the existence of the specific associations, researchers cannot use them to determine the operating years of the respective associations. The associations' files are divided into 16 groups according to the scope of the associations. However, following a more detailed examination, one may find that this division contains documents mainly from the post-1938 period and that in some cases, articles of association from earlier periods are available.

One can compare the data of the Register of Societies of Košice city and the district of Košice with the 1937 List of Associations Legally Established in the District of the Košice Police Directorate [Zoznam spolkov právne jestvujúcich v obvode Policajného riaditeľstva Košice], which is a part of the 1920 – 1938 records of the Košice Police Directorate [Policajné riaditeľstvo v Košiciach], deposited at ŠA-K. The list reveals associations also divided into 16

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\textsuperscript{38} ŠA-K, f. Krajská knižnica v Košiciach [Regional Library in Košice] 1924 – 1974, inv. no. 25, Zoznam zapisaných čitateľov [List of readers] 1928.

\textsuperscript{39} As the primary role of women was to take care of the family and household, women were employed mainly in education as teachers and in healthcare as nurses and midwives.

\textsuperscript{40} AMK, f. NVMK, d. of Societies, inv. no. 17, Evidencia spolkov v Košiciach a okrese košickom [Register of Societies of Košice city and the district of Košice].

\textsuperscript{41} AMK, f. NVMK, d. of Societies, inv. no. 18, Index spolkov v obvode mesta Košic a obcí okresu Košice [Index of Associations of Košice city and the municipalities of the district of Košice].
groups. These amount to 314 associations in total, of them being associations of only women and girls. Three were religious associations: the Association of Evangelical Women of the Slovak Augsburg Evangelical Church, the Catholic Youth Association in Slovakia, local girls' group (Slovak), and the Catholic Youth Association in Slovakia, local girls' group (Hungarian). The following are 6 charitable associations: the "Marta" Women's Charity Association of Košice, the St Elizabeth's Association, the Orthodox Israeli Women's Charity Association of Košice, the Košice Jewish Women's Charity Association, the Elizabeth's Association, and the Orthodox Israeli Women's Charity Association. These amount to 314 associations in the register of 260 Košice associations from 1923.

In 1937, associations in Košice were classified as follows: I. religious (11); II. charitable and humanitarian (17); III. mutual, supportive and funeral (28); IV. agricultural, forestry and horticultural (21); V. trading and industrial of all kinds (3); VI. museum, scientific, artistic and beautification (2); VII. students' (2); VIII. social, readers', entertainment, drama, singing, musical and educational (45); IX. gymnastics (6); X. sports (47); XI. associations of military veterans, shooting and armed associations (6); XII. firefighting (2); XIII. professional organizations (90); XIV. workers' labour unions (15); XV. pigeon breeding associations (1); XVI. others (17). The list includes also a political association.

In 1937, associations in Košice were classified as follows: I. religious (11); II. charitable and humanitarian (17); III. mutual, supportive and funeral (28); IV. agricultural, forestry and horticultural (21); V. trading and industrial of all kinds (3); VI. museum, scientific, artistic and beautification (2); VII. students' (2); VIII. social, readers', entertainment, drama, singing, musical and educational (45); IX. gymnastics (6); X. sports (47); XI. associations of military veterans, shooting and armed associations (6); XII. firefighting (2); XIII. professional organizations (90); XIV. workers' labour unions (15); XV. pigeon breeding associations (1); XVI. others (17). The list includes also a political association.

In the interwar period in Košice, women's associations were predominantly charitable, just as it was in the first two decades of the 20th century. Moreover,
religious, supportive and social women's associations also existed in the city. Although in 1937, exclusively female associations accounted for less than 4% of the total number of associations in the city, this does not mean that women were not actively engaged in other non-female associations. They were active members of associations including the Social Support Society of Jews in Slovakia [Sociálny podporný spolok Židov na Slovensku] (chaired by Irena Matznerová), 47 the Czechoslovak Red Cross of Košice [Československý Červený kříž v Košiciach] (chaired by Mrs. Sekáčová, the wife of the then county governor), 48 the Košice branch of the Masaryk Anti-Tuberculosis League [Masarykova liga proti tuberkulóze], the "Sokol" [Hawk] Gymnastics Union of Košice [Teleovčičná jednota „Sokol“ v Košiciach] and the Russian Association of Košice [Ruský spolok v Košiciach] (headed by Dr. Soňa Stuchlíková). 49

The aforementioned archive materials do not provide specific data on the establishment or dissolution of all associations. Therefore, we cannot always be certain as to whether these associations operated simultaneously or at a different time – in terms of number, it is difficult to compare women's associations of Košice operating in the 19th century 50 and at the beginning of the 20th century with those operating in the interwar period. Some women's associations founded in Košice in the 19th century continued their activities during World War I and their existence and activities lasted until the interwar period, 51 while others had disappeared in the 19th century, 52 during the World War Two or after the establishment of Czechoslovakia. In the democratic conditions of the newly established republic, new women's associations having no roots in the former monarchy were also founded. 53 The same is true of associations, which – although not exclusively female – had active female members. However, when researching the social status of women in Košice, it is not important to see how many and which associations existed in the city, but to what extent women could participate in their activities. Therefore, it

47 LÁNYI, M. – PROPPERNÉ BÉKEFI, H. Szlovenskói zsidó hitközségek története..., p. 82.
48 Zpráva o činnosti Československého Červeného Kríža v Košiciach. Košice : Slovákia, 1930, p. 6.
49 AMK, f. Magistrát mesta Košic [City Council of Košice] 1923 – 1938 (hereinafter MMK), c. 66, inv. no. 288, no. 1538.
50 In her work, Lattová mentions 12 exclusively women associations whose existence dates back to 1867 – 1914. There were 6 charitable associations: Košice Charitable Women's Association [Košický dobročinný ženský spolok], Košice Jewish Women's Association [Košický židovský ženský spolok], Košice Jewish Women's Charitable Association [Košický židovský dobročinný ženský spolok], Košice Women's Fröbel Association [Košický ženský spolok Fröbel], Lutheran Women's Association [Evanjelický ženský spolok], Jewish Girls' Association [Židovský dievčenský spolok]; one funeral association: Professional and Funeral Society of Female Workers in Košice and its Surroundings [Dobrorný a pohrebný spolok ženských robotníčok mesta Košice a Vídieka]; one worker's society: Female Workers' Club [Kruh ženských robotníčok]; 3 cultural associations: Košice Female Singers' Club [Košický ženský spevácky kruh], Košice Female Choir [Košický ženský spevokol], Košice Ladies' Choir [Spevokol košických panií] and one religion association: Košice Association of the Regional association of Catholic Housewives [Košický spolok krajinského zväzu katolíckych žien v domácnosti].
51 The associations that were founded in the 19th century and continued their activities after the coup included the Charitable Women's Association of Košice [Dobročinný ženský spolok v Košiciach], founded in 1837 – 1838 under the name A Kassai Jótékony Nőegylet. AMK, f. NVMK, d. of Societies, c. 5, inv. no. 23, no. II/7. In addition, the Jewish Charitable Women's Association [Židovský dobročinný ženský spolok], which was established in 1867, continued its activities in the interwar period. GAYER, V. Zsidó egyetületek Kassán..., p. 8.
52 In 1883 Female Singers' Club was founded [Kassai Női Daloskör]. However, it ceased to exist in 1890. LATTOVÁ, N. Spolkový život v Košiciach..., pp. 95-96.
53 As an example we can mention the "Marta" [Martha] Women's Charity Association [Ženský dobročinný spolok „Marta“] which was founded in Košice in 1925. The newly founded associations also included the "Lidumil" [Filanthropist] Women's Charitable Association [Ženský dobročinný spolok „Lidumil“]. AMK, f. MMK, c. 62, inv. no. 286, no. 35151.
is also necessary to explore other types of data that may reveal the associations women actually participated in.

In addition to the aforementioned register, index or lists of associations in Košice, the applications of associations – most often requesting financial support – have survived. Associations usually applied for support to the city, sometimes to the district or the county administration. In the applications, they have detailed the reasons for requesting support from them. In particular, they mentioned the main goals of the association and the specific activities that the association had undertaken in the past. Occasionally, the members and the year of foundation of the particular association was mentioned. Associations often attached their articles of association to the applications. However, these have not been preserved in all cases. Since in Czechoslovakia, women were formally equal to men, the articles of association also stated that members of the association could be people of both sexes. Given the fact that only rarely did the lists of association members survive in the archives, it is difficult to tell the extent to which women were actually involved in the activities of the associations. The files stored in the archives also include the annual statements of associations filed to the city council. However, from these, it is only possible to identify some officials of the particular associations. Among the files there are also reports of associations about their activities performed in the respective years, which may show the involvement of women in the associations of the city.

Since all the activities had to be reported to the City Police Department (to the captain's office and, later, to the police directorate established in Košice at the end of 1920), the files preserved of the activities of these two institutions may be considered important for researching the 1918 – 1938 associated activities of women in Košice. The 1861 – 1922 records division of the Police Captainate [Policajný kapitanát] (1830) is a part of the 1888 – 1922 records of the City Council of Košice [Magistrátní mesta Košice], deposited in the AMK, while the 1920 – 1938 records of the Košice Police Directorate [Policajné riaditeľstvo v Košiciach] ("PR") is held at ŠA-K. Since after 1938, the PR records were moved several times (to Prešov, Prague, Bratislava and Košice), a part of the records was lost and/or destroyed. As a result, the retained files are not comprehensive at all and contain only a small number of documents related to associations (e.g. the list of associations mentioned above). Other archival materials for association activities in interwar Košice are deposited in the AMK in the 1923 – 1938 records of the City Notary's Office in Košice [Mestský notárska úrad v Košiciach] and in the 1939 – 1945 records of the Municipal City of Košice [Košice – mesto s muničiálnym zriadením] (although these records includes mostly newer documents, along with those from the period under review, it also contains materials from the interwar period concerning the financial support of the respective associations), in the Archbishop's Archives in Košice in the records of the Košice Bishopric [Košické biskupstvo] (the 1883 – 1946 division of the Košice Bishop's Ordinary [Košický biskupský ordinariát]) and in the National Archive of Czech Republic, [Národní archiv České republiky] in Prague in the 1918 – 1940 records in the Headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior [Presidium ministerstva vnitra], containing the articles of association of associations. Preservation of the articles of association and activity reports is related to the obligation of the associations to file these documents with the Ministry of Interior of the Czechoslovak Republic and with the relevant police directorate. The articles of association had to be filed upon establishment of the association and upon each amendment. Reports of their activities performed during the past period (most often the previous year) had to be filed regularly.

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54 These documents are stored in the AMK in the MMK fonds, in the ŠA-K in the 1923 – 1928 records of the Košice County [Košická župa] and in the 1923 – 1939 records of the District Administration in Košice [Okresný úrad v Košiciach].
Annual reports

An important source for research of girls' and women's education and their employment in education are the annual reports of secondary schools, which can fill the gaps resulting from the loss and/or destruction of certain parts of the archives of individual schools. The annual reports provide a summary of the school year and provide information on a school’s operations over the past period. Since these documents map the school’s administration and also the social and cultural state of the city and the school’s part in this, they are important sources of knowledge when considering the operation of a particular school and the state of education. During the interwar period, almost all types of educational institutions issued annual school reports. Despite the fact that their publishing was regulated by several MŠaNO decrees, which sought their uniformity in terms of content and form, these depended mainly on the financial and material resources of the particular institution. According to the MŠaNO Decree no. 17830 of 25 May 1921, the annual reports had to contain information about the teaching staff, the course of the school year – the so-called school chronicle (including school-leaving exams), collections of teaching aids, grants and scholarships, statistics of students (in terms of headcount, birthplace, residence, nationality, mother tongue, religion, age, etc.), the list of students and announcements for the subsequent school year. However, not all schools complied with the regulations, and so there are some differences between the annual reports of the respective schools, and this also applies to the annual reports issued by Košice schools. The fact that the annual reports are dispersed in the records of libraries, archives, museums and other institutions makes it difficult to work with this type of the resources. They are usually only fragmentary and sometimes inconsistent and/or they are not processed or kept file of at all.

The annual reports of secondary schools, courses and the city Music school are also important resources because they provide information about the existence of particular schools and whether they were co-educational, girls' schools or if the school – despite the possibility of admitting female students – reported only male students. Most annual reports allow surveying the national, religious or social structure of the students. However, the problem in researching girls’ education is that in the statistics of the annual reports, the sex of the students was not

55 GEŠKOVÁ, Želmíra – KRIŠKOVÁ, Ľubica. Bibliografia výročných správ škôl z územia Slovenska za školské roky 1918/19 – 1952/53. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1998, p. 32.
56 GEŠKOVÁ, Ž. – KRIŠKOVÁ, L. Bibliografia výročných správ..., pp. 35-37.
57 The annual reports of Czechoslovak State Real Grammar School in Košice for school years 1919/20 – 1937/38. The annual reports of State Hungarian Real Grammar School in Košice for school years 1927/28 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Order Czechoslovak State Real Grammar School of Premonstratesians in Košice for school years 1935/36 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Czechoslovak State Girls' Reform Real Grammar School in Košice for school years 1920/21 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Order Czechoslovak Girls' Real Grammar School of Congregation of Dominicans in Košice for school years 1936/37 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Order Czechoslovak Girls’ Real Grammar School of Ursulines in Košice for school years 1936/37 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Czechoslovak State Secondary School in Košice for school years 1919/20 – 1937/38. The annual reports of State Technical School in Košice for school years 1919/20 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Czechoslovak State Commercial Academy in Košice for school years 1919/20 – 1937/38. The annual reports of Czechoslovak State Normal School in Košice for school years 1921/22 – 1929/30. The annual reports of Girls’ Family Vocational School in Košice for school years 1922/23 – 1937/38. The annual reports of State Agricultural School in Košice for school years 1919/20 – 1934/35. The annual reports of Public One-year Girls' Business Course of Dominicans in Košice for school years 1931/32 – 1933/34. The annual reports of the City Music School in Košice for school years 1920/21 – 1936/37.
58 The annual reports issued by secondary schools in Košice in the years 1918 – 1938 are stored in the Archives of the City of Košice, the State Archives in Košice, the Jan Bocatius Public Library in Košice, the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague, the Slovak Pedagogic Library in Bratislava, the State Scientific Library in Košice and the University Library in Bratislava.
differen	
ted only when considering the total headcount of students in the respective forms, but when considering other aspects (such as the mentioned nationality or religion), gender information was not stated. In such cases, the situation is simpler with schools attended only by girls. These include the girls' secondary schools or two-year girls' family vocational school. However, in case of the latter, the statistics are missing because the school's annual reports contain only lists of students. As mentioned above, only two catalogues have survived in the archives, so the annual reports complement the missing information not only concerning its origin or operation, but also provide contemporary views on the position of women in society and on the importance of their education: "[..] considering the advancement of women's emancipation, there is no future for a nation unless women are devoted to their families and they have a level of education helping them create a happy, nice home for their family, even in modest conditions. [...] It is important for a woman to awake devotion in the little things, including cooking, sewing and repairing clothes and for the other household chores. It is not enough to teach; it is necessary to instil love for this profession in future women."

Information about individual school subjects is also important, and when examining the employment of women in education, the information about the teachers who were teaching the subjects is equally important. The annual reports allow monitoring the gender composition of the teaching staff of the respective schools in the city, along with whether there were any differences in the set of subjects taught by men and women. For example, the staff of the Two-year Girls’ Vocational Family School in Košice consisted of three female teachers and two male teachers during the first years of its existence. The number of in-house and external male and female teachers changed every year. In the school year 1928/29, 8 female and 5 male teachers taught at the school. By the school year 1937/38, the number of teachers increased to 18 women and 2 men.

**Printed media of the time**

To examine the position of women in the past, one must focus not only on archived documents, but also on the contemporary press. As a means of mass communication, it is an important resource, because they reflect the influence of women on society as well as the attitude of the wider public to women and their activities at the time. One has to examine the context in which the articles on women appeared in the written media. For example, whether they were related to the fields of politics, culture, health, education or charity, or whether they supported women in their efforts to achieve an equal position to that of men, or whether these articles tried to act against these efforts. The contemporary press is therefore another source to use when examining the position of women in interwar Košice. This includes mainly the regional contemporary press, such as the pro-government daily *Slovenský východ [Slovak East]*, published in Košice between 1919 and 1937 (from April 1937 until the end of 1938 it was published under the name *Novosti [News]*)*, the monthly publication "Košické kat. cirkevné zprávy" [Košice Catholic Ecclesiastical News], published in the years 1930 – 1938, the 1921 – 1938 weekly *Slovenský*

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59 Výročná zpráva Verejnej odbornej školy pre ženské povolania v Košiciach za školský rok 1931/32. Košice, 1932, p. 2.
60 Výročná zpráva dvojročnej dievčenskej odbornej rodinnej školy v Košiciach za šk. r. 1922/23, 1923/24, 1924/25. Košice, 1925, pp. 5-7.
61 Verejná odborná škola pre ženské povolania v Košiciach. Výročná zpráva za šk. rok 1928/29. Košice, 1929, p. 10.
62 Výročná zpráva verejnej čsl. odbornej školy pre ženské povolania v Košiciach za školský rok 1937/38. Košice, 1938, pp. 15-17.
Research resources on the position of women in Košice 1918 – 1938

The topics of Slovenský východ, the first Slovak regional daily published in Eastern Slovakia after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, feature good examples of topics concerning the issue of women in society. The articles of this daily can be divided into specific topics concerning women: education (girls’ schools, courses, lectures), employment (job advertisements), charity activities (in associations), voting rights, the issue of women abroad, criminal acts (theft, bodily harm, murder), suicides, prostitution, women’s fashion and hairstyles, women and sports.

Hana Gregorová, who fought for women’s rights and their equal status with men, worked as an editor of Slovenský východ between 1919 and 1920. It was due to her that the newspaper published articles supporting the emancipation and political involvement of women. From the very first months of its existence, Slovenský východ dealt with women’s issues. It published texts with the intention of raising the interest of women in political affairs, political equality, and women’s education: “One must not stop calling: women, understand your serious role in the republic – understand that you have to throw away your petty interests and that you must – or should – despise them and replace them with an interest in politics and public life […] However, this interest requires more wisdom than it was necessary in the past, therefore, consider it to be your duty, women of the Slovak people, to learn, read every day, if not books, at least newspapers. […] Imagine: at the elections, you will have to vote – this does not mean only to put on your best clothes, […] and to vote for who is suggested by the others. Voting is a matter of great responsibility.”

In conclusion we can say that Slovenský východ supported women in their emancipatory efforts and even tried to awaken the desire for Slovak women to work in politics and to achieve an equal status with men. The emancipation of women in politics required a certain level of education, which the daily also supported. As a regional daily paper of Eastern Slovakia based in Košice – a city which was the cultural, political, administrative and economic center of Eastern Slovakia, and was significantly impacted by the hungarianization in the previous period – it responded mainly to the need for Slovak education of both men and women. On its pages there were quite often articles about emerging girls’ schools, about planned courses for women in Košice and in other cities of (Czecho)Slovakia, but also information on expanding opportunities for higher education for women.

Women in healthcare was another topic given great attention by the paper. It published mainly information about courses for nurses and midwives, as well as job advertisements on job vacancies, such as for the nurses in the hospital in Košice. Newspapers thus included job advertisements, divided according to the sex of the applicants. As to the employment of women, the paper published short reports on the employment of women in positions previously held by men.

In addition to the contemporary periodicals published in Slovak, it is necessary to focus also on the Hungarian media and not only on the regional papers – including Kassai Napló [Košice Journal] (1919 – 1929) and Kassai Hírlap [Košice Herald] (1904 – 1922), the most popular papers in Košice, or Kassai Katholikus Egyházi Tudósító [Košice Catholic Clerical News] (1914 – 1940), Kassai Munkás [Košice Worker], Munkás [Worker] after 1922 (1907 – 1937),

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63 Slovenský východ, March 18, 1919, č. 59, Ženám, pp. 1-2.
64 Slovenský východ, February 13, 1920, č. 35, p. 4.
65 Slovenský východ, January 10, 1937, č. 7, Ženy Slovencov v súdnej službe, p. 8.
A Nép [People] (1921 – 1937) - but also on national press. A notable example is most popular Hungarian daily in Czechoslovakia, Prágaí Magyar Hírlap [Prague Hungarian Herald], published in Prague from 1922 to 1938, which also reflected the life of women in Košice. In addition to the above, periodicals, primarily for women, can provide valuable information. Another Hungarian periodical paper for women was Katolikus Nő [Catholic Woman] (1932 – 1935) or Nőmunkás [Worker Woman] for women workers (1924 – 1925). No similar Slovak title was published in Košice in the interwar period, so – as far as Slovak press is concerned – one may use only periodicals published in other cities of Czechoslovakia. In Slovakia, the following women's periodicals were published in the interwar period: Slovenská žena [Slovak Woman] (1920 – 1923), Gazdiná [Housewife] (1925 – 1937) – a supplement to Slovenský Gazda [Slovak Farmer], Slovenka [Slovak Woman] (1930 – 1935) – a Slovak version of the Prague daily List paní a dívek [Ladies’ and Girls’ Magazine] (1922 – 1929), Nová žena [New Woman] (1938 – 1944), Dennica (1898 – 1935) and Živena (1910 – 1949).

When processing periodicals of the time, the publisher of the newspaper or magazine has to be taken into account, since this reflected the nature of the published articles and the attitude of the paper to the issue. It is important to study the various periodicals to eliminate the possibility of achieving a distorted picture of society's view of women. Thematic bibliographic works of Michal Potemra and Mária Mihóková are suitable tools to process periodicals. These are bibliographies of newspaper and magazine articles concerning 1848 – 1918 secondary education in Košice and cultural life in Košice in 1848 – 1918 and 1938 – 1945. Although these publications do not focus on the interwar period, the information contained therein will help for comparison of the issue (e.g. education of girls and women) in the particular periods and/or when processing the Press from the years that focus on the particular issues, i.e. 1918 and 1938.

Other types of resources

Private sources like memoirs, diaries and private correspondence also help to complete the bigger picture of women's status. These help to reconstruct not only the fates of specific individuals, but also the social life of a city or region, as is the case with Lolina kniha [Lola's book] – based on letters, diaries, memories and other sources – in providing information about the lives of several women in Košice. Valuable information on the perception of women and their role in society of the time is provided in handbooks to help girls and women, e.g. choosing a suitable profession; sources related to education: school curricula, study plans, textbooks;

66 MIHÓKOVÁ, Mária (ed.). Stredné školstvo v Košiciach v rokoch 1848 – 1918. Tematická bibliografia I. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1981. 411 p. MIHÓKOVÁ, Mária (ed.). Stredné školstvo v Košiciach v rokoch 1848 – 1918. Tematická bibliografia II. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1981. 439 p.
67 MIHÓKOVÁ, Mária (ed.). Vedecká, kultúrna a osvetová práca v Košiciach v rokoch 1848 – 1918. Tematická bibliografia I. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1991. 505 p. MIHÓKOVÁ, Mária (ed.). Vedecká, kultúrna a osvetová práca v Košiciach v rokoch 1848 – 1918. Tematická bibliografia II. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1991. 506-985 pp.
68 POTEMRA, Michal. Kultúrny život v Košiciach v rokoch 1938 – 1945. Tematická bibliografia I. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1985. 572 p. POTEMRA, Michal. Kultúrny život v Košiciach v rokoch 1938 – 1945. Tematická bibliografia II. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1985. 366 p. POTEMRA, Michal. Kultúrny život v Košiciach v rokoch 1938 – 1945. Tematická bibliografia III. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1985. 367-800 pp.
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70 GÖLLNEROVÁ, Alžbeta – ZIKMUNDOVÁ, Jarmila. Žena novej doby: Kniha pre výchovu demokratickej ženy. Bratislava : Tatra, 1938. 604 p. LANCÓVÁ, Juliana. Kniha ženských zaměstnání. Praktický rádců při volbě povolání dívek. Praha : Melantrich , 1929. 353 p. LANCÓVÁ, Juliana a kol. Správná volba povolání. Praktická příručka pro rodiče, vychovatele, učitele, lekáře, poradce, zaměstnavatele, zaměstnance atd. Praha : Ústředí
activity reports and yearbooks of associations, as well as resources capturing information on individual important events in Košice – jubilee books and almanacs or city address books. Existing associations were usually disclosed in the address books of Košice – although a comparison of the aforementioned lists of associations and city address books shows that the respective address books did not always list all associations. This resource may also be used in research of the employment of women, as address books also contained lists of (fe)male doctors and midwives. A further type of resources – important, but only sporadically used – is photographs. Considering the topics in question, these include photographs of girls and women from the sector of education or healthcare, deposited in the East Slovak Museum in Košice in the collection of historical photographs.

**Conclusions**

Despite the fact that in recent years the history of women and gender relations were processed by a number of scientific papers in Slovak historiography, there is still considerable space for further research and new publications, as a result of hitherto unknown sources, facts or contexts. The issue of women in the past can be examined at various levels and from various perspectives. Initially, women's history focused on topics such as girls' education, women's legal status or employment, however, gradually research began to focus on other areas – the female body, health or sexuality. The difficulty of researching these topics often results from a lack of resources, since official resources are not sufficient in these cases and private sources – such as diaries or correspondence – should also be used. However, there are certain difficulties in their discovery and/or acquisition, since these are deposited mostly in private archives. Another perspective on women's lives is available in novels – not only the literary works written about or for women, but also female authors and their works. Interviews with participants or witnesses of the investigated events can also provide valuable information.

One possibility of research is to address the issue of women's status at a regional level. This paper focused on various types of resources related to education, professional success and the social life of women in Košice. These traditional topics of women's history are fundamental to researching the position of women in the past. So far, in the Slovak literature, the issue of women's lives in Košice has only appeared marginally, especially in connection with the research of Slovak education in the interwar period, the Jewish issue, social life in the dualistic

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71 *Almanach Čs. S. K. Košice 1919 – 1929*. Košice : Československý sportovní klub – Košice, 1929. 96 p.

72 *GRUSETZKY, Ferenc* (eds.). *Szlovenszkó és Ruszinszkó sportélete 1926*. Košice – Kassa : Kiadják a szerkesztők, 1927. 78 p.

73 *ORAVCOVÁ, M.* *Kde s dievčat’om? In* *Prednášky Župného sväzu osvetového v Košiciach*. Košice : Grafička, 1927, pp. 268-274.
Kingdom of Hungary or after the establishment of Czechoslovakia. The author decided to deal with the issue of types of resources due to the absence of research studies, since in most cases, not even the basic information related to the lives of women in interwar Košice has been disclosed and/or only partial findings are available. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to support basic research of the issue and to provide further information about the selected topic.

In this paper, the author presented statistics, rules and regulations, archive sources, annual reports, periodicals of the time, handbooks for girls and women, jubilee books, almanacs, city address books and photographs that can be used to research the topic. Despite the fact that there are different types of resources available for the three aforementioned topics, their in-depth examination shows that – in many cases – their use is very limited. Therefore, multiple types of resources have to be used when researching the position of women in interwar Košice. In addition to the official resources, private documents have to be considered to create a comprehensive picture of the opportunities that women had under the conditions of the then newly established democratic state and the extent to which women actually used or could have used them. One of the fundamental research problems is the linguistic diversity of the resources, as the written sources occur in at least four languages – Czech, Hungarian, German and Slovak. Occasionally, English, French or Russian appears. This is one of the reasons why historians have not yet given the topic sufficient attention.
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- Fund Košické biskupstvo [Košice Bispohric], Division Košický biskupský ordinariát [Košice Bishop's Ordinary] 1883 – 1946

**Archív mesta Košice [Archives of the City of Košice]**
- Fund Magistrát mesta Košice [City Council of Košice] 1888 – 1922, Division Policajný kapitán [Police Captainate] (1830) 1861 – 1922
- Fund Magistrát mesta Košic [City Council of Košice] 1923 – 1938, Division Úradný hlavný lekár mesta Košice [Chief Medical Officer of the City of Košice]
- Fund Mestský notárske úrad v Košiciach [City Notary's Office in Košice] 1923 – 1938
- Fund Košice – mesto s municipálnym zriadením [Municipal City of Košice] 1939 – 1945
- Fund Národný výbor mesta Košice [National Committee of the City of Košice] 1945 – 1948, Division Špolkové oddelenie [Division of Societies] 1915 – 1957

**Slovenský národný archív [Slovak National Archives]**
- Fund Expozitúra Ministerstva verejného zdravotníctva a telesnej výchovy [Subsidiary of the Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education] 1919 – 1929

**Štátny archív v Košiciach [State Archives in Košice]**
- Fund Československá štátna pokračovacia škola obchodná v Košiciach [Czechoslovak State Continuation Commercial School in Košice] 1919 – 1938
- Fund Československé štátné reálne gymnázium v Košiciach [Czechoslovak State Real Grammar School in Košice] 1919 – 1938
- Fund Československý štátny učiteľský ústav v Košiciach [Czechoslovak State Normal School in Košice] 1921 – 1930
- Fund Dievčenská odborná rodinná škola v Košiciach [Girls' Family Vocational School in Košice] 1923 – 1938
- Fund Košická župa [Košice County] 1923 – 1928
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- Fund Rádové československé reálne gymnázium premonštrátov v Košiciach [Order Czechoslovak Real Grammar School of Premonstratesians in Košice] 1935 – 1938
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- Fund Rímskokatolícky ženský učiteľský ústav v Košiciach [Roman Catholic Women's School in Košice] 1860 – 1919; 1937 – 1938
Research resources on the position of women in Košice 1918 – 1938

- Fund Školský inšpektorát II. v Košiciach [School Inspectorate II of Košice] 1922 – 1938
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- Fund Štátna vyššia hospodárska škola Košiciach [State Agricultural School in Košice] 1919 – 1948
- Fund Štátna československé dievčenské reálne gymnázium v Košiciach [State Czechoslovak Girls' Real Grammar School in Košice] 1919 – 1938
- Fund Štátna maďarské reálne gymnázium v Košiciach [State Hungarian Real Grammar School in Košice] 1927 – 1938
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- Fund Ženský obchodný kurz rádu sv. Ursule v Košiciach [Women's Commercial Course of Ursulines in Košice] 1907 – 1939

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