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Photographs / Images: Svatopluk and his sons, figures from a Czech legend, portrayed on the allegorical proscenium curtain from the Clarkson Opera House

SLOVAK IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

IN LIGHT OF AMERICAN, CZECH, AND SLOVAK HISTORY

By Gregory C. Ference

Although one can generalize about immigration and immigrant groups in the United States, whether they are Czech and Slovak or Croat and Slovene, each group has had a distinct experience. On the surface, Czech and Slovak immigration may appear to be quite similar but underneath they are not. This points to a serious, ongoing problem in Czechoslovak studies where scholars tend to know one group, either the Czech or the Slovak, better than the other, and thereby make generalizations that do not accurately reflect the experiences of either or of the whole picture. This article attempts to clear up some of the misconceptions about Slovak immigration in relation to that of the Czechs, with emphasis on the pre-1914 era.

Given the general repression of the Slovaks and other non-Magyar minorities in the Lands of St. Stephen or the Kingdom of Hungary, it is easy to deduce that these minorities would search for a way to escape oppression, and that is why they emigrated. But, for the most part, nothing can be further from the truth. Especially from 1848 to 1918, other circumstances—particularly overpopulation, a lack of farmland, unemployment, and poverty—overshadowed the Magyarization policies of the Hungarian government. These determinants originated many years before the Magyars in 1867

began trying to establish a homogenous national state. Herein lies a major difference between the Czechs and Slovaks. The majority of the Czechs immigrated to the United States from the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary to better their economic lot or to escape particular crises like the crop failures of the 1870s or the agricultural depression beginning in the 1880s. Others left Bohemia and Moravia to acquire greater political freedom in response to Habsburg suppression of the 1848-49 revolutions, Habsburg anti-socialist legislation of the 1880s, or periodic conflicts with the Bohemian Germans. Unlike a majority of Slovaks, most of these Czechs came to the United States with the intention of settling here permanently.

As for Slovak emigration, overpopulation was a major cause. After the Turkish threat to the Habsburg Monarchy diminished in the late seventeenth century and relative calm was restored in this part of central Europe, the estimated number of Slovaks in Hungary rose considerably, from 700,000 in 1720 to 2 million by 1780.¹ The twelve Slovak-dominated counties (Bratislava, Gemer, Hontian, Liptov, Nitra, Orava, Šariš, Spiš, Tekov, Trenčín, Turčian, and Zvolen) amounted to approximately one-third of the total inhabitants of Hungary in 1720; but this percentage dropped to about one-fourth by 1787, due to the even more rapid population growth in other parts of that kingdom.² By 1850 the number of Slovaks had increased to around 2.5 million. During the next sixty years, the Slovak

population grew about sixteen percent to 3 million,³ making the Slovaks by 1910 an estimated one-fifth of all subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴

This numerical increase of the overwhelmingly agrarian Slovak people eventually led to their subdividing their peasant landholdings into smaller plots that could no longer support even subsistence farming. The territory of Slovakia, largely mountainous and ill-suited for agriculture, further exacerbated the situation. Although serfdom was abolished in 1848 and a land reform instituted, so that theoretically anyone could purchase property, large estates (*latifundia*) remained. These great estates, protected in part by entail and primogeniture, were seldom broken down into smaller plots that were affordable to the peasantry. The consequent general overpricing of land divided the peasants into two categories: "dwarf plot" landholders and the landless.⁵

Along with the landless peasants, "dwarf plot" landholders became seasonal farm laborers on the large estates to support their families. The pay was low and the work lasted, at best, five to six months. With the advent of farm mechanization in Hungary, these jobs were threatened, since one reaper could do the work of fifteen men.⁶

Even the cottage industries in Slovakia suffered a fatal blow with the beginnings of industrialization in the Habsburg Monarchy. Starting in the late 1860s government contracts went to large factories, primarily in the Austrian half of the empire, causing

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widespread unemployment and further aggravating the problem.⁷ Consequently, Slovaks sought employment in growing industrial cities, such as Budapest or Vienna. By 1910 the number of Slovak laborers had risen to 20.3 percent in industry and dropped to 61.8 percent in farming.⁸

The introduction of mechanized farming, the destruction of cottage industry, and general overcrowding in rural and urban areas produced a surplus population that could not be absorbed by the relatively late-starting industrialization of the Habsburg Monarchy, especially its Hungarian half. Bad harvests in the 1870s and the 1873 depression further aggravated the situation. Slovaks had no recourse but to look outside the monarchy for a livelihood and increasingly turned for work to the United States, where a technologically advanced and rapidly growing industrialization easily absorbed them.⁹ They started to come in large numbers in the 1880s, unlike the Czechs who had a good twenty years head start, and became part, along with the Czechs, of the "new" immigration or those people entering America from eastern and southeastern Europe. This Slovak immigration to America acted as a safety valve for the Slovaks as well as for the Hungarian authorities. A potentially dangerous situation was avoided as large numbers of economically disaffected persons left the Lands of St. Stephen.

The first known Slovak to travel to America was Andrej Jelík, who arrived approximately one hundred years before the mass immigration began. In 1840 a family of Slovak tinkers, the Komada, established the first Slovak business, dealing with wire and wire products, in Philadelphia. By the 1850s Slovaks immigrated more frequently, yet these immigrants usually were isolated cases. Around the year 1874 more began to arrive, and by 1879 pockets of Slovak immigrants

could be found in various sections of the United States. The beginnings of the mass migration started around 1880, with the immigrants coming primarily from eastern Slovakia, where overpopulation and unemployment were most acute.¹⁰ Slovaks who immigrated did so without any intention to settle in the United States permanently. They came with the purpose of earning money as fast as possible and then returning to the Old Country to buy land with their hard earned dollars.¹¹

Between 1873 and 1883 Slovaks contemplating the move to America were helped by Daniel Šustek (1846-1927). This journeyman carpenter wrote over this ten-year period about his experiences in the United States in the Slovak monthly *Obzor* (Horizon), published in Skalica in western Slovakia. In this journal, Šustek, besides telling about the difficulties of living in a strange country with its different lifestyles, gave much needed information and advice on traveling to America, locating employment, anticipating wage and salary ranges, and engaging in business or personal relations with non-Slovaks.¹²

Complementing Šustek's advice, American agents of industrial and mining companies seeking employees began to work in Slovakia and presented very positive pictures of life in the United States. Representatives of great steamship lines later joined industrial agents in encouraging people to emigrate so that their companies could profit by large scale migration.¹³

Yet the greatest pull for Slovak emigration came from the letters of relatives and friends in America describing the benefits of life there as compared to Hungary. These letters also often contained large sums of money,¹⁴ to pay debts, purchase additional property and farm equipment, and build homes with tiled, instead of thatched, roofs. This new found and widely observed prosperity in a poverty

stricken area further enticed others to emigrate. Moreover many Slovaks earned enough money after four to five years to return home as *boháci* (rich men), thereby captivating the Old Country Slovaks with the wealth to be made in the United States. Nonetheless, the pull of America only succeeded in starting mass emigration in areas where the local populace had a successful past in this migration process.¹⁵

Many of these *boháci* decided to re-emigrate, some making the trip several times before deciding to settle permanently in America because of the economic benefits. Approximately sixty percent of all Slovaks who had emigrated eventually returned prior to World War I.¹⁶ Young single men, at the height of their physical strength, arrived first. In the 1880s women started to come to the United States to satisfy the need for Slovak spouses. A married man usually traveled alone, and after earning enough money, he either returned to the Old Country to bring his family to America, or sent funds to family members to purchase rail and steamship tickets to America.¹⁷

The largely agrarian, uneducated, and nationally unaware Slovaks settled mainly in the Mid-Atlantic and Great Lakes regions, particularly in western Pennsylvania, taking low skilled jobs in heavy industry, such as coal mines and steel mills.¹⁸ As compared to Hungary, in America they had year-round employment with wages five to six times higher. A person working in heavy industry could expect to earn in one day what he would have received in one week in the Old Country at a seasonal job.¹⁹ Although sixty-eight percent of the immigrants between 1899 and 1913 had agricultural backgrounds, almost ninety percent received employment in industry.²⁰ In 1909 Slovaks accounted for approximately ten percent of all iron and steel workers in the United States.²¹

The exact number of Slovaks who came to or remained in America cannot be precisely ascertained. The commissioner of immigration stated in his 1919 report that 480,286 Slovaks had arrived in the United States between June 30, 1899, and 1919, the majority by 1914.²²

The commissioner further noted that the Slovaks furnished the sixth largest number of immigrants during this period, and, of the Slavic groups to enter the United States, only the Poles, with over one million persons, outnumbered the Slovaks.²³

A better indicator of the extent of Slovak immigration into America would be the Fourteenth Census of the United States. Taken in 1920, and based upon mother-tongue as opposed to country of origin, it lists a total of 619,866 Slovaks.²⁴ Yet the census cannot be considered accurate because American enumerators often confused Slovaks with Slovenes, a Slavic people from southeast Europe, or each of these groups with other Slavs or simply classified some as "Slavs" in a general category.²⁵ Nonetheless 650,000 Slovaks is thought by immigration historians to be the best estimate, which signifies that approximately one-fifth of the Slovak nation emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the United States during the forty years from 1874 to 1914.²⁶

A smaller number of Czechs than Slovaks came to America. Approximately 350,000 highly skilled and literate Czechs arrived before World War I. This one-sixteenth of the Czech nation tended to be better educated and more wealthy upon arrival than the one-fifth of all Slovaks, who arrived with little or no money.²⁷ In intelligence, ambition, and capacity for hard work, the two groups were equal; but the greater educational and material resources of Czech immigrants facilitated their more rapid entry into farming, small business, and the professions.

In America, the Slovaks settled in 37 states and in almost 700 different communities and contributed to the multiplicity of American society.²⁸ Like other ethnic groups in America, they tended to settle in neighborhoods where their co-nationals had already concentrated. As soon as their numbers sufficed, they established their own churches, fraternal and cultural organizations, and newspapers.

The Slovaks, unlike the Czechs or any other Slavic group, are split religiously into four major denominations. Among Slovaks by 1910, Roman Catholics numbered approximately seventy percent, Lutherans fourteen percent, and Calvinists and Byzantine-Rite Catholics five and seven percent respectively.²⁹ This distribution could be seen throughout Slovak life in America. Slovak neighborhoods could have several churches, based on religious as well as geographic differences. For example, in Cleveland in 1918, there were one Calvinist, four Lutheran, and eight Roman Catholic Slovak churches. The majority of each congregation usually came from the same regions of Slovakia and tended to live among one another near their church.³⁰ A similarly complex situation could be found among Slovaks in Pittsburgh.³¹

Fraternal benevolent societies also flourished, and by 1920 over one-third of American Slovaks held membership in one or more such organizations.³² The early Slovak immigrants usually joined an existing American immigrant association, whose members spoke a language they understood and whose programs could serve their needs without offending their ethnic or religious sensibilities. One such example was the *Česko-Slovanský Podporující Spolek* (Czecho-Slavonic Benevolent Society), founded by Czechs in 1854 in St. Louis (fig. 23). Slovak immigrants associated with Czech or Polish societies soon learned the benefits and advantages of these organizations and

began to offer the same to an exclusive Slovak clientele as soon as sufficient numbers of Slovaks were present.³³ Yet, these early societies were not yet nationalistic enough to divorce themselves from the Hungarian homeland. Many called their organizations "Hungarian-Slovak" while utilizing the Hungarian national colors of red-white-green on their emblems and flags.³⁴

Initially these societies offered inexpensive life and workman's compensation insurance, which at that time virtually did not exist in the United States. Soon these groups became the centers of social activity. They organized picnics, dances, theatrical productions, and athletic events. They also raised money for various causes by raffles, with many churches being built and maintained in this way. By 1890 forty different Slovak fraternal organizations based on religious, political, and county differences existed in America; and the majority of these later associated or merged with one of the larger, stronger national fraternal benevolent societies.³⁵ Women's societies, associated with the large national fraternal, also sprang up.

Most of these organizations published newspapers for members; and every such periodical expressed opinions and ideas that reflected the ideology of the parent society. Thus did the Slovak-language press begin to flourish in the United States, whether sponsored by private individuals or fraternal benevolent groups. Slovak newspapers became powerful tools to express grievances against the Magyars and conditions in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as covering controversial issues that arose in America. The advent of the Slovak-American press was the most important event in increasing Slovak awareness and consciousness both on the North American and European continents. Life in the United States allowed formerly oppressed people to express themselves freely in



Fig.23. The "Strength in Numbers" fostered by Czech-American organizations recalls the ancient Czech legend of "Svatopluk and his sons," portrayed on the allegorical proscenium curtain from the Clarkston (Nebraska) Opera House. Svatopluk asked each son to break a single stick, which each did easily. None of them could break a bundle of three sticks. (P. Michael Whye, NSHS C998.1-443)

their native tongue without fear of reprisals. With this new freedom the majority of the Slovak people, although divided in America by religion, Old World regional biases, and dialects, rallied around literary Slovak. They endeavored to keep it alive, along with the national spirit, and to encourage its use by non-nationalistic Slovaks, as well as Americans of Slovak ancestry.

The first Slovak newspaper in the United States appeared in 1885. It was published by the information officer of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Pittsburgh, Ján Slovenský (1856-1900).³⁶ Prior to this, Slovaks read Czech-American newspapers, which did not cover adequately events relevant for a Slovak audience. With the

success of Slovenský's newspaper others sprang up throughout the country wherever a community of Slovaks could be found. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Slovak-language journals and newspapers published about 80,000 copies a week.³⁷ In Pennsylvania alone, the state with the largest Slovak population, over twenty-five new Slovak-language journals were launched between 1914 and 1918.³⁸ Editors of the Slovak-American press vigorously responded to every injustice, imaginary or real, committed against their compatriots in the Old Country by the Hungarian government. So popular and influential did this press become that the Hungarian authorities soon forbade the importation of many

Slovak-language American newspapers.³⁹

Overall, Slovak consciousness flourished in the United States through the activities of ethnic churches, organizations, and journalism in a way which was not possible in the Old Country, where the Hungarian government and its Magyarization policies thwarted such freedom of expression and action. Slovak-American periodicals, secular associations, and churches actively cultivated ethnic consciousness and strove to aid their beleaguered compatriots in the Old Country. The clergy, considered leaders by the Slovaks in the United States as well as in Hungary, promulgated political and national concepts among the masses.

Slovak-American societies spon-

sored literary competitions and helped finance aspiring writers, especially in the Habsburg Empire.⁴⁰ One such writer was the great poet and national leader Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847-1916), who received more than \$300 a year by submitting pieces, banned by Budapest, for publication in Slovak-American newspapers and almanacs.

Slovak-American organizations also sent funds to help many other Old Country Slovak nationalists meet educational, cultural, and legal expenses, such as those connected with Father Andrej Hlinka's imprisonment in 1906. Dollars also helped subsidize the Hungarian election campaigns of the Slovak National party. In the same year, a fund established by the American National Slovak Society, with over \$10,000, helped elect six Slovaks to the Hungarian Diet.⁴¹

Slovak national life in every aspect prospered in America because the rigorous controls imposed by the Royal Hungarian government were not present. Due to this freedom in their new homeland, American Slovaks were able to assert their Slovak national identity in a manner that benefitted all Slovaks. Therefore the American Slovaks must be considered part of a worldwide Slovak national entity until the creation of the Czechoslovak state in October 1918.

During World War I, the vast majority of Slovaks, with the exception of some Lutherans, did not subscribe to the theory that the Czechs and Slovaks were two branches of the same nation. If the Slovaks fought Magyarization, they certainly were not going to be merged with the Czechs or "Czechized" against their will and wanted documented assurances from the Czechs that no such efforts would occur in a common Czechoslovak state. Hence the rationale for the Cleveland Agreement of 1915 and the Pittsburgh Pact of 1918 between the representa-

tives of the Czechs and Slovaks in the United States. Both documents stressed the individual nature of the Slovaks and guaranteed autonomy for Slovakia in the soon-to-be-established Czechoslovak Republic.⁴²

Tomáš G. Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, and Milan Rastislav Štefánik, leaders of the Czechoslovak liberation movement, championed the idea that the two ethnic groups were branches of the same nation in an attempt to win Allied approval for a Czechoslovak state since no support could come from the Habsburg Slovaks due to their wartime oppression by Hungarian authorities. Despite Allied awareness of this oppression, the advocates of an independent Czechoslovakia needed some popular Slovak manifestation of approval for such a state. Mass popular support for Czechoslovak independence could only be found in the United States with its large immigrant Slovak population. To rally Slovak-Americans to the cause, leaders of the revolutionary Czechoslovak National Council (*Národní rada*) and representatives of American Czech and Slovak organizations drew up the two above-mentioned agreements.

After World War I, the Czechoslovak Republic, organized as a centralized state with a representative government, continued to perpetuate the notion that the Czechs and Slovaks were branches of the same nation. The government pursued this concept primarily to increase the preponderance of the republic's Slavic element vis-a-vis its German citizens, whose numbers exceeded those of all Slovak inhabitants of the country. This "Czechoslovakism," along with the centralized structure of the government, horrified many Slovak-Americans, especially Roman Catholics. During the interwar period, they repeatedly cited all of the wartime agreements recognizing Slovak individuality and autonomy and demanded the implementation of

the Pittsburgh Pact of 1918.

As for Slovak-American support for the rebirth of Czechoslovakia after its destruction by the Nazis in 1939, one must keep in mind that a Slovak republic existed from March 15, 1939. Although a puppet state of the Nazis, it was, nonetheless, a Slovak one. Many American Slovaks supported it; and until December 1941, they urged the United States government to recognize it. Only upon America's entry into the Second World War and Slovakia's declaration of war on the U.S. on December 21, 1941, did this mood change out of necessity. With the United States' recognizing the Beneš government-in-exile as the legitimate government for a reconstituted postwar Czechoslovakia, Slovak-Americans backed their adopted country's policy, but many did so begrudgingly.

After World War II there occurred another great influx of Slovaks from central Europe, but not on the scale of the pre-1941 immigration. For the most part this small immigration, consisting of former officials or sympathizers of the Slovak Republic, took control of many Slovak organizations in the United States. As such, the mood of Slovak-American opinion received its coloring or slant for the next two-and-one-half years. Prior to 1948, these Slovaks advocated Slovak autonomy, or to a lesser degree independence, while being apologists for the Slovak Republic and its actions between 1939 and 1945. After the 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the American Slovaks changed their priorities. Rabid anti-communism came to mark their thinking and facilitate their creation of another common cause with American Czechs. Advocacy of Slovak autonomy or independence did not die but received a lower priority. With the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia in late 1989, the common enemy for the American Czechs and Slovaks disap-

Ference - Slovak Immigration to the U.S.

peared. Just as rapidly vanished their cooperation in opposing what had been Communist repression, allowing American Slovak support for an independent Slovakia to return quickly to the forefront.

Slovak immigration to the United States was in many respects unique. It helped a beleaguered nationality retain its individuality, which might otherwise have faded. Life in America awakened many nationally unaware Slovaks to the extent that before World War I, Slovak national life was centered not in Slovakia but in the United States. With the creation of Czechoslovakia, Slovaks in America continued to take great interest in the welfare of their co-nationals abroad. But their influence on Old World developments never reached the level of the prewar era. From the establishment of the Slovak Republic and destruction of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Slovak independence, though side-tracked for forty years by anti-communism, remained the agenda for Slovak America.

Notes

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² Ján Hanzlík, "Začiatky vystaňovalectva zo Slovenska do USA a jeho priebeh až do roku 1918, jeho príčiny a následky" (The Beginnings of Slovak Immigration to the USA and its Growth to the Year 1918, Its Causes and Consequences) in Josef Polišínský, ed., *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA* (The Beginnings of Czech and Slovak Immigration to the USA) (Bratislava: SAV, 1970), 50.

³ William V. Wallace, *Czechoslovakia* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976), 62.

⁴ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 50.

⁵ John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16 (December 1957): 502-3.

⁶ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 71-77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸ Ladislav Tajták, "Slovak Emigration and Migration in the Years 1900-1914," *Studia Historica Slovaca* 10 (1978): 48.

⁹ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 56-58.

¹¹ Julianna Puskás, *Emigration from Hungary to the United States Before 1914*, *Studia Historica ASH*, no. 113 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 7.

¹² M. Mark Stolarik, "From Field to Factory: The Historiography of Slovak Immigration to the United States," *International Migration Review* 10 (Spring 1976): 82.

¹³ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 76-77.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁵ Puskás, *Emigration from Hungary*, 16.

¹⁶ John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 153, 166.

¹⁷ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 58-61.

¹⁸ M. Mark Stolarik, "Slovaks," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 928. John Bodnar, *Immigration and Industrialization: Ethnicity in an American Milltown* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977) presents an illuminating discussion of Slovak and other immigrant workers in the mills of Pittsburgh.

¹⁹ Puskás, *Emigration from Hungary*, 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

²¹ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 80.

²² U.S., Department of Labor, *Report of the Department of Labor: 1919: Report of the Secretary of Labor and Reports of Bureaus* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1920), 486-87. Take note that Slovak immigration reached its peak during the years 1905 through 1907 with 132,630 persons and that with the advent of World War I it dropped drastically.

²³ *Ibid.*, 369, 487.

²⁴ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920. Vol. 11. Population 1920. General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1922), 973.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 968.

²⁶ M. Mark Stolarik, "Slovak Migration from Europe to North America, 1870-1918," *Slovak Studies* 20 (1980): 22.

²⁷ Karen Johnson Freeze, "The Czechs," in Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 261-65.

²⁸ Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), 417.

²⁹ *Slovenská vlastiveda* (Slovak Civics), 5 vols. (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied a umení, 1943-48), vol. 1, 197. See also June G. Alexander, *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans 1880-1915* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), 4.

³⁰ Stolarik, "Slovak Migration," 27-30.

³¹ See the thorough study by Alexander, *The Immigrant Church and Community*.

³² Stolarik, "From Field," 86.

³³ Štefan Veselý, "Prvé slovenské spolky v Spojených štátoch amerických" (The Early Slovak Fraternal in the United States of America), *Slováci v zahraničí* 4-5 (1979): 11-14.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁵ Stolarik, "Slovak Migration," 44.

³⁶ M. Mark Stolarik, "The Slovak Press in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries, With Particular Emphasis on the Slovak-American Press, 1885-1918," a paper prepared for the conference on "The Role and Function of the Media in Eastern Europe," Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., Nov. 9-11, 1983, 2.

³⁷ Ladislav Tajták, "K začiatkom Amerikánsko-Slovenských novín" (The Beginnings of Slovak-American Newspapers), in Polišínský, ed., *Začiatky českej a slovenskej*, 195.

³⁸ David E. Washburn, ed., *The Peoples of Pennsylvania: An Annotated Bibliography of Resource Materials* (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh: Distributed by University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 206.

³⁹ Tajták, "K začiatkom," 195.

⁴⁰ Hanzlík, "Začiatky," 88.

⁴¹ Stolarik, "Slovak Migration," 104.

⁴² The creation of Czechoslovakia is discussed at greater length in this issue of *Nebraska History* in Karel Pichlík's article titled "Relationships Between Czechs and Slovaks in the United States during the First World War." Appropriate bibliographical citations will be found there.