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# **Slovak Cultural Heritage in the USA - Periodicals**

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Michaela Bakay-Záhorská

Zdena Kráľová

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## **Preface**

The term “culture” is considered as all forms of traditional behavior characteristic for a given society, a group of societies, or for a certain area during a certain period of time. It forms an identity of each nationality and it is successfully passed on from generation to generation (UNESCO, 1972). The preservation of cultural identity in a diversified environment is an imperative for international as well as national institutions, the Slovak government included. The Slovak cultural heritage includes traditional Slovak culture, the mother tongue preservation, customs and religion.

The Slovak immigration to the USA has deep roots. It was mainly the Slovak-American press that had unified the Slovak community in the USA. It represented a relevant source of information about the Slovak community life as well as about the situation back home in Europe. The preservation of Slovak cultural heritage in such specific heterogeneous environment helped to awaken Slovak interest in national issues and encouraged the Slovak nation to speak up for their rights under many turbulent circumstances.

The community of Slovak-Americans has shown their strong feelings and sincere interest in national and cultural issues in the Slovak Republic. The history proves their active participation in political and national issues over the centuries. Despite the assimilation process, their interest has not faded out. The Slovak-American press represents a valuable documentary heritage not just for the community of Americans with Slovak roots but for the heritage of the Slovak Republic.

The age of globalization and cultural diversity stresses the importance of the national and cultural identity preservation. This idea is included in the concept of many national as well as international documents. Nowadays, globalization

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and the press on mass culture reflected in global media raised a need to concentrate the attention on the needs of minorities. We feel that the interest of the American community living in the USA deserves the attention of their compatriots living in the Slovak Republic. Therefore, we have decided to compile, interpret and summarize the data obtained by the analysis of the Slovak compatriot periodical *Jednota*.

Today, Slovak customs faded out mainly due to extensive assimilation process of the American Slovaks in the USA. The liberation of Slovakia in 1989 has eased the ways of reunion of Slovak-Americans with their relatives back in Slovakia. The new ways of media has made us doubt about the importance of compatriot media as a major tool of Slovak culture preservation abroad which lead us to ask the following questions:

- What is the current situation and function of the Slovak compatriot press in the United States of America?
- What kind of changes has the Slovak compatriot press in the USA undergone since its beginnings?

*Authors*

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## Introduction

Initially, we have focused on the data collection by searching the Internet to find the contact addresses of Slovak fraternal organizations and publishers mentioned in P. Holeštiak's publication (2002). The directory of Slovak fraternal organizations helped us with the initial orientation. What is more, we have looked up the web site of the Office for the Slovaks Living Abroad that gives to publicity the subsequent internet addresses:

- The National Slovak Society ([www.nsslife.com](http://www.nsslife.com));
- The First Catholic Slovak Union of the USA and Canada ([www.fcsla.com](http://www.fcsla.com));
- The Slovak Catholic Sokol ([www.slovakcatholicsokol.org](http://www.slovakcatholicsokol.org));
- The Slovak Garden ([www.slovak-garden.com](http://www.slovak-garden.com));
- The Slovak Institute ([www.slovakinstitute.com](http://www.slovakinstitute.com));
- The Slovak Heritage and Folklore Society International ([www.iarerelative.com](http://www.iarerelative.com));
- Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union ([www.Ipsu.org](http://www.Ipsu.org));
- Slovak Zion Synod ([www.slovakzionsynod.org](http://www.slovakzionsynod.org));
- Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society ([www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org](http://www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org));
- Slovak American Society of Washington (<http://www.uszz.sk/sk/>).

Afterwards, we contacted the societies by e-mail and most them were willing to help and showed interest in our research.

Within the scope of the category "language" we analyzed the percent representation of the language used throughout the whole period of over 100 years of the existence of the magazine *Jednota* by analyzing three randomly selected issues of each decade of the total circulation. We considered a co-

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column as a basic unit for our research. We have statistically evaluated the changes of the predominant language of the magazine issues over the period of more than 100 years to show the level of the mother language preservation in the form of periodicals issued in the community of Americans with Slovak roots. The aim is to show the ratio of Slovak to English language in individual decades of the circulation of the magazine.

We conducted a content analysis of the magazine, which is based on the statistical evaluation of the periodical columns frequency of the magazine *Jednota*. After manual compilation of the content analysis profile (the selection was represented by the sample of 39 selected issues), we identified the regular columns in the issues. Then we analyzed and compared the representation of regular columns by making a table with all the names of regular columns out of each decade entered.

This method allowed us to find out the average of the regulars in each decade of the whole circulation of the periodical *Jednota*. It allowed us to see clearly the decades in which the particular regulars appeared, were renamed or disappeared. We provided the graphical summary of the numeral representation of the regular columns out of each decade to see the structural development of the magazine content.

Finally, we conducted a combined discourse analysis of the content of the selected issues of *Jednota* throughout the whole period of its circulation. We evaluated statistically and summarized the range of the themes published in the periodical throughout the time-period of over 100 years.

We have followed the study of Lynch and Peer (2002). We considered the dominant theme in a story as a unit for our coding theme. According to Lynch and Peer (2002, p. 18): "Most stories are complex and therefore involve more than

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one theme. You have to decide which theme is the most prominent. The questions to ask are: What is this story really about? What is the main point of the story? What is the central concept described in the story?"

We have chosen a representative issue of each decade that covers regular content. We have excluded the issues focused on one dominant theme such as Christmas or Easter. Finally, we have come up with the sample of 13 issues of the compatriot periodical *Jednota*. Our analysis deals with an article as a basic unit of our research and we focused our attention on the stories that meet the minimum of 1 inch and can be recognized as a full story (Lynch – Peer, 2002, p. 7). We did not involve the listings and advertisements, sport listings, photographs and other graphics, crosswords and contest results.

According to Lynch and Peer (2002, p. 7-8) the stories do not include:

- Content promotion references that lead to stories elsewhere;
- Sports agate;
- Stand-alone photographs or graphics;
- Death, birth, engagement, wedding or anniversary notices that are submitted;
- TV and movie listings;
- Stock price listings;
- Weather maps;
- Crosswords and comics;
- Horoscopes;
- Community listings or advertisement content, which must be paid for.

Lynch and Peer (2002, p. 7) state that stories must meet the following criteria:

1. Longer than 2 inches in length;
2. Must be written in complete sentences with a central theme;
3. Must not be a part of a paid advertisement;
4. Must be a complete story, not a proportional reference for a full story contained elsewhere.

Next, we put together the quick reference code list in order to code and analyze the discourse data of the selected issues out of each decade of the magazine *Jednota* by coding the stories of an article. The analyzed stories were involved in the representative issues of each decade of the magazine *Jednota* throughout the period from 1893 to 2014.

We followed the quick reference code of Lynch and Peer (2002) as a model for our coding system. The quick reference code list helped us to match the analyzed story to the corresponding category of a dominant theme. We focused our intention on compiling the categories of our code list with the reference to the themes that would meet the criteria for the documentation of the national identity development of the Slovak-American community living in the northern part of the USA reflected in the content of the compatriot periodical *Jednota* (Table 1).

<b>1</b>	<b>Political and civil participation:</b>
101	Themes related to political situation in homeland
102	Themes related to political situation in the USA
103	Personalities with Slovak roots
104	American general news
105	World news
<b>2</b>	<b>Culture</b>
201	Personalities with Slovak roots
202	Literary works in Slovak
203	Themes related to Slovak folk traditions
204	Literary works in English

<b>3</b>	<b>Social themes</b>
301	Themes related to Slovak-American communities
302	Themes related to homeland
<b>4</b>	<b>Interethnic relations</b>
401	Themes related to the USA
402	Themes related to homeland
<b>5</b>	<b>Religion and Spirituality</b>
501	Bible interpretations
502	Personalities with Slovak roots
503	News from church administration
<b>6</b>	<b>Slovak-American civil participation</b>
601	Branch and district reports
602	Financial reports of Jednota
<b>7</b>	<b>Education</b>
701	Themes related to Slovak education in the USA and homeland

*Table 1 Reference theme code list*

In the initial phase, we went through the whole issue and identified the stories in the magazine. Relatively high number of categories in our Reference theme code list (Table1) did not allow a transparent comparison of the individual issues. Therefore, we merged the original categories into the following 12 categories:

1. General news: 104, 105;
2. Personalities from Slovak cultural and political life: 103, 201;
3. Literary work written in Slovak language: 202;

4. Literary work written in English language: 204;
5. Slovak traditions: 203;
6. Social relations: 301, 302;
7. Interethnic relations: 401, 402;
8. Bible interpretations: 501;
9. Profiles of personalities from Slovak Catholic denomination: 502;
10. News from church: 503;
11. Official reports from *Jednota*: 601, 602;
12. Education: 701.

In the next step, we divided the above-mentioned categories according to two criteria:

*Secular themes:*

- General news;
- Personalities from Slovak cultural and political life;
- Literary work written in English;
- Literary work written in Slovak;
- Slovak traditions;
- Social relations;
- Interethnic relations;
- Official reports from *Jednota*;
- Education.

*Religious themes:*

- Bible interpretation;
- Profiles of personalities from Slovak Catholic denomination;
- News from church.

We got a total story count of each representative issue of a decade out of the total circulation of the magazine (502). We were coding each story starting from the front page of the issue. As we already mentioned above, we did not count the content that did not match the story definition criteria

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stated in the previous page of this chapter. Then, we marked all stories in the individual issues with the highlighter to match a particular category involved in our reference code list. If the story jumped to the next page, we numbered it just on the first page it appeared for the first time (Lynch – Peer, 2002, p. 8). As the result:

- a. We statistically evaluated the predominant content of all selected issues of the *Jednota* circulation throughout the time-period of over 100 years.
- b. We statistically evaluated the content of each selected issue of each decade of the *Jednota* circulation.
- c. We qualitatively analyzed the content of our sample in terms of cultural and national identity preservation in community of Slovak-Americans.
- d. We analyzed the percentage representation of religious and secular themes provided throughout the whole period of over 100 years of the existence of the periodical *Jednota*.

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# 1 Cultural Heritage

## 1.1 The Definition of Cultural Heritage

The world heritage manifests, admires and protects the diversity of our planet and human activity over the centuries. It has a universal value and crosses all boundaries. Therefore, it requires the considering protection to be preserved for the next generations. Referring to the General Conference of UNESCO held on 16 November 1972 (UNESCO, 1972) the world heritage is understood as both cultural and natural heritage. The natural heritage is defined as:

“Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; Geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; Natural sites, or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty” (UNESCO, 1972).

Since the scope of the term cultural heritage has been broadened over centuries and has not been standardized yet, its definition and classification varies according to the field the concept it is used in. The UNESCO used to define the cultural heritage primarily as just monuments, groups of buildings and sites and nature that are outstanding from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

We can state that the term cultural heritage might attain the cultural significance and might be understood as a product of the contemporary society related primarily to something which is received from the predecessors as their heritage and considered as highly valuable. C. Forrest (2010) claims

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that all that we are is the expression of the culture that we inherited, and which we may, or may not, manipulate and pass on to future generations. As we came across the term cultural heritage, speaking about preservation of Slovak cultural heritage in the USA, we realized that it actually stems from two core concepts – culture as the aspect of value and heritage as the aspect of time.

The term culture has been studied for centuries and therefore its formulation differs as a consequence of the growing specialization of social sciences. The term culture plays a significant role in our understanding of the concept of cultural heritage as it involves a culture of the Slovak Americans. Their culture has been reflected in their press activities over centuries. It has been passed on from generation to generation in order to keep the traditional roots alive. Nowadays we can count hundreds of definitions of culture from which we can cite, e.g.:

“[Culture] is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a human as a member of society” (Mistrík et al., 1999). According to J. Peoples and G. Bailey (1988, p. 19) “culture is the socially passed knowledge of a certain social group of people.”

In terms of cultural heritage we can add to E. Mistrík’s et al. (1999, p. 29) perception of the above mentioned definition who speaks about the culture that it “contains in itself the values orientations, norms, signs, patterns of behavior, meanings of cultural products, and social experience of a group. At the same time, it is a summary of ideas of a social group about the world (world view).”

“...the individual is born in a certain culture that was developed by his/her predecessors. His/her knowledge, abilities and skills are formed on the basis of that culture in which he/she was born and raised. The man is thus the product,

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the result of a certain culture and at the same times its co-creator, someone who changes it" (Mistrík et al., 1999, p. 27-29).

We can agree with E. Mistrík et al. (1999) who state that it is a culture that creates the "genetics of consciousness" that is used as the means of the transmission of the human experience to further generations. Thus, a new generation acquires the production of previous generations including not only their knowledge, skills, norms, values and experience, but also the material production that helps the individual to build their sense of national and cultural identity based on the hierarchy in the material that it passes. The term hierarchy represents here the natural selection of the products the society adopts from the past generation based on the values the present generation considers as highly valuable in a certain territory.

In this we understand the term cultural heritage as a description of all forms of traditional behavior, both material and spiritual, which has been developed by the human race and which is characteristic for a given society, a group of societies, or for a certain area during a certain period of time. It is successively learnt and passed on over generations based on the hierarchy of values each society follows (UNESCO, 1972).

Here we understand the term society or "social group" a minority of Americans with Slovak roots and their natural selection of products that they have adopted from previous generations and preserve in their work and actions that take various forms. Their hierarchy of values stems from their strong religious belief and it is linked to a certain territory of their home land, Slovakia. Such preservation of heritage helps the Slovak Americans find their roots that is what actually a culture ensures.

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## **1.2 The Classification of Cultural Heritage**

The Declaration of the Slovak National Council (2001) recognizes the term cultural heritage as all tangible and intangible values or things, imported art and thoughts included. The intangible heritage is represented by all forms of language and literature manifestation spread orally or on any other kind of medium, drama, dance or music art, national habits and traditions, historical events, cadastral and local names (Code No. 91/ 2001).

The term tangible heritage is generally used for:

- Archive documents, regardless the way of information record;
- Historical library documents and funds;
- Works of literature;
- Set design, cinematography, television and audiovisual performance;
- Collections of museums and galleries;
- Graphic or plastic, commercial and folk works of art, design works;
- Architectonic objects, urban collections, archaeological discoveries and localities;
- Folk construction objects;
- Monument of production, science and technology;
- Historical gardens, parks and cultural country (Code No. 91/ 2001).

We adopted the classification of M. Dudáš (2008) who divided the tangible cultural heritage into:

- Monument fund;
- Collection fund;
- Archival fund;
- Library fund.

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Collection fund refers to the forms of collection and preservation of the objects of high museum and gallery value. The Act of April 1998 issued by the UNESCO organization adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic (Act 115/1998) identifies these objects as “indigenous material or ecclesiastical document capable of directly or indirectly providing evidence of the development of natural realm or society and being of permanent historical, cultural, artistic or scientific value” (Act 115/1998, Article 2).

Furthermore, an archival collection is a collection of archival documents originating from collecting activities of a legal or natural person. The access to archival documents is regulated by the Act No. 395/2002 Coll. on Archives and Files and on Supplementation of Certain Acts as amended by later directives as well as the Regulation of the Ministry of Interior No. 628/2002 Coll. (Decree No. 628/2002 Coll.).

In Slovakia the preservation of library fund is stated by the Act No. 183/2000 on Libraries as last amended by the Act No. 416/2001 Coll. The Ministry of Culture, as a part of the Slovak government, represents the central body responsible for the operation of the library fund preservation and storage. It is a founder of the Slovak National Library that collects, stores and expertly analyzes the collection of the library fund of the Slovak Republic. Library fund is characterized as a set of library documents that are selected, stored and expertly processed, preserved and accessible in accordance with the library (Act No. 183/2000).

In the above mentioned Act No. 183/2000, a library document is defined as “a library collection unit regardless of content or the form of information carrier. The information carrier is a material substrate used for recording and transfer of information” (Act No. 183/2000, Article 1). The newspapers and magazines are included in the library collection because they carry the authentic message for future genera-

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tions about their past and so they represent high historical, aesthetic, cultural and social values for future generations (Act No. 183/2000).

The inclusion of the term “Slovak American press” requires an attempt to account for a concept of the notion “the Slovakist document” within the concept of a library document. The Slovakist document is defined as a library document written in Slovak or related to Slovakia or the Slovak nation which author or authors are of Slovak nationality or Slovak roots. The Slovakist document might be issued in or outside the Slovak Republic (Klimeková, 2011). According to Act No. 183/2000 the Slovakist document is “knižničný dokument, ktorý sa podľa autorstva, jazyka, miesta vydania alebo obsahu týka Slovenska alebo Slovákov” (Act No. 183/2000, Article 1).

The section of Book Culture History of the Slovak National Library in Martin represents the main sector for research and development of book collections, both territorial and extraterritorial Slovak related prints. Territorial and extraterritorial Slovak related prints are closely linked to the cultural identity and its preservation. The press of Slovak Americans represents highly valuable documentary heritage. These items contribute to a community identity and help to preserve the Slovak identity and nationalism in or outside the Slovak minority living in the USA.

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## **2 Slovak Cultural Heritage in the USA**

### **2.1 Slovak Immigration to the USA**

The historical background of the Slovak immigration to the USA has played an important role in the preservation of the Slovak cultural heritage in terms of Slovak language, traditions, arts, political and press activities. P. Holeštiak (2002) reports that more than 2.8 million people of Slovak origin are scattered all over the world of which two thirds live in the USA.

We recognize at least three significant waves of the Slovak immigration to the USA. The first wave emerged in late 1870s when Slovakia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The picture below depicts the first areas of early Slovak settlement in America. The figure shows the most populated areas situated mostly in the northern part of the USA such as Pennsylvania (48%).

Since this area represented the most industrial part of the USA, it offered many job opportunities for Slovaks. Pittsburgh became a new cultural and social centre of the first Slovak settlement in the USA followed by Chicago, Cleveland, New York and Detroit. The first Slovaks came here in years 1865-1870 (Majer, 1999). The second wave of immigration to the USA dates back to the years of the First World War 1918-1938. That time the number of immigrants deteriorated due to the USA discriminatory immigration quota system which resulted in the larger immigration into Canada (Čulen, 1942).

The political persecution and lack of freedom spurred another wave of immigration after the takeover of Czechoslovakia by the communists from 1948 to 1989. That time most of Slovak immigrants were members of intelligentsia and post war figures who wanted to avoid political persecution (Stolárik, 2012).



Figure 1 Map of early Slovak settlement in America (Majer, 1999)

Even nowadays, in the years of democracy, we experience a new wave of immigration of mostly younger generation who migrate to the USA, Canada and Western Europe in seek for new job opportunities and experience. The exact number of those newcomers is hard to estimate due to lack of central register of Slovak emigrants and a huge assimilation process.

The main source of living for Slovaks in the late 19th century was agriculture. Most of them were poor peasants who owned no land or worked as day workers. The economical, social, political and religious situation in Europe was uncertain. The poverty caused by a long period of poor harvest forced Slovaks and other nations to migrate all around the Austro-Hungarian Empire mostly after bread. Hunger and cholera epidemics from 1873 expelled thousands of people from their homes.

Slovak emigration was one of the largest ones in Austro-Hungarian Empire ranging from eastern to western part of the country. The most affected areas were Spiš, Šariš, Orava, Zemplin, Turiec, Kysuce (Čulen, 1942). M. M. Stolárik (2012, p. 11) states: "The earliest arrivals (initially young men)

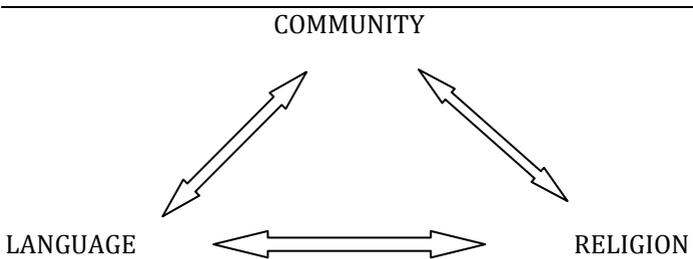
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originated in eastern Slovakia, which had a sixfold increase in population in the nineteenth century but where land holdings were small and industry practically non-existent.”

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century America was the continent that promised the life of freedom and many job opportunities for immigrants all round the Europe and other parts of the world. Both American and Canadian authorities supported the new waves of immigrants due to heavy industrialization of the country. The areas of the USA like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Kansas and California, represented the most industrialized parts of the USA with the high concentration of steel, coal and mine industries (Čulen, 1942).

Hundreds of immigrants flocked to the city in Pennsylvania called Wilkes-Barre due to the centralization of coal mining that was discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. M. Majer (1999) mentions that one of the largest Slovak immigrant colonies was established in a town Streator, Illinois in 1865-1870. The first Slovak settlement in Chicago dates back to 1872 (Majer, 1999). One of the largest Slovak colonies in America was founded in Cleveland, Ohio in 1874. The first Slovaks came to Bridgeport in Connecticut around the years 1877-1884 (Majer, 1999).

Although the wages were kept low, they were still higher than in Europe. The heavy industrialization made America a real melting pot of many ethnic groups living side by side. “While \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day in wages in the United States were considered insufficient by America labourers, they were handsome salaries to peasants who had difficulty finding any work in Hungary or, if they did, who received only the equivalent of fifteen to thirty cents per day in wages” (Stolárik, 2012, p. 11).



*Figure 2 Pillars of Slovak cultural identity*

The framework of Slovak cultural identity is formed by three major elements: community, language and religion (Figure 2). To keep Slovak cultural and national identity in the context of political and social situation both in Europe and America was not easy. In early years of Slovak settlement in the USA, the Slovaks were just anonymous ethnic group within a large multi-ethnic environment.

In the nineteenth century the Slovaks were one of the minorities ruled by ethnic Magyars, who tried to assimilate all the non-Magyar minorities. During tumultuous years between 1918 and 1993, the Slovaks used to be called “Czechoslovaks” that reflected their incorporation into the Czechoslovak Republic. This trend made them understand their need for being organized to ensure protection and support in a foreign country (Bakay Záhorská, 2011b).

Their first settlements were called “boarding houses”. They were characterized as very poor houses with the lack of women in the household. The most important issues were discussed in so called “saloons” where cheap meals and drinks were served.

Initially, the Slovak intention was to save up some money and return back home to Europe. Hardly anybody planned to settle down in a new world, but soon after the Slovak

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immigrants started to send letters back home urging their families to join them in the New World. According to M. M. Stolárik (2012) over 750,000 Slovaks made the trip between 1870 and 1914, although one third of them returned home. By the end of World War I almost 620,000 first and second generation Slovaks resided in America.

Since the Slovak national identity was not assured until the gain of independence from 1939 to 1945 and then later in 1993 (Stolárik, 2012), the religious traditions kept the Slovak immigrants together. It was faith and church that helped to maintain the Slovak national roots alive. Especially in the early years of Slovak immigration, religion played an important role in their self-identity. It represented an integral part of the Slovak everyday life and their struggle with tough reality (Bakay Záhorská, 2011a).

The first Slovak Catholic parish was founded in Hazleton, Pennsylvania in 1882 and the first Evangelical parish in Streator, Illinois, in 1884. Furthermore, it is stated that in 1909 the Congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius was founded by Father Matthew Jankola, and in 1922 the Slovak Benedictine Fathers were established (Čulen, 1942). During the last hundreds years more than 240 Slovak Roman Catholic parishes in the United States established parochial schools together with Slovak Protestants who founded Sunday Schools in order to teach their children to read and write Slovak (Paučo, 1965).

Although the first Slovaks arriving to the USA were men, soon they had been followed by their wives or girlfriends who were in charge of taking care of the household and keeping the traditions alive. "They made a great variety of soups, usually chicken soup with home made noodles (or liver dumplings) on Sundays. Slovak housewives also served a large number of pasta dishes, especially *halušky*..." (Stolárik, 2012, p. 22).

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Christian traditions, holiday rituals and customs were kept in immigrant households. Christening was still one of the most respected Slovak traditions that strengthened the community. Christmas and Easter remained one of the strongest celebrations mostly for the first and the second wave of immigrants. The intermarriage was not common due to their strong traditions and belief in returning back home.

The feeling of isolation and loneliness in the multi-cultural environment made the Slovak immigrants to establish the societies to assist the immigrants who fell ill or suffered from injuries at work. "They have heard of such institutions from earlier immigrants, such as the Czechs and Poles, with whom they initially boarded because of their linguistic similarities, or else from members of craft guilds, which were only abolished in Hungary in 1972" (Stolárik, 2012, p. 23).

Nevertheless, Slovak culture has remained alive thanks to the devoted Slovak American descendents. The new living conditions and experience in a multinational America had brought the significant change in social, cultural and political activities of Slovak immigrants. From the underestimated people they had developed to the nation aware of their national roots and linked together by their mutual needs and patriotism (Bakay Záhorská, 2011a). This trend paved the path for organizing themselves both for protection and social support in a foreign country. Mostly Slovak priests became their religious, social and national leaders.

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## **2.2 Slovak Press in the USA**

### **2.2.1 The History of Slovak Press in the USA**

The rich source of information about the first Slovak institutions abroad is included in works of several authors. The well-known book is the one written by a great Slovak historian Konštantín Čulen: *Dejiny Slovákov v Amerike*, 1942.

A current historical researcher, Marian Mark Stolárik, the professor at the Cleveland State University of Minnesota, has just recently released his epic story of Slovak immigration to the North America (Stolárik, 2012). His earlier publications also include valuable information about the beginnings of the first Slovak organizational cultural and political activities. M. M. Stolárik (2012) argues that the cornerstone of the Slovak cultural heritage preservation is built on three essential pillars: parish churches, press and fraternal organizations.

Even in the early years of settlement in the northern part of the USA, the ethnic minorities learnt the principles of collectivism to deal with the hard time they came across in a new world. In need of help in case of illness, fatal or serious injury, there were no social services provided by American employers. The beginnings of the first societies date back to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and had primarily social character. It was not Slovaks but Scottish immigrants who founded the first so called self-help organizations that provided the essential services to their members. Later on they were followed by other ethnic groups – Polish, Irish and Czech (Stolárik, 1989).

Catholic religious traditions supported the Slovak intentions to gather for both their protection and loyalty. Soon, they formed their own institutions that helped them to survive in a capitalist economy. Their primary intention was to follow their social and national program, to offer their members

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help in need, to assist in parish churches and to establish the education centers and first press institutions.

M. M. Stolárik (2012) reports about fifty beneficial societies that had been established by 1890, twenty-five of them in Pennsylvania. *Perši Uherszko-Szlovenszky v Nyemoczí Podporujuci Szpolek* is reported as the first fraternal institution founded in 1883 in New York (Čulen, 1970). Soon, more than 40 fraternal associations had been formed in the north-eastern and mid-western part of the United States. Many priests had left Austrian-Hungarian Empire to help build the intellectual life in Slovak communities in the USA. By 1896 the scattered regional societies affiliated and transformed into full-fledge insurance companies.

The most influential *The National Slovak Society* was established in Pittsburgh in 1890. The organization was led by Peter. V. Rovnianek who was the father of the first Slovak daily newspaper in Pittsburgh, *Amerikansko-Slovenske Noviny* (Paučo, 1965). M. M. Stolárik (1994) reported that the society had more than 39,473 members. Although the main idea of *The National Slovak Society* was to unite all Slovaks in the USA under one powerful institution, the religious disagreements within the communities drifted them apart.

The rivalry national body, *The First Catholic Slovak Union* was established by Rev. Stephen Furdek in February 1890. The need for one united organization soon appeared. This fact has lead to an ideological clash between Furdek and Rovnianek in which the Slovak American press played an important role. While Furdek's idea was to build one primarily religious institution, Rovnianek called for the national one (Paučo, 1965). "...Furdek was formalizing the division of Slovaks in the USA into those (the majority) who considered Slovak national interests to outweigh all others. In 1891 Furdek also established the Catholic weekly *Jednota* for members of his society, which was headquartered in

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Cleveland” (Čulen in Stolárik, 2012). Though they belonged to the opposing religious divisions, they used their editorial skills to gain new members.

In 1893 Slovak Lutherans established *The Slovak Evangelical Union* in Freeland, Pennsylvania and the Slovak Calvinists founded *The Slovak Calvin Presbyterian Union in Mount Carmel*, Pennsylvania (Stolárik, 1994).

The abolition of *Matica Slovenská* together with anti-Slavic activities organized by Hungarian authorities resulted in the birth of *Matica Slovenska in America* in Chicago on 26<sup>th</sup> September 1893 headed by S. Furdek. The aim of the institution was to take care of the Slovak cultural and national life both in America and back home (Čulen, 1942). The Slovaks elected a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer. They participated in monthly meetings, voted on various resolutions and supported each other. But the ideological conflict between Rovnianek and Furdek continued and resulted in the establishment of the *Matica Slovenská* rivalry institution called *Maják*, Pittsburgh, 1894. Their representatives issued the first literary magazine *Maják* (Čulen, 1942). The conflict continued and resulted in the dissolution of the institution.

The formation of *The Slovak League of America* in 1907 meant a breakthrough in the Slovak national and political activities. It was this institution that managed to affiliate several rival fraternal-benefit associations under one strong institution. The League helped to declare the common state of Czech and Slovaks on the federation basis by signing the Cleveland Agreement on 22 October 1915 followed by the Pittsburgh Agreement on 31 May 1918. It was the sign that Slovak Americans are strong enough to control their activities not only in the USA but, what is more important, also in Europe.

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The Slovak fraternal organizations represented a radical change in thinking and allowed the Slovak communities to interfere into the political situation even in their home land in Europe later on during the years of formation of the first independent Slovak Republic. Slovak Americans believed in the rights of Slovaks to the self-determination even during the World War II. The discontent with the post war situation resulted in the next wave of immigration into USA.

The history of the first Slovak press activities in the USA dates back to 1885. According to Ľ. Bartalská (2008) there were about 250 Slovak daily, weekly and monthly newspapers issued mostly in Northern America since then and their number had culminated over the years. It is the press that acts as a great background material on Slovak American community life. It was formed as the reaction to the lack of relevant and unbiased international and local news for Slovak workers. It reflected a harsh battle between the major Slovak American religious groups. It called for liberation movement back home in Austria-Hungary and expressed the Slovak-American attitude to a postwar Czechoslovakia and independent Slovakia.

The respected historian on this subject, K. Čulen (1942), listed about 246 titles in his work from which M. M. Stolárik subtracted about 39 titles but added other 13. Subsequently, he arrived at the total number of 220 releases (Stolárik, 1987). What is more, M. M. Stolárik provided a valuable demographic profile and a rate of press survival in his work. We can quote that “twenty-six of all Slovak-American newspapers published since 1885 have originated in Pittsburgh region and 41 percent in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. 50 percent of all Slovak-American newspapers lasted less than two years and 66 percent lasted less than seven years” (Stolárik, 1987). We adopted K. Čulen’s (1942) classification of the Slovak American publications divided into nine categories (Figure 3).

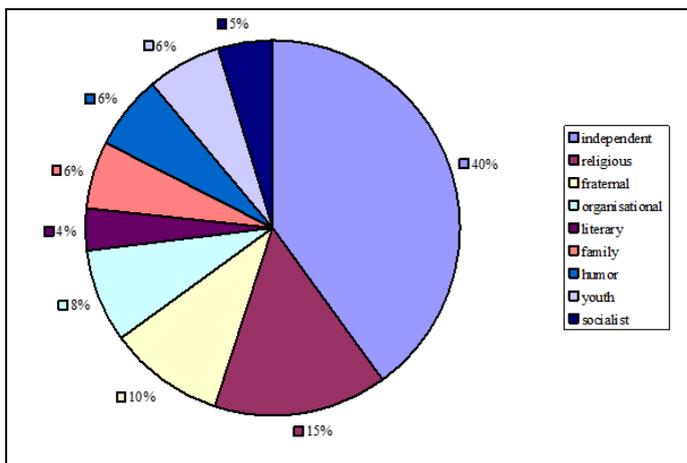


Figure 3 Classification of Slovak press in the USA (Čulen, 1942)

### Independent Periodicals

One of the first editors of articles for Slovak communities in the USA was Janko Jesenský. The first issue of his *Bulletin* was released in 1885 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. That time *The Bulletin* was not printed but written in ink. It appeared as one of the first independent, general news press that was distributed among American Slovaks in 19th century (Bartalská, 2008).

The first printed Slovak newspaper was called the *Amerikanzsko-Szlovenszke Noviny* that appeared in Pittsburgh in 1886. The editor of the newspaper was Julius Wolf who teamed up with Janko Jesenský. The newspaper was written in eastern Slovak dialect that called for the radical change. In 1889 Peter V. Rovnianek became a new editor of the newspaper. P. V. Rovnianek published the *Amerikanzsko-Szlovenszke Noviny* in the central Slovak dialect and re-named it to the *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny* that was

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published in literary Slovak three times a week. According to K. Čulen (1970) *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny* represented the official body of the Slovak emigration all round the world and cooperated with such personalities as Dr. Pavol Blaho, Dr. Vavro Šrobár etc. This act made a breakthrough in the Slovak-American press activities. Since then all Slovak American press adopted the nationalist philosophy.

According to P. Holeštiak (2002) in 1910 a weekly, the *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny*, recorded the highest circulation of all compatriot newspapers (40,000 issues). At the beginning of the 20th century the *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny* folded. Soon after, Peter V. Rovnianek established a new newspaper called *Slovenský Denník*.

*The Slovak in America* has been the longest-lasting Slovak newspaper issued in the Northern America. The newspaper was founded in 1889 by a fraternal leader Anton Š. Ambrose as primarily the worker's weekly in Plymouth, Pennsylvania (Stolárik, 1987). The newspaper has been one of the most influential and significant publications in Slovak American national and political battle over the centuries. What is more, the newspaper is being published in the Slovak language up to now.

### **Religious Periodicals**

Later on almost all religious denominations published their own periodicals K. Čulen (1970) reports *Katolícke Noviny* (the Catholic News) as the earliest religious weekly of thirty-three religious periodicals published between 1889 and 1984. The publisher of the periodical was Reverend Ignác Jaškovič from Hazelton, Pennsylvania (Stolárik, 1987). But, the editor of the magazine was Eduard-Markovič. K. Čulen (1970) reports *Katolícke Noviny* as the first official organ of the Slovak-American society *The First Slovak Catholic Union*.

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After the establishment of *Jednota*, as the official body of *The First Slovak Catholic Union*, *Katolícke Noviny* folded. Weekly *Jednota* originated in Middletown, Pennsylvania in 1891. The owner and the publisher was Štefan Furdek. *Jednota* represented a rich source of information about the life of American Slovaks. According to K. Čulen (1970), *Jednota* has been folded several times by Hungarian Bureau in 1893, 1899 and 1900. Since its 303th issue, *Jednota* was the first letter-pressed Slovak-American compatriot periodical.

The monthly *Cirkevné Listy* was published in Cleveland, Ohio from 1894 to 1899. The editor of the Lutheran magazine was C. L. Orbach. K. Čulen (1970) reported two extra religious periodicals published in 1900s. *The Lutheran* was bi-weekly religious periodical published in Ohio, Cleveland from 1900 to 1902 and the magazine *Slovenský Luterán* started its publication in 1900 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

*Slovak Catholic Falcon* has been the official body of the Slovak athletic organization *the Slovak Catholic Falcon*. It started its publication as the addition of the magazine *Slovák v Amerike*. *The Slovak Catholic Sokol* has been published since 1911 up to the present. It started its publication in Passaic, New Jersey.

The monthly *Zion* has been the Evangelistic magazine and the official organ of *the Slovak Evangelistic Synod Zion* published at first in Chicago, later on in Pittsburgh since 1920 (Čulen, 1970).

*The Witness* was reported as the official monthly released by *the Synod of Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America* in Pittsburgh. *The Slovak Evangelical Zion Synod* started to publish *the Good Shepherd* as a rival publication to *the Zion* of Pittsburgh in 1920 (Stolárik, 1987).

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*Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union* issues the bilingual publication the *Morning Star*. It is a bi-monthly periodical and it was authorized in New Jersey in 1937 (Čulen, 1970).

*The Pennsylvania Catholic Slovak Union's* official organ was *the Brotherhood* and *the Slovak Herald* was the official weekly of *the Slovak Evangelical Union* headquartered in Pittsburgh. *The Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol* settled in New Jersey. The organization issued the weekly *Slovak Falcon* which has been pro-Czechoslovak though together with *the Slovak Calvin* that was an official publication of *the Slovak Calvin Presbyterian Union*.

### **Fraternal Periodicals**

Besides the editors of the first independent and religious Slovak press in the USA, the fraternal communities worked on their own newspapers or bulletins for their members. These newspapers reported on their activities and agitated for their new members. The press represented one of the most influential factors of all Slovak fraternal societies in America since it acted as their official organ reflecting their religious and national orientation.

Besides the others, *The National Slovak Society* issued *Národné Noviny* (the National News) as their official weekly and a rival to *Jednota* in 1910. The editor of the periodical was Jozef Joščák (Čulen, 1970). Gustáv Maršáll-Petrovský established the rival periodical to *Národné Noviny* called *Slovák* in 1895. The periodical was the official body of *the Independent National Slovak Society*, but they managed to release just one issue and the magazine was folded.

*The First Slovak Ladies Union* headquartered in Cleveland, Ohio released *The Women's Union* and later a magazine called *The Fraternally Yours* as their official organ. It was

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established in 1914 and continues its publication up to the present. Pavol Holeštiak (2002) mentions the quarterly *The Wisconsin Slovak* that was issued for the members of the *Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society* in 1979. The editor was John J. Hosmanek.

The quarterly *The Floridian Slovak* originated in 1952 in Florida and it has been publishing up to the present. *The Slovak American Cultural Society* published their periodical called *The Slovak-American Newsletter* issued four times a year in Naperville.

Besides the above mentioned publications, M. M. Stolárik (1987) surveyed eight literary journals, as for instance *The Lighthouse*, and only thirteen family magazines with short longevity. In his work M. M. Stolárik (1987) mentions fourteen humor magazines of which, for example, the first called *The Demon*. *The Demon* was published from 1896 to 1912. Seventeen organizational publications were connected mostly with workers' organizations such as *the Worker* or *the Progressive Union*. Slovak Americans published about fourteen youth and student periodicals that were issued mainly as a monthly supplement to their weekly publications. Here we can mention the *Youth Folks* or the *Friend of Children* (Stolárik, 1987).

L. Bartalská (2008) reports that since 1960s the number of Slovak-American periodicals has declined. It was the result of a new formation of immigrants who moved out from the original settlements of their predecessors in seeks of new job opportunities. This trend had led to a huge assimilation process.

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### **2.2.2 The Current Situation of Slovak Press in the USA**

The turbulent years throughout the history have changed the way of life of the Slovak community in the USA. A new generation of Slovak-Americans living in the northern part of the USA has adopted bi-national identity that allowed them to scatter all-round the United States. The globalization and huge assimilation process resulted in a prevalent use of the English language in a new generation minority community of Slovaks living in the USA. It allows them to find better job opportunities in their area.

This trend calls for the need to strengthen the ways of communication among people in a minority community in order to preserve their national identity, ethnicity and language. The language and patriotism awareness are one of the most essential elements of the national identity preservation. What is more, these elements represent an important link between the Slovaks living abroad and those in Slovakia. The national identity will survive only if it is kept alive within the community.

In general, the problem of cultural identity and language preservation of minorities living abroad is partially solved and involved in the charters and conventions of both national and international associations. All of them emphasize the importance of enhancing and supporting the activities of compatriots living abroad that keep them linked with their native country.

For instance, the UNESCO organization together with the European Council have the responsibility to formulate strategies and policies to respect and protect the traditional knowledge, to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity and to support expression, creation and dissimilation in the greatest possible number of languages. The Slovak Republic has joined these activities to a large extent since 1989. The

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period before had represented a dark side of the flow of information about the Slovak immigration and their activities.

One of the most important amendments related to the heritage preservation of the Slovaks living abroad was passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2005. The above mentioned Act 474/2005 on the Slovaks Living Abroad concerns relations of the Slovak Republic and Slovak communities living abroad. The basic principles of the state interest in the Slovak communities living abroad are in the care of the Slovak National Council and its associated authorities and institutions, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of International Affairs included.

The document Orientation of the Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic in 2010 (2010) defines the preliminary framework of the Slovak government support for compatriot communities living out of the Slovak Republic. The primary goal is to protect the linguistic, cultural and religious identity of Slovak immigrants and to assure the cooperation and communication between the Slovak Republic and the compatriot organizations abroad. Consequently, the Slovak government has committed to consecutive financial intervention to encourage compatriot publishers and literary work of fraternal societies to meet international agreements.

As the manifestation of the Slovak culture preservation abroad is reflected mainly in literary and publishing work, theatrical, musical performance and folk art, the headquarters of the House of Slovak Expatriates was established in Bratislava in 2006. The House acts as an affiliated authority to the Office for the Slovaks Living Abroad. What is more, the office represents a state administration authority in the above mentioned affairs. These associations actively parti-

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cipate in organization of festivals and other cultural events held in or outside the Slovak Republic.

Currently the Slovak-American publisher's work plays a significant role in the transmission of the information about civic, political and cultural life of the community. The Slovak-American press represents an elaborated source of data related to the studies of compatriot affairs. Their content shows the way of life and the relation of the compatriots to their native country. Speaking about the North America, it is the long-established papers that mirror a new wave of immigration.

These media, together with the Slovak radio programs and other compatriot institutions, transmit the community heritage by publishing the news about the immigrants' native country or a community life in America. The first Slovak radio in the USA, Radio Slovakia USA, was launched in January 2011. The founders were Ingrid Gapa, her husband Marcel Gapa and Michal Salak who run the radio on voluntary basis to all Slovak and Czech immigrants in the USA.

As it was already mentioned in the previous chapters, the number of Slovak press releases in the USA has dramatically changed over past centuries. The first value-creating compilation of the Slovak-American press was made by a well-known Slovak historian and journalist Konštantín Čulen (1942). Working in the exile, he had published his studies and articles in many Slovak newspapers. These were issued in America, as for instance *The Good Shepherd*, *Jednota* and *The National News*. As one of the most active members of the Slovak national movement, both in America and Canada, he published numerous articles and theses. He agitated for the manifestation of Slovak cultural and national life in American and Canadian exile in his work (Baranovič, 1995).

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His valuable publication, *Slovak Magazines in America* (1970), was issued by *The First Catholic Slovak Union* in Cleveland, Ohio. Although some information lacks verification, the publication is considered one of the most authoritative works on this subject. The publication reflects the history of the first Slovak American press from 1898 to approximately 1962. In here, K. Čulen listed about 246 titles and classified them into eleven categories (Figure 3):

- Literary;
- Independent;
- Fraternal;
- Organizational;
- Religious;
- Humor;
- Family;
- Student;
- Youth;
- Socialist and Communist (Stolárik, 1987).

Nevertheless, M. M. Stolárik (1987) reports that K. Čulen listed some titles that did not appear in press and omitted 13 titles. But it is reported that K. Čulen had died just before he was actually able to arrange all found entries and his work was published later on by Jozef Paučo in alphabetical order by title.

One of the most cited authors within this field of research is Marian Mark Stolárik, who was born in Slovakia but emigrated to Canada in 1945. After earning his PhD. degree at the University of Minnesota, he taught history at the Cleveland State University. From 1979 to 1991 he worked as the president and CEO of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia. In 1992 M. M. Stolárik became holder of the Chair in Slovak History and Culture at the University of Ottawa (Stolárik, 2012).

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As an author and an editor of about eight books and sixty articles in professional journals, he is considered one of the most respected historian and researchers on Slovak-American exile. The most valuable source of information is represented by his article called *The Slovak-American Press* (1987) that was issued in Cleveland. Here, M. M. Stolárik has completed the list of K. Čulen's newspapers and magazines and added their demographic profile. M. M. Stolárik surveyed the eleven kinds of periodicals published by Slovak-Americans since 1885 to 1984.

His book *Where is My Home – Slovak Immigration to North America* was released in 2012. Based on his long-lasting experience and research, the book depicts the Slovak immigration to the North America from 1870 to 2010. Although the book features the history and development of the first Slovak fraternal societies and the history of Slovak-American press in the North America, the study does not contain a register or a detailed analysis of compatriot magazines and newspapers issued in the North America or Canada up to 2012.

The history of *The First Catholic Slovak Union* and its official body *Jednota* (the Union) was reported in the publication of Jozef Paučo (Paučo, 1965). His extended publication covered the historical development of the society from their origins in 1890 to 1965.

The history shows that the Slovak and Czech communities had got together in order to protect their identities in multinational melting pot of America. Therefore, it is important to mention at least some Czech editors of both Slovak and Czech exile. The bibliographer and Czech-American compatriot, Esther Jeřabek, provides a full inventory of published documentation on Slovak and Czechs in the North America in her work *Czechs and Slovaks in North America* (Jeřabek, 1976).

Czechoslovak archivalia and library holdings have been surveyed by the *Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences* in cooperation with other international institutions in order to protect the Czech and Slovak cultural heritage abroad. As the result of this detailed survey from 1999, the book, *Czechoslovak American Archivalia* was published in 2004. The author of the book is a respectful Czech historian Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr. The author's compilation of both the Slovak but mostly Czech-related archival and library collections of all emigrant and exile groups are divided into seven major categories:

- Government repositories;
- University-based collections;
- Collections maintained by public museums and libraries;
- Collections of ethnic organizations;
- Personal papers and collections;
- Repositories abroad bearing on the subject;
- Virtual archives and the internet (Rechcigl, 2004a).

One of the largest listing of the Slovak archival material is kept in the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) at the University of Minnesota. The listings include approximately 850 books and pamphlets, 154 serial titles, 375 linear ft of manuscript material and 26 newspaper titles dated from 1893 to 1983. The work of M. Rechcigl, Jr. is very extensive and it represents a valuable source of information on the Czech but also on the Slovak immigrant work. The publication does not include current press activities of Slovak immigrants living in the North America and does not provide a detailed form and content analysis of Slovak-American newspapers and magazines.

The first review of Slovak compatriot periodicals after 1989 was made by the Slovak Institute for the Study of Journalism in 1990. Their year-book provides a list of worldwide issued

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Slovak compatriot periodicals that are categorized by a country in which there are published. Their work mapped the overall situation of Slovak compatriot press in the world, the USA included, but not so much in detail. The genre structure of the Slovak compatriot press issued in the USA was made by Maximilian Horanský (1990). His publication provides brief and fragmental characteristics of the Slovak compatriot press, genre framework and orientation of each periodical that was published from 1989 to 1990. M. Horanský (1990) provides the categorization of periodicals which takes into consideration the publisher and the content:

- Universal periodicals;
- Society periodicals;
- Society-fraternal periodicals;
- Fraternal periodicals;
- Religious periodicals;
- Cultural periodicals;
- Youth periodicals.

One of the latest publications on the most famous and significant Slovak compatriot press was written by Pavol Holeštiak in 2002. The author provides an overall typology of the worldwide issued Slovak compatriot press in terms of their periodicity and location. The primary goal of his work was to give a complex review of Slovak immigrant press activities that include Europe, the USA and Canada from 1993 to 2000.

With the reference to the goal of our preliminary research, we have summarized and analyzed current Slovak-American press activities in the USA. We have come up with the number of 13 currently published Slovak-American periodicals.

Since the Internet represents a new form of media, almost all publishers of the Slovak-American press release their

issues on their websites. This fact allowed us an easy access to the sample needed for our further research. What is more, the societies, also the editorial office of *The Slovak in America*, enable their members to keep in touch with them via Facebook as well. The Internet copies correspond to their paperback originals as they are still mailed to their subscribers. Table 2 contains current periodicals published in the USA today.

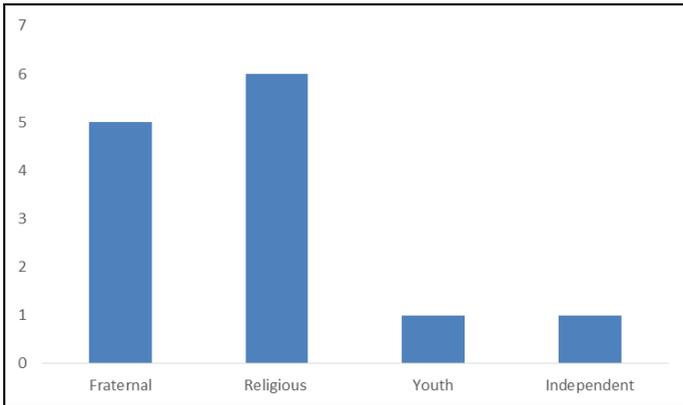
	<b>Title</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>
1.	The Slovak in America	1889	2014...
2.	Jednota	1891	2014...
3.	The National News	1910	2014...
4.	The Youth Circle	1910	2014...
5.	The Slovak Catholic Falcon	1911	2014...
6.	Fraternally Yours	1914	2014...
7.	The Zion	1920	2014...
8.	The Morning Star	1938	2014...
9.	The Floridian Slovak	1952	2014...
10.	The Bridge	1953	2014...
11.	The Wisconsin Slovak	1979	2014...
12.	Slovakia	1987	2014...
13.	The Slovak American Society of Washington	1988	2014...

*Table 2 Slovak current periodicals published in the USA  
(Holeštiak, 2002, [www.uszz.sk/sk/](http://www.uszz.sk/sk/))*

The sample involves the assumed number of publications of the Slovak compatriot press released on the Internet. The periodicals like *Jednota* and *The Wisconsin Slovak* are available in collection of the Slovak National Library in Martin. The library possesses the old issues of the above-mentioned periodicals as well. Eventually, we have categorized the listed periodicals as follows:

	<b>Fraternal</b>	<b>Religious</b>	<b>Youth</b>	<b>Independent</b>
<b>Number of magazines</b>	5	6	1	1
	The National News	Jednota	The Youth Circle	The Slovak in America
	The Floridian Slovak	The Slovak Catholic Falcon		
	Slovakia	Fraternal-ly Yours		
	The Wisconsin Slovak	The Morning Star		
	The Slovak American Society of Washington	The Bridge		
		The Zion		

*Table 3 Categorization of current Slovak periodicals in the USA*



*Figure 4 Categorization of current Slovak periodicals in the USA*

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The table and the graph above show the numerical categorization of the currently published periodicals in the USA that follow Holeštiak's study (Holeštiak, 2002).

Figure 4 shows that the predominant category is represented by religious compatriot periodicals, that involve 6 magazines, followed by the fraternal. The category fraternal is represented by 5 periodicals. The third category is equally represented by youth and independent periodicals in the number of one.

The category *fraternal* involves the compatriot magazines of the compatriot societies which by-laws assure the service and support for all Slovaks of whatever religion, occupation, gender.

The category *religious* involves the compatriot magazines of the compatriot societies which by-laws assure the service and support for the members of a certain religion.

The category *youth* devoted its content to young members of Slovak-American society.

The category *independent* involves the Slovak-American magazine which editorial board is not part of any compatriot society.

*The National Slovak Society* settled in Pittsburgh, PA has issued their fraternal magazine since February 5, 1890. The society was founded by Peter Viťazoslav Rovnianek who was elected as the first president of the society. The mission of the society still remains to provide their members financial security in the way of regular insurance service, charitable, cultural and educational possibilities within their community in the USA. At present, David G. Blažek is the president of *The National Slovak Society*.

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The colorful magazine *The National News* is published on 20 pages and it is monthly mailed to all members. The editor of *The National News* is now Lori Crowley. The next publication of the society is *The Youth Circle*, quarterly for their young members. The major aim of the current issues of the magazines is "...to keep members informed of the upcoming events of the community, with reports of the past events and news about achievement of their members" (NSSlife, 2014).

*The Floridian Slovak* is a quarterly bilingual magazine released by the Slovak-American society called *The Slovak Garden* settled on Howell Branch Rd. 100 Winter Park, Florida.

"It informs the American Slovaks of their culture, life in Florida and promotes Slovak music and heritage amongs its residents. One hundred and twenty copies of this newspaper are sent to the Slovak cultural institutions in Slovakia and throughtout the world" (The Slovak Garden, 2013).

Now, at least three editions are available in the online archive of the society web page. The magazine is issued on 16 pages in full color. The current editor of the magazine is Marcel Pechan and the editorial board involves the correctors Jerry and Maria Krupa.

Thomas Kravets is the president of *The Slovak Garden* that was established in 1952 by Karol Belohlavek and Maria Jerga Belohlavek. The main mission of the society is to promote the "...educational and cultural aspects of the Slovak Nation for American Slovaks through fellowship programs, annual scholarships and other compatriot activities" (The Slovak Garden, 2013).

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*The Slovak Heritage & Folklore Society International* is the editor of the next fraternal magazine *Slovakia*. The society was founded in 1986 by Helen Cincebeaux and Helen Zemek Bain whose main intention has been to promote the Slovak history, tradition, folklore, music, art and crafts by issuing their quarterly magazine to libraries, museum, their members, universities and other cultural institutions.

The society is seated on 151 Colebrook Drive in Rochester, NY, USA. The magazine originated in 1987 and the editor of the magazine remains the founder of the society Helen Cincebeaux. It is possible to obtain the sample of the magazine issues on mail request. The magazine is issued on 11 full-color pages (The Slovak Heritage & Folklore Society International, 2013).

*The Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society* whose president is Mr. Tony Jurik and it is settled in Cudahy, Wisconsin. What is more, the society maintains *The Slovak Heritage Museum* that depicts the traditions and celebrations of Slovaks. The society makes an effort in national and cultural preservation of Slovaks living in the northern part of the USA. The society has been publishing their quarterly magazine *The Wisconsin Slovak* since 1979. It is a 20-page magazine with current editor Mrs. Marj Chepp (The Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society, 2014).

*The Slovak American Society of Washington* archives the issues of their newsletter on their web page. *The Slovak American Society of Washington* is a non-profit and independent society established in 1988. It is a social, cultural and educational organization with the high interest in freedom and prosperity of the Slovak Republic. Their newsletter is released monthly on 10 pages. It gives the information about the past and upcoming events of the community (The Slovak American Society of Washington, 2013).

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*Jednota, The Slovak Catholic Falcon, Fraternally Yours, The Morning Star, The Bridge* and *The Zion* are classified as religious-oriented compatriot periodicals. They focus on the proclamation Christian identification.

*The Slovak Catholic Falcon* is the 16-page publication of the athletic fraternal organization called *The Slovak Catholic Sokol* that was established in 1911. "*The Slovak Catholic Sokol* is a heritage focused, faith based and health oriented non-profit organization that strives to improve the value of its members lives by providing superior personal financial protection, fitness programs and benevolence for our membership and our community" (The Slovak Catholic Sokol, 2014). The bi-weekly bilingual magazine started to be published in 1911. The current editor of the publication is F. Tanzone and the annual subscription rate is 40.00 \$ for the USA. The magazine is published on 20 full-color pages.

*Fraternally Yours* is 24 pages and full-color publication of the Slovak-American fraternal society *The First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association* settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It was established in 1914. The editor is Carolyn Bazik and the annual subscription rate is 6 \$. It has been a bilingual publication with present day circulation of 49,500 issues (The First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association, 2014). The publication has informative character about the community.

*Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union* issues a bilingual publication *The Morning Star* (Zornička). It is a bi-monthly periodical and it was authorized in New Jersey in 1937. Now, it is published monthly in Wilkes-Barre, PA. The Public Relations Director is E. Ferri. There is no annual rate for all members of the society. The annual rate for non-members is 15 \$. The full-color articles involve past event reports, upcoming events, insurance plan reports, contests or special day tributes and memorials (The Morning Star, 2013).

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*The Slovak Zion Synod* is the protestant society with *The Zion* as their official publication. The society was founded by Slovak immigrants in 1919. They proclaim themselves as non-geographic. "We are rooted in God's mission and sent out into the world in the name of Christ" (The Slovak Zion Synod, 2014).

*The Bridge* is the newsletter of *The National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library* which president is Gail Naughton. The society is settled on the 87 Sixteenth Aveue SW, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. This full-color monthly page newsletter is intended to bring up the news about the museum current exhibitions of Slovak folk art, pottery and enduring dresses. It brings the reports about past life of the first Slovak-American settlement as well as new collections of the library. Although the society is not purely Slovak, it possesses the artifacts significant for both nations Slovak and Czech. It is the only periodical of mixed origin that we included in our research.

The only representative of the independent periodical is *The Slovak in America* (Slovák v Amerike). It is the oldest magazine issued by the Slovak-American community. It was established in Plymouth, PA in 1898. Now, it is issued monthly on 28 pages at the cost of 1 \$. The content of the periodical is dedicated to national and cultural issues related to the Slovak-American life as well as to the political and cultural life in the Slovak Republic. The periodical is published in Linden, New Jersey. The current publisher is Milan Čuba and Jaroslav Čuba and the editor is Ján Varga.

At present, majority of articles in *The Slovak in America* are adopted from Slovak information agencies such as SITA and TASR. The editorial deals with political, cultural, economic, historical themes related to Slovakia and to Slovak-American community (The Slovák v Amerike, 2014).

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Eventually, we have come to the solution that current situation of the Slovak compatriot press activities in the USA is highly dependent on fraternal societies. Basically, the fraternal societies work as the only editorial offices of current compatriot press. The number of their periodicals does not significantly vary from the one mentioned by P. Holeštiak (2002).

There exist two periodicals with over 100-year tradition of their circulation currently published in the USA. Those periodicals are *The Slovak in America* and *The Jednota*. There are several periodicals with 100 year tradition of its publication such as *The National News* (1910), *The Slovak Catholic Falcon* (1911) and *The Fraternally Yours* (1914).

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## 3 Slovak Compatriot Periodical “Jednota”

### 3.1 Characteristics of the Periodical “Jednota”

Despite a very valuable and rich work of the writers mentioned above, neither of them has made a detailed content analysis of at least one exile release issued in the USA. Similar research has not been done since the last survey made by P. Holeštiak in 2002. However, his primary goal was to map the situation in all countries of Europe and America where Slovak compatriot press is still published and not just in the north of America. P. Holeštiak reported 10 periodicals issued in the United States of America in 2002. His results indicated the prevalence of primarily fraternal and religious periodicals published by fraternal societies and one independent newspaper *The Slovak in America* (Holeštiak, 2002).

The idea of mapping the current situation of Slovak-American compatriot press has arisen in a compliance with a policy concept of the Slovak Republic as well as other international organizations that deal with the cultural heritage preservation. Therefore, we decided not only to summarize and analyze current Slovak-American press activities in the USA, but to conduct a combined content analysis of the compatriot periodical *Jednota* in terms of cultural and national identity preservation throughout the whole period of its circulation.

The periodical *Jednota* was created by Rev. Furdek in 1890. The magazine was accepted as the main periodical of the fraternal organization on the second convention of *The First Slovak Catholic Union* in Cleveland on 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> May 1891. The first issue was released in Cleveland, Ohio on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1891.

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“Veľkou udalosťou na druhej konvencii IKSJ bolo uzavretie, aby Jednota za orgán uznala časopis, ktorý Rev. Š. Furdek v Clevelande začal už vydávať. Rev. Furdek tento svoj časopis pomenoval Jednotou. Orgán Jednotu bude odoberať každý člen organizácie“ (Paučo, 1965, p. 13).

*Jednota* has been the promoter and preserver of the Slovak culture in the northern part of the USA and Canada over more than a century. The content analysis allowed a detailed probe into the development of the Slovak fraternal periodical and it contributed to the complex overview of the current situation of Slovak-American press. In general, the published results unveil the ways of the Slovak heritage preservation abroad and can contribute to the preservation of the tangible contents.

The Slovak National Library possesses the largest chronological collection of the periodical *Jednota* out of the total number of all currently issued Slovak-American periodicals. The magazine *Jednota* represents the main body of the most significant and the largest Slovak-American fraternal society The First Slovak Catholic Union settled in Cleveland, Ohio with over 700 local lodges in the United States and Canada. It has the second longest history of its circulation (over 100 years) and it represents a highly valuable source of information about the life of Slovak communities living in the USA.

The primary material for our research sample consists of the limited number of printed and electronic issues of the periodical *Jednota* obtained from the Slovak National Library in Martin and from the official web page of the compatriot society The First Catholic Slovak Union. Although the periodical has been published since 1891, the archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin enabled us to obtain the sample just since the year 1893 (Figure 5). However, the total number of all released issues since 1891 is 5905 issued in 123 volumes.

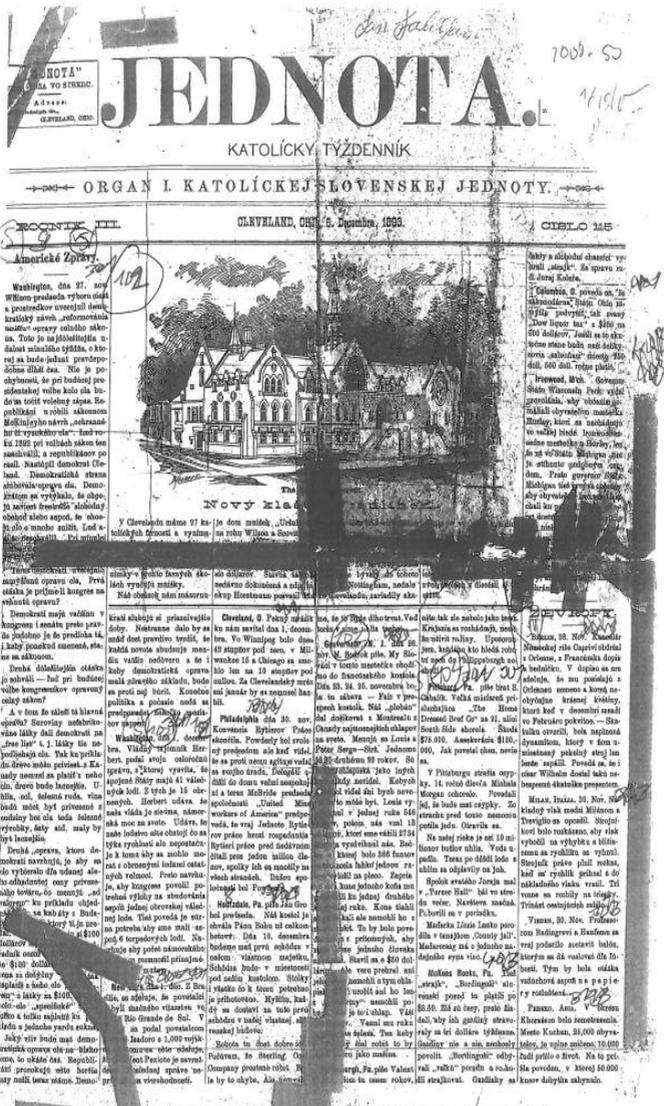


Figure 5 The title page of Jednota No. 115/1893

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Initially, *Jednota* had been published as the weekly and since the 1994 it has been released as bi-weekly magazine issued on 28 pages. As the periodical *Jednota* has been constantly released for over more than a century (1891-2014), our study sample was constructed and analyzed chronologically. Since our aim was to achieve greater diversity of the sample and the individual weekly issues have no significant impact on the informative value of the periodical sections, our selection consisted of the randomly selected issues out of each decade of the magazine circulation within the time-period from 1893 to 2014 (Figure 6). Consequently, our final sample consists of 39 issues.

Initially, we have focused on the data collection by searching the Internet to find the contact addresses of Slovak fraternal organizations and publishers mentioned in P. Holeštiak's publication (2002). The directory of Slovak fraternal organizations helped us with the initial orientation. What is more, we have looked up the web site of the Office for the Slovaks Living Abroad that gives to publicity the subsequent internet addresses:

- The National Slovak Society ([www.nsslife.com](http://www.nsslife.com));
- The First Catholic Slovak Union of the USA and Canada ([www.fcsla.com](http://www.fcsla.com));
- The Slovak Catholic Sokol ([www.slovakcatholicsokol.org](http://www.slovakcatholicsokol.org));
- The Slovak Garden ([www.slovak-garden.com](http://www.slovak-garden.com));
- The Slovak Institute ([www.slovakinstitute.com](http://www.slovakinstitute.com));
- The Slovak Heritage and Folklore Society International ([www.iarelated.com](http://www.iarelated.com));
- Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union ([www.Ipsu.org](http://www.Ipsu.org));
- Slovak Zion Synod ([www.slovakzionsynod.org](http://www.slovakzionsynod.org));
- Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society ([www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org](http://www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org));
- Slovak American Society of Washington (<http://www.uszz.sk/sk/>).

FOR GOD AND NATION - ZA BOHA A NÁROD

**Catholic Fraternal Bi - Weekly**



# Jednota



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NUMBER 5903

### Message From The President

## HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY

It is said that restaurants and flower shops have the busiest days of the year for Mother's Day.

Mothers have a special place in our hearts, and obviously a special bond because of the birth relationship.

The modern holiday of "Mother's Day" dates from the early 1900s. There were many other, more localized recognitions in prior years. In 1914 President Woodrow Wilson issued a presidential proclamation honoring "Mother's Day". The singular possessive was intentional for each family to honor its own mother, not a plural possessive commemorating all mothers of the world. Whatever spelling you choose I hope that you will remember your Mother, whether living or deceased, in a special way this year.

Mother's day is celebrated at different times depending on the hemisphere and depending on the country. For example some former communist countries celebrated the socialist international "Women's Day". Some still do, while others celebrate both Women's Day and Mother's Day. In the former Czechoslovakia only Women's Day was celebrated until the 1989 Velvet Revolution. After the 1993 split Slovakia started celebrating both days. The subject became somewhat political where the center-right parties wanted Mother's Day to replace Women's Day and the more left-wing parties wanted to make Women's Day an official holiday. Currently both are recognized but are not state holidays. In Slovakia Mother's Day is the second Sunday in May.

The Roman Catholic Church and several other churches venerate the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of Christ. Many of us remember the May crowning in our own parishes, especially if you went to a Catholic school. This was always a special event which included several special hymns honoring Mary. The one that I remember the fondest is, "Bring Flowers of the Rose" - Queen of the May".

There seems to be much less devotion to Mary in our "modern" Church, at least from what I observe. When I went on the internet to hear this hymn sung by several different singers I was amazed at the number of comments that agreed with my observation. What a beautiful hymn! Please listen yourself.

The Blessed Virgin under the title "Our Lady of Sorrows" is the patroness of Slovakia. 2015 will mark the 50th anniversary of the dedication of the Chapel at the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C. We will commemorate that event on September 12, 2015. More information will come later.

In closing, I would like to wish a happy, healthy and blessed Mother's Day to all our mothers. I know you will do the same.

Fraternaly,

Andrew M. Rajec, President



## HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY

The Officers and Members of the Board of Directors of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States and Canada extend their most sincere Fraternal Greetings and Best Wishes to all Mothers and Members on Mother's Day!

Thank you for keeping the tradition alive.

Rev. Thomas A. Naata.....	Chaplain
Andrew M. Rajec.....	President
Andrew R. Harcar, Sr.....	Vice-President
Kenneth A. Arendt.....	Executive Secretary
George F. Matla.....	Treasurer

### Happy Mother's Day

from the  
**First Catholic Slovak Union**

8 Year Flex Annuity or IRA	<b>3.60%</b>
6 Year Flex Annuity or IRA	<b>3.20%</b>
6 Year Fixed Annuity or IRA	<b>3.10%</b>

**The Chewy Challenge:**

Get a FREE Chewy Cuvet with a minimum deposit of \$10,000 on any one of the above products.

Effective on deposits received by August 15, 2014.



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**Convention Delegates: Have You Signed Up to See Philadelphia in Style?**



See page 5 of this issue for information on your choice of day or night tour.

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Figure 6 The title page of Jednota No. 5903/2014

## Language

Figure 5 shows the language representation of the dominant language used in each decade of the circulation of the periodical *Jednota* from 1893 to 2014. The vertical axis of the graph indicates the percentage value of the dominant language for each decade of the existence of the periodical. The horizontal axis shows the analyzed decades for the whole circulation.

The blue line refers to the representation of Slovak language in the periodical whereas the red line represents the occurrence of English language for each decade (the total of 14 decades) of the magazine existence.

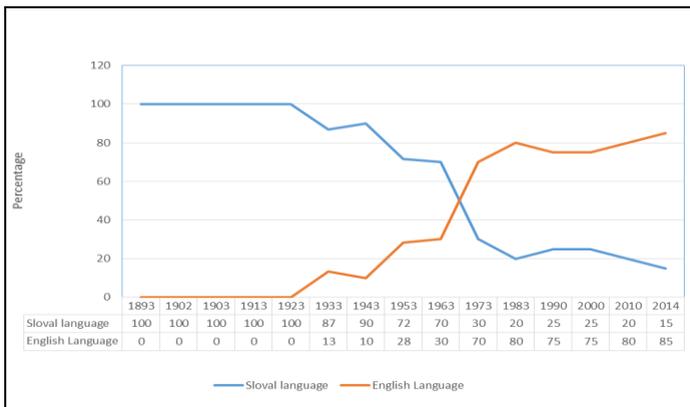


Figure 7 Language representation in *Jednota*

The results of the above graph reflect the dramatic change in the dominant language used in the periodical *Jednota* from 1893 to 2014 which mirrors the historical development of the Slovak settlement in the northern part of the USA.

The prevalence of the Slovak language over English in the period from 1893 to 1923 (100%) was the result of the

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attempt for the cultural and national identity of Slovaks to fight against the assimilation in the multicultural environment of the USA. What is more, the first wave of immigrating Slovaks to the USA did not have the intentions to settle down. Their desire was to save some money and return back to their home country.

Our results confirm the statements of L. B. Hammerová and I. Ripka (1994) who wrote that the first generation of Slovaks in the USA did their best to preserve the language as a symbol of their national identity abroad. Culture, language, church and education were the tools how to retain their cultural heritage alive.

Another reason for the Slovak language dominance in the first years of Slovak publication in the USA was the lack of English. What is more, the first editor of *the Jednota* was the Slovak Catholic priest Štefan Furdek whose primary aim was to establish the Slovak educational centers in the communities of Slovaks living in the USA.

The first establishment of Slovak fraternal societies in the USA saw the seeds to draw attention to the Slovak community living in the multinational America. The need to preserve the Slovak language in the USA was also arisen at the Catholic Slovak Congress that was held in Wilkes-Barre, PA in 1906. J. Paučo (1970) cites M. J. Hoban in his publication who says: "...Slováci jak v Spojených Štátoch, tak tiež v Uhorsku majú jediné právo hovoriť svojou vlastnou rečou vo svojich školách a vo svojich kostoloch..." (Paučo, 1965, p. 56).

The years from 1918 to approximately 1933 represented the second wave of the Slovak immigration to the USA. Figure 7 shows the slight rise of English (13%) used in the periodical since 1923. This rise represents 13 percent of the total 24 columns published in the periodical in 1930s. Par-

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ticularly, the English language was used just on the pages that refer to sport listings.

There is not such a difference in the language presentation in the next decades of 1940s and 1950s. The Slovak language (90%) remains the predominant in the columns analyzed and it represents 90 percent of the total whereas English represents just 10 percent in 1940s.

In 1950s the use of English (28%) had slightly risen up to 28 percent and in 1963 it reached 30 percent of the total of English columns. In these decades, the English written columns include not just sport listings, but also some official reports and district announcements involved in the regular *Jaro*.

Our results indicate a significant change in the predominant language in 1970s. In 1973 the use of English (70%) had sharply gone up. This dramatic change made the English language the predominant language used in the periodical *Jednota*. English represents up to 70 percent of the total number of the columns that we analyzed.

The use of English shows the rise of 70 percent in 1970s and up to 80 percent in 1980s. The use of the Slovak language (20%) involves the regular *Slovo Božie* and *Oznámenia spolkov* and the regular *Slováci a ich život* whose author was J. Paučo. In 1990s up to 2000s most columns, written in Slovak, (25%) consists of letters from Slovakia or the stories related to religion or district reports. It involves the regular columns such as *Krátke správy zo Slovenska* or not authentic articles driven from for example the Slovak newspaper *Pravda*.

The years from 1970 up to 2014 reflected the age of the next wave of the Slovak immigration to the USA. In 2014 the English articles reached the value of 85 percent of the total

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selected columns. Most Slovak articles (15%) are not authentic and are driven from TASR or other Slovak newspapers issued in Slovakia. It has been the years of the USA efforts to build strong a unified country. Those ethnic groups whose children did not speak English or did not attend English schools had a difficulty to start their professional careers.

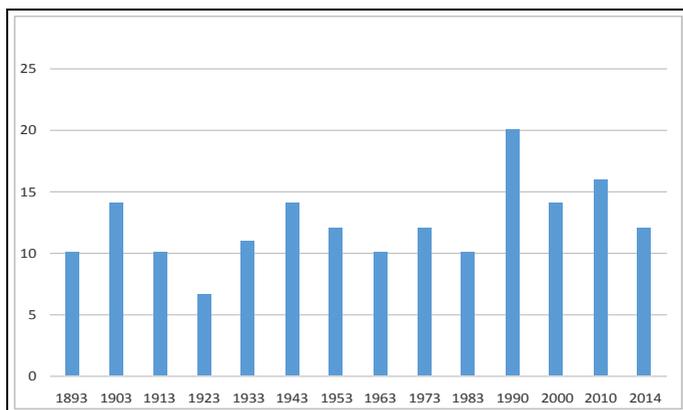
Finally, we have to agree with L. B. Hammerová and I Ripka (1994) who argue that many mostly second generation immigrants stopped passing on their mother tongue over their children because they were persuaded that mother tongue would not be useful for their children in their future in the USA. Most articles are written and sent to the editorial office by the members of The First Slovak Catholic Jednota. The members are the descendants of the previous immigration waves to the USA, they were involved in American educational system and their level of mother tongue has been deteriorating.

### **Structure**

We conducted a content analysis of the magazine based on the statistical evaluation of the periodical columns frequency in the magazine *Jednota*. We provided the graphical presentation of the regular column structure development that would be followed by the table summary of the regulars. We monitored the changes of the regular columns within the time from 1893 to 2014. We have come up and analyzed 68 regulars of selected issues that have appeared throughout the whole period of the magazine *Jednota*.

Figure 8 presents the numerical regular column presentation from 1893 to 2014. The vertical line expresses the total number of the regular columns for each decade of the *Jednota* publication, the horizontal line reflects the analyzed time-period – 15 decades of *Jednota* circulation. The graphical representation shows clearly the irregular number of the

regular columns for each decade that might reflect the organizational changes in the editorial office of the magazine.



*Figure 8 Regular column representation*

The first editor of *Jednota* was František Pucher. Since 1893 the editor became its founder Štefan Furdek. In 1910, Štefan Furdek was replaced by Matúš Jankola who remained in this post just for one year.

In 1890s *Jednota* published 10 regular columns. In 1902 next 4 columns were added. In 1923 the number of the regulars slightly dropped to 7. In 1943 the editor was Phillip A. Hrobák and the average number of columns has risen to 14. In 1990s Jozef R. Kristofik was in charge of the publication. That time the magazine released 20 regular columns on average. In 2000 the number of regulars had sharply dropped, but in 2010 they rose again to 14. In 2000 and 2010 Anthony X. Sutherland became the editor of *Jednota*. Current issues of the periodical are edited by Teresa Ivanec. The issues of 2014 consist of 12 regular columns. The rest of the content is fulfilled by the photo gallery, listing and advertisement.

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The Tables 4 and 5 show a detailed summary of the changes in publishing the regular columns throughout the whole period of over 100 years. The colorful representation indicates the decades in which the new regulars were added, or the ones in which the regulars disappeared or were re-named.

The results reveal that the most frequent regular was *Sv. Evangelium*. This regular had been issued under this name till 1943. In 1943 it was renamed *Slovo Božie* but the kept the same discourse. The content of the regular *Sv. Evangelium* or *Slovo Božie* or later on *St. Vincent Archabbey-Homilies* (published since 2000) is purely religious and spiritual. It includes the topics such as Bible interpretations, reflections on God and Catholic traditions written by reverends or other church representatives of the Slovak community living in the USA. The results prove that the magazine has predominantly religious character and it takes an action in Slovak cultural identity preservation in terms of religious delimitation.

The Bible interpretations played an important role in Slovak language preservation as well. We can quote the interpretation from *Jednota* 1953 that states: "Už v každodennom živote mnoho záleží na tom, aby sme vedeli hovoriť s ľudmi ich rečou, podľa ich chuti, inak si ich nenakloníme a nezáskame, tým viac to platí s Bohom, na ktorom sme tak veľmi závislí" (*Jednota*, 1953, p. 3).

The second most dominant regulars might be defined by their mainly informative character. They consist of the articles related to the reports of the past community activities in various areas of a community life and the community participation of its members. The themes of these regulars placed a great weight on the solidarity and collaboration of each sector. They enhanced the participation of all members of the Union as well as of the Slovak-American community

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in terms of Slovak ethnical and cultural identity preservation.

Some of the informative regulars had remained their name, the other were added, interrupted or disappeared over the years of the publication. The regulars *Odkazy redakcie* and *Od Úradu Katolíckej slovenskej Jednoty* had remained up to 1973. The same character had the regulars *Kalendáre akcií* (published till 1933), *Vyzvania* (published till 1943), *Oznámenia* (published till 1963) and *Pod'akovania* (published till 1963, then again since 2000 up to 2014), *Od spolku sv Štefana Kráľa Uh.* and *Katolícka Slovenská Ženská Jednota*.

In 1933 *Jednota* started to publish the regular *Slovenský obzor*. Since 1973 *District reports* and *Oznámenia spolkov* appeared in the magazine followed by *Branch announcements* in 1983. The regular *Od našich dopisovateľov* refers to the comments of the readers on common issues related to the Slovak-American community life and Christianity. It contains articles, commentaries, interpretations and criticism of various aspects of their life in the USA. The regular has a great discourse value as it shows the reflections of feeling of Slovak immigrants living abroad that are linked with the country of their origin.

In 1990 the *Obituaries* were published in the individual regular column *Remember our departed members*. In 2010 it was again renamed to *Obituaries. National and World news* later differentiated as *Zprávy z Uhorska*, *Zprávy z USA*, *Zo starej vlasti* and *Krátke správy zo Slovenska* reflected the Slovak-American interest in political, economic, social and national issues.

The magazine has not forgotten to take an interest in younger generation by publishing the regulars such as *Pre tých našich mladších* since 1943 to 1990, later on renamed

as *Youth round up*. The columns brought the fairy-tales or other stories with the focus on young members of the community or contests. Especially, the regular *Proud of our Slovak youth* published in 1990 placed a great weight on the educational achievements of young members of the community by publishing the profiles of the individuals or it informed the community about the scholarship grants. The young generation had taken the action in the community organization. This statement might be supported by the following quotation:

“Keď sa o tom naši bratia v čísle 585. K. J. dozvedeli, že naše deti si natoľko milujú svoj národ, že prinášajú za tento aj obeť, odhlasovali tiež zo svojej pokladnice 500\$. Teda tie mladé srdiečka nás pohli k práci za náš milý národ. Iste je to chvályhodné od týchto našich detí, že si takto vedia uctiť reč svojich otcov“ (Jednota, 1923).

The interest in Slovakia and Slovak issues in Europe was depicted in the regulars such as *Krátke správy zo Slovenska*, *Slováci a ich život* and others. In the regular *Krátke správy zo Slovenska* most of the articles are not authentic but taken from TASR and are selected with the focus on current political situation, Slovak cultural life and folk tradition preservation with the pride of the current Slovak state sovereignty.

The rise of English use in stories of the periodical since 1933 was reflected by the regulars such as *Slovak lessons* (published from 1943 to 1963) and *English-Slovak dictionary* (published since 1943 to 1963). *English-Slovak dictionary* and *Slovak lessons* were published by the editor of the magazine P. A. Hrobák. Slovak lessons provided the members with the rules of Slovak grammatical structures and vocabulary. This way they contributed to the Slovak language preservation in times of the initiation of the assimilation process of Slovak community living in the USA.

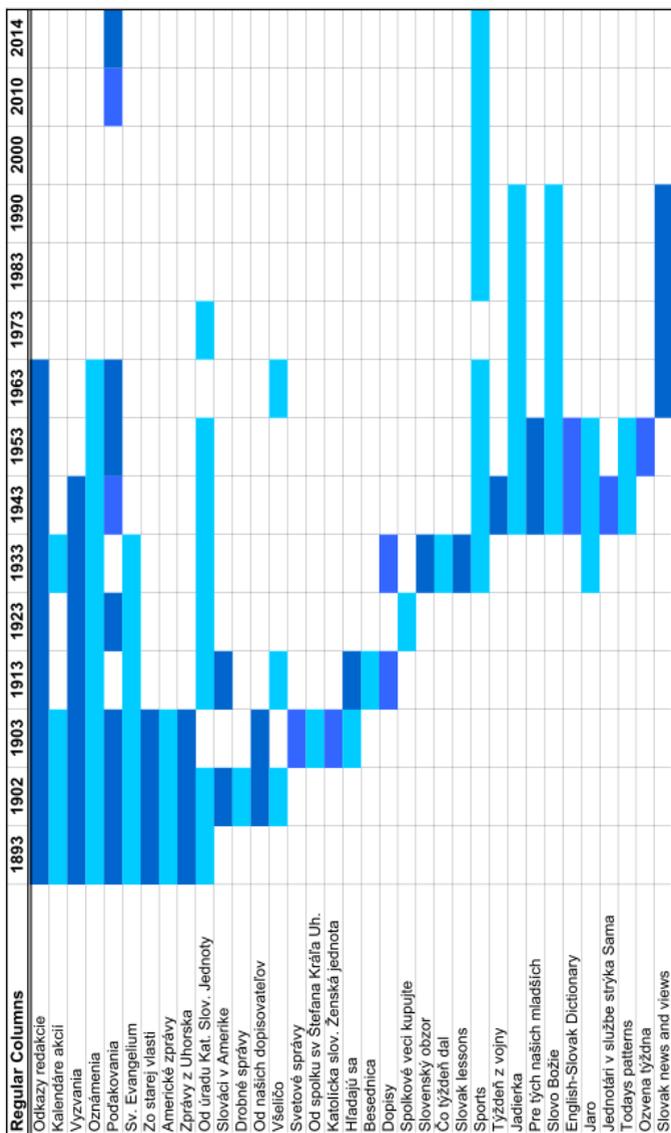


Table 4 Regular column representation (A)

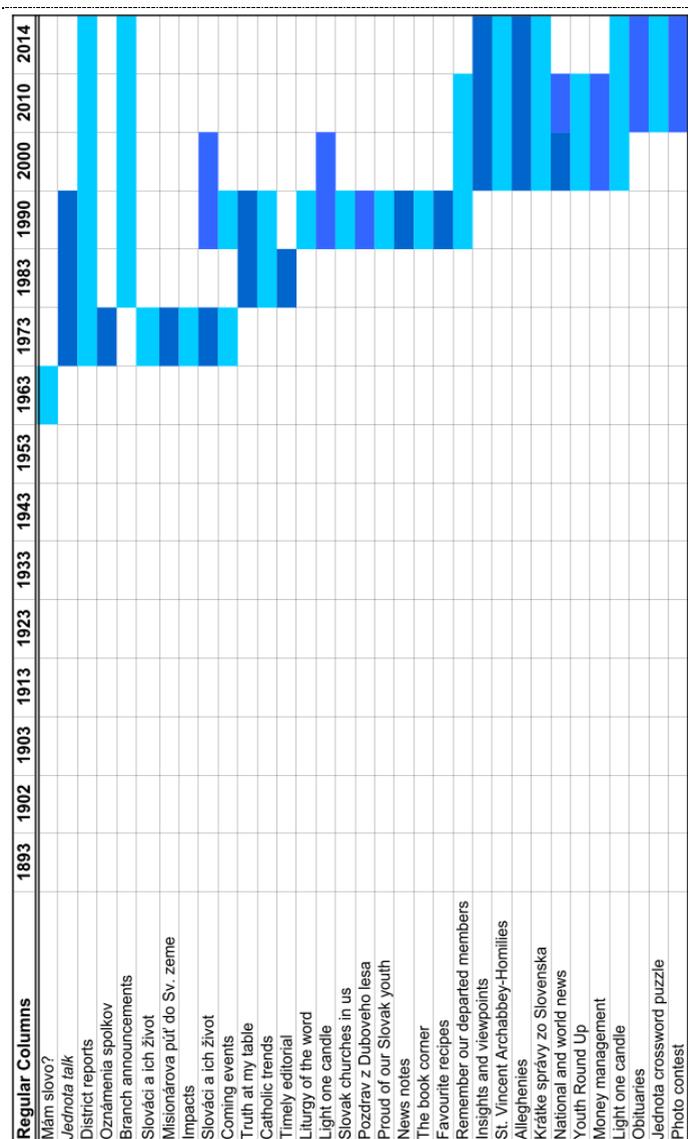


Table 5 Regular column representation (B)

## Topics

Figure 9 shows the numerical presentation of themes of the selected issues of each decade of the total circulation of the periodical. This presentation is based on our Reference code list mentioned in the Introduction. The total number of the analyzed stories was 502. The categories with zero representation have been excluded during the process of coding.

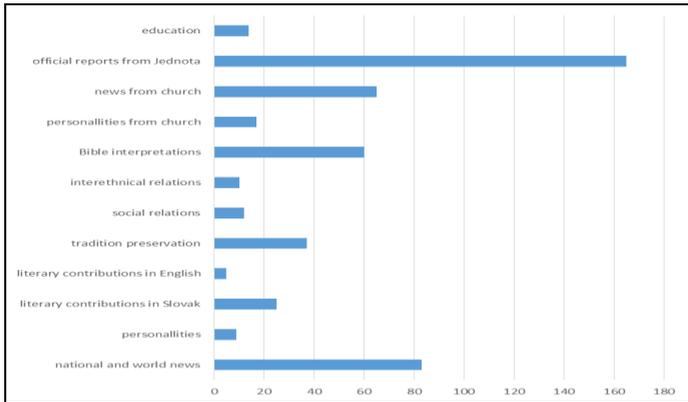


Figure 9 Thematic representation of Jednota

The horizontal line of Figure 9 refers to the numerical presentation of the dominant themes from 1893 to 2014. The vertical line indicates a theme categorization used in our coding. The results from this discourse analysis of the themes allowed us to present a more detailed definition of the content of the periodical *Jednota* throughout the whole period of its circulation.

It is clear that the content of the compatriot periodical predominates with themes that have prevalently informative character. 165 out of the total of 502 analyzed articles refer to the official reports from the fraternal society *the Slovak Catholic Jednota*.

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As the matter of fact, most analyzed articles consist of the official reports from the society the *Slovak Catholic Union* and other branches that were scattered all round the northern part of the USA. The magazine really worked as the official organ of the society with the focus on the readers with the interest in both cultural and national issues within and outside the community. The authors of the articles were members of the community. They were either the official representatives of the society or the representatives of Catholic Church in the USA or Europe and this is reflected in the content of the periodical.

To be in line with the official slogan of the society “For God and Nation”, clearly one of the most frequent themes throughout the whole period of the circulation were religious topics (Figure 10). Those themes represented 142 out of the total number of the analyzed columns. Here we included the categories that contained the topics related to Bible interpretations, reflections on God, reports from the administration of church from the USA and Europe as well as the profiles of the significant personalities. The most dominant categories included various local or national news from the administration of church and the Bible interpretations followed by the general world or news from the USA. Most news from the church administration is related to Vatican.

*Jednota* has acted out as the main official body of fraternal organization the *First Catholic Slovak Union* both in the USA and Canada. Its main intention is to satisfy the demand of Slovak immigrants for impartial information about Slovakia, the activities of other branches of Slovak compatriot organizations in the USA or Canada.

As the official representative of the Slovak community in the USA, *The First Slovak Catholic Union* has provided the legal and mainly social support for its members in the multicul-

tural environment. It included the articles with the focus on the Slovak tradition preservation. This category involved the articles with folk and spiritual tradition content and it represented 37 articles out of the total number.

The specific weight was placed on the Slovak literary contributions. Those articles involve various poems, short stories or interpretations with the interest in Slovak culture and language preservation. Those columns represented 25 of the total number of all analyzed stories. The columns of this character were involved mostly in the first half of the total circulation of the periodical. That time the assimilation process was not so evident.

The life of the community was closely connected with the education development. This trend was also reflected in the content of the periodical and involved the information about the first Slovak school establishment in the USA. The magazine issued 14 articles that deal with this topic out of all analyzed sample.

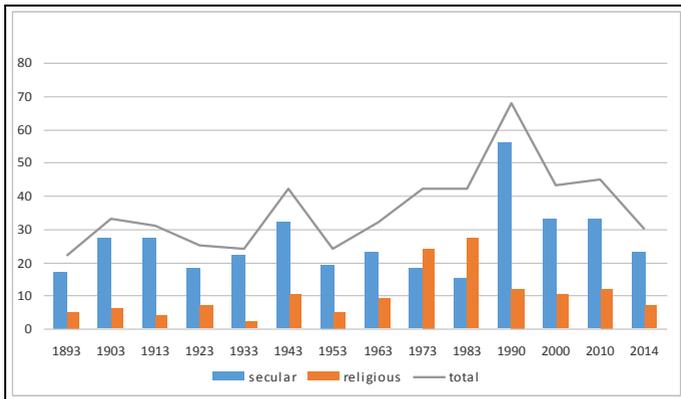


Figure 10 Representation of religious and secular themes

### 3.2 Content Analysis of the Periodical “Jednota”

The years of **1890s** represented the first decade of the magazine release. According to K. Čulen (1970) the first editor of the magazine was the amateur František Pucher. Since 1983 it was its founder Štefan Furdek. K. Čulen (1970) reports that even the first issue of the magazine devoted itself to bring out the articles of religious-moral character. The heading of the first issue stressed the idea to support the cultural identity of Slovaks in Europe. The editors of the magazine were aware of the importance of the raise of interest in Slovak literature back home in Europe.

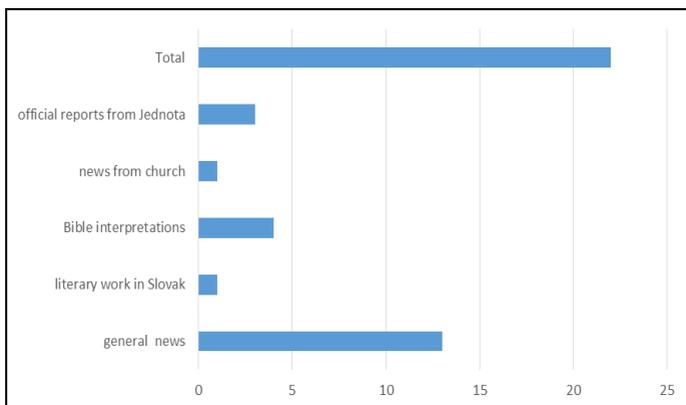


Figure 11 Thematic representation of 1890s

“Sbierky na literatúru na Slovensku sú najdôležitejší podnik pre národ slovenský“ (Čulen, 1970, p. 51). In 1891 the periodical was issued on 8 pages. Since 1893 the magazine extended its content to 10 pages and it was printed in Cleveland. Figure 11 shows that the predominant theme of this decade dealt with general world or the USA or the news from Austrian-Hungarian Empire. It represented 13 out of all 22 analyzed stories.

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The magazine brought the news from southern American states as well as from Asia. Particularly, the articles brought up the news that was highly important for the Slovak-American community. It included the news from the U.S. Congress, their decision-making related to labor market or political relations with other countries.

The Slovak active participation in the socio-economic issues was presented quite idealistic with reference to the Slovak participation in fight against exploitation at workforce. As the majority of Slovaks worked in coalmines and steel industry, the magazine commented on strikes that burst in the area. Our interpretation might be supported by the following quotation:

“Radujme sa teda s radujúcimi sa našimi bratmi štrajkermi a hlavne s našimi milovanými bratmi Slovákami, ktorí hlas nášho časopisu *Jednota* si ku ich veľikému prospechu verne povšimli a počas celého štrajku držali sa nielen statne, pokojne ale i čestne a toto je tá okolnosť, ktorá im najviac dopomohla ku ich dneskajšiemu krásnemu víťazstvu nad kapitálom, nad mnohonásobnými milionármi boháčmi” (*Jednota*, 1893).

The active participation of Slovaks in various areas of the life in America played a crucial role in transformation from the oppressed people, in the context of inter-ethnic and socio-economic issues, to autonomous nation. The themes mirrored the current events in American society with the focus on socio-economic situation. The articles demonstrated the specific examples of Slovak integration into multicultural environment.

Almost one page of the periodical was devoted to the Bible interpretations. Although our results of the discourse analysis did not prove the prevalence of religious themes in the periodical, the theme related to spirituality was evident in

most of the analyzed columns. The religious theme was involved in literary contributions, too. The essence of Slovak national feelings was reflected in identification of Slovaks with Christianity and Christian traditions.

“Cti meno, ktoré nosíš i voláš sa katolíkom a Slovákom; a cti si svoj stav a svoju prácu. Usilovnosťou a poctivosťou si zaslúž úcty všetkých ľudí; tým uctíš vo svete svoje náboženstvo i svoj národ“ (Jednota, 1893).

“Štát bez náboženstva by bol len mechanickým strojom, nie ale štátom, založeným na mravné základy, nešťastným by bol štát, ktorého vrchnosť by bola ateistická“ (Jednota, 1893).

Figure 12 demonstrates the results of the content analysis of the **1900s** issues. The total number of the analyzed columns for this decade was 33 out of which 12 were related to the general news, Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the USA. The issues of this decade corresponded to the character of the previous decade in terms of the persistence of religious and national news. The editor of this decade remained Štefan Furdek and the magazine was issued on 12 pages.

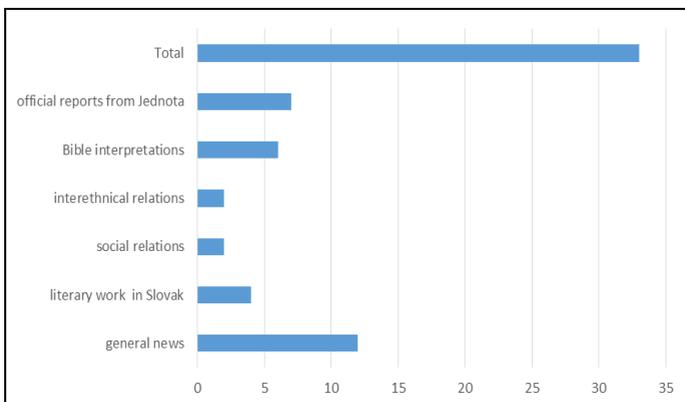


Figure12 Thematic representation of 1900s

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The category inter-ethnic relations involved the themes in which the authors dealt with the Slovak position in the multi-ethnic environment. At the same time, the category “social issues” drew attention to the topics that reflected the socio-ethnic situation in Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

The active and targeted magyarization in Austrian-Hungarian Empire had initiated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This trend represented one of the dominant themes in the magazine issues. *Jednota's* editorial board was not reluctant to the situation in their homeland and actively participated in agitation against the Magyar oppression.

Slovak-Americans definitely denied the myth of Slovaks being the dovish nation in their fight against iniquity. Their determination to fight for the equality with other ethnics was evident in their publications in which they stressed the importance of the nation unity and fellowship:

“Ja myslím, že by bolo na čase, aby nás Slovákov považovali iné národnosti za sebe rovné. Najlepší spôsob by bol ten, aby sme pevne spolu držali a jeden druhého zastávali, d'alej aby sme sa stali občanmi a politicky organizovali...” (Jednota, 1903).

P. Slavučkin wrote, “My sme a chceme byť dobrými vlastencami v pradávnej našej vlasti, ale pri tom chceme ostať a ostaneme Slovákmí, lebo zo skúsenosti vieme, že dobrobyt v krajine nezávisí od jedného jazyka, ale od rovnakej spravodlivosti. Preto blúdne a márne darobné sú vaše namáhania páni Maďari. Vy nás jakživ nikdy nepomaďarčíte. Boh stvoril všetky národy. On stvoril i nás, on sa stará o nás, on nás zachováva a riadi“ (Jednota, 1903).

One of the best achievements of the society against Magyar oppression was to raise an objection against the transportation of Magyar flag to the USA without paying the toll. What

is more, they active protests helped to stop the construction of the monument of Magyar agitator Ludovít Kossuth.

“Keď Maďari z Uhorska poslali americkým Slovákom a Maďarom zástavu do daru, títo by im mali poslať na zámenku tie otrocké putá, ktoré shodili na slobodnej zemi Spoj. Štátov” (Jednota, 1903).

Figure 13 demonstrates the results of 31 analyzed columns of **1910s**. The most frequent themes remained the official reports from *Jednota* related to the membership and the financial situation of the society and donations of the members.

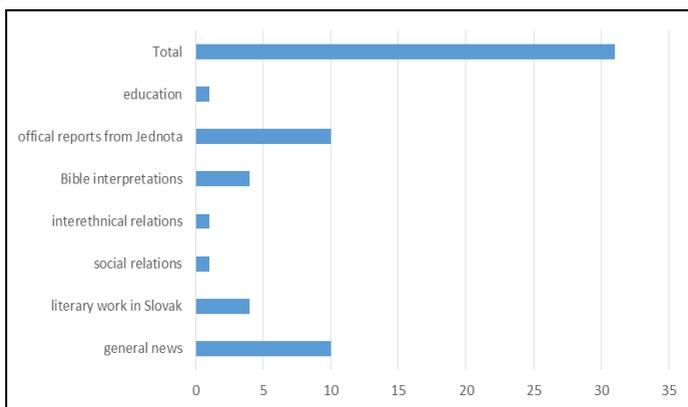


Figure13 Thematic representation of 1910s

The editors stressed the importance of the members to actively participate in the *Jednota* publications. The magazine was issued in Middletown, Pa. *Jednota* played an important role in dissemination of the information from homeland to their members. One of the significant authors of *Jednota* articles was Fr. V. Sasinek who reflected the needs of *Jednota* readers:

“...a tiež v dôkladnosti *Jednoty* náleží, aby v nej bola rozmanitosť; lebo jej čitatelia sú rozliční: jeden hľadá v nej nielen pôžitok svetský, ale i cirkevný pre rozkvet a obranu náboženstva...; ...druhý chce mať články a veršoviny, ktoré by budili národné povedomie, zastaly česť národa a bránily jeho slobodu i právo proti jeho potlačiteľom; tretí chce mať pojednania poučné, vzťahujúce sa na potreby svojho stavu...; najväčšia časť prezerá rozličné správy zo starej vlasti, s ktorou duch jeho zostáva spojený i po vystáhomani sa z nej” (*Jednota*, 1913).

The feeling of the immigrants is best shown in the literary contributions. The instructive poems drew attention to the importance of fight for the Slovak language preservation. The great manifestation of it was the poem written by the anonymous author with the pseudonym *Trenčan* z Brooklyna, *Jako si Trenčan na svoj rodný vidiek spomína*.

“Ten kto sa za svoju reč stydí,  
v počte múdrych Slovákov ho nikto nevidí.  
Voľaký Trenčan na meste rozpráva,  
že sa on v maďarčine vzdeláva.  
I maďarsky znať je vec chválitebná,  
lež hanbiť sa za slovenčinu je vec hanebná” (*Jednota*, 1913).

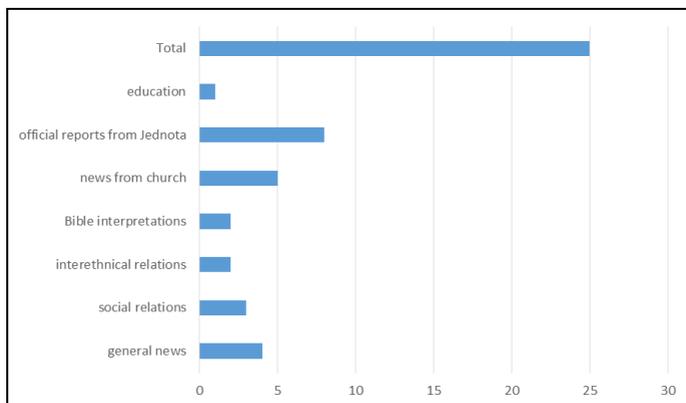


Figure 14 Thematic representation of 1920s

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The thematic representation of **1920s** includes 25 analyzed articles that were categorized into 7 thematic categories (Figure 14). The articles mostly brought up the information from the official board of the society, news from church, from homeland from the USA. The editor of *Jednota* was Jozef Hušek.

The issues reflected the social status of Slovaks living in Czechoslovakia. Martin Kukučín contributed to *Jednota* by the article that called for the need to distribute books written in Slovak as the ruling did not support the idea to raise the number of intellectuals in Slovakia.

On the top of that, the great depression broke up in 1929 and the rate of unemployment in Europe as well as in America had risen. Slovaks could not afford to buy or print their own books in their homeland. Again, it was *Jednota* that drew attention to that issue and agitated for the financial support.

Martin Kukučín stated: “Ale cena kníh pre slovenskú vzdelanú triedu, ktorá sa borí zo starosťami každodenného života, je veľmi vysoká a ak sa ona bude musieť zriecť nadobúdania a čítania kníh, čo už hádam započína i robiť, naša spisba nebude nielen zveľaďovať, ale poklesne” (*Jednota*, 1923).

Except the articles that dealt with the political situation both in Europe and the USA, *Jednota* provided their members with the information about future job possibilities in various parts of the northern USA.

“Pre človeka, ktorý chce sa usadiť na farme a nemá dost prostriedkov na väčšie farmárčenie je výber v Spojených štátoch a to buď vybrať si pozemok malý a už obrobený, alebo väčší, ale nezpracovaný” (*Jednota*, 1923).

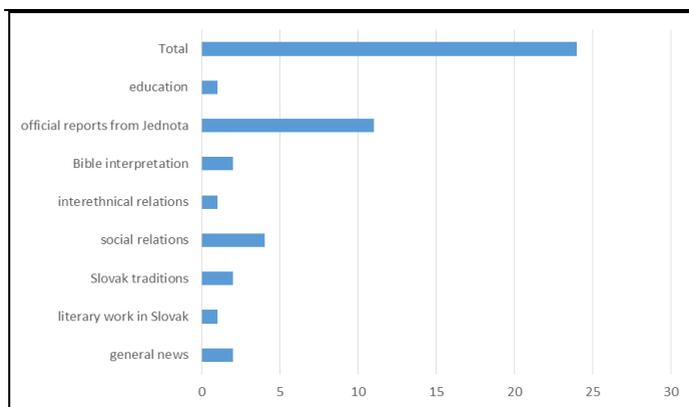


Figure 15 Thematic representation of 1930s

The analyzed sample of **1930s** of the circulation of the magazine represented 24 articles (Figure 15). The articles were divided into 8 categories. The official reports from *Jednota* covered the most of the content of the analyzed issues and it involved just regular information about the activities of the branches of the society, the obituaries, and invitations to cultural events organized by the societies. It involved the letters from the members of the society who brought up the comments on the socio-economic situation of Slovaks living in various parts of the northern part of the USA.

*The First Slovak Catholic Union* celebrated its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1931 and the reports from celebrations were involved in the content of magazine. At the same time, the magazine reflected the celebrations of the 1,100 anniversary of the first built Slovak church in Nitra. The celebrations were held both in Slovakia and the USA.

In the years of great economic crisis, the Union encouraged its members to fellowship as well as to political participation and unity. The magazine informed its members about the Slovak March in Washington and called for the fund-raising.

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The Slovak March played an important role in Slovak integration into a large multi-ethnic community in the USA. The authors of the articles agitated the members to be more active in political and civil issues. *Jednota* stressed the importance of the active participation in terms of Slovak national identity preservation. Slovak-Americans refused to be a humbled nation, they criticized the passivity and pessimism.

“Ved’ ako člen a úradník, nášho Spol. Klubu, mám na to i právo a túto práve o tomto politickom klube chcem sa zvlášť zmieniť. Od 8. novembra 1932, teda od posledných volieb nemal náš klub schôdzu. Ale bude to asi preto, že náš kandidát na ssemblymana neprešiel. A u nás to už tak býva, že jak sa nám všetko nepodarí razom, hneď vzdávame sa ďalších nádejí a necháme všetko tak. Bratia moji, tak by to nemalo byť” (Jednota, 1933).

“Pri kostole bud’me katolíci a pri národných veciach bud’me Slováci. Potrebujeme dobrého spojenia sa, musíme vystupovať na poli politickom spoločne a nevzdávať sa...” (Jednota, 1933).

The 1930s was the time the Slovaks had been ideologically split over the issue of the position of Slovakia within Czechoslovakia. The turbulent years of the Slovak autonomy proclamation on October 6, 1938 were reflected in the magazine issues. The Slovak-Americans were in favour of autonomous Slovakia and brought up the articles that rejected the dominance of pro-czechism. The criticism of Dr. Šrobár had appeared in the previous decade. J. Hušek wrote:

“Dr. Šrobár je vyznávačom a jedným z najpoprednejších exponentov a hlásateľov ideológie československej národnej jednoty. My sme na protívnej strane” (Jednota, 1933).

In terms of language, English was in rise. The editorial board lead by Philip A. Hrobák was aware of this fact and

involved the columns with the focus on Slovak lexicology and grammar forms. The rest of the columns represented the listings and advertisement.

The analyzed decade of **1940s** depicts the life of Slovak-American community at the time of the Second World War. We involved 42 articles into our content analysis (Figure 16). Again, the most frequent themes were related to the official reports of the society *Jednota*. The category *News* included the main reports from war in Pacific and other parts of the world.

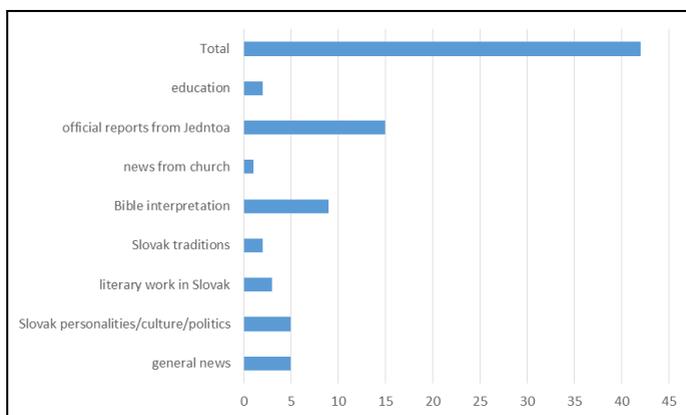


Figure 16 Thematic representation of 1940s

The USA entered into the war in Pacific and Slovak-Americans were actively involved the war conflict as a part of American army. Although the Slovak Republic was considered to take part of the enemy by other nations, the Slovaks, hereby particularly Slovak-Americans played a heroic role as the members of American navy.

The October issue of the *Jednota* published the heroic story of a Slovak soldier called Jozef E. Ďurík from Southwest, PA. Jozef Ďurík died in a battle to rescue the wounded soldier.

As the tribute to his heroism, one of the American ships was named after him (Jednota, 1943).

The editorial board of *Jednota* put the great weight on the significant personalities either from political, religious or cultural life. They released the profiles of significant Slovaks such as Dr. Tiso, Andrej Hlinka, or for instance the profile of Slovak banker Michal Bosák in this decade as well as the following ones. Their profiles were described quite idealistically in terms of the fight for the Slovak sovereignty.

The category of tradition preservation included the reports from various cultural events held in the Slovak-American district.

The themes of **1950s** did not mark significant differences from the previous decade (Figure 17). The editor remained Phillip A. Hrobák and the periodical was issued on 12 pages.

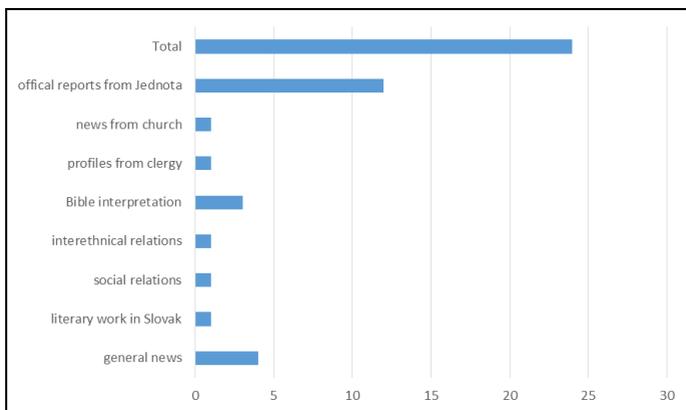


Figure 17 Thematic representation of 1950s

The content of *Jednota* was strictly against totalitarianism in Slovakia. They brought up the information from the 33<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Slovak League of America that stressed the

idea of democratic way of life. The Slovak League of America had its own representative even in Washington who discussed the Slovak political issues with the representative of the U.S. Parliament.

“V boji proti komunistickej pliaže sme neustali, ani ustávať nemôžeme a nesmieme. Liga vždy a všade zatracovala skazonosnú prácu zotročiteľov ľudstva a ich kolaborantov” (Jednota, 1953).

The articles of *Jednota* commented on new immigration and nationality law that came to force on 24<sup>th</sup> December 1952. The magazine brought up two articles related to the socio-political situation in Slovakia. The first one, *Čo so Slováckmi v Sudetsku*, recounted the poor conditions of Slovaks who worked in factories in the Czech southern part of the republic. Dr. Jozef Kirschbaum in his article *Slováci a ich myšlienka slovenskej vzájomnosti* recalled the ideas of Ľudovít Štúr.

The editor in **1960s** remained Phillip A. Hrobák and the periodical was issued on 12 pages (Figure 18).

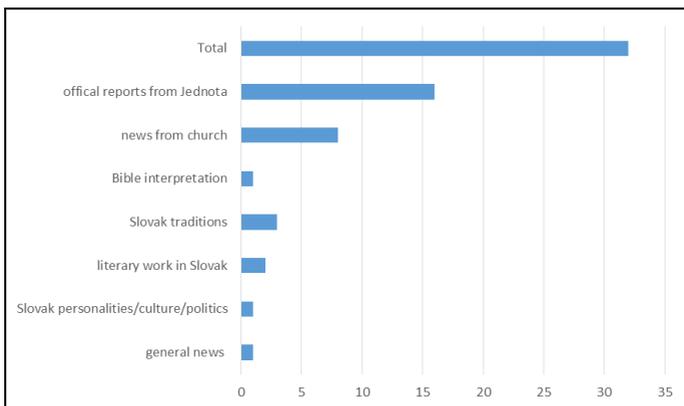


Figure 18 Thematic representation of 1960s

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The 1960s were the years of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *The First Slovak Catholic Union*. At the same time, the year 1963 was the year of 1,100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sv Cyrilus and Methodius that was especially announced by the Pope John XXIII. The official reports from *Jednota* involved the articles that celebrated the Slovak traditions related to Cyrilus and Methodius. The articles paid a special attention to the construction of the Institute of Sts. Cyrilus and Methodius in Rome.

The news from church stressed the importance of priests in Slovakia as the church suffered from the communist oppression. The articles highlighted the work of the bishop from Gary Andrej Grutka.

The literary contributions written in Slovak consisted of the melodramatic and spiritual poems:

“Kráľovná mája

Máj je mesiacom Márie Panny,

Máj je radosťou pre dobré deti.

V máji i nádej na život nový

Po celom svete hrejivo letí.”

J. Dragoš (Jednota, 1963)

The themes of **1970s** involve 43 analyzed articles that were categorized into 6 dominant themes (Figure 19). The editor of *Jednota* was Joseph C. Krajsa. There was reported the rise of religious and spiritual themes devoted to the parishes administered by the Slovak Franciscans of Most Savior Custody.

Jozef Paučo brought the regular column *Slováci a ich život*. The articles drew the attention to the significant personalities from Slovak religious life. In his article he emphasized the work of Slovak-American journalists in a column *Slovenský novinár v slobodnom svete*. He highlighted the work

of the personalities such as Ján A. Ferienčík, Gustáv Maršall Petrovský, Anton Bielek, Jozef Hušek and others.

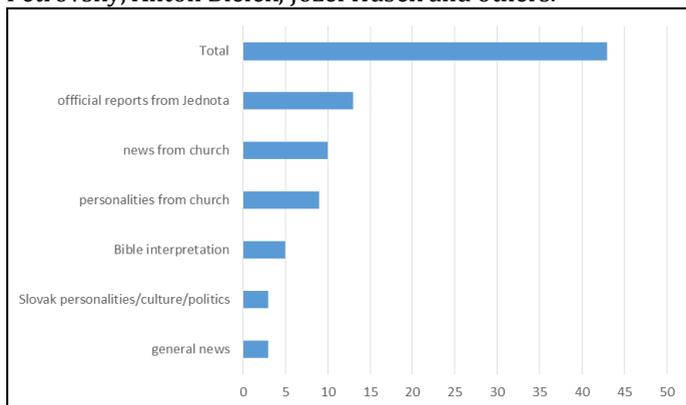


Figure 19 Thematic representation of 1970s

The article *Slováci v rodine národov* published by Augustín J. Záň commended on the current political situation in Slovakia with the emphasis on the national rights implementation in terms of the Slovak relations with other states. The rest of the articles referred to coming events, obituaries or various anniversaries of individual members of the society.

The results of the analyzed columns of **1980s** are presented in 9 thematic categories (Figure 20). The editor of the magazine remained Joseph C. Krajsa. The issues of 1980s were characterized by the sharp rise of the English language. This trend reflects the fact that the members of Union were already the second, third or fourth generation of Slovak emigrants. Despite the start of the assimilation process in terms of Slovak language preservation, the Slovak-Americans had kept being aware of their national heritage because of their strong religious and national bonds.

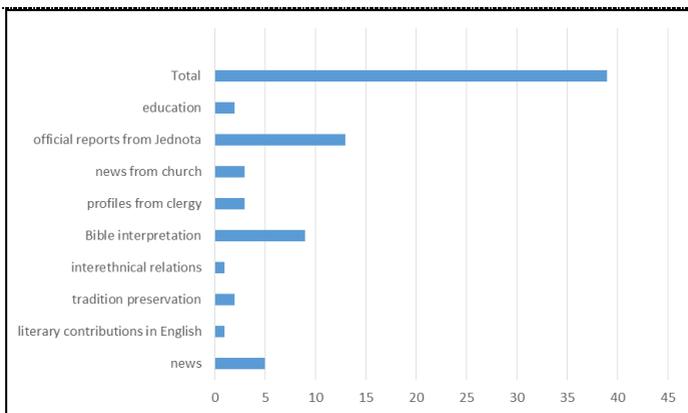


Figure 20 Thematic representation of 1980s

This is best reflected in the article of Stephen B. Roman, President of the Slovak World Congress that was published in *Jednota* in July, 1983. His speech was intended to the Slovak youth as the appeal to young Slovak people inviting them into the ranks of the national workers. His appeal was really important especially in the days when the entire Slovakia was forcibly silenced by the communist dictatorship:

“It will be necessary to establish Slovak cells all over the world, communities that will never die, and in which there will be a feeling that part of our life is devoted to help the Slovak people in their struggle for freedom and independence. That is why it is necessary for the older generation to devote their hearts to the youth, to share with love and understanding their knowledge of Slovakia, her history and her future aspirations” (Jednota, 1983).

“However, the loss of our language should not result in the loss of our national awareness” (Jednota, 1983).

Other columns referred to the tribute to famous poets of Slovak origin such as Gorazd Zvonický or the Slovak com-

poser Mikulas Moyzes. Gorazd Zvonický made his debut with a book of lyrical poetry that was religiously inspired. The magazine highlighted his exile work of numerous collections that reflected his strong sense of Slovak patriotism. In terms of tradition preservation, *Jednota* included the articles that dealt with the ceramic art in Slovakia or Slovak natural wonders. The news from church involved the articles devoted to the news from Vatican or other Slovak-American parishes.

Figure 21 shows the results of the thematic analysis of 68 columns of the total selected issues of the magazine in **1990s**. Since 1994 the magazine was issued as bi-weekly on 28 pages. The editor of the magazine was Joseph Kristofik.

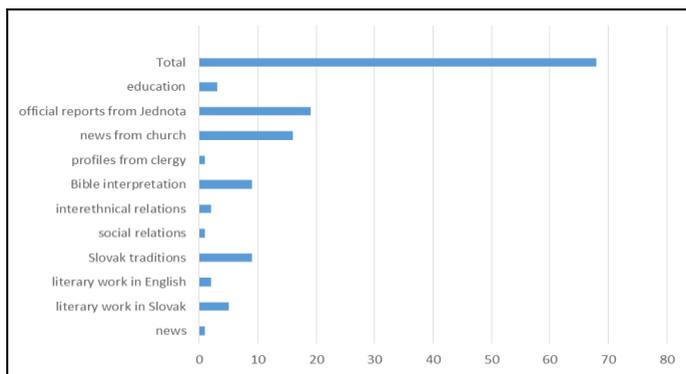


Figure 21 Thematic representation of 1990s

In terms of political issues, *Jednota* published the articles related the transfer of regime in Czechoslovakia and political situation back home. After long time of permanent advocacy of Slovak self-determination, the Slovak independence was achieved. The articles reflected the elections in Slovakia, reported the visit of delegation of the Slovak League of America in Slovakia as well as the visit of the representatives of the Slovak World Congress.

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*Jednota* passionately followed the news from Slovak Catholic church and its members and it published their appeals for financial support that would help to establish the local Slovak Catholic churches.

As the patron of the Slovak language and culture preservation, it released the articles that openly criticized the inter-ethnic relations in the Czechoslovak Federal Republic. Here we quote the anonymous author of the article *Za tú našu slovenčinu*:

“Sedel som pri jedle v reštaurácii v Trenčianských Tepličiach. Na to prišla skupina českých mladíkov a keď počuli slovenský rozhovor, jeden z nich povedal: ‘Pod’me prič, tady nemluví po česky’ a odišli’ (Jednota, 1990). Potom som išiel do obchodu kúpiť darček a predavač hovoril len česky. Títo ľudia zobrali Slovákom prácu, ale slovensky hovoriť nechcú” (Jednota, 1990).

There are several literary articles published in Slovak in the selected issues of the magazine devoted to the memories of the beauty of Slovak nature and traditions such as High Tatras or Východná. Lubomír Kupčok published the poem devoted to the tradition of Slovak tinkers called *Ako slovenskí drotári spievajú*. On the same page, *Hymna amerických Slovákov* by I. Gorbač-Orlov appears. The rest of the articles refer to the Christian themes such as Bible interpretations and other news from church administration.

The category *Education* includes the articles of which the dominant themes referred to the history of Academia Istitopolitana or to the Slovak Institutes and school established both in the USA, mostly by parishes, and Slovakia.

The last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the major changes mainly in Eastern Europe. The efforts of Slovak-Americans to resume the relations had strengthened at the

next General Assembly of the Slovak World Congress, held in Cleveland in 1996. The delegation met with with the Prime Minister Mečiar and the President Kováč. Finally, they managed to negotiate the holding of dual citizenship with Slovakia and the restorations of confiscated properties after 1948 (also in Stolárik, 2012, p. 294).

Figure 22 describes the results of the analyzed articles of the selected issues of **2000s**. The issues of *Jednota* in 2000s were published on 20 black and white pages. The editor of the magazine was Anthony X. Sutherland. The sample includes 44 themes that were divided into 8 categories with the dominance of official reports from *Jednota* and general news from Slovakia or the USA.

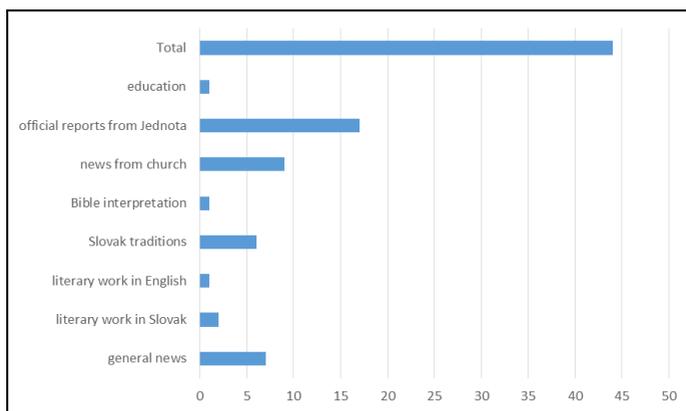


Figure 22 Thematic representation of 2000s

The main headlines followed the efforts of Slovak Republic to integrate geopolitically into the Central-European space. The main headlines of *Jednota*, 2000 involved the topics such as *Slovenská republika dostala pozvánku na rokovania o vstupe do EÚ, E. Kukan pricestoval z konferencie o NATO vo Vilniuse, Slovakia approaching the European Union*, etc.

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With reference to the Slovak tradition preservations, *Jednota* drew the attention to the topics such as *Slováci sa snažia chrániť svoje kultúrne dedičstvo*, or brought up the news about the significant personalities from Slovak cultural life such as *Múzeum moderného umenia A. Warhola získalo Campbellovu polievku, Vo Varšave otvorili výstavu o Michalovi Bosákovi*.

The feelings of liberation of Slovakia from communist oppression were positively commented in *Jednota* publications. We can quote John Hubáč who, with the reference to Slovak tradition preservation, wrote:

“Most of these traditions ceased to exist during the Communist regime. However, when I returned to my village after the liberation, I noticed a fresh desire, especially among the young people, to return to these traditions. Slovakia went through many changes in its traditions. Above all, it was Communism, which tried to turn the youth away from traditional church celebrations and activities but they did not succeed. It would be good if those of us living in total freedom would also remember what our ancestors did and how they enjoyed the church holidays and the old traditions” (Jednota, 2000).

The official reports of *Jednota* included the articles that informed about the various Slovak celebrations such as *70<sup>th</sup> Slovak-American day in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Allentown Parish to Hold Slovak Festival*.

In its regular *Krátke správy zo Slovenska* the magazine *Jednota* started to publish the articles taken from Slovak media (via TASR). We can mention here, for instance, the article taken from *Ružomborský hlas*, 2000 with the title *Otvorený list Konferencie biskupov Slovenska ministrom školstva Slovenskej republiky* that pointed out the importance of the equality of the status of ecclesiastical schools in Slovakia.

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The article *Ilasco, Missouri Slovaks Seek to Preserve their Heritage*, written by David and Sally Polc, gave the information of one of the Slovak town Ilasco in which Slovak-Americans built a Slovak Lutheran school that provided the classes for Slovak children where Slovak language and culture were learnt (Jednota, 2000).

The classes were taught by Slovak Lutheran seminary student from St. Luis. The article stressed the unique cooperation of Lutherans and Catholics in social, cultural and work activities. Ilasco was one of two communities that had a National Slovak Society chapter.

As far as language is concerned, *Jednota* brought up the profile of Slovak-American university professor John Lihani from Kentucky who developed a revolutionary method of simplifying English for quicker and easier acquisition for everyone. His bilingual translator called Transitional English was available on his webpage. The translator was intended for speakers of various languages to learn English as a second language much easier.

*Jednota* brought the news about the new book release of Helen Cincebeaux entitled *Dowry: Eastern European Painted Furniture, Textiles and Related Folk Art*. The book featured the full color photographs of the collections of Slovak folk art and wedding folk dresses that were in possession of the author of the book.

Thematic representation of **2010s** consists of 45 analyzed themes of the selected issues of the periodical. The themes were split into 8 thematic categories as is shown in Figure 23. The front page of the January full color 24-page issue of *Jednota* includes the titles such as *Novoročný pozdrav prezidenta, Oslava výročia nežnej revolúcie vo Washingtone* or *Pochod pre život*. The editor of 2010s issues of the magazine *Jednota* remained Anthony X. Sutherland.

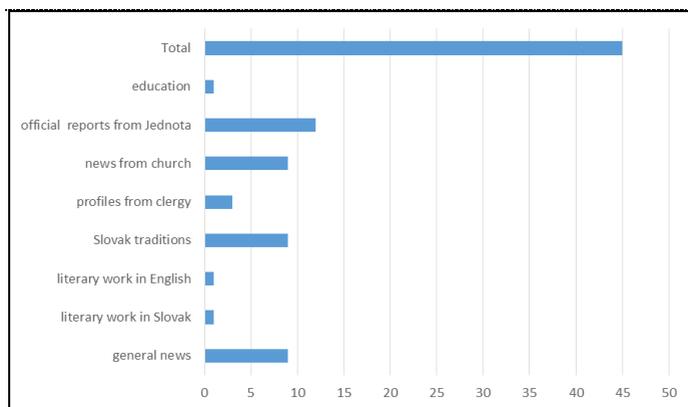


Figure 23 Thematic representation of 2010s

*Jednota* is focused mainly on the news related to socio-economic situation in Slovakia. The main themes include *Employment Fell in All Sectors but Communications in October*, *European Commission Grants Registration of Tokaj Wine to Hungary* and *Slovak Economy is Rebounding*.

The cultural themes were related to art and literature. *Jednota* informed its members about newly opened exhibition of Andy Warhole's work displayed in Košice, *V Košiciach otvoria galériu s originálnymi Andyho Warhola*, and the photo-gallery of the visit of E. A. Černan in Kysuce Museum.

*Jednota* emphasized the achievements of Slovak glass cutters in Great Britain and brought the profile of Štefan Banič who personally undergone the trial of the parachute by the drop off the 15<sup>th</sup> storey building in Washington. It brought the news about the serious illness of the former editor of *Jednota* Andrew Hudak. Except the cultural and national themes, the magazine kept releasing the religious themes such as *Reflections on Our Christianity* and others.

The themes of **2014** issues of the magazine are divided into 8 thematic categories (Figure 24). The sample represents 30

analyzed articles. The current editor of full color 24 page compatriot periodical *Jednota* is Teresa Ivanec.

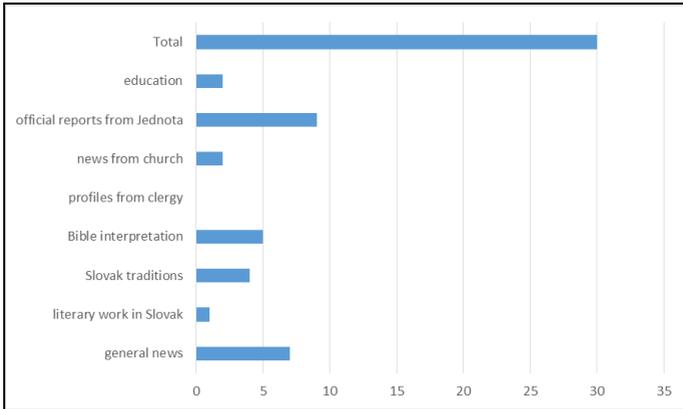


Figure 24 Thematic representation of 2014

The official reports of the magazine brought up the advice on retirement saving plans for their members, the reports from the office of the Vice president of *Jednota*, Andrew R. Harcar, information about the scholarship program, bowling tournament entry blank. The magazine contains many photographs that document various cultural events of the Union members.

For instance, Slovak Societies in Lorain celebrated Christmas Eve on December 2013. The article focuses on the preservation of Slovak Christmas traditions. The members prepared traditional Slovak Christmas dining during which they enjoyed fish, sauerkraut soup and “bobalky”.

The article written by Dr. Michael Kopanic brought up the information about the Valentine’s Day celebrations in Slovakia. In the other article, Mr. James M. Bench brought up the profiles of the elderly brothers Freistak. Despite their age, the brothers underwent Spisšská Nová Ves Sisters Cities

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Tour. The rest of the articles were devoted to the reports from various Slovakia tours. In 2013 Slovakia Heritage group visited High Tatras, Košice and Bardejov.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Slovak Institute of Sts. Cyrilus and Methodius, *Jednota* published the article titled *Remembering my four years in Rome (1963-1967)*. The author Valdimir Bubrin from Alumnus Institute of Cyrilus and Methodius in Toronto published his memories related to his arrival to Rome to join the seminary there.

The rest of the articles were related to the news from Slovakia and were not authentic. The main headlines involved *Putovanie po regiónoch Slovenska, Hlavu štátu si Slováci budú voliť štvrtýkrát v histórii Slovenska, Gasparovic Heralds Pro-Europeanness at New Year's Meeting, Fašiangy Trvajú od Troch kráľov do Popolcovej stredy*.

The sincere interest in national, cultural and political issues in Slovakia in the community of Slovak-Americans is evident in the whole publication of *Jednota*. Despite the assimilation process, they keep in contact with their roots back home and exploit the opportunities to visit and explore Slovakia.

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## Conclusions

Slovak-American compatriot press has served as an important source of social, national and fraternal information for Slovak communities in the USA or Canada to maintain national awareness and education. The gradual change of living conditions in the community of Slovaks living in the USA has certainly changed their national identity awareness that is surely reflected in their press activities as well.

The preliminary goal of our publication was to provide the general overview of the current Slovak-American periodical activities in the USA. After analyzing the above-mentioned web sites of the current Slovak-American fraternal organizations in the northern part of the USA, we contacted the societies by email. Most of the societies were willing to help and showed interest in our research. Eventually, we have come to the solution that current situation of the Slovak compatriot press activities in the northern part of the USA is highly dependent on fraternal societies being the only editorial offices of current compatriot press.

Our preliminary research confirmed the existence of 13 currently published Slovak compatriot periodicals in the northern part of the USA that we divided into four main categories that characterize their content. The categories include 5 fraternal, 6 religious, 1 youth and 1 independent periodicals. We have managed to confirm the existence of 6 currently published periodicals with 100-year or over 100-year tradition of their circulation. Their electronic issues are available in the archives of the societies they represent. Those periodicals are the *Jednota* (1891), *The Slovak in America* (1889), *The National News* (1910), *The Youth Circle* (1910), *The Slovak Catholic Falcon* (1911) and *Fraternally Yours* (1914).

Since the Internet represents a new form of media, almost all publishers of the Slovak-American press release their issues on their websites. This fact allowed us an easy access to the sample needed for our further research. What is more, the societies, also the editorial office of *The Slovak in America*, enable their members to keep in touch with them via Facebook as well. The Internet copies correspond to their paperback originals as they are still mailed to their subscribers.

The oldest magazine in terms of its publishing activities remains the independent magazine *The Slovak in America*. The magazine is published both in the USA and Canada. The oldest religious compatriot periodical, that represents the official body of the significant fraternal society *The First Slovak Catholic Union*, is *Jednota* (1891) followed by the newsletters *The National News* (1910), *The Youth Circle* (1910), *The Slovak Catholic Falcon* (1911) and *Fraternally Yours* that originated in 1914. The oldest Lutheran newsletter is *The Zion* that started its publication in 1920. The youngest periodical is the newsletter of the *The Slovak American Society of Washington* that was established in 1988. In terms of periodicity, there is the prevalence of monthlies and quarterlylies. There is no daily currently issued in the community of Slovak Americans.

Our primary goal was to carry out a combined content analysis of the compatriot periodical *Jednota* throughout the whole period of its circulation in terms of:

- Language;
- Structure;
- Topics.

The prevalence of the Slovak language (100%) was evident in the first decades of the magazine circulation from 1893 to 1923. Our results indicated a significant change in predomi-

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nant language in 1970s. In the analyzed issues of 1973 the use of English (70%) has sharply gone up to 70% of the total. This trend has continued up to 2014. In 2014 the articles written in English reached the value of 85% out of 30 selected columns. The full-color periodical keeps publishing bi-lingually, but the majority of Slovak articles are not authentic. They are taken from TASR or other Slovak media.

The level of use of mother tongue in the magazine issues mirrors the increasing level of assimilation of Slovak-American community. Most articles are written and sent to the editorial office by the members of *The First Slovak Catholic Union*. These members are the descendants of the previous immigration waves to the USA, they were involved in American educational system and their level of mother tongue has been deteriorating. The mother tongue is actively used just in old generation of Slovak-Americans.

The Slovak language remained preserved in vocabulary related to Slovak folk and religious traditions. As we mentioned above, the words such as “bobalky”, “pieroHy” are still used within the community.

With the reference to structure, we tracked the regular column development of the total periodicity of the magazine *Jednota* 1893-2014. Here, we detected 68 regular columns from the whole circulation of the magazine. Of course, the periodical *Jednota* has undergone many structural changes throughout the whole period of its circulation. Its structure has reflected the personal changes in the editorial board. The first editor was its founder Štefan Furdek. After his death, the editor of the magazine became Philip A. Horák who remained in his post until 1990. Since 1990, the editor became Jozef R. Kristofik followed by Anthony X. Sutherland. The current issues of 2014 are edited by Teresa Ivanec.

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As a weekly, later on as a bi-weekly, *Jednota* has documented the times of strong magyarization, the Czechoslovak Republic, the independent state until the liberation from communist oppression and life at present within the context of lives of Slovak communities in the USA.

Despite the turbulent years of the existence of the periodical and the change of at least three generations of Slovak immigrants, the findings revealed that the most stable and the oldest regular has been *Sv. Evangelium*. Although its name has changed twice, it proves the religious character of the periodical. In 1943 the regular was renamed to *Slovo Božie* and later in 2000 to *St. Vincent Archabbey-Homilies*. The results proved that Catholic religious identification has played an important role in Slovak national identity preservation in the community of Slovak-Americans.

The second most predominant regular columns proved the informative character of the periodical. Some of them have remained their names, the others were added or interrupted or disappeared over the years. The regulars *Odkazy redakcie* and *Od Úradu Katolíckej slovenskej Jednoty* had remained up to 1973. The same character had the regulars *Kalendáre akcií* (published till 1933), *Vyzvania* (published till 1943), *Oznámenia* (published till 1963) and *Pod'akovania* (published till 1963, then again since 2000 up to 2014), *Od spolku sv Štefana Kráľa Uh.* and *Katolícka Slov. Ženská Jednota*. There were also the regulars that appeared just in one decade of the circulation of the magazine such as *Spolkové veci kupujte*.

The magazine issued also the regulars devoted to young members of the community. From 1943 to 1990 the magazine issued the regular *Pre tých našich mladších* that was later renamed to *Youth round up and pround of our Slovak youth*. Those regulars involved various quizzes, photo con-

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tests and information about scholarship grants for young members of the society.

The regulars *Krátke správy zo Slovenska* and *Slováci a ich život* brought the articles related to the political and cultural life in Slovakia. In 21<sup>th</sup> century, these regulars involved just not authentic articles taken from Slovak media such as TASR. Vocabulary and grammar of the Slovak language was explained in the regulars *Slovak lessons* and *English-Slovak dictionary* issued in 1943 and 1963.

The structure of the periodical *Jednota* has been simplified since 1891. This trend was affected by changes in editorial board of the magazine *Jednota* and needs of its readers throughout the whole period of its publication.

Concerning the qualitative analysis of the preferred topics of the magazine, we focused our attention on the content analysis of the discourse of the main topics of the selected articles of one issue of each decade of the total circulation from 1893 to 2014. We conducted the content analysis by coding in categories involved in our Reference code list. We divided the selected thematic categories into two classification criteria:

*Secular themes:*

- General news;
- Personalities from Slovak cultural and political life;
- Literary work written in English;
- Literary work written in Slovak;
- Slovak traditions;
- Social relations;
- Interethnic relations;
- Official reports from *Jednota*;
- Education.

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*Religious themes:*

- Bible interpretation;
- Profiles of personalities from Slovak Catholic denomination;
- News from church.

We chronologically documented the role of the magazine within the community of Slovaks living in the northern part of the USA in terms of Slovak national identity preservation. The sample revealed the themes with predominantly national, secular character. 165 of the total of 502 analyzed themes indicated the informative character of the periodical. The magazine has reached out to readers with active interest in Slovak religious, political, cultural and social life both in Slovakia and the USA. The chronological thematic development of the articles reflects the socio-economic and cultural transformation of the Slovak community in the USA as well as in Europe.

Our graphical thematic presentation of the whole period of the circulation reveals the predominance of topics related to the official reports of the society, world and national news. The topics of religious character that represented 142 out of the total of 502 analyzed topics played significant role. The Bible interpretations and the news from the church administrative confirm the religious character of the magazine.

The first decades of the magazine (1893-1943) reflected the inner differentiation of the Slovak community over the language or national ideology. This trend was reflected in the ideological disagreements of the Slovak magazines publishing in the USA. Especially, during the years of magyarization and later on pro-Czechoslovak orientation of the president T. G. Masaryk, Eduard Beneš and other political representatives, the interest of the magazine to act out to active members was evident in its content.

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The Slovak community was no more just an object of its history, but the active part of it. The fight against the communist oppression was mirrored in the publications from 1853 to 1990. In the articles we found both critical and nationalistically oriented themes with the reference to the historical line of Christian tradition.

At the same time, the magazine brought out the profiles of various Slovak personalities from or outside the church. The active participation of Slovaks was not reflected just within the Slovak community. *Jednota* brought the news about Slovaks that were active in international issues as well. *Jednota* did not bring just profiles of significant personalities such as Štefan Furdek, or political leaders. The story of the Slovak hero, Ďurík, who fought for the U.S. navy in the Second World War, was a real example of the active participation and the positive establishment of Slovak national pride.

The liberation of Slovakia from the communist oppression changed the orientation of the magazine. The years of publication from 1990 to 2014 ceased the national agitation of the magazine and drew the attention to Slovak folk and cultural preservation. Since then, the magazine acts as a newsletter of *The First Slovak Catholic Union*. The community news commented various cultural events organized by the branches of the society supported by photo documentation.

Despite the assimilation process of the Slovak community, mainly in terms of language, the full-color periodical documentation shows that the Slovak tradition has not faded out in the community of Americans with Slovak roots. The traditions such as Christmas, Easter or Sts. Cyrilus and Methodius Days are still celebrated in a Slovak traditional way. The traditional food such as saukraut soup, fish, peas, “bo-

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balky”, “pierohy” or poppyseed or nut rolls are still enjoyed during the feasts.

There are some pages of the magazine devoted to the young members of the community. The magazine publishes, for instance, a color contest for their youth or various literary works such as poems or short stories published bi-lingually. The periodical brings out the jubilee of their members. Most of them are reverends or children of Slovak immigrants who actively participate in church service. The magazine still provides the social security support for their members and publishes the reports on their insurance plan. The latest issues of the magazine advertise various interesting heritage tours to Slovakia. It is admiring that despite high age, many Americans with Slovak roots are highly interested in participation in such events.

The most dominant themes of all analyzed articles throughout the whole circulation of the magazine were devoted to religion and community life. Although our results of the discourse analysis did not prove the prevalence of religious themes in the periodical, the theme related to spirituality was evident in most of the analyzed columns. The religious theme was involved in literary contributions, too. The essence of Slovak national feelings was reflected in identification of Slovaks with Christianity and Christian traditions.

Although there have been other publications already published on this topic, none of them has analyzed the content structure of the compatriot periodicals in diachronic perspective yet. Our findings revealed the socio-cultural transformation of the Slovak-American community reflected in the detailed thematic and structural analysis of the periodical *Jednota*.

The genre structure of the Slovak-American press was made by Maximilian Horanský (1990). His work provides brief

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characteristics and classification of Slovak-American press that was published from 1983 to 1990. Pavol Holeštiak (2002) published the typology of the Slovak compatriot press published worldwide not just in the USA. He provided a complex review of the Slovak compatriot press issues in the USA, Canada, and Australia from 1993 to 2002.

The publication devoted just to The First Slovak Catholic Union and magazine *Jednota* was published by Jozef Paučo (1965). The publication was released by The First Slovak Catholic Union in Cleveland, Ohio. J. Paučo (1956) documents 75 years of the existence of The First Slovak Catholic Union with the focus on historical line of the work and political agitation of the society. The above-mentioned publications did not have a deep look into the structure of the periodical itself in terms of topics and language.

Nowadays, globalization and the press on mass culture reflected in global media raised a need to concentrate the attention on the needs of minorities. The Document of UNESCO organization called *Our Creative Diversity* (1994) describes the trends in global culture development and promotes the need for individual cultural identity manifestation. Hereby, it is stated:

“If people share some interests, while other interests differentiate them, the minority interests will tend to be ignored or neglected in favour of those majorities” (UNESCO, 1994). “A possible danger of this spread of popular mass culture is that the size and scale of the media of communication dominate, and that tastes and interests of minorities get lost” (UNESCO, 1994).

The findings reveal the position of the periodical within the community of Slovak-Americans. The magazine reflects the differentiation of Slovak culture within the concept of multicultural environment in the USA. Although the Slovak com-

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munity in the USA is not static and isolated in the concept of interaction with the international environment of the USA, the tastes and interests of Slovak-Americans are preserved thanks for the work of compatriot periodicals.

The content analysis of the periodical *Jednota* demonstrates the role of the magazine in Slovak culture and national identity preservation. The main role of the periodical is to keep the Slovak community unified. The agitation of the magazine lies on the following pillars:

- Activization of the members;
- Unity;
- Faith;
- National pride.

The periodical helps to form Slovak national identity that is reflected in Christian tradition preservation. The results of the thematic documentation of the whole period of the circulation of the magazine show the shift in feelings of the Slovak community in the USA. Apart from the first half of decades of the magazine publication, the current issues mirror the Slovak community whose active participation in political and national issues outside the USA helped to establish the pride in liberated Slovakia. The topics of the magazine show the pride of Slovak-Americans in being an integrated part of the European community.

We believe that the presented results will contribute to the cultural heritage preservation of the Slovak community living in the northern part of the USA. The results helped to interpret the specific features of the Slovak compatriot press and raise the awareness of the compatriot activities abroad among Slovak public. The Slovak-American communities point out that the Slovak public lacks the sufficient sources of information about activities of Slovaks living abroad. What is more, there were the requirements to in-

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clude the information about Slovaks living abroad into the Slovak educational curriculum.

The presented results will be introduced to the representatives of the Slovak-American societies. The archives of their editorial board do not possess the complete issues of the whole periodicity of their magazine. Thus the publication will not just help them to complete the information about the history of their magazine, but might help them in their future editorial work.

We suggest much more active participation of Slovakia in publication efforts of Slovaks living abroad in terms of financial or other support. With the reference to new media, the Slovak-American editors might use the social networks more in form of blogs or other ways of communication. This form of communication would allow them to keep in contact not just with younger members of their community but with people in Slovakia as well. This would help them to involve the columns that would attract the new generations of Slovaks living in or outside the USA.

The members of social network from Slovakia might help them to involve more authentic articles related not just to the activities of their communities, but also to the life in the Slovak Republic. This way they might involve more authors of younger generation for their publishing work.

The large range of our work did not allow us to conduct more detailed analysis of other currently publishing periodicals in the northern part of the USA. However, there is much more material to be analyzed in the archives of the Slovak communities in the USA.

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## Glossary

**Community** – a group of people who share similar beliefs and customs and who may live in the same area. Members of a community are linked by emotional bonds. They share a sense of belonging and feel an obligation toward other members of the group (Word Book Encyclopedia, 1991).

**Compatriot press** – a publication intended for readers who share similar beliefs and customs and who may or come from the same area.

**Content analysis** – research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from a text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message (Weber In Prasad, 1985).

**Emigration** – departure from a place of a birth, natural home, or country for life or residence elsewhere (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1993).

**Immigration** – an act or instance of immigrating; specif.: going to a country for the purpose or permanent residence” (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1993).

**Fraternal societies** – private, voluntary, and non-profit organizations formed to advance the personal well-being of their members. Fraternal societies serve a social function by promoting good-fellowship. They are also national bodies that serve benevolent purposes providing members and their families with financial benefits in case of accident, sickness, old age, and death. Benefits are usually supplied through a mutual insurance system based on regular payments made by their members (Encyclopedia Americana, 2005).

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**Periodical** – a publication that appears on a continuous and predictable schedule. Examples include newspapers (daily or weekly), magazines and journals (Boston College University Libraries, 2013).

**Slovakicist document** – a library document written in Slovak or related to Slovakia or the Slovak nation which author or authors are of Slovak nationality or Slovak roots. The Slovak document might be issued in or outside the Slovak Republic (Klimeková, 2011).

**Regular section/column** – a prominent article/theme appearing regularly in a magazine.

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<[www.fcsla.com](http://www.fcsla.com)>

The Institute for Slovaks living abroad  
<<http://www.uszz.sk/sk/>>

The Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union  
<[www.lpsu.org](http://www.lpsu.org)>

The National Slovak Society  
<[www.nsslife.com](http://www.nsslife.com)>

The Slovak American Society of Washington  
<<http://dcslovaks.org/index.php?item=archives>>

The Slovak Catholic Sokol  
<[www.slovakcatholicsokol.org](http://www.slovakcatholicsokol.org)>

The Slovak Garden  
<[www.slovak-garden.com](http://www.slovak-garden.com)>

The Slovak Heritage and Folklore Society International  
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The Slovak Institute  
<[www.slovakinstitute.com](http://www.slovakinstitute.com)>

The Slovak Zion Synod  
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The Wisconsin Slovak Historical Society  
<[www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org](http://www.wisconsinslovakhistoricalsociety.org)>

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**Slovak Cultural Heritage in the USA – Periodicals**

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