

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN TWO  
DIVERGENT ETHNIC GROUPS AS AN INDEX  
OF ASSIMILATION

*Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.*

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Michael E. Kolivosky

1953





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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY  
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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

MEETING OF THE

1903

HELD AT THE HOTEL DE LA CROIX ROUGE, ST. LOUIS,  
MISSOURI, DECEMBER 28, 1903, AND JANUARY 1, 1904  
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1903



INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN TWO DIVERGENT ETHNIC GROUPS  
AS AN INDEX OF ASSIMILATION

By

Michael E. <sup>Edward</sup> Kolivosky



A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan  
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1953

*Charles R. ...*



Sociology, Gen.

1953-54

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN TWO DIVERGENT ETHNIC GROUPS  
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AN ABSTRACT

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Year

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Approved

Charles R. Hooper







THESIS ABSTRACT

This is a case study of interethnic assimilation, with primary focus on intermarriage, between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat, a rural non-farm community in central Pennsylvania. The particular value of this study, in terms of its purpose, lies in the discovery of unique ways by which two divergent ethnic groups participated in an assimilative process in which they had been engaged for more than six decades.

The major portion of data was gathered by individual interviews, questionnaire, and tape-recorded interviews with selected groups of Slovak and Swedish residents of the first, second, and third generations. Personal diaries, church records, ledgers of local organizations, correspondence with selected residents, and a survey (census) of the community were additional sources of information. Only a limited number of documentary sources were available, and they were consulted. In short, the sources of data were very largely field, rather than documentary. Almost all of the data were gathered by the writer who worked as a participant observer in the community which was studied.

In 1951 the population of Grassflat was 784. Of this total, 49% were Slovak, 27% Swedish, 23% "other nationalities" (neither Slovak nor Swedish), and 2% Slovak-Swedish. Classified according to religion, 54% were Catholic, 32% Lutheran, 7% other Protestant, and 7% claimed to be members of no church.

Employment opportunities in the coal industries of Pennsylvania attracted Slovaks and Swedes to this country during the latter decades of



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the 19th and beginning decades of the 20th Centuries. Swedes emigrated from the vicinity of Dalsland, Sweden, and Slovaks from in or near Presov, Slovakia. Immigration of Swedes antedated that of Slovaks by approximately two decades. Immigration to Grassflat was more direct by Slovaks than Swedes.

What has happened in the assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat can be presented in terms of four major developments: First, living in relative isolation during the first decades, Slovaks and Swedes demonstrated an accentuation of their respective native cultures by developing parallel organizations. Second, interethnic assimilation was strongly facilitated by both the public school where they learned a common language and experiences which they shared in the coal industry. The United Mine Workers Union, of which both Slovak and Swedish miners were members, was also an important agency through which they solved mutual problems. Third, with the mobility of residents, especially Swedes, to urban centers between 1925 and 1935 after the coal mines closed, the Slovak population became numerically larger, Swedes began to participate in Slovak activities, and residential segregation decreased as Slovaks and Swedes moved into sections formerly occupied by exclusively one or the other ethnic groups. Fourth, as the number of interethnic contacts increased, not only was diffusion of native cultural patterns promoted, but new patterns were developed. Probably most important were clubs (taverns) and social organizations which admitted all residents.

A study of all marriages contracted by Slovaks and Swedes, both residents and former residents--including 109 Slovak males, 119 Slovak females,



86 Swedish males, and 73 Swedish females--indicated that only seven Slovak-Swedish marriages occurred between 1922 and 1951. All Slovak-Swedish marriages, except one in which a Swedish woman converted to Catholicism, were mixed religious marriages. In all seven marriages the children were reared Catholic.

Data supported the following hypotheses regarding Slovak and Swedish populations in Grassflat. One, the factor of religion is more important in precluding intermarriage than other aspects of ethnic background. Two, the degree of cultural solidarity within a particular ethnic group to a large extent determines the rate of exogamy of its members, that is, the greater the degree of cultural solidarity the lesser the rate of exogamy of its members. Three, the rate of intermarriage with other religious and nationality groups by both Slovaks and Swedes tends to increase with their mobility to urban areas. Data were insufficient to support or disprove the hypothesis that the rate of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes is greater among the upper and lower economic classes, as defined by residents in the community, than the middle class.







## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his sincere thanks to Dr. Charles R. Hoffer and Dr. Leo A. Haak, under whose guidance and supervision and unflinching interest this investigation was pursued and to whom the results are herewith dedicated.

He is also greatly indebted to Dr. John B. Holland, Dr. Sigmund Nosow, and Dr. Orden C. Smucker for their valuable assistance in preparation of the questionnaire and other techniques used at the outset of this investigation.

The writer deeply appreciates the kind cooperation given him by residents of Grassflat who so willingly shared themselves in many ways. He is especially grateful to Mrs. Sara London and Mr. Burdett E. Larson, principals of schools in Cooper Township, who administered the questionnaire, to Reverend Michael Tutokie and Reverend Edward Lindgren, pastors of the Catholic and Lutheran Churches in Grassflat, respectively, for pertinent data regarding their parishioners, to Slovak and Swedish residents who participated in tape-recorded interviews, and officers of various local organizations for data regarding the purpose, activities, and membership of their institutions. The writer is grateful to Mrs. Michael Rudella for transcribing tape-recorded data and to Mrs. Shirley M. Goodwin for the typing of this study.

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## VITA

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candidate for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Final examination, July 23, 1953, 2:00 P. M., Room 109 Morrill Hall.

Dissertation: Intermarriage Between Two Divergent Ethnic Groups  
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## CHAPTER I



## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Intermarriage is one of the most crucial tests of the process of assimilation, yet it is one of the most neglected areas of sociological research. In general, there is a lack of information about the rate of assimilation among the various ethnic groups in the United States. For example, little is known concerning the rate of assimilation of Slovaks and Swedes and the extent to which they intermarry. In the case of the Slovaks especially the information about assimilation is very limited. From careful and detailed study of the two groups, the Slovaks and the Swedes within a small community, and their tendency to intermarry, the student of sociology may gain a clearer understanding of the process of assimilation and the factors associated with it.

#### I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It is the purpose of this study to show the extent of assimilation between two divergent ethnic groups, Slovaks and Swedes, in Grassflat, a rural non-farm community in central Pennsylvania. Particular emphasis will be given to the nature and extent of intermarriage between the two groups. In order to show the degree and rate of assimilation between them, major emphasis will be given to:

- (1) their early interrelations in the settlement of Grassflat and



(2) their separate cultural solidarities (discussed in Chapter V); (3) the cultural change within each ethnic group and (4) the degree and rate of interethnic assimilation (discussed in Chapter IV); (5) the extent of their intermarriage in and outside the community of Grassflat (considered in Chapter VII); and (6) an attempt to predict future prospects of intermarriage within the community on the basis of present trends (discussed in Chapter VIII).

Importance of the study. First of all, some question might be raised concerning the use of intermarriage as an index of assimilation. Regarding this point, however, there are several writers, among whom are well-known social scientists, who indicate that intermarriage is a reliable index of assimilation. For example, Drachsler pointed out that:

A study of the facts of intermarriage offers a reasonably secure base from which to begin excursions into the elusive problem of assimilation. Several reasons would tend to confirm this view. Intermarriage, as such, is perhaps the severest test of group cohesion. Individuals who freely pass in marriage from one ethnic circle into another are not under the spell of an intense cultural or racial consciousness. Consequently, the greater the number of mixed marriages, the weaker, broadly speaking, the group solidarity. Moreover, such a test as this is quantitative. Statistics of intermarriage furnish concrete, measurable materials in a field where such data are as urgently needed as they are hard to secure.<sup>1</sup>

Dowd reported that:

Complete social assimilation cannot take place without racial amalgamation. Races that do not intermarry do not mingle freely socially, and without the stimulus of free social life complete assimilation or socialization is impossible....a complete assimilation of races will be impossible without intermarriage.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1920. P. 87.
  2. Jerome Dowd, "The Racial Element in Social Assimilation." American Journal of Sociology, 16:633, July-May, 1910-1911.



Brunner, who made an extensive study of interethnic marriages in rural farm areas, emphasized that:

It (intermarriage) is not, of course, an absolute test of so-called Americanization....Nevertheless, it may be taken for granted that the process of racial and cultural assimilation of an immigrant is hastened by marriage to a person whose parents are native-born....The extent to which people of the foreign-stock farm populations choose members of the native-stock group as partners in marriage should throw some light on the degree to which the solidarity of the foreign group is breaking down, and also on the degree to which its members have become socially acceptable to the natives.<sup>3</sup>

Davie listed intermarriage as one of the factors favoring assimilation. Concerning intermarriage, Davie reported that:

A final factor favorable to assimilation that may be mentioned is intermarriage. In fact, there is an interaction here, one process favoring the other. The greater the degree of assimilation, the greater the tendency to intermarriage. On the other hand, intermarriage, by increasing the number and intimacy of contacts, produces a rapid and profound change in sympathies and loyalties, and for this reason is greatly conducive to assimilation.<sup>4</sup>

Bossard reported that:

Marriage being so peculiarly intimate a relationship, intermarriage is a severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area.<sup>5</sup>

Indirectly related to the question of intermarriage as a reliable index of the assimilative process, Groves and Moore emphasized that:

Participation in culture is the key to assimilation. Indeed, assimilation is a process of acquiring divergent culture traits,

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3. Edmund deS. Brunner, Immigrant Farmers and Their Children. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1929. Pp. 75-76.

4. Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. P. 556.

5. James H. S. Bossard, "Nationality and Nativity Factors in Marriage." American Sociological Review, 4:792, December, 1939.



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and this can be done only through participation. Hence any factor which makes for fuller participation encourages assimilation. Any factor which limits or conditions the free access of a person or group to the culture of the area prevents his full and complete assimilation.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, Nelson referred to intermarriage as "the final test of assimilation."<sup>7</sup>

Probably in no country is a study of interethnic assimilation more important than in a country commonly referred to as the melting pot of the peoples of the world. In the United States are found representatives of many ethnic groups. Any contribution toward a better understanding of ethnic representations in this country and their participation in the assimilative process should be of value toward a better understanding of the larger society of which they are an integral part.

Drachsler, who in 1920 made one of the most extensive studies of assimilation in the United States, emphasized that we need more data which will have to be gathered "peacemeal, now for one community, now for another, now for this nationality, now for the other".<sup>8</sup>

Carpenter pointed out that:

Intermarriage between various ethnic groups in America is a question of commanding importance to the student of population problems. Not only does it control the ethnic make-up of future generations, but it also provides the most direct and powerful force by which the present and the next generation

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6. Ernest R. Groves and Harry Estill Moore, An Introduction to Sociology. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. P. 337.

7. Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area in Minnesota," American Journal of Sociology, XVI, No. 2 (March, 1943), p. 585.

8. Julius Drachsler, op. cit., p. 226.







may be welded together into a unified social and cultural amalgam--may, in short, be truly 'Americanized'.<sup>9</sup>

Writing in 1936, Davie emphasized that:

Despite the importance of the subject, practically no facts on intermarriage in the United States are available. Little is known of the extent of the fusion, of the rate at which it is taking place, or of the groups amalgamating quickly or slowly. Still less is known of the biologic effects in the actual cases of intermarriages, while the subtle interplay in mixed marriages of different types of mind and culture has thus far almost completely eluded the observation of the scientific student.<sup>10</sup>

Truxal and Merrill pointed out that "the national extent of mixed marriages is not known, and such data as we have are derived largely from individual case studies and small samples from urban population groups."<sup>11</sup>

Bossard emphasized that there are at least five reasons why a knowledge of intermarriage in the United States is important. Briefly, these reasons were:

1. Intermarriage is an index of the assimilative process.
2. Marriage being so peculiarly intimate a relationship, intermarriage is a severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area.
3. Intermarriage is an index of cultural similarities and dissimilarities in marriage.
4. The study of intermarriage aids us in building up an understanding of the structure and functioning of family life as well as of the selective factor on which it rests customarily.
5. In the study of personality problems, particularly those of children, much has been said in recent years of the cultural or sociological approach.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Niles Carpenter, Immigrants and Their Children. Washington, D. C.: Census Monograph VII, 1920, p. 431.

10. Maurice R. Davie, op. cit., p. 289.

11. Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill, The Family in American Culture. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.

12. James H. S. Bossard, op. cit., p. 792.



Nelson reported that:

"The melting-pot" as a figure of speech to describe the assimilation of the disparate elements in the American population has lulled us into complacency to the extent that very little attention has been given by students to what is the final test of assimilation--intermarriage. This is true especially with reference to the various nationality groups within the white race, particularly those from Northern and Central Europe.<sup>13</sup>

In 1951, Hollingshead wrote:

Our data clearly support the theory of homogamy, rather than heterogamy, but a generalized theory of the precise influence of cultural and individual factors on the selection of marriage mates remains to be formulated. This is an objective for sociologists to work toward.<sup>14</sup>

Slovaks in the United States deserve special study with regard to the extent of their assimilation and rate of intermarriage because past studies, purporting to be concerned with Slovaks, may contain significant inaccuracies because of confusion as to the identity of Slovaks. Drachsler, for example, listed the following nationalities in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Austria (Bohemians, Germans, Poles, and Jews) and Hungary (Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, and Jews).<sup>15</sup> Yurchak called attention to the misuses of the word "Slovak" when he pointed out that in this country "Czech" and "Slovak" frequently are regarded as synonymous.<sup>16</sup> As will be pointed out later, the terms are not synonymous.

Brown and Roucek pointed out that statistics concerning the number of Czech and Slovak immigrants in America is uncertain. They wrote that

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13. Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

14. August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15:619-627, October, 1950.

15. Julius Drachsler, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

16. Peter P. Yurchak, *The Slovaks*. Whiting, Indiana: Obrana Press, Inc., 1947, p. 24.



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"many who were reported as Slav, Slavish, Slavic, Slavonian--the 1910 Census registered 35,195 such--should have been credited to Slovaks."<sup>17</sup> During the course of the study the writer has learned that many Slovaks in Grassflat reported themselves as "Austria-Hungary" upon entering the United States!

Finally, although studies of assimilation of different ethnic groups have been made, a very limited number dealt with Slovaks and Swedes as distinct ethnic groups.

Data contained in this study were gathered from both field and documentary sources, particularly the former. The major portion of data was obtained by the writer who served in the capacity of a participant observer in the community which was studied. The main sources of data which were studied were: individual interviews, tape-recorded interviews with selected subjects who represented three generations of Slovaks and Swedes, and a questionnaire which was given to 53 Slovak and 17 Swedish children enrolled in Grades 7 through 12 and their parents.

Documentary sources which were consulted were: personal diaries, church records of local and non-local marriages, ledgers of local organizations, and Slovak and Swedish newspapers. The writer also studied the two following special bulletins of the Lutheran Churches in Grassflat:

Lindgren, The Reverend Edward A., Our Lutheran Chimes  
(The Golden Anniversary Issue, Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church), Vol. 7, Aug.-Dec., 1950. 19 pp.

Lindgren, The Reverend Edward A., Our Lutheran Chimes  
(The Sixtieth Anniversary Number, Nebo Lutheran Church), Vol. 1, Sept.-Oct., 1944. 29 pp.

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17. Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek, One America. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945, p. 148.



A detailed description of method of procedure and sources of data is presented in Chapter III.

Limitations of the study. The following are possible limitations of the study:

1. Much of the data of this study was obtained from field sources received through the use of attitude questionnaires. Some question might be raised, for example, as to the reliability of responses given to the items by pupils enrolled in Grades 7 through 12, particularly the earlier grades. It is important to emphasize, however, that competent elementary and secondary school principals administered the questionnaires to these subjects. They followed detailed directions and suggestions given them by the writer in order to obtain the most reliable responses possible from both groups of school subjects and their parents.

2. As other research has shown, the term "Slovak" has not always been used correctly. Certain references herein quoted may not properly distinguish between various groups of people commonly referred to as Slav. This instance will be pointed out by the writer when the quotation is used.

3. The writer was a former resident of the community which was studied; therefore, the interpretation of data herein presented might lack certain degrees of objectivity regarding both the ethnic group of which he was a member, the Slovaks, and the Swedish people. On the other hand, several years of residents outside the community and extensive study in social science helped to offset tendencies toward personal bias.



Definition of terms used. With only a few exceptions, terminology employed in this study is that usually found in sociological research. The four following terms are defined because they are used less frequently than others, or they have been defined in various ways in sociological research:

Slovaks. Slavic people from Moravia or Slovakia who are usually regarded as Western Slavs. The Slovaks who are one of the ethnic groups of this study are immigrants from Slovakia.

Intermarriage. A marriage between a bride and groom who differ in race, religious faith, economic class, or national origin, or any combination of these characteristics. Although other differences between spouses have been classified as mixed marriages, such as age, size, intelligence, previous marital status, and others,<sup>18</sup> intermarriage as used in this study is primarily limited to religion and national origin.

Mixed Religious Marriage. Marriage between a bride and groom one of whom does not subsequently become converted to the faith of the other.

Mixed Convert Marriage. A marriage between a bride and groom one of whom subsequently becomes converted to the faith of the other.

The hypotheses to be tested in regard to the assimilative process between the Slovak and Swedish populations which were studied in the community of Grassflat, Pennsylvania, may be stated as follows:

1. Religion is more important in precluding intermarriage than other aspects of ethnic background.

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18. Henry A. Bowman, Marriage For Moderns. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942, pp. 164-198.



2. The degree of cultural solidarity within a particular ethnic group to a large extent determines the rate of exogamy of its members. The greater the degree of cultural solidarity the lesser the rate of exogamy of its members will be.

3. The rate of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes is greater among the upper and lower economic classes than the middle class.

4. The rate of intermarriage with other religious and nationality groups by both Slovaks and Swedes tends to increase with their mobility to urban areas.

Data contained in Chapters VI and VII are primarily concerned with hypotheses 1 and 2. Chapter VII deals with both hypotheses 3 and 4. Chapters IV and V give a detailed description of the context in which the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes took place.



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## CHAPTER II



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The studies most closely related to research under consideration were analyzed in terms of: (a) the general rate of intermarriage among urban and rural populations, (b) sociological factors related to the incidence of intermarriage, and (c) a comparison of intermarriage incidence among certain Slovak and Swedish populations. The results are summarized in the following paragraphs.

#### The General Rate of Intermarriage Among Urban and Rural Populations

Barron<sup>1</sup> reported the following tabulated summary (Table I) of studies regarding the general rate of intermarriage among urban populations during the period 1870-1940. Statistics for urban populations as presented in Table I on the following page indicate that inmarriage, rather than intermarriage, is still the predominant pattern of the populations studied. These statistics, however, are inadequate for determining the rate of intermarriage of specific ethnic groups. Where statistics indicate a relatively high rate of intermarriage, it cannot be assumed that each ethnic group in the population had contributed a proportionately equal share of participation in intermarriage; nor is a relatively low rate of

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1. Milton L. Barron. People Who Intermarry. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946, p. 121.



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TABLE I\*

SUMMARY OF STUDIES OF THE AMOUNT OF ETHNIC  
INTERMARRIAGE IN GENERAL

Student	Locale	Period	Intermarriage Rate Per 100 Marriages
Kennedy	New Haven, Conn.	1870 1900	8.80 24.07
Drachsler	New York City	1908-1912	14.00
Wessel	Woonsocket, R. I.	1926	21.20
Barron	Derby, Conn.	1929-1930	30.85
Kennedy	New Haven, Conn.	1930	34.20
Barron	Derby, Conn.	1940	25.94
Kennedy	New Haven, Conn.	1940	36.36
Nelson	Wright County, Minnesota	1943	31.75

\* See footnote 1.

intermarriage to be interpreted as meaning that each ethnic group in the population had intermarried at a low rate.

In her study of the New Haven population, Kennedy reported that the percentage of Italians, Irish, and Poles, intermarrying with British-Americans, Scandinavians (including Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), Germans, and Jews, was as follows:

1870.....	4.65%
1900.....	14.22%
1930.....	17.95%
1940.....	16.92% <sup>2</sup>

2. Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39:333, January, 1944.



When intermarriage within each of these two major groups was studied, the rate of intermarriage was found to be considerably higher.

Hollingshead, who studied the New Haven population in 1948, concluded that "ethnicity within a religious group has been a very potent factor in influencing the mate selection process in both the parental and the present generation, but it was stronger a generation ago than it is now."<sup>3</sup> The intraethnic marriage rate among 271 Catholics was 151 to 120 interethnic marriages. The intraethnic marriage rate among 61 Protestants was 21 to 40 interethnic marriages. Among the 66 Jewish couples no interethnic marriage took place. These data seem to support Kennedy's "Triple Melting-Pot" theory that interethnic marriages take place frequently, but that these marriages take place within the same religious group. As Hollingshead summarized, "Kennedy's and our data show that we are going to have three pots boiling merrily side by side with little fusion between them for an indefinite period."<sup>4</sup> This means that Catholics, Protestants, and Jews may frequently intermarry with different nationalities, but they show a strong tendency to marry within their own religious groups.

Drachsler reported that:

Viewing the phenomenon of amalgamation in the broadest way, namely, that of fusion among persons of different generations (referring to "nativity" and "parentage group"), the first striking fact that appears is that almost three-fourths of the intermarriages, both among men and among women take place between persons of the same generation. That is, the first generation tends to intermarry with the first, the second with the second."<sup>5</sup>

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3. August B. Hollingshead, op. cit., p. 624.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Julius Drachsler, op. cit., p. 103.



Barron concluded in his study of the Derby population that "in-marriage practice of the people of various foreign and American communities, including Derby, demonstrates that generally in our time it is in the mores to inmarry racially, religiously, and ethnically."<sup>6</sup> Less than one-third of the Derby population intermarried during the period 1929-1930, and little more than one-fourth of the population intermarried in 1940.<sup>7</sup>

Among the studies of rural populations, that of Brunner deserved major consideration. Brunner studied 44,643 marriage-license applications in the states of New York, Wisconsin, and Nebraska for the period 1921-1925. Five ethnic groups were studied in terms of intermarriage rates. It was found that the Anglo-Saxons ranked first in Nebraska and Wisconsin, with Scandinavians ranking first in New York. Germans were second in Nebraska and Wisconsin and third in New York. The differences between the rates of "Teutons" and Scandinavians were very small. "Latins" ranked fourth, and "Slavs"<sup>8</sup> ranked fifth in all three states. With the exception of the Anglo-Saxons in Nebraska and New York, and the Scandinavians in New York, intermarriage rates were less than fifty per cent.<sup>9</sup> In common with Wessel's study of Woonsocket, Rhode Island,<sup>10</sup> Drachsler's

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6. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 324.

7. Ibid., p. 121.

8. The Slavic group was made up overwhelmingly of Poles in New York and of Czecho-Slovaks in the west.

9. Edmund de S. Brunner. Immigrant Farmers and Their Children 1920. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1927, p. 85.

10. Bessie B. Wessel. "Comparative Rates of Intermarriage among Different Nationalities in the U. S." Eugenical News, 15 (1930), pp. 105-107.



study of New York City,<sup>11</sup> Brunner found a tendency for intermarriages to increase with the second and third generations of foreign stock.<sup>12</sup>

Nelson's study of nationality groups in a rural area of Minnesota (Wright County) in 1943 indicated a general rate of intermarriage of 31.75 per 100 marriages. A closer analysis of intermarriage rates indicated a considerably higher intermarriage incidence within certain groups as shown in the following data:

Group	Percent Of Intermarriage Within Groups <sup>13</sup>
3 largest (Germans, Swedes, Finns)	71.9
3 next largest (French, Irish, Polish)	57.9
4 smallest (English, Dutch, Norwegian, and Bohemian)	50.5

DePorte's study of intermarriage in New York State (exclusive of New York City) is one of the best sources of intermarriage statistics for comparing various ethnic groups. He divided the foreign-born population into two large groups for comparative purposes. It was found that the number of marriages to foreign-born by grooms of Group A (natives of Great Britain, Ireland, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Canada) increased from 59 in 1916-1918 to 84 in 1929, while the number of marriages to foreign-born by grooms of Group B (natives of Austria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia) decreased from 314 to 65. Among the brides we note the same movement--a rise in Group A from 73 to 116, and a decline in

11. Julius Drachsler, op. cit., p. 132.

12. Edmund de S. Brunner, op. cit., p. 86.

13. Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1943, Vol. XLVIII, p. 591.



Group B from 1253 to 197. "Because of the decrease in the volume of immigration, the supply of foreign-born brides and grooms was correspondingly depleted. Therefore, the foreign-born, in increasing numbers, were obliged to turn their eyes and hearts to native-born."<sup>14</sup>

During the period 1927-1929 DePorte reported that:

Among foreign-born men, the larger proportion of marriages was with foreign-born women, followed in numerical order by marriages with native-born of foreign parentage, native parentage, mixed parentage. Among foreign-born women, the nativity of their grooms was in the following order: foreign-born, native-born of native parentage, foreign parentage, mixed parentage. The majority of the native-born brides of foreign-born men were of foreign parentage, while the numerically largest class of native-born grooms of foreign-born women were of native parentage.<sup>15</sup>

Bossard's study, another excellent source for comparing intermarriages of various ethnic groups, especially on the basis of nativity, was made of 70,000 marriages in New York State (exclusive of New York City) in 1936. Bossard disclosed that "one half, 48.7%, of all marriages were intermarriages in that they crossed either a nativity or a nationality line, or both."<sup>16</sup> It was interesting to compare the results of this study with that of DePorte. Bossard also divided the foreign-born population into Groups A and B similar to those of DePorte. He found that Group A, consisting of natives of northwestern European countries and Canada, married into the old native stock much more than did the more culturally different countries of southern and central European countries. Of almost 70,000 marriages in New York State in 1936, 37.8% were

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14. J. V. DePorte, "Marriages in the State of New York with Special Reference to Nativity," Human Biology, 3:381, September, 1931.

15. Ibid., p. 394.

16. James H. S. Bossard, op. cit., p. 794.



internativity marriages.<sup>17</sup> "In 1941, the tendency toward intermarriage showed a considerable increase, with two-thirds of all foreign-born brides marrying grooms of native birth and three-fourths of foreign-born grooms marrying native brides."<sup>18</sup>

The extent to which the incidence of ethnic intermarriage varies was shown by Wessel's study of Woonsocket, Rhode Island where of all marriages consummated in the United States in 1926, only 21.20% were intermarried ethnically. In regard to the extent of intermarriage according to generation, Wessel reported that of those marrying in the United States:

12.1% of all first generation individuals have intermarried,  
20.9% of all second generation individuals have intermarried,  
40.0% of all individuals of native birth of native parentage as well as those who had one native born parent and one foreign-born parent have intermarried.<sup>19</sup>

Wessel also reported that "individuals from foreign language groups who intermarry in the first generation favor another foreign language group rather than an English speaking group. Study of foreign-born parents revealed that the British and Irish ranked first in outside marriages, 32.4 and 21.8 per cent respectively, while French Canadians intermarried at the rate of 7.8; Slavs, 7.2; Italians, 7.1; and Jews, 1.8%."<sup>20</sup>

Pilhblad's historical study of Swedes in Kansas indicated that "in the early days of the colony intermarriage by Swedes was uncommon, but now it is quite frequently practiced by the newer generation of Swedes....

<sup>17</sup>. Ibid., p. 796.

<sup>18</sup>. Ibid., p. 797.

<sup>19</sup>. Bessie Bloom Wessel, op. cit., p. 106.

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<sup>19</sup>. Bessie Bloom Wessel, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>20</sup>. Loc. cit.



The cultural heritage of Sweden among these people is rapidly disappearing. The language has already almost disappeared. Inter-marriage with non-Swedish people is rapidly making the third generation of mixed descent."<sup>21</sup>

Statistics provided by Truxal and Merrill give an idea of the extent of intermarriage between native-born and foreign-born which might take place in the future. They reported that:

In 1920, the foreign-born numbered 14.5 per cent of the population; by 1930, this percentage has declined to 12.7; in 1940, it had shrunk to 9.7. Barring any large-scale immigration, the National Resources Planning Board estimates the number will be less than 5% in 1960 and only 1% by 1980. The virtual cessation of immigration for almost two decades had obviously dried up this source of new population, especially those in the marriageable age group. The foreign-born population is an aging group, rapidly becoming grandparents and watching their grandchildren become assimilated into American culture.<sup>22</sup>

Summary. In terms of the research data presented for urban and rural populations, the following general conclusions were drawn: Inter-marriage, rather than intermarriage, is still in the mores of populations herein reported. In general, however, the rate of intermarriage is increasing. Inter-marriage incidence tends to increase with the second and third generation. It also tends to vary with ethnic groups in different communities. The rate of intermarriage with the old stock white is less among southern and central European nationalities than among eastern and northwestern European nationalities.

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21. C. T. Pihlblad, "The Kansas Swedes," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 13:47, June, 1932.

22. Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill, op. cit., p. 612.



# Studies Dealing with Sociological Factors Related to Intermarriage Incidence

The sociological concept of multiple causation is useful in explaining the cause of intermarriage incidence. No one cause consistently leads to intermarriage. Causes affecting intermarriage always are a result of a combination of factors which are closely interrelated and interacting. Hence, studies of factors directly or indirectly related to intermarriage were analyzed in terms of the following: (a) sex ratio, (b) numerical size, (c) ethnic background, (d) length of residence and propinquity, (e) religious background, (f) economic background, and (g) other factors.

Sex ratio. It is commonly believed that a disproportional sex ratio within an ethnic group inevitably leads to intermarriage. Evidence both in support of and against this theory is available, however. Support of this theory was provided by Barron and Rosenquist. Barron found that some of the recent immigrant groups in Derby with a preponderance of males, a common situation, were led to intermarry.<sup>23</sup> Rosenquist reported that Swedes in Texas, allegedly because of a scarcity of women within the group, have intermarried considerably with "outsiders".<sup>24</sup> Barron also reported the observations of a Baptist minister in Shelton (neighboring community of Derby) who revealed that women outnumbered the men in his parish and also intermarried more frequently.<sup>25</sup>

23. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 265.

24. Barron, loc. cit., citing Carl M. Rosenquist, "Linguistic Changes in the Acculturation of the Swedes of Texas," Sociology and Social Research, Jan.-Feb., 1932, Vol. XVI, p. 223.

25. Barron, loc. cit.



Studies which indicate that a disproportional sex ratio alone does not lead to intermarriage were made by Drachsler, Silcox and Fisher, and Barron. Drachsler reported that:

... if the factor of sex ration alone determined intermarriage, women in the group would have no occasion to intermarry at all. Where the first generation of Austrian Poles, Slovaks, Irish, Bohemians, Finns, French, Norwegians, and Swedes has had a preponderance of marriageable men over women, the proportion of intermarriage by women in those groups was higher.<sup>26</sup>

Silcox and Fisher have shown that despite the fact that in Canada, excluding Quebec, in the period 1921-1930, there were more Catholic males than females, more Catholic women intermarried than Catholic men.<sup>27</sup> Barron reported that a sex ratio in a group predominantly male or female does not always lead to the excessively numerous sex intermarrying more frequently than the other sex. He found this to be the case in a British group in Derby.<sup>28</sup>

Numerical size. Briefly stated, the theory of numerical size is that numerically small groups must of necessity intermarry. This interpretation of intermarriage incidence was expressed by Anderson, Nelson, and Panunzio. Anderson interpreted the incidence of Italian intermarriage in Burlington "as a practical necessity, since they were few in number."<sup>29</sup> Panunzio gave the same interpretation for American Indian intermarriages

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26. Julius Drachsler, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

27. Claris E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher, Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, p. 249.

28. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 251.

29. Elin Anderson. We, Americans. A Study of Cleavage in an American City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, p. 189.



in Los Angeles.<sup>30</sup> Nelson reported intermarriage rates were higher where Germans, Swedes, and Finns were minorities.<sup>31</sup> Adams maintained that:

... if, in a community of as great homogeneity as can be found, the people were divided into three alphabetic groups, one with sixty per cent of the population, one with thirty, and one with ten per cent, one would find that the rates of in-group marriage would vary directly with the size of the group. Assuming that the alphabetical grouping involved no preference factor and that the three groups were normal in their age-sex ratios and otherwise, one would expect that, in the 60 per cent group about sixty per cent of the men would marry women of their own group simply because 60 per cent of all the women would be of that group, etc.<sup>32</sup>

Barron, on the other hand, reported that Jews, relatively small in numbers both in Derby and elsewhere, would be expected to intermarry at high rate. He reported:

Actually, they have one of the lowest intermarriage rates of all groups due to the overwhelming influence upon themselves and Gentiles of many other factors, mostly cultural, which inhibit intermarriage.<sup>33</sup>

Barron also reported:

A general inverse correlation existed between intermarriage incidence and size of group, both ethnic and religious, and a direct correlation with respect to breadth of selection and size. The larger groups ranked among the groups lowest in intermarriage rates and highest in breadth of selection. Conversely, the smaller groups ranked among the groups highest in intermarriage rates and lowest in selection.<sup>34</sup>

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30. Constantine Panunzio. "Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-33," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1942, Vol. XLVII, p. 698.

31. Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage Among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1943, Vol. XLVIII, p. 589.

32. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 274, citing Romanzo Adams. Inter-racial Marriage in Hawaii. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. 34-35.

33. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 269.

34. Ibid., p. 271.



Drachsler's interpretation goes beyond the mere consideration of numerical size. He claimed that:

If fusion goes on in the bigger city, then a fortiori, it will go on in the smaller place. All that is known of community life in minor centers and in rural districts tends to confirm this view. The more intimate contact with the much smaller native population, the heightened economic ability to marry, due to a less severe competition in earning a living, the lack of stimuli for a group consciousness (such as a large massing of the foreign born, the presence of intensely nationalistic leaders, the existence of communal institutions such as the press, the theatre, and special social welfare agencies meeting the needs of the immigrants apart from the general community) all these strongly suggest such an opinion, until evidence is presented to the contrary.<sup>35</sup>

Ethnic background. One of the major conclusions drawn from studies thus far presented was that there is a great tendency toward intra-nationality marriages. It was found that intra-nationality marriages were particularly characteristic of earlier generations.

Bossard<sup>36</sup> and DePorte<sup>37</sup> reported the tendency of certain southern and central European nationalities to intramarry rather than intermarry with native old stock.

Hollingshead<sup>38</sup> and Kennedy<sup>39</sup> reported a high rate of intra-nationality marriages in New Haven, Connecticut.

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35. Julius Drachsler, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

36. James H. S. Bossard, "Nationality and Nativty Factors in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, 4 (Dec., 1939), p. 796.

37. J. V. dePorte, "Marriage in the State of New York, with Special Reference to Nativty," *Human Biology*, Vol. III, 1931, p. 389.

38. August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, Oct., 1950, Vol. 15, #5, p. 622.

39. Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39, (January, 1944), p. 332.



Bossard's study of 70,000 New Yorkers indicated:

A marked tendency for the native-born whites of native-born parents to marry among themselves. The percentages were 72.7 and 70.1 for men and women, respectively....The native-born of foreign parentage tend to marry among themselves with percentages of 50.4 and 49.0....About one third of foreign-born men and almost half of foreign-born women, married within their own nativity class.<sup>40</sup>

Barron pointed out that even in cases of the ethnically inter-married, nationalities of northern and western Europe on the one hand, and southern and eastern European on the other, selected mates whose European countries of origin or descent were located in the same area as their own.<sup>41</sup>

Silcox and Fisher emphasized that in intermarriage a common language is very important. Frequently intermarriage does not occur among ethnic groups isolated from potential marital selections due to their inability to speak a common language.<sup>42</sup>

Drachsler emphasized that the rate of intermarriage depends upon the extent of forces which promote ethnic solidarity and integration.

Forces tending to strengthen immigrant community life (are):

1. Geographic massing of immigrant population.
2. Stimulus by intensely nationalistic leaders, aided by crises in the fortunes of either the group in America or of the parent-group in the home-land.
3. Presence of numerous types of communal organizations ministering to the economic, educational and moral needs of the immigrants.
4. Personal affiliation with communal enterprises.
5. Transmission, through systematic education, of the cultural heritage of the group to the growing youth.
6. Conscious attempts by the thinkers of the group to formulate a theory of group-adjustment to American life.<sup>43</sup>

40. James H. S. Bossard, *op. cit.*, p. 794.

41. Milton Barron, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

42. Claris E. Silcox and Golen M. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.

43. Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation*, pp. 118-119.



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<sup>41</sup> Milton Barron, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>42</sup> Claris E. Silcox and Golen M. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>43</sup> Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation*, pp. 118-119.



As Hollingshead pointed out, religion and ethnicity are not easily isolatable, and as a result, the reason for the lack of intermarriage often accredited to the religious factors may be due to ethnic factors.<sup>44</sup> (Religious background will be discussed on pages 25-28.)

Length and propinquity of residence. Drachsler reported that the frequency of mixed marriages increased in direct proportion with the length of the stay in the United States. The longer the period of one's residence in this country, the longer the period for the process of assimilation.<sup>45</sup>

Barron claimed that:

All other factors being equal, the longer a group's residence and the older its nativity in the United States, the greater is its incidence of intermarriage. Conversely, the shorter its period of residence and the younger its nativity, the lesser is its intermarriage incidence.<sup>46</sup>

Pihlblad noted that intermarriage was uncommon by Swedes in the early days of the colony, but that the new generation practices intermarriage quite frequently.<sup>47</sup>

Barron found that:

In 1929-1930 in 26.5 per cent of the ethnic inmarriages in Derby, the premarital residences of both groom and bride were in Derby.<sup>48</sup>

In 1940 in 25.9 per cent of the ethnic inmarriages both groom and bride had premarital residences in Derby.<sup>49</sup>

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44. August B. Hollingshead, op. cit., p. 624.

45. Drachsler, op. cit., pp. 130-131.

46. Barron, op. cit., p. 279.

47. Pihlblad, op. cit., p. 34.

48. Barron, op. cit., p. 285.

49. Ibid., p. 287.



Davie and Reeves reported that almost two thirds of all New Haven residents getting married in that city in 1931 lived within twenty blocks of each other.<sup>50</sup>

Other studies by Bossard<sup>51</sup> and Koller<sup>52</sup> of populations in Philadelphia and Columbus, Ohio, have shown quite conclusively that the propinquity factor was important in selection of marriage mates.

Johnson wrote that:

We are beginning to discover that nationalities grouped themselves geographically in the initial years of settlement to a much greater degree than has been commonly recognized....Such geographic concentration tends to reinforce cultural isolation and facilitates the preservation of cultural diversities. In such rural areas it is quite likely that the assimilative process would be less active in an urban area, even where comparable ethno-geographic concentration occurs.<sup>53</sup>

Religious background. As has been pointed out earlier, it is difficult to discuss how ethnicity is related to the selection of a marriage mate apart from religion, because ethnicity and religion often are so closely related. In studies of the New Haven population during the period 1870-1940 by Kennedy and during 1948 by Hollingshead, both reported that ethnicity within a religious group has been a very important factor in influencing mate selection in both the parental and present generations,

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50. Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," American Journal of Sociology, 44:514, January, 1939.
  51. James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," American Journal of Sociology, 38:219, September, 1932.
  52. Marvin R. Koller, "Residential Propinquity of White Mates at Marriage in Relation to Age and Occupation of Mates, Columbus, Ohio, 1938 and 1946," American Sociological Review, 13: #5, October 1938, p. 614.
  53. Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," Rural Sociology, VI, No. 1 (March, 1941), pp. 16-34.



but stronger a generation ago than it is now. Kennedy concluded that "while strict endogamy is loosening, religious endogamy is persisting and the future cleavages will be along religious lines rather than along nationality lines as in the past."<sup>54</sup> A similar conclusion was reported by Hollingshead.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, Thomas questioned the "triple melting-pot" theory. From his study of the population of the State of Connecticut, he concluded that intermarriage by Catholics occurred much more frequently than reported by Kennedy and Hollingshead. He reported that the New Haven population was very atypical of the population of Connecticut.<sup>56</sup>

With reference to the population of New York City in 1920, Drachsler concluded that ethnic intermarriages largely were channeled by religious barriers. This was particularly true of marriages by nationalities of southern and central European countries on the one hand, and northern and northwestern nationalities of Europe on the other.<sup>57</sup>

Barron's study of Derby, Connecticut, Nelson's of Wright County, Minnesota, and Brunner's of rural populations of New York, Nebraska, and Wisconsin reported a high rate of ethnic endogamy was attributed in part of the association of nationality and religion in single nationality churches.<sup>58</sup>

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54. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 232.

55. Hollingshead, op. cit., p. 624.

56. John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," American Sociological Review, 16:488, August, 1951.

57. Julius Drachsler, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

58. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., pp. 302-303, citing Lowry Nelson, "Inter-marriage among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1943, Vol. XLVIII, p. 590, Edmund de S. Brunner, Immigrant Farmers and Their Children, New York: Doubleday Doran and Co., 1929, pp. 63-64.



A common faith was reported as a factor facilitating intermarriage between Spanish and Portuguese in Hawaii by Adams, between Irish and Italians in Boston and New York by Marino, between Irish and French Canadians in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, by Wessel, and between various ethnic groups in Burlington by Anderson.<sup>59</sup> Barron reported that:

In 31.75% of the total number of intermarriages in Derby in 1929-30 and 1940 which were at the same time religious intermarriages and in which both mates had premarital residences in the community, the groom and bride attended the same church.<sup>60</sup>

Silcox and Fisher found that in Northern cities where the majority of Catholics differ from Protestants in ethnic stock, degree of education, and economic status as well as religion, there is comparatively greater difficulty involved in intermarriage between the two major groups.<sup>61</sup>

Landis' study of parent marriages of students enrolled at Michigan State College revealed that among 305 mixed marriages 113 had tried to solve conflict by accepting the other's religion. There were 56 Protestants who changed to Catholic, and 57 Catholics who changed to Protestant. Children followed the religion of the faith adopted by the couple in ninety-five per cent of the cases. Landis also reported that

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59. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 305, citing Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937, p. 186, John H. Mariano, The Italian Contribution to American Democracy, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1921, p. 27, Bessie Bloom Wessel, An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, R. I., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931, p. 149, and Elin Anderson, We Americans. A Study of Cleavage in an American City, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. 200-201.

60. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., p. 302.

61. Claris E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher, Catholics, Jews and Protestants, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, pp. 35-36.



mothers assumed the major responsibility for providing religious training of children in mixed marriages.<sup>62</sup>

Both Landis<sup>63</sup> and Schnepf<sup>64</sup> found that children of mixed marriages tended to marry those outside their religious group more often than did children of in-group marriages.

Studies of attitudes toward mixed marriages of religion were made by Landis<sup>65</sup> and Baber.<sup>66</sup> Both found that the attitudes of Catholic and Protestant young people toward mixed marriages seemed increasingly tolerant. Parents were reported to be more conservative in their attitudes. Landis found that Protestants were more tolerant of mixed religious marriages than were Catholics. Baber made no distinction between the three major religious faiths on this issue.

Economic background. From his study of 10,635 intermarriages, Drachsler concluded that:

...more than two-thirds of the intermarriages among men and over 60% among women take place in the higher economic classes. The largest number of intermarriages are those between persons who are neither on the lower nor the higher culture level, but on the middle or mediocre culture plane. Thus, three-fourths of the men who intermarry are found in the occupation groups corresponding to the middle level, namely, in commerce and trade, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and in personal and domestic service, while only about 10% are professional men and about 12%

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62. Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, pp. 144-45.

63. Ibid., p. 138.

64. Gerald J. Schnepf, "Three Mixed Marriage Questions Answered," Catholic World, 156, (Nov., 1942), p. 205.

65. Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, op. cit., p. 138.

66. Ray E. Baber, Marriage and the Family, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, pp. 149-53.



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62. Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, pp. 144-45.

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65. Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, op. cit., p. 138.

66. Ray E. Baber, Marriage and the Family, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, pp. 149-53.



unskilled workers. The same is true of the women who intermarry, almost 87% of them being found in the middle occupation and culture groups.<sup>67</sup>

Barron classified each marriage participant according to the data on his or her marriage license in one of six socio-economic groups. Table II which was constructed by the writer from data gathered by Barron<sup>68</sup> showed quite conclusively that the economic factor was decisive in the process of mate selection.

TABLE II  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND MATE SELECTION  
IN ETHNIC IMMARRIAGES AND INTERMARRIAGES IN DEBY,  
1929-30 AND 1940

Classes Apart	1929-30 Couples per 100 m.		1940 Couples per 100 m.	
	Immarrriages	Intermarriages	Immarrriages	Intermarriages
Same class	38.9%	38.1%	38.2%	21.6%
One	32.6	35.7	35.3	40.5
Two	15.8	19.0	16.7	13.5
Three	8.4	2.4	8.8	18.9
Four	3.2	4.8	.98	2.7
Five	1.1	0.0	0.0	2.7

Silcox and Fisher who made extensive studies of religious intermarriage both in Canada and United States claimed that the Catholic woman was more likely to choose the Protestant business man because of his economic status which generally is superior both in Canada and United States to that of the Catholic.<sup>69</sup>

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1. Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation, pp. 148-149.

2. Barron, op. cit., pp. 292-293.

3. Claris E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher, op. cit., p. 255.



Hollingshead reported that:

...the analysis of 1,008 marriages where husband, wife, and their families were residents of New Haven revealed that the class of residential area in which a man's or a woman's family home is located has a very marked influence on his or her marital opportunities. In 587 of these 1,008 marriages, or 58.2 per cent, both partners came from the same class of residential area. When those that involved a partner from an adjacent area were added to the first group the figure was raised to 82.8 per cent of all marriages.<sup>70</sup>

Thomas advanced a tentative hypothesis that intermarriage rates seemed to be closely related to social class of Catholics who intermarry. Table III<sup>71</sup> records percentages of mixed marriages found in the parishes, not the mixed marriage rate.

TABLE III  
RENTAL AREAS AND PERCENTAGES OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Rental Area	Percent of Mixed Marriages
Lower	8.5
Mixed Lower and Middle	9.1
Middle	12.0
Mixed Middle and Upper	16.3
Upper	17.9
Suburban	19.3

These statistics indicated a rather close relation between socioeconomic status and the intermarriage rate.

70. August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (October, 1950), p. 625.

71. John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 16. (August, 1951), p. 490.







Other factors. Data gathered by Schnepf<sup>72</sup> is adapted and presented graphically by the writer in Table IV to show the relationship between kinds of education of Catholics and kinds of marriages contracted in a certain eastern parish.

TABLE IV

MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY CATHOLICS EDUCATED IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS  
AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS PER 100 MARRIAGES

Catholic Education	Public School Education	Marriages Contracted
64	50	Catholic
29	39	Mixed
7	11	Invalid*

\* Marriages not recognized by the Catholic Church.

Schnepf's conclusion was:

Catholic children educated in public schools are more likely to enter into mixed marriages than children educated in Catholic schools since their religious education will not be so thorough and they will have fewer scruples against mixed marriages. Further, since they are thrown more into contact with non-Catholics, the chances are greater that they will select a non-Catholic mate in marriage.<sup>73</sup>

Ware<sup>74</sup> partly attributed Irish-Italian intermarriages to parochial school contact.

72. Gerald J. Schnepf, "Three Mixed Questions Answered," The Catholic World, CLVI (November, 1942), pp. 205-206.

73. Loc. cit.

74. Milton L. Barron, People Who Intermarry (Syracuse University Press, 1946), p. 297, citing Caroline F. Ware, Greenwich Village, 1920-1930, p. 135.







With reference to the factor of education, Marvin<sup>75</sup> investigated 500 Bryn Mawr alumnae in 1917 and found that ninety per cent had married college graduates.

Barron reported that "25 per cent of ethnically unmarried and 18.18 per cent of the ethnically intermarried in Derby met their prospective mates in school."<sup>76</sup>

Regarding the recreation factor, Barron pointed out that:

50 per cent of the ethnically unmarried people in Derby and 45.45 per cent of the ethnically intermarried had met their future mates at a recreative event, often with the help of mutual acquaintances. This was seen to be the most frequent form of meeting one's future husband or wife.<sup>77</sup>

Summary. Research data concerning sociological factors related to intermarriage incidence seemed to indicate the following conclusions: No one factor consistently leads to intermarriage. Intermarriage is the result of a number of factors which are interrelated and interacting. Both sex ratio and numerical size factors are closely related to intermarriage incidence, but independently they do not inevitably lead to intermarriage. Data of studies presented indicate a rather strong tendency toward intraethnic marriages. Data seem to indicate rather conclusively that the degree of ethnic solidarity within a group is an important factor in determining the extent of exogamy and endogamy which takes place. Ethnicity and religion, often closely related factors which characterize

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75. Milton L. Barron, loc. cit., citing Donald M. Marvin, "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," Publications of the American Statistical Association, 16 (Sept., 1918), p. 147.

76. Barron, op. cit., p. 298.

77. Ibid., p. 300.



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76. Barron, op. cit., p. 298.

77. Ibid., p. 300.



a particular group, were found to be important determiner of intermarriage incidence. Interethnic marriages occurred more frequently where a common religion was shared. The rate of intermarriage was also effected by other factors. A number of studies have shown that both length and propinquity of residence were closely related to the rate of intermarriage. The limited data concerning economic status as related to intermarriage incidence seem to indicate a rather close correlation between economic status and rate of intermarriage. The limited data concerning parochial school training and contact within parochial school systems also seem to indicate that these factors are important in promoting intrareligious marriages.

#### Studies Dealing With Intermarriage Incidence Among Certain Swedish and Slovak Populations

To the knowledge of the writer no study was made of intermarriage incidence in a community of which both Swedes and Slovaks were numerically largest. In most studies either one or both were numerically small. From studies already presented<sup>78</sup> the writer extracted data for Swedish and Slovak populations for purposes of comparison with regard to their rates of intermarriage.

Table V indicates a summary of studies of the rate of Swedish and of Slovak intermarriage.

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<sup>78</sup>. Milton L. Barron, op. cit., pp. 148, 150.



TABLE V  
COMPARISON OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH INTERMARRIAGE RATES

Author	Locale	Period	Rate of Intermarriage Per 100 Marriages	
			Slovak :	Swedish :
Drachsler (1)	New York City	1908-1912	Slovak :	21.98
			Swedish:	38.30
Barron (10)	Derby, Conn.	1929-30 <sup>1</sup>	Slovak :	0.00
			Swedish:	88.89
		1940 <sup>2</sup>	Slovak :	100.00
			Swedish:	0.00
Nelson (6)	Wright County, Minnesota	1943 <sup>3</sup>	Swedish:	51.61
Wessel (14) <sup>4</sup>	Woonsocket, Rhode Island	1926	Slavs <sup>5</sup> :	7.2
			Swedish:	32.77 <sup>6</sup>
				30.51 <sup>7</sup>
Kennedy (11)	New Haven, Connecticut	1870-1940	Scan. <sup>8</sup> :	57.35
		1930		66.27
		1940		81.54

<sup>1</sup> Slovaks had only two inmarriages and no intermarriages.  
Swedes had two inmarriages and eight intermarriages.

<sup>2</sup> Slovaks had no inmarriages and one intermarriage.  
Swedes had neither an inmarriage nor an intermarriage.

<sup>3</sup> No Slovak population was reported.

<sup>4</sup> Wessel's study which was not included in the original table is found in Wessel, op. cit., pp. 105-107.

<sup>5</sup> Only foreign-born parents are included. "Slavs" here refers to people other than just Slovak.

<sup>6</sup> Data refers to marriages performed both abroad and in the United States.

<sup>7</sup> Data refers to marriages performed only in the United States.

<sup>8</sup> Scandinavian countries were studied as a single group. No Slovak population was reported.



Of all students who had made studies of populations in which both Swedes and Slovaks were relatively large numerically, Drachsler and DePorte reported most extensively concerning their rates of intermarriage. A study of all marriages both of Swedes and Slovaks in New York City in 1906-1912 indicated that the rate of intermarriage per one hundred marriages was 38.30 for Swedes and 21.98 for Slovaks. When only marriages by the first and second generations were considered the rate of intermarriage for Swedes was 31.04 and 14.09 for Slovaks. The latter statistics referred to 652 marriages contracted by Swedes and 507 marriages contracted by Slovaks. Among Slovaks, the per cent of increase in intermarriage of the second generation over the first was 324.0. Among Swedes, the per cent of increase of the second generation over the first generation was 275.6.<sup>79</sup>

The following table<sup>80</sup> shows the number of distinct nationalities with which Swedes and Slovaks intermarried. In comparison with fifty-seven other nationalities, Swedes were consistently above average in terms of the number of distinct nationalities with which both men and women of the first and second generations intermarried. While Slovak men of the first and second generations were slightly below the average in this respect, Slovak women of both generations were well above the average. In brief, Swedes exceeded Slovaks in terms of the number of distinct nationalities

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<sup>79</sup> . Julius Drachsler, op. cit., p. 264.

<sup>80</sup> . Julius Drachsler, op. cit., (Fifty-seven nationalities were listed in the original table. Only data regarding Slovaks and Swedes were extracted for comparison here.)



TABLE VI

NUMBER OF DISTINCT NATIONALITIES WITH WHICH SLOVAKS AND SWEDES  
INTERMARRIED DURING 1908-1912, NEW YORK CITY

Nationality Intermarrying	Number of Different Nationalities With Which		Number of Different Nationalities With Which	
	1st.Gen.M.	2nd.Gen.M.	1st.Gen.F.	2nd.Gen.F.
	Intermarried		Intermarried	
Slovak	11	4	32	11
Swedish	19	12	30	13
Average number of nationalities with whom 57 nationali- ties intermarried:	12	6	12	6

with which they intermarried, except in the case of first generation  
Slovak women who intermarried slightly more than Swedish women.

The women of both ethnic groups intermarried with a greater number  
of distinct nationalities than did men. The difference between the Slovak  
sexes was greater than that between Swedish sexes. Briefly, in proportion  
to the total number of marriages contracted, it was quite evident that  
Swedes intermarried with more distinct nationalities than did Slovaks.  
Swedes exceeded Slovaks particularly in the male category.

Drachsler's tabulated data<sup>81</sup> permitted a further comparison between  
Swedes and Slovaks in terms of the number of nationalities selected in

<sup>81</sup> . Eleven nations were included in the original table. Only data re-  
garding Scandinavian countries and Hungary were extracted for purpose  
of comparison.



intermarriage by persons of the second generation (native born of foreign parentage). In the table ranking forty-eight different nationalities in terms of their selection in intermarriage with different nationalities, Swedish women ranked number nine while Slovak (Hungary) women ranked lower as number sixteen. Swedish women were selected by men of twelve out of thirty-six different nationalities while Slovak women were selected by men of eight out of thirty-six nationalities. On the other hand, a comparison of Swedish and Slovak men revealed that Swedes ranked eight while Slovaks ranked eighteen. Swedish men were selected by women of thirteen out of twenty-nine nationalities while Slovak men were selected by women of six out of twenty-nine nationalities. The average selection by women of all nationalities was 6.46 and 6.04 by men of all nationalities.<sup>82</sup>

DePorte's tabulated data<sup>83</sup> of marriages to foreign-born per 100 marriages to native-born permitted comparison of Swedes and Slovaks-- although not as precisely as was desired by the writer. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (treated as a single group) showed a much greater preference for native-born than foreign-born when compared with Hungary or Austria. What number listed under "Hungary" or "Austria" was actually Slovak was not given. As mentioned earlier (see page 6), what meaning should be given to "Austrian", "Hungarian", "Slav", "Czech", and "Slovak" is not

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<sup>82</sup> . Drachsler, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>83</sup> . J. V. DePorte, "Marriages in the State of New York with Special Reference to Nativity," Human Biology, 3 (Sept., 1931) No. 3, p. 360. (Eleven distinct nationalities were listed in the original table. Only Scandinavian countries, Hungary, and Austria were extracted for purpose of comparison here.)







clear because immigrants from central Europe upon entering this country were not accurately reported as to place of emigration. Nevertheless, the writer compared Swede and Slovak in terms of "Scandinavian" and "Hungary-Austria" classifications, assuming that some degree of relationship was present.

TABLE VII

MARRIAGES TO FOREIGN-BORN PER 100 MARRIAGES TO NATIVE-BORN  
BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF BRIDES AND GROOMS: STATE OF  
NEW YORK (EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY), 1919-1929\*

Country of Birth	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
<u>Brides</u>											
Scandinavia	114	124	144	176	122	177	190	175	147	203	211
Hungary	608	285	464	481	262	424	218	245	139	126	188
Austria	590	319	468	222	283	250	200	222	124	166	135
<u>Grooms</u>											
Scandinavia	79	85	63	79	69	88	95	88	83	71	98
Hungary	353	258	217	315	242	304	114	112	90	98	86
Austria	242	184	250	177	168	118	104	125	66	86	77

\* See footnote 83.

During the period 1916-1918 Hungarian brides married a total of 1,124 foreign-born grooms, while Austrian brides married 925 foreign-born grooms. During the same period Hungarian grooms married a total of 730 foreign-born brides, and Austrian grooms married 484 foreign-born brides. No data were available for the Scandinavian group during this period. During the period 1919-1929 the total number of brides who married



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During the period 1919-1929 the total number of brides who married



foreign-born grooms was 1,783 for Scandinavian countries, 3,440 for Hungary, and 2,979 for Austria. During the same period the total number of grooms who married foreign-born brides was 896 for Scandinavian countries, 2,219 for Hungary, and 1,597 for Austria. If it was assumed that Swedes were reliably represented in the Scandinavian population and that Slovaks were reliably represented in the Hungary or Austria population, it was safe to conclude that Slovaks intermarried with native white much less frequently than did Swedes, that Slovak brides married foreign-born more frequently than did Slovak grooms, and that Swedish brides married foreign-born more frequently than did Swedish grooms.

Barron reported that the total number of marriages in 1929-1930 by Swedes was ten (two inmarriages and eight intermarriages) while Slovaks had only two marriages, both inmarriages. In 1940, Swedes had no marriages while Slovaks had only one intermarriage. In Derby, Connecticut, both Swedes and Slovaks were numerically small.<sup>84</sup>

Nelson's study<sup>85</sup> of Swedes in Wright County, Minnesota, revealed that Swedes, one of the three largest groups in the area, intermarried at the rate of 51.61 per cent per 100 marriages. Males intermarried more frequently than females. Table VIII indicates the distribution of Swedish marriages in Wright County in 1930. Nelson found the per cent of intermarriage within the group composed of Germans, Swedes, and Finns to be 71.9, as reported on page . No Slovaks were reported in Wright County.

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<sup>84</sup>. Barron, op. cit., p. 148.

<sup>85</sup>. Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage among Nationality Groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (March, 1943), p. 589.



TABLE VIII\*

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES BY SWEDES IN WRIGHT COUNTY, 1930\*\*

	Ger.	Swed.	Finn	Fr.	Ir.	Pol.	Eng.	Dut.	Nor.	Boh.
Husbands	35	120	9	4	6	0	4	1	15	1
Wives	23	120	4	3	6	0	3	1	10	3

\* Ten nationalities were listed in the original table (see footnote 85). Only Swedish husbands and wives were extracted for purpose of comparison here.

\*\* Total number of marriages was 195 and 173 for Swedish husbands and wives, respectively.

In a comparison of five ethnic groups in rural areas of New York, Wisconsin, and Nebraska, Brunner found the rates of intermarriage were highest for Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians (with small differences between them) and lowest for "Slavs". (The Slavic group was made up overwhelmingly of Poles in New York and of Czechoslovaks in the West.) Germans and "Latins" ranked between them, in that order.<sup>86</sup>

Brunner reported that:

The Slavic and Latin show least out-choice (intermarriage); and conversely, therefore, more in-choice. This is partly because these groups belong to the new immigration and are not as well adjusted to American rural life as are the northern Europeans ...Length of residence, then, is undoubtedly one of the factors that explain the lower proportion of out-choice among Slavic and Latin groups.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> - Brunner, op. cit., p. 85.  
<sup>87</sup> - Ibid., p. 86.



Wessel found the rate of intermarriage relatively low for Swedes in Woonsocket, Rhode Island where they were numerically small. Their rate of intermarriage was 30.51 per 100 marriages. Also small in number, the per cent of intermarriage among "Slavs" (foreign-born parents included) was 7.2. Wessel stated that Slavs prefer other Slavs when marrying out.<sup>88</sup> What number of Slavs were Slovak in this population was not given.

In Kennedy's study Swedes were observed as part of the larger European cultural and geographical unit, the Scandinavians. Exceptionally high rates of intermarriage were recorded: 57.35, 66.27, and 81.54 for the periods 1870-1940, 1930, and 1940, respectively. Furthermore, the intermarriage rate for Swedes, if treated separately, would have been higher, for undoubtedly many of them intermarried as Swedes but inmarried as Scandinavians.<sup>89</sup>

Summary. Research data concerning intermarriage incidence among certain Swedish and Slovak populations seemed to indicate the following conclusions:

The general rate of intermarriage is greater among Swedes than among Slovaks. The rate of intermarriage of the second generation is greater than that of the first generation among both Swedes and Slovaks. Swedes intermarry with more nationalities than do Slovaks, the difference between the men being rather great while that between the women was of little or no significance.

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<sup>88</sup> - Wessel, op. cit., p. 106.  
<sup>89</sup> - Kennedy, op. cit., p. 333.







Swedes marry native-born whites more frequently than do Slovaks. The rate of intermarriage by Swedes is exceptionally high is marriage to other Scandinavian countries (Denmark and Norway) is counted. The fact that Slovaks belong to the new immigration and that their period of assimilation in America is comparatively shorter may be a factor in explaining the difference in their rates of intermarriage.



### CHAPTER III



## CHAPTER III

### METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND SOURCES OF DATA

Research data which were already presented regarding the incidence of intermarriage among various populations particularly urban, were obtained almost exclusively by compilation of data from secondary sources, namely, official statistics of state and municipal governments and church records. For the most part, interpretations regarding the rates of intermarriage were based on an analysis of documentary sources.

This study is a case study of Grassflat, a rural non-farm community in central Pennsylvania. Data were gathered by a participant observer who employed both controlled and non-controlled research techniques. The central theme of the study involved an analysis of the nature and extent of assimilation, especially as indicated by intermarriage incidence, among Slovaks and Swedes, who, in that order, constituted the two largest ethnic groups in the community.<sup>1</sup>

Data were gathered from both field and documentary sources.<sup>2</sup> The major portion of data was gathered from field sources. For a discussion of the method of procedure and sources of data the content which follows is classified into three parts: (a) description of the participant

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1. See Table IX on page 69.

2. For a discussion of field and documentary sources the reader is referred to Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1949. Pp. 160-162.



observer, (b) the field sources which he utilized, and (c) the documentary sources which were analyzed.

#### Description of The Participant Observer

The writer's parents were Slovak emigrants from Presov, Czechoslovakia. His father came to this country in 1891 and his mother in 1893. Not unlike many other Slovak and Swedish immigrants who came to Grassflat, his father worked in the coal mines for a certain period before it was possible to send sufficient savings for the family's transportation to America. The writer's father was among the first Slovaks to settle in Grassflat.

The writer, last child in a family of five, was born in Grassflat, where he received his elementary education in the public school. Secondary education was obtained in a consolidated school, three miles from Grassflat, which also served eight other communities within the surrounding areas. These communities were composed of a number of distinct ethnic groups; Swedes resided in four of them and Slovaks in three. From the age of six to sixteen the writer also attended Slovak Catholic Catechism School in Grassflat, where he was taught to read and write Slovak, and was given a Catholic education.<sup>3</sup>

After graduation from State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, fifty miles away he returned to Grassflat for three years. During

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3. Slovak Catholics attended Catechism School on Saturdays during the public school period. During the summer months of both elementary and secondary school years they attended Catechism School three days per week.







the first two years he was teacher of social studies in junior high school in a nearby community, the students of which were largely Slovak and Swedish. The third year he was teacher of social studies in the high school of the same community. There he taught both Slovak and Swedish students from Grassflat. During his long residence in Grassflat, the writer became acquainted with virtually all Slovaks and Swedes in the community.

Throughout his high school and college years, the writer spent his summer vacations working with both Slovaks and Swedes in coal mines and brickyards in and near Grassflat.

The writer married a woman of Pennsylvania Dutch-Swedish descent who was formerly of Lutheran faith. She became Catholic before marriage.

The writer has thus had considerable first-hand experience with the area in which the study was made and with the problem involved.

#### Field Sources Utilized by the Writer

During the past ten year period of employment outside the state of Pennsylvania, the writer returned to live in the community during seven summers. He had not lost contact with residents of the community for any long period of time. The major portion of the data for the study, however, was gathered in the summer of 1951, at which time the writer and his family lived in the community. While in the community during the summers the writer and his family participated as full-fledged members in virtually all community functions, both Slovak and Swedish.



The content of the information derived from field sources was divided into several parts: (a) interviews with residents of the community, (b) tape-recordings of group interviews with selected samples of both Slovaks and Swedes, (c) survey of the community, (d) correspondence with selected residents in the community, and (e) attitude questionnaire.

Interviews with residents of the community. Early in the summer when this study was begun, the writer had a number of informal interviews with resident pastors, the justice-of-the peace, officers of local organizations, bartenders of the local tavern and clubs,<sup>4</sup> a brickyard superintendent from a nearby community, a former coal company representative, the postmaster, and friends. These interviews were especially important for two reasons: first, they were instrumental in making it known to other residents that the study was being made; second, they were important sources from which initial data for the study were gathered. It should be emphasized that as a result of these key contacts a surprisingly large number of residents took the initiative in communicating with the writer and offering to assist him in whatever manner they could. As one bartender remarked, "The old people won't give you any rest now. Everyone wants to tell you about how the town got to be what it is today." During interviews with the persons mentioned above the writer had an opportunity to explain the purpose of the study. Interviewees were informed that the writer was interested in

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4. The community had one public tavern and two semi-public clubs. Hereafter the word "taverns" will be used to designate both the public tavern and the two clubs.



writing a history of the community, including ways in which the town and the people in it have changed.

Key persons in the community were interviewed in their homes. Other interviews with residents were held in many places under various conditions. A large number of subjects were interviewed at the local postoffice, the two general stores, the local motion picture theatre, and the three local taverns. Apart from the churches, these are the main social centers of both Slovaks and Swedes. The local taverns were particularly important to the writer as meeting-places with the elderly and retired residents of the community, both Slovaks and Swedes, who frequently dropped in for beer on their way to and from the postoffice or the general stores. Most of the relatively few residents who did not drink were interviewed at the postoffice.

Interviews with resident pastors were especially important. As a result, the Reverend Michael Tutokie, pastor of the local Slovak Catholic Church, and the Reverend Edward Lindgren, pastor of the local Nebo and Emanuel Lutheran Churches, announced to their parishioners on Sunday that the writer was in the process of preparing a history of the community, that a census was to be made, and that the writer would be contacting residents to assist him in making the study possible. They expressed their desire that parishioners cooperate in this project. Also as a result of interviews with these clergymen, the writer obtained pertinent data concerning the history of local churches, religious organizations, and marriages which had taken place in and outside the community among residents and former residents. Both pastors also provided the writer



with historical documentary sources pertaining to the churches of the community.

A number of interviews with the justice-of-the-peace were helpful in obtaining data concerning the governmental structure of the community as well as common problems referred to him by local residents.

Officers of local organizations were contacted in order to learn about the purpose, membership, and social functions of organizations which they represented. Particular emphasis was also given to their observations of relations between Slovaks and Swedes within these organizations. Key officers of all organizations in the community were interviewed. (For a description of these organizations see pages 152-3, 196, 263-4.)

As was mentioned earlier, local taverns were important social centers; therefore, bartenders were in a position to provide much valuable data concerning the patrons of the establishments in which they were employed. They also furnished the writer with many anecdotes concerning interethnic relations. Bartenders who worked during the day were generally free for interviews during the midmorning and midafternoon hours when business was "slow".

The brickyard superintendent, who lived in a nearby community but frequently came to Grassflat, was especially helpful to the writer. He supplied the writer with information concerning Grassflat residents employed at the brickyard, obtained past census data for Grassflat, and secured a map of the community from the county seat. He continued to keep the writer informed about the changing economic conditions in Grassflat.







Interviews with the local postmaster were helpful in obtaining data concerning membership in and functions of the local Boy Scout organization, of which he was scoutmaster. Because the postoffice was another social center in the community, he was able to give the writer important data concerning interethnic relations as he observed them.

The writer received historical data concerning the coal industries in and near Grassflat from a representative of the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company.

From his many Slovak and Swedish friends the writer obtained valuable data concerning those subjects best acquainted with particular information and the changes which had taken place in Grassflat during the writer's absence. They also made many suggestions which facilitated the research in several areas of the study.

Probably two particular reasons accounted for the success which this writer had in obtaining the cooperation of both key persons and others who were among the first residents interviewed: first, topics of a comparatively intimate nature--such as one's personal attitude toward members of another ethnic group, another religious group, or intermarriage--were not emphasized at the main problem of the study; second, because the writer was a full-fledged member of the community rather than a stranger, subjects did not feel inhibited in expressing themselves. During the course of initial interviews no obvious attempt was made to focus attention on the main problem, but subjects frequently introduced it themselves. For example, during the course of one informal interview at the postoffice, one elderly Slovak Catholic said:



Slovaks and Swedes get along much better than they used to back years (sic). I remember when they used to fight like cats and dogs everytime they met. Now some Slovaks marry Swedes. It's okay, just as long as they join our church, like your wife, but not the other way around.

Another informant asked whether the writer intended to write about both Slovaks and Swedes. When asked as to whether both should be included, the informant replied:

Oh, yes. because pretty soon they won't be Slovaks and Swedes. They'll be Americans like everyone else. They're both giving up their old ways and more marry one another than before.

It is important to note that during virtually all interviews the writer conversed with notebook in hand. The subjects expected their contributions to be "jotted down". They seemed to be pleased when the writer recorded their contributions in the notebook. This practice seemed to encourage them to speak even more freely because they felt their opinions, attitudes, and other information was valuable. Several of the elderly subjects spoke slowly and even paused now and then to make sure the writer had sufficient time to take notes. In several cases, elderly subjects said, "You better jot it down or you'll forget it".

After many of these exploratory interviews (referred to as "short talks" by residents) with various residents of the community, the writer then probed into the problem of intermarriage more directly. Initial interviews laid the foundation for a more thorough analysis of the problem of intermarriage in tape-recorded interviews which the writer conducted with selected samples of both Slovaks and Swedes.



Tape-recordings of group interviews with selected persons among both Slovaks and Swedes. Obtaining subjects for tape-recorded interviews was a relatively simple task. Everyone seemed to be interested in "making a record".<sup>5</sup> Recording one's voice was a rare opportunity and a novelty to those whom the writer selected for interviews. No doubt this was one of the strong motivating factors to several subjects interviewed.

A major portion of data from field sources was gathered through the use of structured tape-recorded interviews with several samples of both the Slovak and Swedish groups. A selected sample of three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes was interviewed. The first generation interviewed (foreign-born immigrants) consisted of four Swedes of Lutheran faith, two males and two females, whose ages were 74, 82, 75, and 78, respectively. The second sample of the first generation consisted of Slovaks of the Catholic faith, two males and one female,<sup>6</sup> whose ages were 77, 78, and 81, respectively. These Swedes and Slovaks were selected because they represented some of the earliest settlers in Grassflat. The years of their immigration ranged from 1885 to 1895. The Swedes lived in West Clymer, the section generally referred to by Slovaks as "the Swedish side". The Slovaks lived in Dobrytown (Good town), the section which was almost exclusively Slovak. The same series of questions was raised with both groups. Major topics of discussion were:

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5. At first, it was believed the writer was going to make disc recordings of interviews.

6. Illness prevented one Slovak female from being present.



1. History of the origin and development of Grassflat.
2. First impressions the ethnic groups had of each other.
3. Reasons for settlement in Grassflat.
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5. Early interethnic conflicts.
6. Factors in ethnic solidarity of Slovaks and of Swedes.
7. Factors in ethnic assimilation.
8. Personal attitudes toward intermarriage of Slovaks and Swedes.

These groups of Swedes and Slovaks were interviewed on successive days, in that order. The Swedish sample was interviewed at the home of the writer's parents-in-law who are of Pennsylvania Dutch and Swedish descent and of the Lutheran faith. The Slovak sample was interviewed at the home of the writer's parents who are Slovak and of the Catholic faith. It is important to note that the writer was invited to the homes of Swedish participants several times after the recorded interviews. As a result the writer had his first experience at a Swedish home coffee social. Such invitations are, to say the least, rarely extended to Slovaks.

The Slovak language was used in the interview with the Slovak sample. Two of the three participants were unable to speak English.

The second generation (native born of foreign-born parentage) consisted of samples of Swedish and Slovak married men.<sup>7</sup> The first of these two groups consisted of six Catholic Slovaks whose ages were 41, 41, 42, 43, 46, and 56. The second group interviewed consisted of five Swedes, two of whom were members of the Emanuel Lutheran Church, one a member of the Hebo Lutheran Church, one who belonged to the Hebo Lutheran but "rarely attends," and one non-attendant but one-time member of the Emanuel

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Slovaks and Swedes get along much better than they used to back years (sic). I remember when they used to fight like cats and dogs everytime they met. Now some Slovaks marry Swedes. It's okay, just as long as they join our church, like your wife, but not the other way around.

Another informant asked whether the writer intended to write about both Slovaks and Swedes. When asked as to whether both should be included, the informant replied:

Oh, yes. because pretty soon they won't be Slovaks and Swedes. They'll be Americans like everyone else. They're both giving up their old ways and more marry one another than before.

It is important to note that during virtually all interviews the writer conversed with notebook in hand. The subjects expected their contributions to be "jotted down". They seemed to be pleased when the writer recorded their contributions in the notebook. This practice seemed to encourage them to speak even more freely because they felt their opinions, attitudes, and other information was valuable. Several of the elderly subjects spoke slowly and even paused now and then to make sure the writer had sufficient time to take notes. In several cases, elderly subjects said, "You better jot it down or you'll forget it".

After many of these exploratory interviews (referred to as "short talks" by residents) with various residents of the community, the writer then probed into the problem of intermarriage more directly. Initial interviews laid the foundation for a more thorough analysis of the problem of intermarriage in tape-recorded interviews which the writer conducted with selected samples of both Slovaks and Swedes.







Tape-recordings of group interviews with selected persons among both Slovaks and Swedes. Obtaining subjects for tape-recorded interviews was a relatively simple task. Everyone seemed to be interested in "making a record".<sup>5</sup> Recording one's voice was a rare opportunity and a novelty to those whom the writer selected for interviews. No doubt this was one of the strong motivating factors to several subjects interviewed.

A major portion of data from field sources was gathered through the use of structured tape-recorded interviews with several samples of both the Slovak and Swedish groups. A selected sample of three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes was interviewed. The first generation interviewed (foreign-born immigrants) consisted of four Swedes of Lutheran faith, two males and two females, whose ages were 74, 82, 75, and 78, respectively. The second sample of the first generation consisted of Slovaks of the Catholic faith, two males and one female,<sup>6</sup> whose ages were 77, 78, and 81, respectively. These Swedes and Slovaks were selected because they represented some of the earliest settlers in Grassflat. The years of their immigration ranged from 1885 to 1895. The Swedes lived in West Clymer, the section generally referred to by Slovaks as "the Swedish side". The Slovaks lived in Dobrytown (Good town), the section which was almost exclusively Slovak. The same series of questions was raised with both groups. Major topics of discussion were:

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5. At first, it was believed the writer was going to make disc recordings of interviews.

6. Illness prevented one Slovak female from being present.



1. History of the origin and development of Grassflat.
2. First impressions the ethnic groups had of each other.
3. Reasons for settlement in Grassflat.
4. Slovak-Swedish relations in the coal mines.
5. Early interethnic conflicts.
6. Factors in ethnic solidarity of Slovaks and of Swedes.
7. Factors in ethnic assimilation.
8. Personal attitudes toward intermarriage of Slovaks and Swedes.

These groups of Swedes and Slovaks were interviewed on successive days, in that order. The Swedish sample was interviewed at the home of the writer's parents-in-law who are of Pennsylvania Dutch and Swedish descent and of the Lutheran faith. The Slovak sample was interviewed at the home of the writer's parents who are Slovak and of the Catholic faith. It is important to note that the writer was invited to the homes of Swedish participants several times after the recorded interviews. As a result the writer had his first experience at a Swedish home coffee social. Such invitations are, to say the least, rarely extended to Slovaks.

The Slovak language was used in the interview with the Slovak sample. Two of the three participants were unable to speak English.

The second generation (native born of foreign-born parentage) consisted of samples of Swedish and Slovak married men.<sup>7</sup> The first of these two groups consisted of six Catholic Slovaks whose ages were 41, 41, 42, 43, 46, and 56. The second group interviewed consisted of five Swedes, two of whom were members of the Emanuel Lutheran Church, one a member of the Nebo Lutheran Church, one who belonged to the Nebo Lutheran but "rarely attends," and one non-attendant but one-time member of the Emanuel

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<sup>7</sup> - Men were selected because both Slovak and Swedish families are predominantly patriarchal in their family structure. This patriarchal pattern is even more prevalent among Slovaks than Swedes.



Lutheran who married a Slovak Catholic bride.<sup>8</sup> Their ages were 36, 37, 37, 53, and 60. The members of each group were selected because they were fathers of children of or near marriageable age and because they lived in different sections of the community. Interviews with both groups were held in a private room of the Slovak Hall, a social center for both Slovak and Swedish members of the Jednota Social Club.

Topics of discussion with each group included the following:

1. Factors promoting ethnic solidarity among Slovaks.
2. Factors promoting ethnic solidarity among Swedes.
3. Ethnic changes among both Slovaks and Swedes.
4. Ethnic differences between Slovaks and Swedes.
5. Personal attitudes toward members of the other ethnic group, Slovak or Swedish, as co-workers, neighbors, and friends.
6. Personal attitudes toward Slovak-Swedish intermarriage.

The third generation (native-born of native parents) consisted of both boys and girls of or near marriageable age. The range in selection of participants from both Slovaks and Swedes was limited.<sup>9</sup> A number of those within the desired age group were not available at the time of the study.

The first group consisted of four boys whose ages were 17, 18, 18, and 19.<sup>10</sup> Three were high school seniors; one was a college freshman. All but one, who was a product of Slovak-Swedish intermarriage and Catholic, were Swedish and Lutheran. The second group consisted of four girls and one boy whose ages were 19, 19, 19, 20, and 16, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>. One member who was expected to attend was not present.

<sup>9</sup>. The total number of boys and girls within this age group was indeed limited as shown by Table IX on page 69, which gives a picture of various age groups among residents of the community.

<sup>10</sup>. Two girls were asked to be present but reported "last minute engagements."

<sup>11</sup>. One boy who was expected to attend was not present.



Three girls were high school graduates, one was a high school senior, and the boy was a senior. All members of this group were Slovak Catholics. Where numbers permitted a choice of subject, those who lived in different sections of the community were selected.

The first of these two groups interviewed, the Swedes, met at the home of the writer's parents-in-law. The second was interviewed at the home of the writer's parents.

The major topics of discussion with both groups of the third generation were:

1. Attitudes toward the community as a place in which to live.
2. Information concerning religious background.
3. Use of Slovak and Swedish language among the third generation subjects.
4. Personal attitudes toward members of the other ethnic group.
5. Personal attitudes toward dating of members of the other ethnic group.
6. Personal attitudes toward intermarriage of Slovaks and Swedes.

In addition to the series of six interviews with groups representing three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes, two other interviews were tape-recorded. The first interview was with three Swedes, two of whom were females aged 72 and 76, and a male aged 83. This interview took place at the home of the male participant three miles outside the community studied. These subjects were selected because of their keen interest in and knowledge of the history of Swedes in Grassflat. The male participant, a former resident of Grassflat, was one of its earliest settlers. The female subjects were residents of the community.

The last tape-recorded interview was with a Swedish male subject, unmarried, and 51 years of age. The subject was selected because of his unusually objective point of view concerning both Slovaks and Swedes



and his ability to recall various incidents from his own background of first-hand experience concerning the nature and extent of assimilation among Slovaks and Swedes. This interview was recorded at the home of the writer's parents-in-law, who were neighbors of the subject.

Survey of the community. As was mentioned earlier, the writer interviewed both local pastors who announced to their parishioners that a study and census of the community was to be made. This, no doubt, was a very important factor which accounted to a great extent for the cooperation residents of the community showed the writer. Upon request of the Reverend Michael Tutokie approximately fifty Slovak Catechism students remained in church following Sunday Mass and volunteered to help the writer by distributing census forms (see "Census Sheet" in Appendix, page 371) to their own homes, neighbors, relatives, and friends. Each form contained the surname of the family under investigation. They distributed and returned census forms of most Slovaks and a large number of Swedes. The forms were filled out by adults, not by the students who distributed them. Many forms were withheld so that the writer might have the opportunity to contact certain families with whom he wished to have an interview. Distributing the census forms gave the writer an opportunity to meet many residents whom he would not have met "up town,"<sup>12</sup> particularly the oldest residents. A number of census forms from Slovaks were not returned promptly because, as students reported, "the old folks can't

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12. The commercial center of the community where are located the post-office, the two general stores, the theater, and taverns.



understand English." The forms of these people were obtained after the writer contacted them, explained the purpose of the study and the census, and recorded the information requested concerning the family.

Distribution of census forms served the additional function of informing non-church goers and absentee parishioners that the study was being made. It also helped the writer to contact residents who were neither Slovak nor Swedish, residents who were equally cooperative in the study. As a result of the contacts the writer made for the purpose of obtaining census data, a surprisingly large number of residents at a later date took the initiative in visiting with him in order to give him information which they recalled after the initial meeting and which they thought was "good for the study of our town."

Correspondence with selected residents in the community. Pertinent data were obtained via correspondence with a few key persons of the community after the writer returned to Michigan. Correspondence was necessary to obtain certain data which were not available in the summer when the writer was in Grassflat. These data included up-to-date records of memberships of all local organizations, a road map of the community, additional historical information concerning both Slovaks and Swedes in regard to communities from which they emigrated, dates of certain marriages, and data concerning public education, transportation, road construction, and coal production in and near Grassflat.

Attitude questionnaires. A major portion of data was obtained through the use of two questionnaire forms (see Appendix pages 372 to 374), one of which was administered to Grassflat pupils enrolled in



grades seven through twelve and the other given to the parents of these students. Questionnaires were administered to Grassflat pupils by Mr. Burdett Larson, Principal of Cooper Township High School, and Mrs. Sara London, Principal of Winburne Elementary School. Parent forms were filled out by parents and returned to school by the pupils. The attitude questionnaires were administered in May, approximately eight months after the writer's return from the community studied.

A closed form of questionnaire was used. The pupil form consisted of seventy-one items, and the parent form consisted of forty-five. The first forty-two items of both forms were identical. They were used to get the individual's image of his own as well as of another ethnic group. Items regarding attitudes toward interfaith and interethnic marriage appeared on both forms. Remaining items on the student form were used to learn about intraethnic solidarities and interethnic assimilation, especially attitudes toward interethnic dating and marriage. A control sheet of seventeen items were used to identify students. Student and corresponding parent forms were numbered identically, facilitating a comparison of child and parent attitudes. Each form was preceded by a letter from the writer requesting an honest response to items, a prompt return of questionnaires, and an expression of gratitude for the assistance given.

A large majority of items used were constructed from data gathered through the use of tape-recorded interviews. A number of items were suggested by the writer's colleagues. Another source, Young's Scientific Social Surveys and Research,<sup>13</sup> an excellent source on research techniques

13. Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, pp. 463-478.







in the study of community and culture groups, was also consulted.

The questionnaire forms were given to all Grassflat students enrolled in Grades 7-12, inclusive, and their parents. Ninety-one student forms and ninety-one parent forms were given. Of this number, ninety-one pupil forms and eighty-nine parent forms were returned, filled out. This remarkable percentage of returns was probably due to two particular factors: first, the school administrators were exceptionally efficient and interested in helping the writer; second, because the writer had taught in these two schools before entering higher education, he was well-known to the parents of most of the students.

#### Documentary Sources Utilized by the Writer

Documentary sources related to assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat were very limited. Four secondary documentary sources were consulted. Swoope's Twentieth Century History of Clearfield County was the best source on Swedish immigration and settlement in Pennsylvania and the coal industries in and near Grassflat.<sup>14</sup> Two special issues of Lutheran Chimes, published quarterly by the Grassflat Nebo and Emanuel Lutheran Churches, were important sources on the origin and growth of the Swedish population and their church and religious organizations.<sup>15</sup> The Jednota, a Slovak Catholic weekly which was published by the First

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14. Roland D. Swoope Jr., Twentieth Century History of Clearfield County. Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Company, 1911. 981 pp.

15. The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren, Our Lutheran Chimes (The Golden Anniversary Issue, Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church), Vol. 7, Aug.-Dec., 1950, 19 pp.; Our Lutheran Chimes (The Sixtieth Anniversary Number, Nebo Lutheran Church), Vol. 1, Sept.-Oct., 1944, 29 pp.







Catholic Slovak Union of America, contained pertinent data concerning such topics as Slovak attitudes toward marriage, news about Slovaks in Pennsylvania, oversea reports of conditions in Slovakia, and brief sketches of Slovak history.<sup>16</sup> Our Sunday Visitor, a National Catholic weekly, which was found in virtually every Slovak Catholic home in Grassflat, was a valuable source of data on the Catholic point of view regarding various problems, including intermarriage.<sup>17</sup>

Five primary documentary sources were consulted. Ledgers of local organizations were studied to analyze membership trends. Personal diaries were useful in ascertaining dates of important events which took place in Grassflat. One farmer's "plow record book" contained the names of all "small lot farmers" who hired him during plowing seasons, dating from the earliest period of settlement in Grassflat. Other diaries contained interesting and valuable data concerning personal finance, birthdays of family members, tonnage of coal loaded day by day, and dates of marriages in the family. "Parish History" by the Reverend F. J. Simonik, the first Catholic priest in Grassflat, was a valuable source of information regarding the first Slovak Catholic parishioners. Its entries dating from 1900 to 1905 included dates and brief descriptions of the first mass which was held in Grassflat, the first baptism, the first burial, and the first formal meeting of Slovak Catholics which was held to discuss the building of a church. Names of earliest Slovak settlers were also listed.<sup>18</sup>

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16. Jednota. Middletown, Pennsylvania: First Catholic Slovak Union.

17. Our Sunday Visitor. Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc.

18. The Reverend F. J. Simonik, "Parish History" (St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Grassflat, Pennsylvania), 1902-1905.







Church records of the Reverend Michael Tutokle, the Catholic priest, were valuable sources of data regarding the number of parishioners, religious organizations, social functions of the church, religious education of children, and dates of marriages consummated by Slovak Catholics both in and outside the community of Grassflat. Personal communication with the writer was also an important source of data.

#### Summary

The writer was a participant observer in the community which was studied; therefore, he obtained much information and insight regarding the community and the attitudes of its inhabitants. A large portion of the data from field sources was gathered by means of informal and structured tape-recorded interviews, a census taken of the community, correspondence with selected residents, and attitude questionnaires given to pupils enrolled in Grades 7 through 12 and their parents.

Interviews with selected subjects were important in making the study known to residents of the community and in gaining their cooperation. The social centers of the community were important meeting-places in which selected groups representing three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes and two other tape-recorded interviews with Swedish adults were most important sources of data. Questionnaire forms given to both young subjects in Grades 7 through 12 and their parents were important in securing data concerning attitudes of the two ethnic groups toward each other.

The limited number of documentary sources which were available were useful in supplementing data received from residents in the community.



CHAPTER IV



## CHAPTER IV

### ORIGIN AND DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY STUDIED

To present a discussion of the origin and description of the community studied, namely, Grassflat, Pennsylvania, the data were classified under the following major topics: (1) origin of community, (2) composition of population, (3) ecological distribution of population, (4) industries, (5) family and kinship system, (6) other institutions, (7) class structure, and (8) neighboring communities.

#### Origin of Community

The community of Grassflat is one of several small coal-mining towns in Cooper Township, one of the youngest townships in Clearfield County. The county is "situated in the western foothills of the Allegheny Mountains, lying between the main ridge and the great secondary formation known as the 'Stony Mountains'."<sup>1</sup> The comparatively rapid settlement of Cooper Township had been due to the development of its coal and other mineral resources. Its population in 1887 contained only 375 taxables. This population was settled in Kylertown,<sup>2</sup> West Clymer (a south-eastern section of Grassflat), Winburne, and Peale.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Roland D. Swoope, Jr., Twentieth Century History of Clearfield County. Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Company, 1911, p. 19.
  2. A coal-mining community two and one-half miles from Grassflat.
  3. Winburne and Peale proper are three and two miles from Grassflat, respectively.



One of the oldest diaries the writer consulted, that of an elderly English farmer and resident of Grassflat, contained data concerning the origin of the name Grassflat. As was commonly known by elderly residents who were interviewed, Grassflat was named by coal-miners from Peale, then a thriving coal-mining town before the settlement of Grassflat, "who came across a flat grassy island in the fork of a creek near Cooper #1 Mine."<sup>4</sup> The coal miners living at Peale had to walk four to six miles to their place of work because the mines in and near Peale were becoming exhausted of coal, and the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company had started Cooper #1 Mine at a location which is today known as "Upper Grassflat" (a southern-most section of Grassflat). These were the main factors which accounted for the movement of population from Peale to Grassflat.

An overwhelmingly large portion of the population which moved from Peale into Grassflat was Swedes. Only a limited number of Scotch, Irish, and Slovaks were among the earliest settlers of Grassflat.

A tape-recorded interview with the first generation Swedes (mentioned on pages 63-65) was helpful in providing a background for the discussion of the settlement of Grassflat. Each of the four elderly Swedes was able to recall the early building of homes in Grassflat as residents of Peale left their company-owned houses and moved into the new community. This movement began to take place in 1884 when coal mines in and near Peale were rapidly becoming exhausted of coal and new mines were "opened" in

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4. Data from a personal diary. Data obtained from a former checkweighman for the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company indicated the Cooper #1 Mine was opened in 1884.



and near Grassflat. The following data were extracted from the original tape-recording:<sup>5</sup>

Writer: As I understand, before the settlement of Grassflat there was a place called Peale.

Mr. W: Oh, yes. Peale came first. There was quite a number of people living down there at that time. I was told there were about 300 houses at one time, but I don't know how exact that is because I did not count them....I know there were a lot of people there.

Writer: Was Peale larger than Grassflat is today?<sup>6</sup>

Mr. W: No, it wasn't any bigger and there weren't any more people, but their houses were closer together....Each one had just a little bit of a lot, but here some of them have acres. The whole town of Peale was probably bigger than Grassflat, but the amount of people would be just as much people as Grassflat.

Writer: How do you remember Peale, Mr. T?

Mr. T: Well, I remember Peale when I came over there in 1899. I stayed in Peale for a year. I remember when some of the first Slovaks came to the Peale Station. There were only about two or four Slovaks who lived in Peale. Some came before this but they didn't live in Peale. They lived up above Grassflat.

Writer: Who lived in Peale?

Mr. W: There were Swedes, Scotch, and Irish, and a few Germans....

Writer: How large was the Swedish group?

Mr. W: Mostly they were equal amounts among the Swedes, Irish, and Scotch....

Writer: Did people from each of these groups come to settle in Grassflat?

Mr. W: Yes, but mostly Swedes....The reason they came to Grassflat was in order to get a closer distance to the mines and they

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5. Real names of subjects are not used. Substitute names are used.

6. The current population of Grassflat is 784.



had the desire to want their own homes. Almost all the houses in Peale were owned by the company<sup>7</sup>....The Swedish people wanted their own homes. The Irish and Scotch didn't care so they left and went, a lot of them, up to places the company had up the line--Clymer, Rossiter, and Commodore.

Writer: Do you remember those days when the people started coming to Grassflat for the first time, Mr. T?

Mr. T: Yes. I was working in Grassflat at that time in the Grassflat mines. I don't remember that the Slavish people<sup>8</sup> were working in the Grassflat mines at that time. It was mostly Swedes, Irish, Scotch, but I don't remember any Slavish. The Slavish first started to work at the Knox Run Mine.<sup>9</sup> Then they came over more and more and started the mines--Moravin<sup>10</sup> and Pleasant Hill.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. W: Grassflat roads were lined up pretty much the same as today, and the Swedish people and the Slovak--the Swedish people lived on one side of the run<sup>12</sup> and the Slovak on the other.

Mrs. T: I remember that, the Slovak people living over there (pointing across the creek) and Swedes living on this side.

Mrs. F: I remember when I came here. I stayed here. We built our house right along the side of the road here. I remember when the T's<sup>13</sup> (Slovaks) were first building their cellar across the run.

Tape-recorded data from an interview with the first generation Slovaks concerning the same period of time also was helpful regarding the early impressions which Slovaks entertained regarding the settlement of Grassflat:<sup>14</sup>

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7. Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company.
  8. Swedes often refer to Slovaks as "Slavish people."
  9. Knox Run Mine was started in 1891.
  10. Refers to a section of Grassflat or the mine in that section. Moravin Mine was started in 1891.
  11. Refers to a section of Grassflat or the mine in that section. Pleasant Hill Mine was started in 1891.
  12. Refers to the small creek running through Grassflat.
  13. One of the earliest Slovak settlers.
  14. Substitute names are used.







Writer: As I understand, before the settlement of Grassflat there was a place called Peale. Do you remember that?

Mr. P: When we<sup>15</sup> came here there wasn't even one Slovak living there. We weren't there long. We got a job right away because there was work all over then.<sup>16</sup> At Knox Run, Grassflat, and Moravin, and Pleasant Hill they worked every day. After other Slovaks heard that we came and about work then they came slowly, the Slovaks came over.

Writer: Were there many Slovaks in Knox Run when you first came there?

Mr. P: Not even one, just the four of us.

Writer: Did you live at Peale?

Mr. P: Yes, I lived there about two months and we walked to the mines in Knox Run.<sup>17</sup> Then one of our friends got a house from B. Then he had a girl, built a house, and gave us the old house. We moved in and little by little more men moved in. Once there were twelve of us.<sup>18</sup> There were no more houses then. A lot lived in Peale.

Writer: How do you remember early Grassflat, Mrs. O?

Mrs. O: I came here because my man worked in the mines. When I came there were a few Slovaks, so I just mixed with my own kind of people...The Swedes lived on the other side of town and we on this side. The sulphur creek between us.

These recorded data pointed to the fact that Swedes were the first settlers in Grassflat and that "opening" of new mines which meant employment opportunities was a most important factor which brought about the migration to Grassflat. Writing about an earlier period, the Reverend S. J. Sebelius reported that:

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<sup>15</sup>. Two friends, my brother, and I.

<sup>16</sup>. Year 1888.

<sup>17</sup>. Knox Run is one and one-half miles from Grassflat.

<sup>18</sup>. The twelve men were boarders, most of whom were unmarried. The families of those married were still living abroad.







Nearly all the members of Nebo<sup>19</sup> belonged to a colony of people emigrating from the Province of Dalsland, Sweden, to this section of Pennsylvania during the last decades of the 19th Century. Their occupation in this country has been coal-mining. They settled first at McIntyre, Lycoming County (Pennsylvania), and numbered over 200 adult persons, and when the bituminous vein was exhausted there, the colony was transformed almost in a body to Peale, in Clearfield County, where the Nebo Church was organized in 1864. New mines were opened up at Grassflat, two miles away, and the colonists, greatly increased in numbers, followed their occupation thither and to points beyond, such as West Clymer,<sup>20</sup> Knox Run, Lanse,<sup>21</sup> Winburne, and Allport.<sup>22,23</sup>

Writing about a later period, the Reverend Mr. Lindgren reported that:

The membership (of Swedes in the Emanuel Lutheran Church at Grassflat) grew rapidly during the first years. When the church was built in 1904 the congregation had 136 communicants<sup>24</sup> and 213 children. In 1907 the communicant list reached its highest figure, namely, 177. From 1904 to 1926 the membership did not vary much. During those years the families had many children and the Sunday School was crowded. In 1927 many families moved to Jamestown (New York) and other large cities, due to lesser mine operations. In that year Emanuel lost 41 communicants, leaving 114 to carry on the great work of the Church. In 1928 the membership dropped to 71 communicants. Since then the number of members has remained about the same. We have in this year of jubilee (September 3, 1950) 90 communicants and 38 children.<sup>25</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Lindgren also reported concerning the Swedish membership in the Nebo Lutheran Church at Grassflat:

At this time (1901) the mines were busy and the Church was growing in membership. The congregation in these parts had the largest membership in 1906. That year Nebo had 395 communicants and 193

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19. One of the two Lutheran Churches in Grassflat.
  20. Name of one section of Grassflat.
  21. A Swedish community two and one-half miles from Grassflat.
  22. A small community on Route 53 which is five miles from Grassflat. No Swedes, but a few Slovaks lived there.
  23. The Reverend S. J. Sebelius, "On the Heights of Nebo," Our Lutheran Chimes, Volume 1 (Sept.-Oct.), Number 3, 1944, p. 6.
  24. One became a communicant at the age of thirteen or fourteen.
  25. The Reverend E. A. Lindgren, "History of Emanuel Lutheran Church," Our Lutheran Chimes, Grassflat, Pa., 7:12, Aug.-Dec., 1950.



children, a total membership of 508. Nebo was one of the strongest congregations in Western Pennsylvania. The Emanuel Church in West Clymer numbered 176 communicants and 156 children, a total membership of 332. Nebo, Emanuel, Libanon, and Gustavus Adolphus Churches, all in Cooper Township, had a membership together of 1,170. The Lutheran Church was strong here.<sup>26</sup>

From 1908 to 1924 the congregation remained about the same in numerical strength. For 1924 the congregation reported 359 communicants and 112 children in the Nebo Church. Beginning with 1924, families were leaving Grassflat for Jamestown, N. Y., Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other cities to seek employment, due to the fact that coal mining was on the decline. During the last 15 years the coal tonnage taken out has diminished gradually. Families have moved away, decreasing the membership of our Church. It now stands at 165 communicants and 77 children, total membership 242. Twenty years ago there were 359 communicants and 112 children.<sup>27</sup>

In September, 1950, the combined membership of the Emanuel and Nebo Lutheran Churches was 255 communicants and 115 children. Included in these figures are members from communities outside Grassflat: Lanse 16, Knox Run 10, and Kylertown 18. Also included are 12 Slovak Lutherans.<sup>28</sup>

The Reverend F. J. Simonik<sup>29</sup> reported 250 Slovak Catholics in Grassflat in November, 1904. This number consisted of 58 family heads, 126 children, and 66 boarders.<sup>30</sup> This population was considerably smaller than that of the Swedish. The Slovak Catholic population grew rapidly after 1904, until in 1951 the total number of parishioners belonging to

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26. The Reverend E. A. Lindgren, "Sixty Years of Nebo History," Our Lutheran Chimes (Sixtieth Anniversary Number), Grassflat, Pa., 1:10, Sept.-Oct., 1944.

27. Ibid., p. 13.

28. Data obtained in an interview with the Reverend E. A. Lindgren.

29. The Reverend F. J. Simonik, "Parish History" (St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Grassflat, Pennsylvania). Unpublished. 1902-1904.

30. "Boarders" will be discussed on pages 132-133.



the St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church was 415. The major portion of this number included children.<sup>31</sup>

Speaking of the period about 1903, one elderly Slovak subject reported that:

Once the Slovak and Swedish man came in (Grassflat) and got settled, got work, he let other people know and they came. People went anywhere for work, especially where he knew there was other Slovaks or Swedes. Once they came they came fast. They came when mines opened and left when they closed. You have to eat, you know. Yes, the Swedes were here, many of them, then Slovaks started coming in more.<sup>32</sup>

As was mentioned earlier by both elderly Slovak and Swedish subjects, the little creek which runs through the center of the eastern half section of the community was the dividing line between the Slovak and Swedish sections of Grassflat. The Slovaks built their homes on the north side of the "run," the Swedes on the south. This ecological pattern existed with virtually no changes for three decades. As one informant said, "the Slovaks had their own Slovensko (Slovakia), and the Swedes had their own Sweden."

#### Composition of Population

A census of the community indicated a total population of 784. Table IX presents a distribution of the population in terms of age, sex, religion, nativity, and national origin. First of all, it is important to note that only 17, or two per cent of the total population, were

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31. Data obtained in an interview with the Reverend Michael Tutokie.

32. Data obtained in an interview with an elderly Slovak subject who was one of the first Slovak farmers in Grassflat.



TABLE IX

POPULATION OF GROSSBLATT BY AGE, SEX, RELIGION, NATIVITY, AND NATIONAL ORIGIN, 1951

Age Group	Sex		Religion				Nativity		National Origin			
	Male	Fem.	Cath.	Luth.	Other*	None	For.	Nat.	Slov.	Swede	Other	Slo-Sw.
80-85	5	8	2	10	1	-	13	-	2	9	2	-
75-79	12	8	8	12	-	-	20	-	7	13	-	-
70-74	10	13	11	10	2	-	21	2	13	7	3	-
65-69	10	11	8	6	3	4	12	9	9	7	5	-
60-64	21	19	15	20	3	2	25	15	17	20	3	-
55-59	22	15	13	22	-	2	12	25	14	19	4	-
50-54	20	17	11	19	2	5	4	33	11	21	5	-
45-49	22	15	20	11	4	2	2	35	21	11	5	-
40-44	23	26	29	14	3	6	-	54	31	15	6	-
35-39	29	26	36	10	5	6	2	55	34	10	13	-
30-34	23	23	21	14	5	6	-	46	19	11	16	-
25-29	13	30	28	10	3	2	-	43	25	9	9	-
20-24	7	18	15	8	1	1	-	25	12	5	6	-
15-19	38	33	49	14	4	4	-	71	43	10	17	1
10-14	41	54	56	28	6	5	-	95	48	17	26	4
5-9	45	41	52	21	9	4	-	86	43	15	25	3
0-4	42	37	54	20	2	3	-	79	33	9	26	9
	386	396	428	249	53	54	111	673	362	208	177	17

\* "Other" religion refers to Baptist, United Brethren, and Filler of Fire.



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Slovak-Swedish, that is, products of Slovak-Swedish intermarriage.

Table X presents a distribution of this population by age and type of intermarriage of which they are products. These marriages will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

TABLE X

SLOVAK-SWEDISH POPULATION OF GRASSFLAT BY AGE  
AND TYPE OF INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriage Type									
	Slo-Luth. Male	Slo-Luth. Female	Slo-Cath. Male	Slo-Cath. Female					
	Sw-Luth. Female	Sw-Luth. Male	Sw-Luth. Female	Sw-Luth. Male	Mixed Convert <sup>1</sup>				
Family:	A	B	C2	D	E	F	G	H	
Age and Sex									
Group:									
15-19									
Male	-	-	-	-	1	-	-		-
Fem.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
10-14									
Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
Fem.	-	1	-	1	-	-	-		-
5-9									
Male	-	-	1	1	-	-	-		-
Fem.	-	-	-	-	1	-	1		-
0-4									
Male	1	-	-	-	-	3	1		-
Fem.	1	-	-	-	1	1	-		1
Religion of Children:									
Catholic	0	0	0	2	3	4	2		1
Lutheran	2	1	1	0	0	0	0		0

<sup>1</sup> Refers to a mixed convert marriage in which a Swedish Lutheran male who married a non-local woman and was converted to the Catholic faith.

<sup>2</sup> The Swedish Lutheran female was formerly a non-local resident.







Table IX indicates that Slovaks, 352 in number,<sup>33</sup> comprised almost one half (49%) of the total population; Swedes, 208, or 27%; and other nationalities, 177, or 23%. The latter group also included Slovak and Swedish admixtures. Table XI presents an age group distribution of "other nationalities."<sup>34</sup> It is important to note that the current Slovak and Swedish populations have changed considerably since the first decade of settlement in Grassflat. The current Slovak population is much larger than that of Swedes. This was not true in the earlier years of settlement. (See pages 62-64) No data were available concerning the population of nationality groups other than Slovaks and Swedes during the first decade of the present century.

In terms of nativity, the population included 111 foreign-born, or 14 per cent of the total population. Of this population, 53 per cent were Slovak; 42, Swedish; 5, Irish, English, and French. It is important to note that of the 56 within the age range 70-85, only two were native born.

Table IX indicates that the Catholic population comprised 54 per cent of the total population; Lutherans, 32; other religious groups, and non-church group, those who claimed membership in no church 7. The total Catholic population, 428, was composed of 362 Slovaks, or 65 per cent of the total number; 25 Slovak-other admixtures, or 6 per cent; 9 Pennsylvania Dutch, or 2 percent; and 2 Pennsylvania-Dutch-Irish,

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33. This number also included 20 Slovak Lutherans. These were the only Slovaks in the community who were not Catholic.

34. Throughout this study "other nationalities" refers to nationalities other than Slovak and Swedish.







TABLE XI

## AGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF "OTHER NATIONALITIES" IN GRASSLAV, 1951

Age Groups	Slo-Pa. Dutch	Slo-German	Slo-Irish	Slo-Italian	Slo-English	Sw-German	Sw-English	Sw-Pa. Dutch	Sw-Russian	Sw-Scottish	Pa. Dutch	English	German	Irish	French	Russian	Scottish	Italian	Pa. D-Irish	French-Bng.	French-Ger.	Totals
80-85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
75-79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
70-74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
45-49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
40-44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
35-39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	13
30-34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	6	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	16
25-29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	9
20-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
15-19	3	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	17
10-14	2	1	2	-	1	3	-	1	-	1	6	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	26
5-9	-	1	2	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	6	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	25
0-4	4	1	1	3	3	2	4	-	1	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	28
	9	3	6	3	5	10	10	2	1	3	46	30	19	13	2	2	1	1	3	7	1	177







TABLE XI

## AGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF "OTHER NATIONALITIES" IN GRASSLAT, 1951

Age Groups	Slo-Pa. Dutch	Slo-German	Slo-Irish	Slo-Italian	Slo-English	Sw-German	Sw-English	Sw-Pa. Dutch	Sw-Russian	Sw-Scotch	Pa. Dutch	English	German	Irish	French	Russian	Scotch	Italian	Pa. D-Irish	French-Eng.	French-Ger.	Totals	
80-85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
75-79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
70-74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
45-49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
40-44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
35-39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
30-34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	6	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	16
25-29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
20-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
15-19	3	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	17
10-14	2	1	2	-	1	3	-	1	-	1	6	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	26
5-9	-	1	2	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	6	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	25
0-4	4	1	1	3	3	2	4	-	1	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	28
	9	3	6	3	5	10	10	2	1	3	46	30	19	13	2	2	1	1	3	7	1	-	177







1 Swede (converted), 1 Italian, and 1 German or 1 per cent. These subjects attended the St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church at Grassflat. The remaining 27 or 6 per cent of the Catholic population attended the St. Severin's Catholic Church at Drifting. This group consisted of 22 Pennsylvania Dutch and 5 German subjects. The total Lutheran population, 249, was composed of the following ethnic groups:

185	74%	Swedes
20	8	Slovaks
11	4	Swedish-other admixtures
7	3	Pennsylvania Dutch
7	3	German
5	2	Slovak-other admixtures
5	2	English
2	1	Russian
2	1	English-Pennsylvania Dutch
1	-	Scotch
4	2	Slovak-Swedish
249	100%	

Three other religious faiths are found in Grassflat: United Brethren, Baptist, and Pillar of Fire. Thirty-four Grassflat residents were members of the Grassflat United Brethren Church. This number consisted of 13 English, 10 Dutch, 7 Slovak-Irish,<sup>35</sup> 2 French, 1 German, and 1 German-French. Fourteen Grassflat residents were members of the Forrest Baptist Church.<sup>36</sup> This number consisted of 7 Swedish-German, 4 German, and 3 Swedish. Finally, 5 Irish are members of the Pillar of Fire Church. The combined membership of the United Brethren, Baptist, and Pillar of Fire Churches was 53. There were 54 who claimed to be members of no church, parents and children included. This group consisted of 24 Swedish, 10

<sup>35</sup>. These Slovak-Irish were recent residents of Grassflat.

<sup>36</sup>. Forrest is a German settlement five miles from Grassflat.



[illegible]



English, 6 Irish, 7 English-French, 3 Pennsylvania Dutch, 1 French, and 1 German.

Table IX indicates a total male population of 388 and female population of 396. A closer observation indicates a very noticeable sex ratio difference in the 20-24 age group. The number of males in the armed forces accounted for this difference. Table XII presents an age group distribution of members of the armed forces in terms of ethnicity and religion. Representation by Slovak Lutherans, Swedish Lutherans,

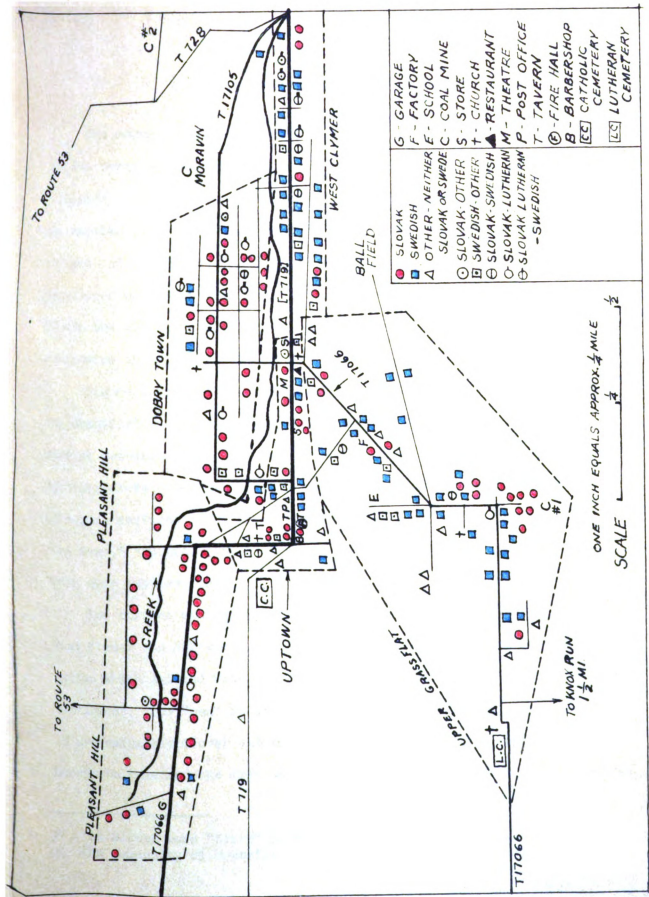
TABLE XII

MEMBERS BY NATIONALITY IN ARMED FORCES FROM GRASSFLAT (JUNE, 1951)

Age Group	Slovak Cath.	Slovak Luth.	Swedish Luth.	Other Nat'l Other Rel.	Totals
35-39	-	-	1	-	1
30-34	1	-	1	-	2
25-29	1	1	-	-	2
20-24	15	-	-	-	15
15-19	1	1	-	-	<u>2</u>
					22

and other nationality and religious groups is considerably smaller than that by Slovak Catholics because of their urban mobility. (See page 277 for a comparison of ethnic groups in terms of members in the armed forces during World War II.)







### Ecological Distribution of Population

The major portion of Grassflat lies in a valley which is surrounded on the north by oak and maple forest, on the east by pine reforested hillside, on the south by mountain laurel and huckleberry. On the west is another hilly range, the highest, from which one can get an overview of most of the community. Much of the natural scenic beauty has been destroyed by surface coal-mining operations which, as one resident said, "left the hillsides nothing but waste with towering stony and clay-mud mountains on which even huckleberries refuse to grow."

Figure I presents an ecological distribution of all household units in Grassflat according to ethnic origin. It also gives the location of social centers of the community, the churches, mines, roads, and the winding creek. As indicated, Grassflat is divided into five rather distinct sections. One lives "down West Clymer," "down Dobrytown,"<sup>37</sup> "up town," "up Grassflat," or "up Pleasant Hill." West Clymer and Dobrytown were settled first.<sup>38</sup>

The current ecological distribution of ethnic household units in West Clymer and Dobrytown still indicates a pattern of residential segregation which existed with only minor changes since the first decade of settlement. The "run" is still the dividing line between Dobrytown which is predominantly Slovak and West Clymer which is predominantly Swedish. Dobrytown remained the most unchanged section in terms of ethnic residence.

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37. The Slovak word "dobry" means "good."

38. The community of Grassflat was first known as West Clymer.



Slovak and Swedish subjects who were residents of different sections of the community were interviewed by the writer to gather data concerning a description of each section. For example, the writer obtained descriptions of Dobrytown from residents of Pleasant Hill, West Clymer, Uptown, and Upper Grassflat. This was done to obtain a more objective observation of particular sections. In each case, subjects were merely asked to describe the particular section concerned.

Slovak and Swedish subjects described Dobrytown as "the old Slovak section," houses "rather crowded together." "Yards are crowded with sheds and barns, many unpainted," and "yards shut in with old picket fences." "Most of the houses need repairs and painting." Dobrytown has "several dirt (unpaved) roads" or "alleys." "It's dusty when the cars go by." "Roads are really poor, even the macadam."<sup>39</sup> "Some have hedge fences along the road, now that nobody owns a cow."<sup>40</sup> A large majority of the Slovaks, "those who have good soil for gardening," plant their own potatoes, can a lot of beets, relish, corn, beans, and pickles. It's "the levellest part of Grassflat, with only small hills which make the roads bad in wintertime. Lots of parts it's hard to get out with the car." "It's pretty in summer because Slovaks like flowers, and they have lots of them in the front yard."

The total population of Dobrytown was 165. Of this number 68 per cent were Slovak, 5 per cent Swedish, less than 1 per cent Swedish-Slovak,

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39. The macadam road was constructed in 1928.

40. Most Slovak and Swedish residents owned cows until 1938 when pine trees were planted in Peale pasturelands.



and 26 per cent of "other nationalities."<sup>41</sup> All except the Slovaks were comparatively new residents in Dobrytown, moving in after 1930.

West Clymer, south of Dobrytown, is "the Swedish part of Grassflat." It's "the better and nicer part of town." "They have their houses along the macadam road, not crowded like Dobrytown." There are "fewer sheds and barns which are farther from the house (than those of Dobrytown)." The people have "nicely kept lawns, the prettiest in town." Their houses are "always nicely painted and some have colorful awnings." They don't have things "cluttered around the house." Most of the "old Swedes live there." The "macadam makes it a clean section, and almost nobody has to use dirt (unpaved) roads." The "road is good and people can get out easily, even in wintertime." "The people in West Clymer like flowers, too."

The total population of West Clymer was 97. Of this number, 54 per cent were Swedish, 2 per cent Slovak, 4 percent Slovak-Swedish and 22 per cent other nationalities.<sup>42</sup>

Upper Grassflat is the largest section in the community. Most of it is located on a hillside. Most of the houses are found "along the climbing macadam road." "The poorest soil is found there."<sup>43</sup> "It's stony,

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41. "Other nationalities" included 1 Slovak-Swedish, 2 Swedish-German, 1 Pennsylvania Dutch, 1 Slovak-Irish, 1 Irish-Pennsylvania Dutch, 1 English, and 1 Swedish household units.

42. Other nationalities included 1 Pennsylvania Dutch, 1 English-Swedish, 1 Pennsylvania Dutch-Swedish, 1 Slovak-Pennsylvania Dutch, and 3 Slovak-Swedish (2 Slovaks were not natives of Grassflat). 5% of the Slovak population in West Clymer is Slovak Lutheran.

43. Subjects emphasized gardens because a majority of residents in Grassflat raised their own potatoes and vegetables. Many work in gardens "when work is slack during the summer months."



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and so few people have good gardens." The part of Upper Grassflat "where the Nebo Church is located is the nice part, like parts of West Clymer where it's level." In this particular part one also finds "beautiful lawns and hedged-in front yards." The southern-most part of Upper Grassflat is the "least desirable place to live." "It's stony soil and the sulphur fumes and smoke from Cooper #1 Mine are terrible, bad for people with asthma." The "houses are crowded and small." In general, the homes in Upper Grassflat are "well kept, lawns are clean, property is well-spaced, like West Clymer." The macadam makes it "nice to get out and in with the car." Only a few people "who live 'off the road' have to use dirt roads." Farmers live in the western-most part of this section. These farmers "are not Slovak or Swedish" (English).

The population of Upper Grassflat was 198. Of this population, 45 per cent were Swedish, 29 per cent Slovak (only one per cent Slovak-Lutheran), 23 per cent other nationalities, and 3 per cent Slovak-Swedish.<sup>44</sup>

"Pleasant Hill is the first part of town a person sees when he drives into Grassflat." It is located in the narrow western end of the valley. Most of the "houses are built at the foothills on both sides of the sulphur creek." Pleasant Hill has "lots of barren, empty waste spots because of the creek and the mines." The soil in many parts "is too poor for gardening because of stone or sulphur creek." Many houses are "crowded together like Dobrytown." Many relatives live "close together like in

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44. Other nationalities included 2 Swedish-German, 2 Swedish-Russian, 1 Swedish-English, 4 English, 1 German, 1 Irish, 1 German-French, and 1 Pennsylvania Dutch-English households.



Dobrytown." The hillsides of Pleasant Hill "are prettier than in Dobrytown or West Clymer because no stripping (surface coal mining) is up there and there are farms close by." "The alleys are bad roads across the creek (north side of Pleasant Hill)." Most of the houses "are nice, and are off the road so it's not dusty like Dobrytown." "Many parts of Pleasant Hill are bad places to live, but not as terrible as Upper Grassflat mines part (southern-most section of Upper Grassflat)."

Pleasant Hill had a total population of 165, equal to that of Dobrytown. This section contained the largest Slovak population. Of the total population, 84 per cent were Slovak (less than two per cent Slovak-Lutheran), 10 per cent Swedish, 7 per cent other nationalities, and no Slovak-Swedish.<sup>45</sup>

Uptown is "the busy part of Grassflat." In this section, settled "along the main road" (Route 17066), are found the Slovak Catholic Church, Slovak Jednota Club (social club and tavern), barber shop, Loyal Order of Moose Club, Petro's Tavern (public tavern), postoffice, Humenik's General Store, Blue Star Theatre, restaurant, Swedish Lutheran Church (Emanuel Church), and Olseon's General Store, in that order from the west to the east. "More life here than any place because here is where people come to get their mail, groceries, and refreshments" (liquor and beer). Some of the "nicest homes are found there." "It's hard to buy property because it is more expensive and some landlords who live in the city won't

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45. Other nationalities included 1 Slovak-Pennsylvania Dutch, 1 Slovak-English, and 1 Pennsylvania Dutch households. Fifteen years ago the Swedish population was larger, consisting mainly of elderly folks who passed away or moved to the city to live with their children.







sell because they might come back to live here when they are old."

"It would look nicer if someone cut the bushes along the road, but nobody seems to care." Only a few people have gardens because lots are smaller. "The people are pretty mixed (different nationalities) there." People "have to walk on the road because there are not any sidewalks." The "state road" (macadam) "makes it pretty clean."

The total population of Uptown was 131. Of this population, 34 per cent were Slovak, 21 per cent Swedish, 3 per cent Slovak-Swedish, and 41 per cent other nationalities. Between 1925 and 1930 Uptown was predominantly Swedish. As mine operations decreased after 1930 and Swedes moved to the city, Slovaks purchased property and moved into Uptown.

In addition, 28 residents live in two areas which are not generally included as part of any of the five sections of Grassflat already mentioned. These are the non-designated areas in Figure 1. One of these areas was referred to as "those houses between Dobrytown and Uptown," the other as "the five houses by the woods." The former is located "near the creek, off the macadam road, and in a swampy place." The latter is located on the hillside, north of Dobrytown, where the soil is stony and people can't have gardens." The five houses which are of identical architectural design and were formerly company-owned houses were purchased from the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company when major mine operations decreased in 1938.

Of the total population in these two areas, 53.35 per cent were Swedish, 32.14 per cent Slovak, 7.15 per cent Swedish-English and Swedish-German, and 7.14 per cent Slovak-Swedish.



## Industries

Coal mining has always been the major industry in Grassflat. Generation after generation of Slovaks and Swedes worked in the mines, almost exclusively the only kind of employment available in the community. This was true also of earlier residents who first lived in Peale and later settled Grassflat.

The Tunelside Mines, located three miles south of Peale, were opened in the year 1883. Mine operations continued until 1891.<sup>46</sup> The opening of these mines was the major event which caused the Swedes from McIntyre, Pennsylvania, and later a limited number of emigrants from Slovakia, to settle in the vicinity of Grassflat and Peale. About the same time, another mine, Cooper #1, was started in the southern-most section of Upper Grassflat. This was the first mine within the immediate vicinity of Grassflat. Operations at Cooper #1 Mine continued until 1945.<sup>47</sup>

In 1891, three other mines were started. The Knox Run Mine, four miles south of Grassflat, continued operations until 1914. The Pleasant Hill and Moravin Mines, located in the northern part of Grassflat, continued operations until 1920 and 1908, respectively.<sup>48</sup> The beginning of operations at these mines meant unlimited opportunities for employment. Beginning of operations at the Pleasant Hill and Moravin Mines caused more Slovaks and Swedes to build their homes in Grassflat. It is in these

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46. Data from a former checkweighman for the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.



mines that most Swedes and Slovaks earned their first wages in America. It is here that Swedish and Slovak residents worked side by side for the first time as new immigrants.

In 1922, operations began at the Cooper #2 Mine, the largest coal mine in or near the vicinity of Grassflat. Mine operations continued from 1923-1938.<sup>49</sup> Residents of Grassflat and neighboring communities were employed there. (This was one of the main reasons why the macadam road was constructed in 1927.)

Coal mining also meant limited opportunities for employment in lumbering, another industry owned and operated by the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company. This industry served the function of supplying wood products used in mine operations. Only a limited number of men was employed in lumbering, seldom more than ten or fifteen men.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to coal mining and lumbering, a very limited number of residents was employed in clay mining. The Tunnelside Clay Mine was opened in 1918. A maximum of eight men was employed during the production years 1918-1945. Another clay mine, Mine #2, was started in Peale in 1940. This mine, still in operation, employs 17 men,<sup>51</sup> 8 of which are residents of Grassflat.

Except for a limited number who were employed in local stores, taverns, schools, and those employed outside the community, residents worked in the coal mines, clay mines, and lumbering in and near Grassflat

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49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Data from the president of the local clay miner's union.



until the year 1938. In that year mine operations at Cooper #2 ceased. This meant that those who did not find employment in the Cooper #1 Mine had to find work elsewhere.

A study of the employment situation of Grassflat household heads was made by the writer in the summer of 1951. These data were obtained at the same time the census of the community was made. A more current study of the employment situation was made through the use of questionnaire forms given to Grassflat students enrolled in Grades 7 - 12 inclusive. Each student was asked to indicate the occupation of his or her father. The results of these two studies are presented in Table XIII. It is important to note that a larger percentage of Slovaks than Swedes listed under "Total" and "Sample" were employed in coal mining. Two reasons in particular account for this difference. More Swedes than Slovaks who were formerly employed in the coal mines had moved from Grassflat, and more Swedes, formerly miners and company men, have been pensioned. A comparison of occupations engaged in by Slovaks and Swedes in other industries shows no significant occupational difference between the two ethnic groups.

The coal mines were outside the community of Grassflat, located within a five to twenty mile radius from the community. Those employed in the forest had to commute slightly farther distances. The surface coal operations ("stripping" operations) were five to ten miles from Grassflat. The Clarence brickyard is located fourteen miles from Grassflat, while the Winburne brickyard is only five miles from Grassflat. The Peale clay mine is the nearest place of work, located only four miles



# OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN GRASSFLAT CLASSIFIED BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

	Coal Mines	Forest	Surface Coal Operations	Brickyard	Clay Mines	Locally Employed <sup>3</sup>	Pensioned <sup>4</sup>	Unemployed	Relief	Other <sup>5</sup>	Totals
<u>Total<sup>1</sup></u>											
Slovak	35 33%	4 4%	3 3%	11 10%	3 3%	8 8%	27 26%	9 8%	2 2%	3 3%	105
Swedish	16 19%	2 2%	4 5%	2 2%	7 8%	7 8%	32 39%	5 6%	4 5%	4 5%	83
Other	7 18%	1 3%	2 5%	3 8%	6 16%	4 10%	6 16%	2 5%	0 0%	7 18%	30
											<u>228</u>
<u>Sample<sup>2</sup></u>											
Slovak	17 49%	5 14%	1 3%	4 11%	1 3%	3 8%	1 3%	0 0%	0 0%	3 8%	35
Swedish	7 32%	2 9%	3 14%	0 0%	2 9%	1 4%	3 14%	1 4%	0 0%	3 14%	22
Other	3 23%	1 8%	2 15%	0 0%	1 8%	3 23%	1 8%	0 0%	0 0%	2 15%	13
											<u>70</u>

<sup>1</sup> "Total" refers to data obtained in June, 1951, concerning all male parents in the community.

<sup>2</sup> "Sample" refers to data obtained in May, 1952, concerning occupations engaged in by male parents of students enrolled in Grades Seven to Twelve inclusive.

<sup>3</sup> Employed in school, general stores, taverns, barber shop, church, and postoffice.

<sup>4</sup> Included "Miner's", "Widow", "Army", and "Teacher" pensions.

<sup>5</sup> Included those employed in a variety of occupations (excluding coal-mining) thirty or more miles from Grassflat.







from Grassflat. Fourteen males were employed at least twenty-five miles from Grassflat, five of whom "come home only for weekends." This description of the occupational distribution is quite different from that of only fifteen years ago when virtually all employed residents worked in mines within the immediate vicinity of Grassflat.

It is important to note the extent to which residents of Grassflat were distributed in various occupations, particularly the males. These data and those represented in Table XIV show the extent to which residents

TABLE XIV

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTS (EXCLUDING MALE PARENTS)  
CLASSIFIED BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Occupation	Slovak	Swedish	Other	Totals
<b>(Males)</b>				
Brickyard (Clarence)	3	0	0	3
Tailor Shop (Clearfield)	2	0	0	2
Clay Mine (Peale)	0	1	0	1
Coal Mines (Near Grassflat)	1	1	0	2
Lime Quarry (Bellefonte)	0	1	0	1
Forest (Near Grassflat)	0	0	1	1
Auto Garage (Grassflat)	1	0	0	1
Farm (Near Grassflat)	1	0	0	1
School Janitor (Grassflat)	0	0	1	1
	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>13</u>
<b>(Females)</b>				
Clothing Manufactures(Phillipsburg)	8	0	4	12
Cigar Manufactures (Phillipsburg)	2	1	4	7
Clothing Store (Clerical)(Phillipsburg)	0	1	1	2
Housework (Phillipsburg)	1	0	0	1
Butcher Shop (Forest)	0	0	1	1
General Store (Grassflat)	1	0	0	1
Secretary (Near Grassflat)	0	1	0	1
School Cafeteria (Winburne)	0	2	0	2
Restaurant (Waitress)	0	0	1	1
Postoffice (Assistant) (Grassflat)	0	0	1	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>



of Grassflat had to go outside the community for employment. Only four females in the preceding table, three of German and one of Irish nationality, were married. Two were employed in "clothing manufactures", one in a "butcher shop", and one, a "restaurant waitress" (wife of proprietor). These data were obtained in June, 1951.

Correspondence received from the writer's friend and resident of Grassflat on June 2, 1952, informed the writer that a "clothing factory is to begin operations in the near future." Assuming this report is accurate, a larger number of women and men will be locally employed.

#### The Family and Kinship System

The family among Slovaks and Swedes was, of course, an institution of basic importance. Relations which one experienced in his family of orientation colored to a great extent his relations and experiences outside the family. It was here that the child experienced first impressions, gained his first lessons in learning to become a socialized being, and learned first meanings which peculiarly had a relatively lasting impression on the individual concerned.

A comparison of the Slovak and Swedish family and kinship system indicated a number of similarities, and, on the other hand, a number of differences. The most striking difference was that regarding the kinship system. In terms of the family, however, Slovaks and Swedes had become more and more similar "since they began to live closer together and were not separated the way they used to be."



Slovak and Swedish residents spoke freely about their families. Even in comparing the family among Slovaks with that among Swedes residents volunteered to talk freely "because you can expect them to be different in some things." Among the Slovak families, "particularly among the real Slovak families" (older Slovak families), the husband was "gazda" (master) and the wife was "gazdina" (mistress). These terms, very common among Slovaks, are first of all terms of highest respect. The husband was "the boss" and "what he says goes". The wife, on the other hand, also played an important role of authority. The term "gazdina" generally connotes a meaning of mistress in terms of domesticity and economy. The major responsibilities of the husband were well-defined. He was "expected to support the family like a man should", "be nice to his wife and children", "work and not be lazy or drunk to miss work", "see that his wife takes care of the money right", and "doesn't make a fool of himself getting drunk and shaming the family". "If he can't make the children listen, well, no one can". The major responsibilities of the wife were almost exclusively those of a domestic role. "She is supposed to work in the house and keep it clean", "to keep the children clean, dressed right, and fed", "to teach children prayers and see that they go to church", and to prepare meals economically "without running to store all the time and opening cans".

"Good children" were "children who listen". They "obey their father and mother", "come when you call them", and "don't sass back" (talk back). They help "around the house" and "help take care of (younger) children so



mother can get her work done, have water (for bath) ready for father, and have dinner ready on the table".

Mothers-in-law "don't meddle", because "it's the husband's place to keep his own house right". Fathers-in-law "never, never poke their nose into the family business". It's generally believed that "when you're married you should be old enough to behave like a married person."

In short, to ignore the authority of one's father or mother "means a licking". When mother says something you obey or else "you'll get it when father comes home". "The boogey man will get you" is quite uncommon among Slovaks. More common are such expressions as "Jesus won't like that", "you'll have to tell it to the priest" (in confession), and "you'll listen if it's the last thing you do".

Although discipline in the home among Slovaks was "firm and strict", Slovak parents had a great love for their children. "To side with" one's children was not uncommon, but overprotection to the point of "spoiling them" was rare. As one informant said, "they're loved when they listen, and spanked when they don't".

The kinship system played a peculiarly important role among Slovaks. "Practically all the Slovaks (in Grassflat) are related to one other in some way by baptism, confirmation, or marriage". Another subject said, "you can't throw a stone in Grassflat without hitting a relative". One is taught "the names showing respect" very early in life. Slovaks expect this "from all children". It was generally the mother's duty to teach children such "names showing respect" as "svagor" (brother-in-law), "svagrina" (sister-in-law), "kmotor" (godfather), "kmotra" (godmother),



and others. Although the majority of Slovaks spoke English in and outside the home, these titles of address were generally retained in the Slovak tongue. If children don't respect their relatives, especially their elders, "they get it when they get home". For example, one dances with his relatives "or else he hears about it". Relatives helped each other frequently by "lending a hand with work and things like that", but "money is a different matter". If one's relatives "see you with a girl or boy they don't think your parents would like they'll soon tell them".

Slovak marriages were permanent marriages. "That's what you promise when you marry". "You're sure to be punished (after death) if you don't keep the promise". This attitude, common among Slovaks, to a great extent accounted for the precautions Slovaks took in the selection of marital partners for their children. In general, the attitude toward the selection of a marital mate was "first and second to marry a good Catholic and a Slovak that's a good worker". Finally, "if not this, don't marry anyone else unless they turn (surrender their religious faith and become Catholic).

To the average Slovak resident, the roles of Swedish fathers and mothers were not defined as specifically as were those in the Slovak family. Although greater variations were found in the status and role of Swedish fathers and mothers, their roles were not actually as poorly defined as they appeared to most Slovaks. For example, the wife did not "boss" in the Swedish family, and the father was not "under the wife's finger". To the average Slovak, the roles of father and mother in the







Swedish family appeared poorly defined because they were more complementary than those of the Slovak parents.

According to Swedes, Swedish parents "count fifty-fifty more than Slovak parents", that is, authority in the family was more equally shared by parents. "The Swedish housewife can do more things without wondering what her husband will say than the Slovak housewife". The Swedish family "maybe talks things together more" (than Slovaks). The Swedish father and mother generally addressed each other as "father" and "mother", "ma" and "pa", or addressed each other by their first names, depending upon the age of parents concerned.

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with three elderly Swedish subjects, two of which represent the earliest Swedish settlers in Grassflat:

Writer: How would you describe the best Swedish family in Grassflat? First, describe a good husband.

Mrs. R: A good husband he provides for his family, and furthermore, if he had a good wife he gives her the money because she knows the best places to spend it.

Miss R: He loves his family, stays at home, and takes care of them all.

Mrs. R: Well, a good wife is one that can cook good and keeps her husband that way, and I don't know what.

Miss R: A good wife sees that children behave themselves in all respects. See that they learn their lessons well at night before they retire, and keeps them neat and clean, keeps the house neat and clean, and cooks a good meal for the whole family.

Writer: What do you think about that, Mr. L?

Mr. L: I'd say "amen". (All laugh)



Writer: How would you describe the best Swedish children?

Miss R: They're polite and obedient.

Mrs. R: Respect parents, yes, and love their parents and other people as well. Go to church, Sunday School, Bible School, and play with children and are not hard to manage.

Miss R: They learn to recite, sing, and say nice things, nice children do.

Not unlike Slovaks, Swedes considered the major role of the father as one of providing for the family, that of the mother as one of good housekeeping, and that of children as obedient of parents. Unlike Slovak children, the Swedish children, "are not expected to do things around the house as much as Slovaks because the Swedish family is smaller and this means less or no children to take care of". Spacing of children was more common among Swedes than Slovaks.<sup>52</sup> This no doubt was an important factor why Slovak children had additional responsibilities not characteristic of Swedish children.

The kinship system among Swedes was not as complicated as that among Slovaks. One important reason for this difference lies in the fact that Swedes were more prone to move outside of Grassflat, severing kinship ties which are characteristic of Slovaks who tend to remain residents of Grassflat. Another reason rested with the fact that marriage between local Swedes was less frequent than that among Slovaks. As one Swedish resident said, "Swedes have relatives, too, but they're scattered all over".

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52. The Catholic Church forbids the use of unnatural means of family limitation.







### Other Institutions

The two reasons mentioned above also accounted for the smaller number of Swedish than Slovak neighborhood cliques in Grassflat. It is important to note that Slovaks as well as Swedes themselves were aware of two Swedish neighborhood groups, "people who visit each other's homes for bingo, coffee socials, or dinners". One such group was found in West Clymer; the other was found in Upper Grassflat. During a tape-recorded interview with second generation Swedish fathers, one emphasized the fact that--

Coffee socials are important in keeping the Swedes together. I know the Swedish people in West Clymer get together at coffee socials they have at homes. My Mom and Dad, Mrs. R., Mr. W, and older people around in our neighborhood they decide to get together around on Saturdays, evening, and decide to have a social at this certain person's house and then another person has it at his place another time, and so on. This keeps them together.

The following which is a more detailed discussion of the neighborhood coffee socials among Swedes in Grassflat was extracted from a tape-recorded interview with A who was described on page 54:

A: The coffee social clicks (cliques) are rather small clicks. There are three to five families or so forth (in West Clymer) that click together and do this. But years ago they had more of what was surprise parties, that's the Swedes. If someone had a birthday they knew about they would give him a sort of house warming and some presents were presented, and so forth. They really had good times at those surprise parties that we've had in Grassflat for years, but these here small coffee socials are just a small click.

Writer: Would you mention the names of one click with which you are acquainted?

A: Well right here close by the W family, the T family, and R family right now.







Writer: Do they ever invite other Swedish people?

A: Well, I think they suggest it perhaps at times.  
That's what I heard.

Writer: There is a coffee social click in West Clymer, isn't there?

A: That's the W. family. They have relatives. They're a big clock. They have relation supper at times. They invite their relatives who live close by.

Writer: Do they have coffee socials in the homes in Upper Grassflat?

A: Why, the majority of the Upper Grassflat people died off, the old folks. Some of the people are blood relations so they get together that way. No doubt, the L. family, although they live a little out of town, they still have them with some of their friends in Grassflat here.

Writer: Do the Swedish people in West Clymer invite the Swedish people from Upper Grassflat?

A: Well, if they were friends or relatives and thought they would come, I suppose they would.

Writer: Do you know of any Swedes from Upper Grassflat who come to West Clymer for coffee socials?

A: Not now because the majority of the old people up there like Mrs. S. and others are dead so there aren't as many socials as there used to be.

The neighborhood coffee social clique in West Clymer is composed of the families of elderly Swedes, all of whom are long time residents of Grassflat. This group like that in Upper Grassflat is composed mainly of relatives.

No such elaborate meeting of neighborhood groups was found among Slovaks; even dinner engagements between relatives were rare. As one Slovak said, "Slovak relatives only eat together at a baptismal christening



dinner or a wedding". However, there were a number of informal neighborhood groups among Slovaks, particularly in Dobrytown and Pleasant Hill where Slovak neighbors were numerous and many relatives lived side by side. These have been described as "just talking sessions", "across the fence chats", and "gossip get-togethers".

The role of religious institutions among both Slovaks and Swedes was a very important one. Religion operated in a very unique and special way in the community as an agency of social control. No other institutions in the community exerted a more widespread influence on the total community than the churches. Both Slovaks and Swedes referred to their churches as "the most active parts of Grassflat". One Swedish resident said:

The churches here give the people in Grassflat things they would not have otherwise. Most Slovaks and Swedes wouldn't have anyplace to go or anything to do except go to taverns and out-of-town if it wasn't for the churches. The churches here are close to the people. I don't know what the people would do here without their churches.

All Slovaks, except four families of Lutheran faith, were members of the Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, the only Catholic church in the community. Considering their small number, it is important to note that Slovak Catholics had eight organizations, the membership of which was limited only to Slovak Catholics. (These organizations will be discussed in detail in Chapter V and VI). In addition to these, Slovaks had a Slovak Political Club which permitted membership only to Slovak Catholics and those married to Slovak Catholics, regardless of their ethnic origin and religious faith. Slovaks also had a social club, the







Jednota Club, in which other residents of Grassflat were permitted membership. Catechism classes, attended by all youngsters between the ages of five and eighteen, were taught by the pastor. In addition to Masses which were offered regularly on Sundays, Slovak Catholics also had Masses three or four times during the week.

The Swedish Lutherans, on the other hand, had two churches, the Nebo Lutheran in Upper Grassflat and the Emanuel Lutheran near West Clymer. All Slovak Lutherans, except five or six, who held their own services in the old Slovak Lutheran Church, were members of the Nebo or Emanuel Church. Each of these churches had two organizations, membership in which was limited to Lutherans. Several of the original organizations which had been quite active just ten years ago had been discontinued. Currently there is a trend to combine the organizations of the two churches under the leadership of the present pastor who officiates at both churches as did previous pastors. Sunday School classes, attended by youngsters between the ages of five and fourteen, and Bible School classes, attended by those beyond fourteen years of age who have been confirmed, were taught by the pastor.

Another group of organizations in Grassflat, eight in number, were "for anybody", that is, membership was restricted to no one. These were the Jednota Social Club, already mentioned, the Loyal Order of Moose (social club), Women of the Moose (social and economic), Ladies Firemen of Grassflat (social and protective), two "midget" (teenage) baseball teams, an adult Sportsmen's Club, and one Boy Scout Troop. (These will be discussed in detail in Chapters V and VI.)







When residents were asked to name social and recreational activities in Grassflat, "drinking" was mentioned first most frequently. Most residents of the community drink. A small number of elderly Swedes in West Clymer and most of the Swedes in Upper Grassflat did not drink in the Grassflat "drinking spots" (the Jednota Club, the Moose, and Johnny's). Johnny's Tavern was an independent place of business, and is known for "restricting service to no one".

Other social and pastime activities mentioned were dancing, movies, bingo, coffee socials, and baseball. Dances were held regularly on Sunday evenings at the Moose, and at the Jednota Club on Saturdays. A one-time major pastime in Grassflat, baseball, was not attended and supported as it was in the past. The community had no adult baseball team at the time of this study. A number of Slovak and Swedish residents said, "adults today don't seem to care for anything but drinking". The two teenage teams, composed of Slovaks, Swedes, and others, indiscriminantly, had "a tough time scraping up enough money to make a trip to play teams of nearby communities". It is important to note that Grassflat just a few years ago had two outstanding baseball teams which were strongly supported by the community. One was "the town team", composed of players of all ethnic origins in Grassflat. The other was "the Jednotars", composed entirely of Slovak Catholics. Considering the size of the community, both were outstanding, especially "the town team" which was undefeated for several years, even when in competition with considerably better equipped leagues from much larger communities.







Movies in the local theatre were held every Thursday and Sunday. The "movies" was owned by a Slovak Catholic. Bingo, a favorite pastime especially for women of Grassflat, was sponsored by the Ladies Firemen of Grassflat and the Catholic Church on Saturdays and Wednesdays, respectively. Both bingo and movies were attended regularly by Slovaks, Swedes, and others.

Coffee and cake socials, known as "coffee socials", were sponsored jointly by the Nebo and Emanuel Lutheran Churches. Since the Catholic Church frowned on their support by Slovak Catholics, attendance by Slovak Catholics was rare. A larger number of Swedish Lutherans attended the Catholic Church bingos.

The form of government in Grassflat was not unlike that of most unincorporated communities with their county governmental systems. Clearfield County had its officials composed of the president, judge, deputies, recorders, county commissioners, superintendent of schools, and others. In Grassflat, law and order was the duty of the office of the justice-of-the-peace of "squire", as he was commonly called. The town "squire" was elected every six years by voters of Cooper Township. In an interview with the local justice-of-the-peace the writer learned that his office transacted legal matter regarding automobile title transfers, learner's driving permits, weasel and fox bounties, speeding violations, larceny, and school truancy. He was custodian of ballot boxes. During the past seven years in office, he was consulted about "four family quarrels and three bodily threats". He was often consulted on matters pertaining to will and deeds which were legally "handled by attorneys



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at Philipsburg and Clearfield". Many Slovaks of the first generation who could not read or write English consulted him for advice. During the interview he added that--

Grassflat residents also elect other officers who affect the local community. These are three road supervisors who take care of school or township roads, four school board members, political chairmen and chair-women of both parties, election officials, three township auditors, tax collector, and assessor. That's the government in Grassflat. People here don't need anymore. They're peaceful and take care of things pretty much themselves.

In case of drunken brawls which sometimes occurred, one might expect that policemen from Philipsburg be called. This was never done. People settled things themselves.

In general, Grassflat residents were born Democrat or Republican. As one resident said, "what your father is you are". Grassflat was predominantly Democrat. It was quite common to hear such expressions as "one who works hard for a living is crazy if he's a Republican", "one who is Republican is aiming for an easy job", "one who is Republican in Grassflat is just trying to be big". "The Republican party is the capitalist party". Proportionally more Slovaks than Swedes were Democrat. The Democratic and Republican precinct chairmen and chairwomen were often regarded as "the busy politicians who try to get voters out so they might get better jobs, but never get the better jobs". Most political activity took place in the local taverns, particularly the Jednota Club and the Moose "where the more important county officers set up beer to get votes". Elections meant "free beer" to many residents. Although Grassflat residents were "steady voters" they don't get "too bothered about elections



except the ones around home", that is, election of officers which residents felt affected the community directly. Election of school board members "doesn't mean too much". "Guys from other towns do the running for these offices". A large majority of the residents felt their votes were not important because they were few in number.

A major change was made in the educational system in Grassflat in 1940. One and two room school buildings were sold or torn down and a beautiful modern school was built. The building accommodated all Grassflat pupils enrolled in the first six grades. Those enrolled in upper grades, including high school, attended the elementary and secondary school in Winburne to which they commuted by township bus.

The four teachers in Grades 1 - 6 had taught continuously in Grassflat at least the past three decades. They had taught the parents of many of their pupils. Two are Swedish and Lutheran. The others who were English and Dutch were members of the Church of United Brethren in Grassflat. The high school staff was composed of twelve teachers of various ethnic backgrounds, one of which was Swedish (the principal) and one was Slovak.<sup>53</sup>

Residents described the teachers in both the elementary and secondary schools as "good teachers", "understanding", and "interested in making children learn". According to State requirements they were well certificated in their areas of teaching, and they were quite aware of the background and potentialities of their pupils.

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53. The principal, a former resident of Grassflat, resided in Lanse which is near the Cooper Township High School.



Only a few children from Grassflat went to College, proportionally more Swedes than Slovaks. More recently, however, both had become more interested in providing their children with opportunities for higher education. They are interested "in their children having what they didn't have a chance to get".

The elementary school "puts on Christmas programs and May Day plays" which were well attended by both Slovak and Swedish parents, especially the mothers. The high school "puts on class plays" which attracted "large crowds from all over". In addition, the high school football and baseball teams were also well supported by local residents. More recently, the high school had extended its recreational program on campus to include tennis, ping-pong, socker, and volley ball. More facilities had also been provided to include recreational opportunities for girls.

The attitude of students had changed to some extent. More were becoming aware of the need for education "in order to get better jobs". Probably the occupational transition which is currently taking place had affected this change.

In general, residents were quite proud of their public educational system, its facilities and teaching staff. Parents were interested in having "nice schools for their children" not like those they had. They were interested in having their children "get good marks" (grades). Children were taught "to listen to the teacher". Teachers were highly respected. Most children, it was said, "who get a licking from the teacher don't run to their parents because they'd get another licking at home for bad deportment in school". The teachers in the elementary and



secondary schools took a very small role in community affairs outside the activities of the churches of which they were members. They did cooperate "in giving talks and things like that if they are asked". They did not attend bingos, dances, or movies in town, but they did attend "the weddings of their former pupils when invited".

#### Class Structure

The class structure of Grassflat was a complex structure. Not unlike many rural coal mining communities in central Pennsylvania with their complexities of ethnic and religious groups, the class system of Grassflat was further complicated by the occupational transition which was taking place. Just fifteen years ago, status and role were almost exclusively determined by the residents' relations as employees of the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Company. The coal company, including its many and diverse extensions of authority, was the power system. Employees were obligated to "buy at the company store". At least forty houses rented by miners and other employees of the company were company-owned. Even in political and social matters, the company dictated policy. It was unwise to make public the fact that one was Democrat. The superintendent was a staunch Republican. One way to get "the better job" (company job) was to become a Republican. A company job was also given to those "who could play baseball on the first team". "The company was glad to have a good town team so it helped when it could in many ways. It brought the company credit".

One resident said, "the company moved out--the boss, foremen, machines, mine cables, and even rooted up the tracks". "Where at one time



everybody worked in the same hole (coal mine) today they're spread all over heck". One elderly Slovak resident summarized the situation quite succinctly when he said, "the top people aren't here anymore. When the company left, they left too. Nothing left here in town for them". The company physician, the company store manager, motormen, engineers, electricians, carpenters, and machine operators, in addition to "company men" already mentioned, moved from the community with the cessation of coal operations. These were "top people with the company jobs".

Due to the great transition which has taken place in Grassflat, most residents denied the existence of classes except for the "few who have more money than others". The most common expressions regarding the class system in Grassflat were the following, in order of frequency: "There are none (classes) since B. (superintendent of mines) left town and the mines are not working". "Everybody is pretty much in the same boat". "Everybody is in the middle class here". "Two kinds of people live in town mostly--the Slovak Catholics and the Swedish Lutherans". "Nobody has too much money, except the two or three coal operators". "No one runs the town now, just all the people".

Residents in Grassflat were "pretty much alike" because they did "pretty much the same kind of work". Formerly, "just plain coal miners were one class and the company group (company employed men with fixed wages) were the other". It should be emphasized that company jobs were generally held by Swedes. Many Slovaks who felt they were as competent as Swedes did not get "the better jobs". This condition was a strong factor precluding better relations between Slovaks and Swedes for a long time.



When residents were questioned further as to who the important people in Grassflat were, expressions like the following were most common: "B was, but now no one bosses like him". "Nobody--everyone is pretty much alike". "Nobody for the whole town, because Swedes have their big people and Slovaks have their kingfishers". "Swedes always had the better jobs in the mines, but now it's different". For a long time, the Swedes "ran the town because of the mines". "The Swedes and Slovaks run the town pretty much equal, but the Swedes have their own clocks (cliques) and the Slovaks have theirs".

With regard to the study of class systems it has been said that:

It is difficult to conceive of the possibility of studying real social status of people without accounting for the means used by the people themselves as they rate one another. Certainly, the man in the street rates his fellows by the sponge method, i. e., using many characteristics. Intuitive rating by scientists should be condemned, but any effort to ascertain how people rate their fellows in everyday life is certainly a legitimate field of research.<sup>54</sup>

In the study of class system in Grassflat a conscious effort was made to "ascertain how people rate their fellows in everyday life." Before a more thorough study of the class system was made, a background of information regarding the criteria by which Swedes and Slovaks rated themselves and each other was obtained. This data was obtained from residents through the use of individual and group interviews, some of which were tape-recorded. It should be pointed out that the writer visited

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54. Loomis, C. P., Beegle, J. A., and Longmore, T. W. Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification. Beacon House, New York, Sociometry Monographs No. 19. 1946, p. 9.



with virtually every family in the community during the summer of this study. In addition to this method of gathering data, a questionnaire form was also used following the writer's visit in the community. This questionnaire form was used to facilitate a further study of the class system which would lend itself to statistical analysis. Therefore, in addition to the criteria used by the residents themselves, data was obtained through the use of a questionnaire form regarding the education, occupation, and the intra- and interethnic image which one ethnic group held of the other and itself.

It is important to note that residents, regardless of ethnic origin, felt quite free in ranking their fellows, because most residents believed that there was one system of ranking among the Slovaks and one among the Swedes. Most residents were happy to help the writer with "something in their line", something which they felt they knew about their own ethnic group.

It should be emphasized that when residents were asked to name some of "the most important people in Grassflat", many residents first raised the following question with the writer: "Important among who, the Swedes or Slovaks?" Many felt this dichotomy had to be made before they could respond. A large number of both Slovaks and Swedes felt that each ethnic group more or less had its own leaders, and that few "were really important to both Slovaks and Swedes".

When the names of those who were considered "important people to the whole town" were mentioned, both Swedes and Slovaks were listed. There was general agreement that the "Swedes at the top" had more money than



Slovaks who were ranked in this group. Among the ten Swedes who were mentioned by residents of both ethnic groups were: 3 who "run coal stripping operations", one of whom was a former "squire" in town and one was an officer in the Citizen Water Company; 1 "runs a small coal mine he leases"; 1 was the President of the Moose Lodge, formerly proprietor of local restaurant; 1 was proprietor of a general store, and also a stockholder in Citizen Water Company; 1 was "township recorder" who "works at the high school"; 1 "owns a lot of real estate and lives in the nicest house in town"; 1 was a "retired railroad stockholder" who "doesn't get out much"; 1 was "strip mine foreman", formerly the company checkweighman.

The Slovaks mentioned in this group were: two theatre co-proprietors and officers in the Jednota Club; one, the local justice-of-the-peace also the key officer in Catholic lodges; one, president of Jednota Club and officer in Sportsman Club; one, proprietor of general store; one, "stripping foreman", formerly a company checkweighman; one, proprietor of Johnny's Tavern; and one head bartender at the Moose Lodge.

It is important to note that of those Swedes considered "important" only two "associate much with Slovaks". Others did not frequent the local taverns, the Moose Lodge, the Jednota Club, or Johnny's Tavern. They did not attend the bingos sponsored by the Catholic Church. If they were not at their place of business they "stay home". Most of them "go out of town" for entertainment. The two who associated freely with Slovaks were brothers, one was President of the Moose Lodge and married to a Slovak Catholic, and the other was the "township recorder". Both were formerly



company men, well known baseball players, and both "ran the restaurant" at one time.

The Slovaks who were considered "important" were "active mixers" with all people in town. All, except one who did not drink, went to the local taverns, especially the Jednota Club. Most residents who were members of the Moose were also "social members" of the Jednota Club. Swedes did most of their drinking at the Moose and Johnny's. Slovaks did most of their drinking at the Jednota Club.

Although Swedes occupied positions which would ordinarily mean higher prestige, this was less true in Grassflat. A very limited number of Slovaks felt they have "to depend on them" for their security. A very limited number worked under their supervision. A decade ago this was not true. There was general agreement that "certain Swedes" were more secure than anyone else in the community, but they lived apart from other residents too much to be considered as important as their jobs might ordinarily indicate. In general, residents seemed to feel that to be "really important" it was quite necessary to "get out with other people", to take part "in town doings", and not "just sit back and take care of your own business".

In order to further explore the class system in Grassflat two other questions suggested by the residents themselves were raised: "Who are the important people among the Swedes in Grassflat?" "Who are the important people among the Slovaks in Grassflat?" Responses to these questions were given more easily. Slovaks and Swedes seemed to be quite aware of who were the "important people" within their own ethnic groups.



Swedish residents named fifteen "important people" from their entire population while Slovaks named thirteen. Of the fifteen which were named by Swedes, ten were list as "important people to the whole town". Five additional "important people among the Swedes" were: the pastor of both Lutheran Churches; two who were particularly active in the Lutheran Church and its organizations; one was the Republican precinct chairman; and one, also active in church activities, was the mother of two sons and one daughter who were college graduates ("the most educated family in Grassflat").

Eight Slovaks regarded as "important people to the whole town" were also considered "most important people among the Slovaks". To this number Slovaks added five who were regarded as important Slovaks. These were important because they held "important offices in the church or church lodges".<sup>55</sup>

The data above seem to indicate quite clearly that high prestige among both Slovaks and Swedes was ascribed to those who held office in religious organizations, those considered "active in church doings". It is important to note that while prestige was formerly determined to a great extent by one's relations as an employee of the coal company, more recently prestige was ascribed to those who were active in various organizations of religious institutions in the community. Other factors which were important in determining rank of prestige were ownership of property and "doing clean work".

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55. Although a resident of Winburne, the Catholic pastor was also mentioned as being "important among Slovaks in Grassflat".



A further comparison between Slovaks and Swedes was made in terms of people who were "not important" or were considered "lower than most people in town". The number of persons so characterized was very small. It is important to note that those ranked at the bottom of the prestige scale were often mentioned in a facetious manner when the writer asked residents to name those who were most important in the community. In such cases the writer had an opportunity to request the names of others whom residents ranked in the "lower group". The number of Slovaks was one larger than that of Swedes. Two who were neither Slovak nor Swedish were mentioned in this category. "Drunks", "poor providers" or "wife beaters", "the sexually immoral", "lazy and work-missing kind", and "dirty people" were classified as being "not important" or "lower than most people in town".

A comparative study of Slovaks and Swedes was also made in terms of residence. During interviews with residents the following question was raised: "What are the nicest and the poorest sections in which to live in Grassflat?" The differences among various sections of Grassflat were so great and so distinct that residents found this question easy to answer. There was almost unanimous agreement that West Clymer was "nicest", and "those places near the old mines" (Moravin, Pleasant Hill, and Cooper #1) were the "poorest" and "dirtiest". The "next best" was Pleasant Hill. "Certain places" in Upper Grassflat were also rated among the "nicest". Dobrytown was about "the middle". Residents also mentioned the exceptions, those homes in certain sections which "should not be counted" even if they were located within a section which was generally designated as more



or less desirable. (See Figure 1 on page 75 for an ecological distribution of ethnic households in Grassflat. Also see pages 76-81 for a description of various sections of Grassflat.)

All (226) household units in Grassflat were classified in terms of residential areas considered on a five point scale ranging from five, the most desirable, to one, the least desirable. A statistical analysis using this scale was made in which the following ethnic groupings were compared: Swedish, Swedish-Other, Swedish-Slovak, Slovak, Slovak-Other, and Other nationalities. The results of this study seemed to indicate that there were no statistically significant differences in terms of the residential distribution of various ethnic groups. Results are computed in Table XVIII.

A further comparison of Slovaks and Swedes was made in terms of questionnaire data received concerning their education and occupational rank. The two groups were compared in terms of the occupational classification found in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles and two additional categories, "Pensioned" and "Unemployed". The educational index refers to the last grade attended. Data which were obtained from students enrolled in Grades 7-12 refers to the educational and occupational classification of male parents only.

Data presented in Table XV indicate that, as a group, Swedish males had more education than Slovak males, particularly in terms of a comparison of their numbers in lower grades. There seemed to be little difference between them in terms of the kind of occupations in which they were engaged.



TABLE XV

AN OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL COMPARISON OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH  
FATHERS OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12

	Professional	Clerical	Service	Ag. & Forest	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Pensioned	Unemployed	Totals
Grades 1-4										
Slovak	-	-	-	-	5	3	2	-	-	10
Swedish	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Grades 5-8										
Slovak	1	1	-	-	12	2	-	-	-	16
Swedish	-	-	-	-	3	2	2	-	1	8
Grades 9-11										
Slovak	1	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	6
Swedish	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	3
Grade 12										
Slovak	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Swedish	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals										
Slovak	2	1	2	1	20	5	2	0	0	
Swedish	1	0	0	0	5	2	3	1	2	

Table reads: 12 Slovak male parents who were engaged in skilled occupations attended school to Grades 5-8.

Data regarding the education of Swedish and Slovak mothers also showed little difference between them. Swedish mothers, as a group, had more education than Slovak mothers, particularly in the upper grades.



In brief, there seemed to be little difference between Slovak and Swedish parents, who were residents of Grassflat at the time of this study, in terms of occupations pursued and the grade level at which education was terminated. This could not be reported about former Slovak and Swedish residents. Both in terms of occupations pursued and education completed, Swedish males and females held a higher status than Slovaks.

Another comparison of Slovaks and Swedes was made regarding the image which Slovaks and Swedes held of each other and of themselves. Questionnaires given to Grassflat children enrolled in Grades 7-12 and their parents contained four items which were directly or indirectly suggested by Slovak and Swedish residents who were interviewed. These four items were:

Slovak people are better educated than other people in town.  
 Slovak people have nicer homes than any other people in town.  
 Slovak people have better jobs than other people in town.  
 Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.

These items were found on page one of the questionnaire. Similar items regarding the Swedish people appeared on page two of the questionnaire. (See pages 372,374 in Appendix.) These items were presented in this way to prevent a more obvious comparison of the two ethnic groups by resident subjects who might have resented such items. The responses of Slovaks and Swedes to these items are presented in Tables XVI and XVII. These data show only a few differences of importance in the image of the two ethnic groups of each other and of themselves.



TABLE XVI

IMAGE OF SLOVAKS HELD BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN  
(ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12)

	N 33				N 53				N 14				N 17											
	Slovak Parents		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils									
	Yes	No	Y-N <sup>1</sup>	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%								
	N	% <sup>2</sup>	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%								
	2	6	16	55	13	39	3	6	23	43	27	51	0	0	11	79	3	21	1	6	15	68	1	6
	3	9	11	33	19	56	6	11	20	36	27	51	0	0	9	64	5	36	0	0	11	65	6	35
	2	6	17	52	14	42	2	4	25	47	26	49	1	7	9	64	4	29	0	0	12	71	5	29
	7	21	9	27	17	52	13	25	24	45	16	30	1	7	11	79	2	14	0	0	9	53	6	47
Table reads: Two Slovak parents (6% of the total group of 33) replied that "Slovak people are better educated than other people".																								

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this study "Y-N" will be used in tabulated data as an abbreviation for a questionnaire response meaning "between Yes and No".

<sup>2</sup> In the tabulated data throughout this study percentages are used to facilitate comparison between the two ethnic groups.



TABLE XVII

IMAGE OF SWEDES HELD BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN  
(ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12)

	N 33				N 53				N 14				N 17			
	Slovak Parents		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Slovak Pupils		Swedish Parents		Swedish Parents		Swedish Pupils		Swedish Pupils	
	Yes	No	Y-N	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%	Yes	No	Y-N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Swedes:</b>																
1. Are better educated	4	12	16	48	13	39	2	4	28	53	23	43	2	14	7	50
													6	35	9	53
2. Have nicer homes	4	12	11	33	16	55	5	9	16	30	32	60	6	43	5	36
													6	35	7	41
3. Have better jobs	9	27	11	33	13	39	10	19	23	43	20	38	2	14	3	57
													2	12	8	47
4. Strive for a higher standard of living	12	36	10	30	11	33	13	25	16	30	24	45	7	50	4	29
													5	29	7	41
Table reads: Four Slovak parents (12% of the total group of 33) replied that "Swedish people have nicer homes than any other people in town".																



In a comparison of Slovaks and Swedes regarding education, Slovak parents considered Swedes slightly higher than themselves while Slovak children considered Slovaks slightly higher than Swedes. Both Swedish parents and children, however, considered themselves significantly higher than Slovaks. In terms of "nicer homes", Slovak parents considered Swedes slightly higher than Slovaks, but Slovak children considered Slovaks and Swedes equal. Swedish parents and children, on the other hand, considered themselves significantly higher than Slovaks. Both Slovak parents and children considered Swedes slightly higher on the item regarding "better jobs". Swedish parents considered Slovaks and Swedes equal on this item, but Swedish children considered Swedes significantly higher than Slovaks. In terms of striving "for a higher standard of living", both Slovak parents and children considered Swedes slightly higher than themselves, but Swedish parents and children considered themselves significantly higher than Slovaks.

Responses of two Slovak-Swedish parents, two Slovak-Swedish children, eight parents and twelve children of "other nationalities" (not presented in table form) were analyzed. Both Slovak-Swedish parents considered Slovaks and Swedes as equal on all items except one regarding "higher standard of living" on which they considered Slovaks higher than Swedes. Both Slovak-Swedish children considered Swedes higher on all items except education on which they considered Slovaks and Swedes as equal. The responses from a possibly more objective point of view, those of "other nationality" parents and children, indicated that parents considered Swedes slightly higher on all items than Slovaks. "Other nationality"



children considered Swedes slightly higher than Slovaks on the item concerning education, but considered them as equal on other items.

Another indicator of status difference employed was residential location. The general proposition is that the more desirable residential areas are occupied by those of higher class status. In order to test this proposition in Grassflat, approximately seventy-five percent of the adult population was queried as to the most and the least desirable residential areas in Grassflat. This data was obtained from residents who were Slovak, Swedish, and other nationalities. The problem then became one of determining whether one or the other of the major ethnic groups tended to consistently occupy the most or least desirable residential areas. The actual geographical distribution of various population types in Grassflat are shown in Figure 1 on page 63. This map shows the ecological distribution of Slovaks, Swedes, and other nationalities.

A five point scale, ranging from five, the most desirable; to one the least desirable, was used. This offers some basis for a statistical test in addition to the evidence presented in Figure 1. By means of an analysis of variance it was possible to see if there were statistically significant differences in the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups of Grassflat. Inspection of Figure 1 indicates that the differences would not appear to be great. A more exact comparison was made in terms of an analysis of variance. The mean position on the scale of each of the ethnic groups is shown below. The variance between groups was only slightly greater than the variance within groups ( $f=1.48$ ). The tendency appears to be that the Slovak-Swedish group occupied the most



TABLE XVIII  
DIFFERENCE IN DESIRABILITY OF RESIDENCE

Ethnic Group	Mean	
Swedish	3.37	
Swedish-Other	3.06	
Swedish-Slovak	3.50	
Slovak	3.02	
Slovak-Other	3.33	
Other	3.35	(f=1.46)

desirable areas, and that Swedes tended to occupy the more desirable areas more than Slovaks, but the differences were not significant.

Hence, although status differences might exist in Grassflat as indicated by residential location and other status indicators, it was apparent that as far as desirable residential location is concerned there were not significant differences in terms of ethnicity.

It has been pointed out that:

. . . separate ethnic groups which frequently form cultural islands or social systems having their own status systems often based upon principles which are opposed to those upon which the general culture is based, make it difficult to describe one overall or universal status system.<sup>56</sup>

It appears from the data presented that this description is quite characteristic of Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat. Those differences which were pointed out were not significant differences. In terms of the status indicators employed, it appears that two rather distinct

56. C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and T. W. Longmore, op. cit., p. 10.



systems are operating simultaneously in the community. It seems that both Slovaks and Swedes have their separate systems of determining status. This condition, to a large extent, exists because of the special and unique way in which both the religion of Slovaks and of Swedes operates as an agency of social control.

The extent to which this might be true is indicated in Table XIX. Grassflat students of all ethnic groups in the community who were enrolled in Grades 7-12 inclusive were asked to respond to the following item in the questionnaire which was described earlier:

What do you think is the main difference between Slovak and Swedish people? ( ) Dress ( ) Language ( ) Religion ( ) Food Habits ( ) Occupation

TABLE XIX

THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SLOVAK AND SWEDISH PEOPLE AS DESIGNATED BY CHILDREN OF GRASSFLAT ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12, INCLUSIVE

Ethnic Group	N	Dress	Lang.	Rel.	Food H.	Occupation
Slovak Males	31	-	3% <sup>1</sup>	94%	-	3%
Slovak Females	22	-	9	91	-	-
Swede Males	8	-	50	50	-	-
Swede Females	9	-	11	89	-	-
Slovak-Oth. Fems.	4	-	25	75	-	-
Sw-Oth. Males	8	-	12	88	-	-
Sw-Oth. Females	1	-	-	100	-	-
Other Males	5	-	40	60	-	-
Other Females	7	-	29	71	-	-

<sup>1</sup> Percentages were used to facilitate comparisons between various groups.

The data above seem to indicate quite consistently that language and religion were considered the main differences between the Slovak and







Swedish people and that religion was considered most frequently as the main difference between the two ethnic groups.

#### Neighboring Communities

Table XX contains the names and brief descriptions of communities located within fourteen miles from Grassflat. Almost all were chiefly dependent upon coal or brick industries. All except Philipsburg had limited social and recreational functions. On the whole, these surrounding communities were composed of a larger Slovak than Swedish population. All were accessible by short route bus service except Drifting, Moshannon, Clarence, and Snowshoe. Six-thirty A. M. and 6:00 P. M. bus service in Grassflat began about three years ago. In Grassflat, this service was used almost exclusively by women who were employed in Philipsburg. As one informant said, "Bus travel isn't very important because practically everyone or his neighbor in Grassflat has a car".

Marriage between Slovak residents of Grassflat and those of Clarence, Hawkrum, and Winburne, in that order, occurred frequently. Clarence and Hawkrum contained Slovak populations larger than that of Grassflat. That of Winburne was smaller. Many residents of these communities "get together because they or their relatives belong to the Moose or the Slovak Jednota Club". Moose organizations were found in Grassflat, Clarence, and Philipsburg. Grassflat, Clarence, and Hawkrum had Jednota clubs, membership in which was "a pass to get into a Slovak Jednota Club in any of these towns". Jednota Clubs often sponsored dances which drew "pretty big crowds from Slovak towns around".



TABLE XX

## DESCRIPTIONS OF NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES WITHIN A TWELVE MILE RADIUS OF GRASSFLAT

Community	Approx. Pop. <sup>1</sup>	Predominant Ethnic Groups	Predominant Religion	Major Industries of Residents	Miles from Grassflat
Drifting	100	Pa. D. 80% Slovak 15%	Catholic	Farming and Coal	4 (North)
Moshannon	100	English 75%	Baptist	Brick and Coal	7 (Northeast)
Clarence	1600	Slovak 75%	Catholic	Brick and Coal	12 (Northeast)
Snowshoe	900	Mixed	Catholic Methodist	Brick and Coal	12 (East)
Lanse	425	Swedish 95%	Lutheran	Coal and brick	4 (South)
Winbourne	600	Mixed Slovak 30%	Catholic Presbyterian	Brick and Coal	5 (South)
Phillipsborg	4000	Mixed	Protestant-Cath. Judaism	Manufactures (Commercial Center)	12 (Southwest)
Norrisdale	1100	Mixed Slovak 25%	Methodist Presbyterian and Catholic	Coal	8 (Southwest)
Allport	100	Mixed	Presbyterian	Coal	6 (West)
Hawkrum	1300	Slovak 75%	Catholic	Coal	8 (Southwest)
Kylertown	350	Mixed	Baptist Methodist	Coal	4 (West)

<sup>1</sup> Data obtained from census takers of respective communities.



On the other hand, Swedes from Grassflat married Swedes in these surrounding communities quite infrequently. Residents of surrounding communities chosen by Grassflat Swedes were, in the majority, of non-Swedish origin but Protestant in religion.

#### Summary

Virtually unlimited opportunities for employment in coal mines in and near Grassflat, Pennsylvania, attracted Swedes and later Slovaks to settle in the community. The Swedish immigration to the United States antedated that of Slovaks approximately two decades. This difference in their length of residence in the United States was an important factor which promoted cultural differences between them, especially during the latter decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th Centuries when Grassflat was being settled.

The fact that Swedes and Slovaks had their separate language and religious faith accounted, to a great extent, for a relatively long period of isolation which continued after their initial appearance on the scene of settlement. Slovaks resided on the north and Swedes resided on the south side of a creek which divided the community. For several decades Swedish residents outnumbered the Slovaks, but shortly before and during the initial period of the occupational transition, which took place in the community during the latter 1920's, Slovaks grew rapidly in number and exceeded that of Swedes.

At the time of this study the total population of 784 was 49% Slovak, 27% Swedish, 2% Slovak-Swedish, and 23% other nationalities. Of the total



population, 54% was Catholic, 32% Lutheran, 7% other Protestant, and 7% non-church. The members of the latter group claimed to be members of no church, parents and their children included.

The residents of various ethnic groups were distributed in five relatively distinct sections of Grassflat. Residents referred to them as Dobrytown (Good town), West Clymer, Uptown, Upper Grassflat, and Pleasant Hill. Although residential segregation was not as distinct as it was two decades ago, Slovaks and Swedes, particularly the former, still occupied relatively segregated sections of the community.

When the major industry, coal mining, ceased operations within the vicinity of Grassflat, a disrupting period of occupational change took place. In a community where at one time virtually everyone was employed in the coal mines, there was at the time of this study a major portion of residents who were employed in non-local occupations which were often quite unlike those in which generation after generation was previously engaged. At the time of this study 33% of Slovaks and 19% of Swedes were employed in mines outside of Grassflat. Twenty-six per cent of Slovaks and 39% of Swedes were pensioned coal miners. Other Slovaks and Swedes were employed in non-local surface coal operations, brickyards, claymines, and forests. Only a limited number was locally employed.

A study of the various institutions in the community indicated both similarities and difference between the Slovaks and Swedes. The Slovak family appeared to be more patriarchal in structure while that of Swedes appeared to be more equalitarian or democratic. To Swedes, discipline in the Slovak family appeared to be "strict". To Slovaks, discipline



in the Swedish family appeared to be poorly defined and "lenient". The Slovak kinship system was more complex than that of Swedes. Many Slovaks were closely related through baptism, confirmation, or marriage. This factor exerted a strong intraethnic solidarity among Slovaks which was not found among Swedes. The kinship system among Slovak also tended to promote both greater residential stability within the community and more Slovak neighborhoods than the Swedish kinship system.

Organizations in the community were generally classified by residents as "Slavish", "Swedish", and those "for anybody". The former two were almost exclusively religious in nature. It is important to note that religion and related organizations in Grassflat operated in a rather unique way as agencies of social control both among Slovaks and Swedes. As residents indicated, their separate religious institutions were major factors in precluding greater interethnic assimilation. Organizations referred to as those "for anybody" were mainly social in nature. Taverns in the community played a unique and important role in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes as centers for drinking, dancing, and other social activities. Not unlike most unincorporated communities, the governmental system was the typical county system. The "squire" was the executive authority in the community. Politically, the interest of residents was focused almost exclusively on elections of local officers. The public educational system--its modern school building, facilities, and teaching staff--was an institution about which both ethnic groups spoke highly and supported generously. It was probably the most vital factor in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes.



A study of the class structure seemed to indicate no definite over-all system for the whole community. There appeared to be no significant differences in status rank between Slovaks and Swedes in terms of five criteria used by the writer which were directly or indirectly suggested by the residents of the community. Slovaks and Swedes seemed to have their separate and unique systems of indicating the status of their own members. Status among both Slovaks and Swedes was closely related to their respective churches and church-related organizations.

Slovaks were represented in the populations of neighboring communities to a larger extent than were Swedes. This was an important factor in explaining the differences in marital selections of Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat.



## CHAPTER V



## CHAPTER V

### CULTURAL SOLIDARITY OF SLOVAKS AND OF SWEDES

In order to present a discussion of the cultural solidarity within each of the major ethnic groups in Grassflat, namely, the Slovaks and Swedes, data were classified under the following major topics: (1) early relations between the Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat, (2) cultural solidarity among Slovaks, and (3) cultural solidarity among Swedes.

#### Early Relations Between Slovaks and Swedes

The major portion of data concerning the early relations between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat was obtained by means of tape-recorded interviews with first generation (foreign-born) Slovaks and Swedes (See page 51). As mentioned earlier, these panel members were selected because they represented the oldest and earliest Slovak and Swedish settlers in Grassflat.

The following data were extracted from the tape-recorded interview with the first generation Slovaks:

Writer: What did you think of the Swedes when you first came here?

Mrs. O: We wondered what kind of people they were because they didn't talk with us, and when we came here they only called us hunkies. We just didn't know how to talk with them, and this made us associate with them even less. We, the Slovaks, got to know each other well. We went to church, attended the lodge meetings, and then we became more friendly with each other, and still are today.



Writer: Did you associate with Swedes when you first came here?

Mrs. O: Sometimes when I went to the store with my husband, but I couldn't talk with them because I didn't know how, just as I don't today. Yes, my next door Swedish neighbor (today) can work at my side but I don't know how to speak with him. He could tell me anything and I wouldn't know what he was talking about. Now the Slovaks and Swedes are getting to know one another better, especially the young people. Now what the Swedes are the Slovaks are too. But us old Slovaks are Slovaks and always will be. We always were and always will be. When we go to church and meet with any of them (Swedes) we just say "hello" and that is about the extent of our conversation.

Mr. D: When I first came here Slovaks and Swedes worked in the mines. There were only a few Slovaks then. We spoke especially with the young Swedes because they had a profound desire to learn our language. They wanted to speak with us very much. Some knew how pretty well. They were well pleased that they were able to speak with us. If they could exchange a few words with us, why, they wouldn't give that away for anything.

Writer: What else did you think when you came here and met the Swedes for the first time?

Mr. P: It seemed to me we got along pretty well. They didn't disrespect us. We went to the store. We took someone who could speak a little English, who was not afraid to speak. They'd (Swedes) ask us what we want. We got it. In the mines, the same thing. They (foreman) wanted Slovaks to work in the mines very much. The Slovaks dug deep under the coal before shooting the coal down. We got big lumps. Swedes would dig a little, shoot, and poof, they only got fine coal. The bosses used to pat us on the shoulder. They told us to call more Slovaks over to work in the mines.

Writer: Can you tell me something more about your first experience with Swedes in Grassflat?

Mrs. O: (Laughing) The only thing that we had on our mines is that it wasn't a good language for us. We'd go to church, and we didn't know how to talk with them. All we could say is "hello." That's all. If the people were good, they'd say "hello" too, and if not they just didn't.



Writer: If you were able to speak with Swedes what would you have talked about?

Mrs. O: Why, we would associate with each other and respect each other the way we should. When we met we wouldn't just look at each other sideways and so we could talk. We didn't know such a language so how could we talk? I'd say something and they could not understand. Just like it is with my neighbors today. Since my husband died, two Swedish families lived across the road from me. No matter how badly I feel, I'd like to talk with them, I can just say "hello", just "hello."

Writer: You would like to talk with the Swedish neighbors.

Mrs. O: Yes, I would like to if only I could. Now it is a little better because I have my daughter living with me and I can tell her, "Anna, tell them this or that," whatever I would like to say to them. So at least I can get my points over to her.

Mr. D: The young Slovak and Swedish associated quite frequently. They (Swedes) often invited us to the hall to the dance, but we were not dressed yet as they were. They were nice to us. They invited us to the hall at Peale, and we sometimes went with them. They like us. They were nice that way.

Writer: Mr. P, I am told that you were the first Slovak to come here. What did you think of the Swedes...

Mr. P: When I first came here I went to work in the mines. The drivers (mule drivers) and bosses spoke some English and Swedish. They'd ask us if we need more cars. And the Swedes came over to see how we worked and how we were digging coal. They saw we were digging deep. (Laughing) When they saw, they shouted, "Be careful, don't dig that deep (under the coal). It will fall on you!" They thought my end was near. (All laughed) They seemed to be concerned about us. Oh, yes, they were good to us. They liked us.

Writer: How did the Slovaks and Swedes get along at the old hotel, the old saloon?

Mr. D: Not so well.

Mr. P: Maybe there wasn't one Saturday that they (Slovaks and Swedes) didn't have a fight.



Writer: What was the reason?

Mr. P: They didn't know how to talk to each other and didn't know how to get along together.

Mrs. O: They didn't have the same language was the reason they didn't get along well together. They were sided, the Slovaks against the Swedes, and the other way around. Sometimes Slovaks fought among themselves, just like the Swedes.

Writer: Can you tell us about a fight between the Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. P: One Saturday Slovaks and Swedes got drunk. They began to see you were this or that. "You Swede." "You Slovak." They'd call each other names that way. They went outside the hotel in bunches and they fought fiercely. I ran away. I heard later that one was talking against the other.

Writer: The Slovak bunch fought the Swedish?

Mr. P: Yes, they fought in a pile. Both Slovaks and Swedes had bumps.

Writer: Did they settle these fights in court?

Mr. P: No, oh, no. Never.

Writer: Did Slovaks invite Swedes to their weddings or christening (baptismal) dinners?

Mrs. O: No, not even once.

Writer: Do you think that Slovaks get along better with Swedes than they did when you first came here?

Mr. P: Oh, yes. Of course there used to be more Swedes before. There are fewer now. They didn't get along poorly then even. But they have been moving out.

Writer: How do Slovaks and Swedes get along today, Mr. D?

Mr. D: Just as he said. Much better. But since there aren't any more mines a lot of the Slovaks are moving too.

Mrs. O: Slovaks and Swedes are becoming more similar, especially the young people. They get along fine.



Informal and individual interviews with other elderly Slovak residents are important in obtaining data concerning early relations between Slovaks and Swedes. The most common recollections of the earliest Slovaks who settled in Grassflat were expressed succinctly by three Slovaks who were retired coal miners. One said:

The Slovaks and Swedes at first didn't bother one another about anything unless they had to. The Slovaks couldn't talk with Swedes, and Swedes couldn't talk with Slovaks. We thought they were different from us, and they thought we were different from them. Most of us thought it was best to stay on our side and for the Swedes to stay on theirs. It was better to be with those you knew were like you.

Another elderly Slovak informant said:

Their (the Swedish people) language, religion, and ways was different. Maybe they felt they were best, and we felt we was best. But in the mines we learned to speak a little English. We had to to get along, to ask for cars. So we got along fine in the mines, and outside we didn't do hardly anything with them and them with us.

Still another early Slovak settler recalled that:

You (Slovaks) didn't have to be with them except in the mines. We thought they were too different at first. They called us hunkies and we called them Swedes when we got mad, but you couldn't expect nothing else. We thought they were pagans because they didn't believe in God and the Blessed Virgin Mary the way we did....But I'll tell you if it wasn't for the young people, Slovaks and Swedes, things wouldn't turn out good like they did. They learned English and little Swedish fast. They learned Swedish mainly to joke, like the Swedes. This was young people brought the two people closer together at the mines and in town. Swedes always treated me nice, but we didn't do much together at first. We just couldn't. There are lots of nice Swedes, nicer than many Slovaks.

The first generation (foreign-born) Swedes were also valuable sources of data regarding initial Slovak-Swedish relations in Grassflat. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with a panel



of four Swedes, two males and two females, who were selected because they represented the oldest and earliest Swedish settlers in Grassflat:

Writer: Mr. T, you said that you used to watch the Slovak immigrants come in at the Peale Station. Would you tell me about that?

Mr. T: Yes, I could tell that to you. We had lots of fun doing that, you know. They (Slovaks) couldn't talk, and neither could I. I couldn't talk at that time. I was green. I had just been here one year and couldn't talk English. The Slavish people were looking for a ride, and there was a fellow who run the mail hack, what we called it. It was a big wagon, you know. It could take lots of passengers so he packed that full sometimes. There was mixed some Swedes among them, too.

Writer: What did you think of the Slovaks when they first came to Grassflat?

Mr. T: Well, I didn't know what they was even. If I stand here and listen to them talk, I thought they talked English. I didn't understand it, see, and I didn't understand English. I thought they talked English.

Mr. W: I remember when I came here from Olean (New York), and I had been away for nearly seven years. The Slavish and Swedes weren't getting along so good at that time. Neither one could understand one another, and the Swedes were a little worried what was going to happen, cause every one in awhile maybe you'd hear about a fight. But I remember what I said then that in a few years, why it's going to be altogether different. Where I came from, there in Olean, they weren't many Slavish, there were some, but there were more Polish, and they had already started at that time to be more Americanized and learn the language, and, of course, we have the schools to thank for that.

Writer: How were the Slovaks different from the Swedes?

Mr. T: I couldn't see no difference. They were all green. That is all there is to it. They couldn't talk, none of them, and all was working in the coal mines, just the same kind of job, so I couldn't see no difference from that part of it.

Mr. W: I am of the same opinion, and that's why I said that in a few years you won't be able to tell any difference. But



there were some people that thought that there was a difference, and they said that because they couldn't understand them.

Mrs. F: The Slovaks and Swedes didn't have a common language, and that made a difference.

Mr. W: I told them (other Swedes) that in a few years you won't be able to tell much difference between them and Swedes, because I have seen in New York State how the foreigners learned to talk. Lots got to be good friends with me, and I got along fine with them. I told them (other Swedes) that it would be the same thing here, which it happened.

Mrs. T: The Slavish women used to be different in their dresses but not so much today.

Mr. T: Yes, a little bit, but not a whole lot. Mostly what we looked for was that they didn't wear hats. They wore shawls like the Swedish women when they first came, but before the Slavish came the Swedish women had started to adopt the custom of wearing a hat.

Mr. W: When the Slavish came here you could tell the Slavish women.

Mrs. F: Yes, you could. They wore the black hoods.

Mr. W: Yes, well the Swedish women wore hoods too, but further back. They had gotten away from it to a certain extent.

Mrs. F: And the Slavish women's dresses were different, too. They were more full in the skirt.

Mr. T: Yes, they were much wider at the bottom.

Mrs. W: Yes, much wider at the bottom. I would judge that it would take at least two or three more yards of cloth to make a Slavish woman's dress than it would for anybody else.

Mr. T: There was the differences as he said. I didn't pay much attention to them, but they were scrapping the ground when they walked, and pretty wide, but some of the Swedish women had the same kind of dress once. I know old women had them in the old country.



Writer: As I understand, many immigrants who came to Crossflat came without their families. Is that right?

Mr. W: Yes, there was quite a number of boarders without their families and some who were not married.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. T: You know, they come in here, the husband come in here and started to work and I guess he didn't have the money to take the whole family from the old country, so he came over here first, started to work, and worked until he raised enough money to get his family over here. That's what I figure. I know the Swedes did it, too.

Mr. W: Yes, Swedes and Slovaks did it. My father, he was here a year and a half before we came over, and he had done that, too. He was here a year and a half before he was able to scrape together enough to send a ticket. Of course, a ticket wasn't so expensive at that time as it is now. But we come over about a year and a half after he come over, and that was the same way with lots of the Slavish people.

Writer: How did the boarders live in those early days?

Mr. W: Well, it seemed they had to have their own bed clothes. Each one had to have a mattress and a cover, and they would find a place. I remember I was at a miners' meeting up there in Pleasant Hill when it was one day. There were these big long houses which were built there with boarders in mind...(Houses were privately owned.) Each house was higher on one end; it was on a side hill, see. One end of the house would be close down to the ground, and the other end would be quite a ways off of the ground. When it was nice weather all these boarders would sleep anyplace. They would put their mattress on the ground, any place, but if it happened to rain, why they went under the houses to get shelter. There wasn't room enough in the house.

Writer: Did families in town take in boarders?

Mr. W: Oh, yes, both the Swedish and the Slovak people. There was a while here that some of the Swedes thought they couldn't get along without that way. Later on Swedes had Swedish boarders and Slovaks Slovak boarders. They didn't mix, though. Some of them charged so much a month for board,

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1. Data concerning boarders was substantiated by the first generation of Slovaks interviewed.



and others had a method that they would buy the food and the lady in the house would prepare it for them and take so much for the work. They done that for three dollars a month, mostly.

Writer: I see. Mr. W, you mentioned earlier that Slovaks and Swedes didn't get along so well. Why was that?

Mr. W: Well, I really don't know exactly. Some got along fine, but some couldn't. There was the same thing among the Swedish people. Some got along pretty good, and some didn't between themselves, see?

Mr. T: It was the same thing with the Swedes and Slovaks, absolutely. After I started to understand and talk to each other, we never had any trouble. I don't know why we had any trouble.

Writer: As I understand, Slovaks and Swedes had some fights at the old hotel.

Mr. T: Yes, they had fights up there. I know I was in one. After work we (Slovaks and Swedes) used to go up there, and I got cornered up in the office in the hotel (by Slovaks). There were all kinds of people around, and I didn't trust anybody. I didn't know where to go. There was one guy (Slovak) I was afraid of....I don't know whether I said something or what. I don't know what happened, but I thought I was gone that night. I thought I was going to have a good licking. But there was two guys standing out on the porch, Swedes, and the window was open. They were watching. They jumped in, and that settled the matter. That's the only time I ever had any trouble with the Slovaks. And I don't remember what it started over even.

Writer: You don't know what it started over.

Mr. T: Well, there was always two parties, one party stay on one side of the bar and the Swedes on the other side, and they drank and got feeling good, what we call it, and then it would happen: one would come over (and say) "What did you say about me?" We didn't understand each other. He thought you were talking about this fellow, you know. On both sides, and anything like that could start trouble, and that was a bad thing. But after we got acquainted a little bit and could talk and understand more, then that never happened any more, but this was when we was green, you know. We didn't know any better. We didn't understand each other.



Mr. W: Well, it was a language difficulty. The trouble was with language, and they mistrusted one another. They thought that the other one was talking about him because he couldn't understand him.

Writer: How do Slovaks and Swedes get along today?

Mrs. F: I think they get along fine. (Others nodded in agreement)

Mrs. T: Yes, the Slavish are nice people. They're friendly.

Mr. W: Yes, the Slavish and Swedes understand each other today. Yes, there are lots of nice Slavish people. I have lots of friends among them.

Mr. T: Yes, things are changed. Not the way it used to be. They're friendly today. They got to know each other, see?

As was mentioned earlier by elderly Slovak and Swedish informants, the younger Slovaks and Swedes played an important role in creating better relations between the two ethnic groups. Slovaks and Swedes agreed that the first public school in Grassflat, which was built in 1893, had a far-reaching influence in bridging the gap of isolation between the two groups. In order to present a picture of the relations between younger Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat during the period 1900-1910, data was obtained from one Swedish resident who was able to recall his early school day experiences and his relations with Slovak school mates. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview mentioned earlier on page 54:<sup>2</sup>

W: A, what do you consider some of the early important factors which you believe were important in keeping the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

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2. With the permission of the interviewee, these recorded data were played for Swedish and Slovak fathers who had children of marriage age. (See pages 52-53.) Data were substantiated by older Swedish and Slovak parents.



- A: In my opinion, of course, the Swedes that settled here were born in Sweden. They came over to Peale and moved into Grassflat where they settled and turned it into a little Sweden. And, of course, they were of the Lutheran faith, and the pastor he spoke in Swedish and preached in Swedish, and that was one factors that brought them together.
- W: Yes.
- A: Then again, all the Swedes didn't attend church, of course, so a lot of Swedes who wanted to have a lot of fun and drink, why, they built pavillions....That brought the crowds (Swedes) together, and no doubt some of the church people went there, too.
- W: These pavillions belonged to-
- A: They were built by the Swedish people, and belonged to them.
- W: I see.
- A: Course they liked their polkas and dances, waltzes, and their beer. They used to roll in the beer kegs in there, too. They liked to sing their national songs like most European groups do, and you could hear a lot of singing going on up there.
- W: Who sponsored these get-togethers at the pavillion, A?
- A: A small clique of Swedes. Several got together and built a pavillion, and knew they could draw the crowds, and all they needed was a fiddler up there, and it drew the young people up there.
- W: Was it an independent group that took in the money?
- A: No, they didn't collect any money at all, except for the kegs of beer they ordered. They had to pay for that, see? Each person chipped in to pay for the kegs.
- W: A, did they ever invite the Slovak people?
- A: No, I don't think so. It was strictly for the Swedes. As far as I can recall it was for the Swedes only in the early years. It wasn't till perhaps in 1912 that some of the Slovaks and the Peale gang came up there.
- W: I wonder why the Slovaks were not invited. Do you know?



A: In my opinion, the Slovaks they built a little Slovakia just as the Swedes built a little Sweden of their own, and at that time they didn't do much mixing. Even if they met each other someplace at work. Most of the time they spent at home after work, except when they went to the hotel, but then they usually stayed together. And I noticed that the Slovaks they kept more to themselves even at the hotel. They would sing Slovak songs, and the Swedish would sing Swedish songs, and I noticed at times when someone butt in on the Slovaks, they said, "We don't butt in on you Swedes so don't butt in on us Slovaks."

W: They wanted to isolate themselves?

A: Yes.

W: Do you think language was an important factor then?

A: Yes, indeed. They couldn't understand each other. No, they could not, except a few that I recall that could speak English, and they didn't live in Dobrytown. They were interpreters for the Slovaks in the union (United Mine Workers' Union). They were interpreters for the Slovaks in the union. (Swedes also had interpreters.) At first, they let someone do their speaking for them, but later on they learned to speak for themselves and they didn't want any kingfish to do their speaking for them. At times if they didn't get what they wanted, they would blame the interpreter for it.

W: I see. I spoke with some of the older Swedish people a few days ago, and they thought the school was a rather important factor in bringing the Swedish and Slovak people together. I wonder if you could recall some of your early memories of school in Grassflat?

A: Well, very much so. I started school in 1901, and at that time there were quite a few Slovaks going to school.<sup>3</sup> And we got along very nicely. If we ever got in an argument or a fight it was just as if it was with another Swedes. But after they got home from school or work, they usually stayed on their own side.

W: Why did they stay on their own side?

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3. Compulsory School Law was passed in 1897. Roland D. Swoope, Jr., op. cit., p. 220.



A: In my opinion, I think the Swedes had a sort of superiority complex, and mainly because some could speak English. On the other hand, I think they had a suspicion about the Roman Catholics. Like Sweden, if I get back there, they fought a war for thirty years, and they had a great history and national heroes, and many still lived in the past instead of the future.

W: You think the school was important?

A: Of course. That was the language problem. They learned how to speak English. At first, the Slovaks were a little timid or had an inferiority complex. Anyway, I recall the Swedes used to butt in on the Slovaks where the Slovaks wouldn't butt in on the Swedes. I remember their early weddings. The Swedes would enter their, the Slovaks' homes, when they were not invited. Yet most of the time later they were welcome. They got their eats and drinks and dancing, and when the child was born they had a baptismal party, well, the Swedes would butt in. I recall one incident up there at Pleasant Hill when I was a kid. I used to follow some of those people (young Swedish boys). One Slovak said, "You're not invited, and you're not wanted." And one was almost a neighbor of the other, one Swede and the other a Slovak. There was a custom to it so I suppose they were astonished (astonished that Slovak Catholics did not invite Swedish Lutherans to their christening dinners). So later, the older fellas left, and I left with them. Things were a lot different. Later on, there was a wedding up in Dobrytown. I remember some of us went there. The father of the bride came out and asked us to get away from there. He didn't want us around. I got along fine with the Slovaks. The father recognized me and said, "A, you can come in." As far as I can recall, I think that was the last time the Swedes tried to impose on the Slovaks and their wedding. Although, up there in the Slovak Hall we did go there a few times, and we got our drinks, eats, and danced with the rest of them. At one time, one evening some of the Slovaks brought up a protest. But one of them up there replied that if they pay they can stay. So the gang asked how much they wanted, and they said one dollar, and so the gang pulled out their dollars, got in, ate, drank, and danced. And they mixed more than ever before. They used to have some of the best times at Grassflat at the Slovak Hall, and later on when the Slovaks started to come out more I had a pool hall. I noticed that the Slovaks never came into the poolroom. One evening one Slovak, sort of looked timid and scared, looked in and said, "Hello, A." I called to him and asked him to come in. "May I come in?" he asked. "Why certainly you may come in." So that evening on our way home he asked if Slovaks could come into the poolroom. "Yes, certainly. You're as good as the others. Your money is just as good. Sure you can come in." So after that my poolroom was full



of Slovaks. And when I wanted to get out I told Joe (Slovak) "You take charge." Well, later on they started another restaurant and poolroom on the corner in Grassflat, and one of the Slovaks who lived in West Clymer section said one evening, "Well, we're out and we're going to stay out." And, of course, when the first World War came around the Slovaks showed the same patriotism as the others did. And as far as Americanism is concerned no one questions them. So when they came back there was more social progress made. They got out in the Baseball teams. And to mention the second World War. Well, there were several Slovaks that were killed in battle, and today they're as open and free as any others, and they don't have any of that timidness, and they don't have any inferiority complex any more.

W: When did you open your poolroom, A?

A: The fall of 1920.

W: 1920. And at that time they began to mix fairly well?

A: Yes, especially in the business places. Before, they went to the hotel, but they wouldn't mix with others. But after a while they came to both poolrooms, and later on the baseball teams started and they have been mixing ever since.

As elderly residents and early settlers of both ethnic groups reported, the early relations between Slovaks and Swedes were "not so good". Both referred to language as the main barrier which precluded better inter-group relations. Each thought the other spoke "American". Fights, particularly those at the old hotel, also caused certain degrees of distrust between them. Residential segregation prevented opportunities for friendly neighbor relations. Each knew "what side they belonged on". Slovaks built their homes near other Slovaks on the "north side of the run"; Swedes occupied the area on the south. The fact that each group "went to a different church" was also a strong factor which promoted further strain in inter-group relations. As representatives of each ethnic group said, "we did not understand them". These factors, in particular, accounted



for the relatively long period of isolation between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat.

### Cultural Solidarity Among Slovaks

It was not until after 1875 that Slovaks began coming to this country in considerable numbers, but before their immigration was spent, nearly one-third of Slovakia's population had come to America. There was hardly a family in Slovakia which did not have at least one relative in America.<sup>4</sup> Slovaks who settled in Grassflat began to migrate during 1885-1895.

Their exact number in America is not known. As was pointed out earlier (See page 6), many who came from Slovakia and Moravia were registered as emigrants from other countries. The name Slav applied to "a large group of peoples and is parallel to Teuton and Celt. All who come under the name are popularly supposed to have blood relationship. Properly, however, Slav is used to specify a linguistic group which also has some semblance of cultural and racial unity, although there are wide variations in both factors".<sup>5</sup>

Most frequently Slovaks are referred to as synonymous with Czechs.

Yurchak reported on this point thus:

The Czechs and Slovaks, contrary to general belief, were never united except for brief periods, before their formation of a joint republic after the First World-War. The Slovaks were divided from the Czechs both geographically and politically. Slovakia lies between the Carpathian Mountains on the north and

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4. Peter P. Yurchak, op. cit., p. 169.

5. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigrant Backgrounds. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1927, p. 130.







the Danube River on the south. The wide curve of the formidable Carpathian Mountains running west to east for a distance of some four hundred miles (with the peaks of the Tatras on the Eastern end of this rim) separates Slovakia from the lands of the Poles and the Czechs. The Czechs and Slovaks stem from different branches of the Slav family, like the Poles and Russians.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Czechs and Slovaks have occupied different geographical areas, the history of one could not be written without reference to the other. In 1939 Benes wrote:

The Czechs and Slovaks have always lived in a very different geographical position. Today they are surrounded by a nation of eighty million inhabitants and have been subjugated by the present government of that nation. But for ten centuries, from the time of the "Good King" St. Venceslaus, this small nation has been obliged to fight for its existence, for its liberty and during the last century for democracy and for free development of the individual. In the 14th Century they fought for religious tolerance under Jan Hus. For a hundred years they fought. And although finally there was a conciliation, they had paid a great price for their ideals. They were subjugated by the Hapsburgs in the 16th Century. By the middle of the 17th Century their national state was annihilated because of their love for tolerance and liberty and respect for individual rights. For three centuries they were under the yoke of the Germans and the Magyars. The last war liberated them, to which liberation the people of the United States contributed so much, and the national state of Czechoslovakia was established.<sup>7</sup>

Yurchak, one of the leading authorities on Slovaks in the United States, wrote of their immigration to and settlement in America thus:

Slovak peasants, small land-owners, and village artisans came as refugees from a land where political injustice and inequality had become intolerable. They immediately sought out colonies of their own countrymen, or banded together to form one, avoiding social America at first in every matter but that of earning a living. Every big American city had its Slovak "center"--its "little Slovakia", its Slovak Catholic parish, or Slovak Evangelical

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6. Peter P. Yurchak, op. cit., p. 24

7. Edward Benes, Democracy Today and Tomorrow. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939, p. 230.



Lutheran congregation. From the very outset, painful as it was to them, these Slovak immigrants made every effort to adapt themselves to American life, to understand its rules, and to play an essential part in its industrial growth and development. There was not a mine or mill in America where the Slovak immigrant could not be found doing the most back-breaking and hazardous work.<sup>8</sup>

The above is quite descriptive of Slovaks who settled in Grassflat. This will be shown by the data which will follow. Slovaks who settled in Grassflat were farmers. Virtually all of them came from in or near Presov, located near the eastern tip of Slovakia. Many Slovak residents were kin-related or neighbors in or near Presov. The way in which Slovaks built their "little Slovakia" in Grassflat is in some ways quite different from the way in which other ethnic groups have established themselves in America.

In order to study those factors which functioned to promote separate ethnic group solidarities and helped both Slovaks and Swedes to retain their separate ethnic identifications, the writer raised two particular questions in tape-recorded interviews with three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes (See pages 51-54):

What are the important things that keep the Slovak people together in Grassflat?  
 What are the important things that keep the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

Extractions from tape-recorded interviews concerning these questions which were raised with both Slovak and Swedish residents will follow. These data will be presented in the chronological order in which they were recorded.

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<sup>8</sup>. Peter P. Yurchak, op. cit., pp. 141-142.



The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with three first generation (foreign-born) Slovak residents:

- Writer: What are the important things that keep the Slovak people together in Grassflat? (No responses were made) Why are Slovaks and Swedes different people?
- Mr. P: Mike, this is what I think. We have our religion and they have theirs. They (Swedes) had two churches in Pezle (Baptist and Lutheran), then built theirs here (in Grassflat). We, Slovaks, came here to the church we worship in, the Catholic Church.
- Writer: You say that the church makes a difference between them.
- Mrs. P: We believe in God and they do not. They believe that anyone can take the place of God but not us. So we believe in God and they just believe lightly.
- Mr. D: Among the Slovaks we have the same language and the same religion. These are the main factors.
- Mrs. P: Yes, our religion keeps us together. Our church and our religion. Our church keeps us together and their church keeps them together. That is the difference between us.
- Writer: How does the church keep the Slovak people together?
- Mrs. P: We believe in God and we serve him in the same way and in this way we are able to keep together. As I said, they (Swedes) do not believe God is in heaven.
- Mr. D: Swedes are people just as we are people. They believe very much as we believe. And among the young generations the differences are not as great as they used to be between Slovaks and Swedes.
- Mr. P: I think Swedes are taking after Catholics. More (of them) believe that God exists and Jesus Christ.
- Writer: What else keeps the Slovak people together in Grassflat?
- Mrs. P: We came from the same country in Europe, and we learned very much the same things. We learned the same religion we were always taught. We went to the same church, and we liked each other. The older people kept these things, but now the younger generation is not keeping the same customs as we did. The difference between Slovaks and



Swedes is not so great any more. They (the youth) are thinking that God created you and he also created me. So that today the people, Swedes and Slovaks, are associating more together.

Writer: What else keeps the Slovaks together?

Mr. D: Well, later we started our organizations. We, the women have a women's lodge and the men have a men's lodge. And when some big time came like the patron's day of any lodge, we got together and had a big time and feast. The hall was packed then. We celebrated the saint's day of the lodges as was proper. Our church was named St. Peter and Paul because it was built around the time of Sts. Peter and Paul Day.

The following data was extracted from a tape-recorded interview with second generation (native born of foreign parentage) Slovaks, each of which was a father with children of marriageable age:

Writer: What are the strongest forces which help to keep the Slovaks together in Grassflat? What factors help Slovaks to remain Slovaks in our community?

Mr. E: I think our annual celebrations which we have here in our hall. Celebrations, weddings, and so forth. We always get together, and in this way we keep together and get along. That makes them stick together. As far as I'm concerned that is my opinion.

Mr. P: Our religion has a lot to do with that, too, because we are practically all Catholics, and we go to church every Sunday. I think that has a lot to do with the Catholics being bound together.

Mr. S: In Grassflat, practically all Slovaks and their families are related.

Mr. H: Well, our organizations, the First Catholic Slovak Union. They keep Slovaks together, Slovaks in and out of town together. They have times together.<sup>9</sup>

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9. "Times" refers to lodge meetings, sports, dinners, and dances which are sometimes sponsored by Jednota organizations in neighboring communities, particularly Hawkrun and Clarence.



Writer: The First Catholic Slovak Union. What are the various organizations or branches of the First Catholic Slovak Union?

Mr. H: Catholic Slovak Union, well, men, women, boys, and girls, children have their own lodges. The club (Jednota) keeps the Slovaks in town and get a lot of them out of town and get to congregate with.

Mr. S: The section of the town they live in, too. Most Slovaks live in one section and most Swedes live in another section. That's important too.

Mr. S: The Slovak School.

Writer: How does that help keep Slovaks together?

Mr. S: That has quite a bit to do with it. Children grow up together and know each other better. They keeps them together. They get to know each other.

Writer: Are they taught Slovak in the Slovak School today?

Mr. E: No, not today. Not today.

Writer: Are there other things that keep the Slovaks together?

Mr. C: I've been away from here a while, but when I was here what more or less kept us together was that we were taught a certain number of customs, religious customs, social customs by our parents. We followed the traditions and customs of the old folks. We believed what they said was law. We kept this up through our generation, but what our kids will do the Lord only knows. I'm not very satisfied, and I see it in my own family. Our kids won't follow our steps, that's for sure, because our children are becoming more and more modern and more Americanized, and even religion doesn't mean too much to some of them either today.

Writer: How are the Swedish people in Grassflat different from the Slovaks?

Mr. H: Well, the only thing I'd say is the difference in religion. Another thing, I never see a Slovak invited, or seldom, invited to any functions that they (Swedes) have, but when it comes down to the Slovaks, like the Slovak weddings or something like that, we always invite the Swedes. So in my judgment, I'd say the Slovaks are better friends of the Swedish people than the Swedish people are of the Slovaks, because I seldom see Slovaks go to Swedish functions.



Writer: You feel the Slovaks are better mixers than the Swedes.

Mr. H: Yes.

Mr. P: I think our religion has a lot to do with it, because when they have any doings, according to our religion we are not supposed to cooperate, where if we have anything going on we are free to ask them because our religion is supposed to be the true religion and their according to my faith is not, and I will not cooperate with them.

Writer: I see.

Mr. P: As far as religion is concerned I mean, but when it's something for the town, then, of course, it's different. The fire company or something like that, then religion is out.

Writer: In your opinion, the difference in religion is a big one.

Mr. P: That's right. It is.

Writer: Are there any other differences between the Swedes and Slovaks? Are there any customs or habits of living which show differences between the Swedes and Slovaks?

Mr. T: Well, there's not much difference. They'll talk with you. They're good to work with. I've worked with them a long time. They don't fly off the handle. If something happens wrong they will sit there and laugh or sit down and sing.

Mr. E: Well, in olden times all Slovaks and Swedes used to work in the mines. Man at the head of the mines was a Swede. He used to pick Swedes for the best jobs. Used to look down on us (Slovaks) as lower class of people. Some used to even call us hunkies. "That dumb hunky doesn't know anything". Which hurts even yet today, you know. So the Swedes had the better jobs at that time, yes.

Writer: I see. Did the Slovaks get some of the good jobs at any time?

Mr. E: Well, if you had a chicken or a cow and gave it to the boss, or loaded lots of coal for nothing, then you could get a better job.

Mr. H: In my estimation, the only times they got any good jobs was when they were short of help, during a strike or something. They went scabbing (some Slovaks worked in the mines while other workmen were out on strike) and it happened in our town



that one of our townsmen (a Slovak) who couldn't even read or write got to be a boss (foreman) just because he cut his own Slovak brother's throat (that is, he became a foreman by working during the strike to please the superintendent).

Mr. E: I remember that very well. I had a job as an assistant mine foreman at one time, and that was a pretty tough job for me, too. We used to have a baseball team of our own ("The Jednotars", a Slovak team) and called ourselves the Jednota baseball team, and they (Swedes) has a baseball team they called "the town team". They used to give their boys the best places (in the mine) and all the best chances. That is the truth. As far as baseball is concerned we could outplay them if we had our Slovaks all together, but we were disorganized at that time (that is, some of the better Slovak baseball players were members of the "town team" and were given better jobs in the mines).

The following data was extracted from a tape-recorded interview with third generation (native born or native parentage) Slovaks:

Writer: Did you ever attend the coffee socials sponsored by the Swedish Lutheran Churches?

Miss M: Yes. They're very nice to go to. They try to treat everybody real nice. You can get anything you want, and they are very nice to Catholic people. That's one thing I can say about the Swedish people.

Writer: Do you know other Slovaks who attend?

Miss M: No, not that I know of.

Miss T: I haven't been there, but I have heard of other Slovak people being there, and they said that the people really treat them nicely, as if they were one of them.

Writer: How many Slovaks attend the coffee socials?

Miss F: Not very many.

Writer: I wonder why Slovak Catholics don't attend the coffee socials?

Miss T: Some probably figure that they are not quite that welcome.



Miss F: I think that the trouble is that the Slovak people think that they're old fashion and think the Swedish people might make fun of the way they go to different places. They feel out of place. They just feel as if they are being looked at. The older Slovaks feel that way; they feel different. The older people talk Slovak at home, and when they go out to places like that their English is broken, and they are afraid people will ridicule them and it hurts, you know.

Writer: Do you think Slovaks feel inferior to Swedish people?

Mr. B: I don't think it is that way, but it seems that ever since this little town started, the Swedish people have more or less stuck to their own customs and hardly ever inter-mated you might say, and the same with the Slovak people. .

Writer: You have lived in this community for at least eighteen years, each of you. Tell me, how are the Swedish people different from the Slovak people?

Miss F: For one thing, their church is different. They have different customs and different foods that they eat that Slovak people don't actually know how to go about eating their food. I know that if I was asked to eat their Swedish food, or whatever it is, I wouldn't know how to go about it or how it would taste because I have never tried it. I don't know what I'd do.

Writer: You say there is a difference in religion. What do you mean by that?

Miss F: Well, we believe that our church is the true church and they think the same idea about theirs, I guess. I don't know very much about their church, but still we were taught that ours is the true church, founded by Jesus, and we have the commandments and so do they, but there is still a little difference. We have the commandments of the church, and we have the different virtues. We believe in sacraments, and they don't. We have the rosary, and we have different services which they don't. I have never been to a service at a Swedish church or any Protestant church so I have no idea what they have.

Writer: Have any of you attended the Lutheran Churches in Grassflat?

Miss M: I have.

Miss T: I was there once.



Writer: Two of you (two of five) were there once. On what occasion was that?

Miss M: For a funeral.

Miss T: I was there two times, not once. For a funeral and for a Christmas program.

Writer: Are there any other differences between the Swedish and Slovak people in Grassflat?

Miss S: The Swedish don't believe in the Blessed Virgin and the Catholic people do.

Miss F: As S pointed out, they have their Christmas programs in church which is one thing we don't have. I don't know why, but I remember when I went to high school the girls would get together and go out caroling, but lately that has fallen away.

Writer: What other differences are there between Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. B: It seems to me that in the rearing of their children, when they reach the age of courtship, I think they are more free with their children than the Slovak parents.

Writer: How do the rest of you feel about that?

All: (Almost simultaneously) I agree.

In summarizing the tape-recorded data regarding those factors which promoted group solidarity among Slovaks, it is important to note that two factors were mentioned by each of the three groups representing three generations of Slovaks in Grassflat. These were religion and language. Land of origin and stricter parental discipline were mentioned by representatives of the first and third generations, respectively, as additional factors which promoted ethnic unity among Slovaks. Representatives of the second generation referred to still other factors. These were weddings and other social functions, the extended kinship system, residential segregation, and employment discrimination. By the latter they meant that



Swedes were chosen for the "better jobs" in the coal mines of which a Swede was superintendent. A discussion of each of these factors and others mentioned by other Slovak residents who were interviewed will follow.

#### Place of Origin

When a group of emigrants from a small community of a foreign country immigrate to and found a colony in a new homeland, the prospects of their preserving intra-ethnic group solidarity are quite favorable. This was true of Slovaks who immigrated from in or near Presov, Slovakia, and who settled in Grassflat. A relatively large number occupied neighboring farms in Presov. Many were either kin-related or well acquainted even before their immigration. A large number were able to relate experiences which they shared intimately in or near Presov. When they came to Grassflat they settled in what they considered the Slovak side of town and isolated themselves from the Swedes.

In Slovakia, they cherished their church and its related religious organizations, their social and political ideologies, close to the soil type of living, and common beliefs, attitudes, and superstitions. By means of residential segregation, they continued to preserve the cultural patterns of Slovakia with but few if any changes. Knowing only their own language prevented them from more intimate relations with their new neighbors in America. Their church, patriarchal family system, and other institutions continued to remain the strongest forces uniting them. Being a comparatively poor peasant group, earning a means of livelihood was for



a long time the only interest in which they shared experiences with other people.

### Religion

Probably no one factor played a more important role in promoting intra-ethnic solidarity among Slovaks than religion. It is the center of Slovak activities. The church along with its various organizations or "lodges" exerted a rather direct influence on virtually every Slovak Catholic in the community. In terms of membership it was the largest Slovak institution. The building of a church was the first major project completed by the earliest Slovak settlers. Before the completion of the church on August 29, 1903, Slovak Catholic residents attended mass at the St. Severin's Church at Drifting, in which sermons were delivered in English, or the Clarence Catholic Church in which Slovak was used. The former was four miles from Grassflat, the latter fourteen. Most of the early Slovaks went to the latter in order to have their confessions heard in Slovak and to receive communion. The first mass in Grassflat was held in 1902 at the home of a Slovak. The first mass at the Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church in Grassflat was held in May, 1904. The church was not dedicated until September 5, 1904.<sup>10</sup>

In reviewing the tape-recorded data presented above, it is important to note that each of the three generations of Slovaks referred to religion as one of the main forces which "keeps the Slovak people together in

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10. Data from the diary of the Reverend F. J. Simonik, the first Catholic priest in Grassflat.



Grassflat". It should also be noted that this was the first factor mentioned when Slovaks, regardless of generation, were asked to discuss the differences between Slovaks and Swedes.

The most common attitudes of Slovaks regarding the difference between "the Swedish church" (Lutheran) and "our church" (Catholic) were the following: "They don't pray to and believe in the Blessed Virgin Mary like we do"; "they don't have Rosary and Stations of the Cross like us"; "they don't believe in confession"; "their church doesn't have an altar like ours"; "they don't have the holy days that we have"; "they only have church on Sundays or when they bury some one"; "they don't observe Fridays the way we do"; and "they don't believe in heaven and hell the way we do". It is important to note that Slovak Catholics in general had only a very limited knowledge of the Lutheran faith except in regard to the various ways in which it differed from their church. Some of the elderly Slovak Catholics referred to Swedes as "pohany" (pagans), but this number was very small.

The first and second generation of Slovak subjects also mentioned organizations or lodges and their activities as important factors which promoted intra-ethnic solidarity among Slovaks. A brief description of these organizations is found in Table XXI. A more detailed account of their membership in terms of different periods of time is found in Table XXII.

It is very important to note that eight of the ten organizations found in Tables XXI and XXII, referred to by Swedes as "Slavish lodges", served a religious purpose. One of the major requirements of these "lodges" was that of receiving confession and communion (sacraments of Penance and Holy



# SLOVAK ORGANIZATIONS IN GRASSFLAT, 1951

Name of Organization	Date of Origin	Current Membership <sup>1</sup>	Chief Purpose	Social Functions Sponsored
Jednota Branch #333* (Male adult lodge)	1900	251	religious, economic, and social	Dances and sports
Jednota Branch #134* (Female adult lodge)	1904	160	Religious, economic, and social	Dances
Jednota Branch #92* (Girls' lodge)	1906	143	religious, economic, and social	Sports
Jednota Branch #130* (Boys' lodge)	1906	257	Religious, economic, and social	Sports
Jednota Club (Adult social club)	1900	366 <sup>2</sup>	Social and fraternal activities	Dances and sports
Slovak Political Club	1920	65 <sup>3</sup>	Promote Americanism and community improvement	Political rallies
Federation of Slovak Catholics	1922	63	Support Catholic charities	(None)
Rosary Society (Female)	1903	76	Spiritual	(None)
Altar Society (Female)	1949	55	Spiritual	(None)
Holy Name Society (Male)	1949	18	Spiritual	(None)

\* Branches of the First Catholic Slovak Union, founded in 1690 by Reverend Stephen Furdek who was one of the first to respond to the Slovak Catholic plea for a priest able to speak their language.

<sup>1</sup> Only local resident memberships are given.

<sup>2</sup> This number includes 40 Swedes and 51 of "other nationality".

<sup>3</sup> This number includes 1 Swedish male who married a Slovak Catholic wife.



TABLE XXII

TREND OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL MEMBERSHIP IN SLOVAK  
ORGANIZATIONS IN CRISSEFLAT, 1951

Name of Organization	Date of Origin	1930	1940	1950	1952	Current Total
Jednota Branch #333	1900					
Local	32	150	140	211	251	
Non-local	2	20	25	35	40	291
Jednota Branch #134	1904					
Local	30	80	110	165	180	
Non-local	0	0	20	20	20	200
Jednota Branch #92*	1906					
Local	24	49	100	110	143	143
Jednota Branch #130	1906					
Local	18	98	188	202	257	
Non-local	0	0	24	28	40	297
Jednota Club	1900					
Local Slovak	30	197	213	294	269	
Local Swede	0	0	60	43	46	
Local Other Nat'lity	0	0	72	49	51	
Non-local mixed <sup>1</sup>	0	201	189	194	125	491
Slovak Political Club*	1920					
Local Slovak	40	46	61	62	64	
Local Swede	1	1	1	1	1	65
Federation of Slovak Catholics*	1922					
	18	31	43	57	65	65
Rosary Society*	1903	(Data not available) <sup>2</sup>				78
Altar Society*	1949					
	32				55	55
Holy Name Society*	1949					
	14				18	18

\* Organizations with local membership only.

<sup>1</sup> Includes residents of neighboring communities listed in Table XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Although exact data were not available, virtually all Slovak Catholic female parents were members.



Eucharist) frequently, often in a group. The general purpose of these organizations was the perpetuation of the Roman Catholic faith.

The Rosary Society is both the oldest and the largest women's spiritual organization. Members met at the church every Sunday afternoon and every evening except Sunday during the month of May, the month of special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Men and children also attended the rosary devotions during this month. The purpose of the Rosary Society was to "gain indulgences for oneself or one's deceased. Indulgences were obtained by "praying the beads". It was quite a common practice for Slovak Catholics to enter church and say the rosary on occasions when they were uptown. This was especially true of elderly Slovak men and women. During the regular Sunday services of the society, "holy pictures" were distributed among members, the purpose of which was to stimulate more serious spiritual meditation and prayer. The Altar Society and the Holy Name Society which were organized by the current pastor also served a spiritual purpose. Prayer and frequent reception of the sacraments were encouraged. Members of the Altar Society were also responsible for keeping the newly decorated church in order. Being comparatively new societies accounted for their relatively small memberships.

The remaining religious organization was the Federation of Slovak Catholics. Its membership was limited to Slovak Catholics who had demonstrated sound Roman Catholic practices. Requests for financial support both from in and outside the community were referred to this organization whose main purpose was the support of Catholic charities.



In addition to the eight organizations mentioned above, a vitally important religious role was played by the Catechism Class, formerly known as "Slovak School", which was taught by the pastor. All children between the ages of six and seventeen were required to attend. Regular attendance at Mass and Catechism by these children was rigidly enforced. Every child within this age group was expected to remain in church immediately following Mass every Sunday and three or four times per week during the summer months. Masses usually began at 7 A. M. during the school year. This permitted students sufficient time to catch the bus for public high school. Both parents and children "heard about it" (from the pastor) if children did not attend Mass and Catechism regularly. A roll call following Mass was taken to check on absentees. Penance and communion were "musts".

The Catholic pastor, a former resident of a nearby community, was, according to Slovak Catholic residents, "a firm priest", "very strict about going to church and receiving confession and communion", "probably a little too strict with young children" (according to the children themselves but certainly not their parents), "the best priest we ever had", "an excellent teacher", one who "gives the best sermons we've ever heard", and "very highly respected by Slovak Catholics". In spite of his discouragement of the use of the Slovak language both in church and school, his most ardent admirers are the elderly Slovak men and women. Many said "He's the kind we had in Slovakia". His predecessor gave a Slovak sermon every Sunday. He gives a sermon in Slovak only three times a year!

On the other hand, the pastor's evaluation of his parishioners was also a favorable one. He regarded "Grassflat Catholics as excellent



Catholics". "They attend church and receive the sacraments regularly"; "they cooperate in sending their children to mass and catechism"; "their marriages are faithful", and "they support the church generously". He had also commented that this relatively small parish had given "thousands of dollars to redecorate their church in the last year and a half".

Aside from their influence as factors strengthening ethnic group consciousness among Slovaks, the church and its affiliated organizations were also in some respects direct factors precluding inter-ethnic assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes. With the exception of the Jednota Club with 46 Swedish members and the Slovak Political Club with only 1 Swedish member, all organizations established and maintained by Slovaks excluded Swedes from their membership. It is very important to note that this restriction was made almost exclusively in terms of religion. Furthermore, as it has been pointed out, the church frowned upon any support of the Lutheran churches by Catholics; it openly and strongly discouraged dating between Slovaks and Swedes; and it forced the marriage of Catholics to non-Catholics under certain conditions. The latter two points will be discussed in Chapter VII.

The questionnaire sample of both Slovaks and Swedes were studied in terms of their self image and their image of each other. A number of items regarding the role of religion within each ethnic group was used which permitted a comparative study of parents and children of both groups. Items regarding religion were:

Slovaks are a very religious people.  
 Their church holds them together as a group more than anything else.  
 Their pastor is a most influential person among them.



These items were repeated regarding Swedes.

Data presented in Table XXIII indicate a very significant difference between the self image held by the three Slovak groups and their image of Swedes on the item regarding "very religious people". More than three-fourth of the Slovak pupils and parents agreed that "very religious people" was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. On the other hand, an even larger number of Swedes agreed that Slovaks were "very religious people", but a larger number of Swedes than Slovaks responded that Swedes were "a very religious people".

Each of the three Slovak groups replied that their church holds them together more than the Lutheran church holds Swedes together. The difference appeared significant. The three Swedish groups tended to agree with the self image held by Slovaks, particularly the Swedish parents, but the Swedish male pupils and parents rated themselves slightly lower than the Slovaks rated them on this item. Swedish female pupils rated Swedes significantly higher than they were rated by any of the other five groups.

On the item regarding the influence of the pastor of each ethnic group, more than nine-tenth of Slovaks of each groups replied that their pastor was "most influential among them", but rated the Swedish pastor significantly lower. More than nine-tenth of Swedish parents and female pupils agreed with the self image held by Slovaks, but only one half of the Swedish male pupils agreed with the self image held by Slovaks. A larger number of each Swedish group, especially the male pupils, than Slovaks considered their pastor as "most influential". A greater number



TABLE XXIII

INTRA- AND INTER-ETHNIC IMAGE OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES AS INDICATED BY  
SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12 AND THEIR PARENTS

	response	Slovak			Swedish		
	Given	31M*	22F*	33P*	M	F	M/F
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Religious people	Yes	74%	77%	69%	67%	77%	93%
	No	3	5	3	0	0	0
	Y-N <sup>1</sup>	23	11	12	12	22	7
<u>Swedes</u>							
Religious people	Yes	19	14	21	33	33	50
	No	12	54	33	25	11	14
	Y-N	39	32	45	12	55	36
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Church unites them	Yes	10	91	66	75	67	93
	No	10	0	3	25	11	0
	Y-N	10	9	9	0	22	7
<u>Swedes</u>							
Church unites them	Yes	39	36	45	37	56	29
	No	29	45	30	37	0	50
	Y-N	32	18	24	25	44	21
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Pastor influences	Yes	93	95	91	50	100	93
	No	3	0	3	25	0	0
	Y-N	3	5	6	25	0	7
<u>Swedes</u>							
Pastor influences	Yes	32	27	39	67	44	57
	No	32	50	30	0	22	14
	Y-N	35	23	30	12	33	29

Table reads: Of the three Slovak groups (31 males and 22 females in Grades 7-12 and 33 parents), 93% of males, 95% of females, and 91% of parents agreed with the item "Their pastor is a most influential person among them".

\* Throughout this study "M", "F", and "P" as found in tabulated data will be used abbreviated symbols for Males, Females, and Parents, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this study "Y-N" is used in tabulated data as an abbreviation for a questionnaire response meaning "between Yes and No".



of Slovaks than Swedes considered their own pastor as "a most influential person".

Further comparisons were made between Slovaks and Swedes in terms of the religious education of their children. Church attendance of both groups was studied. Data concerning the beginning age of Catechism by Slovaks and Sunday School by Swedes are presented in Table XXIV. None of either group marked the item "never attended". In terms of attendance

TABLE XXIV

AGE OF BEGINNING RELIGIOUS EDUCATION BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12

Age	Slovak		Swedish	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
3-4	3	6	11	65
5-6	40	75	4	23
7	8	15	0	0
8	1	2	1	6
9	1	2	0	0
10 or later	0	0	1	6
Total	53	100	17	100

of religious education (Catechism or Sunday School), 97% of Slovak and 71% of Swedish youth marked the item "I never miss unless I'm unable to go". Three percent of Slovak and 29% of Swedish youth said they attended "3 Sundays a month".

In short, both Slovaks and Swedes began the religious education of their children early in life, and attendance of religious education was definitely in the mores of both ethnic groups.



TABLE XXV

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS<sup>1</sup>

Church Attendance	Slovak			Swedish		
	34 Children	33 Father	33 Mother	17 Children	14 Father	14 Mother
Hardly ever attends	0 %	0 %	3 %	0 %	36 %	14 %
1-5 times a year	0	3	3	12	0	14
Once or twice a month	0	0	0	29	36	36
Almost every week	3	15	12	35	7	21
Every week	96	82	82	24	21	14

<sup>1</sup> Pupils enrolled in Grades 7-12 and their parents.

The data in Table XXV indicate significant differences between the Slovak and Swedish samples in terms of church attendance. It is important to note that the above samples do not include first generation Slovaks and Swedes who constitute the most regular church-goers in both ethnic groups. The data above seem to indicate that Slovaks are more regular church-goers than Swedes. The difference between the children of both ethnic groups in terms of church attendance is not as significant as it might appear in statistical form. It is important to note that Sunday School, which precedes the regular church services, is the most important and most emphasized religious activity among the Swedes. Sunday School attendance, as was shown, by Swedish children was unusually high.

In terms of the data presented thus far it seems that the Catholic Church and related organizations play a major role both in promoting intra-ethnic solidarity among Slovaks and precluding inter-ethnic solidarity between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat. As thus far indicated religion is a major factor of difference between the two ethnic groups.



### Economic, Social, and Political Organizations

As indicated in Table XXI, the Jednota Branches #333, 134, 92, and 130 also serve secondary purposes, namely, economic and social. According to the officers of these organizations, virtually every Slovak Catholic in Grassflat "carries an insurance policy (purchased through the organizations) which pays from \$500 to \$1000 death benefits". The comparatively low premium rates of this group type of insurance are paid at the regular monthly lodge meetings. Adult males and females may carry additional insurance which provides accident and sickness benefits. It is important to note that this is the only type of insurance protection held by an overwhelming majority of Slovaks in Grassflat. Only a very limited number have private insurance in addition to their "lodge insurance".

The social events sponsored by the adult branches mentioned above are "times that brings all the Slovaks and their children together", frequently including "Jednotars" from nearby communities. Then the old Slovak adage is apropos: "Kde Slovak tam spev". ("Where there is a Slovak there is song".) Dinners and dances sponsored by these organizations are surpassed by none save the Slovak wedding. On the other hand, an apparent lack of interest and leadership on the part of older residents had caused baseball, a one time popular sport among Slovaks, to vanish from the recreational and social scene.

The Slovak Political Club, the smallest non-religious organization, was composed of members both Catholic and non-Catholic. Members of other nationalities who were married to mates of Slovak extraction were also admitted for membership. Members must be citizens of the United States.



Both Democrats and Republicans belong, but the former is much larger in number. As one of the officers of the organization said, "the main purpose of the club is to get after township or county officers to get things done in town and to get good people in" (office).

The Jednota Club, known by Swedes as the "Slavish Club", is the largest organization in Grassflat. This is true because membership includes all adult members of the First Catholic Slovak Union Branches and "social members" who are composed of Catholic and non-Catholic members as well as members of any national origin. "Social members" enjoy the same privileges as others except that they are not permitted to assist the bartender behind the bar, are not included in the group insurance plan, and must pay one dollar a year "social membership dues". It is important to note the relatively large Swedish and other nationality membership. Membership also includes non-residents. Although all "social members" are permitted to attend the dances sponsored by the club, only a very limited number attend. As one resident said, "it's mostly Slovaks who dance there, but others come in and drink at the bar". A large majority of the Slovaks do their drinking there. It is also a popular meeting place of elderly Swedish residents who have worked in the mines and were miners' union members with Slovaks. Elderly folks usually drop in during mid-morning and mid-afternoon periods on their way to and from the grocery stores or the postoffice. All Slovak meetings are held at the Jednota Club which is better known as the Slovak Hall.

As mentioned early, Slovaks did not always enjoy the freedom to establish their own organizations in Slovakia. As Yurchak reported:



Slovaks at home, under the Monarchy, restricted by law from maintaining their own cultural and welfare societies, took to founding them in their new home on a broad scale. The principal feature of all these societies was that of providing for those who met with misfortune. Beginning in a spirit of Christian charity with a "pass-the-hat" method of collecting funds to bury some "brother" killed suddenly at work, this phase of their organized activities grew to giant proportions. Prohibited as were Slovaks in their homeland from publishing newspapers and periodicals in their own language, they founded one newspaper after another until today in America they spend nearly a half million dollars annually in publishing Slovak newspapers and periodicals.<sup>11</sup>

All Slovak members of the adult branches of the First Catholic Slovak Union receive the Jednota, a Catholic weekly, which is the official organ of the Union.<sup>12</sup> This is the only newspaper read by virtually all elderly Slovak residents because it is written in the Slovak language. Unlike most newspapers, in addition to news, editorials, and advertising, Jednota devotes a major portion of its columns to news about other Slovak organizations throughout America, up-to-date records regarding the Union, current news concerning Slovakia, and several columns are devoted to religion, including the Scripture and sermon for the particular week.

In addition to the Jednota, every Slovak Catholic family subscribed to Our Sunday Visitor, a National Catholic Weekly.<sup>13</sup> Subscription is strongly urged by the pastor. A major portion of its columns are devoted to a discussion of better Catholic practices. In it are found major Catholic announcements, news of the Catholic world, and the point of view

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11. Peter Yurchak, op. cit., p. 103.

12. Jednota (Catholic Weekly). Middletown, Pennsylvania: First Catholic Slovak Union.

13. Our Sunday Visitor (The Popular National Catholic Action Weekly). Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc.



of the Catholic Church in regard to such topics as marriage and family, politics, and education.

Both Slovak and Swedish children who attended Grades 7 through 12 were asked to indicate how frequently their parents read a newspaper written in the native language of their respective ethnic group. The following results were given:

<u>Responses Given</u>	<u>33 Slovak Parental Couples</u>	<u>14 Swedish Parental Couples</u>
All the time	47%	6%
Often	30	6
Sometimes	19	53
Seldom	3	0
Never	0	35

These results seem to indicate that Slovak parents of the second generation read a newspaper in their ethnic language more frequently than Swedish parents of the second generation.

#### Language

In reviewing the tape-recorded data extracted from interviews with Slovak subjects, it is important to note that the first generation was particularly emphatic in regarding language as one of the main factors which "keeps the Slovak people together". Inability to speak English, residential segregation, and an attitude of reluctance to learn another language were important forces in strengthening solidarity-feelings among Slovak foreign-born residents. Even today, a large number of foreign-born are unable to read, write, or speak English. Many of those who could converse with Swedes did not because they did not feel confident of their ability. The outlook for more intimate relations with Swedes seemed



limited because of residential segregation. As shown in Figure 1 on page 75, a number of Slovak neighborhoods were found in Dobrytown and Pleasant Hill which were relatively isolated from Swedes. Furthermore, many of the first generation Slovaks felt it was too late to start learning another language, and still others felt no necessity to learn English because their relations were limited almost exclusively to those with other Slovaks.

Foreign-born Slovaks were quite unhappy when Slovak was discontinued in the Catechism classes and became much less used in the church. Even though none had any desire to return to Slovakia the feelings were quite strong that the Slovak language should continue to be taught to children. Communication of foreign-born parents with the children and grandchildren is rarely carried on in English.

In order to study the role of older people both among Slovaks and Swedes, the following item was used: "Their older people are most influential in their group". In general the responses of the questionnaire sample of children and their parents indicate that they play a rather influential part in the relations of their groups. Approximately two-fifths of Slovak pupils and almost two-thirds of their parents (second generation) replied that the older people among Slovaks "are most influential in their group". On the other hand, approximately two-thirds of Swedish pupils and almost two-thirds of Swedish parents considered their older people as most influential. More Swedish than Slovak pupils and parents considered the older people among Slovaks as influential. The number of Slovak and



Swedish subjects who rated the older people among Swedes as being influential was about equal.

Although the tape recorded data from both the second and third generation Slovaks indicated that the language barrier was diminishing rapidly, the kind of Slovak-Swedish relations continue to be affected by the attitudes held by their foreign-born parents, whose image of Swedes remains relatively unchanged because of their limited relations with them. In terms of marital selection of their children and grandchildren, for example, they still play a major role. Their emphasis remains one of selection of marital partners who are, first of all, Catholic, and second, those who are Slovak.

It is important to note that virtually every Slovak child had a grandparent who lived in Grassflat. Questionnaire data indicated that seven out of fifty-three Slovak pupils and none of seventeen Swedish pupils lived with in-laws. It appears that language does play an important role in promoting solidarity among first generation Slovaks, but much less directly among the younger generations.

#### Kinship System

The kinship system among Slovaks was a tightly knit system. It played a major role in promoting intra-ethnic solidarity among Slovaks. Virtually every Slovak family had at least one relative through marriage, baptism, or confirmation living in Grassflat. Practically all first generation and several second generation parents had at least one child who lived in the community with his or her family. In-group marriages, which will be



discussed in detail in Chapter VII, occurred frequently. They constituted one of the most decisive factors in strengthening solidarity-feelings among Slovaks. Adult male and female sponsors at baptism and confirmation which further extend the kinship system occupy positions of high respect among Slovaks.

The following questionnaire item was used to study intra- and inter-ethnic images held by both Slovaks and Swedes regarding their kinship systems: "Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people". A larger number of Slovaks than Swedes replied that this was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. Forty-one percent of Slovak pupils and 40% of Slovak parents answered the item regarding Slovaks "yes". Fewer answered this item "yes" regarding Swedes. On the other hand, only 18% of Swedish pupils and 7% of Swedish parents replied that this statement was characteristic of Swedes. Twenty-three percent of Swedish pupils and 35% of Swedish parents said this was true of Slovaks. In short, a comparative study of both groups regarding this item indicated that friends were made up more of relatives among Slovaks than Swedes.

Many other Slovak residents interviewed mentioned that relatives were an important factor holding Slovak people together in Grassflat. For example, one Slovak resident said, "I don't dare to buy one relative a drink because I'd lose many friends because I just could not afford to buy them all a drink". Another said, "If I took a drink from every one of my relations I'd miss work for a week". Still another summarized his views thus: "Slovaks are pretty close in Grassflat. You can be sure of one thing--if two Slovaks aren't neighbors, they're related in some way".



Figure 1 on page 75 presents an ecological distribution of various ethnic groups in Grassflat. It is important to note the Slovak ecological pattern. Neighborhoods of Slovak relatives are found particularly in Dobrytown and Pleasant Hill. In Dobrytown, two large relative groups were found, one consisted of four and another consisted of three households. In Pleasant Hill were three neighborhoods of relatives consisting of five, three, and two household units.

### The Family

A comparative study of Slovaks and Swedes was made in terms of family size. Data obtained from a census of the community indicated the following comparisons:

<u>Generation</u>	<u>number of Family Units</u>	<u>Average Family Size</u>
1st Slovak	26	5.35
1st Swedish	20	4.85
2nd Slovak	52	3.90
2nd Swedish	38	3.05
3rd Slovak	9	1.77
3rd Swedish	3	3.00

The averages of Slovak and Swedish families in the questionnaire samples were 5.36 and 4.29, respectively.

The Slovak family had certain characteristics which distinguished it from the typical family found among the Swedes. Many Slovaks who were interviewed felt that the roles of family members were better defined in the Slovak than the Swedish family. Swedes, it seemed to them, had "no system" (system meaning a particular kind of order or rules). Whereas the



Swedish family appeared to be more democratic or equalitarian, the Slovak family tended to be more patriarchal in structure.

The role of father, mother, and children in the Slovak family were well-defined. The role of father was mainly one of economic provider, and that of the mother was, in the strictest sense of the concept, a domestic role. Children were taught to "listen" to their parents. It was because their own roles were so clearly defined and because the Swedish family appeared to differ from theirs that many Slovaks regarded the Swedes as having families with "no system".

Slovak males spoke freely of the duties of the Slovak father as "boss in the family"; one who "keeps order in the house"; and one who "feeds the family". They referred to the major duties of the Slovak mother as "keeping children clean", preparing meals economically, that is, "without running to the store all the time", "teaching children the prayers for confession and communion",<sup>14</sup> and "keeping their man from drinking too much and missing work". On the other hand, Slovak females frequently referred to the father role as one who "is supposed to be the boss", "brings home a good pay", and "makes children listen if they don't behave". They referred to their own roles as one of "doing all the cooking", "keeping the house clean", and "taking care of the children".

A description of the position of women in the Slovak family as reported by Yurchak is quite typical of Slovak women in Grassflat:

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14. Refers to prayers which every child must know before he is permitted to receive confession and communion.



The position of the women in the Slovak family has always been high. The woman plays a responsible role in the life of the average Slovak family. The Slavs never subjugated their women, who always shared even the most unendurable hardships with the men. Terms of endearment like *manicka* (sweet mother) survive in emigrant families even where the language is no longer spoken.<sup>15</sup>

The members of the Slovak family do many things together. It is quite common for the whole family to attend dances and other socials at the Slovak Hall, work in their garden, make frequent trips to Philipsburg to shop for clothing and groceries, and take Sunday afternoon rides in the family car. From a comparatively early age boys are taught to help their fathers with work around the house, while girls are taught to help their mothers with various chores in the house.

Religion played a major role in keeping the Slovak family together. Serious family conflicts are referred to the priest by one or both parents in the confessional or the privacy of the parsonage. Confession is considered invalid and sinful if all misdeeds are not mentioned in the confessional. Furthermore, reception of communion is considered sinful if wrong-doers do not make amends.

Divorce had no place in their mores. The following were most common expressions of attitudes and beliefs made by Slovak residents regarding marriage and divorce: "People go to hell if they divorce". "When you divorce you lose everything--your church and everything". "People who divorce commit one of the most serious sins". "There's no reward in heaven for them" (the divorced). "Once you're married, you're supposed to stay married, regardless".

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15. Peter Yurchak, op. cit., p.



Marriages among Slovaks are permanent. Not one case of divorce has occurred in Grassflat among Slovaks. Among former Slovak residents who had moved to urban areas only two divorces in the last three decades are known. Both were inter-ethnic marriages, one of which was also a mixed religious marriage.

Statistical data regarding both Slovak and Swedish families were obtained through the use of the attitude questionnaire mentioned previously. Some of the items which were used regarding the family of both ethnic groups were the following:

Their parents are very strict parents.  
Their children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.  
Their families are run by the father.<sup>16</sup>

Data presented in Table XXVI indicate the responses given by Slovak and Swedish children and their parents to these items.

It is important to note that each of the Slovak and Swedish groups indicated that "very strict parents" was more characteristic of Slovak than Swedish parents. More than one half of both Slovak and Swedish parents and Swedish female pupils responded that "very strict parents" described Slovak parents, and only 15, 14, and 0 per cent, respectively, indicated that this was also true of Swedish parents. On the other hand, not more than 13 per cent of both Slovak and Swedish male pupils agreed with their parents on this item regarding Slovak parents. Approximately the same number of Slovak and Swedish male pupils indicated that "very strict parents" was characteristic of Swedish parents. More than half of the Slovak female

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16. See Appendix for Attitude Questionnaire from which these items were extracted.



TABLE XXVI

## INTRA- AND INTER-ETHNIC IMAGE OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES

	response	Slovak			Swedish		
	Given	3M	22F	33F	G.	9F	11F
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Very strict parents	Yes	13%	27%	55%	12%	56%	57%
	No	35	64	27	37	11	7
	Y-N	52	9	16	50	33	36
<u>Swedes</u>							
Very strict parents	Yes	10	14	15	12	0	14
	No	45	59	36	50	44	71
	Y-N	45	27	46	37	56	14
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Ch. make decisions	Yes	29	59	27	25	22	21
	No	29	9	33	37	22	57
	Y-N	42	32	39	37	56	21
<u>Swedes</u>							
Ch. make decisions	Yes	26	27	24	62	67	50
	No	29	32	21	12	0	21
	Y-N	45	41	54	25	33	29
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Father runs family	Yes	42	66	70	50	56	71
	No	19	9	9	0	0	7
	Y-N	39	23	21	50	44	21
<u>Swedes</u>							
Father runs family	Yes	42	32	55	37	33	36
	No	13	9	6	12	11	26
	Y-N	45	59	39	50	56	36

Table reads: 70% of the Slovak parent sample indicated that "Slovak families are run by the father".

pupils responded that "very strict parents" was characteristic of neither Slovak nor Swedish parents. Only a slightly larger number indicated that "very strict parents" was more characteristic of Slovak than Swedish parents. The responses to this item by 8 parent couples and 12 children







of "other nationality"<sup>17</sup> were also studied. Only a slightly larger number of each group considered that "very strict parents" was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. Approximately one fourth of each group indicated that this description was true of Slovak parents.

Responses to the item regarding the role of children in the family indicated that all groups, except Slovak male and female pupils, indicated that Swedish children "have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family" more than Slovak children. Slightly more than one fourth of Slovak male pupils responded that both Swedish and Slovak children share in decision making in their families. Almost three fifths of Slovak female pupils replied that Slovak children had an important part in decision making, but only slightly more than one fourth responded that this was true of Swedish children. Only a slightly larger number of "other nationality" parents and children indicated that Swedish children had "an important part in making decisions" than Slovak children.

All groups, except Slovak male pupils, indicated that the "family run by the father" is more characteristic of the Slovak than Swedish family. Almost three fourths of both Swedish and Slovak parents replied that the Slovak family is run by the father, while only 55% of Slovak parents and 36% of Swedish parents replied that this was also true of the Swedish family. Slovak male pupils rated the families of both ethnic groups as about similar on this item. A significantly larger number of both Slovak and Swedish female pupils indicated that the Slovak rather than the Swedish

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17. Throughout this study "other nationality" refers to nationalities other than Slovak, Swedish, and Slovak-Swedish.







family was "run by the father. A slightly larger number of "other nationality" parents indicated that Slovak rather than the Swedish family was "run by the father". No difference was shown between Slovaks and Swedes on this item by "other nationality" pupils. Only 2 out of 12 pupils responded that the Slovak and Swedish families were "run by the father".

Four additional items were used further to study the family systems of both Slovaks and Swedes. These items, which appeared only in the questionnaire which was administered to pupils, read thus:

Who makes the important decisions in your family?  
☐ Father ☐ Mother ☐ The whole family decides after talking it over ☐ Everyone does as he or she pleases.

If you were in any kind of trouble, to whom would you most likely go? ☐ Father ☐ Mother ☐ Sister ☐ Brother  
☐ Someone outside the family.

Does your father show interest in what you do in school?  
☐ All the time ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never

Does your mother show interest in what you do in school?  
☐ All the time ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never

Responses to these four items are found in Table XXVII.

A greater number of Slovak than Swedish children indicated that their fathers made "the important decisions" in their families. Only a limited number of both Slovak and Swedish children responded that their mothers made "the important decisions" in their families. Approximately one third of both Slovak and Swedish males and Slovak females indicated that in their families "the whole family decides after talking it over". This response was given by approximately two thirds of Swedish female children.







TABLE XXVII

PARENT IMAGE HELD BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN<sup>1</sup>

Who makes the important decisions in your family?

N	Group	-----Percent of Responses Given-----			
		Father	Mother	Whole Family	Everyone as pleases
31	Slovak M	45%	19%	32%	3%
22	Slovak F	59%	5%	30%	0%
8	Swedish M	25%	12%	37%	25%
9	Swedish F	22%	0%	67%	11%

If you were in any kind of trouble, to whom would you most likely go?

N	Group	-----Percent of Responses Given-----				
		Father	Mother	Sister	Brother	Someone outside family
31	Slovak M	45%	52%	0%	0%	3%
22	Slovak F	5%	95%	0%	0%	0%
8	Swedish M	62%	25%	0%	0%	12%
9	Swedish F	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%

Does your father show interest in what you do in school?

N	Group	-----Percent of Responses Given-----				
		All the time	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
31	Slovak M	55%	19%	16%	3%	0%
22	Slovak F	64%	23%	13%	0%	0%
8	Swedish M	75%	25%	0	0	0%
9	Swedish F	77%	11%	11%	0%	0%

Does your mother show interest in what you do in school?

N	Group	-----Percent of Responses Given-----				
		All the time	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
31	Slovak M	61%	19%	13%	0%	0%
22	Slovak F	77%	14%	4%	4%	0%
8	Swedish M	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%
9	Swedish F	77%	11%	11%	0%	0%

<sup>1</sup> Children enrolled in Grades 7-12, inclusive.







To whom would you most likely go if you were in any kind of trouble? Both Slovak and Swedish male children answered "father" more frequently than females, and females answered "mother" more frequently than males. The differences between the responses of Swedish and Slovak children were not significant. Only one Slovak and one Swedish male indicated "someone outside the family". "Brother" and "Sister" answers probably were not given because only a very limited number had older brothers and sisters.

There was some difference between the responses given by Slovak and Swedish children to the item regarding parental interest in school. It appeared that both Slovak and Swedish parents were interested in the education of their children, but the latter seemed to be slightly more interested than the former.

A comparison of Slovaks and Swedes was also made in terms of their responses to the following questionnaire item: (Slovaks - Swedes) "like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people". A large majority of both Slovak and Swedish parents indicated that this statement was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes.

In order to summarize the discussion of cultural solidarity among Slovaks, it is important to note that the extent to which they were able to maintain their interethnic stability was determined by a number of closely interrelated factors. First, the fact that they emigrated from a common land of origin and settled in a relatively isolated community in Pennsylvania played a major role in facilitating the preservation of cultural patterns of their native land, Slovakia. Second, their church and its related organizations and activities functioned in a most unique



way as an agency of social control. Religion, it should be emphasized, was mentioned by virtually all residents who were interviewed as the main difference between the two major ethnic groups in Grassflat. Third, various organizations, in addition to those of a religious nature, also served the important function of helping Slovak people to formulate a plan for better intraethnic group adjustment in the new homeland. These organizations served social, political, and economic purposes which became an integral part of the Slovak pattern of adjustment. Fourth, language was mentioned by both Slovaks and Swedes, particularly foreign-born Slovaks, as a most direct factor in both promoting their own solidarity and precluding prospects of more intimate relations with Swedes. As Burgess and Locke reported:

Immigrant families, marooned within a language colony and extremely isolated from the activities of the new country, have a high degree of stability.<sup>18</sup>

Fifth, the highly integrating kinship system of Slovaks played a unique role in promoting intraethnic solidarity not only on a social but also a more personal level. Lastly, the family, as a basic institution, functioned in a complex and intimate way to help Slovaks retain their separate ethnic identification. Three particular characteristics of the Slovak family made it effective in strengthening intra-group consciousness: its predominantly patriarchal pattern, its adherence to the church, and its tendency toward greater residential stability.

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18. Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, The Family. New York: American Book Company, 1945, p. 538.







It is important to include the following observation of a visiting Slovak Catholic missionary as reported to the local Catholic priest:

"I've been in many Slovak communities, but Grassflat is the most Slovak in its ways". He referred particularly to their high regard for the Catholic Church, their social and dietary patterns, and the elderly Slovak women's manner of dress.

#### Cultural Solidarity Among Swedes

Swedes who settled in Grassflat immigrated to America comparatively earlier than Slovaks. As was mentioned earlier (see pages 66-68), a large number of the original Swedish settlers who came to Grassflat first settled in McIntyre, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. When mine operations began to decline in McIntyre a colony of over 200 adult persons migrated to Peale which is approximately two miles east of Grassflat. Three particular reasons motivated them to settle in Grassflat: declining coal operations in Peale, "opening" of new mines in Grassflat, and a desire to own their own homes. A large majority of residents of Peale lived in company-owned houses. Not more than four or five adult Slovaks were included among Peale residents who finally settled Grassflat.

It is interesting to compare the Swedes and Slovaks in terms of several factors. Not unlike the Slovaks, Swedes were also farmers in their native land, and their reason for immigration to America was mainly economic. Swedes, too, as one elderly Swedish resident said "were pretty old acquaintances in Dalsland, Sweden". A large number were old friends or relatives in Dalsland, Sweden, and in McIntyre and Peale, Pennsylvania. Not unlike







the Slovaks, Swedes were also united to a great extent by a common language and a common religion, Lutheranism, the established church of Sweden. Conditions favoring the preservation of cultural patterns of Sweden were strikingly similar to those which later facilitated the preservation of cultural patterns of Slovakia.

The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren gave a vivid account of Swedish settlers before their colonization in Grassflat:

In the decade 1875-1885 many immigrants from Sweden, most of them from the Province of Dalsland, arrived in McIntyre, Tioga County, Pennsylvania. They brought with them an interest and a devotion for higher spiritual things. The Lutheran Church of Sweden had been to them a good spiritual mother. In McIntyre they felt the need of a Church of their own faith. Therefore in 1882 an informal organization of a congregation took place. Even at that time it became evident that the coal mines in McIntyre could not provide permanent labor for the miners. . . . On June 14th, that very year, 21 Swedish miners from McIntyre arrived in Cooper Township to begin work. M. John Linder, one of the organizers of Emanuel, was one of them. In his diary he wrote: "Never will I forget the first evening we spent in the so called New Place. All of us crowded into a shanty 16 feet wide and 20 feet long, located on the spot known as The Tunnel Side.<sup>19</sup> There was little elbow room. Here we lived from June 14th to late in the fall, when we moved to the Peale location near by". The following year the entire Swedish settlement in McIntyre moved to Peale.<sup>20</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Sebelius, one of the earliest Swedish pastors, spoke on the subject "Reminiscences From the Early Days of Nebo" on the 60th Anniversary of that church on October 1, 1944. On this occasion the Reverend Mr. Lindgren reported:

In the course of his address he asked the question, How many of you were born in Dalsland, Sweden? About 50 held up their hands. Again he asked another question, How many of you are descendants

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19. Located approximately two miles from Peale.

20. The Rev. Edward A. Lindgren, "History of Emanuel Lutheran Church," Our Lutheran Chimes, Grassflat, Pennsylvania, 7:10, August-September, 1950.







of those who came from Dalsland? This time more than 200 raised their hands. It is indeed strange that so many of the Swedes who came to Peale and Grassflat in earlier days with few exceptions came from the Province of Dalsland in Sweden.<sup>21</sup>

Other data concerning the early Swedish settlers were reported by the Reverend Mr. Sebelius:

An interesting characteristic of these Dalsland colonists is their love of the soil, albeit they are constrained to spend so much of their occupational time underground. It is a pleasure to watch them cultivate their gardens and small farms in their spare time. Best of all, these hard-working, nature-loving people have a deep-seated interest in the cultivation of the Lord's Vineyard.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to the history of Slovakia, that of Sweden had been comparatively more peaceful. Undoubtedly this had accounted to some degree for certain differences which existed among Swedes and Slovaks both in Europe and America. On this topic Brown and Roucek reported thus:

Unlike the immigrants from central and eastern Europe, the Swedes did not bring with them what Professor Miller has called the "oppression psychosis"--the product of past struggles for national existence which strengthened ethnocentric tendencies in the religion, language, and customs of such immigrants as shared it. Consequently the Swedes have found it much easier to adapt themselves to American culture. In this process they have been helped by the fact that their religion is Lutheranism, a form of Protestantism.<sup>23</sup>

A much larger number of Swedes was admitted to the United States than Slovaks. Records of the United States Bureau of Immigration indicated that 546,936 Slovaks and 169,380 Czechs were admitted to the United States between 1899 and 1930. The census of 1930 reported 491,638 foreign-born

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21. The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren, "Sixtieth Anniversary," Our Lutheran Chimes, Grassflat, Pennsylvania, 1:3, September-October, 1944.

22. The Reverend S. J. Sebelius, "On the Heights of Nebo," Our Lutheran Chimes, Grassflat, Pennsylvania, 1:6, September-October, 1944.

23. Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek, One America (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 70.







who claimed Czechoslovakia as their country of birth. This group, classified by mother tongue, included 219,347 Slovaks, 188,940 Czechs, 30,900 Germans, and 52,431 others.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, "if Ireland is left out of consideration, there is no country in Europe where emigration has been so large relative to population as in the Scandinavian countries".<sup>25</sup>

From 1820 to 1930 the total number of Scandinavians admitted to the United States according to records of the United States Bureau of Immigration was 2,346,069, distributed as follows: from Sweden 1,213,488; from Norway 600,115; from Denmark 332,466.<sup>26</sup>

Whereas Swedes belong to the "old immigration" Slovaks belong to the "new immigration". This means that the Swedish adjustment to the American culture has been favored by the profitable experiences of several previous generations. This is less true of Slovaks who did not begin coming to the United States in considerable numbers until 1875. (See pages 139-141)

In order to study those factors which operated to promote intra-ethnic solidarity among Swedes in Grassflat, the writer employed the same research techniques which he used in his study of Slovaks. Tape-recordings were made of interviews with three generations of Swedish residents. In addition, to ascertain that sufficient and accurate data were obtained concerning the ethnic group with which the writer felt less acquainted, two supplementary tape-recorded interviews were held. (See page 54.)

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24. Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 127.

25. Ibid., p. 72.

26. Ibid., p. 74.



Not unlike the tape-recorded interviews held with three Slovak generations, the writer raised two particular questions:

What are the important things that keep the Swedish people together in Grassflat?  
 What are the important things that keep the Slovak people together in Grassflat?

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with the first generation Swedish subjects:

Writer: What are the strongest forces that hold the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

Mr. W: Well, the church keeps them together.

Mrs. T: The churches, I think, is the most important.

Mr. T: They had societies but they don't have them anymore. They kept Swedes together here. And the language. Most of them couldn't talk in a different language. They only used the Swedish language. That was enough to put them together, you know.

Mr. W: Then, too, they used to live more apart, the Slovaks on their side and the Swedes over here. That kept them apart. So the Swedes had their homes together more than.

Mr. T: And some Swedes know each other in Peale, too.

Mrs. F: Sometimes the fights didn't help to bring them together. They couldn't get along so they stayed apart that way.

Writer: What are the main differences between the Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat?

Mrs. F: Their faiths. Religion. (Others nodded agreement.)

Mr. W: The language is different also. There is not much difference anymore like there used to be. Today they are pretty much the same.

Writer: What would you say is the main force keeping the Swedes together?

Mrs. F: The churches, I'd say. What about you, W?







Mr. W: No doubt the churches are most important. (Others agreed, nodding.)

Writer: What other forces keep the Swedes together?

Mr. T: None that I can think of. (Others remained silent.)

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Swedish subjects of the second generation:

Writer: What are the strongest forces that keep the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

Mr. C: I would say the churches.

Mr. P: There are two churches, the Necho and the Emanuel.

Writer: Why do they have two instead of one?

Mr. P: As far as I can understand, years ago when the churches were moved up from Peale they did not agree as to where the church should be built. So one part of the people, of the Swedish people, went to one church and the others built another. That's all I know.

Mr. H: They could not decide on the site for the church.

Mr. F: Yes, one group already had the roof on the church, and the other group wanted the church built in another section.

Mr. H: So the Swedish people in the upper and lower parts of Grassflat could not get along together on the site very well.

Writer: How do the Swedes of Upper and Lower Grassflat get along today?

Mr. P: Very well.

Writer: Are there any disagreements, arguments --

Mr. P: No, they do get along now in the later years. They mingle today. Their choirs get together and sing together on big occasions.

Mr. H: They have the same religion, the same minister.

Mr. P: They had Confirmation together just last week.



Writer: Are there other factors that help to bring the Swedish people together?

Mr. S: Their homes. They are too old to get out or to work.

Writer: Are there any differences in the section of the town in which Swedes and Slovaks live? F, your home is located on the hill in the upper end of town. From your front porch you can see a rather large part of the community. How does it look to you?

Mr. F: Well, they aren't separated the way they used to. Now they mingle more and live closer to one another than before. They mingle together well. One does not feel any better than the other one. The same Swedish no longer have their homes in one section of the town and Slovaks in the other. They're mixed more. (Others agreed, nodding.)

Writer: It's probably like Mr. T said: 'The Swedes and Slovaks zigzag back and forth' (across the creek).<sup>27</sup>

Mr. P: The different customs help keep the Swedish people together. The Swedish people get together at coffee socials. I know Mon and Dad, Mrs. R, and older people around, they decide to get together around on Saturday evenings and decide to have a social at this certain person's house and then another person has it at his place another time and so on. This keeps them together.

Writer: How many groups are there like that? Is there more than one group that exchanges socials?

Mr. P: Oh, yes. There is Mrs. R, and W's, and T's, and the Y's.<sup>28</sup>

Writer: Are there any groups like that in Upper Grassflat?

Mr. P: I can't answer you there. I could not answer you about Upper Grassflat.

Mr. H: Down in West Clymer they also have a lot of home bingos. They play for pennies or a small prize. That keeps them together.

Mr. P: And the coffee socials at the church.

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27. Mr. T was an elderly Swedish resident from West Clymer.

28. Elderly Swedish residents of West Clymer.



Writer: Would you tell me about them?

Mr. P: The two Swedish churches get together once a month at each church. Just last Saturday we had one of them. On the alternate Saturday the other church will have one next Saturday. There is one at each church once each month. They meet and have cake and coffee. They (members of each church) help each other out.

Writer: Any other factors which help to bring the Swedish people together? (Long silence) What are some of the differences between Slovak and Swedish people?

Mr. C: Well, their religion, their way of living, Fridays and fast days which the Swedish don't have.

Mr. S: The Swedish are predominantly Lutheran and the Slovaks are Catholic.

Writer: Any other differences you can notice between the Swedish and Slovak people?

Mr. H: Another thing, the Slovaks go to church mostly in the morning, and we go mostly later, but it is just a little difference. Time of funerals are different.

Mr. S: The language is different.

Mr. P: In their eating habits they differ some. The Slovak style food. The Swedish have their "kaka" and the Slovaks something else.<sup>29</sup> Slovaks have their combination of cabbage and meat. Today they have exchanged a great deal.

Mr. H: The Slovaks have "holupky" and kolacky" and other foods.<sup>30</sup> Their eating habits are a little different. A lot of the old Slovak people wear big shawls, and that is an old custom. Swedes don't wear them.

Mr. S: The manner of dress is different, particularly among the older women.

Mr. F: Swedes used to dress up much the same, the shawls, but not now.

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29. "kaka" is Swedish bread, round and flat in shape.

30. "Holupky" refers to a Slovak dish of ground beef, rice, and spices wrapped in cabbage leaves. "Kolacky" refers to poppy seed, prune, cottage cheese, or apricot rolls.



Writer: Any other differences between the Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. S: I don't know of any, but I get along better with them better than the Swedes, always did.

Mr. H: Regarding the church, the Slovaks really have church more often. We generally have ours every Sunday, but they have church during the week.

Mr. P: I really believe the Slovaks enforce it more on their children than the Swedish people do. When I was a kid we had to go to church, and the sermons were two to two and a half hours long, and if you did miss you weren't punished too severely for it. When I go to church my children cry because I don't want to take them with me.

Mr. S: My father made me go till I was seventeen years old. I didn't dare miss church, and I had to go to school, church school, two or three summers, but after that I haven't been to church for I don't know how long.

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Swedish subjects of the third generation:

Writer: What are the strongest forces that keep the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

Mr. H: I'd say it's their religion, their churches.

Mr. N: Yes, and their language.

Writer: Any other things that keep them together?

Mr. H: Some of them are related to one another in West Clymer and Upper Grassflat. That's important, I think.

Writer: I see. How do the Slovaks differ from Swedes? How do you picture the Slovaks?

Mr. H: Well, their manner of dress seems just about the same, but their way of eating is different. The foods are on a different basis, but in most ways I would say that they are quite a bit alike.

Writer: Do you notice any difference between them when you think of the younger people of your own age?







Mr. H: No, they're the same as everyone else is.

Writer: When you speak of Slovaks as being different to what group are you referring?

Mr. H: The older people that usually came from Czechoslovakia or some place like that.

Mr. H: Their manner of dress is different.

Mr. H: Slightly, yes.

Mr. B: Well, I don't see much difference between them. I have many Slovak friends and the only thing I see different, well, every place I go, I mean I expect them there, and when I go to Sunday School on Sunday, maybe they have their own church and that's the only place different that I see. I mean I associate with them right in with my gathering.

Writer: Are there other differences?

Mr. H: No, I don't see much difference between them.

Writer: So far you've mentioned that there is a difference in their diet, their food habits, and also a difference in their manner of dress, particularly among the older people, and you mentioned a religious difference. Any other differences? (Long silence followed.) In your opinion, what is the main difference, the outstanding difference between them?

Mr. H: I would say that the only main difference is the language they speak.

Writer: The language they speak. J, can you notice any differences? What are the differences between the Slovak and Swedish people?

Mr. J: The only thing I know is mostly their religion, dress, and food habits. That's all.<sup>31</sup>

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded, individual interview with a Swedish male resident of the second generation (see page 54):

Writer: How did the Swedes of Upper Grassflat and West Clymer get along when they first came here?

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31. J was a product of a Slovak-Swedish intermarriage.



Mr. A: I think that they agreed on most everything except where to place the church. There were sort of two different cliques at first, around 1900. There were two different baseball teams. Grassflat had a team, and West Clymer had a team. They used to play against each other.

Writer: They used to play against each other.

Mr. A: Except, perhaps, one or two others that were not Swedish.

Writer: A, you said the church was rather important in keeping the Swedes together. Did they have any other organizations?

Mr. A: They had at least three or four. Of course, the Scandinavian Brotherhood, the nationalized organization in the United States, and the organizers that lived in Grassflat helped keep all the Swedes together.

Writer: What was the purpose of that organization, A?

Mr. A: I really don't know except that even today certain cities like Chicago have them. So if it's just wholly language or just a klik (clique) of some kind, I don't know.

Writer: I see. Any other organizations?

Mr. A: Yes, the Swedish Sick Society. They took nobody but Swedes into it, and even a Cattlemen's Society was for Swedes only. Later there was a Temperance Lodge for Swedes. They had socials, and dances, and get-togethers.<sup>32</sup>

Writer: What was the purpose of the Sick Society?

Mr. A: Just sick benefits, for sick and death benefits. They got fifty dollars from it and one hundred from the Scandinavian Brotherhood. They both held meetings and had socials.

Writer: Swedish people have coffee socials at the church today, don't they?

Mr. A: Yes, they do.

Writer: Who attends?

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32. The Scandinavian Brotherhood, the Swedish Sick Society, Cattlemen's Society and Temperance Lodge organizations are not in existence today. The Cattlemen's Organization did admit Slovaks as members a relatively short time after it was organized.



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Mr. A: Why, as far as the coffee socials is concerned it is for the benefit of the Lutheran Church, and years ago they started that in their homes. I think they had a sort of sewing circle, and they had coffee at the same time. Later on a hall was built here where the West Clymer church is, and they called it a coffee social. Today, it's the Ladies Aid. Course, the Swedes were in the majority at first, and they would have three families or so that had a coffee social, so they got around. Each one that drank and ate would pay fifteen or twenty-five cents, and it was okay. This went to the benefit of the church. Today, of course, we have some Lutheran Slovaks who joined up so that today they both take the Swedes and the Slovak Lutherans. As far as attending is concerned, why, there are all sorts of town people that come in after the bingo games down there and from other towns. It isn't all Swedish any more.

Writer: Do the Slovak Catholics attend the coffee socials?

Mr. A: Now and then. Now and then. They even advertise it at their bingo (at the Slovak Hall and the Firemen's Hall), and now and then some of them come down.

Writer: Yes. Do both of the Swedish churches have coffee socials?

Mr. A: They do.

Writer: Do they help each other financially?

Mr. A: I would say so, but the Grassflat coffee socials (held in Upper Grassflat), why, the benefits go to the Grassflat church (Nebo Lutheran), and the West Clymer what they take in is for the benefit of the West Clymer church (Emanuel Lutheran).

Three subjects who represented the oldest Swedish residents of Grassflat were interviewed (See page 46). The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with them:

Writer: Were there many Swedish people when you first came to Grassflat?

Mr. E: There were just a few when we first came here.

Writer: Were there more Swedish than Slovak people here then?

Mr. E: Yes. I dare say there were no Slovaks in the beginning.



- Mrs. S: I came a little later than he did.
- Writer: You came a little later. I see. What do you think are factors that helped to keep the Swedish people together in Grassflat? What helped the Swedes to keep their customs, their language, and their habits of living?
- Mrs. S: In the first place their love for their old home in Sweden. We like to keep in contact with our home in Sweden, and keep in contact with them as long as we can. We try to have a Swedish paper so we don't forget.
- Writer: Do the Swedish people in Grassflat write to Sweden often?
- Mrs. S: Well, everybody got someone there to write to.
- Mr. E: Yes, they do, but many that don't write. Many have (someone in Sweden) but they don't write. They have their parents, I am sorry to say, but they won't write.
- Writer: I see. What other things help the Swedish people to keep their customs.
- Mr. E: Many congregate at family reunions and large places where there are many Swedes, and they had their societies of some sort. Their church is important.
- Writer: How many organizations do they have? How many did you have in the beginning, do you know?
- Mrs. S: We had just a few. I don't remember the names.
- Miss S: I don't know.
- Mr. E: I don't know, but there are the churches.
- Miss S: The upper part of town and the lower.
- Mrs. S: But we have the same minister.
- Writer: Can you think of anything else that helps the Swedish to keep their customs?
- Mrs. S: We mentioned the newspaper. Another thing, generally the Swedes invite each other to their homes. Now this week my son is home, and he is invited out with us every night. This morning he asked, "Is this going on forever"? (All laughed.)



Writer: The Swedes often exchange coffee socials --

Miss S: And dinners.

Mrs. S: Swedes are very fond of coffee clubs.

Miss S: They are called coffee socials too.

Writer: Do you have them often?

Miss S: Yes, quite often. Almost every other night. We had one last night. (Long silence)

Writer: Do most Swedish people get a Swedish paper?

Mrs. S: I think so. All the Swedish people I know get the Swedish paper, but they get a paper of a different type too.

Mr. E: The old timers like a paper in the mother tongue. That's what they like to have. They find things there they don't find in other papers.

Writer: Do most of the older Swedish people get a Swedish paper?

Mrs. S: Yes, they do.

Writer: What do you think is the strongest factor which keeps the Swedish people together in Grassflat?

Mrs. S: I would say the church. That's the big thing.

Miss S: Yes.

Mr. E: Yes, I think so too. That's the main thing.

Writer: What in your opinion are the differences between the Slovak and Swedish people? How are they different?

Mrs. S: It seemed to me they dressed different, dressed funnier when they first came to this country. They didn't dress like we did. I could know them just by the dress. That's one thing. But now they are all just American people now. They dress like everybody else. Just the old Slovak women are different, wearing dark hoods on their heads.

Mr. E: I've been around here and there a long time. It looks like they (Slovaks) liked their dancing polkas. There they took the lead. The dances were different at first. Later you couldn't tell them by dress. You couldn't tell them by dancing as much either. Yes, give him a good polka and see him go!







Writer: Are there other ways in which they were different from the Swedes?

Mrs. S: No, I don't think so because, as I said, they are just like the Swedes when it comes to keeping their homes clean. They keep their properties as nice as they can on both sides. They're good citizens, and they do their duties as far as everything is concerned as well as the next one, on both sides.

Miss S: Of course, they come from a different country and that way they're different.

Writer: Would you say the ideas and beliefs they hold are different?

Miss S: No, nothing else except their religion.

Writer: You say their religion is different.

Mrs. S: Yes, most of the Slovaks are Catholics. There are Catholics all over the world. We know that. We all believe in the same God, and all try to accomplish the same things.

Writer: Yes.

Mrs. S: There are a few Slovak people who come to our church. Lutherans.

In summary, a number of closely interrelated factors operated in promoting ethnic solidarity among Swedes. These factors were quite comparable to those which tended to bind Slovaks together. Emigrating from a particular section of Sweden and settling in a relatively isolated community in the new world were factors which facilitated the preservation of Swedish cultural patterns. Lutheranism operated in a unique way as an agency which served both religious and social functions. One elderly Swedish resident said: "The church is quite important amongst us. It's for worship, for socials, and everything. There's no other Swedish gathering place for crowds". The Swedish language played a major role, though with decreasing effectiveness, in isolating them from their Slovak neighbors for a number



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of decades. A Swedish newspaper remained a strong link between them and their relatives and friends in Sweden. Residential segregation which precluded more intimate relations between Slovaks and Swedes often resulted in a lack of interethnic understanding and promoted "fights" between members of both groups. Lastly, Swedish patterns of kinship, dress, diet, and social functions also operated in promoting cultural solidarity among Swedes. A more detailed discussion of each of the above factors follows. Data obtained from sources in addition to the tape-recorded interviews will be presented.

#### Place of Origin

Swedes who settled in Grassflat emigrated from the District of Dalsland which is located in the southern part of Sweden. Not unlike Slovak settlers, most of the Swedes were also acquaintances in their homeland; many were related by kinship; and all were farmers who shared a common agrarian culture. Their reason for coming to America was primarily economic. Upon immigrating to their permanent residence in Grassflat, they chose to settle in a particular section, isolating themselves from Slovak residents. Together, these factors facilitated intraethnic solidarity among Swedes. It is important to note the striking similarity between those factors which operated in promoting the separate ethnic solidarities of Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat.

#### Religion

With the exception of the family, the Lutheran Church was probably the most important institution among Swedes. For more than six decades







Lutheranism continued to exert a widespread influence. As indicated earlier, see pages 65-57, a large majority of Swedes were members of the Nebo or Emanuel Lutheran Church. They embraced a larger membership than any other Swedish institution. Before their settlement in Grassflat, Swedes were members of what was called "The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Nebo Church in Peale, Pennsylvania".<sup>33</sup> It was regarded as the mother church by parishioners of both Lutheran churches in Grassflat.

The earliest settlers who brought Lutheranism from their homeland cherished it as a most precious possession. Wherever Swedes lived there was a church. As the Swedish colony moved from McIntyre, Peale, and finally to their permanent location in Grassflat, Lutheranism remained a constant factor in binding them together. The Swedes were quite aware of this influence. When asked to name that factor which was most important in keeping the Swedish people together in Grassflat, the church was invariably mentioned first by virtually every Swedish resident who was interviewed, regardless of generation.

As presented earlier, see Table XIX on page 116, residents of the community regarded religion as the main difference between Slovaks and Swedes. The attitudes of Slovaks toward the Lutheran Church were discussed earlier on pages 150 and 153. The following were quite typical of the most common attitudes expressed by Swedes toward the Catholic Church: "They don't eat meat on Friday"; "they worship statues"; "they bury their dead in the morning, but we do in the afternoon"; "their services are in Latin";

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33. The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren, op. cit., p. 8.



"they believe in the same God we do"; "they are stricter with their children about going to church"; "they don't help to support our church the way we do theirs".<sup>34</sup> Many inquired about the purpose of "the beads" (Rosary). In general, the attitudes of Swedes were more tolerant of the Catholic Church than those of Slovaks regarding the Lutheran Church.

Reasons for the widespread influence of the Lutheran Church among Swedes were quite similar to those of the Catholic Church among Slovaks. In the first place, the Nebo and Emanuel Churches helped to perpetuate the established religious faith of Sweden. Second, the churches employed the language which for several decades was the only one in which Swedes were able to communicate. Third, the churches and their related organizations served a social as well as a religious function. In terms of these factors, the influence of the Lutheran Church in strengthening ethnic solidarity among Swedes was quite comparable to that of the Catholic Church among Slovaks.

A comparative study of the roles played by both the Catholic and Lutheran Churches and their related organizations seemed to indicate that the former served the various needs of Slovaks in more areas than the latter did among Swedes. The Catholic Church and its related organizations seemed to perpetuate the culture of Slovakia--its spiritual, social, and fraternal patterns--to a greater extent than the Lutheran Church did in perpetuating the cultural patterns of Sweden.

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34. Only a very limited number of Slovaks attended the Lutheran Church coffee socials, but a number of Swedish families attended bingoes sponsored by the Catholic Church.







Slovaks had nine church-related organizations which served a number of different functions, see Tables XXI and XXII on pages 152 and 153. Swedes, on the other hand, had only three. These organizations, described in terms of membership in Table XXVIII, were the Ladies Aid of the Nebo Lutheran Church, the Ladies Aid of the Emanuel Lutheran Church, and the Luther League or Young People's Society as it was first called.

The Ladies Aid of the Nebo Lutheran Church, which was organized in Peale in 1864, continued to maintain a larger membership than that of the Emanuel Church which was established fifteen years later. According to the pastor of both churches, the purposes of these organizations were "to assist the church financially, to render various services to parishioners in time of need, and to promote spiritual ideals of the Lutheran faith". They sponsored dinners, coffee socials, and other functions to raise funds. During the past sixty years the Ladies Aid of Nebo contributed nearly \$10,000 to the church. The contributions from the Ladies Aid of the Emanuel Church were equally impressive, considering their smaller number and later origin.<sup>35</sup> It is important to note that no other social functions attracted larger groups of Lutherans, both Swedes and Slovaks, than these which were sponsored by the Ladies Aid organizations of Nebo and Emanuel Lutheran Churches. In this way the churches served the most important Swedish social function.

The Luther League was an important organization among the younger parishioners, those who had been confirmed. Up to 1943 the two churches had their separate Luther Leagues. After that time, under the supervision of their present pastor, their memberships were combined. The membership

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35. The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren, op. cit., p. 15.



TABLE XXVIII

TREND OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL MEMBERSHIP IN LUTHERAN  
ORGANIZATIONS IN GRASSFLAT

Name of Organization	Date of Origin	1930	1940	1950	1952	Current Total
Ladies Aid (Nebo)	1884					
Local Swedes	40 <sup>1</sup>	40	30	30	30	
Local Slovaks	0	5	5	5	5	
L. Oth. Nat'l <sup>2</sup>	0	5	5	5	5	
Non-L. Swedes <sup>3</sup>	0	0	10	15	15	55
Luther League <sup>4</sup> (Nebo & Emanuel)	1886					
Local Swedes	40	30	20	18	18	
Local Slovaks	0	5	6	6	6	
L. Oth. Nat'l	0	3	0	3	1	
Non-L. Swedes	0	0	0	3	3	28
Ladies Aid (Emanuel)	1899					
Local Swedes	30	18	15	15	15	
Local Slovaks	0	3	4	3	3	
L. Oth. Nat'l	0	2	2	2	2	
Non-L. Swedes	0	0	0	0	0	20

<sup>1</sup> This number represents membership of the organization in Peale, previous to the reorganization of the Nebo Ladies Aid in Grassflat.

<sup>2</sup> "L. Oth. Nat'l" means local members of other nationality.

<sup>3</sup> "Non-Local Swedes" refers to Swedes from Lanse and Kylertown.

<sup>4</sup> The Luther League membership of the Nebo Church was slightly larger than that of the Emanuel Church.

of the Nebo Luther League had always been larger than that of the Emanuel Church. The decrease in membership of these organizations was due to two particular reasons: mobility of Swedes to the city, particularly Jamestown, New York, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which began about 1927, and enlistment into the armed forces during the Second World War. The Luther League



worked closely with the Ladies Aid organizations of both churches. Members frequently assisted the pastor in planning and supervising major church junctions, particularly Confirmation Reunions which were held jointly by the "Upper" and "lower" churches (Nebo and Emanuel) around Labor Day of each year. The main function of the Luther League according to the pastor was "to promote interest among young people in the various activities of the church".

Swedish residents also informed the writer that further attempts were made to unite the parishioners of the Nebo and Emanuel Churches. During an interview which the writer had with the present pastor, the latter said: "It is my great hope to unite the two groups and establish one church". He had proposed a plan to do this. Although the problem was raised and discussed by parishioners of both churches a number of times during the past three years, opposition still continued. In spite of the fact that the membership in each of the churches had decreased considerably during the past several years, the two groups of Swedes did not agree to unite under one church. The Swedes from West Clymer would not abandon their church and join the Nebo. The Swedes from Upper Grassflat, parishioners of the Nebo Church, were even more reluctant to abandon their church and join the Emanuel. It was generally believed that the pastor preferred that the former plan be adopted. (Additional data concerning this problem will be presented in Chapter VII.)

Although plans to unite the two churches were not fruitful, the current pastor had done other things to bring the parishioners of both churches together. Not only had he succeeded in combining the activities of the



three church-related organizations already mentioned, but also the activities of the choirs of the two churches. On special occasions, such as Christmas, Easter, and Confirmation Reunions, the members of the two choirs, Ladies Aids, and the Luther League worked as a unit. On these occasions the two groups of Swedes met at one of the churches, usually the Nebo which is larger. These church functions were particularly important because they attracted the two groups of Swedes who generally limited their activities to Swedes within their own residential areas.

Sunday School classes which were held regularly at each of the churches also played an important role in promoting intraethnic solidarity among Swedes. As indicated in Tables XXIV and XXV on pages 159 and 160, attendance was exceptionally good. Seventy-five children attended the Nebo Sunday School, while forty-five attended that of the Emanuel Church. These classes were attended by children up to the age of fourteen, that is, until they were confirmed. Summer school sessions for religious instruction were held from 1887-1924. During this time only Swedish was spoken. More currently, Sunday school classes met every Sunday except during one month in the summer.<sup>36</sup> Confirmed and adult parishioners attended Bible Study Classes which were held before or after regular Sunday services. These were also very well attended.

It is also important to note that the Nebo had contributed nine men for the ministry in the Augustana Synod. Almost all of them served as instructors of Sunday School Classes.<sup>37</sup> According to the literature

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36. Ibid., p. 13.

37. Loc. cit.



consulted by the writer, it seems that no men from the Emanuel Church studied to become ministers.

According to the data presented in Table XXIII on page 158, Swedish questionnaire subjects indicated that "their pastor is a most influential person among them". He resided in Upper Grassflat. According to Swedish subjects their pastor had done more than any previous pastor in attempting to unite the two Swedish groups. Since his coming to Grassflat in 1943, he had taken an active interest in revitalizing both youth and adult church organizations. Unlike his predecessors, he made English the official language of the church. Both young and old considered him a friend. According to parishioners of both churches, the various activities which he supervised were an indication of his interest in making the church "more American".

During an interview with the writer the pastor spoke very highly of his parishioners. He said that church records show excellent attendance at church services, Sunday School, and Bible Study Classes. Parishioners of both churches gave generously toward the support of their faith. He described them as friendly and cooperative people.

Elderly Swedish subjects informed the writer that the decreased membership in the Nebo and Emanuel Churches during the past several decades had greatly affected both the membership and activity of church-related organizations. In the past, they pointed out, there were three other religious organizations which were also important in promoting ethnic solidarity among Swedes. These were called Lutheran Brotherhood, Confirmation Reunion Society, and Women's Missionary Society.



The Lutheran Brotherhood was a social and fraternal organization which was established in 1919. Each church had its own "men's society", as they were frequently called. They continued for only a few years.<sup>38</sup> According to the pastor, the purpose of the Lutheran Brotherhood was "to promote fellowship among men of the church, to discuss matters pertaining to church finances, to repair and maintain the church, and to raise funds toward the support of the church". At the time of this study these functions were in part executed by the Ladies Aids of the Nebo and Emanuel Churches.

The Confirmation Reunion Society was a young people's organization which operated under the auspices of both churches. The date of origin was not known, but it was terminated about 1925.<sup>39</sup> Members of this society worked closely with the pastor in preparing for Confirmation Reunions.

The Women's Missionary Society was organized by Nebo parishioners in 1929. A relatively short time after it was established members from the Emanuel Church were also included. The purpose of this society was to work for home and foreign missions. Funds were raised through "the sale of baked goods", "serving of refreshments in church parlors", and sponsoring various socials held at the homes of members.<sup>40</sup> The society had not functioned during the past several years.

According to data presented in Table XXIII on page 158, questionnaire subjects indicated that religion played an important role in promoting

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38. Ibid., p. 16.

39. Ibid., p. 16.

40. Ibid., p. 19.



intraethnic solidarity among Slovaks and Swedes, particularly the Slovaks. They also responded that the church and pastor were important influences among both ethnic groups, but that these influences were greater among the Slovaks. Finally, questionnaire data seemed to indicate that both Slovaks and Swedes were "a very religious people", but that this description was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes.

### Economic, Social, and Political Organizations

As indicated earlier in Tables XXI and XXII on pages 152 and 153, Slovaks had five organizations which served an economic or social function or both. They also had a Slovak Political Club. At the time of this study there were no exclusively Swedish economic or political organizations. There were three church-related organizations, however, which served a social as well as a religious function.

In terms of Swedish social activities the church was the center. Whereas Slovaks had two halls where large groups could meet, for large social functions the Swedes had only the basements of their churches. As indicated by tape-recorded data obtained from three generations of Swedes, their social activities were of two main types, namely, church coffee socials and home coffee socials.

Church coffee socials which were sponsored by both the Nebo and Emanuel Churches were the most important social activities among Swedes. No other activities outside the regular Lutheran Church services were attended by larger groups of Swedes. These were held twice a month, the first Saturday evening at the Nebo and the third at the Emanuel Church.



Coffee and a variety of cakes and cookies which were donated by members of the Ladies Aid were served. These social events were attended mainly by the youngest and oldest Swedish residents. Teenage children usually spent their Saturday evenings at the local restaurant or motion picture theatre. Most of the men and few of the women of middle age spent their Saturday evenings at the theatre or taverns. According to several Swedish informants, those who "attended church most also attended the coffee socials most". Before refreshments were served the minister led the group in prayer. Donations which went to the particular church sponsoring the coffee social were made following refreshments. Swedes from West Clymer and Upper Grassflat cooperated well in attending each other's church activities. Slovak Lutherans also attended. It should be noted that inter-church cooperation had improved considerably during the past several years. For this change the current pastor was largely responsible.

During the past few years Slovak Catholics had attended these Lutheran activities in greater numbers, particularly women. The fact that both Swedish and Slovak women were members of the Women of the Moose #51 and the Ladies Auxiliary Fire Company, which were established in 1941 and 1949, respectively, accounted for their increased attendance. It is important to note that this was the only Swedish Lutheran social activity in which Slovaks, though small in number, had participated.

In addition to church coffee socials, Swedes also had home coffee socials, exchange dinners, and birthday surprise and bingo parties which were held at various homes both in West Clymer and Upper Grassflat. In most cases these were limited to neighborhood friends and relatives. They



were held more frequently in West Clymer. (See tape-recorded data on pages 107-108.) Swedes from both sections of the community were seldom included. The parishioners of Nebo and Emanuel usually had their separate home social circles. According to Swedish residents these were important in perpetuating Swedish culture, particularly their social and dietary patterns. When one elderly Swedish informant was asked the purpose of these activities, he said, "they're just friendly visits between friends and relatives". To such activities Slovak Catholics, including those who were neighbors, were rarely, if ever, invited.

Home socials of various kinds were particularly important to elderly Swedes. To them it was an opportunity "to visit and talk about anything under the sun". Letters received from friends and relatives from Sweden, letters from children and grandchildren from Jamestown, Pittsburgh, and other cities, news from Sweden as reported in the Swedish newspaper, and various local news--these constituted the main topics of conversation.

Although the writer was born and educated in Grassflat, it was not until the time of this study that he attended a Swedish home coffee social. The invitation was extended by a Swedish friend of the writer's parents-in-law, one of whom was Swedish. In addition to the writer's parents-in-law, writer and his wife, and the hostess, there were present five elderly Swedes who participated in a tape-recorded interview with the writer a week earlier. Wine, homemade Swedish coffee cake, coffee, cheese and meat sandwiches, salad made of home-grown vegetables, and homemade cookies were served. The major part of the evening was spent in a discussion of major transitions which had taken place in Grassflat since the earliest days of settlement. On several occasions it seemed that the elderly Swedes



had to use their native language in order to debate certain issues more accurately. Although this was the only Swedish home coffee social the writer had attended, at no time did he feel inhibited in any way. The evening was a most pleasant one.

During the summer when data for this study were being gathered, the writer, accompanied by his wife, also attended his first church coffee social. It was held in the basement of the Emanuel Lutheran Church. The pastor and elderly Swedish residents welcomed them at the door. They were asked to sit at a long table near friends with whom they visited at the home coffee social described above. Coffee and many varieties of homemade cakes and cookies were served. These were donated by the Ladies Aid of the Emanuel Church. Relatives and neighbors tended to sit together. The pastor who sat at the head of the table led the group in prayer before refreshments were served. "Cooks", members of the Ladies Aid, were busy both in the kitchen and waiting on tables. Everyone was given the best service. Only a limited number of teenage children were present. An overwhelming majority of those present were elderly men and women. The writer and his wife were made to feel a part of the group. Virtually everyone spoke to them, including former residents who came from the city for a brief vacation. Following refreshments the writer gave a donation to the church. The pastor thanked him and said he was happy he and his wife came. The writer was the only Slovak Catholic present.

During the first decades of settlement in Grassflat Swedes had four other organizations which were non-existent at the time of this study. They were the Scandinavian Brotherhood, Sick Benefit Society, Cattlemen's



Association, and Temperance Lodge.<sup>41</sup> According to earliest Swedish settlers these organizations played an important part in binding Swedes together, particularly during the first days of settlement in the new world.

The Scandinavian Brotherhood and Sick Benefit Society, both vestiges of the culture of Swedes, were charitable institutions to which both men and women belong. The date of origin and termination were not known. Elderly Swedish informants said they were discontinued around 1925. In purpose they were quite similar to the Jednota Branches #333 and #134, Slovak men and women organizations.<sup>42</sup> The principal feature of these organizations was that of providing for those who met with misfortune. One of the earliest Swedish settlers described their purpose thus: "They were to help those in need to meet burial expenses. Burials were too big an expense sometime for one man to handle so people contributed so much to take care of that".<sup>43</sup>

According to several Swedish subjects of the first generation, the Temperance Society served both a religious and social purpose. The function of the society was to promote the practice of highest christian principles, especially "to cut down drinking and keep recreation clean". Membership consisted of both men and women who were "the best church-goers". This society existed during the earliest decades of settlement in Peale and Grassflat.

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41. See page 167.

42. See page 152.

43. Data obtained from a former member of the Sick Benefit Society.



The Cattlemen's Association originally limited its membership to Swedish cattle owners, but a relatively short time after it was established Slovak cattle owners were also admitted as members. The cow was an important part of the earlier economic system. For more than four decades an overwhelming majority of both Slovaks and Swedes had cows. One Slovak resident reported thus:

Practically everyone owned a cow at one time. This explains why there are so many barns all over Grassflat. It was important when you had to get your own milk, cream, cottage cheese, and meat. When people had a calf the owner would go from house to house telling people he's killing a calf and that meat was going to be sold at his house on a certain day. It meant money.<sup>44</sup>

Concerning the purpose of this organization one Swedish informant reported thus:

Those who owned cows made a small payment every month. Money went into a fund for cow pastureland, upkeep and fencing. Members also paid one dollar when one of the members lost his cow due to accident, sickness, and so on. This way he got enough money to buy another cow.<sup>45</sup>

In brief, as one elderly Slovak resident said, the Cattlemen's Association was "cow insurance".

In terms of membership, the Cattlemen's Association was for a long time the largest Slovak-Swedish organization. According to first generation Slovaks and Swedes, this organization was one of the first steps in promoting better interethnic relations between Slovaks and Swedes.

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<sup>44</sup>. Data obtained from a former member of the Cattlemen's Association.

<sup>45</sup>. Data obtained from a one-time officer in the Cattlemen's Association.



## Language

As was mentioned earlier, language was considered one of the most important factors in strengthening solidarity-feelings among Swedes. For decades, their church and residential segregation of the two ethnic groups tended to perpetuate the use of the Swedish language.

The Reverend Lindgren gave an adequate report on the use of both Swedish and English languages in the Lutheran Church. Up to 1912 the Swedish language was used exclusively at church services. Between 1913 and 1925 it still continued to remain the main language. English was used only on certain occasions with young groups. During the period 1926-1929 English was given more prominence. It was used more frequently in Sunday School and exclusively among the young people. Beginning in 1933 English services were held on the third Sunday evening of each month. All morning services continued to be held in Swedish. When the current pastor was called to Grassflat in 1943 English was given increased prominence. During 1950, for example, all the services were in English except the third Sunday morning service of the month which was in Swedish.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, English was not given a prominent place in the Catholic Church until approximately 1943 when sermons were occasionally given in English for the benefit of teenage children. It was not until 1949, when the present Catholic priest came to Grassflat, that English was given a most prominent part in the church services. Since his arrival only three sermons per year were given in Slovak.

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46. The Reverend Edward A. Lindgren, op. cit., p. 12.



Although both Slovak and Swedish residents of the first generation were reluctant to abandon the use of their native tongue, opposition was greater among Slovaks.<sup>47</sup> As was mentioned earlier, during the time when data were being gathered for this study, all adult Slovak male and female Catholics were subscribers to Jednota, a weekly newspaper printed in Slovak which contained one page of sports news in English for the younger generation. Swedes, on the other hand, also subscribed to the Swedish American Tribune, a weekly newspaper printed in the Swedish language, but the number of subscribers had greatly decreased. The local postmaster informed the writer that only fourteen family units received it.<sup>48</sup>

Unlike many elderly Slovaks, only a very limited number of first generation Swedes could not speak English. For example, the writer had no difficulty in interviewing elderly Swedish subjects in English, but it was necessary for him to speak Slovak when interviewing a large number of elderly Slovak subjects. The fact that the language barrier between Slovaks and Swedes was diminishing could not be doubted, but the native languages of Slovakia and Sweden still prevailed strongly among first generation Slovaks and Swedes at the time of this study. (Language as a factor in the assimilative process will be discussed further in Chapter VI.)

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47. The fact that Swedes had been in America for a longer period of time was probably one reason for this difference in attitude.

48. In a letter to the writer one elderly Swedish resident described the Swedish American Tribune thus: "The content of this paper is the same as any American newspaper, but it has one page of news from the different parts of Sweden like Dalsland, Smaland, Skone, etc".



### Kinship System

The kinship system played an important role in promoting intraethnic solidarity among Swedes even though this influence was not comparable to that of the kinship system among Slovaks. This was particularly true since 1927 at which time urban mobility of Slovaks and Swedes, especially the latter, began to occur at a rapid rate. When mine operations began to decline many Swedes who formerly held key positions in the coal industry began to leave Grassflat. This mobility affected kinship ties among Swedes to a great extent.

A number of Slovak neighborhoods composed of relatives were found in Dobrytown and Pleasant Hill. In the past, there were several similar Swedish neighborhoods in Pleasant Hill, West Clymer, and Upper Grassflat. At the time of this study there were only three Swedish kinship neighborhoods, each consisting of three or more household units. Two were found in Upper Grassflat and one in West Clymer.

Another factor which affected the kinship system among Swedes was the decrease in number of in-group marriages among them. (This problem will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII.)

### The Family

Interviews with both Slovak individuals and groups seemed to indicate that they regarded the Swedish family as lacking a system of discipline. Swedish subjects, on the other hand, seemed to indicate that the Slovak family was quite patriarchal in structure. Questionnaire data also seemed to support these interethnic images.



Slovak and Swedish children attending Grades 7 through 12 and their parents responded that "very strict parents" was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. Slovak and Swedish parents and Swedish children agreed that children who have "an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family" were more common among Swedes than Slovaks. Slovak male and female children responded that this description was more typical of Slovak children. All, except Slovak male children, agreed that "the family run by the father" was more characteristic of the Slovak than the Swedish family. Slovak and Swedish children agreed that the father who "makes important decisions in the family" was more descriptive of the Slovak than the Swedish father. Slovak and Swedish children were asked to whom they would go if they were in trouble. Both Slovak and Swedish male children responded that they "would go to their father". Female children of both ethnic groups responded that they "would go to their mother".

Interviews with Slovak and Swedish children who attended Grades 7 through 12 seemed to indicate that punishment was more frequent and more severe among Slovaks than Swedes, and more Slovak than Swedish mothers punished their children. These interviews seemed to indicate further that Slovak children had to do "more work around the house" than Swedish children. Taking care of younger brothers and sisters and working in the garden were chores for which more Slovak than Swedish children were responsible.

In brief, interview and questionnaire data seemed to point to the conclusion that the Swedish family tended to be more equalitarian or



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In brief, interview and questionnaire data seemed to point to the conclusion that the Swedish family tended to be more equalitarian or



democratic than the Slovak family. The Slovak family tended to be more patriarchal in structure than the Swedish family.

When a colony of settlers emigrates from a particular section of a foreign country and establishes a community in a new homeland, the chances of its perpetuating the cultural patterns of the native land are favorable. This was true of Swedes who settled in Grassflat. The established religion of Sweden which was transplanted in the new world seemed to play a major role in binding the Swedish people together. Through the Nebo and Emanuel Churches, their related organizations, and religious educational program, Swedes perpetuated the religion of their homeland. For decades, the churches gave the Swedish language a prominent place in their services. From the beginning of settlement, their churches served the added function of being the center of their social activities.

It is important to note that many Slovak residents who were interviewed, especially elderly ones, were quite uninformed about the name or purpose of the most prominent Swedish organizations. The same was equally true of Swedes. This was less true, however, among Slovaks and Swedes of the third generation who had attended the public school together.

Inter-family social functions were also important in binding the Swedish people together, particularly those of certain neighborhood and kinship groups.

In terms of intraethnic solidarity, the Swedish family probably played one of its most important roles through its strong support of the Lutheran Church. Both parents and children had demonstrated this support in a number of ways.



### Summary

Slovaks and Swedes of the first generation described their earliest relations as "not so good". For decades, a number of factors operated in both promoting separate cultural solidarities among Slovaks and Swedes and precluding interethnic assimilation. Those factors which tended to promote intraethnic solidarity of Slovaks and Swedes were comparatively quite similar in nature. Probably most important was the fact that each ethnic group had its separate national origin, religious faith, language, kinship system, and its relatively exclusive social, recreational, and economic organizations. These ethnic differences were further perpetuated by residential segregation. During the earliest decades of settlement, most Slovaks occupied the northern section of Grassflat which Swedes referred to as "little Slovakia" and which Slovaks called Dobrytown (Good town). Most Swedes lived in the southern section of Grassflat which Slovaks referred to as "little Sweden" and which Swedes called West Clymer.

It is important to add, however, that relations between Slovaks and Swedes continued to change from one decade to another. As a result of certain transitions, the two ethnic groups began to share a number of common experiences which tended to promote both better interethnic understanding and more harmonious interethnic relations. Transitions which took place among both Slovaks and Swedes will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.



## CHAPTER VI



## CHAPTER VI

### CULTURAL CHANGE OF ETHNIC GROUPS AND INTER-ETHNIC ASSIMILATION

Although a number of factors had promoted intraethnic solidarity among both Slovaks and Swedes, as was shown in the previous chapter, there were also, on the other hand, a number of factors which had promoted interethnic assimilation in a number of areas.

A number of comparatively favorable transitions had taken place in the community which had helped to promote interethnic relations which were not present two or three decades ago. On the one hand, both Slovaks and Swedes had abandoned certain practices which formerly strengthened separate intraethnic solidarities. On the other hand, as a result of certain interrelations both Slovaks and Swedes had learned to adopt a number of common interests which operated to encourage closer inter-group relations and promote a greater degree of assimilation between them. It is these two changes which had taken place in Grassflat that will constitute the central theme of the data which will follow.

Discussion of these two factors will be classified under four major topics, namely, (a) factors favoring assimilation as expressed by both first generation Slovaks and Swedes, (b) factors favoring assimilation as expressed by both second generation Slovaks and Swedes, (c) factors favoring assimilation as expressed by both third generation Slovaks and Swedes, and (d) individual interview and questionnaire data relating to



assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes.

Factors Favoring Assimilation as Expressed by both  
First Generation Slovaks and Swedes

Assimilation had been defined as "the process whereby individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar; that is, become identified in their interests and outlook".<sup>1</sup> Such a process is indeed a gradual and complex one, especially when it concerns two groups each of which had emigrated from a different foreign country and settled in a new homeland which is characterized as having a general culture quite different from either of them. This was true of the situation in Grassflat.

As students of culture know, an ocean voyage alone does not obliterate the pattern of adjustment learned from one's past experiences, nor does mere contact between two groups inevitably result in assimilation between them. The degree to which two groups tend to become similar is always dependent upon a variety of interrelations which they learn to share. In general, the greater the number of experiences they will share jointly and the extent to which these will help respective group members to make necessary life adjustments will determine the extent to which assimilation between them will take place.

Commenting on the ineffective attempts to assimilate the foreign-born, Drachslar reported:

The most serious error in the attempts to assimilate the foreign-born was ignorance of his cultural background and of the part this

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1. William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Miskoff, Sociology. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 383.



must play in the process of incorporation. . . . We have scarcely begun to understand the subtle process of spiritual surgery that must be performed in grafting millions of foreign minds upon the mind of America. The immigrant who lands here is not an atomized individual. He is bound by numberless ties to his past. To break these bonds is as cruel as it is unwise. He is not merely a profitable labor unit. Nor is he just a biologic asset or liability. He is, above all else, a human personality with all the strength and the weakness, all the promise and the richness this term implies.<sup>2</sup>

As was mentioned earlier, a relatively long period of isolation continued between the Slovaks and Swedes during the early settlement of Grassflat. A very limited extent of communication was carried on between the two groups. The lack of a common language was a decisive factor in precluding assimilation between them. Each was quite ignorant of the other's background. Distrust between them was often great. Resentment sometimes led to physical attack. In general, the period of greatest peace between them existed during the period of isolation "when Slovaks lived on their side of the creek and Swedes lived on theirs".

Isolation could not continue despite the ardent wishes of members of both ethnic groups, particularly the parents. When two ethnic groups occupy a relatively small area and when they are all, except for a few, engaged in work as confining as that of coal production, certain degrees of cooperation are indispensable. Gradually, as a result of daily contacts, each group began to understand the other better.

In order to study those factors which promoted interethnic assimilation between the two groups, three generations of both Slovaks and Swedes

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2. Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920, p. 233.



were interviewed. Tape-recorded interviews were again used to obtain data. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with foreign-born Slovak residents:

Writer: Do you think that Slovaks get along with Swedes better today than they did before?

Mr. P: Oh, yes. Of course there used to be more Swedes before. There are fewer now. They didn't get along poorly before, but they have been moving out.

Writer: Are more Slovaks than Swedes leaving Grassflat?

Mr. P: Oh, yes. Many more Swedes are leaving, but since there aren't any more mines a lot of the Slovaks are missing too, but more Swedes left than Slovaks.

Writer: Would you have a drink with a Swede?

Mr. P: When we come to the hall (Slovak Hall) or other places they usually set up drinks. Why, indeed I would. When they buy I buy too. Yes, if they buy a bottle I buy a bottle, and when they buy a small glass (liquor) I buy them one.

Writer: You like to be friendly with them.

Mr. P: Oh, yes. Some of them tap you on the shoulder and buy a glass or bottle and ask you to come to the bar and have a drink with them.

Writer: Would you have a drink with Swedes, Mrs. O?

Mrs. O: My son, I don't go anywhere so I don't drink with the Swedes or the Slovaks.

Writer: Mr. D?

Mr. D: There should be no difference in that whether it is a Swede, an Englishman, Scotcman, or anyone. Sure, I drink with many Swedish friends.

Writer: Would you go if a Swede invited you to his home for dinner?

Mrs. O: If I knew how to speak with them I certainly would go and eat.



- Mr. P: Oh, yes. I would go. They are a respectful people.
- Mr. D: I'd go to anyone's house to eat, anyone who is a Christian. I'd go anywhere as I should where one wants to be my friend.
- Writer: Do you think Slovaks are getting away from some of their old customs, European customs? (Moments of silence passed.) Will you ever lose some of your old Slovakian customs?
- Mrs. O: Well, a person will have to. I can't always keep mentioning the past. I will have to be a little different.
- Writer: Can the young Slovak generation read and write Slovak well?
- Mr. D: Very few.
- Mr. P: Yes, very few.
- Writer: Do you think that there will come a time when the young Slovak generation will forget the Slovak language?
- Mr. D: Oh, yes. You can even see it everywhere today.
- Writer: Mr. P?
- Mr. P: I don't think the Slovak language will die. We have our priests and teachers here. I know that they teach young people in Slovak language. They teach them. The language will live.<sup>3</sup>
- Mrs. O: I think this way: when us old folks die that there will be no more Slovaks. There will be Slovaks, but they will not have their language. It seems that today no one is teaching his young children to speak Slovak, just the English language. The language of the Slovak Catholics and the language of the Swedish Lutherans is the same now. They speak the same language. The one forgot his, and, of course, the other forgot his. They are now only talking one language. This is the worst thing that is happening among them. . . .
- Writer: What do you think of the Swedes today?
- Mrs. O: My son, I don't go anywhere. I can't speak with them, and they can't speak with me. I know they did me nothing, and I did not do him anything. I tried to live in peace. If I knew English I would talk to them. I do not wish any bad luck for anyone.

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3. Actually, the local priest who was also teacher of catechism classes used English almost exclusively.



Writer: Mr. D?

Mr. D: Most of the Swedes are very good and honest people. I have worked (in the coal mines) with several Swedish people for many years, and I have not found more friendly and honest people to work with than I have found among the Swedes I have worked with in Grassflat.

Mr. P: Yes, that's true.

Mr. D: Today I feel different toward these people (the Swedes).

Writer: Do you feel different toward Swedes than you did about fifty years ago?

Mr. D: It is altogether different today because I have gotten to know them, worked with them, and some of them are very good people.

Writer: What do you think, Mr. P?

Mr. P: I feel the same way as Mr. D feels about this question. When we came it was very much different, and now the Swedish people are much better to us.

Writer: Do you think the Swedish people have changed, or do you think times have changed?

Mr. P: I think the people have changed, but also I think the times have changed.

Writer: Did your opinion of them change?

Mr. P: Oh, yes. No, I think they are good people. When they see a person, the Slovaks like me or Mr. D, they talk to us nicely.

Mrs. O: And the young people have everything together now. They can talk with each other. They associate with each other, and us old people are much to ourselves.

Writer: Do you think that young Slovaks are giving up some of the old Slovak customs?

Mr. P: Yes, here and there they are.

Mr. D: Not only will they give them up, but they have already given much of them up today. Many have already forgotten their Slovak ways. Only a few keep up their own gardens. All of them seem to run to store for everything they need. In the future they will completely forget about their heritage.



Mr. P: We do know that our younger generation is not like their fathers were before them.

Mr. D: They have too much money, and they think this will always be. In the future they will find out differently.

Writer: Do you think younger people are losing some of the old Slovak customs, Mr. D?

Mr. D: Today I think most of them have done away with the customs of the olden days, and they don't respect older people.

Mrs. O: I think most of them do not live up to the customs any longer.

Writer: Why?

Mrs. O: I think it is because the mother and father do not teach the children. Mother can't boss them, nor can father. If children don't listen, there isn't much use in talking about it. If the father tells them some thing, they just turn around the other way. Children don't listen the way they used to.

Writer: What customs don't you want them to give up?

Mrs. O: Slovak customs. So that they would not forget their language.

Mr. P: Yes, I just want them to talk the Slovak language, and want them to teach their children the Slovak language. I'd like to see more and more in Grassflat teach their children to speak Slovak.

Writer: What do you think, Mr. D?

Mr. D: I want them to teach and hold the Slovak language and customs as long as they can, but they must also learn the English language because this language is even more important than the Slovak language. It is only that one should keep his mother tongue as long as he can.

Mr. P: And they have to know English.

Mrs. O: Oh, that's right.

Writer: Who should be the boss in the family?

Mrs. O: They say the father is master. He should be.



Mr. D: They say the father should be master, but there are many families in which the wife rather than husband is master?

Mr. P: Yes, indeed.

In reviewing the data presented above, it is important to note that the three Slovaks of the first generation, whose ages ranged from 77 to 81, and who were among the first Slovak settlers in Grassflat, felt quite strongly that relations between Slovaks and Swedes since the early days of settlement had improved to a great extent. They indicated a definite interest in further promoting friendly relations with them. They would not hesitate to have a drink or to have dinner with Swedes. The former was undoubtedly the most common interethnic activity, but the latter rarely occurs even today. Decades of residential and occupational propinquity seemed to have helped Slovaks better to understand the Swedes. The fact that both Slovaks and Swedes worked in the coal mines was especially important as one of the main factors favoring assimilation between them.

The foreign-born Slovaks felt that most of the younger generations were abandoning old Slovak customs. The use of Slovak, they emphasized, was rapidly decreasing. They felt that most Slovak customs would be forgotten when the first generation Slovaks pass away. Although they realized that a knowledge of English was necessary, nevertheless, they desired that efforts be made to continue the use of Slovak. Parents, they pointed out, were responsible for the lack of ability among grandchildren to speak Slovak. They indicated, it is important to note, that the younger generations of both Slovaks and Swedes associated much more



freely, and that a common language was an important factor in facilitating better inter-group relations between them.

Tape-recorded interviews were also used to obtain data regarding interethnic assimilation from Swedish residents. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with foreign-born Swedish residents whose ages ranged from 74 to 82:

Writer: That are some of the things that started to bring the Slovak and Swedish people together?

Mr. T: The United Mine Workers Union.

Writer: The United Mine Workers Union, Mr. T?

Mr. T: They met at union meetings, and some was pretty good union men, some Slovak guys you know and some Swedes. They talked things over, and they come together more and more. Sometime, I remember, we had to go out together. We had a strike on, and then we got out up here in Grassflat Mine, Slovaks and Swedes. That way we settled things together.

Mr. W: Yes, I remember the same thing. We come over there one morning, but they (Slovak strikers) had beat us to it. There were a few men working (violating the strike), and they went in (the mine) real early that morning. They probably expected that we were going to come. But we caught the blacksmith and the track layer, and we told them what we thought. A fellow by the name of J. B. was leader of the men, and he told them that he thought the best thing they could do would be to go back home and stay home until this trouble was over, but the blacksmith and track layer didn't say a word.

Writer: You mentioned, Mr. T, that the union helped to bring the Slovak and Swedish people together. Wasn't there a language difficulty at the beginning, that they didn't understand each other?

Mr. T: The only thing we could do, we always had some man who talked the American language so he had to be interpreter, see. The Swedish people had one and Slovaks. That went pretty good. I remember this here L (a Slovak) up here. He used to be one of them. There was one big fellow here



name A, big tall fellow. He was pretty good in the American language. He talked pretty good, and he used to be interpreter.

Mr. W: Was that H (a Slovak)?

Mr. T: Yes, I believe it was H. That's right.

Mr. W: And also F. L. was the interpreter for the Slovak people. When I first came here he was only a boy about eighteen or nineteen years old, and he is an old man now. He was an interpreter. We had meeting right out here when I bought these lots before I built. They (miners) came, and the union asked if they were allowed to use my land for a meeting. I said, "Sure". I remember F. L. was the interpreter for the Slovak people that time.

Writer: Both the Swedish and Slovak people had interpreters.

Mr. T: Yes, there wasn't one third of the Swedes could understand English, you know. They used to talk to the boss, and ask for a place to work, and that was all they could understand. I used to understand a little, like most people. We had speakers there (at union meetings) from outside, you see. Mr. G. used to be there, but there was too much said at one time. You didn't understand so you had to get it explained.

Writer: Well, you said the union brought Slovaks and Swedes together. Are there any other things that brought them together?

Mrs. F: Well, I don't know anything else particularly that did.

Writer: What about work?

Mr. W: Work, well, naturally you got acquainted, see. You got acquainted so that the Slovaks didn't mistrust the Swedes, and the Swedes didn't mistrust the Slovaks. That was the whole thing in a nutshell. After they started to get confidence in one another, why, then they were more like one people.

Writer: Did they sometimes work as buddies (partners)?

Mr. W: Oh, yes. Sometimes they did.

Writer: Did you ever joke with the Slovaks at work?

Mr. W: Yes, yes. I can remember up here at Cooper Number 2. . . .



Mr. T: Another thing, we had a music band here in Grassflat, and it was a pretty good band. We had about thirty or thirty-two members in that band, and we played at every wedding. When we started in the first place we didn't get invited or anything like that, but whenever we heard there was a Slavish wedding we went over there in the evening and played for them, and we generally got five dollars where we played. We keep on and finally just when a fellow got married, I know quite a few of them, they always come up to the leader, that was L. P., and say "bring them over and play. I am going to be married tomorrow". Sometimes we got five or ten dollars and then all we wanted to drink.

Writer: You drank with the Slovaks?

Mr. T: Yes, and we had a good time, and we got more and more together through that than anything. Many times Slovaks they meet us certain places and "come, come, you were in the band" (have a drink). And that helped to bring them together, I know.

Writer: After you finished playing in the band, Mr. T, did you talk with the Slovaks?

Mr. T: Yes, we were amongst them. Oh, yes. We had beer, lunch lots of times, sandwiches. Oh, they treat us good.

Writer: I see. Well, so far you said the union, work, and the band brought Slovaks and Swedes together.

Mr. W: The school naturally played a big role in that because as the children grew up on both sides, well, they went to school, why, then they could understand one another better than they could in the first place. So I believe that the school had a lot to do with it. Before the compulsory school was in, why, the Swedish people used to have Swedish school for their children just like the Slovaks had. Since the compulsory school come in, why, it was more and more put to use. They got all the school they wanted in eight months. The older people thought that they had to learn Swedish. They were more concerned about the Swedish language than they were about the American language. Lots of them. I think it was the wrong thing. Most of them never intended to go back to Sweden, but still they stood up for the Swedish language, and the Slovak for the Slavish language.

Writer: And the Slovaks for the Slovak language.



Mr. W: Old J. M., we talked about this thing up at work. He didn't like it a bit that they wanted to change the school from Slovak to English in the Slovak church. I tried to tell him that we had gone through the same thing. I couldn't even agree with my own parents about that. They thought it so important to learn the Swedish language, but they didn't think it important at all to learn the American language. I couldn't agree with them on that, and I told old J. M. that we all had gone through the same thing, and we all had to go through the same thing, but they loved their language and their old customs, and I guess there is nothing wrong in it. But they loved their old ways, but at the same time we should remember that we are not Swedes any more. We live in America. He didn't say much about it, but I could see that he would rather that they keep on the old style, that they speak the Slavish language.

Writer: The old folks wanted their grandchildren to speak Slovak.

Mrs. F: They wanted their grandchildren to speak Slovak, and the Swedes wanted their grandchildren to speak Swedish.

Mrs. T: Yes, that's right.

Writer: Did parents think school was important then?

Mr. W: No, they didn't. Some of them did I guess, but most of them didn't think they were important at all. It was more important if you were old enough to go to the mines where you could make fifty cents a day.

Writer: How old did you have to be before you could start working at the mines?

Mr. T: Twelve years.

Writer: Did the old hotel help to bring Slovaks and Swedes together?

Mr. W: Yes, I believe that lots of them got acquainted there, but one way or other they kind of mistrusted one another, but as time went on they got acquainted. There was less mistrusting one another after that, and they grew as one people.

Mr. T: Yes, they used to have some fights up there, but after a while they got acquainted up there. . . .



Writer: Do young Slovaks and Swedes garden as much as you folks used to?

Mrs. F: Well, I couldn't say. I hardly think they do.

Mrs. T: Younger people don't like to work like the old people did.

Writer: I wonder why?

Mrs. F: They want to have a better time, a good time, and take it easy.

Mr. W: There are some that are very ambitious, but the cars might have something to do with this thing. They come home, jump in the car, and go someplace. Well, then they can't be working in the gardens. . . .

Mr. T: I think it is going to be even more different between Slavish and Swedes after a while. It won't take long now before the younger generation won't understand either Slavish or Swedish. They will use American, you see. They will be all Americans. They won't know anything else, you know. You won't notice any difference.

Mr. W: Yes, and the school has changed things a lot.

Mr. T: Oh, yes.

Mrs. F: Now the Swedish and the Slovak children can speak English, and, of course, that helps to bring them together more.

Mrs. T: That's the main thing.

Mr. T: And they zigzag back and forth. They begin to live on both sides of the creek, not like it was. But the Swedes are moving out (of town). Very few of Swedes left in Pleasant Hill. Yes, things are changed. . . .

Writer: Would you have a drink with a Slovak?

Mr. T: I have many times.

Mr. W: I don't get out much now, but I used to have a few with Slovak friends.

Writer: Would you have dinner with a Slovak?

Mr. W: Oh, yes.







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Mr. T: Sure.

Mrs. F: Yes, if I was invited.

In summarizing the data presented above, it is important to note that Swedes of the first generation also indicated that relations between the two ethnic groups had improved a great deal since the early days of settlement. Like Slovaks, they also considered the role of a common language, a common occupation, and greater residential proximity as important in favoring assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes. Both emphasized the increasingly important role played by the younger generations of both groups in further promoting better inter-ethnic relations.

Greater inter-group assimilation was encouraged through various activities of the United Mine Workers Union of which all miners, except company men, were members. Although mine operations in Grassflat had ceased, this organization remained active. Retired coal miners met regularly to discuss various problems related to their former industry, particularly retirement benefits on which many Slovak and Swedish residents are dependent.

Swedish band activities, long discontinued, seemed to have played an important social role in the process of assimilation. Both groups had a profound interest in music and dancing. The old hotel which was the only meeting place where men could buy drinks was an important social center, particularly after pay day at the mines. These activities were important in promoting interethnic relations through which the members of both groups learned better to understand each other.



From the point of view of first generation Swedes, a distinct role in the assimilative process was played through the public school. There young Slovaks and Swedes learned a common language, and as a result began to associate more freely.

It is important to emphasize that Swedish residents of the first generation often referred to both Slovaks and Swedes as becoming "one people", "same people", and "Americans".

#### Factors Favoring Assimilation as Expressed by Both Second Generation Slovaks and Swedes

Among other differences, three in particular distinguished the second from the first generation of both Slovaks and Swedes. First, the foreign-born residents were more intimately acquainted with the cultural patterns of Slovakia or Sweden. Second, the native-born of foreign parentage had a comparatively better knowledge of the English language mainly because of the public school which they attended. Third, a large number of Slovaks and Swedes of the second generation was born prior to World War I by which time a considerable degree of interethnic communication and assimilation already had taken place between the two ethnic groups.

Due to three differences it would seem that one might expect a greater degree of assimilation among the second generations of Slovaks and Swedes than among the first generations. As Linton reported, "At whatever point we take our cross-section of the culture continuum we will find certain changes completed, others well under way, and still



others just beginning".<sup>4</sup> In short, "every culture is not only a continuum but a continuum in a constant state of change".<sup>5</sup> The extent to which this is true was indicated by data obtained from second generation Slovaks and Swedes who were interviewed.

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Slovaks of the second generation, each of whom was a father of one or more children of marriageable age:

Writer: What customs have Slovaks in Grassflat given up? What customs have they practised years ago which they no longer practice today?

Mr. F: Years ago in the old days we used to have regular Slovak dances which we don't have now. We never used to start at mid-night as they seem to now. By twelve o'clock we were finished. We used to start our dances at six o'clock, and by mid-night we were all finished dancing, and we had all Slovak music.

Writer: Why don't they have Slovak dances today?

Mr. F: Why, this generation today goes for this crazy dancing.

Mr. C: When I was a kid the dance wouldn't start at six o'clock as he said, but it would start on Saturday right afternoon. Times at that time were not as they are now. There was no juggle and bustle then. Then the men did not work as they do now. Now the men work some six and seven days a week. You couldn't have the dance on a Saturday afternoon now because a lot of the men work on a Saturday afternoon, but Saturdays used to be holidays. Working conditions have changed. Yes, everybody is out to get that almighty dollar. The more they have the more they want.

Writer: Any other customs which Slovaks had given up in Grassflat?

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4. Ralph Linton, The Study of Man. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, p. 298.

5. Ibid., p. 296.



Mr. P: Take years ago, people spoke more to each other than they do nowadays among the Slovaks alone.

Mr. T: Yes. There used to be a sort of park above Dobrytown, the Dobrytown Park. I think you fellas know about that. The old folks used to pitch horseshoes and play card together, and the Slovak women would have their own meetings on the side and so with the kids. It's not that way today. You don't see any of that today. Automobile stuff changed that. They're leading too fast a life. I mean that no one would ever pass anyone on the street without saying a greeting of some kind. Today it is different. Most of the young people do most of their travel on cars and just pass by without a greeting of any kind.

Mr. E: I remember we used to have big celebrations and anniversaries of various organizations. We had big processions to Winburne. We used to go there just to be with our organizations. We don't have that any more.

Writer: On what occasions did you have these celebrations?

Mr. E: Patron Saints day of various organizations.

Mr. H: We used to have Saint Anne picnics and on All Saints Day. At one time we had a band here. They would have parades on St. John's Day and other days. I remember one time the band went to Join E's, that is about three miles from here. We took a bus load, had sandwiches and drinks.

Writer: Why don't Slovaks have a band today?

Mr. H: It seems that nobody is interested. They usually have a good time on Saturday or Sunday outside of town. They have cars and go out. We used to have a Jednota Slovak baseball team. We don't have it today.

Writer: Would you as members of the Slovak lodge be happy to sponsor a band or a baseball team which you do not have today?

Mr. E: We tried baseball, but the younger element isn't interested in baseball or anything. Today, they want a tank full of gas and a good car. That's as far as they go. Our branch (Jednota #333) did have the finest band, but today it's very much different.



Mr. P: I think we are responsible for a lot of that because we don't show the boys just how to do these things. We don't back them up. I know from my own experience. I know my little boys ask me to play ball with them, but I tell them I don't have time. It's really my own fault. Fault is ours. We don't help them create interest in things any more.

Writer: Did the fathers in the past spend more time with their children?

Mr. P: I believe so. Today we work much longer, harder, and have less time to devote to playing with our children.

Mr. T: I disagree with him to a certain extent. I know the band we Slovaks had. Daddies stuck to helping boys come into the band. The kids had a chance, but they'd rather play cards and run around. It wasn't the parents' fault there.

Mr. F: I'd say the younger generation doesn't care as much as they used to about music and so forth. They don't itch to get into things like they used to. They'd rather run around. They like the high life.

Mr. C: As far as music and entertainment goes it all adds up to the speed up that goes on in the world today. I remember when I was a kid and started work. When we made our dollar Dad would say, "Let's go home, son". But not today. Today they say, "Let's stay and make more". They're out to make that almighty buck (dollar).

Writer: Are there other customs which Slovaks no longer practice? (Long silence) Gentlemen, let us raise a few more questions about your children. Do your children speak Slovak at home?

Mr. T: Yes, mine speak Slovak at home most of the time when we, the parents, are there.

Mr. S: I can go down to one that can and does speak it once in a while. My oldest can speak pretty good; she can read and write. She can talk pretty good. The second, she could speak it fairly well, but the youngest can't speak it at all.

Writer: Your oldest girl speaks Slovak best?

Mr. S: That's right. She went to Slovak school, and that's the reason.



Mr. F: My two oldest can speak, and two of them can understand it, but since my mother-in-law and mother died they don't seem to speak it much any more. Since the old folks are gone so is the Slovak language.

Mr. E: I can tell you about this language deal. We had this experience in our home. My oldest boy couldn't speak a word of English when he started school (public school). That's a fact. We had to teach him one summer the English language to a certain extent. Things have changed so much that today he can't hardly speak Slovak at all. He'll speak half English and half Slovak. It goes right down the line: the older they are the more they can speak it; the younger they are the less they speak it. I think it's the parents' fault. Practice it right at home. My mother couldn't speak a word of English, so they talked to her in Slovak. Now that mother is dead it's different.

Mr. P: That's the thing that I was trying to get at. I remember just before my mother died, my oldest boy started to pick up a few words in Slovak while my mother was around, but since grandma died, why, he doesn't get to talk Slovak. He tries to, but he doesn't because my wife and I speak English at home. So the reason why the young element doesn't speak Slovak is because the old folks are dying out, and we don't speak Slovak very much today.

Writer: So most of the time at your home you speak English?

Mr. P: That's right. English. I still think the younger generation speaks English because most everyone speaks American, and we don't bother to speak the other language.

Mr. H: My two boys while they were with grandma and grandpa spoke Slovak and understood it, but after we left and went into housekeeping ourselves, why, they just dropped it.

Writer: What language do you speak at home?

Mr. H: Most of the time we speak English, but some time, once in a while we talk Slovak, but they don't understand it, and they don't talk back in Slovak.

Writer: Most of the time at the dinner table you speak --

Mr. H: It's different (it varies). Once in a while we speak Slovak. My wife and I talk Slovak, but the kiddies won't.



Mr. C: Just as we said before, when my parents were living in Grassflat they lived among Slovak neighbors, and Grandma and the neighbors would speak nothing but Slovak. My daughter could not understand any English then. Then she went to school (public school), and about five years later she forgot all she knew in Slovak. They spend a lot of time with other children, and no matter how much you try, how much it breaks your heart, they go out and don't use it. Grandmother would say something to my daughter in Slovak, but she couldn't answer. The children have so many school and after school contacts.

Mr. P: The reason I say this is because I remember we had one Swedish boy up there in our neighborhood. You know him, H. His name was C. L. he was the only Swede up there, and that boy could speak Slovak as good as the rest of us. He had to talk Slovak because we wouldn't talk anything else but Slovak.

Mr. T: I know about that, too.

Writer: What language do your children use in their morning and evening prayers, their prayers at Angelus?

Mr. T: Well, mine say them in Slovak. In my home they say prayers in Slovak. Their mother taught them to pray in Slovak and to talk in Slovak, and we all talk Slovak at home. When we get Slovak letters my girls read them to us because their mother reads slowly. When boys come home they don't talk nothing but Slovak. The girls will with us, too. I have a girl that's married, a mixed marriage, and she's not ashamed to talk Slovak to her mother in front of anyone. And our neighbors, old ones will speak half Slovak and half English. One will take turns with the other. One will talk in Slovak, and the other will answer in English.

Writer: Prayers following Low Mass on Sunday are said in what language?

Mr. H: Well, lately it differs. They have been said both in English and in Slovak. One Sunday they're in English and the next they're in Slovak.

Writer: I understand that children must learn certain prayers before they are permitted to receive their First Communion. What language is used in saying those prayers in the catechism school today?

Mr. S: In English. In English.



Writer: And the missals they use at mass?<sup>6</sup>

Mr. H: They're all written in English. I haven't seen a missal in Slovak yet. I think there are some printed, but at the present time to give the children a Slovak missal, why, they wouldn't understand it.

Mr. E: There are missals in Slovak, but the majority of young people can't read Slovak. I happen to have a Slovak missal.

Writer: Gentlemen, would you have a drink with a Swede?

Mr. P: I'd have a drink with anybody. (All laughed.)

Writer: Is there anyone who would not? (None indicated the negative.) None. Would you have dinner with a Swede if he invited you to his home?

Mr. S: Yes, I would. To my estimation I found some Swedes to be just as good or better than some of the Slovaks.

Mr. T: I would if they asked me. They eat with us at our weddings, and that's where one man, I won't mention any names, a Swede, you all know him, said he didn't know the Slovaks were such good cooks. He said that at my daughter's wedding.

Writer: Is there anyone who would not have dinner with a Swede? (None indicated the negative.) None.

Mr. E: I have something to say about that because I live among a few of them, among the Swedish element. The finest neighbors we had in town are Swedes. They are willing to lend a hand when in need.

Writer: Would you permit the Swedes to be your neighbors?

Mr. H: To my estimation the best neighbor I ever had or my parents ever had were Swedish. Whether we had a baby in the family or if there happened to be a death in the family, they seemed to cooperate more and help you out even more than your own Slovaks.

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6. A missal is a prayer book used during mass. It is written both in Latin and another language, most commonly in English. This book enables the attendant at mass to follow and understand the priest who reads and sings in Latin.



Writer: Why is that, H?

Mr. H: I don't know, but to my estimation we had babies, there are six of them already, and every time a baby is born they always bring a present. They sort of look to it as a pleasure to bring a present. That's to my estimation.

Writer: How do the rest of you feel about having a Swede for a neighbor?

Mr. P: I have one that is a Swede and one that isn't, but I've I've lived there seventeen years and we've never had a cross word yet. But I know, I have a neighbor that is Slovak, and they only lived there one-fourth the time, and we just can't seem to hit it off right.

Writer: Why is that, P?

Mr. P: Well, I think the Swedish people seem to mind their own business more where the Slovaks stick their nose in the other people's business too much. That's the trouble.

Writer: S, what do you think about this?

Mr. S: I have two neighbors that are Swedes, and I think they are the best neighbors I've had in a long time. They're very cooperative. If we had sickness in the family, if we needed any help, they came in and offered to help in any way they could. No matter what time of the night we needed help they were right there. In fact, they even took us to the doctor one night, and helped us when we needed help.

Writer: Would you permit your children to be friendly with Swedish children?

Mr. E: I would, yes. Positively. They make good company.  
(Others nodded agreement.)

According to the tape-recorded data presented above, a number of earlier Slovakian cultural patterns had been changed or abandoned, particularly those of a social and recreational nature. The modern American, rather than Slovakian, dance and music have come to be more popular. The Sunday afternoon pattern of all-family amusement at the



Dobrytown Park had been abandoned. The Jednota baseball team and band were discontinued. The number of elaborate celebrations sponsored by various Catholic organizations was greatly decreased. The automobile had shifted the scene of social functions from Grassflat to outside communities. With the passing of elderly Slovak residents the Slovak language was given a less prominent role in the home, church, school, and social centers in the community. In various phases of the social life in the community Slovaks and Swedes had learned to share many more common interests and experiences.

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Swedes of the second generation, each of whom was a father of one or more children of marriageable age:

Writer: What past Swedish customs have been given up in Grassflat? What old customs are no longer practiced today?

Mr. H: The Swedish people used to have a lot of platform gatherings. They don't have them anymore.

Writer: Were the platform gatherings for --

Mr. H: They were for Swedes only. They don't have them anymore.

Writer: What did people do at these gatherings?

Mr. H: They'd get a keg of beer, and sit, and talk. They danced and had fun.

Mr. F: They had more than a keg. They'd have quite a number. They'd drink and have fun mostly. They had a lot of kegs and the people would chip in fifty cents and then they would dance and drink the beer.

Writer: Did you ever attend?

Mr. F: No, it was a little too far back for me.



Mr. H: Besides these drinking parties they had Swedish dances. They used to have them on the baseball diamond and sometimes at Lanse. They used to exchange off that way.

Writer: What went on at one of those get-togethers?

Mr. H: They would sing and get out and then swing their partners. They would have a dance. They would not have music all the time. Sometime just singing. Much like a barn dance.

Mr. F: Sometimes they had music, a fiddler or a banjo.

Mr. H: Yes, sometimes they had fiddlers and callers, and people would dance. It was an old Swedish custom.

Mr. F: Old J. F. and A. J. would play. They'd have an accordion. Someone would sing and it was similar to a barn dance or a square dance. Some of them had fiddlers, guitar players, callers. It was the custom.

Writer: They don't have them anymore?

Mr. F: No, they cut them out.

Writer: Are there other customs which are no longer practised?

Mr. H: Well, those penny and bingo parties and housewarmings don't happen very often anymore. Swedes used to get together for birthday parties, but they don't anymore. Just like the Slovaks don't have the birthday parties they used to have. Swedes and Slovaks have most of their things together except that's connected with the church.

Writer: Any other old customs no longer practised today? (Silence followed.) Do your children speak Swedish?

Mr. P: No, my children don't speak Swedish because my wife and I don't speak it. She's of the English nationality.

Mr. S: One of my children speaks Swedish and the other doesn't. My son can't make himself understood. The girl talks awful broken. It's never spoke at home.

Writer: When the family gets together --

Mr. S: No Swedish is spoken.

Writer: Mr. F?



Mr. F: No Swedish spoken there either.

Mr. P: Me and my wife talk very little Swedish. Her family didn't use much Swedish. My family used it constantly. I could read enough to get the meaning, but I can't write it because their alphabet is different from the American alphabet. When it comes to spelling, I'm stumped.

Writer: Gentlemen, why don't you speak Swedish at home?

Mr. S: Why, the schools. They are taught only in English. That's the only reason I can think of.

Mr. H: Well, another reason is they marry someone outside the Swedish. That's a reason.

Mr. F: The confirmation classes used to use Swedish, but they don't any more. Reverend Lindgren has about one Swedish sermon--

Mr. H: Once a month.

Writer: Father Tutokie told me that Slovaks have only one Slovak sermon every three or four months. Why is there so little Slovak and Swedish spoken in the family?

Mr. F: Well, mixed marriage for one thing.

Mr. S: I think this is due largely to the schools. When the old folks came over from old country they all had to speak American.

Mr. F: I went to Swedish school here.

Mr. H: Yes, but English is the standard here. It seems any one comes over they try to learn to speak English, read and write the English language. Another reason why so little Swedish is spoken in my family is that my parents used to speak Swedish to me at home, but there is not enough Swedish spoken at our home now. My wife is English so I don't speak it at home.

Mr. P: When I speak English to my wife she understands it, but she answers in English. The children, of course, speak in English. Now, my parents always spoke Swedish and so did the children. Every one spoke Swedish, so we picked it up. It's not that way in my family.

Writer: It may be that less Swedish is spoken because the old folks aren't around.



Mr. P: That's very true. If the old folks were around they'd be more Swedish spoken. The old folks sort of put it into you before.

Mr. S: Yes, but the old folks are even dropping Swedish today.

Writer: Would you have dinner with a Slovak if he invited you to eat at his home?

Mr. H: I sure would. (Others nodded affirmatively.)

Writer: All of you would.

Mr. P: Sure, especially if they served nut roll, "holupky", and

Mr. F: At the Slovak weddings there are as many Swedes as Slovaks. They try to drink each other under the table.

Mr. C: Their food is delicious.

Writer: Would you have a drink with a Slovak?

All: Sure.

Mr. S: I had many times just like the rest here.

Writer: How would you feel about having a Slovak as your neighbor?

Mr. S: Okay. Just as good as any.

Mr. P: Fine. (Others nodded agreement.)

Writer: Would you permit your children to be friendly with Slovak children?

All: Sure.

Mr. F: Yes, I don't see any difference in them if they get along without scrapping. It's okay.

Writer: Do you feel that the difference is too great to be friendly at any time?

Mr. C: No.

Mr. S: No difference.

Mr. H: The only difference between a Slovak and a Swede is they are of the same human blood, but the only thing is their religion is different. Otherwise they are just as human as Swedes.



Mr. P: Slovaks go to church oftener.

Mr. H: Slovak families enforce it more.

Mr. P: Swedish fathers aren't as strict as they used to be. They don't make children go to church now. They used to. For some reason they just drop away from church some of them.

Mr. S: It's the younger generation's fault too. They don't attend the way they used to. It wouldn't hurt any of us for that matter if we went to church every Sunday.

It is important to note the similarity between those cultural patterns which Slovaks and Swedes had changed or abandoned completely. Major cultural changes among Swedes, much like those among Slovaks, were largely in terms of social patterns of adjustment.

Strictly Swedish dancing and drinking parties which were formerly attended by large groups were abandoned completely. More and more social functions were shared by both Slovaks and Swedes. The number of home penny bingo, birthday, and house-warming parties had decreased considerably.

The Swedish language was given a much less prominent place in the home, church, and school. Passing of the first generation, intermarriage incidence, and the influence of the public school were mentioned as factors which contributed to the declining use of the Swedish language.

Parents had become more lenient in disciplining children. It was pointed out that they were not as strict as Slovak parents. Swedish subjects of the second generation indicated that they would not hesitate to have dinner or drink with Slovaks. They would like to have Slovak neighbors, and would permit their own children to be friendly with Slovak children.



Factors Favoring Assimilation as Expressed By Both  
Third Generation Slovaks and Swedes

Tape-recorded data obtained from subjects of the first and second generations of both Slovaks and Swedes indicated a definite trend toward increased assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes. Assuming that no new and disrupting factors had affected the assimilative process which had already begun, one would expect that data obtained from Slovak and Swedish subjects of the third generation would indicate even greater assimilation between the two ethnic groups.

Merrill and Eldredge reported that:

Assimilation occurs most readily when the social contacts are those of the primary group--that is, when they are intimate, personal, and face to face. Conversely, assimilation functions slowly or not at all when the contacts are secondary--that is, when they are impersonal, casual, and rational.

The social contacts between Slovaks and Swedes of the third generation appeared to be more characteristic of primary relations than contacts described by previous subjects who represented the first and second generations.

Data which follow were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Slovak subjects of the third generation:

Writer: Do you speak Slovak at home?

Miss F: Yes, we speak it. The smaller kids understand it, but they can't speak it. Especially Non and me we speak it.

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7. Francis E. Merrill and H. Wentworth Eldredge, Culture and Society, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, p. 509.



- Miss S: I speak Slovak at home, and to our grandparents, and to the old folks. Wherever I go I speak Slovak any place I can.
- Miss T: I always speak a lot of Slovak at home with Grandma and Grandpa around.
- Writer: B, do you speak Slovak at home?
- Mr. B: Since our pastor, Father B., died, it seems in our home that Slovak talk has been cut out some. Before, when Father was living, we used it around the home very much. Now we have changed almost everything to English.
- Writer: How about school? Do you ever speak Slovak in school?
- Miss F: We don't any more, but I remember when we first started going to Slovak School we used to have lessons, when I had lessons, in both Slovak and English. If I couldn't understand it in Slovak, I knew what it was in English.
- Writer: When you young people get together do you speak in Slovak with one another?
- Miss F: I guess you could call it mixed. We use a little of each (Slovak and English).
- Writer: You use a little of each? Do you think it is mostly Slovak or mostly English?
- Mr. B: I have something to say about that. More or less now, when us young people get together, we use Slovak as more or less for joking and not as we once would.
- Miss T: That's what we do whenever we're in a crowd or dancing. When we make fun of something we make a remark in Slovak. That gives us more fun out of it. Not anything out of the way about other, always the good.
- Miss M: We do the same thing up at the factory (shirt factory at Phillipsburg). We have a lot of fun talking in Slovak when we talk about others. It's not bad things, you know.
- Writer: Why do you think it is funny?
- Miss M: Well, I guess it's just the way we talk. I mean our broken language. We mix it up with the English and part Slovak makes it funny. When you're not born with it, well, you're just out of the fun.



Writer: I see. Do you young people read Slovak?

Miss F: (Laughingly) Very seldom. (Others laughed, nodding affirmatively.) I'm learning to read by lessons in the Jednota. I learned quite a bit to read, and I can write a few words. I wouldn't say I'm good at it, but I'm trying.

Miss S: I read a little bit of Slovak, and then because I belong to the Rosary Society I can pray in Slovak, but I can't write very well in Slovak.

Miss T: Well, I read the letters written to Grandma and Grandpa. I can read the newspaper, and I can say some of my prayers in Slovak.

Mr. B: I can just pick out certain words. That's about all.

Writer: What about your prayers? Are your prayers mostly in English or Slovak?

Miss M: My prayers are all in English.

Miss F: There are a few that I can say in Slovak.

Miss S: My morning prayers are usually in Slovak, and my evening prayers are in English. Otherwise I always pray in English.

Miss T: Mostly my prayers are in English, but I can say a few in Slovak.

Writer: Probably those prayers which you learned in Slovak when you were very young? (All nodded agreement.)

Mr. B: All my prayers are said in English.

Writer: Are missals you use in church in English or Slovak?

Miss M: In English.

Writer: Why don't you have a Slovak missal?

Miss F: We don't know how to read in Slovak. We couldn't very well understand because we can't read it. (All laughed.)

Writer: Do you miss Slovak dances in Grassflat?

Miss M: Very much. That used to be the big event.



Miss F: We used to plan for them for weeks.

Miss M: If the Slovaks had Slovak dances they'd have nicer (larger) crowds.

Writer: They would have nicer crowds?

Miss M: nicer crowds, any day. All these younger generations think of is going out, but they never think of the Slovak people or anything like that.

Writer: Do any of you have Swedish neighbors?

Miss M: I have.

Writer: What kind of people are they?

Miss M: They're nice people.

Miss S: We live right around Swedish neighbors, and I believe they are just as nice as any family you could find. I know when we had a funeral in our family they took our clothes and washed them. They brought food and everything, and I think they are nice, very nice to associate with.

Miss F: They are very good neighbors. I could go so far as to say that some of them even make better neighbors than some of our own folks because they seem to be more considerate. I don't know exactly how to express it, but--

Mr. B: I would say that they are or have more respect for each other.

Miss F: Yes, that's it.

Writer: Why is that, B?

Mr. B: Well, since we all live in the same town they try to co-operate with us as much as they can cooperate with us.

Writer: Do you have Swedish friends? (All nodded affirmatively.) All of you. Would you have dinner at a Swedish home if they invited you some evening?

Mr. B: I already have.

Miss T: I would, but I would probably be a little backward.







Miss F: There might be some foods there that I have never eaten before, and I wouldn't know just how to go about eating them.

Miss S: I believe my opinion would be about the same as S's. I think if they would invite me I would go, but I would feel a little bit out of place.

Mr. B: I might add that in the eating part, as far as the food is concerned, their food has changed almost the same as ours. I ate at a friend's place several times and the food was no different than any that I have eaten at home. Their customs have changed too.

Writer: Swedish customs have also changed.

Miss M: Well, there is greater, you can say, cooperation between the Swedish and the Catholics now than there ever was in this town.

Writer: Is there?

Miss M: Yes, I know that to be true. The last shower there was here I noticed there were quite a few Swedish ladies at the shower which is something that very seldom happened. Usually, I don't know why it was, but the Slovak people and the Swedish people just never intermingled. The Swedish people stayed at their end of town and Slovaks at their end.

Data presented above seemed to indicate that interethnic relations between Slovaks and Swedes of the third generation were more characteristic of primary contacts than those described by both Slovaks and Swedes of the two previous generations.

Subjects of the third generation used the Slovak language to a lesser extent than the first and second generations. Those who lived with or near their grandparents and other elderly Slovak folks spoke Slovak more frequently and spoke it better than those who lived with or near younger Slovak groups. Slovak ceased to remain the official language in both Catechism School and the church. Prayers were said more frequently in



English than Slovak. Slovak dances which formerly were held quite frequently and regularly, at the time of this study were limited almost entirely to Slovak weddings.

Slovak subjects of the third generation regarded Swedish neighbors as "nice", "cooperative", and "considerate". Each of them had both Swedish neighbors and friends. The young ladies said they would accept an invitation to have dinner with Swedes, but would feel "a little backward" or "out of place". They felt the Swedish dietary patterns differed considerably from those of Slovaks. The young man who had eaten with Swedes on a number of occasions indicated that the dietary patterns of both ethnic groups had changed and that, as a result, Swedish foods were quite like those one would find among Slovaks.

Swedish subjects of the third generation, like those of Slovak extraction, indicated that the extent of assimilation between the two ethnic groups continued to increase. The following tape-recorded data were extracted from an interview with Swedish subjects of the third generation:

Writer: What do you think of the community of Grassflat?

Mr. H: Well, for one thing I like the way people cooperate with one another in the various organizations like the Ladies Auxiliary and the Firemen. I think they cooperate marvelously. They seem to cooperate in other ways too. There is a lot of friendliness among the people, and I don't think there are too many prejudices.

Mr. N: Well, it's a friendly place. Everybody seems to cooperate, yet there aren't enough clubs around here for the young people. That's one of the troubles. There isn't enough things to keep the young guys busy.



Mr. B: That's it. There's not enough recreation for the young people.<sup>8</sup>

Writer: J, is there anything you might add?

Mr. B: Oh, I differ somewhat from these fellas. I think Grassflat is more of a summer resort. I think there should be some sort of builder to hire people in this town. We need some sort of building, factory, community job, or something. It would bring people more together, and they could get these recreations which the younger people lack, and it would help the morale of the people, I think.

Mr. J: There's nothing else to add.

Writer: Are there any other comments about our community? How do the Slovaks and Swedes get along in our community?

Mr. H: Well, I would say they get along much better than most communities.

Mr. N: I think they do, too.

Writer: Do you fellas have friends who are Slovaks?

Mr. H: Oh, yes. Some of my best friends are Slovak.

Mr. N: Mine, too.

Mr. J: I am part Slovak.

Writer: You are both, aren't you--a little Swedish and Slovak, J. Well, let's raise another question. Do any of you speak Swedish?

Mr. B: I'm afraid I can't.

Mr. H: I can understand it, but I wouldn't even attempt to speak it.

Writer: Are both of your parents Swedish?

Mr. N: No, my mother is German and father's Swedish.

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8. Similar sentiments were expressed by Slovak subjects of the third generation.



Mr. H: My father is German and mother's Swedish.

Mr. J: My father is Swedish and mother's Slovak.

Mr. B: The family tree as far as I know is Swedish as far as they go.

Writer: Do you speak Swedish?

Mr. B: No, I don't. I understand it a little, but it's pretty tough for me. I wouldn't even attempt speaking it.

Writer: Do you fellas ever speak Swedish at home?

Mr. H: No, it's not even spoken at our house.

Mr. N: No, I wouldn't even attempt it.

Mr. J: No, I don't.

Writer: Can any of you read Swedish?

Mr. H: No, I can't even speak it.

Mr. B: It's more difficult than to speak it. (All laughed.)

Writer: Do any of you have Slovak neighbors? (Raise of hand indicated all but one had Slovak neighbors.) What kind of neighbors are they?

Mr. B: Oh, I think they're swell. As far as my neighbor is concerned, he's tops with me. I think he's a pretty nice guy.

Mr. N: Mine are swell, too. (Others nodded agreement.)

Writer: Do you have Slovaks who are your friends?

Mr. N: I do.

Mr. H: I do, too.

Mr. J: So have I.

Mr. B: Yes, I do.

Writer: All of you do. Do your Swedish friends have friends among Slovaks?

Mr. B: I think so. All of us do.



Writer: Would you go to a Slovak home for dinner if you were invited? (All nodded affirmatively.)

Mr. B: Gladly. I think I would. I have.

Mr. H: I have been and really enjoyed it. I sure would.

Mr. N: I have.

Writer: Do you feel your parents are as strict as your grandparents were in rearing children?

Mr. H: Personally, I believe my parents are quite lenient.

Mr. B: I think mine are more lenient than my grandparents were as far as the stories my mother and dad tell me of some of the days when they were young.

Writer: J, do you think your parents--

Mr. J: That's what mom says. She says I'm treated too easy.

Writer: Your mother says you're treated too easy. H?

Mr. N: I think mine are too lenient sometimes.

Writer: Too lenient. Would you say from your own point of view that your parents tend to be more lenient, more free with you than their parents were?

Mr. H: I think so.<sup>9</sup> (Others nodded in agreement.)

Swedish subjects of the third generation reported that Slovaks and Swedes "get along fine" and "cooperate more than ever before". They regarded their Slovak neighbors as "nice", "swell", and "tops". Each of the youngest generation who participated in the tape-recorded interview said he not only would have but already had dinner with Slovaks.

One particular difference between the Slovak and Swedish subjects of the third generation should be noted. Swedes seemed to indicate that

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9. Slovak subjects of the third generation also reported these sentiments regarding Swedish parents.



they had more intimate friends among Slovaks than Slovaks had among Swedes. It should be remembered, however, that the Swedish group was comprised entirely of males, and only one male was included in the Slovak group. The Slovak male also had close friends among Swedes. Slovak females seemed to pick their friends almost exclusively from their own ethnic group.

Although the use of foreign languages had decreased considerably in both ethnic groups, the Swedish language played an even less prominent role among Swedes than the Slovak language among Slovaks. Both the second and third generations of Swedes reported that intermarriage was one of the important reasons why the Swedish language was given a less prominent role among Swedes.

Swedish subjects of the third generation also reported that their parents were inclined to be "too lenient" and "too easy" with them.

Data obtained from Slovak and Swedish subjects of the third generation clearly indicated that primary contacts were more common among third generation groups than among either the first or second generations. In terms of assimilation the youngest generations indicated the greatest departure from the cultural patterns of Slovakia and Sweden.

Factors which influenced the assimilative process between the two divergent ethnic groups were studied further through the use of interviews with individual subjects from each group and a questionnaire which was described earlier on pages 56-57.



Individual Interview and Questionnaire Data Relating to  
Assimilation Between Slovaks and Swedes

In addition to data obtained through the use of tape-recorded interviews with Slovak and Swedish groups, data were also gathered via individual interviews and questionnaire. In the discussion which follows an attempt will be made to show the degree of correspondence between the interactive and non-interactive image held by Slovaks and Swedes.

In Table XXIX are found responses given by Slovak and Swedish children to an item of the questionnaire regarding the quality of relationships between Slovaks and Swedes. The results seem to indicate that a greater portion of Swedish than Slovak children regarded interethnic relations as satisfactory. The difference between their responses, however, was not significant. It is important to note that an overwhelming majority of both groups regarded Slovak-Swedish relations as positive rather than negative.

Two Slovak-Swedish subjects answered this item "very well". Four children of Slovak-other descent responded "fairly well". Among nine Swedish-other children, eight responded "fairly well", and one replied "not so well". Three subjects of "other nationality" responded "very well", eight "fairly well", and one "not so well".

Individual interviews were held with Slovak and Swedish subjects of the first and second generations. The most typical comments made by members of both ethnic groups were: "They get along pretty nice"; "They get along very well"; "Okay"; "Fine". Older generations seemed to indicate that Slovak-Swedish relations were even more satisfactory than



TABLE XXIX

RESPONSES OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN (GRADES 7-12)  
REGARDING ETHNIC RELATIONS

How do you think Slovaks and Swedes get along together in Grassflat? (Very well)      (Fairly well)      (Not so well)      (Not at all)				
Subjects	-----Responses-----			
	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not so Well	Not at All
53 Slovak Children	45%	47%	6%	2%
10 males (Gr. 7-8)	40	40	20	0
10 females (Gr. 7-8)	50	50	0	0
13 males (Gr. 9-10)	38	54	0	7
6 females (Gr. 9-10)	67	33	0	0
6 males (Gr. 11-12)	50	37	12	0
6 females (Gr. 11-12)	33	67	0	0
17 Swedish Children	35%	65%	0%	0%
2 males (Gr. 7-8)	50	50	0	0
6 females (Gr. 7-8)	50	50	0	0
4 males (Gr. 9-10)	0	100	0	0
3 females (Gr. 10-11)	67	33	0	0
2 males (Gr. 11-12)	0	100	0	0

reported by subjects of the third generation. There was a consensus of opinion that Slovaks and Swedes "get along fine in every way except religion. They have theirs and we have ours".

In brief, both questionnaire and interview data seem to indicate that relations between the two ethnic groups were positive rather than negative, satisfactory rather than unsatisfactory.

Responses of both Slovak and Swedish children to this question were analyzed in terms of the ethnicity of their next door neighbors. These data seem to indicate that there was very slight difference in the



responses of Slovak children with and those without Swedish neighbors. A similar comparison between Swedish children could not be made. Only one Swedish subject did not have Slovak neighbors. These data tend to indicate the extent to which residential segregation had decreased in the community. More will be said about this point later.

In order to study further the intra- and interethnic image of Slovaks and Swedes, other questionnaire items were used. To ascertain that certain items on page one of the questionnaire measure what they were proposed to measure, twelve judges were asked to check them for validity regarding assimilation between the two ethnic groups. Each of the judges selected by the writer held a doctoral degree in one of the social science fields. Each judge checked those items which measure assimilation without consulting with other judges. Seven of the twenty-one items which appeared on page one of the questionnaire were checked by all judges.<sup>10</sup> One of these items which pertains to dating will be discussed in Chapter VII. Responses of Slovak and Swedish parents and children to three items (numbers 1, 7 and 17) are presented in Table XXX and data regarding three other items (numbers 2, 13 and 15) are found in Table XXXVI. A discussion of each of the items mentioned in Table XXX follows.

Questionnaire subjects were asked whether Slovaks and Swedes "make good neighbors". It is important to note that in terms of neighbor

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10. See items 1, 2, 4, 7, 13, 15, 17 on page 1 of questionnaire in Appendix, page



TABLE XXX

INTRA- AND INTER-ETHNIC IMAGE OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES AS INDICATED BY  
SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12  
AND THEIR PARENTS

	Response Given	Slovak			Swedish		
		31M	22F	33P	6M	9F	14P
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Make good neighbors	Yes	74%	90%	82%	100%	76%	71%
	No	3	5	6	0	11	7
	Y-N	23	5	12	0	11	21
<u>Swedes</u>							
Make good neighbors	Yes	55	54	82	100	89	79
	No	3	14	6	0	0	7
	Y-N	42	32	12	0	11	14
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Are very friendly to most people	Yes	87	100	82	75	56	71
	No	6	0	3	0	0	14
	Y-N	6	0	15	25	44	14
<u>Swedes</u>							
Are very friendly to most people	Yes	68	64	76	87	89	86
	No	10	4	0	0	0	0
	Y-N	22	32	24	12	11	14
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Give children freedom to pick their own friends	Yes	61	73	51	62	44	21
	No	13	0	16	25	22	64
	Y-N	26	27	30	12	33	14
<u>Swedes</u>							
Give children freedom to pick their own friends	Yes	77	68	76	100	89	79
	No	10	0	0	0	0	0
	Y-N	13	32	24	0	11	21

desirability all three groups of Swedish subjects regarded Slovaks almost equal to members of their own ethnic group. Slovak parents indicated a similar response regarding Swedish neighbors, but a much



TABLE 1 - SUMMARY OF DATA										
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Year	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	
1950	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1951	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1952	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1953	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1954	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1955	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1956	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1957	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1958	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1959	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1960	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1961	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1962	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1963	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1964	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1965	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1966	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1967	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1968	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1969	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1970	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1971	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1972	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1973	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1974	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1975	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1976	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1977	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1978	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1979	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1980	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1981	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1982	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1983	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1984	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1985	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1986	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1987	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1988	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1989	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1990	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1991	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1992	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1993	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1994	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1995	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1996	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1997	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1998	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
1999	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500
2000	1	100	2	200	3	300	4	400	5	500

1. The first group of subjects received the treatment in the first year of the study. The second group received the treatment in the second year of the study. The third group received the treatment in the third year of the study. The fourth group received the treatment in the fourth year of the study. The fifth group received the treatment in the fifth year of the study.



greater number of Slovak children rated Slovaks above Swedes as people who "make good neighbors". Nevertheless, more than one half of Slovak children indicated that Swedes make good neighbors. Data obtained through the use of tape-recorded interviews with subjects representing three generations of Slovaks and Swedes, which were presented earlier, also tended to support the fact that both Slovaks and Swedes regarded each other as good neighbors.

The extent to which Slovaks and Swedes had changed their residential patterns within the community during the past decades was indicated by data obtained from 53 Slovak and 17 Swedish children. Among Slovak children, 41% had only Slovak neighbors, 11% Swedish neighbors, 45% both Slovak and Swedish neighbors, and 2% had neighbors of "other nationalities". On the other hand, all Swedish children, except one, had both Slovak and Swedish neighbors.

Slovak and Swedish children were also questioned regarding home ownership. From the Slovak sample, 90% came from families who owned their homes, 8% from rented homes, and 2% from homes on which parents made payments toward ownership. All Swedish children came from owned homes.

Figure I indicates the degree to which the residential pattern of Slovaks and Swedes had changed during the past decades, particularly in terms of the descriptions of former residential patterns given by subjects of the first generation. At the time of this study only a very limited number of Swedish residents, particularly those who lived in West Clymer, did not have Slovak neighbors. A few of these were among the earliest



Swedish settlers who continued to maintain their original homesteads. The same was true of Slovak subjects of the first generation who resided in Dobrytown and Pleasant Hill. Homes of Slovak and Swedish subjects of the second and third generations were found in all sections of the community. Even those Swedish areas which were formerly most impenetrable, sections of Upper Grassflat and West Clymer in which Swedish mine foremen resided, were infiltrated by Slovak families. In brief, the actual pattern of Slovak and Swedish residence at the time of this study deviated greatly from the old pattern in which the creek separated the two ethnic groups.

Questionnaire subjects were asked whether Slovaks and Swedes were "Very friendly to most people", and whether they "Give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends". An overwhelming majority of Slovak parents and children regarded "very friendly to most people" as more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. Swedish parents and children regarded this description as more characteristic of Swedes than Slovaks. It is important to note, however, that a majority of each group considered the other as "very friendly to most people".

In answer to the second question, more than three-fourths of Slovak parents and male children and more than two-thirds of Slovak female children responded that "Swedes give their children freedom to pick their own friends". A large majority of each Swedish group agreed with this statement. The majority of only one Swedish group, Swedish male children, responded that "Slovaks give their children freedom to pick their own friends". A much larger number of Swedes than Slovaks replied that this characteristic was true of their own respective group.



TABLE XXXI  
PARENTAL ATTITUDES OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES REGARDING  
INTERETHNIC FRIENDSHIP OF CHILDREN

Do your parents approve of your being friendly with Swedish (or Slovak) people of your age?

	Slovak Children		Swedish Children	
	31 Males	22 Females	8 Males	9 Females
All the time	52%	64%	62.5%	67%
Often	13	4.5	25	22
Sometimes	32	23	0	11
Seldom	0	4.5	0	0
Never	3	4.5	12.5	0

Slovak children were asked, "Do your parents approve of your being friendly with Swedish people of your own age?" Swedish children were questioned similarly regarding Slovaks. Responses to these questions, which are presented in Table XXXI seem to indicate some difference in parental approval among Slovaks and Swedes. As reported by their children, a large majority of both Slovak and Swedish parents, particularly the latter, approved of interethnic friendships for their children. Only 3% of the parents of Slovak male children and 9% of the parents of Slovak female children "seldom" or "never" approved of interethnic friendships. Only parents of Swedish male children, 12.5% of them, "never" approved of such friendships for their children.

Data regarding intra- and interethnic friendship patterns of children of various ethnic groups enrolled in Grades 7 through 12 are presented



SECRET

Page 1

CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM: [illegible]

DATE: [illegible]

TIME: [illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE [illegible] BY [illegible]

1. [illegible]

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13. [illegible]

14. [illegible]

15. [illegible]

16. [illegible]



in Table XXXII and Table XXXIII.<sup>11</sup>

Data presented in Table XXXII indicate both the intra- and inter-sexual friendship patterns among children of various ethnic groups who were enrolled in Grades 7 and 8. First of all, it is important to note that the Slovak population was greater than the combined total of all other ethnic groups. This factor no doubt had a direct effect on the frequency of friendship selection, particularly those from smaller groups.

In view of this fact, an analysis of data regarding interethnic-intrasexual choices in Grades 7 and 8 seems to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. There was a favorable degree of interethnic friendship selection between Slovaks and Swedes. The average number of Slovak-Swedish choices by males and females of both Slovak and Swedish descent was about three, interpreting "5\*" in Table XXXII as five friends. Swedish females were probably least discriminatory in their choices of friends.
2. Children of Slovak-Swedish, Slovak-Other, and Swedish-Other descents indicated strong acceptance of each of the three major ethnic groups, having five or more friends in each of them.
3. Remaining subjects, except one male of "Other nationality", had the fewest number of Slovak and Swedish friends.
4. A considerably higher frequency of friendship selection from "Other nationality" groups were made by females than males among both Slovaks and Swedes.

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11. The writer desired that Slovak and Swedish children be asked to write their sex and nationality on the top line of a sheet of paper and below to write in the names of their first, second, and third choices of "best friends" in each sex. Time did not permit the writer to gather these data. The lack of these data did not make it possible to study the intra- and interethnic friendship patterns as effectively as could have been done through the use of sociometric designs.







TABLE XXXII

NUMBER OF INTRAETHNIC AND INTERETHNIC SELECTIONS OF FRIENDS BY GRASSFLAT CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN GRADES 7 AND 8, 1951

Sex	Swedish Friends					Slovak Friends					Other Nat'l. Friends								
	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	
10 Slovak Males	Own Opp.	-	-	-	3	1	6	-	1	-	-	1	6	-	-	4	-	-	6
		1	2	2	-	1	4	-	1	2	1	-	6	2	2	-	1	-	5
10 Slovak Females	Own Opp.	-	-	-	2	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	1	-	1	-	7
		1	1	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	8	2	1	1	2	-	4
2 Swedish Males	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
		-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
6 Swedish Females	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	5
		-	-	1	2	-	3	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	2
1 Slo-Sw Female	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
		-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
2 Slo-Oth. Females	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
		1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
1 Sw-Oth. Male	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1 Sw-Oth. Female	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
		-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
1 Other Male	Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
		1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Other Females	Own Opp.	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
		1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1

Table reads: All Swedish females (6) had five or more Swedish friends of their own sex, and one had five or more Slovak friends of the opposite sex.

\* Five or more.







TABLE XXXII

NUMBER OF INTRAETHNIC AND INTERETHNIC SELECTIONS OF FRIENDS BY GRASSFLAT CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN GRADES 7 AND 8, 1951

Sex	Swedish Friends					5*	Slovak Friends					5*	Other Nat'l. Friends					5*
	0	1	2	3	4		0	1	2	3	4		0	1	2	3	4	
Own Opp.	-	-	-	3	1	6	-	1	-	-	1	6	-	-	4	-	-	6
10 Slovak Males	1	2	2	-	1	4	-	1	2	1	-	6	2	2	-	1	-	5
Own Opp.	-	-	-	2	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	1	-	1	-	7
10 Slovak Females	1	1	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	8	2	1	1	2	-	4
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-
2 Swedish Males	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-	1	2	-	5
6 Swedish Females	-	-	1	2	-	3	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	2
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
1 Slo-Sw Female	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Slo-Oth. Females	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1 Sw-Oth. Male	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1 Sw-Oth. Female	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
1 Other Male	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Own Opp.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2 Other Females	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1

Table reads: All Swedish females (6) had five or more Swedish friends of their own sex, and one had five or more Slovak friends of the opposite sex.

\* Five or more.



TABLE XXXIII

NUMBER OF INTRAETHNIC AND INTERETHNIC SELECTIONS OF FRIENDS BY GALLSFLEET CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN HIGH SCHOOL, 1951

	Sex	Swedish Friends					Slovak Friends					"Other Nat'l." Friends							
		0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*
21 Slovak Males	Own Opp.	- 2	1 2	- 3	4 2	0 2	16 10	- 1	- 1	- 1	- 2	- 2	1 0	20 15	0 4	2 1	3 3	1 1	14 10
12 Slovak Females	Own Opp.	- -	- 2	- 1	- 2	2 7	10 7	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 3	12 9	0 -	0 -	0 1	1 2	1 1	8 7
6 Swedish Males	Own Opp.	- -	- 1	- -	- -	- 5	6 5	- 1	- -	- -	- -	- 1	6 4	- 2	- 2	1 -	- -	1 -	4 3
3 Swedish Females	Own Opp.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 3	3 3	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	2 2	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 1	3 1
1 Slo-Sw. Male	Own Opp.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 1
2 Slo-Oth. Females	Own Opp.	- -	- -	- 1	- -	1 1	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 2	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 2
7 Sw-Oth. Males	Own Opp.	- -	- -	- -	- 1	7 6	7 6	- -	- -	- 1	- 1	1 1	5 5	- -	- -	- -	1 1	1 1	6 5
4 Other Males	Own Opp.	- 1	- -	- -	- -	4 3	4 3	- 1	- -	- -	1 -	- -	3 3	- 1	- 1	- -	- -	1 -	3 3
5 Other Females	Own Opp.	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 5	5 5	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 5	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 5

Table reads: Sixteen of the twenty-one Slovak males had five or more Swedish friends of their own sex. Fifteen of the twenty-one Slovak males had five or more Slovak friends of the opposite sex.

\* Five or more.



An analysis of data regarding interethnic-intersexual friendship choices seems to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. A much higher frequency of intra- than intersexual friendship choices occurred between Slovaks and Swedes.
2. Slovak females had more friends of the opposite sex among Swedes than did Slovak males. The same was true about Swedish subjects in terms of their choices of Slovaks.
3. Each of the Slovak and Swedish male and female groups had an average of approximately three interethnic-intersexual friends, interpreting "3+" as five friends.
4. Children of Slovak-Swedish, Slovak-Other, and Swedish-Other descents indicated both a frequent intra- and intersexual friendship selection among Slovaks and Swedes.
5. Remaining subjects indicated the lowest frequency of friendship choices among Slovak and Swedish children.

In brief, the degree of both intra- and intersexual selection of friends between Slovaks and Swedes may be considered a favorable aspect of the assimilative process between the two major ethnic groups. This seems to be especially true in terms of their interethnic-intrasexual choices of friends.

A somewhat different pattern of friendship selection was reported by children enrolled in high school. Data regarding their choices of interethnic-intrasexual friends seem to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. The average number of interethnic friends indicated by Slovak male and female and Swedish male groups was about equal, interpreting "3+" as five friends. Each of the Swedish females had five or more Slovak friends.
2. Five females of "Other nationality" and the male of Slovak-Swedish descent indicated the highest frequency of friendship selection from all three major ethnic groups.



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3. Remaining subjects indicated they had at least three or more friends from each of the three ethnic groups.

An analysis of data regarding interethnic-intersexual friendship choices among high school students seems to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. A greater portion of Slovak females than males had friends of the opposite sex among Swedes. The same was true of Swedes regarding their selection of Slovaks, but to a lesser degree.
2. Approximately 67% of Slovak males (14) and 63% of Slovak females (10) reported they had three or more Swedish friends of the opposite sex. Approximately 63% of Swedish males (5) and each of the three Swedish females reported they had four or more Slovak friends of the opposite sex. Slovak and Swedish children chose each other more frequently than subjects of "Other nationality".
3. A very high friendship pattern with each of the three ethnic groups was reported by children of remaining ethnic categories, except one male of "Other nationality" who reported no friends.

In brief, data seem to indicate a high frequency of interethnic friendship choices between Slovaks and Swedes both in Grades 7 and 8 and in high school. A comparative study of interethnic friendship choices of Slovak and Swedish children in Grades 7 and 8 and those in high school seem to indicate that with increase in grade level there was a tendency toward a greater number of interethnic friendship selections. Slovak and Swedish children at both educational levels seemed to accept children of "Other nationality" as their friends with about equal frequency.

A study was also made of relationships between Slovak and Swedish adults in terms of organizations of which residents of both ethnic groups were members. Organizations which admitted members regardless of their religion or nationality seemed to have played a major role in binding



Slovak and Swedish adults together. Evidence of this fact is found in data presented in Table XXXIV and Table XXXV.

As shown in Table XXXIV, Slovak and Swedish memberships in the Loyal Order of Moose #921 grew tremendously since the date of origin. This organization probably exerted one of the greatest influences in bringing Slovak and Swedish adults together. One Swedish resident reported:

The Moose is a place where Slovaks and Swedes go to have fun and drink and dance, especially on bingo nights (Wednesday and Saturday). (Male) Members get sick benefits and death benefits from it. It takes care of the brother's (member's) family when they need it. It's the main place Slovaks and Swedes go together. When visitors come to town from the city, that's where they are taken. The officers are pretty even, about the same number of Slovaks and Swedes, with some outsiders. The meetings of the Grassflat Sportsman's Club and the Women's Moose and Ladies Auxiliary Fire Company are held at the Moose building.

It is important to note that many elderly Slovak and Swedish residents of the first generation belonged to the Moose organization. One Slovak resident reported:

Men often go to the Moose on their way to the store and post-office. They stop there after work to have a few (drinks). It has the biggest dance crowds in town. The bar is filled with Slovaks and Swedes every Saturday and especially Sunday night when dances are.

The Boy Scouts Troop #53, of which the writer was one of the original members, was quite important in bringing teenage Slovaks and Swedes together. "The scouts' club," said one Swedish resident, "brought Slovak and Swedish kids together more than anything in this here town". It was organized during a period when boys had no organized group activity. For leadership during its origin the troop depended upon the high school principal, a Swede. Later, leadership was given by adult members from both ethnic groups.



TABLE XXXIV  
OPEN MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS IN GRASSFLAT<sup>1</sup>

Organization and Date of Origin	Date of Origin	Membership <sup>2</sup>			
		1930	1940	1950	1952
Loyal Order of Moose #941 1923					
Swedish:	32	15	33	141	141
Slovak:	37	17	29	150	162
Other Nationality:	54	0	22	155	<u>107</u>
					410
Boy Scouts Troop #53 1932					
Swedish:	13		10	14	14
Slovak:	10		10	16	14
Other Nationality:	2		4	4	<u>4</u>
					32
Grassflat Sportsman's Club 1934					
Swedish:	46		20	3	3
Slovak:	29		21	30	30
Other Nationality:	28		31	28	<u>28</u>
					91
Women of the Moose #51 1941					
Swedish:	10			17	21
Slovak:	12			40	38
Other Nationality:	10			34	<u>32</u>
					91
Ladies Auxiliary Fire Co. 1949					
Swedish:	29			24	25
Slovak:	28			20	21
Other Nationality:	25			19	<u>19</u>
					65
Teenage Baseball Team 1951					
Swedish:	11				15
Slovak:	18				21
Other Nationality:	2				<u>3</u>
					39

<sup>1</sup> Open membership organizations were those which admitted members regardless of their nationality or religion.

<sup>2</sup> Membership of Loyal Order of Moose #941 included both local and non-local residents. Other organizations contained local memberships only.



TABLE XXXIV  
OPEN MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS IN GRASSFLAT<sup>1</sup>

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		1930	1940	1950	1952
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	Other Nationality:	54	0	22	155
					<u>410</u>
Boy Scouts Troop #53 1932					
	Swedish:	13	10	14	14
	Slovak:	10	10	16	14
	Other Nationality:	2	4	4	4
					<u>32</u>
Grassflat Sportsman's Club 1934					
	Swedish:	46	20	3	3
	Slovak:	29	21	30	30
	Other Nationality:	28	31	28	28
					<u>61</u>
Women of the Moose #51 1941					
	Swedish:	10		17	21
	Slovak:	12		40	38
	Other Nationality:	10		34	32
					<u>91</u>
Ladies Auxiliary Fire Co. 1949					
	Swedish:	29		24	25
	Slovak:	28		20	21
	Other Nationality:	25		19	19
					<u>65</u>
Teenage Baseball Team 1951					
	Swedish:	11			15
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	Other Nationality:	2			3
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<sup>1</sup> Open membership organizations were those which admitted members regardless of their nationality or religion.

<sup>2</sup> Membership of Loyal Order of Moose #941 included both local and non-local residents. Other organizations contained local memberships only.







TABLE XXXV

OFFICERS OF OPEN MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS IN GRASSFLAT<sup>1</sup>

Name of Organization	Officers			Executive
	Slovak	Swedish	Other <sup>2</sup>	
Loyal Order of Moose #941	2	2	4	Swedish
Boy Scouts Troop #53	2	2	1	Other <sup>3</sup>
Grassflat Sportsman's Club	2	1	1	Slovak
Women of the Moose #51	1	2	2	Slovak
Ladies Auxiliary Fire Company	2	1	3	Slovak
Teenage Baseball Team	0	0	1	Other <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Data obtained from executive officers of organizations.

<sup>2</sup> "Other" refers to nationality neither Slovak nor Swedish.

<sup>3</sup> Local postmaster who was of English-Swedish descent was scoutmaster.

<sup>4</sup> Baseball manager was of French-German descent.

In a letter to the writer, the scoutmaster who was also postmaster, wrote that a Slovak boy

. . . has reached the rank of Star Scout which is the highest rank of any boy scout in Grassflat so far. By the end of summer, I expect there will be a few more Star Scouts, and I hope a couple of Life Scouts. Then they can go on to work for their Eagle Scout ranks.

According to members, Troop #53 was "an active one". It met regularly once a week. Scouts often took overnight trips. Hills, streams, and forests surrounding Grassflat furnished an ideal environment for a variety



APPENDIX

NAME OF PERSON

LOCAL NAME

DATE

PLACE

REMARKS

INITIALS

SIGNATURE

DATE

NAME

LOCAL NAME

DATE

PLACE

REMARKS

INITIALS

SIGNATURE

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of outdoor activities. In an interview with the scoutmaster it was learned that:

Slovak and Swedish members get along fine. In fact, quite a few of them are the best of friends. The troop is a cooperative one, one of the best we've had in Grassflat.

At the time of this study the Grassflat Sportsman's Club was one of the least active men's organizations. The president reported:

The members worked more actively as a unit in the past. They really worked hard for the best interests of conservation of forest and waters, game and fish. Members don't seem to show the interest they did before. Our only attempt to hold a meeting this year (1952) was a failure because we didn't have enough attendance to hold one.

In the past, members of the organization, consisting mainly of Slovak and Swedish hunters and fishermen, shared a number of common experiences. They built a stone hunting and fishing camp, organized hunting and fishing parties, stocked streams, and engaged actively in fund-raising for preservation of game. One member said, "Lots of hunters and fisherman used to attend meetings when big speakers on hunting and fishing were called in. They don't seem to do this nowadays".

Women of the Moose #51 was an active organization of local women whose husbands, in most cases, were members of the Loyal Order of Moose. In a letter to the writer the recorder of the organization wrote:

The purpose of our organization is to help support Mooseheart Orphans. We pay sick benefits of \$3.00 a week for five weeks to members and \$50.00 to the family as death benefit. Yearly dues are \$7.00.

According to members, the main function of the organization was social. They were permitted to participate in activities sponsored by the Loyal Order of Moose. Members met at the Moose building every second Monday



evening of the month, at which time social entertainment, generally bingo, followed their business meeting.

Originally, membership was largely Swedish, but Slovak memberships grew rapidly after a few popular Slovak women joined the organization. Probably the Women of the Moose #51 did more than any other single organization in the community to bind Slovak and Swedish women together.

Another active local women's organization was the Ladies Auxiliary Fire Company. "The purpose of this organization," according to the recording secretary, "is to help the Grassflat Volunteer Fire Company". Members met once a month for business meetings. They helped sponsor bingo parties on Saturday nights and occasionally served dinners to help maintain a local fire department.

The following is an excerpt from a letter to the writer from the recording secretary:

We're about half Slovak and half Swedish. We like both kinds to get into office. We've done a lot, but we could do more if members showed up for meetings. Sometimes only a few work, but there are many who complain. We have \$4.00 in the treasury. We bought a stove, dishes, paid for the bingo hall floor in the Fire Hall building, and we serve soup to children at school cheap. We gave to Cancer, T. B., Red Cross, and Polio Drive. We're trying to get a gas stove so we can serve dinners better. Our membership dues is five cents a week. Members get a little sick benefit and \$10 funeral flowers".

In a more recent letter to the writer, the president wrote that the organization was "Getting a new fire truck from Philipsburg".

It is important to note that bingos sponsored by the Ladies Auxiliary Fire Company on Saturday evenings were also major social activities in the community. They attracted many enthusiastic Slovak and Swedish bingo players from virtually all age levels.







The Teenage Baseball Team was the most recently established organization in the community. Ages of players ranged from nine to fifteen. Games were played with teenage teams from five nearby communities. This young group had done much to revive community interest in baseball. "Donation jars" on bars of local taverns and occasional "bingo cards" at the Fire Hall and Slovak Hall bingo parties were its main financial sources. According to the manager of the team:

The town people support the team pretty well. Some people use their cars to transport the team for away games. We wish more would donate and use their cars to take our boys to out-of-town games.

Some Slovak and Swedish residents, especially the well-known baseball players of the past, regarded the Teenage Baseball Team as the beginning of another town team such as it had fifteen years ago which also consisted of players from both ethnic groups. Although this organization played an important role in uniting Slovak and Swedish teenagers, its potentialities in promoting even greater Slovak-Swedish unity by creating more widespread community interest in baseball seemed very favorable. This is important to note because there was no community recreational team on which members of both ethnic groups were represented for almost a decade.

In addition to the Moose, there were also two other local taverns, namely, Johnny's Tavern and Jednota Club. The former was independently owned and operated by a Slovak. One Swedish resident described it thus:

It's the only tavern in town which serves everyone. You don't have to be a member here like in the Moose or Jednota Club. It's pretty much a men's bar. Not many women go in there. Quite a few Slovaks and Swedes drink there and throw darts.



The Jednota Club, which was discussed earlier, was also a popular meeting place for both Slovak and Swedish members and their families, particularly before and after bingo parties and movies.

The role of local taverns in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes was a very important one. Drinking was a popular pastime in which most Slovaks and Swedes engaged. Only a limited number of Slovaks and Swedes who were members of one tavern-type club were not also members of the other. One Swedish informant explained it thus:

Most of the people in town who drink go from one place to the other. Sometimes they go to the Moose then the Slovak Club. Some are pretty much like roving drinkers. You meet some of your friends here, some there. When one is closed they go to the other. Even the bartenders of the three local taverns patronize each other's place of business. It's the only places you can go for fun, except movies and bingo. At the clubs you can play cards, drink, and shoot darts and talk about fishing and hunting. It's about the only place where you meet men.

In brief, the role of open membership organizations in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes was a most important one for a number of reasons. First, both Slovaks and Swedes were relatively equal in terms of both representation in membership and offices held in them. Second, the organizations served certain objectives--civic, protective, recreational, social, and economic--in which both Slovaks and Swedes played an integral part. Third, they served certain interests of not only Slovak and Swedish adults but their families as well.

In addition, there were other institutions which played important roles in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes, namely, the United Mine Workers Union and baby and bridal showers.



Although mine operations in the immediate vicinity of Grassflat had ceased, the United Mine Workers Union continued to unite Slovaks and Swedes, especially retired men who met regularly to discuss retirement pensions and other old age benefits. Such meetings were also important because they were attended by many elderly Slovak and Swedish residents and old acquaintances who rarely if ever attended other community functions.

On the adult level, baby and bridal showers were also effective agencies in binding Slovak and Swedish women together, many of whom were members of the Women of the Moose and Women's Auxiliary Fire Company. Decades ago, showers were exclusively Slovak or Swedish. More currently, they had become a shared activity. One Swedish female informant described a typical bridal shower thus:

Lots of Slovak and Swedish women bring presents or money for the bride and groom. They come after dark to make it a surprise. The parents of the bride buy food and drinks. Sometimes the women bring food, too. The women get a big kick out of having the bride and groom open their presents. Many times the presents embarrass them and that adds to the fun. Showers get them lots of things they need, so all the families benefit from them when it comes around to the time of their shower. If you go to one shower you go to most of them.

The typical Slovak bridal shower which included 50 to 70 Slovak and Swedish women were generally held at the Slovak Hall which could accommodate larger groups. Swedish bridal showers which were considerably smaller in number were held at the home of the bride.

Slovak and Swedish baby showers, much like the bridal showers, were attended by smaller groups of women, generally 35 to 50. Slovak baby showers were attended by larger groups than Swedish baby showers because



they included neighborhood and kinship groups which were more numerous among Slovaks than Swedes.

In brief, Slovaks and Swedes had made great progress in promoting better interethnic understanding through various activities they learned to share together. More harmonious relations between the two groups had been achieved on almost all age levels. Commonly shared experiences were probably most lacking between Slovak and Swedish teenage females. Among the reasons probably three were most important. First, a relatively small number of Swedish females continued to live in the community after graduation from high school. Second, most Swedish females were employed in clerical jobs while Slovak females were employed in clothing and cigar industries. Third, most Slovak and Swedish females did not date men who resided in the same communities. This meant that they frequently attended social functions in different communities.

Responses of Slovak and Swedish children and parents to three other items of the questionnaire were analyzed in order to study further the intra- and interethnic image of the two groups. The items and responses to them are presented in Table XXXVI. A discussion of each group's image of the other in terms of assimilability follows.

"Are very interested in the education of their children". Each of the Slovak groups, male and female children and parents, responded that this statement was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes, but only the difference between the images of the two ethnic groups held by Slovak females was significant. Each of the three Swedish groups, on the other hand, responded that this description was more typical of Swedes



than Slovaks. The difference between their images of Slovaks and Swedes was very significant. Data obtained via individual interviews with Slovaks and Swedes of three generations seemed to indicate a different image. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that they were equally interested in the education of their children. The most typical comment was that "both of them are pretty strict about sending their children to school".

According to interviews with both elementary and secondary school teachers, both Slovak and Swedish parents were interested in the education of their children, but they added that Swedes seemed to show a greater interest in education on the secondary and college levels than Slovaks. They indicated that proportionally more Swedes than Slovaks graduated from high school. This was due particularly to the attitude of Slovak parents toward the education of females. Marriage or employment rather than education, in many cases, was regarded as being more in accordance with Slovak mores. Comparatively few Slovak males, however, failed to graduate from high school. A significantly greater number of Swedes than Slovaks pursued education beyond the secondary school.

As was emphasized by both Slovak and Swedish residents in tape-recorded interviews, the public school played a major role in the assimilative process between the two ethnic groups. Both Slovak and Swedish children attended the same elementary and secondary schools since the advent of the present century, and few had even gone to the same college together. In addition to providing common social and recreational activities and promoting friendship relations among their children, probably one of the most important outcomes of the public schools, in







TABLE XXXVI

INTRA- AND INTER-ETHNIC INTEREST OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES AS INDICATED BY  
SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12  
AND THEIR PARENTS

	Response Given	Slovak			Swedish		
		32M	22F	33P	8M	29F	12P
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Are interested in	Yes	62%	62%	62%	75%	33%	43% <sup>1</sup>
the education of	No	13	4	9	25	22	14
their children	Y-N	23	14	9	0	44	43
<u>Swedes</u>							
Are interested in	Yes	55	64	79	100	89	79
the education of	No	19	18	3	0	0	0
their children	Y-N	26	16	16	0	11	21
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Follow customs of	Yes	23	36	58	50	33	57
the old country	No	35	9	12	37	22	21
	Y-N	42	54	30	12	44	21
<u>Swedes</u>							
Follow customs of	Yes	35	23	39	0	11	14
the old country	No	19	27	21	50	11	57
	Y-N	45	50	39	50	76	29
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Are very American	Yes	52	50	73	25	11	14
in their ways	No	6	5	0	37	44	71
	Y-N	62	45	27	37	44	14
<u>Swedes</u>							
Are very American	Yes	52	50	58	66	76	79
in their ways	No	22	14	15	0	0	0
	Y-N	26	36	27	12	22	21

<sup>1</sup> Percentages are used to facilitate comparison between groups.



terms of assimilation, was the fact that Slovaks and Swedes learned a common language. Tape-recorded data presented earlier indicated the extent to which the English language had been given a prominent role among all three generations of Slovaks and Swedes.

Data presented in Table XXXVII indicate the extent to which the use of Slovak and Swedish languages had declined in the home. Especially noticeable is the decline among Slovaks and Swedes of the third generation.

The extent to which public schools can promote disorganization of foreign cultural patterns of an ethnic group had been described by Burgess and Locke. Although the following quotation had reference to disorganization of a Jewish immigrant family, it is quite descriptive of conditions among Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat:

The children attend the public schools and, through formal training and informal associations at school, are frequently introduced to a radically different set of patterns from those of their parents. Later, the children participate in the economic life of the community and the boys excel their fathers in securing positions of economic value or prestige. Through participation in the academic, economic, and other phases of American life, there occurs a slow and subtle penetration of American cultural patterns into the Jewish community. As a result, old controls break down and the individual family tends to become temporarily or permanently disrupted.<sup>12</sup>

Questionnaire subjects were asked whether Slovaks and Swedes "Follow customs of the old country (Europe)" and "Are very American in their ways". Slovak male children responded that Swedes "Follow customs of the old country" more than Slovaks, but Slovak female children and parents,

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12. Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, The Family. New York: American Book Company, 1945, p. 539.



TABLE XXXVII

USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE AMONG SLOVAK AND SWEDISH RESIDENTS<sup>1</sup>

Ethnic Group	Responses Given				
	Almost or all in foreign language	mostly foreign and little English	Equal amount of foreign and English	Mostly English and little foreign	Almost or all in English
Parent-parent					
Slovak	6%	17%	30%	28%	19%
Swedish	0	0	6	30	64
Parent-child					
Slovak	2	2	2	30	64
Swedish	0	0	0	0	94
Inter-sibling					
Slovak	0	0	0	17	83
Swedish	0	0	0	0	100
Inter-teenager					
Slovak	0	0	6	17	77
Swedish	0	0	6	0	94

Table reads: Nineteen percent of Slovak parents communicated between each other almost or all in English while 64% of Swedish parents communicated between each other almost or all in English.

<sup>1</sup> Data was obtained from Slovak and Swedish students enrolled in Grades 7-12. "Foreign language" refers to Slovak or Swedish.



particularly the latter, held the opposite point of view. There was a significant difference between the image of Slovaks and Swedes held by Slovak parents. There was also a significant difference between the intra- and interethnic images held by Swedish subjects. A significantly greater number of each of the three Swedish groups indicated that Slovaks "follow customs of the old country" more than Swedes. Data obtained from individual interviews with Slovak and Swedish residents of three generations strongly supported the point of view that Slovaks followed Slovakian cultural patterns to a greater extent than Swedes followed the cultural patterns of Sweden. Kinship system and adherence to the native language by residents of the first generation were mentioned most frequently as distinguishing characteristics between Slovaks and Swedes.

It is important to analyze the responses of Slovaks and Swedes to another item measuring the assimilability of the two ethnic groups. Questionnaire subjects were asked to indicate whether Slovaks and Swedes were "very American in their ways". Slovak parents and children, particularly the former, indicated that this description was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes. The difference between the images of the two groups held by Slovak subjects was not as significant as that held by Swedes. Each of the Swedish groups regarded Swedes as more typical of the description "very American in their ways". Less than one fourth replied that Slovaks were "very American in their ways", but more than three fourths indicated this description was true of Swedes. Interview data seemed to indicate that no difference existed between Slovaks and Swedes of the younger generations regarding this question, however,



Slovaks of the first generation were referred to as "more foreign in their ways" than Swedes of the same generation.

A number of Slovaks and Swedes of the first generation were queried regarding interest in returning to their land of nativity. It is important to note that not one Slovak or Swede expressed an interest to return to and live permanently in his native homeland. Few expressed a desire to visit with relatives and friends. "We've been here a long time" and "we belong here" were quite typical of responses given by both Slovaks and Swedes.

Residents of both ethnic groups learned to share a number of common cultural patterns. The coal industry in which they found first employment in America played a major role in the assimilative process between them. For several decades, the employment in a common industry and membership in the United Mine Workers Union were important factors in binding them together. One elderly Slovak resident reported:

When you see them (Swedes) every day at work, order coal cars from them, or ride to your place in the mine together, you get to know them, and you have to get along together in the coal mine.

For a long time, the United Mine Workers Union was an effective agency through which both Slovak and Swedish employees learned to settle common problems together. As a result of contacts at work other relations were developed. Through these experiences were promoted greater interethnic understanding and cooperation.

According to residents of both ethnic groups, another factor was mentioned as having played an important role in the assimilative process,



namely, World War II. The honor roll erected in the center of the community contained the names of both residents and former residents who were veterans. On the honor roll 61 were Slovak, 65 Swedish, 22 German, 5 English, 2 Welsh, 2 Dutch-Swedish, and Swedish-English, Swedish-German, German-Welsh, and German-French each had one representative in the armed forces.

The following comments were typical of both Slovak and Swedish attitudes toward this shared experience: "It's the biggest thing that brought them (Slovaks and Swedes) together lately". "That made more friends than anything". "Many came back the best of friends". "Some are the closest friends now because they were in the same camp or theatre of action together".

Among those who gave their lives in the service of their country were six Slovak, one Swedish, one Swedish-German, and one German. Funerals of three Slovak veterans which were held in the community were very well attended by residents of all local ethnic groups.

It is important to note that virtually all Slovak and Swedish veterans who returned to Grassflat became members of the Veteran's Club and the American Legion Post at Philipsburg where they frequently spent Saturday and Sunday evenings together.

As members of two divergent ethnic groups learn to become co-workers, neighbors, and friends, they also learn to share their knowledge, technics, and customs. One elderly Swedish resident reported:

The Slavish and Swedish people learnt to get along pretty fine entertaining themselves together. They used to have their own fun, Swedes theirs and Slavish theirs. After several years



together they started to do more things together, like drink at clubs, attend women's get-togethers, especially showers and Slovak weddings, joined the same organizations, and young people go out together to movies, out-of-town doings, and clubs.

One of the first Slovaks to come to Grassflat said:

They (Swedes) didn't know much about digging coal. We showed them. They invited us to their dances down at Peale, and showed us how to dress more American. So they taught us, and we taught them.

Slovaks and Swedes also learned to appreciate and share each other's interests and skills related to food patterns, home decoration, gardening, and carpet-making. Through contacts at showers, club-meetings, and weddings Slovak and Swedish recipes were exchanged. From their Swedish neighbors Slovaks learned to take a more active interest in home beautification. From them, Slovaks learned to appreciate and adopt modern labor-saving devices for their homes. For example, one Slovak female said, "Swedes showed us how a lawn mower can improve the looks around the house more than an old grass-cutting scythe". When employment was limited during the summer months most Slovaks and Swedes raised gardens. It was quite a common practice for them to exchange cabbage and tomato plants and to share fruitful harvest freely. They complemented each other's skill in carpet-making. Technics in this field were exchanged, particularly among the first generation subjects. One Swedish woman informed the writer that "Swedes often buy their friends and relatives carpets which were made by Slovaks".

Although a number of factors promoted the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes, its main support probably came through their



children. They knew comparatively little of the cultural patterns of Slovakia and Sweden. They came into closer contact with the general American culture in school and on the playground in their peer groups. It was from their children who knew less of past prejudices that Slovaks and Swedes learned both to understand each other better and to rebuild a community in which people were to be judged in terms of their potentialities for democratic living.

#### Summary

The extent to which interethnic assimilation had been promoted between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat probably can be analyzed more objectively by considering some criteria of assimilation suggested by another writer. Davis considered the influence of the following factors most important in promoting assimilation: public school, factory and store, common language, "standardization of externals" (ready- and factory-made products), home ownership and permanency of residence, decreasing number of incoming immigrants, and intermarriage.<sup>13</sup> In terms of these factors, except perhaps intermarriage, data thus far presented seemed to indicate that, from decade to decade, Slovaks and Swedes demonstrated a tendency toward greater and greater assimilation. In terms of other factors also--social and recreational activities, joint services rendered through the armed forces, and decreasing residential segregation--Slovaks and Swedes played active roles in the process by which they became

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13. Maurice R. Davis, World Immigration. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. 551-556.



increasingly similar, cooperative, and interdependent.

Pertinent data regarding the process of interethnic assimilation and its developmental phases were obtained from Slovak and Swedish residents of the first and second generations. From their point of view, those factors which were important in promoting interethnic assimilation in the beginning were work experiences in coal mines, membership in the United Mine Workers Union, and public schools which they shared together. Through experiences in coal mines they both got better acquainted and learned to work together. As members of the United Mine Workers Union both Slovaks and Swedes learned to solve a number of common problems with which they were confronted in the coal industry. The public schools were important in eliminating one of the greatest barriers to interethnic assimilation, namely, the lack of a common language. As Slovaks and Swedes learned to adopt a common language, they gradually began to abandon the use of their respective foreign languages.

Other factors were also important in the assimilative process. Residents of both ethnic groups pointed out that certain cultural patterns of Slovakia and Sweden were abandoned with the passing of Slovaks and Swedes of the first generation. It seemed that residents were not aware of the fact that they were also changing as they became more receptive to patterns of the general American culture.

The mobility of many Swedes to cities helped to promote better interethnic relations as the numerical size of the two groups became more equal and as Slovaks and Swedes, particularly the former, were able to move into sections of the community which were formerly occupied by







residents of exclusively one or the other ethnic group. Slovak and Swedish parents developed more favorable attitudes toward interethnic friendships among their children. The number of interethnic friendships among all generations, particularly the youngest, gradually increased. Both school and neighbor contacts were important in creating the new relations which developed between Slovaks and Swedes.

During the first several decades each ethnic group had its relatively exclusive kind of social and recreational patterns. A number of events, however, occurred which changed the social and recreational life pattern in Grassflat. The number of Swedish organizations and their functions decreased in proportion to the extent of mobility of Swedish residents to urban areas. This factor made it necessary for Swedes to consider other avenues in which to satisfy their social and recreational interests. When Slovaks invited them to their activities, including those of the Slovak club, their dances, weddings, baby and bridal showers, many Swedes, particularly those of the second and third generations, accepted. This, however, was only one phase of the assimilative process which occurred. Not only did Swedes begin to participate in Slovak activities, but, as a result of increased relations between them, both Slovaks and Swedes gradually learned to adopt some new social and recreational patterns in which they participated and shared equally.

The number of "open-membership organizations", those which admitted members regardless of their ethnicity and religion, and the number of Slovaks and Swedes represented in them was evidence of great progress toward increased interethnic assimilation.



The degree to which they shared the most intimate experience, namely, intermarriage, which is probably the most crucial test of assimilation, will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII.



## CHAPTER VII



## CHAPTER VII

### INTERMARRIAGE AS A TEST OF ASSIMILATION

Data regarding certain aspects of the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes which were gathered via tape-recorded interviews, questionnaire, and individual interviews were presented in Chapter VI. The purpose of this chapter will be to analyze the assimilative process in terms of factors which probably come closest to determining the ultimate test of assimilability between Slovaks and Swedes, namely, dating and intermarriage. Major emphasis will be given to the latter factor.

For a discussion of these factors, content which follows will be classified under two major topics, namely, (a) attitudes of Slovaks and Swedes toward intermarriage and (b) extent of intermarriage between 1922 and 1951, inclusive.

#### Attitudes of Slovaks and Swedes Toward Intermarriage

The extent of assimilation between two divergent ethnic groups can probably be determined best in terms of intimate experiences they share together. On a social distance scale the most intimate experiences would probably be dating and intermarriage. Two remaining items (numbers 4 and 12), which judges selected as "items measuring assimilability" and which appeared on pages one and two of the questionnaire, were used to obtain an intra- and interethnic image of Slovaks and Swedes regarding



dating and intermarriage. These items and responses given to them by both Slovak and Swedish children and parents are presented in Table XXVIII. A discussion of each of them follows.

Questionnaire subjects were asked if Slovaks and Swedes "date people who belong to churches other than their own". A large majority of each of the Swedish groups indicated that this description was characteristic of Slovaks. Approximately one half of Slovak parents and male children, and slightly more than one fourth of Slovak female children agreed with the Swedish image of Slovaks. On the other hand, a majority of each Slovak group, particularly parents, indicated that this description was also characteristic of Swedes. A much larger majority of Swedish male and female children and all Swedish parents agreed with the image held by Slovaks. Briefly, responses to this item seem to indicate that both ethnic groups crossed religious lines in their dating patterns, but both groups agreed that Swedes, more than Slovaks, "date people who belong to churches other than their own".

Questionnaire subjects were asked are Slovaks and Swedes "very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage". Both Slovaks and Swedes, particularly the latter, responded that this characteristic was more typical of Slovaks than Swedes. Approximately three-fourths of each Swedish group indicated that this was not typical of Swedes, but only slightly more than one fourth of Slovak children and only 15% of Slovak parents indicated that this was not descriptive of Slovaks. It is important to note that the results seem to support the fact that people who "are anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage" is much more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes.







TABLE XXVIII

INTRA- AND INTERETHNIC IMAGE REGARDING DATING AND MARRIAGE AS INDICATED  
BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12  
AND THEIR PARENTS

	Response Given	Slovak			Swedish		
		3M	22F	22F	1M	22F	12F
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Date people of churches other than their own	Yes	48%	27%	52%	62%	70%	64%
	No	23	32	10	12	11	14
	Y-N	29	41	30	25	11	21
<u>Swedes</u>							
Date people of churches other than their own	Yes	61	64	70	67	78	100
	No	10	13	12	12	11	0
	Y-N	29	23	18	0	11	0
<u>Slovaks</u>							
Are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage	Yes	45	66	76	75	78	66
	No	32	27	15	12	0	7
	Y-N	23	5	9	12	22	7
<u>Swedes</u>							
Are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage	Yes	35	50	27	12	11	14
	No	45	23	48	75	78	71
	Y-N	19	27	24	12	11	14

Questionnaire items regarding the attitudes of their parents toward interethnic dating were also given to Slovak and Swedish children. The items and responses to them are presented in Table XXIX. It is important to compare the attitudes of Slovak and Swedish parents toward interethnic dating and their attitudes toward interethnic friendship as presented in Table XXXI. Both Slovak and Swedish parents approved of interethnic friendships to a much greater extent than interethnic dating. Data seem



to indicate that Swedish parents approved of interethnic dating to a greater extent than Slovak parents, particularly regarding their daughters. Sixty-three per cent of Slovak parents and only 22% of Swedish parents "seldom" or "never" approved of interethnic dating of their daughters. Only a slightly greater number of Slovak than Swedish parents "seldom" or "never" approved of interethnic dating of their sons.

Responses regarding the attitudes of twelve parents of "other nationalities" indicated stronger approval of interethnic dating than any group except Swedish parents of female children. Least approval was indicated the group of nine parents of Swedish-Other children. Two of four parents of Slovak-Other children strongly approved while two tended to disapprove of interethnic dating.

## TABLE XXXIX

RESPONSES OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12  
REGARDING PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERETHNIC DATING

Do your parents approve of your dating a Swedish boy or girl of your age?

	<u>All the Time</u>	<u>Responses Given</u>		<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
		<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>		
<u>Slovak</u>					
31 Males	16%	16%	26%	16%	26%
22 Females	0	9	27	27	36

Do your parents approve of your dating a Slovak boy or girl of your age?

	<u>All the Time</u>	<u>Responses Given</u>		<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
		<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>		
<u>Swedish</u>					
8 Males	0%	12%	50%	12%	25%
9 Females	11	33	33	11	11



It is important to compare parental attitudes toward interethnic dating with actual dating patterns indicated by children. In Table XL and Table XLI are found the dating patterns of children enrolled in Grades 7 and 8 and in high school, respectively.

Data regarding intra- and interethnic dating patterns in Grades 7 and 8 seem to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. Most Slovak males and females who dated had more intra- than interethnic dates. This was also true of the only Swedish male who was enrolled in grade 8. Slovak males and females tended to prefer dates with children of "other nationalities" to those with Swedes.
2. Most Swedish females who dated preferred "other nationality", Swedish, and Slovak males, in that order.
3. Two Slovak-Other females tended to prefer boys of "other nationality" to Slovaks and Swedes. Swedes were preferred to Slovaks by Swedish-Other children. Slovaks were preferred to Swedes by remaining subjects.

Data regarding intra- and interethnic dating patterns in high school seem to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. Most dates of Slovak and Swedish children were intraethnic.
2. Slovak males preferred girls of "Other nationalities" slightly more than Swedish girls. Slovak females dated boys of "Other nationalities" and Swedes about equally in frequency.
3. Swedish males dated Slovak girls slightly more frequently than girls of "Other nationality". Swedish females had as many dates with Slovaks as "Other nationalities".
4. The dates of children of non-Slovak and non-Swedish descent were mostly with children listed under "Other nationalities", except Slovak-Swedish and Swedish-Other children who tended to prefer Swedes and Slovaks, respectively.

Among those who responded that their parents disapproved of interethnic dating there were eight Slovak males, eight Slovak females, two



TABLE XL

NUMBER AND ETHNICITY OF DATES REPORTED BY GR. SCHOOL CHILDREN.  
ENROLLED IN GRADES 7 AND 8, 1951

	Dates With Swedes						Dates With Slovaks						Dates With Other Nat'l					
	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*
Slovak M (10)	9	-	-	1	-	-	5	1	-	1	-	3	5	2	2	-	-	1
Slovak F (10)	0	-	-	-	-	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	6	3	-	-	1	-
Swedish M (1)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Swedish F (7)	4	-	1	-	1	1	5	1	-	-	-	1	3	2	1	-	-	1
Slo-Sw F (1)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Slo-Oth F (2)	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Sw-Oth M (1)	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sw-Oth F (1)	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other M (1)	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other F (2)	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-

Table reads: Nine out of ten Slovak males had no dates with Swedish females.

\* Five or more.



TABLE XL

NUMBER AND ETHNICITY OF DATES REPORTED BY GRASSFLAT CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN GRADES 7 AND 8, 1951

	Dates With Swedes						Dates With Slovaks						Dates With Other Nat'l					
	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*
Slovak M (10)	9	-	-	1	-	-	5	1	-	1	-	3	5	2	2	-	-	1
Slovak F (10)	8	-	-	-	-	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	6	3	-	-	1	-
Swedish M (1)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Swedish F (7)	4	-	1	-	1	1	5	1	-	-	-	1	3	2	1	-	-	1
Slo-Sw F (1)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Slo-Oth F (2)	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Sw-Oth M (1)	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sw-Oth F (1)	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other M (1)	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other F (2)	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-

Table reads: Nine out of ten Slovak males had no  
dates with Swedish females.

\* Five or more.



TABLE XLI

NUMBER AND ETHNICITY OF DATES REPORTED BY GRASSFLAT CHILDREN  
ENROLLED IN HIGH SCHOOL, 1951

	Dates With Swedes						Dates With Slovaks						Dates With Other Nat'l					
	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*	0	1	2	3	4	5*
Slovak M (21)	15	1	1	1	-	3	10	5	2	-	-	4	12	1	5	1	-	2
Slovak F (12)	9	1	1	-	-	1	3	2	-	2	2	3	10	-	1	-	-	1
Swedish M (6)	3	-	1	-	-	2	3	1	-	1	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	1
Swedish F (3)	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1
Slo-Sw M (1)	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Slo-Oth F (2)	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sw-Oth M (7)	2	1	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	2	1	1	2	2	1	-	-	2
Other M (4)	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	1
Other F (5)	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	4

Table reads: Fifteen out of 21 Slovak males had no dates with Swedish females.

\* Five or more.



Swedish males, one Swedish female, and two males and two females of "Other nationalities". None of these dated against the wishes of their parents. A majority of Slovak males and females of this group were in Grades 7 and 8, but a majority of others, including Swedes, were enrolled in high school.

There was little difference between the attitudes of Slovak parents with and without Swedish neighbors toward interethnic dating. On this question, those without Swedish neighbors were slightly more favorable. Such a comparison could not be made regarding Swedish parents, because all except one parental couple had Slovak neighbors. The one parental couple "seldom" approved of interethnic dating.

One item of the questionnaire was used in an attempt to study traits of marital partners which were considered important by children enrolled in Grades 7 through 12. The item and responses to it are found in Table XLII. It is important to note the large percentage of those who checked religion, particularly Slovaks. An overwhelming majority of children of other nationalities, not included in the table, also gave this response.

Two other items regarding religion and responses to them are presented in Table XLIIA. It is important to note there was a very significant difference between responses given by Slovak and Swedish children to question (a) "Do you think that marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant can be happy if they attend separate churches?" A much greater proportion of Swedish than Slovak children indicated that "marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant can be happy if they attend separate



TABLE XLII

DESIRABLE TRAITS OF PROSPECTIVE MARITAL PARTNERS CONSIDERED  
BY SLOVAK AND SWEDISH CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12

Which of these things would you consider most important concerning your future marriage partner?

	Slovak Children		Swedish Children	
	31 Males	22 Females	6 Males	9 Females
Education	6%	4.5%	25%	0%
Money	0	0	0	0
Occupation	0	9	0	44
Religion	94	62	75	56
Nationality	0	4.5	0	0

TABLE XLIIA

RESPONSES OF SLOVAKS AND SWEDES REGARDING (a) SEPARATE CHURCH  
ATTENDANCE TO MARITAL PARTNERS AND (b) FREEDOM OF CHILDREN  
TO CHOOSE OWN CHURCH

(a) Do you think marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant can be happy if they attend separate churches?

	Slovak Children		Swedish Children	
	31 M	22 F	6 M	9 F
Yes	16%	18%	50%	56%
No	64	62	50	44

(b) Do you think children should be given freedom to choose their own church?

	Slovak			Swedish		
	31M	22F	32P	6M	9F	14P
Yes	32%	14%	6%	62.5%	22%	36%
No	68	66	94	37.5	78	64



churches". Most of the Slovak males who checked "no" were enrolled in Grade 9. Most of Slovak females and both Swedish males and females were in Grades 7 and 8.

"Should children be given freedom to choose their own church?" A majority of each group responded in the negative, except Swedish males. Only slightly more than one third of them gave a negative response. Slovak females were least favorable to this practice. A significantly greater percentage of Slovak than Swedish parents checked this item "no". In comparison with other parishioners, Slovak parents who answered this question in the negative were among the best church goers and Swedish parents were among the poorest. These parental couples did not differ significantly from the members of their respective ethnic groups in terms of any other background factors, such as education, number of children in family, or ethnicity of neighbors (factors found on page 5 of questionnaire). The children of the Slovak parental couples attended church every week. Those of Swedish parental couples attended as follows: Three attended once or twice a month, one attended one to five times a year, and one attended every week. Both Slovak and Swedish children of this group were enrolled in Grade 7 or 8.

Slovak and Swedish children enrolled in grades 7 through 12 were asked another question indirectly pertaining to intermarriage. Slovak children were asked: "Would you permit your children to be brought up Protestant?" Swedish children were asked a similar question regarding the Catholic religion. The responses of both Slovak and Swedish children to these questions were very strongly indicative of disapproval of this practice.



Only one Slovak female and one Swedish female answered this question in the affirmative. All Swedish and Slovak males responded they would not permit this practice.

Responses to six of seven important items of the questionnaire pertaining to intermarriage are presented in Table XLIII. More than 60% of both Slovak and Swedish children indicated that they thought their parents would approve of their marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion. There was virtually no difference in responses between Slovak and Swedish children regarding this question. The children of both ethnic groups were quite accurate in giving the attitudes of their parents regarding mixed marriages of nationality. An overwhelming majority of Slovak and Swedish parents approved of mixed nationality. There was no significant difference between the responses of Slovak and Swedish children regarding the question of whether they would "marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion". Data seemed to indicate that a very large majority of children in both ethnic groups would marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion.

"Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of different religion but the same nationality?" There was a significant difference between the responses given by Slovak and Swedish children to this question. Ten per cent of Slovak males, 27 per cent of Slovak females, 50 per cent of Swedish males, and 50 per cent of Swedish females indicated their parents would approve of such a marriage. Responses of Slovak and Swedish children to the question of whether they would marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality indicated a



TABLE XLIII

RESPONSES REGARDING ATTITUDES OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH PARENTS AND  
CHILDREN TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE

Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
53 Slovak children	69	11	17 Swedish children	66	12
31 Slovak males	67	13	8 Swedish males	67	12
22 Slovak females	91	9	9 Swedish females	69	11

Would you marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
53 Slovak children	69	11	17 Swedish children	62	16
31 Slovak males	67	13	8 Swedish males	75	25
22 Slovak females	91	9	9 Swedish females	69	11

Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
53 Slovak children	17	63	17 Swedish children	53	47
31 Slovak males	10	90	8 Swedish males	50	50
22 Slovak females	27	73	9 Swedish females	56	44

Would you marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
53 Slovak children	9	90	17 Swedish children	53	47
31 Slovak males	13	67	8 Swedish males	50	50
22 Slovak females	5	95	9 Swedish females	56	44

Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
32 Sl. Par. Couples	97	3	14 Sw. Par. Couples	66	14

Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality?

Subjects	%Yes	%No	Subjects	%Yes	%No
32 Sl. Par. Couples	12	67	14 Sw. Par. Couples	43	57



significantly greater difference between them. Only 13 per cent Slovak males and 5 per cent Slovak females answered this question in the affirmative, but 50 per cent of Swedish males and 56 per cent of Swedish females answered in the affirmative. It is important to note that the responses of Slovak and Swedish children and parents were very similar. Only 12 per cent of Slovak parents responded they would approve of their child's marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality. On the other hand, 43 per cent of Swedish parents answered this question in the affirmative.

In short, except for a very limited number, both Slovak and Swedish parents and children indicated they would approve of intermarriage of nationality in which marital partners were of similar religion. Regarding marriage of a different religion but the same nationality, the responses of parents and children of the two ethnic groups were quite dissimilar. A significantly greater percentage of Swedish than Slovak parents and children approved of such a marriage.

Another important question was raised. Slovak and Swedish children were asked whether they would change their religion in order to marry a person they love. It is important to note that approximately one third of Swedish males and females answered this question in the affirmative. None of Slovak children gave this response.

A comparative study was made of Slovak and Swedish children who approved and disapproved of internationality. Although the number of Slovak children who indicated disapproval of such marriages was relatively small, data seemed to indicate that in proportion to enrollment in



various grades, the number of Slovak males who disapproved tended to decrease with grade level, but the number of Slovak females who disapproved tended to increase with grade level. Only one Swedish child, a female in grade 7, disapproved of such a marriage. Four Slovak males and two females disagreed but parents approved. Two Swedish males, and one female disagreed with their parents. In each case, except one, children disapproved but their parents approved of internationality marriage.

Data seemed to indicate that the group of children who approved of internationality marriages came from families which on the average were slightly larger than those of the disapproval group.

Seven Slovak children who indicated they lived with in-laws responded they would marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion. Those Slovak children who disapproved of internationality marriage came from families in which the average educational level of fathers was slightly higher, and that of mothers was significantly higher than those parents of the approval group. The church attendance of fathers, mothers, and children was on the average slightly higher in the group which disapproved than the group which approved of internationality marriages. Ethnicity of neighbors did not seem to have a significant effect on their attitudes toward such marriages.

A similar study of Swedish children seems to indicate that, on the average, those who approved of internationality marriages came from families in which the educational level of mothers was significantly higher and the church attendance of fathers and children was slightly higher



than that of the disapproval group. Swedish children who approved of internationality marriage came from families which, on the average were significantly larger than those of Swedish children who disapproved of such a marriage. The only Swedish child and parental couple who were without Slovak neighbors disapproved of internationality.

A comparative study was also made of intraethnic differences between Slovak and Swedish children who indicated approval and disapproval of interfaith marriages.

The number of Slovak children who indicated they would marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality came from no grade level in particular. Three Swedish males who gave this response were in Grade 10, and one was in Grade 8. Giving the same response were one Swedish female in Grade 7, two in Grade 8, and two in Grade 10. Only three Slovak males and three Slovak females disagreed with their parents on this question. In each case the parents gave an affirmative response.

Further study indicated some intraethnic differences between children regarding the question of interfaith marriage. On the average, Slovak children who gave negative responses came from significantly larger families. Five of 7 who indicated they lived with in-laws were opposed to interfaith marriage. Five Slovak children who opposed interfaith marriage did not have Swedish neighbors. On the other hand, Swedish children who indicated disapproval of interfaith marriage on the average came from families in which the church attendance and the educational level of both parents was slightly higher than that of parents of children who approved of interfaith marriage.



The attitudes of children of other nationalities and their parents toward internationality and interfaith marriage were also studied.

The responses of three Slovak Lutheran male children, who were enrolled in Grades 8, 9, and 12, and two Slovak Lutheran parental couples were studied. Each of the males, except one, and the parental couples indicated approval of mixed marriages of nationality. Of this group, only one male child approved of mixed marriages of religion. None of the children indicated he would change his religion in order to marry a person he loved.

Data regarding the attitudes of four Slovak--Other females and their parental couples were analyzed. The children included 2 Catholics who were enrolled in Grades 7 and 11, 1 Lutheran in Grade 7, and 1 United Brethren in Grade 12. Both children and parents of this group indicated approval of internationality marriages. Of this group, all except the child of United Brethren faith responded in the negative regarding interfaith marriages. All females, except one of U-B faith, responded negatively to the question "Would you change your religion in order to marry the person you love?"

Nine Swedish-Other children, eight males and one female, and seven parental couples constituted an exclusively Protestant group. Among the four Lutheran males, one was in Grade 8, one in 9, and two in 10. One female and four males were Baptists. The female was enrolled in Grade 8. Two males were in Grade 9, one in 10, and one in 11. The responses given by this group of Swedish-Other children and their nine parental couples indicated that all except two of five Baptist parental couples approved of mixed marriage of nationality. The parents of the female were in the



approval group. All five children and three of five parental couples of Baptist faith opposed interfaith marriages. All four males of Lutheran faith indicated they would "marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality". Their two parental couples disapproved of such a marriage. The responses of Baptist and Lutheran children varied regarding the question of changing one's religion in order to marry a person one loves. Those of Baptist faith answered the question in the negative. Three of four males of Lutheran faith responded in the affirmative.

Data regarding the responses of one male and one female of Slovak-Swedish descent were compared. The male's father was Swedish Lutheran and his mother was Slovak Catholic. The female's father was Swedish Lutheran and her mother was Slovak Lutheran. The male was enrolled in Grade 12, the female in Grade 6. Both children and their parental couples indicated approval of mixed marriage of nationality, but only the male child indicated approval of interfaith marriage. Both children responded they would not give up their religion in order to marry a person they love.

The attitudes of seven parental couples and twelve children of "Other" nationality, five males and seven females, were also studied regarding mixed marriages. All children were enrolled in high school except one male in Grade 6 and two females in Grade 7. Among the males, two were Catholic, one Lutheran, one United Brethren, and one Pillar of Fire. Among the females, five were Catholic, one Lutheran, and one United Brethren. All children, except one Catholic female, and all parental couples, except one United Brethren, indicated approval of mixed marriage of nationality.



There was much less agreement among them regarding mixed marriages of religion. Among the males, Catholic responded in the negative. Only one of four Catholic parental couples approved. Two children and their one parental couple of United Brethren faith and two children of Lutheran faith and their one parental couple of no religious faith approved. The male of Pillar of Fire faith approved. His parents did not. Among the females, four approved and one disapproved. Their parents, except one parental couple of United Brethren faith, approved. In short, children and parents of "Other" nationality seemed to be quite tolerant of mixed marriages of nationality. On the other hand, 87% of children and 58% of parents approved of mixed marriages of religion.

The male and female of United Brethren faith and four of five Catholic females indicated they "would not change their religion in order to marry the person they love". Others indicated they would change their religion in such a case.

Although it included a smaller sample of both children and parents, a more thorough study of interethnic attitudes toward intermarriage was pursued through the use of tape-recorded interviews with Slovak and Swedish subjects who represented three different generations.<sup>1</sup>

The following statements are extracts from a tape-recorded interview with Swedish subjects of the first generation:

Writer: What was the main reason why they did not marry each other in the beginning?

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1. For a description of these subjects see pages 51-54.



Mr. V: I don't know, if there was any reason, only that they didn't feel that they were acquainted enough. That might be it.

Writer: Were there some other reasons?

Mrs. T: The church has something to do with it. There is no doubt about that.

Mrs. F: Well, I think the religion had a lot to do with it. On either side they had a different faith, and I think that the Swedish people anyway had the idea that they should only marry Swedish. That was many years back, but now it seems as though they marry any kind of race of people, and perhaps the Slovak people had the same idea that their own people **was** the best. I believe that was so anyway.

Mr. W: I think it was pretty much that way. The older people then were stricter that way than the young people are today. The young people think they are all the same, but the older people thought that they were a little bit better. I think they done that on both sides, both the Slovaks and the Swedes. The same thing.

Writer: Do you think parents were more a boss of children then than they are today?

Mr. W: I certainly do.

Mr. T: Absolutely.

Mrs. T: Yes

Mrs. F: Oh, yes.

Writer: Did parents do more of the matching, that is, did the parents select partners for their sons and daughters more before than they do today?

Mr. T: Well, I think they tried pretty hard to do it. Now, these days, it is hardly worth-while to try and stop it, but that time they did try to stop intermarriage. I know that was on both sides, both Slovaks and Swedes.

Writer: Would you approve of Slovak-Swedish marriages?

Mr. W: Oh, yes.

Mr. T: Sure.



Mrs. T: Sure. (Mrs. F nodded agreement)

Writer: I wonder what started the intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. T: I believe that that's nature. That's the same if we had, for instance, if you get a horse. You want to mix the horses to get better stock, and the same thing with people. I believe that's nature. Of course, you have to mix different nations to get the better stock, otherwise I think the people will die off. Don't you think so?

Writer: I think you have a point there. Why don't Swedes in town marry each other as much as they used to?

Mr. T: Well, the first thing is they do out, you know, go out to the big city and there get acquainted. All mine has been married outside that way.

Writer: You had three daughters and a son married that way--

Mr. T: Oh, every one of them have been married outside. I guess your children too, Mrs. F.

Mrs. F: Three of them.

Writer: If you notice, Slovaks marry each other frequently. Don't they?

Mr. T: Yes, you can tell. They stay at home more here in Grass-flat or Winbourne or Snowshoe, and this leads them to marry at home. Young Swedish people go to the city more, and there are other Swedish people there.

It is important to compare the attitudes of Swedish residents with those of Slovak residents of the first generation. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with the latter group of residents:

Writer: If you had unmarried sons or daughters would you permit them to go with Swedes on dates?

Mr. F: No, I wouldn't. My sons married Slovak Catholics.

Writer: If they were unmarried would you permit them to marry Swedes?



Mr. P: Oh, no. If you are reared a Catholic, be a Catholic to death. I would not permit it.

Writer: Mrs. O, would you permit your son to marry a Swedish girl?

Mrs. O: I believe as Mr. P. I would not give my permission, but if they would not listen it would be up to them.

Writer: Mr. D?

Mr. D: I had two cases like that in my family. They met other people, not Slovaks. But I said that if they married they would have to become Catholics and go to one church, the Catholic Church. In that case I would give my permission. If they become Catholics it was okay to get married.

Writer: Do you think a marriage between a Slovak and a Swede can be happy?

Mrs. O: I don't know, but I always heard that they can be together on this earth, but on the next they could not be together. I heard this yet when I was over in the old country. There will be a difference in the next world between the two. One will be here and the other there. But if he or she is a convert, becomes a Catholic, then alright, but otherwise, no. I heard this in the old country.

Writer: What do you think about this, Mr. P?

Mr. P: I think that if a Catholic takes a Swede and if they are converted to our religion, there can be happiness and blessing in the home.

Mr. D: My belief is this: When one goes to church here, and one goes there to church, there is no good. They will have trouble over this matter. It is a bad thing because they do not agree. They don't pull together.

Writer: Why?

Mr. D: If there is much arguing in the home, there is not much blessing and happiness there.

Writer: Do you think it would be like that in every home?

Mr. D: Now they will meet life that is the kind of blessing they will find in the home. There is a saying that the way a person makes his bed is the way he will sleep in it.



Mrs. O: I think that it is not a good thing because I remember now they fought and argued and then left each other because of religious differences in Europe.

The attitudes toward Slovak-Swedish marriage expressed by these two groups of the same generation were quite dissimilar. The Swedish subjects seemed to hold much more favorable attitudes toward intermarriage than Slovak subjects. The elderly female Slovak subject expressed strongest opposition to Slovak-Swedish marriage. The elderly male subjects felt blessing and happiness could be found in such a marriage if the Swedish Lutheran mate became Catholic.

It is particularly important to compare the attitudes of Slovak and Swedish residents of the second generation who, at the time of this study, were fathers of children of marriageable age. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Swedish parents:

Writer: What would be your reaction to your son's or daughter's intention to marry a Slovak?

Mr. S: My boy is married to a girl with a partly Slovak background (non-local). Her mother is Slovak, and her father is Johnny Bull, I guess. She goes to church sometimes, but her father doesn't go at all. Her mother is still a Catholic, but I don't think she goes to church at all lately. The father doesn't go either anymore. If the boy likes the girl, why he just marries her. Makes no difference what the religion she's from. What can you say?

Writer: H?

Mr. H: Well, you want my honest opinion, and I'll give it to you. If my daughter would come home and said she wants to marry a Slovak Catholic, I would like to see the children split up on religion. That would give each other both a chance. That would give the boy his choice, and that would give the girl her choice.

Writer: You would want the children to split up on religion?



Mr. H: The boy would have the sons go to one church, and the girl would have the daughters go to another church. Whatever they would like. It would be up to them. They marry. They make their bed so they would have to sleep in it.

Mr. F: I've got four married (to non-local Catholic mates). It was up to them. It's their problem. I didn't say no to none of them.

Writer: Now would you feel, Mr. F?

Mr. F: Well, it hasn't occurred yet, but I have children down there (pointing in the direction of his home) growing up. If it does come to that, I'd want my daughter to give her children as much religion as I tried to teach her, and if the case comes up like that, I hope she will be old enough to understand. I'd leave her and this Slovak she wants to marry do what they want. I wouldn't refuse her. No doubt if you would, they would just wait until they are old enough and do it anyway. I couldn't tell you just how I would feel because I haven't experienced it yet.

Writer: Mr. C?

Mr. C: Well, both of my children do go to the Catholic Church. I'd say like F. It is their problem, and I would permit them to go to the church they want.

Writer: Do you think mixed marriages should take place?

Mr. C: I have been married five years to a Slovak Catholic, and so far everything's been alright. As far as they, the children, well, they go with their mother. It's the way it was with me. I followed my mother. I usually followed mother's orders more than my dad's.

Mr. S: I don't see where it does any harm if they are in love. If they are in love, why, it don't matter about religion at all.<sup>2</sup>

Writer: Would any of you disown your children if they married Catholics?

Mr. H: No. (Others agreed, shaking their heads.)

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2. Such an attitude toward religion was rare among Swedish residents.



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Writer: None of you. Would you be strongly opposed?

All: No.

Writer: Would you be somewhat hesitant?

Mr. P: I'd just explain to her that all the teaching I'd given to her and everything. If she wanted to intermarry with a Slovak Catholic, why, you would just have to agree with it, because in this day and age, as far as religion and as I always was taught, they are all reaching for the same destination. There are so many I just can't recollect how many, but what I just can't figure out is that they are either all right or all wrong. (Long pause) They all have the same goal. That's the way I see it.

Writer: F?

Mr. F: Well, it don't make any difference whether they are Catholic, Lutheran, or what they are.

Mr. S: I went with an Italian girl once, only something turned up and we didn't get married. But she was a Catholic and if things were alright, I would have married her, and she was of a different religion from one I had.

Writer: Do you think your friends feel the same way on this issue as you do?

Mr. S: I know a lot of them does. None refuse anyone (to intermarry); they used to.

Mr. H: Well, it would be hard to say if I think like others. They have a mind of their own. I don't know how they really feel.

Mr. C: Older people thought a little different about marriage into another religion. Younger people today are different. Younger Swedish people are more liberal.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. S: I know when I ran around with that Italian girl my parents said that they would rather have me marry a Negro girl than a Catholic. But it turned out different, and I didn't go through with it.

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3. Such expressions were common among Swedish residents of the second generation.



Mr. H: In the olden days, the horse and buggy days, they couldn't travel far. They had to marry their own, marry people from their home town. Now they have cars and get acquainted with different people.

Mr. F: The car helped to bring about a greater mixture. Schools also helped in older days to keep people separated. Now they are together. Before these schools (public schools) were built, the older Swedes had their own schools. They had student ministers, what they called them. They had reading and writing. The Catholics had the same. They were in two separate groups. They are now in one group, now since public schools came in. Now they are in contact more. One has a liking for the other and so they started to intermarry.

Writer: Do any of you discuss this with your children?

Mr. F: No, I never did. It's up to them.

Others: Never.

Writer: None of you.

Mr. F: It is their problem. Nobody told me who to marry, so it's their problem.

The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with

Slovak parents:

Writer: What would be your reaction to your son's or daughter's intention to marry a Swede?

Mr. F: I think the first question I'd ask would be whether he or she is willing to join our religion. His answer would tell me what I would give him as my answer.

Mr. H: First I'd want to know the girl, I mean, if she had a good background and came from a good family. Then I'd say to my son, okay. I'd let my son marry her providing she would become a Catholic.

Mr. S: That's already been told to her. If she meets a Swede or non-Catholic, I think she realizes the point, if it ever comes to that time when she will have a Swede or non-Catholic, she will know what will be stressed as far as I'm concerned.



Mr. F: I think S has a good point there. I even told my little boy already. As far as his friends are concerned, they can be of his own choosing, but when it comes time, when he gets older he's got to realize that he's got to associate and pick his friends according to his religion.

Mr. E: I agree with P. When the kids go out with a non-Catholic it's alright to a certain extent, but let's not get serious about the matter. I told my son if you get married outside the church without my consent, there will be no consent in the first place, when you come in the front door I'll go out the back door. I said that! I think too much about my religion to consider having a mixed marriage in my family.

Writer: C, how do you feel about this issue?

Mr. C: Well, I've had some sad experience along that line so I'd just rather not talk about it.

Writer: What would be your honest reaction to your son's or daughter's marriage to a Protestant, a Swedish party, who had no intention of becoming Catholic? (Long silence followed.)

Mr. S: Sometimes it's hard to split up romance, and as far as religion is concerned, one thing that could possibly be done as far as the religion goes and that is bringing up the children in the Catholic religion. It couldn't be anything else. Either that or else.

Mr. F: I feel this way about it. If my daughter married out of the church without my consent, I would disown her.

Mr. H: That's just the way I feel.

Mr. P: I think we can expect too much because sometimes they don't have much of a chance at first, but after they are married a year or two, there is always a possibility of one coming into the church. So I think that question should be open.

Writer: Gentlemen, what would you think of your son or daughter becoming Protestantized through marriage? (Members of panel looked at each other and remained for a second.)

Mr. F: Well, as far as I'm concerned that's absolutely out.

Mr. F: Over my dead body.







- Mr. H: I never want to live to see the day my child will change his religion for love or for a woman.
- Mr. S: My opinion is the same as H's.
- Mr. T: None of mine changed in a mixed marriage, and I hope they never will, although I have a mixed marriage in my family. They were married by a Catholic priest, and their child is baptized. As far as the church, he never meddles into that, and I hope he'll join in the future. In one way it is better to have a mixed marriage than to marry someone you would only live with a short time.
- Mr. H: F says sometimes we're hasty about marrying, and that some can come into the church after they're married. But I have yet to see a convert come into the church after he was married. Usually they're converted before. Usually after they are married a while they don't care whether they join the Catholic Church or not.
- Writer: You mean that there should be an understanding before marriage?
- Mr. H: Absolutely.
- Mr. T: No. Many times many come into the church after several years of marriage. I disagree with you. Sometimes the children cause one to come into the church. Many people, Protestants, come into the church that way.
- Writer: E?
- Mr. E: There is a chance left for the children's sake if the woman is Catholic. There is a chance there yet, but if man is a Catholic and the woman is Protestant, you may kiss your religion goodbye. I would agree with F.

These data also indicated relatively favorable attitudes of Swedish residents and unfavorable attitudes of Slovak residents toward Slovak-Swedish marriage. Slovaks stressed conversion to Catholicism as being absolutely necessary before they would permit intermarriage. Such demands were not made by Swedish residents. These data also give evidence of the patriarchal and democratic or equalitarian family structure of Slovaks and Swedes, respectively.



Probably most important are the attitudes of Slovaks and Swedes of the third generation toward intermarriage. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with Swedish residents:

Writer: Would you marry a Slovak girl if you were in love with her?

Mr. B: Well, if I was deeply in love with the girl I would, because rather than throw love out the window and marrying someone just because she is your religion cannot have the complete happiness you would have if you marry the one you really love.

Writer: How would you handle the problem of difference in religion?

Mr. B: Well, I think that both of us would attend each other's church, but to make it a point that the children would come up in one church so as to avoid difficulty. You know how children are, and there might be some believe of one and the one believe the other, and a quarrel would upset the family.

Writer: So you suggest that the wife go to one church and the husband to another church and that children would go to --

Mr. B: One definite church.

Writer: Which one?

Mr. B: It would be decided between us.

Mr. K: I agree with B on that point, but I believe a mixed marriage should be entered into with more care than a marriage among someone of your own race or group, and before your marriage, have an agreement as to what church your children should go to, and you should be sure that you're really in love before you even attempt any marriage for that matter.

Writer: J, how do you feel about this?

Mr. J:<sup>4</sup> Mine is the same. One point though, I think the parents should both go to the same church. That way there would be no quarrels in the family as to difference in religion.

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4. Product of a Slovak-Swedish marriage.



Writer: How do you think young people might come to an agreement about religion, J?

Mr. J: Talk it over.

Mr. B: You can. That's one sure way.

Mr. J: It's alright if you know truly that you are in love, and you have no faults. I think it's all up to them, and it can be okay.

Writer: How would you feel about this if you were in love with a Slovak girl, J? Would you marry her?

Mr. J: Yes, I would.

Writer: In your case there would be no difference of religion. How would you feel toward a Swedish girl?

Mr. J: The same, I guess.

Writer: A?

Mr. H: Well, I would say that they should talk it over before you get married.

Mr. H: About what J said, they both should go to the same church. I more or less agree with that because a person's condition can't be changed very easily. What he believes in he'll more than likely always believe in, and if they would then go to the same church, one of them is going to feel that he is doing the wrong thing. That would more or less tend to make an unhappy marriage. So I think another agreement should be made as to the church and so forth.

Writer: B feels that it's a good idea for the wife to go to one church and the husband to go to another. You agree with that, B?

Mr. B: Yes, I would.

Writer: J?

Mr. J: I'm not sure, I guess.

Mr. H: Well, I think it would be nice if they could work out a plan where they could each go to each other's church.

Writer: And later decide on --



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- Mr. H: No, not necessarily decide, but hold no prejudice against the other's church. Attend it as freely as you would your own church.
- Mr. H: I feel the same way, that they should understand each other's religion better.
- Mr. B: That's the point I meant in each one going to their own church, but still understanding each other's religion, because, you know, as the children grow up they'll ask their daddy this and their mother this, and if they know only their own, they couldn't answer any without having difficulty with their children.
- Writer: Why, in your opinion, are there so few Slovak-Swedish marriages in our community?
- Mr. J: Some might be afraid to tackle them (because of) the pastor. They might have trouble. Others, I don't know, just might not go with you of the opposite religion.
- Mr. H: Another reason is that most of the young people around here don't marry people that are from their own community. Usually they found their wives and husbands some other place.
- Writer: There are very few Swedish-Swedish marriages in town. I wonder why?
- Mr. B: You really brought something to my mind that I've never thought about before.
- Mr. H: I think it's the difference between religions.  
(Others agreed, nodding.)
- Writer: Does your pastor ever mention anything about mixed marriages, marriages between the Slovak and Swedish people?
- Mr. H: In my confirmation class our pastor discussed it, and he said that it is better to marry in your own (religion), but if you really love a person, do what your heart desires.
- Mr. B: I think he brings it up in most confirmation classes, such as in H's class. You see, I'm in the same class as H so that's the only time I remember of it.
- Writer: In general, would you say your pastor tends to encourage or discourage mixed marriages?



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Mr. B: Well, I think he's half way on that. I mean, I don't think he discourages or encourages. He makes it a point as to discussion to be uppermost in our minds as to our own thoughts, I think.

Writer: Would you agree with him on that point, R?

Mr. R: That's right. I believe that he just expresses his opinion, and we do our own choosing.

Four Slovak females and one male of the third generation were interviewed. The following data were extracted from a tape-recorded interview with them:

Writer: Would you marry a Swedish boy if you loved him?

Miss M: Oh, I imagine that if I loved him that much I would marry him.

Writer: Would there be any conditions --

Miss E: Before I married him he would have to promise me to become Catholic, or he would have to become a Catholic before he married me.

Miss F: That would be my conditions.

Miss S: That would be the conditions for me.

Miss T: Mine too, If I married a Swedish boy, which I doubt, even if he wouldn't join the church, he would have to understand that the children would be reared as Catholics.

Writer: You would marry a Swedish boy if he did not join the church.

Miss T: I think so.

Writer: B?

Mr. B (the only male): It would be the same for me. The children would have to be Catholics.

Writer: I see. Does your pastor ever mention mixed marriages?

Miss M: Oh, he often mentioned mixed marriages in catechism (classes).

Writer: What does he say?







Miss H: He says that before you get the girl or boy by the altar make sure that they are Catholics first. He said that if you don't, you may have trouble later on.

Mr. B: I heard the pastor say once that they can hardly work. He said they are difficult to be really happy in.

Miss T: I know Father T very often mentions that he would never advise mixed marriages.

Miss S: Sometimes mixed marriages take place, and even though he does become a Catholic, sometimes he might leave you and be a Protestant again where you are not free to remarry. You raise your children as Catholics, and if you wouldn't want to raise them, you could do nothing about it. I think it wouldn't work.

Writer: Would any of you hesitate to marry a Swede if he intended to join the church?

Miss S: I think I would. I have read a lot of books and the Catholic Girls's Guide where marriages like that and even if he is a Catholic and the wedding takes place in the Catholic Church, he might go away and leave you, and he can marry again. My mother always tells me that you must almost be born into the religion to be truly understanding about it. It is hardly possible for a girl or Swedish boy to really understand and get the full meaning of the religion, even if they are married.

These tape-recorded data also indicate the greater emphasis given to religion by Slovak than Swedish residents. The latter emphasized a need for better understanding of each other's religious beliefs before marriage. Swedish subjects also suggested that the marital partners attend each other's church, and permit children to select their own church. It is important to note that Catholics are denied these practices. Slovak subjects insisted that children be reared Catholic. Only one Slovak female said she would not marry a Swede under any conditions. According to both groups, the Catholic pastor seemed to be more opposed to such marriages than the Lutheran pastor.







In brief, data gathered via tape-recorded interviews with three generations of Slovak and Swedish subjects seemed to indicate that Swedes held more favorable attitudes toward Slovak-Swedish marriages than Slovaks. The latter group of residents seemed to give greater emphasis to similar religious background as a prerequisite for marriage than Swedish subjects.

#### Extent of Inter-marriage between 1922 and 1951, Inclusive

Presented in Table XLIV are data regarding marriages of 156 Slovak and Swedish residents which occurred during the past three decades. Fifty were marriages of Slovak males, 53 Slovak females, 34 Swedish males, and 19 Swedish females. A study of these marriages indicated a number of differences between Slovak and Swedish residents in terms of marital selections. Approximately two-thirds of Slovak males and females and Swedish females married local residents. Only 40% of Swedish males married local residents. All non-local mates, except three, came from neighboring communities described on page 120. These communities were within a twelve mile radius from Grassflat. The brides of two Slovak males and groom of one Slovak female came from areas beyond neighboring communities, that is, from communities which were approximately twenty miles beyond the limits of Grassflat.

Fifty-eight per cent of Slovak and Swedish females, 62% Slovak males, and 34% Swedish males entered into intra-ethnic and -religious marriages with local residents. A greater difference between the marital selection of Slovak and Swedish residents was shown by a study of their intra-ethnic







TABLE XLIV

MARITAL SELECTION OF SLOVAK CATHOLIC AND SWEDISH LUTHERAN  
RESIDENTS (1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

	Slovak Catholic		Swedish Lutheran	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Catholic</u>				
Slovak (local)	31	31	3x	1x
Slovak (non-local)	14	13	2cf	-
German (non-local)	-	1	-	-
Italian (non-local)	-	1	-	-
Fa. D. (non-local)	2	2	-	-
<u>Lutheran</u>				
Swedish (local)	1x	3x	11	11
Swedish (non-local)	1x	-	5	1
Slovak (local)	-	-	1	-
Slovak (non-local)	1cm	-	1	-
English (non-local)	-	-	2	-
German (non-local)	-	-	2	1
Russian (non-local)	-	-	-	2
<u>Baptist</u>				
German (non-local)	-	-	1x 1cm 3cf	-
<u>Methodist</u>				
English (non-local)	-	-	2cm	-
<u>United Brethren</u>				
Fr.-Fa. D. (local)	-	1cf	-	-
<u>No Church</u>				
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
English (local)	-	-	-	1x
English (non-local)	-	1x	-	1x

x Mixed religious marriage.  
cm Conversion to religion of male.  
cf Conversion to religion of female.



and -religious marriages with non-local residents. Twenty-eight per cent of Slovak males and 24% of Slovak females entered into such marriages, but only 15% of Swedish males and 5% of Swedish females married non-local mates in such marriages. The reason for this difference is found in data contained in Table XX which contains a populational description of neighboring communities. The number of Slovak Catholics in communities surrounding Grassflat is greater than that of Swedish Lutherans.

As a group, Slovak males intermarried with two different nationalities; Slovak females, six; Swedish males, three; and Swedish females, four. A closer analysis indicated that there were 4 (6%) Slovak males, 9 (17%) Slovak females, 10 (54%) Swedish males, and 6 (32%) Swedish females who entered into mixed marriages of nationality.

As a group, Slovak males intermarried with one religious denomination; Slovak females, two; Swedish males, two; and Swedish females, two. A more detailed analysis of these data indicated that 2 (4%) Slovak males, 4 (6%) Slovak females, 3 (12%) Swedish males, and 4 (21%) Swedish females participated in mixed marriages of religion. In brief, a greater percentage of Swedish than Slovak males and females married interethnically and interreligiously, particularly Swedish males.

In terms of mixed convert marriages, it is important to note that in the past three decades local Slovaks and Swedes who intermarried with each other and remained residents of Grassflat continued to hold their long established religious beliefs or abandoned them, but not one converted to the faith of his or her mate. Five Swedish males who abandoned their religious faith married non-local residents. They adopted the religion



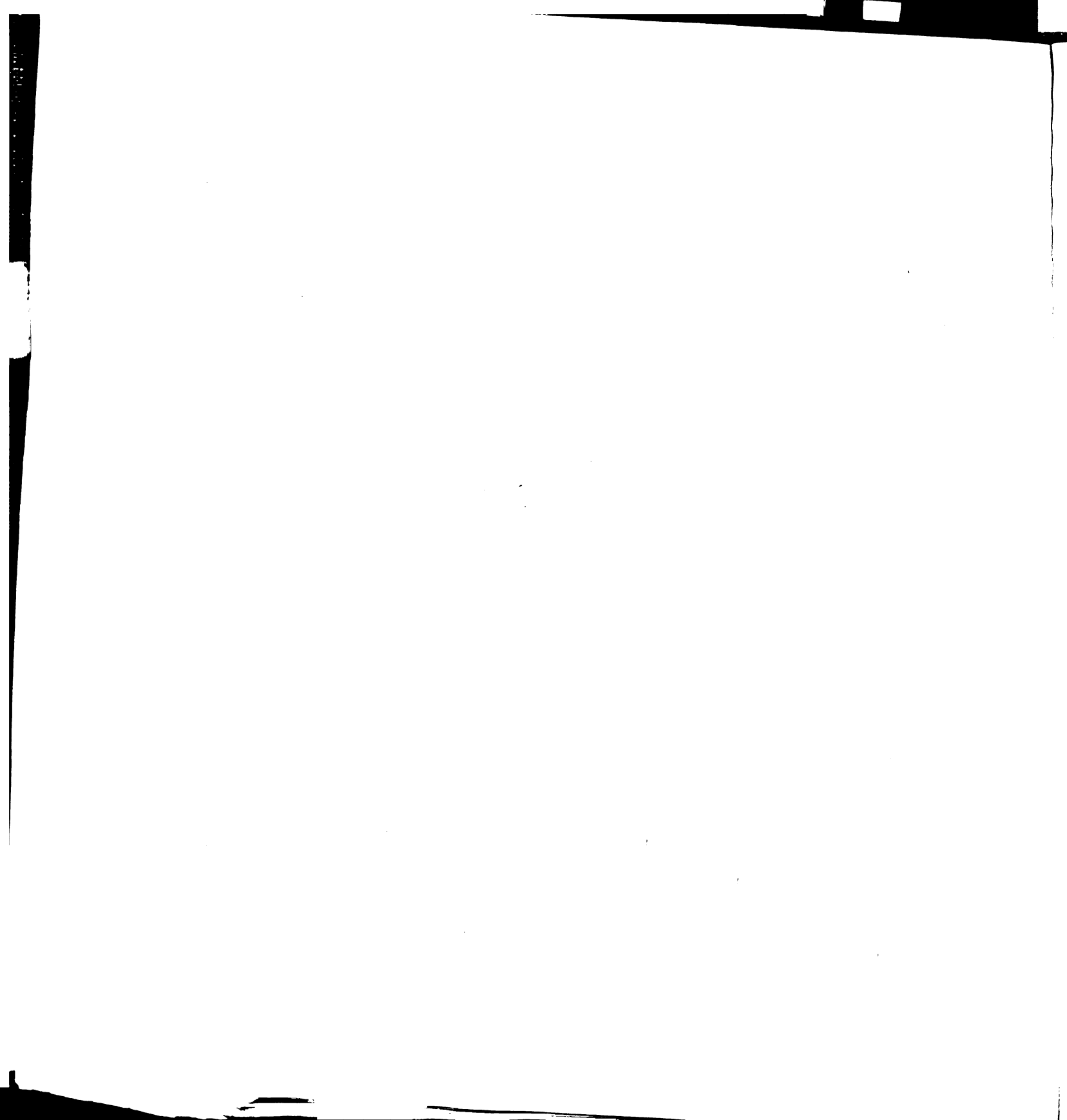
of their brides. Among them were two non-local Slovak Catholics and three non-local German Baptists. They were all residents of neighboring communities.

Slovaks gained two converts through marriage. One Slovak male converted his non-local Slovak bride who was formerly Lutheran, and one Slovak female converted her groom who was a local resident of United Brethren faith and French-Pennsylvania Dutch descent. Swedes gained three converts through marriage. One German Baptist and two English Methodist brides, who came from neighboring communities, were converted to the religious belief of their Swedish grooms.

Important consideration was given to the question of which of two religious faiths, Catholic or Lutheran, became dominant in the socialization process of children born to local Slovak-Swedish marriages. In each of four cases, children were reared Catholic. This is in accordance with teachings of the Catholic Church. Failure to comply with this principle would mean the risk of excommunication. Only one Slovak Catholic male, who married a non-local Swedish Lutheran bride, permitted his child to be reared Lutheran. Complete information regarding the conditions of this marriage was not available.

Comments typical of those volunteered by Slovak Catholics regarding this Slovak male were as follows: "It's the worst thing a man can do-- give up his religion". "He'll be punished for this". "He is without a Catholic friend. Even his mother refuses him to enter the house". "Something's the matter with him if he could do this". "It's the last thing when you permit your child to go to another church". This Slovak







male informed the writer that his mother, his only living parent, his two brothers and sister "forgot" him. About his mother he said, "She turns her head when we meet on the street. Sometime they'll all be sorry and ask me to come back. Just wait".

Swedish residents accepted him freely. His wife was an active member and officer of both church and social organizations in the community. She was formerly a school teacher.

Swedes did not reject those members of their ethnic group who married Slovak Catholic brides and permitted their children to be reared Catholic. Slovaks held high admiration of Swedes who became Catholic.

A study was made of the relationship between exogamy of nationality and residential propinquity of mates selected by Slovak and Swedish residents. The following data which designate the residence of marital mates of Slovak and Swedish residents seem to indicate that increase in exogamy and decrease in propinquity of mate selected were positively related:

Ethnic Group	Mixed Marriages of Nationality	Residence of Selected Mates		
		Local	Neighboring Community	Beyond Neighboring Community
Slo. Males	4	1	2	1
Slo. Females	9	4	3	2
Sw. Males	16	4	14	0
Sw. Females	0	2	4	0

A similar investigation was made of mixed marriages of religion in which Slovak and Swedish residents participated. The relationship between exogamy and propinquity of residence was much less significant than in the study mentioned above.







Ethnic group	Mixed Marriages of Religion	Residence of Selected Mates		
		Local	Neighboring Communities	Beyond Neighboring Communities
Slo. Males	2	1	0	1
Slo. Females	4	3	0	1
Sw. Males	6	3	1	0
Sw. Females	1	2	0	2

A study of four marriages between local Slovak Catholics and Swedish Lutherans was made. Each of them was performed outside the church by a Catholic priest. Descriptions of each of these marriages as reported most frequently by both Slovak and Swedish residents were analyzed.

The most common attitude among Slovak Catholics toward these marriages was expressed by one resident thus: "It's okay as long as the children are brought up in the Catholic Church". The following expression was reported by a Swedish resident as being typical of Swedish attitudes toward these marriages: "It's their life and they have a right to make the best of it". The writer is inclined to agree that these succinct expressions were typical of attitudes held by most Slovaks and Swedes, respectively.

Presented in Table XLV are data regarding the marital selections of former Slovak Catholic and Swedish Lutheran residents which took place during the past three decades. These data were presented as reported by parents and relatives of former residents. Church records were also consulted for these data. The former residents included 59 Slovak males, 46 Slovak females, 52 Swedish males, and 54 Swedish females. It is important to note the high rate of local mates selected by Slovaks. Forty-four per cent of Slovak males and 41% of Slovak females chose local mates. Only 5% of Slovak males and 6% of Slovak females married non-Slovak



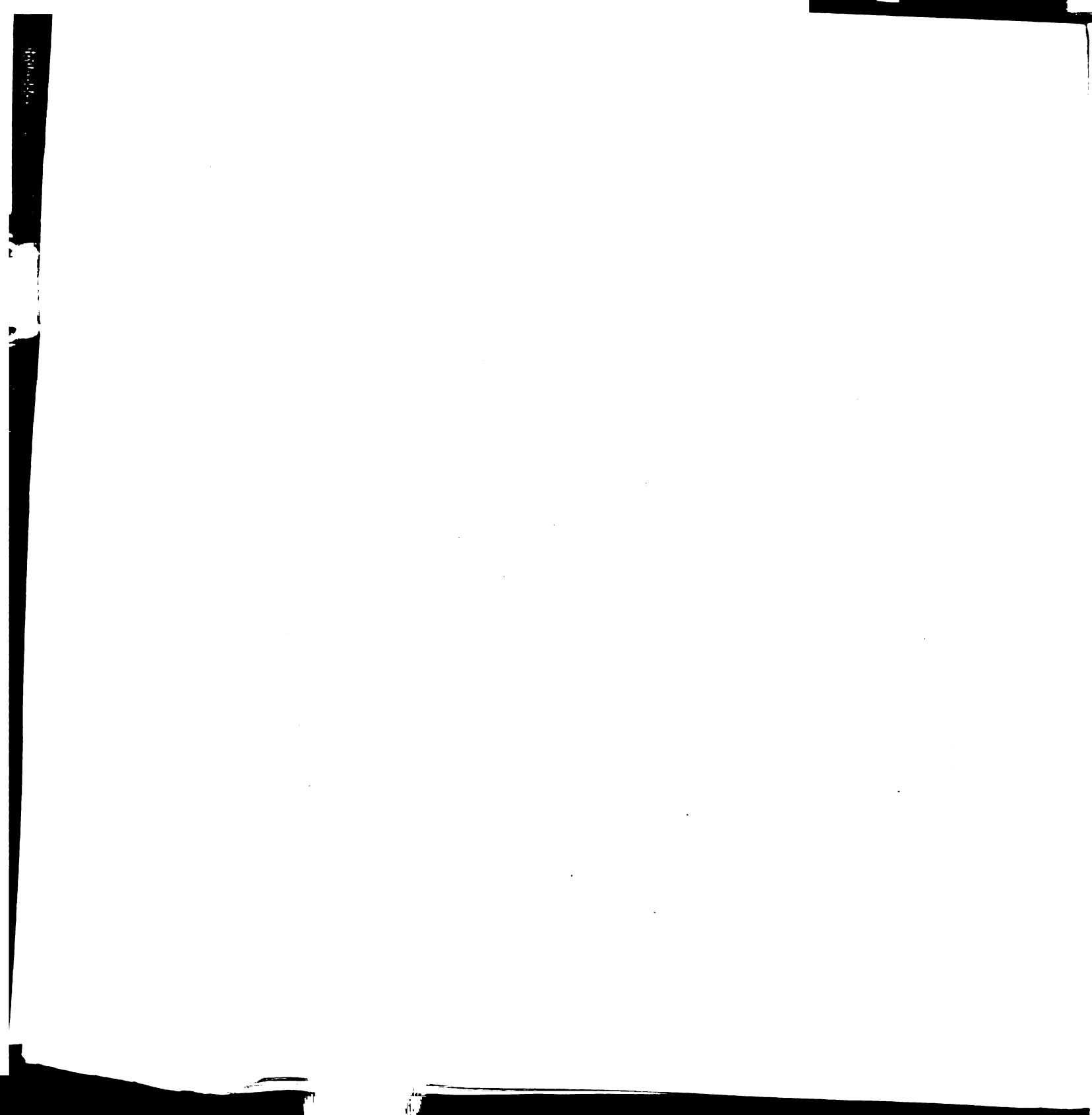




TABLE XLV

MARRIAGE SELECTION OF FOREIGN SLOVAK CATHOLIC AND SWEDISH LUTHERAN  
RESIDENTS (1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

	Slovak Catholics		Swedish Lutheran	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Catholic</u>				
Slovak (local)	23	23	1x	1x 1cm
Slovak (non-local)	24	27	1cm	1x 1cm
English (non-local)	-	1	-	1x
German (non-local)	-	1	-	2x
Irish (non-local)	3	1	-	2x
Italian (non-local)	-	-	-	1x 2cm
Pa. D. (local)	1	3	1x	-
Pa. D. (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
<u>Lutheran</u>				
Swedish (local)	1x 1cm	1x	8	8
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	19	15
Dutch (non-local)	-	-	1	-
English (non-local)	-	-	8	1
German (non-local)	-	-	4	4
<u>Baptist</u>				
English (non-local)	1x 1cm	1x 2cf	-	-
German (non-local)	-	1cm	1x	-
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	1x	-
<u>Methodist</u>				
Dutch (non-local)	-	1x	-	-
English (non-local)	1cm	-	-	2cm
German (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
<u>Presbyterian</u>				
Dutch (non-local)	-	-	-	1cm
English (non-local)	-	1x	2x 1cm 1cf	1cm
German (non-local)	-	1cf	-	-
<u>United Brethren</u>				
Fr.-Pa. D. (local)	-	-	1x	-
<u>Christian Scientist</u>				
English (non-local)	-	-	-	1cm
<u>Jewish</u>				
Unknown (non-local)	-	1cm 1cf	-	-
<u>No Church</u>				
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	-	2x
English (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
French (non-local)	1x	-	1x	-
Irish (non-local)	1x	-	1x	-
Pa. D. (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
Polish (non-local)	1cm	-	-	-

x Mixed religious marriage. cm Conversion to religion of male.  
cf Conversion to religion of female.



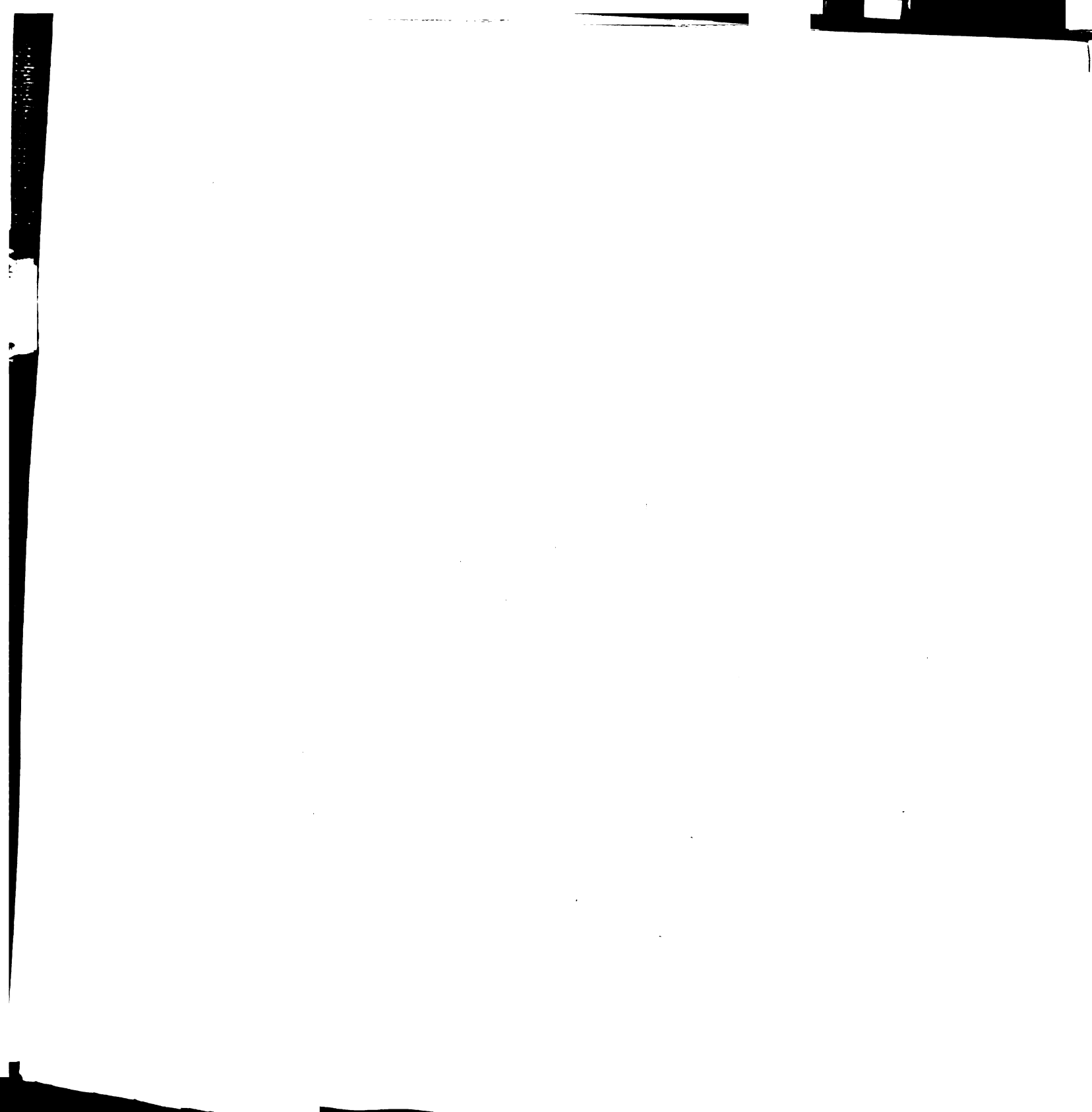




TABLE XLV

MARITAL SELECTION OF FORMER SLOVAK CATHOLIC AND SWEDISH LUTHERAN  
RESIDENTS (1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

	Slovak Catholics		Swedish Lutheran	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Catholic</u>				
Slovak (local)	23	23	1x	1x 1cm
Slovak (non-local)	24	27	1cm	1x 4cm
English (non-local)	-	1	-	1x
German (non-local)	-	1	-	2x
Irish (non-local)	3	1	-	2x
Italian (non-local)	-	-	-	1x 2cm
Pa. D. (local)	1	3	1x	-
Pa. D. (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
<u>Lutheran</u>				
Swedish (local)	1x 1cm	1x	8	8
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	19	15
Dutch (non-local)	-	-	1	-
English (non-local)	-	-	8	1
German (non-local)	-	-	4	4
<u>Baptist</u>				
English (non-local)	1x 1cm	1x 2cf	-	-
German (non-local)	-	1cm	1x	-
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	1x	-
<u>Methodist</u>				
Dutch (non-local)	-	1x	-	-
English (non-local)	1cm	-	-	2cm
German (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
<u>Presbyterian</u>				
Dutch (non-local)	-	-	-	1cm
English (non-local)	-	1x	2x 1cm 1cf	1cm
German (non-local)	-	1cf	-	-
<u>United Brethren</u>				
Fr.-Pa. D. (local)	-	-	1x	-
<u>Christian Scientist</u>				
English (non-local)	-	-	-	1cm
<u>Jewish</u>				
Unknown (non-local)	-	1cm 1cf	-	-
<u>No Church</u>				
Swedish (non-local)	-	-	-	2x
English (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
French (non-local)	1x	-	1x	-
Irish (non-local)	1x	-	1x	-
Pa. D. (non-local)	-	-	-	1x
Polish (non-local)	1cm	-	-	-

x Mixed religious marriage. cm Conversion to religion of male.  
cf Conversion to religion of female.



local mates. On the other hand, 21% of Swedish males and 16% of Swedish females married local mates. Six per cent of the former and 4% of the latter married non-Swedish local mates. These data indicate that a significantly greater number of Slovak than Swedish residents married intraethnically before their mobility to the city.

Statistics regarding the extent of intraethnic marriages by Slovak and Swedish residents are very important. Eighty per cent of Slovak males and 79% of Slovak females married within their own nationality. By comparison, 54% of Swedish males and 46% of Swedish females married within their own nationality.

Chief cities beyond neighboring communities of Grassflat to which Slovak and Swedish residents moved were as follows: Slovak males - Cleveland and Detroit; Slovak females - Cleveland, New York, and Detroit; Swedish males - Jamestown (New York), Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Johnstown (Pennsylvania), and Chicago; Swedish females - Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Jamestown (New York), and Brooklyn, in that order of frequency.

As a group, Slovak males married mates of four different nationalities, Slovak females - six, Swedish males - six, and Swedish females - seven. Nine (15%) Slovak males, twelve (16%) Slovak females, twenty-two (42%) Swedish males, and twenty-seven (50%) Swedish females participated in mixed marriages of nationality. This difference between Slovaks and Swedes was due mainly to the fact that Slovaks had a significantly higher rate of marriages in Grassflat.

Swedish subjects also entered into mixed religious marriages more frequently than Slovak subjects. Seventeen per cent of Swedish males and



26% of Swedish females were subjects of such marriages. Only 7% of Slovak males and 6% of Slovak females were subjects of similar marriages. Two (4%) Swedish males and nine (17%) Swedish females married Catholic mates. Only one Swedish male married a Catholic who was non-Slovak, but seven Swedish females married non-Slovak Catholic mates.

It is important to note that only three local Slovak-Swedish marriages occurred among former residents. One Slovak male and female entered into mixed religious marriages with Swedes, and one Slovak male participated in a mixed convert marriage in which the bride became Catholic. The children of these marriages were reared Catholic. In terms used by local Slovak and Swedish residents, one marriage included an "upper class" Swedish female and a "middle class" Slovak male, another included mates of the "middle class", and the third marriage took place between an "upper class" Slovak male and a "middle class" Swedish female.

A study of mixed convert marriages indicated that four Slovak males and four Slovak females converted their mates, who were formerly Protestant, to Catholicism. No Slovak was converted to a Protestant faith. Two Slovak females abandoned their Catholic faith. One converted to the Baptist and one to the Jewish faith. Both were marriages to non-local mates. On the other hand, two Swedish males converted their mates to Lutheranism. Of these brides, one was a non-local Slovak, formerly Catholic, and the other, a non-local English female, was formerly Presbyterian. Only one Swedish male converted to another faith, namely, Presbyterian. His mate was a non-local resident of English descent. Twelve Swedish females abandoned their original faith and adopted those of their mates. Five of



seven who converted to Catholicism married Slovaks, one of whom was a local and four were non-local residents. It is important to note that marriage to non-local Slovak Catholics were entered into by four females from one family. Two Swedish females who married non-local Italian Catholics adopted the religious faith of their husbands. Five other Swedish females intermarried with mates of other religious faiths. Two married non-local English Methodists; one, a non-local Dutch Presbyterian; one, a non-local English Presbyterian, and one, a non-local English Christian Scientist.

Data regarding interfaith marriages of Slovak males and females indicated that all children born of such marriages were reared Catholic. In marriages of Swedish males to one English Presbyterian and one mate of no faith, children were reared Lutheran. In marriages of Swedish males to one United Brethren and three Baptist mates, children were reared in the faith of the mothers. No children were born in two Swedish male marriages to French-non-faith and English Presbyterian mates. In only two marriages of Swedish females, those whose mates were English and Swedish non-faith, were children reared Lutheran. There were no children in the marriage of one Swedish female to a Swedish non-faith mate. No data were available regarding the marriage of one Swedish female to a Pennsylvania-Dutch non-faith mate.

In brief, products of interfaith marriages entered into by Slovak Catholics were reared Catholic, regardless of the sex of the parent. This was much less true regarding Swedish males and females, particularly the latter.



A comparative study of former Slovak and Swedish residents were made regarding propinquity of marital selections. Both ethnic groups seemed to demonstrate that the lesser the extent of residential propinquity the greater the tendency toward exogamy, both in terms of nationality and religion. As shown by data below, this pattern was more consistent than that of Slovak and Swedish residents on pages 319-320.

Ethnic Group	Mixed Marriages of Nationality	Residence of Selected Mates		
		Local	Neighboring Communities	Beyond Neighboring Communities
Slovak Males	12	3	2	7
Slovak Females	16	4	5	7
Swedish Males	25	3	6	16
Swedish Females	29	2	11	16

Ethnic Group	Mixed Marriages of Religion	Residence of Selected Mates		
		Local	Neighboring Communities	Beyond Neighboring Communities
Slovak Males	4	1	1	2
Slovak Females	4	1	1	2
Swedish Males	9	3	2	4
Swedish Females	14	1	5	8

That period during which the rate of intermarriages of nationality, religion, or their combination was highest among residents was 1946-1949. Among former residents this period was 1940-41 and 1950-1951 for Slovak males, 1946-1947 for Slovak and Swedish females, and 1946-1947 and 1950 for Swedish males. A large majority of Slovak-Swedish marriages occurred during the immediate pre- and post-war years.

According to data gathered via individual interviews with elderly Slovak and Swedish residents, the first Slovak-Swedish marriage in Grassflat occurred in 1917. The groom, who was Swedish Lutheran, was



proprietor of a local general grocery store. The bride was a Slovak Lutheran whose father, a coal miner, was Catholic and mother was Lutheran. The groom spoke Slovak fluently and had many Slovak customers. Further data regarding this marriage were not available.

Data regarding the marital selections of twenty-four residents of "other nationalities" and Slovak Lutherans are presented in Table XLVI. These and other data seem to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. In each case, Catholics married within their own nationality and religion.
2. Lutherans and United Brethrens showed a greater tendency toward mixed marriages of nationality than Catholics. It is noteworthy that the mates of three Lutherans who were formerly non-Lutheran adopted the religious faith of their husbands. The same was true of two females who adopted the religious faith of their United Brethren husbands.
3. The groom of formerly Presbyterian faith converted to the Pillar of Fire faith of his bride. As indicated earlier, residents of Pillar of Fire faith constituted the smallest numerical group in the community.
4. It is noteworthy that the rate of inmarriages among most of the numerically smaller groups was high.

Data regarding the marital selections of fifty-three former residents of "other nationalities" and Slovak Lutherans are presented in Table XLVII. These and other data seemed to indicate the following major conclusions:

1. Thirty-eight per cent of former residents of Catholic faith married within their own nationalities. Through mixed convert marriages they gained a German Lutheran and Irish no faith male to Catholicism. One Slovak German female entered into a mixed religious marriage with a German Lutheran male.
2. Thirty-nine per cent of former residents of Lutheran faith married within their own nationalities. Through mixed convert marriage they gained four formerly non-Lutheran mates to their faith, and they lost four of their members to other religious faiths. Those gained through mixed convert marriages consisted of one English Presbyterian male, one Scotch Presbyterian male,







TABLE XLVI

MARITAL SELECTION OF MALE AND FEMALE RESIDENTS OF "OTHER NATIONALITIES" AND SLOVAK LUTHERANS  
(1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

	Bapt. Eng.	Catholic Ger. Pa.D. Slo.	Lutheran Ger. Slo. Sw.	Method. Eng.	Pres. Eng.	United Brethren Eng. Ger. Pa.D.	No Church <sup>1</sup> Eng. Fre. Ir.
Catholic							
German M	--	ln	--	--	--	--	--
Pa. D. M	--	hLLn	--	--	--	--	--
Lutheran							
German F	--	--	ln	--	--	--	--
Slovak M	--	LL	lLLn	ln	--	--	--
Slovak F	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sw-Pa.D. M	--	--	--	ln	--	--	--
P. of Fire							
Irish F	--	--	--	--	ln	--	--
United B.							
English M	ln	--	--	--	--	2n	--
French F	--	--	--	--	ln	--	--
Irish M	--	ln	--	--	--	--	--
Pa. D.	--	--	--	--	--	lnr	--
No Church							
English	--	--	--	--	--	--	lnr lnr
Irish F	--	--	--	--	--	--	ln

Table reads: One German Catholic male married a non-local (n) German Catholic female.  
One Slovak Lutheran male married a local (L) Pennsylvania Dutch Catholic female. "nr" refers to new residents.

<sup>1</sup> religion of marital partners prior to marriage.



TABLE XLVII

MARITAL SELECTION OF FORMER RESIDENTS OF "OTHER NATIONALITIES"  
AND SLOVAK LUTHERANS (1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

	Former Residents																
	Catholic			Lutheran						Pillar of Fire		United Brethren				No Church <sup>1</sup>	
	Slo-Ger. Pa. D. M	Pa. D. F		Scot-Pa.D.F	Slovak M	Slovak F	Sw-Ger. F	Sw-Pa.D.M	Sw-Pa.D.F	Irish M	Irish F	English F	Fr-Pa.D.M	Fr-Pa.D.F	Pa. D. M	Irish M	Irish F
<u>Bapt.</u>																	
Eng.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Ger.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pa. D.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Cath.</u>																	
Eng.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fr.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Irish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ital.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pa. D.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slo.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Luth.</u>																	
Eng.	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ger.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slo.	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sw.	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Meth.</u>																	
Eng.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Irish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<u>Presb.</u>																	
Eng.	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ger.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Irish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Scot.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>U. B.</u>																	
Irish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pa. D.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<u>No. Chr.</u>																	
Irish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

\* Religion of marital partners prior to marriage.



and an Irish female of no faith. Those lost through marriage included one Scotch-Pennsylvania Dutch female and one Swedish-Pennsylvania Dutch female who became Catholics, and one Slovak male and one Swedish-Pennsylvania Dutch male who became Presbyterian. Mixed religious marriages were entered into with one Italian Catholic male, one Scotch Presbyterian female, and one English Methodist female.

3. Approximately one half of Irish residents of Pillar of Fire and no faith married within their own nationality. Those of Pillar of Fire faith gained one non-local Slovak female, formerly Lutheran, to their faith. They entered into one mixed marriage with an English Methodist male and an Irish male of no faith. One female became United Brethren. The Irish of no faith all adopted the religion of their mates, except one female who remained of no faith with her groom.
4. Forty-four per cent of former residents of United Brethren faith married within their own nationalities. They converted one English Baptist male, one Irish Methodist female, and one Irish Presbyterian male to their faith. They lost two English females to the Baptist faith, one French-Pennsylvania Dutch female to Catholicism, and one to Presbyterian faith. One French-Pennsylvania Dutch female entered into a mixed religious marriage with a German Presbyterian groom.
5. Intra-religious marriages, not including mixed convert marriages, were most common among Lutheran and Catholic groups. Sixty-five per cent of Lutherans and 63 of Catholics participated in such marriages.

#### Summary

Both Slovaks and Swedes held favorable attitudes toward mixed marriage of nationality. There were considerable differences, however, in their attitudes toward mixed religious marriages. A much greater number of Swedes than Slovaks approved of such marriages.

Questionnaire data seemed to indicate that Swedes dated people who belong to churches other than their own more than Slovaks. Questionnaire data regarding parental attitudes toward dating, as reported by children



enrolled in Grades 7 through 12, seemed to indicate that both Slovak and Swedish parents approved of interethnic friendship patterns among their children. Their attitudes toward interethnic dating by their children, however, were less favorable, particularly those of Slovak parents.

A study of dating patterns among children enrolled in Grades 7 and 8 and those enrolled in high school was made. The results seemed to indicate that more intra- than inter-ethnic dating characterized the pattern of Slovak and Swedish children on both educational levels. In Grades 7 and 8, Slovak males and females who dated tended to prefer "other nationalities" to Swedes. Swedish females tended to prefer "other nationalities" to Slovaks. The only Swedish male enrolled in Grade 8 preferred Slovak girls slightly more than those of other nationalities, including Swedish girls. In high school, Slovak males preferred girls of "other nationalities" slightly more than Swedish girls. Slovak females dated Swedish and "other nationality" males about equally. Swedish females dated Slovak and "other nationality" males about equally. Swedish males preferred Slovak girls slightly more than girls of "other nationalities".

A majority of the children of all nationalities reported that they would consider religion as more important in choosing a future mate than nationality, money, education, or occupation. Approximately one half of Swedish children and less than one fifth of Slovak children indicated that marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant could be happy if they attended separate churches. Approximately 90% of Slovak and Swedish children responded that their parents would approve of their marriage to



someone of a different nationality but the same religion. Less than one fourth of Slovak children and more than one half of Swedish children responded that their parents would approve of their marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality. Eighty-nine per cent of Slovak children and 62% of Swedish children responded they would marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion. Fifty-three per cent of Swedish children and only 9% of Slovak children indicated they would marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality. Approximately one third of Swedish children and none of the Slovak children indicated they would change their religion in order to marry the person they loved. The responses of both Slovak and Swedish parents and children seemed to indicate that the description of people who "are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage" was more characteristic of Slovaks than Swedes.

Data gathered via tape-recorded interviews seemed to indicate that attitudes toward interethnic (Slovak-Swedish) marriage were much more tolerant among Swedes than Slovaks. This was true among Slovak and Swedish subjects of the first, second, and third generations.

It is important to note that Swedish male and female residents inter-married, both in terms of religion and nationality, more frequently than Slovak males and females. During the period 1922-1951, inclusive, 50% of Slovak and Swedish females, 62% Slovak males, and 34% Swedish males entered into intra-ethnic and intra-religious marriages with local residents. A study of their marital selections among non-local mates indicated a greater difference in their rates of inmarriage. A study of



former Slovak and Swedish residents indicated that 10% of Slovak males, 70% of Slovak females, 50% of Swedish males, and 60% of Swedish females married within their own nationality.

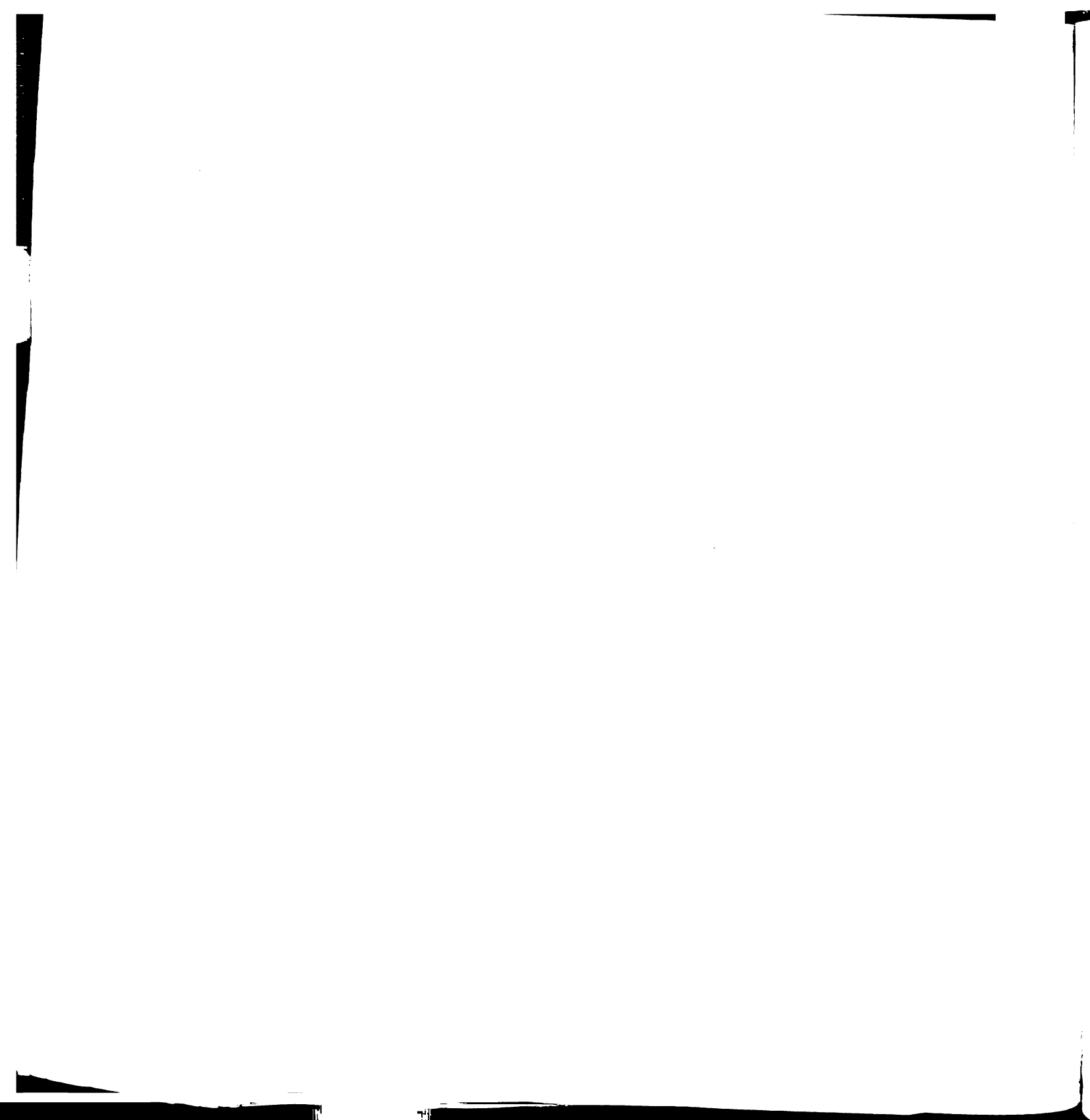
Among residents and former residents of "other nationalities" and Slovak Lutherans, the tendency toward intra-religious marriages was most characteristic of Lutherans and Catholics.

A total of seven local Slovak-Catholic and Swedish-Lutheran marriages took place during the past three decades. Of this number, four couples who participated in mixed religious marriages continued to reside in Grassflat. The brides were three Slovak and one Swedish females. All children born to these marriages were reared Catholic. Three other Slovak Catholic-Swedish Lutheran marriages included one Slovak and two Swedish brides. These couples moved from Grassflat shortly after marriage. Two were mixed religious marriages and one a mixed convert marriage. In the latter the Swedish bride became Catholic. The children of these marriages were reared Catholic. Four of the seven marriages took place between mates of upper and middle classes, one between mates of the middle class, and two were marriages in which mates were of the lowest class.



## CHAPTER VIII







## CHAPTER VIII

### FUTURE PROSPECTS OF INTERMARRIAGE

Up to this point various data were presented regarding the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes. It has been indicated that through a gradual process members of both ethnic groups had demonstrated evidence of progress toward greater interethnic dependence and harmony. In Chapter VII data were presented regarding attitudes toward the extent of intermarriage. The purpose of this chapter will be to analyze various factors related to future prospects of intermarriage.

For a discussion of future intermarriage incidence, content was classified under four major topics, namely, (a) attitudinal factors, (b) clerical factors, (c) demographic factors, and (e) past marital patterns.<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning, it is important to emphasize that no single factor per se promotes or precludes intermarriage. Intermarriage is always the result of multiple causation, that is, it is the result of several inter-related factors. Therefore, generalizations regarding the prospects of intermarriage incidence can be made only after various factors related to intermarriage have been studied.

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1. The first three of these and an additional factor, "residential propinquity" were suggested by Milton L. Barron, People Who Intermarry, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946, p. 317.







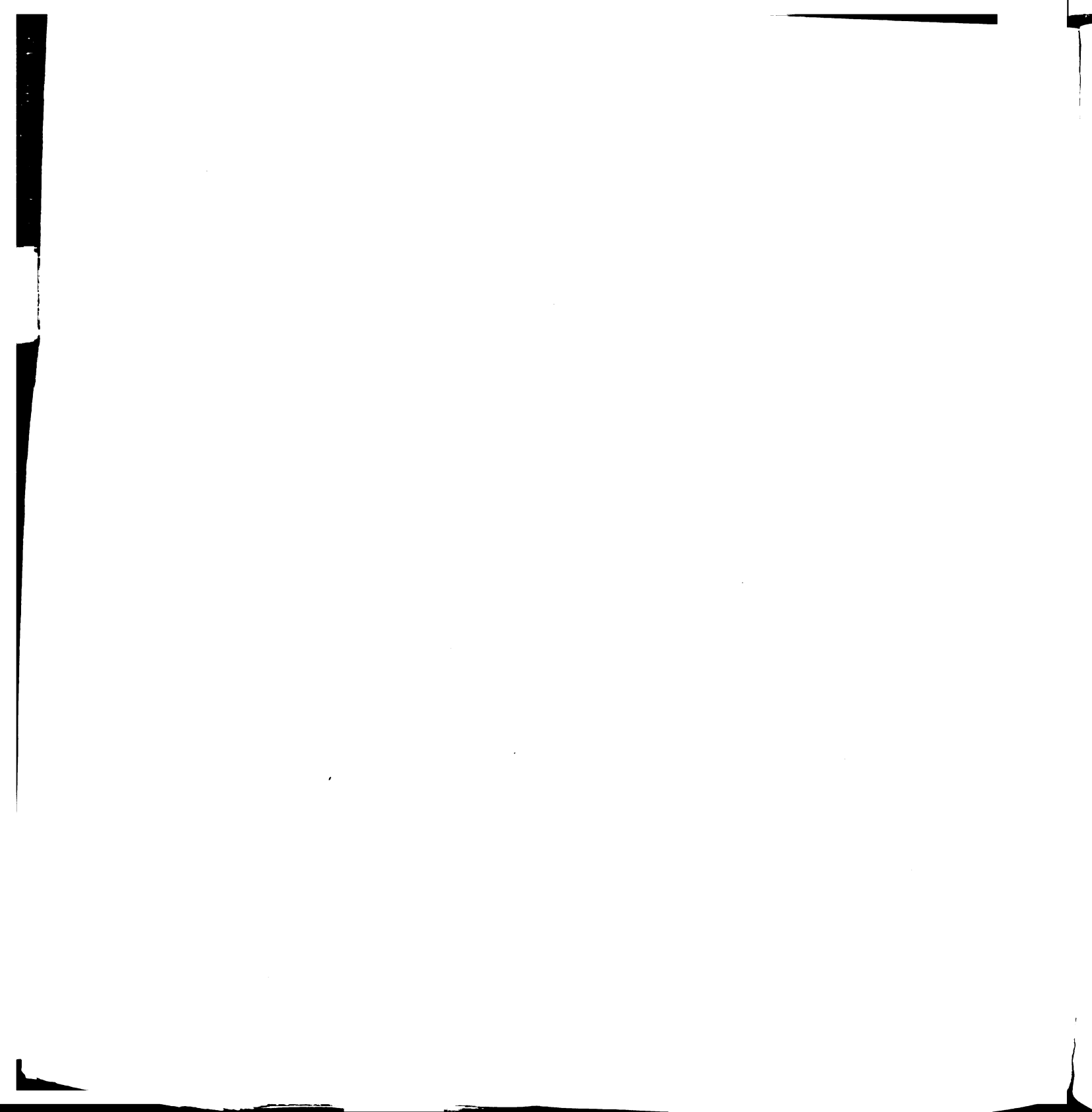
### Attitudinal Factors

It is important to review some of the pertinent conclusions regarding attitudes of Slovaks and Swedes toward intermarriage. Questionnaire data seemed to indicate that both ethnic groups crossed ethnic lines in their dating patterns, but that this practice was more characteristic of Swedes than Slovaks. Both Slovak and Swedish parents approved of inter-ethnic friendship patterns among their children, but this trait was more characteristic of Swedish than Slovak parents. A majority of both ethnic groups indicated that Slovaks, rather than Swedes, "were very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage".

Religion was regarded as the main difference between Slovaks and Swedes. It was also checked by Slovak and Swedish children as the most important factor they would consider in the selection of a marital mate. Eighty per cent of Slovak and 50% of Swedish children indicated that marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant could not be happy. Swedish parents were more permissive in granting their children freedom to choose their own church than Slovak parents. Both Slovak and Swedish children were opposed to rearing their children in another faith. Approximately one third of Swedish children indicated they would give up their religion in order to marry a person they love. No Slovak children gave this response.

Both Slovak and Swedish children and parents seemed to approve of mixed marriages of nationality. On the other hand, according to responses given by their children, 83% of Slovak and 47% of Swedish parents were







were opposed to mixed marriages of religion. Eighty-eight per cent of Slovak and 57% of Swedish parents indicated opposition by their own responses to this item. It is important to emphasize that 90% of Slovak and 47% of Swedish children were opposed to mixed marriages of religion.

A majority of children and parents of "other nationalities" were opposed to mixed marriages of religion, but they approved of marriages in which only a difference in nationality was involved.

Briefly, in terms of questionnaire data Swedes seemed to indicate greater tolerance toward interfaith marriages than Slovaks. Both ethnic groups seemed to hold favorable attitudes toward mixed marriages of nationality. Data indicated that residents of both ethnic groups regarded religion as the decisive factor in precluding intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes.

Tape-recorded statements which follow give some information regarding future prospects of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes. The following remarks were obtained from Swedish residents of the first generation:

Writer: Do you think there will be more or less mixed marriages in the years to come between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat?

Mr. T: I think there will be no difference among them. I believe they will all go out together after awhile. People won't know any differences.

Writer: What do you think, Mr. W?

Mr. W: Well, I think the same thing. I think that there won't be no less. There'll be an increase because the young people now are getting to be like the same people. You can't tell them apart if you meet them on the street. You can't tell them apart. They dress alike, and they seem to like the same things. So I think there will not be any less, but there may be more.



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Mr. W: Well, I think the same thing. I think that there won't be no less. There'll be an increase because the young people now are getting to be like the same people. You can't tell them apart if you meet them on the street. You can't tell them apart. They dress alike, and they seem to like the same things. So I think there will not be any less, but there may be more.



Writer: Why don't we ask the mothers? Do you think there will be more or less mixed marriages?

Mrs. F: Oh, I think there will be more. The people nowadays seem to be so much alike, more American, all in one. It don't make much difference who they pick.

Writer: Mrs. T?

Mrs. T: I think so, too.

The following data were obtained from Slovaks of the first generation:

Writer: Do you think there will be more or less marriages between Slovaks and Swedes?

Mrs. O: Yes, there are more today.

Mr. D: Many more today.

Writer: Why are there more today?

Mr. D: Today they know how to speak to one another. They go to school together, and they become friends with each other, and they become attached to each other, and later on they marry. Religion is still a barrier but they go to school together, get acquainted, change religion, and become converts.

Writer: To which church are they converting?

Mr. D: I think more of them are becoming converts to our religion.

Writer: Mr. P?

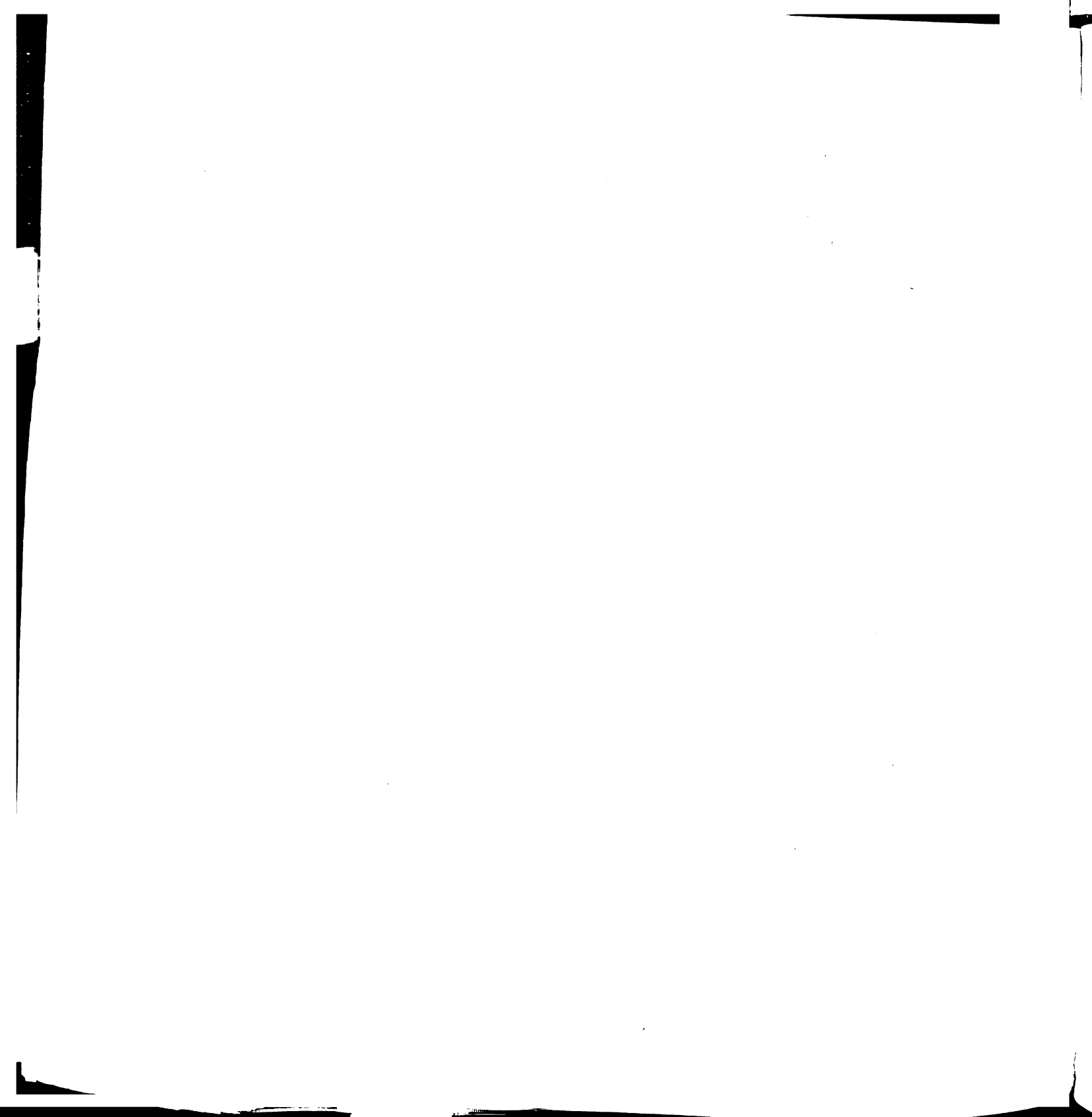
Mr. P: I also think many of the Swedes are joining our religion. Lutherans are changing. Like here in America now, there are a lot of people joining our church who did not believe anything. A lot of these people have joined our religion.

Writer: Do you think there will be more or less marriages between Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. D: There will be more.

Writer: Why?







Mr. D: They go to school together. They have the same language. They get along better now than they have in the past.

Writer: What do you think, Mrs. O?

Mrs. O: I think that they will marry more often now than they ever had.

Writer: Why?

Mrs. O: I am saying only what I am thinking might be. I believe just as Mr. D was saying. I know from our children. They don't know how to speak in Slovak but just everything in English. When someone asks them something it seem they answer in one language everyone knows.

Mr. P: Yes. I really don't know, but I heard that people are getting married, but not too many marriages between Slovaks and Swedes. That's all I know. I don't know how things will be in the future.

Writer: Mrs. O?

Mrs. O: It looks by the language and our young people that there will be no difference between them.

Both Slovaks and Swedes of the first generation seemed to agree on two important points: that their children are becoming more "alike" and that more intermarriage will take place between them in the future.

The following data were obtained from Swedish subjects of the second generation:

Writer: Do you think there will be more or less Slovak-Swedish marriages in the future.

Mr. F: There will be more.

Mr. H: Sure. They've already started to do so -- (Others agreed, nodding their heads.)

The following data were obtained from Slovak subjects of the second generation:



Writer: Do you think there will be more or less intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes in the years to come in Grassflat?

Mr. P: I think there will be more because we associate more. We belong to the same organizations, as we talked about. They go to school together. They have friends. Naturally, you can't keep them apart. Naturally, there will be a lot more courtship and marriage in the future.

Mr. R: My parents used to tell us, "You bring a Slovak girl home". Today, we don't stress that so much among the kiddies. We don't tell our children what our parents did, (that is), "when you marry you bring a Slovak girl home so that we can talk with her". See, then if you didn't bring a Slovak girl into the family they had nobody to talk to. In other words, the younger generation nowadays can talk to the daughter-in-law regardless of what her nationality is. Yes, the old folks are gone.

Mr. F: I don't care just as long as she's of my faith. I feel there will be more intermarriage in the future, because the people don't talk much Slovak any more.

Mr. S: I think so, too.

Mr. T: I think they will marry American girls --

Mr. E: They have their difficulties, too. They're going away from their Swedish language just as we are from Slovak. I notice they don't go to Swedish Sunday school, don't speak Swedish the way they used to, the younger ones. There will be a big change, that's all.

Writer: Will there be more or less --

Mr. E: More. Absolutely, between the Slovaks and Swedish, yes, but they won't be Swedes and Slovaks. They will be American. In ten or fifteen years they will all be Americanized.

Writer: Gentlemen, do you think there will be more or less converts to the Catholic Church through marriages between Slovaks and Swedes?

Mr. E: More. Definitely, yes.

Mr. P: I agree with him. (Others agreed, nodding.)



Mr. F: I agree for the simple reason because you take notice the Swedish people nowadays come to our church, to our weddings and big celebrations, more often than ever before.

Both Slovak and Swedish subjects of the second generation indicated that more intermarriage will take place in the future than has in the past. Both emphasized the degree to which Slovak and Swedish children became similar. It is important to note that Slovak fathers would not permit their children to marry Swedish mates unless they converted to Catholicism. The patricarchal role of the Slovak father seemed to be quite in contrast to the equalitarian role of the Swedish father in terms of freedom given to their children in the selection of their marital partners.

The following data were obtained from Swedish subjects of the third generation:

Writer: Do you think there will be more or less mixed marriages between Slovaks and Swedes in the future?

Mr. B: Well, that's a hard question to answer. Personally, I think there will be somewhat more, because it seems that the young people are mingling more together now than before. Maybe I've never noticed it before because of being a lot younger, but maybe now that I am at my own age, that might be the difference.

Mr. H: I think there will be more because parents are becoming more modern in their ideas than they were at one time, and they don't disagree about mixed marriages as much.

Mr. K: I think there will be more.

Writer: Why?

Mr. H: Well, it seems they're mixing together more.

The following data were obtained from Slovak subjects of the third generation:



Writer: Do you think there will be more or less mixed marriages between Slovaks and Swedes in the future?

Miss F: I think there will be more. It seems that the younger generation now doesn't seem to care so much. Their ideas are that fun comes first and religion comes second.

Miss M: Well, I think there will be more mixed marriages.

Mr. B: I do, too.

Writer: Miss S?

Miss S: Yes, I do, too. I think there are a lot of boys and girls that aren't raised like the older people. They don't have everything in them as the older people did, and they believe as I have heard expressions, "Well, we believe in the same God". That isn't true. We believe in the same God, and yet, there are so many different things, and yet so many of the Catholic boys and girls are falling away from the Catholic religion and intermixing and even falling away from their faith.

Writer: I see. I asked if you would marry a Swede. You said, that you would under certain conditions. Now I ask you, "Will there be more mixed marriages in Grassflat?" You say that there will be. How do you explain it? If you won't marry a Swedish person, except under certain conditions, why do you say there will be more mixed marriages?

Miss S: Like I said before, the children are not brought up like they were before, like we were taught, that is, to stay in our own religion and our own field, you know. Nowadays, well, they just seem to believe like was done, like was said before: "Well, we believe in the same God. That's all that matters". So they go out for a good time. They don't think about what's ahead of them. They just feel: "Well, I love him, and that's all that matters, and after a couple of times dating we're going to get married, and nobody is going to stop us."

Writer: I see. You mentioned a little earlier that there seems to be an important influence from the old people about dating. Do you feel that?

Miss S: Yes, I believe there is. I know my parents always said they didn't want me to marry into a Swedish family. I don't think it would exist. Here is the point I would like to bring out. If mothers and fathers that are about the age



of twenty-five and twenty-six have children, they (the children) are going to school together. They are going around since they were small. Suppose, when they are going to be going through what they call puppy love, they get married, which I know some of them will, well, that's what I mean when intermarriage will take place between the younger generations because their parents will tell them that much, and it seems that children now don't like to be told, and don't do what their parents say. (Others agreed, nodding their heads.)

Both Slovak and Swedish children seemed to indicate that the rate of Slovak-Swedish marriages will increase in the future. There was common agreement that Slovak and Swedish children mingled freely together. Slovak subjects of the third generation seemed to indicate that younger Slovaks did not value their religious faith to the extent that older Slovaks did. It is important to note that data thus far presented seemed to indicate that Slovaks would not approve of intermarriage with Swedes unless they converted to Catholicism. A smaller number of Slovaks would approve of intermarriage if children born of such marriages were reared Catholic. Such attitudes regarding religion and intermarriage were not common among Swedes.

#### Clerical Factors

The writer held a number of interviews with local pastors regarding intermarriage between the two ethnic groups. Because of their status in the community, particularly in their respective parishes, data obtained from them was of special significance in this study of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat.



According to the Lutheran minister, "There are more mixed marriages today than several years ago because Slovaks and Swedes have become more Americanized." He did not attempt to predict future prospects of intermarriage in Grassflat. He reported:

Swedes have more freedom to intermarry than Slovaks. The Lutheran Church has no rules and regulations laid down (regarding intermarriage). We do not forbid intermarriage, but we oppose it. In a series of lectures to confirmation classes young people are taught to oppose mixed marriages because Christian principles are lost where the cooperation of husband and wife is lacking.

Students of confirmation classes were taught to remain "loyal to the Church of their confirmation". The Lutheran minister said he was never consulted regarding the advisability of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes who held different religious beliefs.

According to the Catholic priest:

There is little need to instruct young folks regarding mixed marriages. Slovaks parents know why mixed marriages are not desirable. They are strongly opposed to them. Three sermons on mixed marriages are given each year. Young folks are told not to date non-Catholics. Both the former priest and instructor of Slovak school were important in molding attitudes opposed to intermarriage. Prospective couples are told to go to the priest, not the justice-of-the-peace, for counselling regarding intermarriage. Because the belief in Catholicism is so strong among Slovaks, there is little chance of more intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes.

Briefly, both pastors seemed to indicate that religion was the main factor precluding intermarriage between the two ethnic groups. Both indicated opposition of their respective churches to intermarriage. According to the Catholic priest, future prospects of intermarriage were not favorable. The Lutheran minister preferred to make no statement regarding future prospects of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes.



According to reports there seemed to have been little or no change in the attitudes toward intermarriage of Catholic and Lutheran pastors in the community over the past six decades. The strong resistance to conversion, for example, by their parishioners had demonstrated quite clearly the influence of their respective churches. Support of the Lutheran Church by Slovaks in any way was strongly disapproved by the Catholic pastors. The extent to which Slovaks attended activities of the Lutheran Church was indeed very small, but the extent to which Swedes attended activities sponsored by the Catholic Church had progressively increased.

In short, Swedes had demonstrated increasingly more tolerant attitudes toward the Catholic Church and its activities than Slovaks toward the Lutheran Church and its activities.

#### Demographic Factors

In Table XLVIII are presented data regarding the unmarried population of Grassflat in terms of age, ethnicity, and religion. The number of unmarried residents beyond the age of twenty-nine consisted of three Slovak males, twelve Swedish males, and twelve Swedish females. According to Slovak and Swedish residents, marriages beyond the age of forty-five rarely if ever occurred in Grassflat.

It is important to note the numerical size of the various denominational groups within the 0-29 year categories. There were 221 Catholic, 112 other denominational (including 91 Lutheran), and 16 non-denominational residents. Catholics constituted 63% and Lutherans 26% of the total



# UNMARRIED POPULATION OF GRASSLAND IN TERMS OF AGE, ETHNICITY, AND RELIGION

\* This category includes 4 Swedes, 4 English, 4 Irish, 6 English-French, and 1 German.



TABLE XLVIII

## UNMARRIED POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS IN TERMS OF AGE, ETHNICITY, AND RELIGION

Age Group	Slov				Sl-O				Swed				Sw-O				Oth.				Sl-Sw				Other				Totals											
	Cath		Prot		Cath		Prot		Cath		Prot		Cath		Prot		Cath		Prot		Cath		Prot		Cath		Luth		U.S.		Bapt.		No Ch. F of F							
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F								
10-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0						
15-19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0						
20-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						
25-29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
30-34	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0						
35-39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0						
40-44	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0						
45-49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0						
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0						
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0						
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0						
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
70-74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0						
75-79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
80-84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
85-89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
90-94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
95-99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
100-104	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
105-109	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
110-114	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
115-119	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
120-124	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
125-129	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0						
130-134	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0						
135-139	22	16	1	-	-	-	6	5	4	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	23	11	3	0	1	2	1	1	3						
140-144	22	24	2	1	1	3	1	8	11	4	1	3	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	32	12	16	2	1	1	1	1	4						
145-149	19	21	1	-	-	1	5	-	7	6	2	1	6	2	3	2	3	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	26	26	12	9	4	1	1	1	3	1						
150-154	21	14	-	-	-	4	5	-	4	4	4	2	-	3	3	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	-	29	25	10	10	2	0	0	1	2	0						
155-159	92	82	6	1	5	10	8	3	39	45	14	5	10	13	5	9	6	6	2	3	7	12	11	11	113	61	58	1	2	4	3	6	12	1						
160-164	92	82	6	1	5	10	8	3	39	45	14	5	10	13	5	9	6	6	2	3	7	12	11	11	113	61	58	1	2	4	3	6	12	1						

\* This category includes 4 Swedes, 4 English, 4 Irish, 6 English-French, and 1 German.



population of the community.

According to Barron:

The smaller the group numerically, the fewer are the contacts with eligible inmarriage mates and the greater are contacts with members of other groups. Conversely, the larger the group is numerically, the more frequent are the contacts with eligible inmarriage mates and the fewer are the contacts with members of other groups.<sup>2</sup>

In short, unmarried populational data seem to indicate that mate contacts of Slovaks would be more frequent within their own ethnic group and less frequent with members of other groups. Other factors related to intermarriage, however, must be considered, especially prospects of availability for marriage.

Children enrolled in Grades 7 through 12 were asked: (a) "Would you like to live in Grassflat after you finish your education?" and (b) "Do you plan to go to college?" Their responses to these questions which are presented in Table XLIX give some index to future prospects of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes.

It is important to note that among the children of all ethnic groups only the majority of Slovak males (58%), Swedish males (75%), Swedish females (55%), and Slovak-other females (75%) indicated they would like to live in Grassflat after they finished their education. Only 45% of Slovak females gave this response. The majority of males and females of other ethnic groups responded in the negative. Data gathered by individual interviews with a representative number of questionnaire subjects of both educational levels seemed to indicate that lack of

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2. Milton L. Barron, People Who Intermarry. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1940, p. 203.



TABLE XLIX

## RESIDENCE PREFERENCES AND COLLEGE PLANS OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12

(a) Would you like to live in Grassflat after you finish your education? (b) Do you plan to go to college?		(c)												
		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Slovak Males	(Yes)	4	1	0	3	2	2	18	5	2	3	4	3	2
	(No)	2	3	2	2	1	3	13	1	2	2	1	0	3
Slovak Females	(Yes)	2	3	0	2	2	1	10	1	3	0	0	1	0
	(No)	0	5	3	1	3	0	12	1	5	3	3	4	1
Swedish Males	(Yes)	1	1	1	1	2	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	1
	(No)	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	2	0
Swedish Females	(Yes)	2	2	0	1	0	0	5	1	1	0	1	0	3
	(No)	2	0	0	1	1	0	4	3	1	0	1	1	0
Slo-Oth. Females	(Yes)	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	2
	(No)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Swed-Oth. Males	(Yes)	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	3	0	5
	(No)	0	1	0	3	1	1	5	0	0	1	0	1	3
Swed-Oth. Females	(Yes)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	(No)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Males	(Yes)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	(No)	0	1	2	1	0	1	5	0	1	1	1	0	3
Other Females	(Yes)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	(No)	2	0	2	0	2	1	7	1	0	2	0	2	1
Slo-Swed. Males	(Yes)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	(No)	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Slo.-Swed. Females	(Yes)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(No)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1



TABLE XLIX

## RESIDENCE PREFERENCES AND COLLEGE PLANS OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12

(a) Would you like to live in Grassflat after you finish your education?  
 (b) Do you plan to go to college?

		7	8	9	(a)	10	11	12	T	7	8	9	(a)	10	11	12	T
Slovak Males	(Yes)	4	1	0		3	2	2	18	5	2	3		4	3	2	19
	(No)	2	3	2		2	1	3	13	7	2	5		1	0	3	12
Slovak Females	(Yes)	2	3	0		2	2	1	10	1	3	0		0	1	0	5
	(No)	0	5	3		1	3	0	12	1	5	3		3	4	1	17
Swedish Males	(Yes)	1	1	1		1	2	0	6	0	0	1		0	0	0	1
	(No)	0	0	1		1	0	0	2	1	1	1		2	2	0	7
Swedish Females	(Yes)	2	2	0		1	0	0	5	1	1	0		1	0	0	3
	(No)	2	0	0		1	1	0	4	3	1	0		1	1	0	6
Slo-Oth. Females	(Yes)	2	0	0		0	0	1	3	2	0	0		0	0	0	2
	(No)	0	0	0		0	1	0	1	0	0	0		0	1	1	2
Swed-Oth. Males	(Yes)	0	0	2		0	0	0	2	0	1	1		3	0	0	5
	(No)	0	1	0		3	1	1	6	0	0	1		0	1	1	3
Swed-Oth. Females	(Yes)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	1
	(No)	0	0	1		0	0	0	1	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
Other Males	(Yes)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	1	2
	(No)	0	1	2		1	0	1	5	0	1	1		1	0	0	3
Other Females	(Yes)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	1
	(No)	2	0	2		0	2	1	7	1	0	2		0	2	1	6
Slo-Swed. Males	(Yes)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0
	(No)	0	0	0		0	0	1	1	0	0	1		1	0	0	3
Slo.-Swed. Females	(Yes)	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	1
	(No)	0	1	0		0	0	0	1	0	1	0		0	2	1	6



vocational opportunities was the main reason why many planned "to leave for the city". Many felt there would not be favorable employment opportunities in their areas of interest in Grassflat. (See Table XIII and Table XIV regarding occupational distribution of residents at the time of this study.)

On first analysis, data regarding question (a) would indicate a disproportionate sex ratio among Slovaks in the future, namely, eighteen males to ten females; Swedes would be more equally represented by six males and five females; Slovak-other females and Swedish-other males would have no mates available in their respective groups; and other ethnic groups would not be available for marriage. Such a conclusion, however, would be unrealistic. An analysis of the past marital patterns among former residents of Grassflat indicated a high intraethnic and intra-community marital pattern rate, particularly among Slovaks. Furthermore, the past marital pattern also indicated a high rate of intra-ethnic marriage with residents of neighboring communities. This was particularly true of Slovaks. Past marital patterns of Slovaks and Swedes will be discussed later in this chapter.

A further study was made of data regarding availability for marriage in terms of college plans indicated by children of both ethnic groups. It is assumed that those who would go to college would in many cases be at least temporarily unavailable for marriage. It is important to note the number who indicated they "plan to go to college". Sixty-one per cent of Slovak males, 23% Slovak females, 12.5% Swedish males (one of eight), and 33% of Swedish females (three of nine) indicated plans to go



to college. Yet the total number of Slovaks, both present and former residents, who went to college and those now attending college does not exceed five. Of this group three were Slovak Lutherans. Only one male and one female of the entire Slovak Catholic group attended college. The number of Swedish males and females who went to college and those now attending college was significantly greater than that of Slovaks.

If those who indicated plans to go to college pursued their plans, in-marriage mate contacts would be more seriously affected among Slovaks than Swedes. Some question of the reliability of indicated plans to attend college, especially by those enrolled in lower grades, might be made. In addition, in terms of both the number who attended and are now attending college and the attitudes of Slovaks toward higher education, it would seem that the number of Slovaks, both males and females, who will actually attend college will be smaller than that indicated by them.

Children enrolled in Grades 7 through 12 were also asked to indicate the kind of job they would like to have after they finished school. It is important to note that an overwhelming majority of both males and females of all ethnic groups indicated preferences for jobs which would demand both employment outside the community and education beyond high school. Assuming that the vocational choices indicated might be pursued, they would probably play an important role both in precluding a certain number of intra-community marriages and, on the other hand, in promoting marriages to mates residing in "neighboring communities" and areas "beyond neighboring communities". At the time of this study, as was



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indicated earlier, residents were experiencing the greater employment transition they ever encountered. The rate of inmarriage and intermarriage will depend greatly upon future opportunities for employment which will be available in and near the community.

#### Past Marital Patterns

Probably one of the most predictive factors of future prospects of intermarriage is the past marital pattern of Slovaks and Swedes. Data regarding the marital selections of both ethnic groups, their residents and former residents, are presented in Table L and Table LI, respectively.

In Table L it is significant to note the comparatively high rate of inmarriage between local Slovak residents and Slovak Catholics from neighboring communities. Twenty-four per cent of Slovak males and 23% of Slovak females participated in such marriages. On the other hand, only 14% of Swedish males and 5% of Swedish females married Swedish Lutherans from neighboring communities. To a great extent this is explainable in terms of the comparatively larger Slovak Catholic than Swedish Lutheran population in neighboring communities.

Data regarding marital selections of former Slovak and Swedish residents are presented in Table LI. It is important to note again the comparatively higher rate of inmarriages among Slovaks than Swedes with residents from Grassflat and neighboring communities. Swedes, on the other hand, had demonstrated a greater tendency than Slovaks toward inmarriages with residents from areas "beyond neighboring communities". This is explainable in terms of the significantly greater rate of local



TABLE L

MALE SELECTION OF SLOVAK AND SWEDISH MALE AND FEMALE RESIDENTS  
IN TERMS OF NATIONALITY, RELIGION, AND PROPERITY OF  
RESIDENCE (1922-1951 INCLUSIVE)

Nationality and Religion of Male	Residence of Male			Residence of Male		
	Loc. 1 <sup>1</sup>	N.C. <sup>2</sup>	B.N.C. <sup>3</sup>	Loc. 1 <sup>1</sup>	N.C. <sup>2</sup>	B.N.C. <sup>3</sup>
	(50 Slovak Males)			(53 Slovak Females)		
Slovak-Catholic	2	24	4	50	23	2
Swedish-Lutheran	2	0	2	0	0	0
Pa.D.-Catholic	0	4	0	0	3	0
Slovak-Lutheran	0	2	0	0	0	0
Italian-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	2
German-Catholic	0	0	0	0	2	0
Fr.-Pa.D.-Baptist	0	0	0	2	0	0
English-No Church	0	0	0	0	0	2
	4%	30%	8%	51%	20%	6%
	(35 Swedish Males)			(19 Swedish Females)		
Swedish-Lutheran	31	14	0	50	5	0
Slovak-Catholic	0	0	0	5	0	0
German-Baptist	0	17	0	0	0	0
English-No Church	0	0	0	11	0	0
German-Lutheran	0	6	0	0	5	0
Russian-Lutheran	0	0	0	0	11	0
Slovak-Lutheran	3	3	0	0	0	0
English-Lutheran	0	0	0	0	0	0
English-Methodist	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swedish-No Church	0	0	0	0	5	0
	42%	50%	0%	74%	25%	0%

<sup>1</sup> Local

<sup>2</sup> Neighboring communities

<sup>3</sup> Beyond neighboring communities



TABLE LI

DATE SELECTION OF FOREIGN SLOVAK AND SWEDISH MALE AND FEMALE  
RESIDENTS IN TERMS OF NATIONALITY, RELIGION, AND  
PROXIMITY OF RESIDENCE (1922-1931 INCLUSIVE)

Nationality and Religion of Mate	Residence of Mate			Residence of Mate		
	Loc.	A.C.	N.S.C.	Loc.	A.C.	N.S.C.
	(59 Slovak Males)			(55 Slovak Females)		
Slovak-Catholic	39	19	22	35	30	11
Swedish-Lutheran	3	0	0	1.5	0	0
Dutch-Methodist	0	0	0	0	0	1.5
English-Baptist	0	0	3	0	1.5	3
English-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	1.5
English-Methodist	0	0	2	0	0	0
English-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
French-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
German-Baptist	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
German-Catholic	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
German-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
Irish-Catholic	0	0	5	0	0	1.5
Irish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
Jewish-	0	0	0	0	0	3
Pa.D.-Catholic	0	2	0	5	0	0
Polish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
	42%	21%	30%	41.5%	37.5%	21.5%
	(52 Swedish Males)			(54 Swedish Females)		
Swedish-Lutheran	15	8	20	15	9	19
Slovak-Catholic	2	2	0	3.7	3.7	5.5
Dutch-Lutheran	0	0	2	0	0	0
Dutch-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
English-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
English-Christian Sc.	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
English-Lutheran	0	0	15	0	0	1.9
English-Methodist	0	0	0	0	3.7	0
English-No Church	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
English-Presbyterian	0	4	4	0	0	1.9
French-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
French-Pa.D.-U. S.	2	0	0	0	0	0
German-Baptist	0	2	0	0	0	0
German-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	3.7
German-Lutheran	0	4	4	0	3.7	3.7
German-Methodist	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
Irish-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	3.7
Irish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
Italian-Catholic	0	0	0	0	1.9	3.7
Pa.D.-Catholic	2	0	0	0	1.9	0
Pa.D.-No Church	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
Swedish-Baptist	0	2	0	0	0	0
Swedish-No Church	0	0	0	0	3.7	0
	21%	22%	57%	16.7%	33.3%	44.0%



TABLE LI

RAPE SELECTION OF FORMER SLOVAK AND SWEDISH MALE AND FEMALE  
RESIDENTS IN TERMS OF NATIONALITY, RELIGION, AND  
PROXIMITY OF RESIDENCE (1922-1941 INCLUSIVE)

Nationality and Religion of Mate	Residence of Mate			Residence of Mate		
	Loc.	M.C.	M.C.	Loc.	M.C.	M.C.
	(59 Slovak Males)			(66 Slovak Females)		
Slovak-Catholic	39	19	22	35	30	11
Swedish-Lutheran	3	0	0	1.5	0	0
Dutch-Methodist	0	0	0	0	0	1.5
English-Baptist	0	0	3	0	1.5	3
English-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	1.5
English-Methodist	0	0	2	0	0	0
English-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
French-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
German-Baptist	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
German-Catholic	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
German-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
Irish-Catholic	0	0	5	0	0	1.5
Irish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
Jewish-	0	0	0	0	0	3
Pa.D.-Catholic	0	2	0	5	0	0
Polish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
	42%	21%	30%	41.5%	37.5%	21.5%
	(52 Swedish Males)			(54 Swedish Females)		
Swedish-Lutheran	15	8	28	15	9	19
Slovak-Catholic	2	2	0	3.7	3.7	5.5
Dutch-Lutheran	0	0	2	0	0	0
Dutch-Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
English-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
English-Christian Sc.	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
English-Lutheran	0	0	15	0	0	1.9
English-Methodist	0	0	0	0	3.7	0
English-No Church	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
English-Presbyterian	0	4	4	0	0	1.9
French-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
French-Pa.D.-U. S.	2	0	0	0	0	0
German-Baptist	0	2	0	0	0	0
German-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	3.7
German-Lutheran	0	4	4	0	3.7	3.7
German-Methodist	0	0	0	0	1.9	0
Irish-Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	3.7
Irish-No Church	0	0	2	0	0	0
Italian-Catholic	0	0	0	0	1.9	3.7
Pa.D.-Catholic	2	0	0	0	1.9	0
Pa.D.-No Church	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
Swedish-Baptist	0	2	0	0	0	0
Swedish-No Church	0	0	0	0	3.7	0
	21%	22%	57%	18.7%	33.3%	40.6%



Slovak-Slovak marriages, that is, marriages between Slovaks which had taken place in Grassflat before their mobility to urban areas. Swedes also demonstrated a greater tendency than Slovaks toward mixed marriages of both nationality and religion in each of the residential areas, particularly "beyond neighboring communities".

Briefly, in terms of the past marital patterns of both Slovaks and Swedes, it seemed that the comparatively larger Slovak than Swedish population in Grassflat and neighboring communities would be an important factor in promoting intra-Slovak marriages and in precluding inter-marriages between Slovak and Swedish residents in Grassflat.

#### Summary

Factors which seemed to indicate favorable prospects of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat would probably include the following: one, the large number of interethnic friendships, both intra- and intersexual, which were found among Slovak and Swedish children and adults, particularly the former; two, the approval of interethnic friendships among children as indicated by both Slovak and Swedish parents; three, the favorable attitudes of Slovak and Swedish parents toward inter-ethnic dating, although to a lesser extent a similar attitude among parents of Slovak females; and four, the approval of mixed marriages of nationality as indicated by both Slovak and Swedish parents and their children. Data seemed to indicate that Slovak-Swedish marriages will continue to occur as long as Swedish mates permit children to be reared



Catholic, as was true in every case of local Slovak-Swedish marriages which occurred in the past.

Factors which seemed to indicate unfavorable prospects of inter-marriage would probably include the following: one, the disapproval of mixed religious marriages by both Slovak and Swedish children and their parents, particularly the Slovaks; two, the unfavorable attitudes toward intermarriage as reported by both the Catholic and Lutheran pastors; third, the numerically larger size of Slovak than Swedish population in Grassflat and neighboring communities; fourth, the high rate of in-marriage among Slovaks as indicated by their marital selections over the past six decades.

Of basic importance to marital selection, however, is the factor of availability for marriage. Employment opportunities which will be present in and near Grassflat in the future and the number of residents who will move to the city and pursue higher education will play a major role in determining who will be available for marriage.



## CHAPTER IX



## CHAPTER IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study constitute another contribution to the body of sociological and anthropological research which aims toward a better understanding of the process of assimilation. The results were derived from a case study of interethnic assimilation, with primary focus on intermarriage, between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat, a rural non-farm community in central Pennsylvania. The particular significance of this study, in terms of its purpose, lies in the discovery of unique ways by which two divergent ethnic groups participated in an assimilative process in which they had been engaged for more than six decades.

Social psychologists often caution those engaged in research that data are open to error of perception, memory, evaluation, and various forms of bias, and that subjective data do not often lend themselves to quantitative check. In an attempt to avoid these limitations, the writer consulted a number of different sources and used varied methods and techniques in gathering data to substantiate generalizations which were made. The major portion of data was gathered by individual interviews, attitude questionnaire, and tape-recorded interviews with selected groups of subjects. Personal diaries, church records, correspondence with selected residents, and a survey (census) of the community were additional sources of information. Only a limited number of documentary sources were available, and they were consulted. It is important to note that



the sources of data were very largely field, rather than documentary, sources. Almost all of the data contained in this study were gathered by the writer who worked in the capacity of a participant observer in the community which was studied.

A summary of what has happened in the assimilation between Slovaks and Swedes in Grassflat can be presented in terms of major developments which had taken place during the past six decades. Swedes emigrated from the vicinity of Dalsland, Sweden, during the period 1875-1885, and Slovaks from in or near Presov, Slovakia, during the last decade of the 19th Century. In most cases, the immigration of Swedes to the United States antedated that of Slovaks approximately two decades. The colony of Swedes who eventually settled in Grassflat resided in other sections of Pennsylvania previous to their migration to Grassflat. In most cases, Slovak immigrants came directly to Grassflat.

In order to understand the assimilative process between the two ethnic groups it is important to note (1) that the native culture of Swedes was more like the American culture than the native culture of Slovaks, especially their family, kinship, and social patterns, (2) that Swedes migrated to America before the Slovaks, consequently the acculturation process started earlier in the case of Swedes, and (3) that the Swedes were probably a less cohesive group than Slovaks because their migration to Grassflat was less direct.

Employment opportunities in the coal industries of Pennsylvania attracted immigration during the latter decades of the 19th and the beginning decades of the 20th Centuries. In most cases, the first Slovak and



Swedish settlers in Grassflat were fathers who left their families in Slovakia and Sweden, respectively. After sufficient savings were made, money was sent home for the family's passage to America.

For decades after their settlement in Grassflat, Slovaks and Swedes lived in relative isolation. Slovaks settled on the north and Swedes on the south side of a creek which divided the community. Having had separate national origin, they tended to develop parallel organizations. They had their separate churches and systems of religious education in which their respective native languages were used exclusively. They had their distinct church related organizations. Each group had its unique system of social and recreational activities. While the Swedish family system tended to be equalitarian and democratic, the Slovak family system was patriarchal. At a time when neither could speak English, each thought that the other spoke "American" (English). Changes in their cultural patterns in Grassflat were very gradual, in fact, at first even an accentuation of their respective native patterns was demonstrated. This was shown particularly by strong adherence to their respective religious and social patterns of living. In the beginning, Swedes apparently held a more favorable position in the economic structure of the community. Many more Swedes than Slovaks held better jobs, "company jobs", in the coal industry. According to Slovaks, Swedes discriminated against them in employment practices. According to Swedes, Slovaks were nonassimilable because they were "too clannish" (resulting from their extended kinship system). They often fought each other as a result of distrust and misunderstanding. These factors played a major role in promoting separate intraethnic cultural solidarities among Slovaks and Swedes.



However, through decades of common experiences which they learned to share and through which they gratified mutual needs and interests, greater and greater interethnic assimilation resulted. Illustrating the basic principle of assimilation, Slovaks and Swedes became increasingly similar as they began to identify themselves with each other as sharers in common experiences by which they learned to satisfy mutual interests and needs. After they got acquainted and learned to understand one another, as Slovak and Swedish residents reported, in many respects they became "one people", "same people", "Americans". In this process a number of closely interrelated factors were particularly important.

Probably the most vital factor in the assimilative process between Slovaks and Swedes was the public school system through which they learned to communicate in a common language. Formerly Slovaks and Swedes used their respective foreign languages exclusively in their homes, churches, church schools, and social and recreational organizations. As a result of the influence of the public schools these institutions gradually gave a prominent role to the English language. More widespread use of English helped to promote a greater number of interethnic contacts among youth in school and on the playground, men in trade unions and taverns, and later women through various social organizations which were established. Since virtually all residents were employed in the coal industry, they shared a number of common problems. The organization through which these problems were often solved was the United Mine Workers Union of which both Slovak and Swedish miners were members.



Another factor which helped to promote greater interethnic assimilation was the mobility of residents to the city. For at least three decades the Swedish population exceeded that of Slovaks. Declining mine operations during the period between 1925 and 1935, however, caused many Swedes and Slovaks, particularly the former, to move to the city in search of employment. As a result, the number of Slovak and Swedish residents became more equal numerically, and made it possible for residents of both groups, especially Slovaks, to move into sections of the community which were formerly occupied by exclusively one or the other ethnic group.

Increased mobility of Swedes also meant a decrease in the number of Swedish organizations which they could continue to maintain. The extent of mobility was so great, for example, that Swedish residents met formally a number of times upon the request of their pastor to consider the establishment of one church instead of continuing to maintain the two Lutheran Churches in the community. Decreased number of Swedish organizations meant that social and recreational interests of Swedes had to be satisfied elsewhere. When Slovaks, whose number was growing rapidly, invited them to many of their activities, especially those held at the Slovak Hall such as weddings, dances, baby and bridal showers, Swedes accepted. Gradually, through increased contacts a diffusion of cultural elements took place in which Slovaks and Swedes shared dietary, recreational, and social patterns. This was a most important step toward greater interethnic assimilation. But the process did not end at this stage.

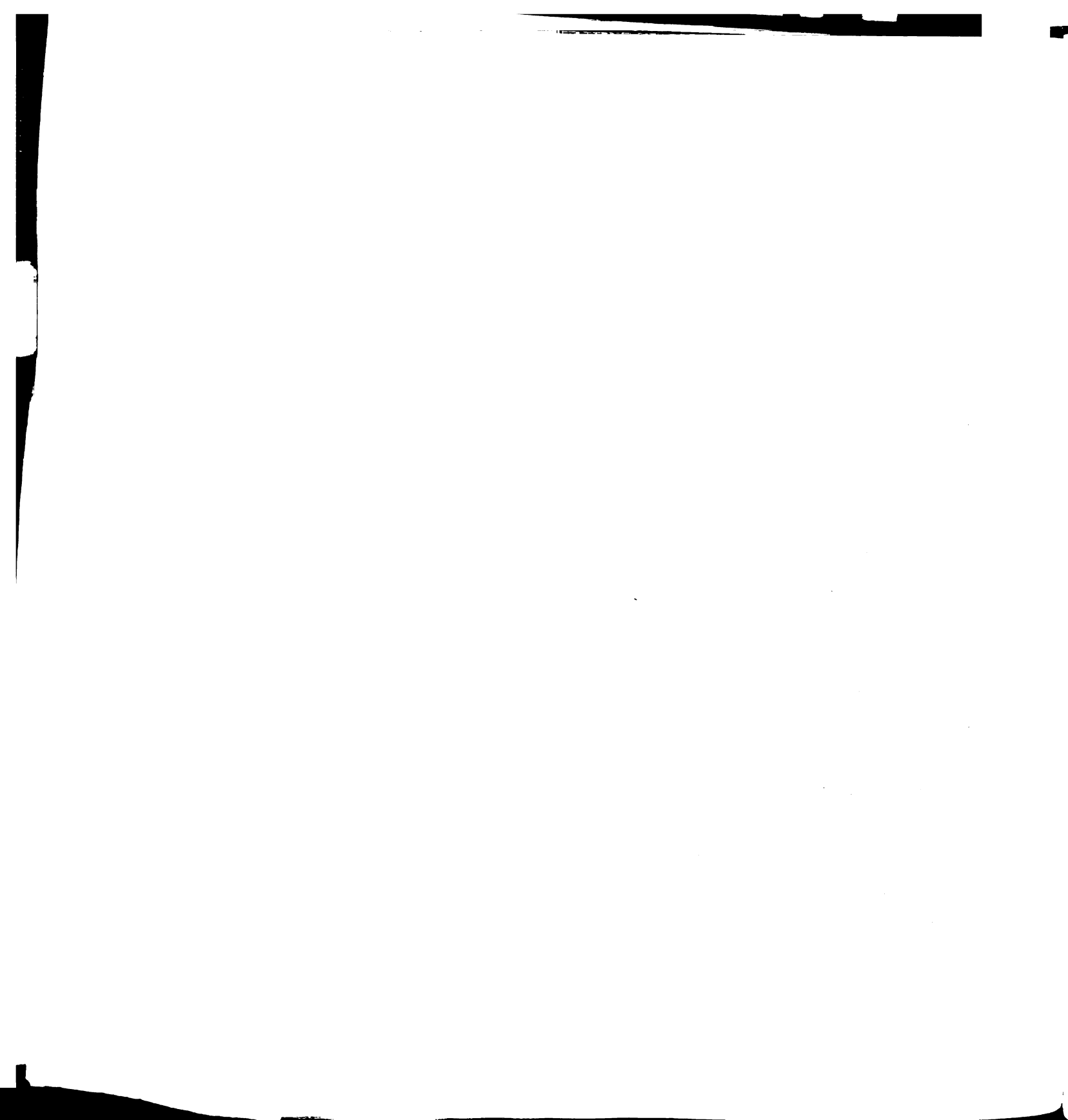


As a result of closer and closer relationships, both Slovaks and Swedes learned to adopt some new social and recreational patterns in which they participated and shared more equally. The number of "open-membership organizations", those which admitted members regardless of ethnic or religious identity, gave evidence of advances they had made toward greater interethnic assimilation. These organizations were mainly social in nature. Probably most important among them were clubs (taverns), where residents of all ethnic groups were admitted.

The increasing number of neighbor contacts between Slovaks and Swedes also did much to create better interethnic understanding. They learned to accept each other as "nice", "friendly", "cooperative", and "considerate" neighbors, as reported by both Slovaks and Swedes. The number of interethnic intrasex friendships increased, and, to a lesser extent, dating patterns developed between them.

At the time of this study the total population of Grassflat was 764. Of this total, 49% were Slovak, 27% Swedish, 23% "other nationalities" (neither Slovak nor Swedish), and 2% Slovak-Swedish. Classified in terms of religion, 54% were Catholic, 32% Lutheran, 7% other Protestant, and 7% non-church (parents and their children who claimed to be members of no church). There appeared to be little or no difference in status rank between Slovaks and Swedes in terms of five criteria used by the writer (education, section of residence, occupation, ownership of property, and interethnic image regarding persons considered "most important" and "not important" in the community), criteria directly or indirectly suggested by residents of both ethnic groups. Slovaks and Swedes seemed to have







separate systems of indicating the status of their own members. Among both Slovaks and Swedes, status appeared to be closely related to their respective churches and church-related organizations.

In short, Slovaks and Swedes had demonstrated greater and greater interethnic assimilation, interdependence, and harmony in terms of many aspects of meeting mutual problems of everyday adjustment. It was in terms of their strong religious values, however, that they showed least assimilability. According to attitudes which were reported, both Slovaks and Swedes approved of interethnic patterns of drinking, dining, friendship among their children, neighbor relations, and, to a lesser extent, interethnic dating. In their attitudes toward intermarriage, however, they were much less favorable, especially Slovaks. Both groups reported that religion was the main factor which precluded intermarriage. This was demonstrated quite noticeably by their rate of intermarriage.

A study of all marriages contracted by Slovaks and Swedes, both residents and former residents--including 109 Slovak males, 119 Slovak females, 86 Swedish males, and 73 Swedish females--indicated that only seven Slovak-Swedish marriages occurred during the past three decades (1922-1951). In other words, only 3% of Slovak males and 3% of Slovak females married Swedish mates, and only 5% of Swedish males and 4% of Swedish females married Slovak mates. All Slovak-Swedish marriages, except one in which a Swedish female converted to Catholicism, were mixed religious marriages. In all seven marriages the children were reared Catholic.







Some of the important attitudes toward intermarriage reported by both Slovak and Swedish children who were enrolled in grades 7 through 12, and their parents were as follows: Approximately one half of Swedish children and more than four-fifths of Slovak children indicated that marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant could not be happy if they attended separate churches. An overwhelming majority of both Slovak and Swedish parents and their children approved of marriage to someone of a different nationality but of the same religion. Less than one fourth of Slovak children and more than one half of Swedish children responded that their parents would approve of their marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality. More than one half of Swedish children and less than one tenth of Slovak children indicated they would marry someone of a different religion but of the same nationality. Approximately one third of Swedish children and none of Slovak children indicated that they would change their religion in order to marry the person they loved. Six tape-recorded interviews with selected groups of Slovaks and Swedes, each of which represented three different generations, supported the fact that tolerant attitudes toward intermarriage were much more common among Swedes than Slovaks.

Future prospects of intermarriage were studied. Among a number of factors, most favorable were the patterns of interethnic friendship and dating which had developed and the relatively favorable attitudes toward them, especially those reported by Swedes. Most unfavorable were attitudes toward mixed religious marriages, especially those reported by Slovaks. Conversion to Catholicism was reported the most common condition under







which Slovaks would consent to intermarriage. A much smaller number of them demanded less, namely, that children of such marriages be reared Catholic. Another factor which suggest unfavorable prospects of intermarriage was the fact that a much larger Slovak than Swedish population lived in neighboring communities which were within a twelve mile radius of Grassflat.

In the last analysis, still other factors will be important in determining future prospects of intermarriage. At the time of this study, opportunities for employment in the community had become extremely limited. Most of the residents were employed non-locally. Future employment opportunities in the areas of interest to residents will largely determine the extent to which Slovaks and Swedes will be available for intermarriage. The number of those who will pursue higher education will also be an important determinant of availability for intermarriage.

At the outset of this study four hypotheses were stated regarding the Slovak and Swedish populations in Grassflat, Pennsylvania. These were:

Hypothesis I: That the factor of religion is more important in precluding intermarriage than other aspects of ethnic background. Data gathered by individual interviews, questionnaire, tape-recorded interviews with selected groups of Slovaks and Swedes, and church records of marriages supported this hypothesis. Both Slovaks and Swedes of the first, second, and third generations reported that the greatest barrier to intermarriage was the factor of religion. The area in which they showed least assimilability was the religious area. Their separate







which Slovaks would consent to intermarriage. A much smaller number of them demanded less, namely, that children of such marriages be reared Catholic. Another factor which suggest unfavorable prospects of intermarriage was the fact that a much larger Slovak than Swedish population lived in neighboring communities which were within a twelve mile radius of Grassflat.

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religious interests continued to remain persistent forces in promoting their separate intraethnic cultural solidarities and precluding greater interethnic assimilation.

Hypothesis II: That the degree of cultural solidarity within a particular ethnic group to a large extent determines the rate of exogamy of its members. The greater the degree of cultural solidarity the lesser the rate of exogamy of its members. Data herein contained supported this hypothesis. The research indicated that Slovaks demonstrated greater cultural solidarity than Swedes. It also indicated that Slovaks had a greater number of inmarriages, and Swedes had a greater number of intermarriages (both in terms of religion and nationality). Slovaks demonstrated a much greater tendency to retain the cultural patterns of their land of origin than Swedes. This was especially true in terms of the number of church-related organizations which they continued to support. In terms of other organizations, those of an economic, social, and political nature, Slovaks also gave evidence of greater adherence to patterns originated in their land of origin than Swedes. The longer period of residence in the United States by Swedes than Slovaks was probably a most important factor which accounted for the differences in their degrees of assimilability to the general American cultural patterns.

Hypothesis III: That the rate of intermarriage with other religious and nationality groups by both Slovaks and Swedes tends to increase with their mobility to urban areas. A study of the marital selections of both Slovak and Swedish males and females indicated that the rate of intermarriage in terms of both nationality and religion, particularly







the former, tended to increase with their mobility to urban areas. The study of former Slovak and Swedish residents indicated that 89% of Slovak males and 76% of Slovak females married within their own nationality, while 54% of Swedish males and 46% of Swedish females married within their own nationality. Seven per cent of Slovak males and 6% of Slovak females entered into mixed religious marriages, while 17% of Swedish males and 20% of Swedish females contracted similar marriages.

Hypothesis IV: That the rate of intermarriage between Slovaks and Swedes is greater among the upper and lower economic classes than the middle class, as defined by residents in the community. A study of seven Slovak-Swedish (Catholic-Lutheran) marriages, which occurred between 1922 and 1951, indicated that four marriages were between upper and middle class mates, one between middle class mates, and two between lower class mates. In terms of vertical mobility through marriage there seemed to be no difference between Slovaks and Swedes. Data however were insufficient to support or disprove this hypothesis. Although the extent of intermarriage was small it is important to note that it had taken place in what residents considered all economic classes.

It seems that further research closely related to this study, that is, studies of Slovaks and Swedes in other communities, would be a valuable contribution toward a better understanding of the process of assimilation. Additional research would be pertinent in the following areas:

1. The cultural patterns of Slovak Catholics in other communities.
2. The cultural patterns of Swedish Lutherans in other communities.







3. The rate of intermarriage between Slovak Catholics and Swedish Lutherans in other communities in which they are numerically larger than other ethnic groups.







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## E. Newspapers

Jednota (A Slovak-Catholic Weekly).

The Sunday Visitor (A Catholic Weekly).



## APPENDIX



## APPENDIX



MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATION SHEET

370

Name of Organization:

Date Organization Began:

Please indicate the number of members in terms of nationality for each of the five dates below.

(1) Date the organization began:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

(2) Date 1930:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

(3) Date 1940:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

(4) Date 1950:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

(5) Date 1952:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

What are membership dues? \_\_\_\_\_  
 What is the purpose of the organization?



# THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
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## GRASSFLAT

Family Name ..... Address .....

Name	Age	Place of Employment	Name of mate, if married
(Father's Name)			
(Mother's maiden)			
(Children)			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			

The purpose of this project is to assist a local resident, Mr. Michael S. Kolivosky, in a doctoral study of the community of Grassflat. Your cooperation in this matter will be highly appreciated.







Dear Parents:

Clipped to this note are two sets of questions which I would like you to fill in. The purpose of these questions is to find out how different people feel about certain things.

I would appreciate your answering these questions and returning them with your child who is enrolled in Grades Seven or Eight, or in High School. Please answer these questions as you really feel. Do not sign your name to this paper. No one will know how you answered these questions. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test.

I am indeed very happy that Grassflat people have been so wonderfully cooperative and kind in giving their important help to me in this study.

Your help in this task is very important.

Sincerely yours,

*Michael E. Kalivsky*

P. S. Please answer every question. You will receive two or more copies if you have two or more children in grades mentioned above. Only fill in ONE copy, and write in the number of the other forms here.

PLEASE RETURN ALL FORMS TOMORROW

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------



The first part of the report discusses the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

The second part of the report discusses the progress of the work during the year, and the results of the various projects.

The third part of the report discusses the progress of the work during the year, and the results of the various projects.

The fourth part of the report discusses the progress of the work during the year, and the results of the various projects.

The fifth part of the report discusses the progress of the work during the year, and the results of the various projects.

The sixth part of the report discusses the progress of the work during the year, and the results of the various projects.





The set of questions of this page is used to get your picture of Slovak people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and No.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES—NO
1. Slovak people make good neighbors.			
2. Slovak people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
3. Slovak parents are very strict parents.			
4. Slovaks date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
5. Slovak people are better educated than other people.			
6. Slovak people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
7. Slovaks are very friendly to most people.			
8. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
9. Slovak people have better jobs than other people in town.			
10. Slovaks are a very religious people.			
11. Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
12. Slovak people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
13. Slovak people are very "American" in their ways.			
14. Their church hold them together as a group more than anything else.			
15. Slovaks are very interested in the education of their children.			
16. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
17. Slovaks give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
18. Slovak children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
19. Slovaks like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
<sup>20</sup> 20. Slovak families are run by the father.			
<sup>21</sup> 21. Their older people are most influential in their group.			







The set of questions on this page is used to get your picture of Swedish people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and NO.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES-NO
22. Swedish people make good neighbors.			
23. Swedish people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
24. Swedish parents are very strict parents.			
25. Swedes date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
26. Swedish people are better educated than other people.			
27. Swedish people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
28. Swedes are very friendly to most people.			
29. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
30. Swedish people have better jobs than other people in town.			
31. Swedes are a very religious people.			
32. Swedes strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
33. Swedish people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
34. Swedish people are very "American" in their ways.			
35. Their church holds them together as a group more than anything else.			
36. Swedes are very interested in the education of their children.			
37. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
38. Swedes give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
39. Swedish children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
40. Swedes like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
41. Swedish families are run by the father.			
42. Their older people are most influential in their group.			

1. Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion? ( ) Yes ( ) No
2. Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality? ( ) Yes ( ) No
3. Do you think children should be given freedom to choose their own church? ( ) Yes ( ) No



2

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12-10-1964

12-10-1964

12-10-1964



Dear Student:

Clipped to this note are two sets of questions which I would like you to fill in. The purpose of these questions is to find out how different people feel about certain things.

I would appreciate your answering these questions, having your parents fill in the yellow form, and your returning them to your teacher tomorrow. Do not sign your name to this paper. No one will know how you answered these questions. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test. Please answer these questions as you really feel.

I am indeed very happy that Grassflat people have been so wonderfully cooperative and kind in giving their important help to me in this study.

Your help in this task is very important.

Sincerely yours,

*Michael E. Kolivsky*

P. S. Please answer every question. Have your mother and father fill in their form together. Help them with directions if they are not clear to them. Please return your parents' form tomorrow.

10. Slovaks are a very religious people.			
11. Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
12. Slovak people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
13. Slovak people are very "American" in their ways.			
14. Their church hold them together as a group more than anything else.			
15. Slovaks are very interested in the education of their children.			
16. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
17. Slovaks give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
18. Slovak children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
19. Slovaks like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
20. Slovak families are run by the father.			
21. Their older people are most influential in their group.			



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## D. Unpublished Materials

Three diaries of local residents.

Ledgers of local organizations.

Personal communication with writer.

The Reverend F. J. Simonik, Parish History (St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Grassflat, Pennsylvania), 1902-1905.

## E. Newspapers

Jednota (A Slovak-Catholic Weekly).

The Sunday Visitor (A Catholic Weekly).



## APPENDIX



MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATION SHEET

370

Name of Organization:

Date Organization Began:

Please indicate the number of members in terms of nationality for each of the five dates below.

## (1) Date the organization began:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

## (2) Date 1930:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

## (3) Date 1940:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

## (4) Date 1950:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

## (5) Date 1952:

The number of Grassflat Swedish members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat Slovak members at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 The number of Grassflat members of other nationality at this date was \_\_\_\_\_  
 There were \_\_\_\_\_ Swedish officers, \_\_\_\_\_ Slovak officers, \_\_\_\_\_ other  
 nationality officers at this date.  
 The total number of members from outside Grassflat was \_\_\_\_\_.

What are membership dues? \_\_\_\_\_

What is the purpose of the organization?



# THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Published by the Royal Anthropological Institute

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute is a quarterly publication which contains original research papers, reviews, and news items. The Journal is concerned with all aspects of human biology, anthropology, and the history of man. It is particularly interested in the study of the physical and cultural evolution of man, and in the relationship between the two. The Journal is published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, which is a learned society dedicated to the advancement of the study of man.

The Journal is published quarterly, and each volume contains four parts. The first part of each volume contains the Table of Contents, and the second part contains the main body of the Journal. The third and fourth parts contain the Index and the List of Contributors. The Journal is published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, which is a learned society dedicated to the advancement of the study of man.

1970

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## CROSSFLAT

Family Name ..... Address .....

Names	Age	Place of Birth	Name of wife, if married
(Father's name)			
(Mother's maiden)			
(Children)			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			

The purpose of this project is to assist a local resident, Mr. Michael E. Kolivsky, in a doctoral study of the community of Grassflat. Your cooperation in this matter will be highly appreciated.



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## CENSUS SHEET

Family name..... Address.....

Names (Father's name)	Age	Place of Employment	Name of mate, if married
(Mother's maiden)			
(Children)			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			

The purpose of this project is to assist a local resident, Mr. Michael E. Kolivosky, in a doctoral study of the community of Grassflat. Your cooperation in this matter will be highly appreciated.



Dear

fill  
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Dear Parents:

Clipped to this note are two sets of questions which I would like you to fill in. The purpose of these questions is to find out how different people feel about certain things.

I would appreciate your answering these questions and returning them with your child who is enrolled in Grades Seven or Eight, or in High School. Please answer these questions as you really feel. Do not sign your name to this paper. No one will know how you answered these questions. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test.

I am indeed very happy that Grassflat people have been so wonderfully cooperative and kind in giving their important help to me in this study.

Your help in this task is very important.

Sincerely yours,

*Michael E. Zelivsky*

P. S. Please answer every question. You will receive two or more copies if you have two or more children in grades mentioned above. Only fill in ONE copy, and write in the number of the other forms here.

PLEASE RETURN ALL FORMS TOMORROW

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------



The first part of the report is a general description of the project and its objectives. It is followed by a detailed description of the methodology used in the study.

The methodology used in the study is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative methods include interviews, focus groups, and content analysis. The quantitative methods include surveys and statistical analysis.

The results of the study are presented in the following sections. The first section presents the results of the qualitative analysis, and the second section presents the results of the quantitative analysis.

The final section of the report is a conclusion and recommendations.

References

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1. Smith, J. (2001). The impact of technology on the workplace.

2. Jones, M. (2002). The future of work.

3. Brown, K. (2003). The role of technology in the workplace.

4. White, L. (2004). The impact of technology on the workplace.



The set of questions of this page is used to get your picture of Slovak people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and No.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES--NO
1. Slovak people make good neighbors.			
2. Slovak people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
3. Slovak parents are very strict parents.			
4. Slovaks date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
5. Slovak people are better educated than other people.			
6. Slovak people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
7. Slovaks are very friendly to most people.			
8. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
9. Slovak people have better jobs than other people in town.			
10. Slovaks are a very religious people.			
11. Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
12. Slovak people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
13. Slovak people are very "American" in their ways.			
14. Their church hold them together as a group more than anything else.			
15. Slovaks are very interested in the education of their children.			
16. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
17. Slovaks give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
18. Slovak children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
19. Slovaks like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
20. Slovak families are run by the father.			
21. Their older people are most influential in their group.			







The set of questions on this page is used to get your picture of Swedish people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and NO.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES-NO
22. Swedish people make good neighbors.			
23. Swedish people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
24. Swedish parents are very strict parents.			
25. Swedes date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
26. Swedish people are better educated than other people.			
27. Swedish people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
28. Swedes are very friendly to most people.			
29. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
30. Swedish people have better jobs than other people in town.			
31. Swedes are a very religious people.			
32. Swedes strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
33. Swedish people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
34. Swedish people are very "American" in their ways.			
35. Their church holds them together as a group more than anything else.			
36. Swedes are very interested in the education of their children.			
37. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
38. Swedes give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
39. Swedish children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
40. Swedes like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
41. Swedish families are run by the father.			
42. Their older people are most influential in their group.			

1. Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion? ( ) Yes ( ) No
2. Would you approve of your child's marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality? ( ) Yes ( ) No
3. Do you think children should be given freedom to choose their own church? ( ) Yes ( ) No







Dear Student:

Forms Given to Slovak Children

373

Clipped to this note are two sets of questions which I would like you to fill in. The purpose of these questions is to find out how different people feel about certain things.

I would appreciate your answering these questions, having your parents fill in the yellow form, and your returning them to your teacher tomorrow. Do not sign your name to this paper. No one will know how you answered these questions. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test. Please answer these questions as you really feel.

I am indeed very happy that Grassflat people have been so wonderfully cooperative and kind in giving their important help to me in this study.

Your help in this task is very important.

Sincerely yours,

*Michael E. Kalivsky*

P. S. Please answer every question. Have your mother and father fill in their form together. Help them with directions if they are not clear to them. Please return your parents' form tomorrow.

---

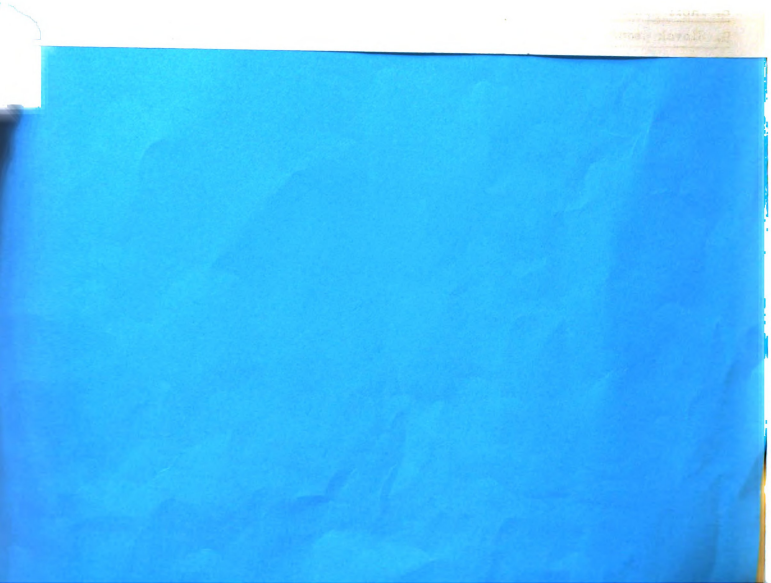


1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.





The set of questions of this page is used to get your picture of Slovak people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and No.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES—NO
1. Slovak people make good neighbors.			
2. Slovak people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
3. Slovak parents are very strict parents.			
4. Slovaks date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
5. Slovak people are better educated than other people.			
6. Slovak people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
7. Slovaks are very friendly to most people.			
8. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
9. Slovak people have better jobs than other people in town.			
10. Slovaks are a very religious people.			
11. Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
12. Slovak people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
13. Slovak people are very "American" in their ways.			
14. Their church hold them together as a group more than anything else.			
15. Slovaks are very interested in the education of their children.			
16. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
17. Slovaks give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
18. Slovak children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
19. Slovaks like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
20. Slovak families are run by the father.			
21. Their older people are most influential in their group.			



[illegible][illegible]

I have been thinking of you a great deal lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I always find time to think of my friends. I would like to hear from you soon. Please write when you have a chance. I am always your affectionate friend.



The set of questions on this page is used to get your picture of Swedish people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page --

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and NO.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES--NO
22. Swedish people make good neighbors.			
23. Swedish people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
24. Swedish parents are very strict parents.			
25. Swedes date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
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38. Swedes give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
39. Swedish children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
40. Swedes like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
41. Swedish families are run by the father.			
42. Their older people are most influential in their group.			



[illegible]

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 35 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).



The set of questions on this page is used to get your picture of Swedish people living in Grassflat.

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22. Swedish people make good neighbors.			
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26. Swedish people are better educated than other people.			
27. Swedish people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
28. Swedes are very friendly to most people.			
29. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
30. Swedish people have better jobs than other people in town.			
31. Swedes are a very religious people.			
32. Swedes strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
33. Swedish people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
34. Swedish people are very "American" in their ways.			
35. Their church holds them together as a group more than anything else.			
36. Swedes are very interested in the education of their children.			
37. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
38. Swedes give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
39. Swedish children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
40. Swedes like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
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42. Their older people are most influential in their group.			



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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem and then determine the scope of the study. The next step is to design the study. This involves determining the research objectives, the research questions, and the research methods. The third step is to collect data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The data is then analyzed and the results are reported. The final step is to draw conclusions from the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study.



**DIRECTIONS:** After each question which follows you will find several answers.  
Please mark X in front of that answer which you think fits best.

43. At what age did you begin going to Catechism? ( ) Never attended ( ) 3-4  
( ) 5-6 ( ) 7 ( ) 8 ( ) 9 ( ) 10 or later
44. How often do you attend Catechism now? ( ) Never attend  
( ) 1-3 times a year ( ) Almost once every month ( ) 1 Sunday a month  
( ) 2 Sundays a month ( ) 3 Sundays a month ( ) I never miss unless I'm unable to go

**DIRECTIONS:** Mark X on line A to show the number of Swedish friends you have.  
Mark X on line B to show the number of Slovak friends you have.  
Mark X on line C to show the number of friends you have who are neither  
Swedish nor Slovak.

45. Friends of your own sex:

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

46. Friends of the opposite sex:

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

**DIRECTIONS:** Mark X on line A to show the number of dates you have had with Swedes  
Mark X on line B to show the number of dates you have had with Slovaks  
Mark X on line C to show the number of dates you have had with persons  
neither Swedish nor Slovak

47.

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

48. How do your parents speak with each other at home most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Slovak ( ) Mostly Slovak and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Slovak and English ( ) Mostly English and little Slovak  
( ) Almost or all in English
49. How do you speak with your parents most of the time? ( ) Almost or all in Slovak  
( ) Mostly Slovak and little English ( ) About equal amount of Slovak and English  
( ) Mostly English and little Slovak ( ) Almost or all in English
50. Do your parents approve of your being friendly with Swedish people of your age?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
51. Does your father show interest in what you do in school?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
52. Would you change your religion in order to marry a person you love? ( ) Yes ( ) No



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53. Does your mother show interest in what you do in school?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
54. Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality? ( ) Yes ( ) No
55. Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion? ( ) Yes ( ) No
56. Do you think marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant can be happy if they attend separate churches? ( ) Yes ( ) No
57. How do you speak with your brothers and sisters most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Slovak ( ) Mostly Slovak and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Slovak and English ( ) Mostly English and little Slovak  
( ) Almost or all in English  
How do you speak with friends of your own nationality most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Slovak ( ) Mostly Slovak and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Slovak and English ( ) Mostly English and little Slovak  
( ) Almost or all in English.
58. Would you permit your children to be brought up Protestant? ( ) Yes ( ) No
59. Do you think children should be given freedom to choose their own church?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
60. How do you think Slovaks and Swedes get along together in Grassflat?  
( ) Very well ( ) Fairly well ( ) Not so well ( ) Not at all
61. What do you think is the main difference between Slovak and Swedish people?  
( ) Dress ( ) Language ( ) Religion ( ) Food habits
62. Do your parents approve of your dating a Swedish boy or girl of your age?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
63. Do your parents read the Slovak newspaper in your home?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
64. Who makes the important decisions in your family? ( ) Father ( ) Mother  
( ) The whole family decides after talking it over ( ) Everyone does as he or she pleases.
65. Would you marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
66. Would you marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
67. Which one of these things would you consider most important concerning your future marriage partner? ( ) Education ( ) Money ( ) Occupation  
( ) Religion ( ) Nationality
68. Would you like to live in Grassflat after you finish your education? ( ) Yes ( ) No
69. If you were in any kind of trouble, to whom would you mostly likely go?  
( ) Father ( ) Mother ( ) Sister ( ) Brother ( ) Someone outside the family
70. Do you belong to the Boy Scouts? ( ) Yes ( ) No Question for boys only.
71. Write in the kind of job you would like to have after you finish school.



Age Group	Percentage of Respondents
18-29	85%
30-49	80%
50-69	75%
70+	70%

1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is of European descent. This is a fact which has been recognized for many years, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

2. The second of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful navy. This navy has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

3. The third of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful army. This army has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

4. The fourth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful economy. This economy has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

5. The fifth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful culture. This culture has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

6. The sixth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful population. This population has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

7. The seventh of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful government. This government has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

8. The eighth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful military. This military has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

9. The ninth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful industry. This industry has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.

10. The tenth of these is the fact that the United States has a large and powerful science. This science has been built up over a long period of time, and it is one of the reasons why the United States has been able to maintain its position as a world power.



**DIRECTIONS:** After each question you will find several answers.  
 Mark X in front of the answer that you think is best.  
 Mark the X in the parentheses, for example (X).

1. Your sex: ( )Boy ( )Girl
2. Your nationality: ( )Slovak ( )Swedish ( )Slovak-Swedish  
 ( )Slovak-other ( )Swedish-other ( )Other nationality
3. Your church: ( )Baptist ( )Catholic ( )Lutheran  
 ( )United Brethren ( )Other religion ( )No religious preference
4. Your neighbors are: ( )Slovak ( )Swedish ( )Slovak and Swedish  
 ( )Neither of these
5. Your grade in school: ( )Grade 7 ( )Grade 8 ( )1st year High School  
 ( )2nd yr. H. S. ( )3rd yr. H. S. ( )4th yr. H. S.
6. Check those grandparents who live with you: ( )None ( )Your father's father  
 ( )Your father's mother ( )Your mother's father ( )Your mother's mother
7. Your parents' church: ( )Both Catholic ( )Both Protestants of same church  
 ( )Both Protestants but different churches ( )One Catholic, other Protestant  
 ( )One goes to church, other doesn't ( )Neither parent goes to church
8. Including you, the number of children in your family who are living:  
 ( )1 ( )2 ( )3 ( )4 ( )5 ( )6 ( )7 or more
9. The last grade your father attended: ( )1-4 ( )5-8 ( )9-11 ( )12  
 ( )1-2 College ( )3-4 College ( )College graduate
10. The last grade your mother attended: ( )1-4 ( )5-8 ( )9-11 ( )12  
 ( )1-2 College ( )3-4 College ( )College graduate
11. Your mother works for money outside the home: ( )Every day ( )Twice a week  
 ( )About once a week ( )Never
12. Your father attends church: ( )Hardly ever attends ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
13. Your mother attends church: ( )Hardly ever attends ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
14. You attend church: ( )Hardly ever attend ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
15. Do you plan to go to college? ( )Yes ( )No
16. Do your parents own, rent, or make payments on your home?  
 ( )Own ( )Rent ( )Make payments
17. (Write in) Where does your father work? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Be specific) What kind of work does your father do? \_\_\_\_\_



1. The first of these is the fact that the...  
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19. The nineteenth is the fact that the...  
20. The twentieth is the fact that the...



DIRECTIONS: After each question you will find several answers.  
 Mark X in front of the answer that you think is best.  
 Mark the X in the parentheses, for example (X).

1. Your sex: ( )Boy ( )Girl
2. Your nationality: ( )Slovak ( )Swedish ( )Slovak-Swedish  
 ( )Slovak-other ( )Swedish-other ( )Other nationality
3. Your church : ( )Baptist ( )Catholic ( )Lutheran  
 ( )United Brethren ( )Other religion ( )No religious preference
4. Your neighbors are: ( )Slovak ( )Swedish ( )Slovak and Swedish  
 ( )Neither of these
5. Your grade in school: ( )Grade 7 ( )Grade 8 ( )1st year High School  
 ( )2nd yr. H. S. ( )3rd yr. H. S. ( )4th yr. H. S.
6. Check those grandparents who live with you: ( )None ( )Your father's father  
 ( )Your father's mother ( )Your mother's father ( )Your mother's mother
7. Your parents' church: ( )Both Catholic ( )Both Protestants of same church  
 ( )Both Protestants but different churches ( )One Catholic, other Protestant  
 ( )One goes to church, other doesn't ( )Neither parent goes to church
8. Including you, the number of children in your family who are living:  
 ( )1 ( )2 ( )3 ( )4 ( )5 ( )6 ( )7 or more
9. The last grade your father attended: ( )1-4 ( )5-8 ( )9-11 ( )12  
 ( )1-2 College ( )3-4 College ( )College graduate
10. The last grade your mother attended: ( )1-4 ( )5-8 ( )9-11 ( )12  
 ( )1-2 College ( )3-4 College ( )College graduate
11. Your mother works for money outside the home: ( )Every day ( )Twice a week  
 ( )About once a week ( )Never
12. Your father attends church: ( )Hardly ever attends ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
13. Your mother attends church: ( )Hardly ever attends ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
14. You attend church: ( )Hardly ever attend ( )1-5 times a year  
 ( )Once or twice a month ( )Almost every week ( )Every week
15. Do you plan to go to college? ( )Yes ( )No
16. Do your parents own, rent, or make payments on your home?  
 ( )Own ( )Rent ( )Make payments
17. (Write in) Where does your father work? \_\_\_\_\_

(Be specific) What kind of work does your father do? \_\_\_\_\_



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Clipped to this note are two sets of questions which I would like you to fill in. The purpose of these questions is to find out how different people feel about certain things.

I would appreciate your answering these questions, having your parents fill in the yellow form, and your returning them to your teacher tomorrow. Do not sign your name to this paper. No one will know how you answered these questions. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test. Please answer these questions as you really feel.

I am indeed very happy that Grassflat people have been so wonderfully cooperative and kind in giving their important help to me in this study.

Your help in this task is very important.

Sincerely yours,

*Michael E. Kolivsky*

P. S. Please answer every question. Have your mother and father fill in their form together. Help them with directions if they are not clear to them. Please return your parents' form tomorrow.



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The set of questions of this page is used to get your picture of Slovak people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of Slovak people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and No.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES—NO
1. Slovak people make good neighbors.			
2. Slovak people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
3. Slovak parents are very strict parents.			
4. Slovaks date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
5. Slovak people are better educated than other people.			
6. Slovak people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
7. Slovaks are very friendly to most people.			
8. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
9. Slovak people have better jobs than other people in town.			
10. Slovaks are a very religious people.			
11. Slovaks strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
12. Slovak people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
13. Slovak people are very "American" in their ways.			
14. Their church hold them together as a group more than anything else.			
15. Slovaks are very interested in the education of their children.			
16. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
17. Slovaks give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
18. Slovak children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
19. Slovaks like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
20. Slovak families are run by the father.			
21. Their older people are most influential in their group.			



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 the necessary funds to carry out its  
 policy of non-interference in the  
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The set of questions on this page is used to get your picture of Swedish people living in Grassflat.

DIRECTIONS: After reading each statement on this page -

Mark X in BLOCK YES if the statement fits your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK NO if the statement does not fit your picture of the Swedish people.

Mark X in BLOCK YES-NO if you feel the answer is between YES and NO.

	YES	NO	BETWEEN YES-NO
22. Swedish people make good neighbors.			
23. Swedish people follow customs of the old country (Europe).			
24. Swedish parents are very strict parents.			
25. Swedes date people who belong to churches other than their own.			
26. Swedish people are better educated than other people.			
27. Swedish people have nicer homes than any other people in town.			
28. Swedes are very friendly to most people.			
29. Their friends are made up more of relatives than other people.			
30. Swedish people have better jobs than other people in town.			
31. Swedes are a very religious people.			
32. Swedes strive for a higher standard of living than other people.			
33. Swedish people are very anxious to get others to belong to their church through marriage.			
34. Swedish people are very "American" in their ways.			
35. Their church holds them together as a group more than anything else.			
36. Swedes are very interested in the education of their children.			
37. Their pastor is a most influential person among them.			
38. Swedes give their children a lot of freedom to pick their own friends.			
39. Swedish children have an important part in making decisions which concern the whole family.			
40. Swedes like to have their children begin working at an earlier age than other people.			
41. Swedish families are run by the father.			
42. Their older people are most influential in their group.			







**DIRECTIONS:** After each question which follows you will find several answers.  
Please mark **X** in front of that answer which you think fits best.

43. At what age did you begin going to Sunday School? ( ) Never attended ( ) 3-4  
( ) 5-6 ( ) 7 ( ) 8 ( ) 9 ( ) 10 or later
44. How often do you attend Sunday School or Bible School now? ( ) Never attend  
( ) 1-3 times a year ( ) Almost once every month ( ) 1 Sunday a month  
( ) 2 Sundays a month ( ) 3 Sundays a month ( ) I never miss unless I'm unable to go.

**DIRECTIONS:** Mark **X** on line A to show the number of Swedish friends you have.  
Mark **X** on line B to show the number of Slovak friends you have.  
Mark **X** on line C to show the number of friends you have who are neither  
Swedish nor Slovak.

45. Friends of your own sex:

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

46. Friends of the opposite sex:

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

**DIRECTIONS:** Mark **X** on line A to show the number of dates you have had with Swedes  
Mark **X** on line B to show the number of dates you have had with Slovaks  
Mark **X** on line C to show the number of dates you have had with persons  
neither Swedish nor Slovak

47.

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
<u>A.</u> Swedish						
<u>B.</u> Slovak						
<u>C.</u> Other						

48. How do your parents speak with each other at home most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Swedish ( ) Mostly Swedish and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Swedish and English ( ) Mostly English and little Swedish  
( ) Almost or all in English
49. How do you speak with your parents most of the time? ( ) Almost or all in Swedish  
( ) Mostly Swedish and little English ( ) About equal amount of Swedish and English  
( ) Mostly English and little Swedish ( ) Almost or all in English
50. Do your parents approve of your being friendly with Slovak Catholics of your age?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
51. Does your father show interest in what you do in school?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
52. Would you change your religion in order to marry a person you love? ( ) Yes ( ) No



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53. Does your mother show interest in what you do in school?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
54. Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different religion but the same nationality? ( ) Yes ( ) No
55. Do you think your parents would approve of your marriage to someone of a different nationality but the same religion? ( ) Yes ( ) No
56. Do you think marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant can be happy if they attend separate churches? ( ) Yes ( ) No
57. How do you speak with your brothers and sisters most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Swedish ( ) Mostly Swedish and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Swedish and English ( ) Mostly English and little Swedish  
( ) Almost or all in English  
How do you speak with friends of your own nationality most of the time?  
( ) Almost or all in Swedish ( ) Mostly Swedish and little English  
( ) About equal amount of Swedish and English ( ) Mostly English and little Swedish  
( ) Almost or all in English.
58. Would you permit your children to be brought up Catholic? ( ) Yes ( ) No
59. Do you think children should be given freedom to choose their own church?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
60. How do you think Slovaks and Swedes get along together in Grassflat?  
( ) Very well ( ) Fairly well ( ) Not so well ( ) Not at all
61. What do you think is the main difference between Slovak and Swedish people?  
( ) Dress ( ) Language ( ) Religion ( ) Food habits
62. Do your parents approve of your dating a Slovak boy or girl of your age?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
63. Do your parents read the Swedish newspaper in your home?  
( ) All the time ( ) Often ( ) Sometimes ( ) Seldom ( ) Never
64. Who makes the important decisions in your family? ( ) Father ( ) Mother  
( ) The whole family decides after talking it over ( ) Everyone does as he or she pleases.
65. Would you marry a person of a different nationality but the same religion?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
66. Would you marry a person of a different religion but the same nationality?  
( ) Yes ( ) No
67. Which one of these things would you consider most important concerning your future marriage partner: ( ) Education ( ) Money ( ) Occupation  
( ) Religion ( ) Nationality
68. Would you like to live in Grassflat after you finish your education? ( ) Yes ( ) No
69. If you were in ~~any~~ kind of trouble, to whom would you mostly likely go?  
( ) Father ( ) Mother ( ) Sister ( ) Brother ( ) Someone outside the family
70. Do you belong to the Boy Scouts? ( ) Yes ( ) No Question for boys only.
71. Write in the kind of job you would like to have after you finish school.
-



10. The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

1. The proposed amendments to the Rules of the Commission are intended to ensure that the Commission's procedures are consistent with the provisions of the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act.

1. I have been provided with a copy of the report of the  
 Director of the Department of the Interior, dated 11/1/01.

\_\_\_\_\_

(Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

■ 2007年10月1日起，凡在境内销售货物或提供应税劳务、服务的企业，其开具的增值税专用发票，必须通过增值税防伪税控系统开具。



DIRECTIONS: After each question you will find several answers.  
 Mark X in front of the answer that you think is best.  
 Mark the X in the parentheses, for example (X).

1. Your sex: ( ) Boy ( ) Girl
2. Your nationality: ( ) Slovak ( ) Swedish ( ) Slovak-Swedish  
 ( ) Slovak-other ( ) Swedish-other ( ) Other nationality
3. Your church : ( ) Baptist ( ) Catholic ( ) Lutheran  
 ( ) United Brethren ( ) Other religion ( ) No religious preference
4. Your neighbors are: ( ) Slovak ( ) Swedish ( ) Slovak and Swedish  
 ( ) Neither of these
5. Your grade in school: ( ) Grade 7 ( ) Grade 8 ( ) 1st year High School  
 ( ) 2nd yr. H. S. ( ) 3rd yr. H. S. ( ) 4th yr. H. S.
6. Check those grandparents who live with you: ( ) None ( ) Your father's father  
 ( ) Your father's mother ( ) Your mother's father ( ) Your mother's mother
7. Your parents' church: ( ) Both Catholic ( ) Both Protestants of same church  
 ( ) Both Protestants but different churches ( ) One Catholic, other Protestant  
 ( ) One goes to church, other doesn't ( ) Neither parent goes to church
8. Including you, the number of children in your family who are living:  
 ( ) 1 ( ) 2 ( ) 3 ( ) 4 ( ) 5 ( ) 6 ( ) 7 or more
9. The last grade your father attended: ( ) 1-4 ( ) 5-8 ( ) 9-11 ( ) 12  
 ( ) 1-2 College ( ) 3-4 College ( ) College graduate
10. The last grade your mother attended: ( ) 1-4 ( ) 5-8 ( ) 9-11 ( ) 12  
 ( ) 1-2 College ( ) 3-4 College ( ) College graduate
11. Your mother works for money outside the home: ( ) Every day ( ) Twice a week  
 ( ) About once a week ( ) Never
12. Your father attends church: ( ) Hardly ever attends ( ) 1-5 times a year  
 ( ) Once or twice a month ( ) Almost every week ( ) Every week
13. Your mother attends church: ( ) Hardly ever attends ( ) 1-5 times a year  
 ( ) Once or twice a month ( ) Almost every week ( ) Every week
14. You attend church: ( ) Hardly ever attend ( ) 1-5 times a year  
 ( ) Once or twice a month ( ) Almost every week ( ) Every week
15. Do you plan to go to college? ( ) Yes ( ) No
16. Do your parents own, rent, or make payments on your home?  
 ( ) Own ( ) Rent ( ) Make payments
17. (Write in) Where does your father work? \_\_\_\_\_

(Be specific) What kind of work does your father do? \_\_\_\_\_



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