

SLOVAK HISTORIANS IN EXILE IN NORTH AMERICA, 1945–1992*

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Between 1945 and 1989 twenty-one Slovak émigré intellectuals in North America worked on various aspects of Slovak history. Only six of them were trained historians, while four each were journalists, ex-politicians and ex-diplomats. One each was a linguist, a philosopher and a poet. Together they produced a truly remarkable number of monographs and articles which helped to acquaint the West with various aspects of Slovak history and culture. For political reasons the output of these émigrés was largely ignored by Marxist historians in the homeland. Now that Slovakia is free from the restraints of Marxism, historians in the homeland and the émigrés in the West should acknowledge each other's work and cooperate in the writing of Slovak history.

In the last half century or so, many thousands of Slovaks have fled their homeland for political reasons. Among them have been several hundred intellectuals, many of whom quickly perceived that most of the West knew precious little about the history of their people. Some of these intellectuals decided to try to rectify this ignorance about the Slovaks and their homeland. I will try to outline the work of those intellectuals who settled in North America.

When one wades through the enormous output of Slovak intellectuals in exile, one will discover over 20 individuals in Canada and the United States who set out to write a portion of the history of their nation. Only six were professionally-trained historians; four were journalists, another four were former diplomats, four were ex-politicians, one was a linguist, one a philosopher and one a poet. Between them they published hundreds of books and articles about Slovakia and the Slovaks, and helped keep the 'Slovak cause' in the public eye, as well as give it some credence in academic and intellectual circles in North America.¹

Among the professional historians Dr. František Hrušovský (1903–1956) stands out. Author of the first synthesis of Slovak history in 160 years,² Hrušovský joined a

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large group of 'Matičari' (employees of the Matica slovenská) who went into exile in 1945. While in Rome in the late 1940's, he studied in the Vatican Archives and published the very important "Styky slovenských kniežat so Svätou stolicou," (1947),³ which he then followed up with the monograph *Slovenskí vladári* (1948).⁴ Hrušovský moved to the United States in 1947 and in 1952 was elected the founding Director of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, Ohio. Before his untimely death in 1956 he wrote many articles and pamphlets, as well as the very useful *Slovenské rehole v Amerike* (1955)⁵ and produced a large and detailed map of Slovakia that thousands of his countrymen in the West have used to find their ancestral villages.⁶

Accompanying Hrušovský into exile was the artist and art historian Jozef Cincík (1909–1992). After a short stay in Rome, he moved to the United States in 1947, and, from his home-base in Cleveland, made his living decorating the insides of churches with religious art. Meanwhile, among other things, Cincík wrote three important works pertaining to early Slovak art history: "Meč slovenského vladára," (1947), *Ancient Slovak Fibulas and Pseudo-Fibulas* (1957), and *Anglo-Saxon and Slovak-Avar Patterns in the Cuthbert Gospel* (1958).⁷

Meanwhile, the resurrected post-1945 Czechoslovakia was not very hospitable to the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in Slovakia. Dozens of priests also fled into exile, particularly after the communist takeover in 1948. Among those who emigrated to North America were four church and one literary historian.

Even before he fled Slovakia, Msgr. Dr. Ján Rekem (1917–1989) devoted most of his research to the pre-Bernolák era and its literary achievements. Having been arrested for eight months after the 'liberation' of Slovakia by the Red Army in 1945, he escaped into Austria in 1947, emigrated to Canada in 1949 and settled in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Rekem described his incarceration in great detail in *Trenčianska väznica* (1949)⁸ and then turned to pastoral and academic pursuits. Among his most significant publications are: "The Origin and Development of the Slovak Language," (1962), "Slovak Literature and National Consciousness Before Anton Bernolák," (1964), a short biography of "Martin Szentivanyi" (1966), and a longer one of *Štefan Dubnicay* (1966), a *Chronological Table of Bishops of the Diocese of Nitra* (1966), some "Selected Chapters from Slovak Cultural History" (1969), and "Ideological Trends in the Early Stages of the Slovak National Reawakening" (1973).⁹

Meanwhile, another church historian soon followed Rekem into exile. The Rev. Dr. Theodorik J. Zúbek, O.F.M., managed to escape from his concentration camp in Hronský Sv. Beňadik and across the border into Austria in 1951, from whence he made his way to the United States in 1952. Serving the church through Franciscan missions in Pittsburgh and Easton, Pennsylvania, and the field of scholarship, Dr. Zúbek published the authoritative *Church of Silence in Slovakia* (1956),¹⁰ and many articles on the history of the Church in Slovakia and in North America. Among the most important are: "The Bernolák School" (1961), "Preludes to Charter '77" (1977), "The Influence of Slovak Catholics in the United States and Canada on their Social

and Religious Environment” (1984), the “Cyrillo-Methodian Cult in North America” (1985), and “Great Moravia: The Apostolic Mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius” (1987).¹¹

While Rekem and Zúbek received all of their academic training in Slovakia and began to publish their work in the homeland, two other clergymen finished their studies in North America and published only in exile. They were Dr. Jozef Vavrovič and Ernest Bouydosh (Bujdoš).

Monsignor Dr. Jozef Vavrovič (1910–1994) fled Slovakia in 1945, lived in Paris until 1949 and then moved to Canada. From 1950 until 1965 he was a professor of church history at the Major Seminary in Ottawa. From 1965 until his death he lived and worked at the Institute of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Rome. In 1972 he received his Ph.D. in Slavic Studies from the University of Ottawa and published his dissertation on *Jean Palarik: Son oecumenisme et son panslavisme* (1974), as well as “Exercitia Joannes Palarik” (1983), “Catholic Personalities and Institutions in Slovak Cultural Life” (1986) and *Duchovné cvičenie Jána Palárika* (1986).¹²

His younger colleague, the Rev. Ernest Bouydosh, O.M.I. (1922–1975), meanwhile, also contributed to the history of the church in Slovakia. Bouydosh fled his native land shortly after the communist takeover, lived as a refugee in Austria and made his way to Canada in 1951. Consecrated a priest in Ottawa in 1958, he taught church history at St. Paul University in the same city until his untimely death. While working on his Ph.D. dissertation for the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, he published three very valuable articles that pertain to sources of Slovak church history: “The Quadrennial Reports of the Archbishops of Strigonia to Rome” (1965), “The Quadrennial Reports of the Bishops of Nitra to Rome” (1968), and posthumously “The Quadrennial Reports of the Bishops of Spiš and Banská Bystrica to Rome” (1976).¹³

Since the number of trained historians who fled from Slovakia after World War II was so small, and the perceived need to inform the Western public about Slovakia and its people was so great, a number of journalists stepped in to fill the void. Among them were Konštantín Čulen, Jozef Paučo, Imrich Stolárik and Fraňo Tiso.

Konštantín Čulen (1904–1964) was the most prolific amateur historian among the post-war political émigrés. A strong supporter of Slovak independence, he went into exile in 1945 and shortly thereafter wrote a biography of Slovakia’s first president: *Po Svätoplukovi druhá naša hlava* (1947).¹⁴ He followed this with numerous books and articles on the history of American and Canadian Slovaks (he lived in both countries), which was his first love. Some of his most significant publications were: “Stručný prehľad dejín slovenského časopisectva v Kanade” (1953); a biography of *Janko Slovenský* (1954), the founder of the first Slovak newspaper in America; “K počiatkom slovenskej emigrácie do Kanady” (1955); “Slovensko-americkí novinári” (1959); *V zajatí falošných legiend od nenávisťného srdca* (1961) in which he outlined his difficulties with some Slovak-American leaders; and posthumously *Slovenské časopisy v Amerike* (1970); and “The Cult of SS. Cyril and

Methodius Amongst the Slovaks in the USA and Canada" (1972).¹⁵ His premature death in 1964 cut short a brilliant journalistic and historical career.

Another journalist-turned-historian who fled to the West and wrote innumerable books and articles about the Slovaks was Dr. Jozef Paučo (1914–1975). The former editor-in-chief of the official government daily *Slovák* during the Slovak Republic, Paučo fled to Austria and Germany in 1945 and made his way to the United States in 1950. While continuing his journalism career as assistant editor of *Jednota* and editor and publisher of *Slovák v Amerike*, he also wrote many studies of the Slovaks in Europe and in America. His most important works on the Slovaks in Europe were: *Dr. Jozef Tiso o sebe* (1952), which was Tiso's reply to the charges leveled against him by the so-called "people's court" in Slovakia after World War II; *Tisov odkaz* (1953 and 1970), which was Tiso's message to the Slovak nation after he was sentenced to death; *Unconquerables* (1958) and *Flight to Wonderland* (1963), which defiantly proclaimed the right of the Slovak nation to independence and how the struggle for this right would continue in the West; *Tak sme sa poznali* (1967), his memoirs of the Slovak Republic and its leaders; "The Stirring Days of March, 1939" (1959), and "Slovakia's Mid-Nineteenth Century Struggle for National Life" (1961), which dealt with his reminiscences of the proclamation of Slovak independence in 1939, and also with the sorry plight of the Slovaks in 19th century Hungary.¹⁶

Like Čulen before him, Paučo also turned his attention to the history of American Slovaks. He wrote useful biographies of *Štefan Furdek* (1955) and *Matúš Jankola* (1959), the two most important leaders of Catholic Slovaks in the United States; he chronicled the history of the First Catholic Slovak Union in *75 rokov Prvej Katolickej Slovenskej Jednoty* (1965); he edited *60 Years of the Slovak League of America* (1967); he published detailed biographies of most of the post-war political and cultural émigrés in "Predstavitelia slovenskej kultúrnej tvorby" (1967), as well as biographies of the most important Slovak-American leaders of the 20th century in *Slovenski priekopníci v Amerike* (1972).¹⁷ His output was truly remarkable.

Paučo's counterpart in Canada was Imrich Stolárik (1909–). A strong supporter of Slovak independence, Stolárik fled with his family to Austria in 1945 and by 1951 settled in Ottawa, Canada. Although not a professional journalist (he had worked as a tax-assessor in Slovakia), Stolárik nevertheless wrote countless articles in the Slovak-Canadian and American press and edited three important books: *Kanadská Slovenská Liga 35 ročná* (1967), *Spomienky pionierov* (1978), and *Kanadská Slovenská Liga 60 ročná* (1995), which dealt with the history of Canada's largest Slovak fraternal-benefit society, as well as with the reminiscences of Slovak pioneer settlers in Canada.¹⁸

Finally, another émigré journalist briefly settled in the Dominion and produced a significant work of scholarship. He was Dr. Fraňo Tiso (1894–1974), the former Slovak Ambassador to the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941. Tiso fled Slovakia in 1945 and settled in Canada in 1950. In spite of his advanced age, he studied at the University of Montreal and in 1956 earned a Ph.D. in history. He published a

portion of his dissertation on "The Empire of Samo, 623–658" in 1960.¹⁹ In 1957 he moved to West Germany where he edited the newspaper *Slobodné Slovensko* until his death.

Meanwhile, a small group of former diplomats also settled in North America and contributed to our knowledge of Slovak history and culture. The first to appear in the United States was Dr. Štefan Osuský (1889–1973), former Czechoslovak Minister to France and an active participant in the founding of the Republic in 1918. A firm believer in federalism, as opposed to the centralism espoused by Dr. Edvard Beneš (former president of Czechoslovakia), Osuský broke with Beneš while both were in exile in Great Britain during World War II. Starting in 1943 Osuský wrote a series of pamphlets outlining why he rejected Beneš's leadership of the new Czecho-Slovak independence movement. Among these pamphlets were: *Pravda vítazi* (1943), *Triedenie duchov nastalo* (1943) and *Beneš and Slovakia* (1943).²⁰ After he moved to the United States in 1945 he published two more significant works: *The Way of the Free* (1951) which contrasts democracy with communism, and "How Czecho-Slovakia Was Born" (1973), which outlined his role in the struggle for Czecho-Slovak independence during World War I.²¹

Much more prolific in his scholarly output has been Dr. Jozef M. Kirschbaum (1913–). Appointed Secretary-General of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party at the tender age of 26, he was forced out of Slovak politics because of his anti-German views in 1940. In 1941 he was appointed Counsellor and Deputy Chief of the Slovak Mission to Italy and in 1942 he became Slovak chargé d'affaires to Switzerland. In 1949 Kirschbaum emigrated to Canada and embarked upon an academic career. In 1951 he enrolled in the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Montreal and earned his Ph.D. in 1954. Meanwhile, he also taught courses in Slovak Studies at the Universities of Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto before becoming an insurance executive in 1961.

Jozef Kirschbaum's academic output has been unsurpassed by any other post-war political émigré. He has written or edited six books and countless articles on the Slovaks in Europe, Canada and the United States. Among his books are: *Náš boj o samostatnosť Slovenska* (1958), *Slovakia: Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe* (1960), *Slovak Language and Literature* (1975), *Slovaks in Canada* (1967) and the edited books *Slovakia in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (1973) and *Slovak Culture Through the Centuries* (1978).²² His most important articles are: "Ludovít Štúr and His Place in the Slavic World" (1958), "University Traditions in Slovakia" (1958), "Facts and Events Behind the Scenes of Slovakia's Declaration of Independence" (1959), "The Constitution of the Slovak Republic" (1959), "British Policy and Slovakia" (1960), "The Role of the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition in Slovak National Life" (1963), "Slovakia in the de-Stalinization and Federalization Process of Czecho-Slovakia" (1968), "Slovakia in the Struggle for Liberalization and Federalization of Czecho-Slovakia" (1969), and "Diplomatic and Consular Relations of Slovakia with Neutral States" (1973). He also studied "Cultural Contribu-

tions by Canadian Slovaks to Canada” (1967), and “The Slovak Press in Canada” (1968).²³

A friend and colleague of Kirschbaum, meanwhile, also added to our knowledge of Slovak history and culture. Dr. Jozef A. Mikuš (1909–), joined the Czechoslovak diplomatic service in 1935 and in 1939 became the First Secretary of the Slovak diplomatic mission to Italy. From 1941 to 1944 he served as Slovak chargé d'affaires to Spain, and in 1944–45 he became Chief of Diplomatic Protocol at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1948 he escaped from Czechoslovakia, made his way to Paris and in 1952 settled in the United States, where he taught at various colleges. Among his many publications are *La Slovaquie dans le drame de l'Europe* (1955), “Slovakia Between Two World Wars” (1961), *Slovakia: A Political History* (1964), *Pamäti slovenského diplomata* (1976) and “Slovakia: A Political and Constitutional History” (1984).²⁴

Another diplomat who contributed to the spreading of knowledge about Slovak history and culture in the West was Dr. Juraj Slávik (1890–1969). He served as Czechoslovak Ambassador to Poland from 1935 to 1939 and to the United States in 1947–48. After the communist takeover of his homeland he defected to the United States, where he joined various organizations dedicated to the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the communists. Meanwhile, he edited the monograph *Odbojová poézia Čechov a Slovákov v zahraničí* (1947), he published *Moja pamät–živá kniha* (1955), and “One Hundred and Twenty Years of the Slovak Literary Language” (1964).²⁵

Closely related to the diplomats listed above were Slovak politicians in exile who also wrote books or articles on Slovak history or culture. The most important of these was Karol Sidor (1901–1953) who had been Andrej Hlinka’s right-hand-man in the Slovak People’s Party before World War II, but who was sent as Slovak Ambassador to the Vatican shortly after Slovakia achieved its independence in 1939. Sidor was anti-German and the Slovak government sent him abroad for his (and its own) good. After the war Sidor organized the Slovak National Council Abroad, became its first president, and in 1950 moved to Montreal, where he died in 1953.

Although Karol Sidor’s literary output was not voluminous, it was important. Most of it consisted of memoirs by someone who had lived through some very turbulent times in Slovak history. Thus, in his first western publication he replied to an attack upon Slovak nationalists by the ‘Czechoslovak’ Vavro Šrobár in “Vavro Šrobár o sebe a o Hlinkovi” (1947);²⁶ he then wrote his memoirs *Šesť rokov pri Vatikáne* (1948); and his reminiscences about how the first Slovak Republic came into being: “Slovenská republika – ovocie Hlinkovho boja” and “Ako došlo k vyhláseniu Slovenskej Republiky” (1949).²⁷ Meanwhile, he explained why he rejected cooperation with his political rival in exile, Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský, in *Dve cesty* (1951).²⁸ Posthumously, he recounted the story of “The Slovak League of America and the Slovak Nation’s Struggle for Autonomy” (1967), and his reminiscences of the First Czechoslovak Republic in *Moje poznámky k historickým dňom* (1971) and *Slovenská politika na Pražskom sneme, 1918–1938* (1975).²⁹

One of his political opponents, the 'Czechoslovak' Dr. Jozef Lettrich, meanwhile, also contributed to the writing of Slovak history abroad. A leader of the Slovak National Uprising of 1944, Lettrich became Chairman (Speaker) of the Slovak National Council between 1945 and 1948 and he fled to the United States after the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948. A major leader of the Council for a Free Czechoslovakia, he expressed his version of Slovak history in a *History of Modern Slovakia* (1955).³⁰

Another Slovak politician in exile, Dr. Jozef Staško (1917–) was more prolific. Elected to the Prague Parliament from his native Orava in 1946, he was illegally jailed by the communists from 1946 to 1953 because he refused to vote for Edvard Beneš as president of Czechoslovakia after the war. He escaped to the west in 1961 and settled in New York, where he worked as a librarian until his retirement in 1983.

Among his many publications three stand out: the short statistical survey of *Slovaks in the United States of America* (1974), the edited volume *Tvorcovia nového Slovenska* (1982) and "Štefan Osuský's Attempts to Establish Contacts with Slovakia in 1939" (1986).³¹

In addition to the numerous authors listed above, a poet, a linguist, and a philosopher in exile have also contributed to the writing of Slovak history and culture abroad.

The Reverend Mikuláš Šprinc (1914–1986), a poet in both Slovakia and in America, fled to Austria in 1945 and came to the United States in 1946. He immediately began to work for the cause of Slovak nationhood. A co-founder of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland (1952), he established the literary quarterly *Most* in 1954 and edited it until his death in 1986. In 1956 he also participated in the establishment of the Society of Slovak Writers and Artists Abroad. Meanwhile, from 1957 until his death he taught modern languages at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Cleveland.

Besides having written many poems and other literary works, Šprinc also contributed to our knowledge of Slovak history. He told the story of the Slovak League of America in the edited volume *Slovenská Liga v Amerike štyridsaťročná* (1947), and the story of the first Slovak Republic in the edited volume *Slovenská Republika* (1949).³² Meanwhile, he also persuaded fellow-exiles to relate their personal experiences in another edited volume, *K slobodným pobrežiam* (1949).³³ As a tribute to the Slovak Benedictines in Cleveland, he wrote the biography of their patron saint *Svätý Andrej Svorad* (1952), and then updated his work on the Slovak League with the article "Slovak League of America and Independent Slovakia" (1967).³⁴ Finally, he also assessed "Slovak Cultural Creativity in Exile: Its Meaning and Legacy" (1973).³⁵

The Slovak linguist in exile, the Rev. Dr. Bonaventura Buc, OFM (1910–1966), meanwhile, also added to our store of historical knowledge. He fled Slovakia after the communist coup d'état of 1948 and by 1950 had settled in the United States. Working principally out of Franciscan homes in Pittsburgh and Easton, Pennsylvania, Father Buc wrote the first professional grammar of the Slovak language in English.³⁶ Meanwhile, he also turned to Slovak politics and published a useful es-

say on *Slovak Nationalism* (1960), as well as a short analysis of the political situation of the Slovaks in mid-19th century Hungary entitled "A Time of Hopes and Trials (1861–1875)" (1961).³⁷ His premature death in 1966 cut short a promising linguistic and historical career.

Finally, the philosopher Dr. Karol Murín (1913–) contributed greatly to our understanding of the first Slovak Republic and its President. Dr. Murín was Jozef Tiso's personal secretary during the first Slovak Republic, he fled to Austria with him in 1945 and was subsequently repatriated to the resurrected Czechoslovakia, along with the rest of the Slovak government-in-exile. Murín, and the whole Slovak government, was tried for war crimes by the so-called 'people's courts', but, while many were found guilty, Murín was exonerated. After the communist coup d'état of 1948 Murín fled to the west, eventually made his way to Canada and studied philosophy at the University of Montreal. He received his Ph.D. in 1955 and taught philosophy at Montreal until his retirement. His major contribution to our knowledge of Slovak history consists of his memoirs, which he published as "Eight Fatal Days in the Life of Dr. Joseph Tiso" (1957) and *Spomienky a svedectvo* (1987), which is based upon his notes and memories of life with the president principally between 1939 and 1945.³⁸

It should be apparent, therefore, that Slovak émigré intellectuals in North America contributed greatly to our knowledge of Slovak history and culture. Their loss to Slovakia was North America's gain. For over forty years Slovak intellectuals in the homeland were cut off from their counterparts in the West. The ruling communist government treated the émigré intellectuals as non-persons. Therefore, when one consults works of historical scholarship produced in Slovakia between 1945 and 1989, one seldom, if ever, finds a citation to a Slovak historian in exile. Now that Slovakia is an independent and democratic country, perhaps Slovak historians at home will begin to notice the works of their counterparts abroad, and will use some of their findings to help fill the many gaps in Slovak history and historiography that continue to exist to this day.

Endnotes

¹ I picked the 21 individuals discussed in this essay from the following sources: "Predstavitelia slovenskej kultúrnej tvorby," by Jozef Paučo in *Literárny almanach Slováka v Amerike* (1967), 113–249; Michal Lacko ed., "Slovak Bibliography Abroad, 1945–1965," *Slovak Studies*, VII (1967), 7–366 pp.; and by the same editor, "Slovak Bibliography Abroad, 1966–1975," *Slovak Studies*, XVII (1977), 7–436 pp.; Jozef Špetko, "Ostrakizovaná litera(túra)," *Slovenské pohľady*, 9 (1990), 97–108; and from my own research and personal observations.

² František Hrušovský, *Slovenské dejiny* (Turč. Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1939). The previous synthesis had been by Juraj Papánek and was entitled *Historia gentis Slavae, De Regno regibusque Slavorum* (1780).

³ František Hrušovský, "Styky slovenských kniežat so Svätou stolicou," in Mikuláš Šprinc ed., *Nádej víťazná* (Scranton: Obrana Press, 1947), 120–82. This article was translated into

English by the Rev. Andrew Pier and republished as "The Relations of the Rulers of Great Moravia with Rome," in *Slovak Studies*, 3 (1963), 21–77.

⁴ —, *Slovenskí vladári* (Scranton: Obrana Press, 1948), 163 pp.

⁵ —, *Slovenské rehole v Amerike* (Cleveland: Slovak Institute, 1955), XIII–496 pp.

⁶ —, *Mapa Slovenska* (Cleveland: Slovak Institute, 1954). For almost 40 years this was the only detailed map of Slovakia available to the general public. In Communist Czechoslovakia such maps were considered to be military secrets, and were unavailable. In the summer of 1970, while doing research at the Slovak State Archives in Levoča, I worked from Hrušovský's map and the local archivist, Dr. Ivan Chalupecký, expressed amazement at the fact that I had such a detailed map.

⁷ Jozef Cincík, "Meč slovenského vladára: Z počiatkov slovenského výtvarného umenia," in Mikuláš Šprinc, *op.cit.*, 183–240; *Ancient Slovak Fibulas and Pseudo-Fibulas: A Study of Slovak Metallic Art in the Ethnogenetical Age* (Whiting, Indiana: John J. Lach, 1957), 105 pp; *Anglo-Saxon and Slovak-Avar Patterns of the Cuthbert Gospel: A Study in Slovak Art of the Carolingian Era* (Rome: Slovak Institute, 1958), 123 pp.

⁸ Ján Rekem, *Trenčianska väznica* (Passaic, N.J.: Slovak Catholic Sokol, 1949), 160 pp.

⁹ —, "The Origin and Development of the Slovak Language," *Slovakia*, 12 (No.1, 1962), 1–17; "Slovak Literature and National Consciousness before Anton Bernolák (1762–1813)," *Slovakia*, 14 (1964), 47–78; "Martin Szentivanyi S.J.: Slovak Philosopher, Polemicist, Historian," *Slovakia*, 16 (1966), 116–23; *Štefan Dubnicay 1675–1725, slovenský polemik a historik* (Middletown, PA: *Slovák v Amerike*, 1966), 80 pp.; *Chronological Table of the Bishops of Nitra, Slovakia* (Rome: Slovak Institute, 1966), 71 pp.; "Selected Chapters from Slovak Cultural History," *Slovak Studies*, 9 (1969), 7–47; "Ideological Trends in the Early Stages of the Slovak National Reawakening," in Jozef Kirschbaum ed., *Slovakia in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Toronto: Slovak World Congress, 1973), 72–80.

¹⁰ Theodorik J. Zúbek, *The Church of Silence in Slovakia* (Whiting, IN: John J. Lach, 1956), 310 pp.

¹¹ —, "The Bernolák School," *Slovak Studies*, I (1961), 61–8; "Preludes to Charter '77," *Slovakia*, 27 (1977), 91–106; "The Influence of Slovak Catholics in the United States and Canada on their Social and Religious Environment," *Slovak Studies*, 24 (1984), 139–75; "Cyrillo-Methodian Cult in North America," in Imrich Kružliak ed., *SS. Cyril and Methodius Among the Slovaks* (Middletown, PA: Slovak Catholic Federation, 1985), 160–86; "Great Moravia: The Apostolic Mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius," in Stanislav J. Kirschbaum and Anne C. Roman Eds., *Reflections on Slovak History* (Toronto: Slovak World Congress, 1987), 21–36.

¹² Jozef Vavrovič, *Jean Palarik. Son oecumenisme et son panslavisme* (Rome: Slovak Institute, 1974), 280 pp.; "Exercitia Joannes Palarik," *Slovak Studies*, 23 (1983), 43–73; "Catholic Personalities and Institutions in Slovak Cultural Life from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries," *Slovak Studies*, 26–27 (1986–1987), 143–264.

¹³ Ernest Bouydosh, "The Quadrennial Reports of the Archbishops of Strigonia to Rome," *Slovak Studies*, 5 (1965), 7–98; "The Quadrennial Reports of the Bishops of Nitra to Rome," *Slovak Studies*, 8 (1968), 151–204; "The Quadrennial Reports of the Bishops of Spiš and Banská Bystrica to Rome," *Slovak Studies*, 16 (1976), 221–317.

¹⁴ Konštantín Čulen, *Po Svätoplukovi druhá naša hlava (životopis Dr. Jozefa Tisu)*, (Middletown, PA: Slovak League of America, 1947), 606 pp.

¹⁵ —, "Stručný prehľad dejín slovenského časopisectva v Kanade," *Kalendár Kanadskej Slovenskej Ligy* (Winnipeg: 1953), 98–100; *Janko Slovenský (1856–1900)*, (Winnipeg: Kanadský Slovák, 1954), 196 pp.; "K počiatkom slovenskej emigrácie do Kanady," *Kalendár Kanadskej Slovenskej Ligy* (1955), 81–8; "Slovensko-americkí novinári," *Kalendár Jednota* (Cleveland, 1959), 113–24; *V zajatí falošných legiend od nenávisťného srdca*, 2 Vols. (New

York: author's mimeographed publication, 1961), 180 pp.; *Slovenské časopisy v Amerike* (Cleveland: First Catholic Slovak Union, 1970), 192 pp.; "The Cult of SS. Cyril and Methodius Amongst the Slovaks in the USA and Canada," *Slovakia*, 22 (1972), 98–113.

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