

DVE

10

# DOMOVINI



# TWO HOMELANDS

Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU  
Ljubljana 1999





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# **DVE DOMOVINI**

Razprave o izseljenstvu

# **TWO HOMELANDS**

Migration Studies

**10**

Znanstvenoraziskovalni center  
Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti  
Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo

Scientific Research Centre  
of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
The Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies

Ljubljana 1999

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ZAC

*Dve domovini / Two Homelands 10*

Razprave o izseljenstvu / Migration Studies

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# KAZALO - CONTENTS

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## KAZALO VSEBINE

<i>Uvod</i>	
<i>Prva Tema</i>	
KLONIRANJE V ENIGMI ...	21
PROFESOR MARTIN V. PETRELLA ...	22
<i>Druga Tema</i>	
LA VITIK, NAROV IN DVAŠNOSTI V ANTIKONTEMPORAN TRČARJEV ŽIVORISLOVENSKI DRAMSKI VARNOSTNI KOMEDIJI IN BRONČI OTI ŽELJEZNIČARJEV ...	23
ANTIKONTEMPORAN ANTIKONTEMPORAN ...	24
IN ŽELJEZNIČARJEV ...	25
LA VITIK, NAROV IN DVAŠNOSTI V ANTIKONTEMPORAN TRČARJEV ŽIVORISLOVENSKI DRAMSKI VARNOSTNI KOMEDIJI IN BRONČI OTI ŽELJEZNIČARJEV ...	26
<i>Druga Tema (nadalje)</i>	
ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE FIRST POSTWAR IMMIGRATION OF AUSTRALIANS IN VIENNA ...	27
ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE FIRST POSTWAR AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION ...	28



## KAZALO – CONTENTS

*Janja Žitnik*

DESET LET REVIJE <i>DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS</i> .....	11
TEN YEARS OF <i>DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS</i> .....	15

### RAZPRAVE IN ČLANKI ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

*Zvone Žigon*

SLOVENSTVO V VENEZUELI .....	21
( <i>SLOVENE IDENTITY IN VENEZUELA</i> ) .....	32

*Avgust Horvat*

ZAČETEK, RAZVOJ IN DANAŠNJE STANJE SREDNJEŠOLSKIH TEČAJEV V POVOJNI SLOVENSKI EMIGRACIJI V ARGENTINI ..	35
( <i>COMIENZO, DESARROLLO Y SITUACION ACTUAL DE LA ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA EN LA EMIGRACION ESLOVENA DE POSGUERRA EN LA ARGENTINA</i> ) .....	43
( <i>THE BEGINNING, DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL COURSES AMONG POST-WAR SLOVENE IMMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA</i> ) .....	44

*Breda Čebulj Sajko*

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE FIRST POSTWAR GENERATION OF AUSTRALIAN SLOVENES .....	47
( <i>ETNIČNA IDENTITETA PRVE POVOJNE GENERACIJE AVSTRALSKIH SLOVENCEV</i> ) .....	58

*Bogdan Kolar*

- ST. JOSEPH KSKJ LOCAL LODGE, BRIDGEPORT,  
CONNECTICUT ..... 61  
(*KRAJEVNO DRUŠTVO K.S.K.J. SV. JOŽEFA V BRIDGEPORTU  
V CONNECTICUTU*) ..... 77

*Irena Milanič*

- MARY JUGG MOLEK – AN AMERICAN WRITER AND POET  
WITH SLOVENE ROOTS ..... 79  
(*MARY JUGG MOLEK – AMERIŠKA PISATELJICA IN PESNICA  
SLOVENSKEGA POREKLA*) ..... 112

*Igor Maver*

- IRENA BIRSA: AN AUSTRALIAN POET AND SCHOLAR OF  
SLOVENE DESCENT ..... 115  
(*IRENA BIRSA: AVSTRALSKA PESNICA IN ZNANSTVENICA  
SLOVENSKEGA RODU*) ..... 119

*Michael Stammers*

- 'A WORKING MAN'S PARADISE' – ENGLISH AWARENESS OF  
EMIGRATION AND NEW ZEALAND IN THE AGE OF SAIL ..... 121  
(*»RAJ ZA DELAVNEGA ČLOVEKA« – ANGLEŠKA ZAVEST O  
IZSELJENSTVU IN NOVI ZELANDJI V DOBI JADRNIC*) ..... 132

OKROGLA MIZA »TISK IN IZSELJENSTVO«  
ROUNDTABLE »PRESS AND EMIGRATION«

- Knut Djupedal, Adam Walaszek* ..... 137

*Marjan Drnovšek*

- PRINTED MATERIAL AND THE MASS EMIGRATION  
OF SLOVENES ..... 139

*Janja Žitnik*

- SLOVENE EMIGRANT LITERATURE, PERIODICALS AND



OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND THE READING PUBLIC IN SLOVENIA .....	145
--	-----

DISCUSSION ( <i>Knut Djupedal, Adam Walaszek, Aurelio Giordano, Janja Žitnik, Ulf Beijbom, Henning Bender, Dina Tølsby, Olavi Koivukangas, Matjaž Klemenčič, Joel Wurl, Brian Lambkin</i> ) .....	151
---	-----

#### VIRI IN GRADIVO DOCUMENTATION

*Tine T. Kurent*

KAJ BO Z GRADIVOM PROFESORJA CHRISTIANA ZA MONOGRAFIJO O LOUISU ADAMIČU .....	171
( <i>ABOUT THE MATERIAL COMPILED BY PROFESSOR CHRISTIAN FOR A MONOGRAPH ON LOUIS ADAMIC</i> ) .....	180

*Joel Wurl*

THE IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER AND THE SLOVENIAN AMERICAN COLLECTION .....	181
--	-----

*Antonio Perotti*

ARCHIVES HISTORIQUES DU CIEMI (La presse de l'immigration italienne en France pendant la période fasciste, 1921–1945) .....	183
--	-----

#### POROČILA IN RAZMIŠLJANJA REPORTS AND REFLECTIONS

*Zvone Žigon*

INŠTITUT ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO ZRC SAZU NA 50. JUBILEJNI KONVENCIJI AAASS .....	197
--	-----

*Breda Čebulj Sajko*

AVTOBIOGRAFSKA METODA (okrogla miza v okviru historičnega seminarja ZRC SAZU, 10. maj 1999) .....	201
--	-----

<i>Breda Čebulj Sajko</i>	NEKAJ BESED O OBISKU INŠTITUTA POLONIJNI V KRAKOVU .....	205
<i>Irena Gantar Godina</i>	LETNA KONFERENCA AEMI V ORGANIZACIJI INŠTITUTA ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO ZRC SAZU V PORTOROŽU, 29. september – 2. oktober 1999 .....	209
<i>Knut Djupedal</i>	BASIC INFORMATION ON THE AEMI MEMBER INSTITUTIONS AND PROJECTS .....	211
<i>Breda Čebulj Sajko</i>	34. SVETOVNI KONGRES MEDNARODNEGA SOCIOLOŠKEGA INŠTITUTA (Multiple Modernities in an Era of Globalization, Tel Aviv, Izrael, 11.–15. julij 1999).....	215
<i>Mihael Kuzmič</i>	MED PREKMURSKIMI ROJAKI V BETLEHEMU V PENNSYLVANII: Kratak zapis o delovnem in raziskovalnem obisku od 4. do 21. oktobra 1999 .....	219
<i>Tine T. Kurent</i>	PROMOCIJA SLOVENIJE, LOUISA ADAMIČA, IVANA CIMERMANA IN FRANA LEVSTIKA NA JAPONSKIH STRANEH INTERNETA .....	223
KNJIŽNE OCENE BOOK REVIEWS		
<i>Zvone Žigon</i> , Otroci dveh domovin: Slovenstvo v Južni Ameriki. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1998, 269 str. ( <i>Igor Lukšič</i> ) .....		235
<i>Marijan Drnovšek</i> , Usodna privlačnost Amerike. (Korenine), Nova revija, Ljubljana 1998, 390 str. ( <i>Zvone Žigon</i> ) .....		236

- Janja Žitnik s sodelovanjem Helge Glušič, ur., Slovenska izseljenska književnost. Založba ZRC SAZU in založba Rokus, Ljubljana 1999, 1291 str. .... 239
- Slovenska izseljenska književnost 1: Evropa, Avstralija, Azija. 400 str. (*Alenka Žbogar*) ..... 239
- Slovenska izseljenska književnost 2: Severna Amerika. 484 str. (*Mateja Pezdirc Bartol*) ..... 243
- Slovenska izseljenska književnost 3: Južna Amerika. 407 str. (*Alojzija Zupan Sosič*) ..... 247
- Irena Gantar Godina, ur., Intelektualci v diaspori: Zbornik referatov simpozija »100. obletnica rojstva Louisa Adamiča – Intelektualci v diaspori«, Portorož, Slovenija, 1.–5. septembra 1998. ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1999, 248 str. (*Andrej Vovko*) ..... 251
- Breda Čebulj Sajko, Etnologija in izseljenstvo: Slovenci po svetu kot predmet etnoloških raziskav v letih 1926–1993. Knjižnica Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva 29, Ljubljana 1999, 182 str. (*Nives Sulič*) ..... 254
- Marina Lukšič-Hacin, Multikulturalizem in migracije. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1999, 269 str. (*Mirjam Milharčič-Hladnik*) ... 256
- Jože Rant, ur., Zbornik dela v zvestobi in ljubezni: Zedinjena Slovenija 1948–1998. Zedinjena Slovenija, Buenos Aires 1998, 809 str. (*Zvone Žigon*) ..... 258
- Božidar Finck, Na tujem v domovini. Mohorjeva družba, Celovec, Ljubljana, Dunaj 1999, 174 str. (*Zvone Žigon*) ..... 261
- Tone Rode, Mesto pristan. SKA, Buenos Aires 1997 (*Helga Glušič*) ..... 262
- Igor Šentjerc, Vaters Land. Langen Müller, München 1997, 351 str. (*Lev Detela*) ..... 265

---

NAVODILA IN PRIPOROČILA AVTORJEM .....	271
INSTRUCTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO AUTHORS .....	275

AVTORSKI IZVLEČKI  
AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS

## DESET LET REVIJE *DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS*

Janja Žitnik

*Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, znanstvena revija Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani, je bila ustanovljena leta 1990, ko je Inštitut komaj tri leta deloval v organizacijsko in kadrovsko prenovljeni sestavi, tj. z več kot enim redno zaposlenim raziskovalcem. Šele po letu 1986, ko je bil Inštitut administrativno priključen Znanstvenoraziskovalnemu centru Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, se je namreč odprla možnost, da smo v prvem triletnem obdobju lahko zaposlili štiri nove raziskovalce. Leta 1990 je torej na Inštitutu delovalo pet raziskovalcev: literarna zgodovinarica Janja Žitnik od leta 1985, etnologinja Breda Čebulj Sajko in zgodovinar Andrej Vovko od leta 1987, zgodovinar Marjan Drnovšek od leta 1988 in sociologinja Marina Lukšič - Hacin (sedanja predstojnica Inštituta) od leta 1989, pri tehničnem in administrativnem delu pa jim je od leta 1987 pomagala strokovna delavka Špela Marinšek. Danes, desetletje pozneje, deluje na Inštitutu sedem raziskovalcev. Andrej Vovko nas je medtem zapustil, pridružili pa so se nam trije raziskovalci: zgodovinarica Irena Gantar Godina leta 1994, antropolog Zvone Žigon (mladi raziskovalec) leta 1995 in geograf Jernej Mlekuž (prav tako mladi raziskovalec) leta 1999. Istega leta smo zaposlili tudi dokumentalista Deana Ceglerja.

Leta 1990 je bila raziskovalna skupina Inštituta resda številčno še zelo šibka, v strokovnem pogledu pa dovolj močna, da je lahko ustanovila svojo samostojno znanstveno revijo. To vsekakor potrjuje prvi zvezek *Dveh domovin* (1990); v njem je objavljenih kar 27 prispevkov, med katerimi v veliki večini prevladujejo znanstveni članki. V prvem zvezku revije se zreali široka paleta tedanje raziskovalne dejavnosti na področju slovenskih izseljenskih študij, ki je, čeprav še v zelo fragmentarni obliki, potekala v okviru različnih raziskovalnih, pedagoških in drugih ustanov in v okviru različnih znanstvenih disciplin.

Odtlej revija redno izhaja enkrat letno. Povprečno število prispevkov v vseh rubrikah posameznega zvezka je približno 20 (v pričujoči številki 32), v skupnem obsegu revije pa seveda zavzemajo največ prostora znanstveni članki, ki so zadnja leta recenzirani po predpisanem postopku. Krog sodelavcev revije se nenehno spreminja, manjše jedro stalnih avtorjev vsako leto dopolnjujejo novi sodelavci iz najrazličnejših delov sveta. Tako v reviji sodelujejo poleg raziskovalcev iz Slovenije predstavniki slovenskih izseljenskih skupnosti po svetu (doslej predvsem iz Argentine, Kanade in Švedske), slovenski izseljenski znanstveniki in v manjši meri tudi tuji znanstveniki, ki raziskujejo izseljenstvo drugih narodov. Slednjim za sedaj posvečamo v reviji najmanj prostora, saj želimo s sprotim objavljanjem znanstvenih rezultatov spodbujati predvsem raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva, in sicer ob načrtnem vključevanju primerjalnih in teoretskih študij ter metodoloških obravnav. Cilj uredniške politike revije je, da bi postopoma razširili interes za raziskovanje slovenske izseljenske problematike na tiste znanstvene discipline, ki še ne sodelujejo na tem raziskovalnem področju, v okviru primerjalnih študij pa vsekakor tudi na tuje raziskovalce.

Prav zaradi tega smo z letošnjim letom vključili v uredniški odbor revije še dva priznana tuja raziskovalca mednarodnih migracij, in sicer prof. dr. Dirka Hoerderja z bremenske univerze in prof. dr. Adama Walaszka z Inštituta Polonije, ki deluje na Jagiellonski univerzi v Krakovu. Istočasno je bil imenovan tudi novi odgovorni urednik dr. Marjan Drnovšek. Kot predstavnika zamejske in izseljenske raziskovalne dejavnosti redno sodelujeta v uredniškem odboru že od ustanovitve revije dolgoletni sodelavec Inštituta Aleksej Kalc, raziskovalec z Odseka za zgodovino Narodne in študijske knjižnice v Trstu, in akademik prof. dr. Rado L. Lenček s Kolumbijske univerze v New Yorku. S prihodnjim letom pa nameravamo dopolniti uredniški odbor vsaj še z enim mendarodno uveljavljenim raziskovalcem tega področja.

Prihodnje leto, ob vstopu v novo desetletje izhajanja, bo naša revija predvidoma dobila tudi sodobnejšo obliko, uredniška politika pa bo za sedaj ostala nespremenjena. Izjemo predstavlja le naslednja številka *Dveh domovin*, za katero pripravljamo – poleg rednih rubrik – še naslednje prikaze: predstavitev arhivske, periodične in knjižne zbirke Inštituta ter bibliografijo vseh prispevkov v prvih desetih številkah naše revije, v načrtu pa je tudi objava bibliometrijske analize dosedanjih zvezkov te publikacije.

V času izhajanja naše revije so raziskovalci Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo, tj. njenega izdajatelja, objavili poleg znanstvenih prispevkov v domačih in tujih revijah tudi vrsto znanstvenih monografij in zbornikov, ki so med drugim

ocenjeni tudi v tej publikaciji; samo v zadnjih dveh letih (1998–99) so objavili osem znanstvenih knjižnih izdaj in en zbornik razprav (zaradi tega smo v letošnji številki *Dveh domovin* posvetili knjižnim ocenam več prostora kot običajno). In vendar ugotavljamo, da nas v tujih inštitutih in centrih za migracijske študije poznajo predvsem po naši reviji – verjetno zato, ker izhaja dvojezično in so njeni prispevki dostopni tako rekoč vsem tujim raziskovalcem, poleg tega pa je revija s svojo večdisciplinarno zasnovo zanimiva za širok krog uporabnikov. Spričo redne izmenjave revije z drugimi domačimi in tujimi periodičnimi publikacijami je v knjižnici Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo na voljo obiskovalcem precej širok izbor znanstvene, strokovne in izseljenske periodike.

Ob vseh spodbudnih novicah moram tiste tuje bralce, ki ne morejo redno zasledovati vsega pomembnejšega dogajanja v Sloveniji, obvestiti še o tragičnem dogodku, ki je spomladi pretresel sodelavce *Dveh domovin*. Le tri dni pred tem, ko smo se člani redakcije zbrali na redni uredniški seji, je ugasnilo življenje našega dotedanjega odgovornega urednika. Akademik prof. dr. Ferdo Gestrin, plodovit in odmeven znanstvenik, priljubljeni mentor in pedagog, je vrsto let pred upokojitvijo delal kot redni profesor na Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, v zadnjem desetletju pa je bil tesno povezan tudi z našim inštitutom. Funkcijo odgovornega urednika naše revije je opravljal že od njene ustanovitve, v istem obdobju je bil tudi več let član in celo predsednik Znanstvenega sveta Inštituta. Vest o njegovi smrti je odmevala v številnih slovenskih medijih, še posebej v raziskovalnih in univerzitetnih krogih s področja slovenskega zgodovinopisja.<sup>1</sup>

S to nepričakovano izgubo je na naš skupni jubilej ob desetletnici izhajanja pričujoče publikacije padla senca grenkobe. Spominu na našega pokojnega nestorja pa se bomo najiskrenejše poklonili tako, da bomo še naprej sledili njegovim izkušnjam in usmeritvam in da nas nas bosta tudi v prihodnje vodila njegova že kar prislovična treznost in optimizem.

V imenu izdajatelja revije se zahvaljujem vsem njenim dosedanjim sodelavcem, ki so s svojimi pestrimi prispevki iz leta v leto bogatili njeno vsebino; vsem nekdanjim in sedanjim članom uredniškega odbora, zlasti pa svojima predhodnikoma dr. Andreju Vovku in dr. Marjanu Drnovšku za njuna prizadevanja v prvih letih izhajanja revije, ko smo s svojo izdajateljsko dejavnostjo na tem področju še »oralni ledino«; dosedanjim tehničnim urednikom, ki so kljub zahtevnemu in zamudnemu delu poskrbeli, da so vsi zvezki revije lahko izšli v načrtova-

<sup>1</sup> Bralce *Dveh domovin* naj spomnim, da smo predstavitev akademika Gestrina objavili v 8. zvezku revije v rubriki *Portreti*.

nem roku; in nenazadnje vsem našim bralcem, ki jih ob tej priložnosti vabim, da se vključijo v naše delo ne le s prispevki, ki jih predlagajo v objavo, temveč tudi s svojimi morebitnimi pobudami in predlogi uredništvu za še pestrejšo zasnovo in še nekoliko bogatejšo vsebino nadaljnjih zvezkov *Dveh domovin*.



## TEN YEARS OF *DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS*

Janja Žitnik

*Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, the journal of the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) was founded in 1990, barely three years after organizational and personnel changes meant that the Institute could begin employing more than one full-time researcher. Only after 1986, when the Institute was attached administratively to the ZRC SAZU, were we given the possibility of employing four new researchers in the first three-year period. By 1990 there were five researchers working at the Institute: literary historian Janja Žitnik (since 1985), ethnologist Breda Čebulj Sajko and historian Andrej Vovko (since 1987), historian Marjan Drnovšek (since 1988) and sociologist Marina Lukšič-Hacin, the current head of the Institute (since 1989). Since 1987 they have been assisted in technical and administrative work by Špela Marinšek. Today, ten years later, seven researchers work at the Institute. Andrej Vovko has left us, and we have been joined by three other researchers: in 1994 by historian Irena Gantar Godina, in 1995 by anthropologist Zvone Žigon (with young researcher status) and in 1999 by geographer Jernej Mlekuž (also with young researcher status). In 1999 we also employed documentalist Dean Ceglar.

In 1990 the research group of the Institute was still very weak in terms of the number of staff, but sufficiently strong from the point of view of expertise to be able to found its own journal. This is confirmed by the first volume of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* (1990), which contained as many as 27 articles, the great majority of which were scholarly papers. The first volume of the journal reflected the broad palette of current research activity in the field of Slovene emigration studies which, though still in very fragmentary form, was being carried out within various research, teaching and other institutions and within various academic disciplines.

Since then the journal has appeared regularly once a year. The average number of articles across all the sections of an individual volume is around 20 (in the present issue there are 32). Most space in the journal as a whole is of course taken up by scholarly papers, which in recent years have been selected according to a prescribed evaluation procedure. The circle of contributors to the journal is constantly changing, and the small nucleus of permanent writers is complemented each year by new contributors from all over the world. Contributors to the journal include, as well as researchers from Slovenia, representatives of Slovene emigrant communities around the world (to date these have mostly been from Argentina, Canada and Sweden), Slovene emigrant scholars and, to a lesser extent, scholars researching emigration from other nations. For the present, this last group is given the least space in the journal, since our main aim is to stimulate research into Slovene emigration by publishing the latest academic findings – through the deliberate inclusion of comparative and theoretical studies and methodological treatments. The aim of the journal's editorial policy is gradually to extend interest in the research of Slovene emigration issues to those academic disciplines not yet taking part in this field of research, and (within the framework of comparative studies) of course to foreign researchers.

For this reason the editorial board has been joined this year by two well-known foreign researchers of international migrations. These are Professor Dirk Hoerder of Bremen University and Professor Adam Walaszek of the Polonia Institute, who works at Uniwersytet Jagiellonski in Krakow. Another development is the appointment of Dr Marjan Drnovšek as executive editor. Two representatives of research activities outside the borders of Slovenia and overseas, who have been regular members of the editorial board since the journal was founded, are the Institute's long-term collaborator Aleksej Kalc, a researcher in the History Section of the National and Studies Library in Trieste, and Academy-member Professor Rado L. Lencek of Columbia University, New York. Next year we intend to further supplement the editorial board with at least one more internationally-known researcher from this field.

In the coming year, as we embark on a new decade of publication, the format of our journal will probably be updated, but editorial policy will for the time being remain unchanged. The only exception is the next issue of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, for which we are preparing – in addition to the regular sections – the following reviews: a presentation of the Institute's archive, its periodicals collection and its library, and a bibliography of all the articles contained in the

first ten issues of the journal. We also plan to publish a bibliometrical analysis of the volumes of the publication that have appeared to date.

In the ten years that we have been publishing our journal, the researchers of the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies (the journal's publisher) have contributed scholarly articles to domestic and foreign journals and also published a range of monographs and collections of papers which are among the works reviewed in the journal; in the last two years alone (1998–99) they have published eight books and one collection of essays (for this reason we have devoted more space than usual to book reviews in this year's *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*). And yet we find that in foreign institutes and migration studies centres we are known mainly for our journal – probably because it is published in two languages and its articles are thus accessible to practically all foreign researchers. Furthermore the multi-disciplinary design of the journal makes it interesting to a broad circle of users. Thanks to regular exchanges with other domestic and foreign periodical publications, the library of the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies offers visitors a fairly wide choice of academic, specialist and emigrant periodicals.

After all this encouraging news it is my sad duty to inform those foreign readers who are perhaps not in a position to keep abreast of all important developments in Slovenia of a tragic event which deeply affected the staff of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*. Just three days before the members of the editorial board gathered for our regular editorial session, our executive editor passed away. Academy-member Professor Ferdo Gestrin, a prolific and highly-esteemed researcher, and a popular mentor and teacher, was for many years a full professor at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, while over the last decade he was also closely connected with the Institute. He held the position of executive editor of our journal since its foundation, and in the same period was for several years a member (and even president) of the Academic Council of the Institute. The news of his death was widely reported in the Slovene media, particularly in research and university circles in the field of Slovene historiography.<sup>2</sup>

This unexpected loss has cast a shadow over the jubilee celebrating the tenth anniversary of the publication of the journal. The most sincere tribute we can pay to the memory of our late Nestor is to continue to learn from his experience and follow his guidelines, and to continue to be led in the future by his already famous moderation and optimism.

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<sup>2</sup> I should remind readers of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* that a feature on Professor Gestrin appeared in the *Portraits* section of Volume 8 of the journal.

On behalf of our publisher I would like to thank all the contributors who have to date enriched the journal with their articles on a wide range of subjects; all the former and current members of the editorial board, particularly my predecessors Dr Andrej Vovko and Dr Marjan Drnovšek for their efforts in the first years of the journal's existence, when we were still at the 'spadework' stage of our publishing activities; all the technical editors who despite demanding and time-consuming work have ensured that all the volumes of the journal have been published on schedule; and finally, all our readers, whom I take this opportunity to invite to join us in our work, not only through articles submitted for publication but also through suggestions and proposals to the editorial board of ways to make future volumes of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* even more varied in scope and even richer in content.

# MLÁDEŽŤSTVO V VENEZUELE

1988, 1989

## RAZPRAVE

### IN ČLANKI

### ESSAYS

### AND ARTICLES



## SLOVENSTVO V VENEZUELI

Zvone Žigon

Ko govorimo o izseljevanju Slovencev v države Južne Amerike, imamo največkrat v mislih Argentino, kamor se jih je resnici na ljubo izselilo največ, cilj mnogih pa so postale tudi Brazilija, Urugvaj in Čile.<sup>1</sup> Na Slovenskem najdemo temu primerno razmerje publikacij o življenju v omenjenih posameznih državah; ob tem pa je gotovo med najmanj zastopanimi Venezuela oziroma slovenski priseljenci v tej državi. V Sloveniji je o rojakih v Venezueli izšlo komaj nekaj časopisnih člankov (*Družina*, *Rodna gruda*), nekaj zapisov pa najdemo še v *Koledarju – Zborniku Svobodne Slovenije* iz Buenos Airesa. Ker sem tudi sam večino svojega raziskovanja ohranjanja etnične identitete v izseljenstvu namenil osebam slovenskega porekla v že naštetih državah, se je za nujno potrebnega izkazal še obisk v tej državi. V Venezueli sem oktobra 1998 prebil 18 dni in v tem času kljub šibkim izhodiščem uspel navezati stik s tam živečo slovensko skupnostjo.

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<sup>1</sup> Na podlagi različnih zapisov in ocen lahko sklepamo, da se je v različnih obdobjih od druge polovice 19. stoletja s slovenskega etničnega ozemlja v Argentino izselilo okoli 30.000 oseb, v Urugvaj okoli 1.500 (Žigon, 1998 b, str. 81), v Čile okoli 150 (n.d., str. 91), v Brazilijo od 1.000 do 5.000 oseb – številke se izrazito razlikujejo zaradi izjemno pomanjkljive evidence (n.d., str. 85). Na vsej celini naj bi se naselilo do 40.000 oseb slovenskega porekla, še enkrat pa velja poudariti, da gre večinoma za špekuliranje s številkami. Natančno ugotavljanje je nemogoče, saj so se vsi priseljenci v te države preselili kot državljani Jugoslavije, Avstrije, Italije, ugotavljanje in zapisovanje etnične pripadnosti ob vstopu v omenjene države je bilo prej izjema kot pravilo, zaradi številnih ilegalnih izselitev, begunstva itd. pa je bila tovrstna evidenca močno okrnjena tudi s strani oblasti emigrantske družbe oziroma države.

## ZGODOVINA PRISELJEVANJA V VENEZUELO

Ta prostrana južnoameriška država je takoj po osamosvojitvi, ko je štela vsega 700.000 prebivalcev (Caballero 1997, str. 12), sprejela zakon, ki je spodbujal priseljevanje, saj je bilo v deželi ogromno nenaseljenih prostranstev. Že od leta 1832 je tako potekalo kontinuirano priseljevanje, predvsem Špancev s Kanarskih otokov in tudi iz Španije, Nizozemcev, Nemcev, Italijanov, Francozov, Portugalcev idr. Med drugo svetovno vojno je bilo priseljevanje minimalno, po vojni pa je spet naraslo (od 1945 do 1947 okoli 41.000 oseb). Tudi v prihodnjih letih se je nadaljevalo močno priseljevanje (samo leta 1948 naj bi v državo vstopilo okoli 50.000 priseljencev, do leta 1953 pa povprečno več kot 28.000 na leto; največ je bilo Italijanov, Špancev, Kolumbijcev in Portugalcev, veliko pa tudi Severnoameričanov, Poljakov, Libanoncev, Kitajcev, Nemcev itd.).

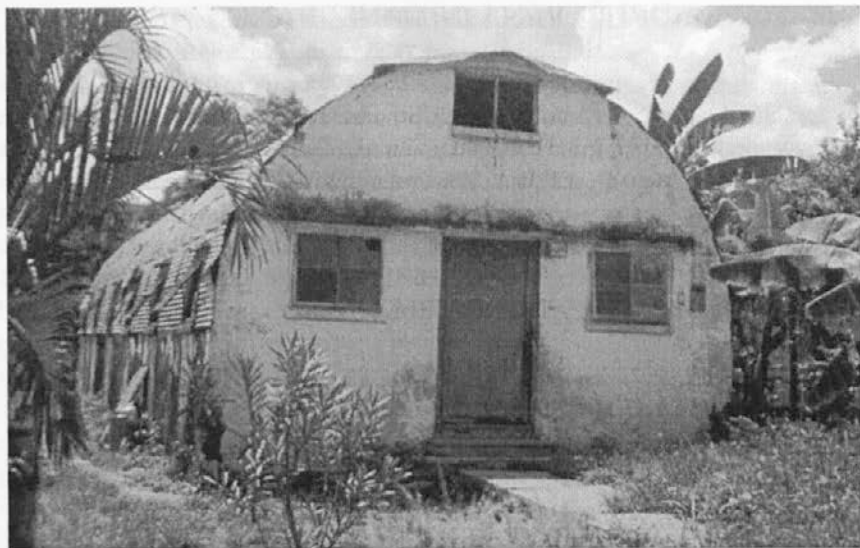
Prvi Slovenci so prišli v Venezuelo med prvo in drugo svetovno vojno – njihovo število je neugotovljivo, vsekakor pa majhno in nesignifikantno, lahko zapišemo, da je šlo za posameznike. Odvetnik Anton Urbanc iz Caracasa tako ugotavlja, da naj bi jih prišlo do 50.

O začetku večjega izseljevanja Slovencev v to državo lahko govorimo šele od 27. junija 1947, ko se je začelo priseljevanje političnih beguncev s prvim transportom, pristalim v pristanišču La Guaira. Največ je bilo Špancev, Italijanov, Poljakov in »Jugoslovanov (večinoma Hrvatov)«.

2. septembra 1947 je v pristanišču Puerto Cabello po dolgi poti iz nemškega Brehmenhavna pristala ladja, »transport A«, z 850 potniki različnih narodnosti predvsem iz srednje in vzhodne Evrope, »večinoma Jugoslovani (301), med njimi največ Hrvatov« (Caballero 1997, str. 34), o slovenskih potnikih pa ni posebnih zaznamkov, razen ustnih pričevanj. Sledilo je še nekaj podobnih transportov, v katerih je bilo tudi neugotovljivo število Slovencev, skoraj vsi pa so svoje izseljenško življenje začeli v velikih pločevinastih barakah v taborišču El Trompillo.

Po pričevanju Urbanca je bilo samo na prvih transportih leta 1947 200 do 300 Slovencev, pisatelj Lojze Ilija pa je, po pričevanju Antona Urbanca, ocenil, da je v državo prišlo okoli 500 priseljencev s Slovenskega. Prvemu »valu« slovenskih izseljencev, ki so iz domovine odšli večinoma kot politični begunci, zaradi nestrinjanja z novo oblastjo, so do konca 50. let sledili še številni posamezniki, večinoma Primorci, ki so se za preselitev odločili bodisi zaradi nezadovoljstva z ekonomskimi in deloma tudi političnimi razmerami doma, bodisi iz čistega »avanturizma« ali na podlagi izkušenj in vabil slovenskih sorodnikov in znancev iz Venezuele. Na podlagi ločenih ustnih izjav oziroma ocen lahko dom-





*Ena od še ohranjenih pločevinastih barak v emigrantskem taborišču El Trompillo. Foto: Zvone Žigon*

nevamo, da je do leta 1960 v Venezuelo prispelo 550 do 650 Slovencev. To oceno potrjuje tudi izjava Angela Pušnarja, ki mu je uslužbenec jugoslovanskega veleposlaništva v Caracasu pred približno desetimi leti dejal, da naj bi v tej državi živelo okoli 650 Slovencev. Slovenski duhovnik v Caracasu Janez Grilc je leta 1970 zapisal, da je v tem mestu okoli 30 do 40 slovenskih družin oziroma skupaj okoli 300 oseb z otroki in samskimi osebami vred, približno enako stanje naj bi bilo v Valenciji (Grilc 1970, str. 227–228), še nekaj deset družin pa je naseljenih v krajih Maracaibo, Maracay, Merida, Puerto Ordaz, Güigüe, Puerto Cabello in drugod, večinoma po notranjosti države. Isti avtor v drugem članku omenja, da je po poročilih jugoslovanskega konzulata v Venezueli okoli 800 Slovencev, »vendar se zdi, da je med temi precej takih, ki se v vsakdanjem življenju štejejo med Italijane ali celo Nemce in Madžare. To store navadno zaradi lažjega gospodarskega položaja. Slovenski dušni pastir jih je naštel okrog 600.« (Grilc 1975, str. 463) Po oceni avtorja je bilo med njimi okoli 15 odstotkov takih, ki so se udeleževali nedeljske slovenske maše (Grilc 1970, str. 227–228).

## DRUŠTVENA ORGANIZIRANOST

Med priseljenci s slovenskega etničnega ozemlja je bilo največ odraslih in že izučenih oseb, večkrat so prišle cele družine ali vsaj zakonski pari. Več sogovornikov je v spominih na prihod v neznano deželo poudarjalo hud kulturni in klimatski šok, ki so ga doživljali prve dni in tedne, celo mesece. Venezuela je namreč država z (ob obali in v večini notranjih predelov) zelo vročo klimo, kljub velikim naravnim bogastvom se ne more otresti velikih socialnih razlik oziroma hude revščine, s čimer je povezana visoka stopnja kriminala, drugačna je tudi delovna mentaliteta.



*Skupina venezuelskih Slovencev po velikonočnem blagoslovu jedi, Caracas, 1. april 1961. Desno duhovnik Janez Grilc. (Zasebni arhiv Rudija Kelbiča, Caracas)*

Kljub naštetim težavam si je večina slovenskih priseljencev razmeroma hitro ekonomsko opomogla, saj so bili delavni in iznajdljivi. Že kmalu po prihodu se je del sprva še popolnoma nepovezane izseljenske skupnosti začel neformalno sestajati (od leta 1953) in sčasoma je prišlo do pobude, na katero je leta

1958 prišel iz Argentine slovenski duhovnik Janez Grilc. Izkazal se je za odličnega organizacijskega in duhovnega voditelja, tako da so se takoj začele slovenske maše (prva že 27. aprila 1958) in izrazito narodnostno obarvana romanja, sledila so si tudi družabna in kulturna srečanja. Leta 1966 (13. julija) je bilo tudi formalno ustanovljeno slovensko izseljensko društvo Sv. Cirila in Metoda.<sup>2</sup> Članarino je plačevalo okoli 35 družin (leta 1975 44 članarin), sicer pa se je večjih prireditve udeleževalo od 100 do 150 oseb. Slovenci iz notranjosti države, tudi tisti iz Valencije, niso plačevali članarine zaradi oddaljenosti. Društvo je leta 1973 odprlo »pristavo«, kjer je bila tudi dvorana oziroma prostor za srečanja, balinišče, vrt itd. Objekt so kasneje prodali, še danes pa ima društvo v najem več parcel na pokopališču. Vzporedno z društvom Sv. Cirila in Metoda (Caracas) je v Valenciji nastalo društvo Ilirija.<sup>3</sup>

Kljub velikim prizadevanjem in celo začasnemu uspehu se želja po ohranitvi lastnega društvenega doma ni obdržala, očitno zaradi majhnosti skupnosti, premajhne finančne sposobnosti, pa tudi velike raztresenosti po vsem vlemestu in državi. Vseeno so nadaljevali s prireditvami, pa čeprav v najetih dvoranah, predvsem je šlo za materinske dneve, miklavževanja, »slovenski dan«... V *Koledarju–Zborniku Svobodne Slovenije* zasledimo prošnjo rojakom v Argentini za še enega duhovnika (za kraj Valencia), za učitelja slovenščine in za orglarja (*Koledar...* 1967, str. 424–425). V začetku 70. let je v tej skupnosti deloval orkester Triglav, dejaven pa je bil tudi pevski zbor, v katerem so peli celo Slovenci iz 150

<sup>2</sup> Gre za »civilno društvo brez dobičkanosnih namenov, /.../ ima polno sposobnost, da vrši vsa tista dejanja, ki so mu za dosego svojega namena koristna, primerna in potrebna. /.../ Namen društva je pospeševati med svojimi člani duhovne in kulturne vrednote v skladu s krščansko vero, jim nuditi v okviru krščanske morale zdravo zabavo in razvedrilo ter jim pomagati v slučaju bolezni ali smrti.« (*Pravila Društva Sv. Cirila in Metoda*, Caracas, 8. maj 1966.) Poleg Grilca je kot duhovnik v Venezueli od leta 1971 do 1978 deloval tudi Milan Hlebš, zdaj v pokoju v Sloveniji.

<sup>3</sup> V *Slovenskem Koledarju* Slovenske izseljenske matice in v drugih naslovnih slovenskih izseljenskih društev zasledimo še ime Karla Perovca in društva Slovenija v kraju Puerto Cabello. Med mojimi sogovorniki je ob tem podatku zavladovalo veliko začudenje, samo nekateri so se megleno spomnili tega imena, o kakšnem društvu ali vsaj večjem številu Slovencev v tem kraju pa nihče ni vedel ničesar. Sicer pa je Janez Grilc na podlagi svojih obiskov v različnih krajih Venezuele zapisal, da v kraju Puerto Cabello živi okoli 5 slovenskih družin, v kraju Barquisimeto 5 do 6, nekatere v krajih Las Theques, Cumana, La Palina itd. (*Življenje*, 20. 9. 1959), v kraju Chivacoa 3 (*Življenje*, januar 1960).

kilometrov oddaljene Valencije. Nekaj časa so bili otroci pred slovensko mašo deležni tudi pouka slovenskega jezika. Na svojo navzočnost v Venezueli je slovenska skupnost opozorila tudi na ta način, da je leta 1985 papežu Janezu Pavlu II. ob obisku v Caracasu izročila darilo.

Osrednji dogodek te slovenske izseljenske skupnosti je bilo vsakoletno romanje, ki se je ohranilo vse do smrti msgr. Janeza Grilca junija 1997, naslednje leto pa je Tončka Brundula, zdaj predsednica društva in duša »slovenskega« dogajanja v Venezueli, organizirala (odlično obiskano) novo romanje, posvečeno prav spominu na dolgoletnega duhovnega in kulturnega voditelja. O veličini in sposobnostih tega človeka govori tudi podatek, da se po njem imenuje ulica v Caracasu; sicer pa imajo v turističnem kraju Higuerote celo avenijo Slovenija.

Duhovnik Grilc je od 19. aprila 1959 izdajal glasilo *Življenje*, sprva vsak mesec, zadnja leta pa dvakrat letno. Po njegovi smrti je uredništvo prevzela Tončka Brundula iz Caracasa, ki je junija 1998 izdala svojo prvo številko. List je bil vseskozi verske in informativne narave, izhajal pa je največkrat v obliki pisma, na dveh straneh, v slovenščini in občasno deloma v španščini.



*Pokojni msgr. Janez Grilc (Arhiv Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo)*

Za slovenske izseljence je pomemben tudi Dan emigranta (El día del inmigrante) v kraju Güigüe, kjer velja za »poglavarja« (el «casique») slovenski izseljenec Franc Willewardt. Gre za spomin na izkrcanje prvih evropskih priseljencev po vojni v kraju Puerto Cabello in prihod v taborišče v bližini kraja El Trompillo. Slovesnost organizira mestna oblast, udeležijo pa se je pripadniki različnih priseljskih skupnosti v kraju in državi. Sam sem bil (leta 1998) navzoč na tej prireditvi. Navzočnost različnih priseljskih skupin je bila obeležena s položitvijo vencev v barvah nacionalnih zastav pred spomenik domačemu narodnemu voditelju in heroju Simonu Bolívarju. Franc Willewardt velja v tem kraju za eno vplivnejših oseb in organizatorjev omenjene slovesnosti. V govoru na Dan emigranta leta 1996 izraža – kljub nenehno izkazovani zvestobi slovenstvu – veliko hvaležnost in lojalnost Venezueli: »Vsakič, ko smo se zbrali na tem kraju in s tem namenom, smo to počeli zato, da bi lahko pripovedovali o svojem prihodu, nikoli pa nismo pozabili izraziti hvaležnosti. Venezuela je domovina nas in naših otrok, vnukov in pravnukov... Vi, vaši starši in dedje so nam ponudili roko pomoči, službe, streho nad glavo, ne da bi nas poznali in ne da bi vedeli, kdo smo. Prav zato čutimo, da je ta dežela tudi naša domovina...« (Willewardt 1996).<sup>4</sup> Prireditve oktobra 1998 se je udeležila tudi skupina 10 do 15 Slovencev. Žal je praznovanje po več kot 50 letih v veliki meri izgubilo pomen in odmevnost, tudi udeležba leta 1998 je bila precej skromna; kot zunanji opazovalec sem dobil občutek, da je prireditev namenjena sama sebi in morda še spoštovanju do redkih še živečih pripadnikov prve generacije priseljencev.

## SLOVENCİ IN SLOVENSTVO V VENEZUELI DANES

V sklopu raziskovanja navzočnosti oziroma ohranjenosti slovenske etnične identitete v Južni Ameriki sem se tudi v Venezueli odločil za neposreden stik z osebami slovenskega porekla oziroma za kombinacijo raziskovalne metode »opazovanja z udeležbo« in vodenih intervjujev (ob običajnem delu s pisnimi viri). Seveda za prvo metodo ni bilo optimalnih pogojev, saj niti slučajno nisem zadostil veljavnim kriterijem vsaj nekajmesečnega bivanja sredi obravnavane skupine (ta metoda omogoča raziskovalcu neposreden stik s pripadniki ciljne skupine, življenje z njimi, večjo stopnjo empatije, saj raziskovalec postane del

<sup>4</sup> Franc Willewardt, rokopis govora ob Dnevu emigranta, Güigüe, 6. oktober 1996. Willewardt končuje knjigo z avtobiografijo in zgodbami iz izseljskega življenja.

opazovanega procesa. Pa vendar sem se njihovemu čutenju približal vsaj do neke mere, saj sem tudi sam lahko izkusil kulturni (in klimatski) šok, tako kot so ga izseljenci ob svojem prihodu, po več dni sem živel pri dveh družinah, imel sem priložnost za sodelovanje v njihovem vsakdanjem življenju, za neformalne, nevezane, improvizirane pogovore.<sup>5</sup> Zanimala me je predvsem ohranjenost slovenske etnične identitete med pripadniki druge generacije te razmeroma razpršene skupnosti. Namen obiska je bil tudi preveriti zastavljeni model ohranjanja etnične identitete v izseljenstvu, oblikovan na podlagi raziskav med Slovenci v Argentini, Urugvaju, Braziliji in Čilu, v katerem sem navzočnost primarne etnične identitete (identitete izvorne, emigrantske družbe, iz katere so se izselili starši) razporedil v gibljivo kvalitativno lestvico z devetimi ravnmi, ki se med seboj pogosto prepletajo. Tako ločim:

1. identifikacijsko identiteto (gre za osebe, ki jih raziskovalec običajno ne doseže, saj nimajo stikov s slovenstvom ali jih ta tematika ne zanima, morda zgolj vedo, od kod izvirajo njihovi predniki);
2. odprtost (osebe, ki se označujejo za »potomce Slovencev« ali celo »Slovence po rodu«, navadno poznajo življenjsko zgodbo prednikov in občasno želijo tesnejšega stika s kulturo izvorne domovine);
3. folklorno – simbolno identiteto (občasno udeleževanje slovenskih prireditev v izseljenstvu);
4. klubska identiteta (pripadnost slovenskemu klubu, društvu, včasih predvsem temu in ne toliko slovenstvu kot kulturi);
5. željo po pridobitvi (slovenskega) državljanstva in učenju jezika;
6. mobilizacijsko identiteto (osebe v vodstvih društev, tisti, ki redno sodelujejo pri društvenem ali drugačnem delu);
7. obiskovanje, redni stiki z izvorno domovino;
8. govorjenje in gojenje maternega jezika ter
9. odločitev o preselitvi v izvorno domovino (Žigon 1998 b, str. 104–106).

Imel sem precej raziskovalske sreče, prav tako nujno potrebne pri tovrstnem raziskovanju, saj sem že iz Slovenije vzpostavil stik s Tončko Brundula, eno najdejavnih oseb v slovenski izseljenki skupnosti, sedaj predsednico Društva Sv. Cirila in Metoda, bližnjo sodelavko msgr. Janeza Grilca itd., torej idealno informatorko. Srečal sem se z 22 družinami ali drugače povedano, pogovarjal

<sup>5</sup> O metodi »opazovanja z udeležbo« piše Bernard Russel v knjigi *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991.

sem se z najmanj 71 pripadniki prve, druge in celo tretje generacije Slovencev v tej državi. Imel sem možnost pregledati del še ohranjenega arhiva msgr. Grilca (večji del je po njegovi smrti ostal v neurejenih prostorih župnijske Karitas oziroma se je za njim izgubila sled), intervjuval sem slovenskega misijonarja Huga Delčnjaka (Maša z bobni, *Dnevnik*, november 1998), nekaj dni pa sem porabil tudi za seznanitev z delom te prostrane in geografsko ter kulturno raznolike države.

»Ožjo« slovensko izseljensko skupnost v Venezueli sestavlja okoli 100 oseb prve in druge generacije. Gre za družine, v katerih sta večinoma oba zakonca Slovenca, otroci, večinoma že odrasli, pa imajo največkrat venezuelske partnerje (raje se odločajo za potomce evropskih kultur). Večina mojih sogovornikov iz druge generacije je govorila tudi slovensko, čeprav največkrat v narečju svojih staršev in s težavami z besednim zakladom. Naletel sem tudi na nekaj izjem, torej takih, ki so govorili tekoče slovensko, v več primerih pa tudi takih, ki znajo zgolj kakšno besedo ali še tega ne, njihov občutek slovenstva pa je omejen na pripadnost skupnosti kot taki oziroma na zavedanje svojih etničnih korenin. Precej pogost je pojav govorjenja »medio venezolansko, medio slovensko«, torej mešanje slovenskih in španskih izrazov.

Celotna skupnost »sloni« na nekaj priimkih, kar pomeni, da gre za številčnejše družine ali pač dejavnejše posameznike (organizator društvenega življenja in večkratni predsednik društva Kelbič, advokat Urbanc, pivovarnar Rifel, osemčlanska družina Voglar, že omenjena družina Brundula, Jakuš, Willewardt, Boštjančič, Jerak, Meglič, Ilija, itd.).<sup>6</sup>

Raba jezika je prilagojena razmerju v družini – če sta oba zakonca Slovenca, pogovor poteka pogosteje v slovenščini, v nekaterih družinah se tega pravila držijo tudi pri komuniciranju s potomci, največkrat pa so pripadniki drugega rodu v tako močni navezi z dominantno kulturo, da se materni jezik izgubi ali vsaj potisne v ozadje že kmalu po vstopu v socialne ustanove (vrtec, šola). Veliiko je takih, ki slovensko razumejo, govorijo pa ne. Precej posameznikom, ki so prišli v Venezuelo skupaj s starši kot otroci, pa se je zgodilo, da je njihov (slo-

<sup>6</sup> Nekoliko odmaknjena od te skupnosti je Karolina Kuglot, potomka slovenskih izseljencev s Postojnskega, ki je dokončala likovno akademijo v Ljubljani, sicer dejavna soustvarjalka kulturnega življenja v Caracasu, med drugim tudi soorganizatorica uspelega gostovanja MGL z igro *Šeherezada*. Na magnetofonskem posnetku je posnet dolg pogovor o njenem občutenju slovenske identitete, o razpetosti med prijatelje v Sloveniji in družino v Venezueli, o odnosu z možem Venezuelcem itd.

venski) jezik ostal na ravni npr. sedemletnega otroka. Medtem ko se razmeroma visok delež od ocenjenega števila Slovencev v Venezueli še udeležuje skupnega romanja (100–150), lahko sicer ugotovimo razmeroma hiter proces asimilacije, ki je, glede na to, da se omenjenega dogodka udeleži do 150 oseb slovenskega porekla (z neslovenskimi sorodniki vred), v veliki meri že »dopolnjena« pri približno 70 odstotkih obravnavane populacije oziroma druge generacije Slovencev v Venezueli.

Za tretjo generacijo skoraj brez izjeme velja, da je v celoti asimilirana v dominantno kulturo; težko govorimo o pripadnosti slovenstvu, čeprav sem doživel tudi tovrstne primere – šlo je za identifikacijo z venezuelsko IN slovensko zastavo itd., torej za predvsem prvo in drugo »raven« identitete glede na zastavljeno gibljivo lestvico.

Na splošno se je tudi tu potrdilo pravilo oziroma ugotovitev iz drugih raziskovanj, da je etnična identiteta v izseljenstvu razslojena na več kakovostnih ravni, med katerimi gotovo dominira znanje primarnega slovenskega jezika in razmišljanje, podzavestni miselni procesi v njem. Že takoj na naslednji ravni pa pridobijo na pomenu druge komponente, kot so npr. delovna mentaliteta, običaji, pesmi, ki se lažje ohranjajo oziroma prenašajo z generacije na generacijo. Za skupnost v Venezueli oziroma asimilacijo slovenske identitete v venezuelski lahko kot značilnost navedemo dejstvo, da pripadniki druge generacije nimajo fizičnega prostora, kjer bi se lahko srečevali na osnovi slovenstva, tako kot je to možno pri mladih v Argentini, zato odpade eden od pomembnih socializacijskih medijev – skupina vrstnikov. Prav tako nimajo slovenske šole, po smrti Janeza Grilca ni več slovenske maše itd. Posameznik, pripadnik druge generacije, se tako hitreje navzame vplivov dominantnega okolja, dvojni – tudi slovenski – socializaciji je izpostavljen le v krogu družine.

Tudi tu sem naletel na osebe, ki so mi svojo etnično identiteto opisale kot svojevrstno dvojnost: v Venezueli jih okolica jemlje kot tujce oziroma vsaj potomce tujcev, drugačne po zunanjem izgledu (modre oči, svetli lasje, višje postave...) in vedenju; prav zaradi slednjega podobno gledajo nanje tudi ob obisku v Sloveniji – v obeh deželah čutijo, da jih okolje obravnava kot tujce,<sup>7</sup> čeprav se sami počutijo na obeh lokacijah »kot doma«. Eden od sogovornikov mi je svoj odnos do slovenstva opisal kot nekaj »mističnega«. Tudi v Venezueli, kot v vseh imigrantskih državah, v katerih sem se srečal s slovenskimi izseljenskimi skup-

<sup>7</sup> Venezuelci so za prišleke iz Evrope uporabljali izraz »musju« (iz francoskega monsieur), ki se je ohranil do današnjih dni.



nostmi, se je ponovilo opažanje, da mladi okrog 20. leta starosti začutijo povečan interes po globlji etnični samoidentifikaciji; če ne znajo slovensko, se začnejo zanimati za ta jezik, čutijo obžalovanje, da niso ohranili jezika staršev itd.

Pripomnim naj, da je več pripadnikov prve generacije v pogovorih poudarilo, da se še vedno niso čisto prilagodili kulturi in klimi, da jim v Venezueli ni všeč, seveda pa zdaj, ko so si ustvarili družine in se ustalili, ne namerevajo vnovič na tvegano pot čez ocean v deželo, kjer niso več tako doma, kot so bili pred odhodom.

Namesto zaključka lahko ugotovimo, da je slovenstvo v Venezueli na stopnji, ko se bo bodisi ohranilo na sedanji ravni bodisi pospešeno izgubilo. Precej je odvisno tudi od sodelovanja slovenske države in Cerkve, saj si tamkajšnji še dejavni Slovenci na podlagi izkušenj s pokojnim duhovnikom Grilcem želijo novega slovenskega duhovnika in organizatorja, izrazili pa so tudi željo po imenovanju častnega konzula in tesnejšem kulturnem sodelovanju. Tončka Brundula, predsednica Društva Sv. Cirila in Metoda, se je lotila zahtevne naloge izdelave registra vseh Slovencev v Venezueli – vpisuje letnice rojstev, poklice, naslove itd., in to za vse generacije. Namerava tudi na novo sklicati odbor in oživiti delovanje društva, zamrlo s smrtjo duhovnika. Če se naštetih predlogi oziroma projekti ne bodo obnesli, lahko pričakujemo pospešeno asimiliranje in izginjanje slovenstva v tej južnoameriški državi.

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#### SUMMARY

### **SLOVENE IDENTITY IN VENEZUELA**

Zvone Žigon

*Among the countries of South America to which large numbers of Slovenes have emigrated, Venezuela is perhaps the most modestly represented in the otherwise relatively extensive literature on Slovene emigration, and only a few articles are to be found on Venezuela either in periodical publications or in specialist or academic literature. For this reason the author decided to make an 18-day visit to Venezuela, during the course of which he met 22 families and spoke with 71 members of the first, second and third generations of immigrants. He spent most time with the family of Tončka Brundula, the president of the Slovene Society of SS Cyril and Methodius in Caracas. After having compared written statements and oral testimony, the author estimates that around 600 Slovenes came to Venezuela and remained there. The majority arrived in 1947, while others continued to arrive gradually until 1960, when immigration from the Slovene ethnic territory more or less came to a halt. Slovenes in Caracas began coming together for communal events as early as 1952, while in 1966 the Cyril and Methodius Society mentioned above was founded. The various events are always attended by around 150 people of Slovene origin (of different generations) and their non-Slovene family members.*

*Among the second generation, in which the author is most interested, the*

*Slovene language is mainly present among children of Slovene parents, while in most other cases it has partly or completely disappeared. In most cases we can talk about an 'identification' identity, i.e. a recognition in principle of Slovene ethnic roots and occasional interest in Slovene matters.*

*The author finds that following the death of the Slovene priest Monsignor Janez Grilc in 1997, the Slovene community in Venezuela has found itself at a turning point. It has been left without a spiritual leader and organizer, and without a fresh consolidation; if the society does not start operating again, the already fairly weak links connecting the dispersed community will be broken, which could lead to accelerated assimilation and the complete disappearance of a Slovene identity.*



# ZAČETEK, RAZVOJ IN DANAŠNJE STANJE SREDNJEŠOLSKIH TEČAJEV V POVOJNI SLOVENSKE EMIGRACIJI V ARGENTINI

Avgust Horvat

## SKRB ZA PREDAJO MATERINŠČINE

Takoj v začetku naselitve so se povojni slovenski priseljenci v Argentini posvetili vprašanju znanja slovenskega pogovornega in knjižnega jezika pri mladih v skupnosti, zato so v krajevnih središčih ustanavljali osnovnošolske tečaje ali sobotne šole. Enako so si tudi prizadevali, da mladi, ki so končali osnovno šolo ali slovenske tečaje, ne bi pozabili ali zavrgli, kar so pridobili v družinah in skupnosti. Že v začetku ali v prvih letih naselitve se je pokazalo, da okolje, predvsem pa pouk v šolah okolja neizogibno vplivata na govorico in pisano besedo mladih in da je potrebno podvojiti skrb za njuno ohranitev in predajo prihodnjim generacijam.

Potreba je sprožila misel, da bi bila rešitev v ustanovitvi mladinskih organizacij za doraščajočo mladino v skupnosti. Leta 1949 sta bili ustanovljeni Slovenska fantovska zveza (SFZ) in Slovenska dekliška organizacija (SDO) kot prosvetni organizaciji slovenske mladine po zgledu in programu, kot so ga imele od začetka stoletja – s presledki iz političnih razlogov – do konca dvajsetih let mladinska organizacija Slovenski orel in po koncu kraljeve diktature od srede tridesetih let do začetka druge svetovne vojne organizaciji Zveza fantovskih odsekov in Zveza dekliških krožkov. Ker so se sestanki v obeh organizacijah vršili največ dvakrat mesečno, se je pokazalo, da to ni dovolj. V okviru SDO so ustanovili Dijaški krožek, ki naj bi članicam srednješolkam pomagal pri literarnem ustvarjanju.<sup>1</sup> Mladinski organizaciji sta občasno izdajali glasilo *Mladinska vez*, v katerem so mladi objavljali svoje literarne prispevke in poročila.

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<sup>1</sup> Tine Debljak ml., Slovenski srednješolski tečaj ravnatelja Marka Bajuka v Buenos Airesu, *Zbornik Svobodne Slovenije 1971–1972*, str. 380–391.

## ZAČETKI ORGANIZIRANEGA POUKA

Skrb je narekovala, da so za dijake obeh spolov ustanovili Zvezo slovenskih srednješolcev in pod njenim okriljem Dijaški krožek, katerega člani so bili glavni sodelavci *Mladinske vezi*.<sup>2</sup> Za izboljšanje slovenske govorjene besede mladih je bila tudi kmalu po naselitvi ustanovljena Igralska družina Narte Velikonja (IDNAVE), potem Slovensko gledališče<sup>3</sup> in leta 1954 gledališki odsek Slovenske kulturne akcije (SKA). V začetku so pri gledaliških predstavah nastopali predvsem starejši oziroma odrasli ob sodelovanju mladih, postopoma pa so jih nadomestili mladi, izobraženi že v deželi naselitve.

Ko se je slovensko bogoslovno semenišče iz San Luisa, mesta v notranjosti dežele, leta 1951 preselilo v novoustanovljeni Rožmanov zavod v mestu Adrogué blizu Buenos Airesa, je v njem poleg semenišča in Teološke fakultete obstajal tudi Dijaški dom, v katerem so stanovali dijaki iz slovenskih družin in obiskovali krajevno državno gimnazijo.<sup>4</sup> Leta 1952 so med šolskim letom ob sobotah uvedli za dijake pouk slovenščine in ta je bil prvi Slovenski srednješolski tečaj povojnih naseljencev. Ni imel splošnega učnega načrta niti ni bil razdeljen na razrede. Prav tako ni bil vključen v pozneje ustanovljeni Slovenski srednješolski tečaj v Slovenski hiši v Buenos Airesu, med obema so bili samo občasni stiki.<sup>5</sup>

Člani Zveze slovenskih srednješolcev Robert Petriček ml., Franci Jarc, Milan Bevk in več drugih so naprosili Marka Kremžarja, da bi ustanovili literarni krožek za literarne vaje in prispevke za *Mladinsko vez*. Ta je bil ustanovljen leta 1959.<sup>6</sup> Kljub veliko dobre volje se je kmalu pokazalo, da krožek ne zadošča za ustrezno obvladovanje govorjene in pisane slovenske besede, zato je leta 1960 Marko Kremžar s sodelovanjem omenjenih dijakov dal pobudo za ustanovitev Slovenskega srednješolskega tečaja, ki ga je potem vodil do leta 1969.<sup>7</sup> Ravnatelj ali voditelj tečaja so se nato menjavali vsaki dve leti. Sodelovanje pri tečaju so obljubili tudi člani Slovenskega katoliškega akademskega starešinstva (SKAS),

<sup>2</sup> Emil Cof, Poročilo ob 40. obletnici Zedinjene Slovenije 1948–1988, razmnoženina, Buenos Aires 1988, str. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Tine Debeljak ml., n.d.

<sup>4</sup> *Zbornik dela v zvestobi in ljubezni: Zedinjena Slovenija 1948–1998*, Buenos Aires: Zedinjena Slovenija, 1998, str. 618–619.

<sup>5</sup> Prav tam.

<sup>6</sup> Tine Debeljak ml., n.d.

<sup>7</sup> Emil Cof, str. 7.

organizacije slovenskih katoliških izobražencev z dolgoletno predvojno tradicijo v Sloveniji. Ta je sprejela tečaj pod svoje okrilje.<sup>8</sup>



*Dijaki četrtega letnika Slovenskega srednješolskega tečaja ravnatelja Marka Bajuka (SSTRMB) v Slovenski hiši leta 1968*

Leto 1960 je bilo začetno leto, leta 1961 je bil organiziran prvi letnik in vsako naslednje leto dodatni do četrtega letnika leta 1965, s premorom treh let do leta 1968, ko je bil organiziran peti letnik. S tem je bil tečaj glede letnikov izenačen s krajevno srednjo šolo. Leta 1963 so tečaj poimenovali po že pokojnem srednješolskem ravnatelju Marku Bajuku, ki je vodil slovensko srednjo šolo v begunskem taborišču v Avstriji, katere maturitetna spričevala so priznale zavezniške oblasti in so maturanti imeli možnost študija na avstrijskih univerzah.<sup>9</sup>

Učni program je obsegal naslednje predmete: slovenščino, petje, zgodovino, zemljepis, slovensko kulturno zgodovino, svetovno književnost, verouk, etnologijo, človečansko vzgojo in v petem letniku pripravo almanaha.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Emil Cof, str. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Emil Cof, str. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Tine Debeljak ml., n.d.

## KRAJEVNI SREDNJEŠOLSKI TEČAJI

Ko so v nekaterih krajevnih središčih videli, da srednješolski tečaj v Slovenski hiši dobro uspeva, so začeli načrtovati ustanovitev srednješolskega tečaja v svojem krajevnem središču. Tako je bil leta 1969 ustanovljen srednješolski tečaj v Slovenski vasi v Lanúsu, v predmestju velikega Buenos Airesa; vodila sta ga Franc Sodja C. M. in Dušan Šušteršič (leta 1990 je tečaj prenehal delovati). Sledila je ustanovitev tečaja v Bariločah, letoviškem mestu pod Andi, ki ga je dolgo vrsto let vodil Vojko Arko; nazadnje pa je bil tečaj ustanovljen še v Mendози pod vodstvom inž. agr. Marka Bajuka.<sup>11</sup>

Tečajem pomaga v gmotnem pogledu odbor staršev, ki skrbi tudi za opremo učilnic, prostore nudi Slovensko dušno pastirstvo v Slovenski hiši za tečaj v Buenos Airesu, v Lanúsu Misijonski zavod, v Mendози Slovenski dom, v Bariločah pa slovenski Planinski stan. Zedinjena Slovenija podeli vsako leto najboljšim dijakom primerne nagrade. Absolventi so formirali skupino Roj srednješolskega tečaja (RAST), ki je od leta 1972 do 1990 taborila po 14 dni v okolici Bariloč, od leta 1991, po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, pa potujejo sredi šolskega leta za 14 dni v domovino svojih staršev in dedov.

Dijaki morajo ob vpisu opraviti sprejemni izpit iz pogovora v slovenskem jeziku in iz pisnega nareka. Predložiti morajo tudi potrdilo, da so vpisani v krajevno srednjo šolo. Za ponoven vpis od drugega do četrtega letnika morajo poleg vpisa v krajevno srednjo šolo predložiti še počitniško nalogo.

Učni pripomočki so bili v prvih letih obstoja skripta posameznih predmetnih profesorjev poleg naslednjih knjig: Roman Pavlovčič, *Slovenski zgodovinski atlas*, izdala SKA; France Dolinar, *Uvod v zgodovino slovenskega naroda*; Anton Orehar, Alojzij Kukovica, *Priročnik za verouk*; Alojzij Geržinič, *Svetovna književnost*. V zadnjih letih tako profesorski zbor kot dijaki uporabljajo učne pripomočke, ki jih posredujejo Urad za Slovence po svetu pri Zunanjem ministrstvu RS, Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Krščanska kulturna zveza iz Koroške in zamejske Primorske.<sup>12</sup> Pouk na tečaju traja vsako šolsko leto približno 20 sobot od marca do novembra. Dijaki petega letnika so od leta 1968 do 1998 pripravili 31 almanahov z različnimi temami, leta 1992 pa so dijaki četrtega letnika pripravili pod vodstvom prof. F. Markeža brošuro *Slovenija tudi moja dežela*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Emil Cof, str. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Zbornik dela...*, str. 608.

<sup>13</sup> N.d., str. 611.



## RAST IN NIHANJE OBISKOVALCEV

V prvih letih od ustanovitve je bil vpis dijakov v tečaje bolj skromen, postopoma pa je število iz leta v leto naraščalo in doseglo višek v letih 1976–80, ko je bilo vpisanih v vseh tečajih povprečno 268 dijakov letno.

Razpredelnica 1: Vpisani v letih 1960–1998<sup>14</sup>

Obdobje	Povprečno letno
1960–65	62
1966–70	102
1971–75	151
1976–80	268
1981–85	223
1986–90	158
1991–95	133
1996–98	110

Med vpisanimi in obiskovalci tečajev prevladujejo dijakinje, štejejo 60 % vseh obiskovalcev. Izjema je bil tečaj v Lanúsu, dokler je obstajal; v njem so prevladovali dijaki, kar lahko pripišemo dejstvu, da je veliko dijakov obiskovalo privatno, od države priznано srednjo šolo v Misijonarskem zavodu, v katerem je ob sobotah potekal tudi srednješolski tečaj. V osnovnošolskih tečajih ni tako velike razlike v udeležbi obeh spolov, navadno so v večini otroci moškega spola. Pri tem ne smemo pozabiti, da otroke v osnovnošolske tečaje vpisujejo starši in jih ob sobotah tudi spremljajo na tečaj. Otroci starše ubogajo, čeprav jih morda mika, da bi ostali doma in se igrali z vrstniki iz soseske. S srednjo šolo pa se začne že življenjsko obdobje adolescence, s katerim se začne zavest lastne osebnosti in lastnega odločanja. Zato v tej dobi mladi ne sprejemajo vseh nasvetov in priporočil staršev, v več primerih tudi ne priporočila, naj se vpišejo v slovenski srednješolski tečaj, poleg tega da obiskujejo srednjo šolo v okolju. Največ takih primerov je pri fantih, ker si želijo kot drugi neslovenski fantje v okolju ob sobotah prost dan. Pridružijo se skupinam ali »klapam«, ki ob sobotnih popoldnevih organizirajo igranje nogometa, zvečer pa obisk in zabavo v krajevnem slovenskem domu, če jih bolj ne pritegne vabilo okoliške »klape« na ples v disko. Pri dijakinjah moramo upoštevati, da so v večini primerov bolj vezane na dom in poslušne staršem, v kolikor jih ne odtegujejo od tečajev razdalje in vožnje v

<sup>14</sup> Prav tam.

nočnih urah v zimskem času ter vabila sošolk drugih narodnosti na praznovanja rojstnih dnevo, ki so navadno ob sobotah zvečer.

Med drugo generacijo izseljencev je vedno več narodno mešanih zakonov, manj slovenskih družin in manj otrok tretje generacije, čeprav so med njimi tudi družine z več otroki. Dandanes – enako kot osnovnošolske tečaje – tudi srednješolske obiskujejo že otroci tretje generacije. Med njimi pa že opažamo močne vplive okolja in asimilacije.

Ne smemo prezreti, da je srednja šola zahtevnejša kot osnovna, zahteva več učenja in priprave, kar je eden od nadaljnjih razlogov, da dijak odkloni vpis in obisk slovenskega srednješolskega tečaja. Zlasti če obiskuje tehnično srednjo šolo in je morda v izvenšolskem času že zaposlen, je tembolj razumljivo, da si ob sobotah želi počitka. Močan je tudi vpliv okolja. Mladi Argentinci, predvsem dijaki, niso niti dovolj zavzeti niti stimulirani za srednješolski študij. V drugem ali tretjem letniku, ko so na vrsti že zahtevnejši predmeti, se pogosto uprejo staršem in nočejo več v šolo, posebej še, če pri starših nimajo potrebne podpore. Ostanajo doma, hočejo se zaposliti, a zaposlitve ne morejo dobiti zaradi visoke brezposelnosti ali pa zato, ker nimajo potrebne poklicne izobrazbe. Kot izhod v sili sprejmejo vsako ponujeno zaposlitev, tudi kot pomivalci posode v restavracijah in podobnih lokalih ali kot kurirji v pisarnah večjih podjetij. Če zaposlitve ne najdejo, se zopet formirajo manjše klope, ki poskušajo dobiti sredstva za vzdrževanje in zabavo s tatvinami, napadi na banke in starejše osebe na ulici. So primeri, ko se nekateri, ki so zašli na stranpota, zresnijo in hočejo nadaljevati šolanje. Ker je izgubljeno težko nadomestiti in zaradi manjše zahtevnosti se potem vpisujejo na večerne šole, kar pa jim v večini primerov onemogoča nadaljnji študij višje stopnje. Takih skrajnih primerov med slovenskimi dijaki in v slovenskih družinah ni, če pa nekateri dijaki zapustijo srednjo šolo, se zaposlijo v mehaničnih, mizarskih in podobnih delavnicah. Večina jih konča srednjo šolo, predvsem tehnično, kar nudi možnost zaposlitve v izbrani stroki. Med dijakinjami je prekinitve srednjega šolanja redka ali pa je sploh ni, večina jih študira na trgovskih ali pedagoških srednjih šolah z dodatnimi tečaji, v prvem primeru za tajnice, v drugem pa za učiteljice in zdravstveno pomožno osebje. Zavedajo se, da brez dokončane srednje šole ne bodo našle zaposlitve niti kot blagajničarke v veleblagovnicah. V slovenski skupnosti se dijakinje tega dobro zavedajo in veliko jih ima resne ambicije glede nadaljnje univerzitetnega študija.

## GOVORITE MED SEBOJ SLOVENSKO

Obdobje adolescence je med mladimi v slovenski skupnosti odločilno, kar zadeva ohranitev narodne zavesti, narodne pripadnosti in slovenskega jezika, upoštevanje državljanstva dežele, v kateri živijo. To se še posebej kaže na srednješolskih tečajih. V učilnicah poteka pouk, spraševanje in odgovori v slovenščini, med odmori in ob koncu pouka ter na ulici pa je njihov pogovorni jezik španščina. Starejši so stalno opozarjali in še opozarjajo mlade v krajevnih domovih in obeh šolskih tečajih, naj bo med njimi pogovorni jezik samo slovenščina, ker so Slovenci. O tem pravi Andrej Rot, ki je končal oba slovenska šolska tečaja v Slovenski vasi v Lanúsu: »Za svojo generacijo vem, da je morala neprenehoma poslušati: 'Doma govori slovensko,' 'Zdaj si v slovenski šoli, zato govori slovensko,' 'Zakaj rabiš kasteljansko besedo, ko imaš lep slovenski izraz'. In podobno. (...) Našim staršem je uspelo, da so nam privzgojili neomajno zavest pripadnosti slovenstvu vsaj za časa otroštva. (...) Argentina je danost, Slovenija je obljuba.«<sup>15</sup> Zaželeno je, da Slovenija ne bi bila za mlade samo obljuba, ampak bi postala tudi danost in jim nudila življenjski prostor.

Od družin druge generacije je odvisno, ali bo pogovorni jezik v družini slovenščina ali pa bodo nanjo pozabili, enako kot na dolžnost, da jo predajo naslednji generaciji. Odloča se, ali bo ostalo pri naravni in razumljivi integraciji ali pa se bodo mladi vdali valu asimilacije in pritisku okolja. Ker pa je veliko družin druge generacije narodno zavednih, lahko upravičeno upamo, da bodo predale jezik in narodno izročilo generaciji, ki prihaja in ki se že izobražuje v slovenskih srednješolskih tečajih.

## LETNA ŽETEV PO PETIH LETIH SETVE

Zaključek petega letnika je praznik za absolvente, njihove družine, srednješolski tečaj in skupnost. Obenem pa se pojavi tudi zaskrbljenost, kam bo krenila življenjska pot mladih absolventov in koliko jih bo ostalo zvestih slovenstvu.

<sup>15</sup> Andrej Rot, *V obljubljeni deželi*, Ljubljana: DZS, 1992, str. 9, 13.

Razpredelnica 2: Absolventi v letih 1963–1998<sup>16</sup>

Obdobje	Skupno število	Letno povprečje
1963–65	18	6
1968–70	22	7
1971–75	99	20
1976–80	185	37
1981–85	183	37
1986–90	122	24
1991–95	124	25
1996–98	50	17
803	24	

Število absolventov je v sorazmerju z rednim obiskovanjem tečajev. Več kot dobra polovica nadaljuje študij na državnih ali privatnih univerzah in višješolskih zavodih. Večina jih ostane vključena v slovensko krajevno skupnost, le redki se vključijo v »klape« okolja. Sodelujejo pri pevskih zborih, gledaliških in drugih prireditvah, predvsem zabavnih, ki so primerne njihovi starosti. Slovenija je zanje lepa in zanimiva dežela, a se vračajo z različnimi občutki, ko končajo absolventski obisk. Predvsem razpoloženje tistih, ki so imeli bližnje ali daljne sorodnike med pobitimi Slovenci ob koncu druge svetovne vojne, je ob obisku domovine njihovih staršev ali dedov še vedno bolj ali manj zagrenjeno.

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<sup>16</sup> *Zbornik dela...*, str. 610.

RESUMEN

**COMIENZO, DESARROLLO Y SITUACION  
ACTUAL DE LA ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA EN  
LA EMIGRACION ESLOVENA DE POSGUERRA  
EN LA ARGENTINA**

Avgust Horvat

*Los inmigrantes eslovenos de posguerra en la Argentina se preocupaban para que sus descendientes aprendiesen a hablar y escribir en el idioma materno. Con tal fin, organizaron cursos en el idioma a nivel primario los días sábados durante el año escolar local. Al terminar estos cursos, se comprobó que no eran suficientes para el manejo el idioma esloveno. Las organizaciones juveniles y estudiantiles existentes no pudieron subsanar estas deficiencias. Por tal motivo, se pensó y decidió abrir cursos a nivel secundario con una duración de veinte sábados aproximadamente durante el año escolar local.*

*Después de los preparativos necesarios, los cursos empezaron en el año 1960 en el Centro esloveno en Buenos Aires. Los frecuentaban los estudiantes que llegaron al país en la niñez como así también los pertenecientes de la segunda generación. Pasados algunos años, se organizaron los cursos en el Centro Esloveno en Lanús en el Gran Buenos Aires, en Mendoza y Bariloche. Después de algunos años, los cursos en su conjunto fueron frecuentados por unos 260 alumnos.*

*Como materias de estudio, se dictan el perfeccionamiento del idioma oral y escrito, gramática, historia, geografía, literatura nacional y mundial, educación cívica, etnología, religión y canto. En el quinto año, es decir el último del ciclo secundario, se publica un almanaque con los artículos que preparan los alumnos sobre los temas más variados. Dichos ejemplares son regalados por los alumnos a sus profesores, padres y demás integrantes de la comunidad. Aparte de esto colaboran con el periódico juvenil llamado Unión juvenil (Mladinska vez) y en las publicaciones de los centros locales.*

*En la actualidad, frecuentan los cursos los jóvenes estudiantes de tercera generación ya nacida en Argentina. Como durante la adolescencia los jóvenes*

*tratan de valer sus propias ideas, especialmente los muchachos quieren tener libres todos los sábados para ir jugar fútbol u otros deportes. Por tal motivo, año a año en los cursos prevalacen las muchachas con valorizada decisión. Otra razón de la disminución de la asistencia a los cursos son los matrimonios mixtos, lo que en la práctica significa asimilación al medio local. Hay excepciones, pero son muy pocas.*

*A partir de 1991, todos los años en los meses del verano boreal, los estudiantes del quinto año hacen un viaje a Eslovenia, el país de sus padres o abuelos para conocer la geografía y cultura de ese país.*

#### SUMMARY

### **THE BEGINNING, DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL COURSES AMONG POST-WAR SLOVENE IMMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA**

*Avgust Horvat*

*All those who live abroad value their mother tongue very highly. In our case this is the Slovene language. Post-war Slovene immigrants to Argentina felt it their natural duty to pass on the spoken and written language to their descendants. They therefore founded joint local centres and primary school and secondary school courses designed to complement the transfer of the mother tongue taking place in families. In the environment in which they live, it is often not understood why Slovene is spoken in the home, but parents stick to their decision, and by attending primary school in this environment the children master both languages, often a lot better than their contemporaries of other nationalities. The decision to enrol in secondary school courses is made by the children themselves, though they are already considerably under the influence of an environment which tries to achieve the necessary education with the minimum effort. For this reason enrolments are relatively few. If in first-generation families pas-*

sing on the mother tongue was a duty, in second-generation families consciousness of this duty lessens, which affects children mainly during the period of adolescence. We should of course not forget ethnically mixed marriages, which are so much the more exposed to assimilation.

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This paper was presented at the 3rd IANASA National Conference in Belgrade, 1982, in September 1982.

A. Vukobratović, *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1972, 200. page; *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1980, 202. page; *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1985, 201. page; *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1987, 201. page; *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1990, 201. page; *Historija srpske književnosti*, 1995, 201. page.





# ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE FIRST POSTWAR GENERATION OF AUSTRALIAN SLOVENES<sup>1</sup>

Breda Čebulj Sajko

## INTRODUCTION

The history of Australia is doubtlessly connected with the rapid population growth of the continent which is the result of the continuing immigration from 1788, that is the onset of the British colonization, onward. The colonization by the British caused two demographic processes: at first a rapid decrease of the Aboriginal population, which started to climb gradually<sup>2</sup> only after 1945, and constant immigration of the English, Scots, and the Irish; from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward these were followed by other ethnic groups. Since this ongoing immigration to Australia has always determined the destiny of the country and its population, immigration to the fifth continent plays a primary role in Australian history, politics, economy, culture and, last but not least, in daily lives of those who consider themselves Australians (Anglo-Saxon whites, born in Australia), as well as those who had immigrated there (the so-called »new Australians«).

Especially the latter, and among them Australian Slovenes as well, were in the course of this process of their adaptation to the life in a new natural and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the 50<sup>th</sup> AAASS National Convention in Boca Raton, Florida, in September 1998.

<sup>2</sup> When white people came to Australia, Aboriginal population numbered 300,000 (*Australian Information Service, Australia – an Introduction*, Canberra 1981, p. 11), 67,000 in 1901 (Jock Collins, *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land, Australia's Post-war Immigration*, Sydney: Pluto Press, 1988, p. 19), 160,915 in 1976 (*Australian Information Service, Australia ...*, p. 11).

social environment strongly influenced by the official Australian immigration policy. Between 1947 and 1966, thus in the period during which a great majority of postwar Australian Slovenes immigrated to the Australian continent<sup>3</sup> it was based on the principle of assimilation of new immigrants advocated by the Australian government. This was the period of the »complete melting with the Australian culture,« the roots of which were still in the prewar racist and British aspirations to preserve an ethnically homogenous »Australian race.« This was followed by the period of the so-called integration of immigrants (1966–1972) which, because of the mixture of ethnically heterogenous »new Australians,« caused radical changes of the British uniformity of the Australian population. Last but not least, the growing demands for an equal status of the new immigrants, chiefly those who were not of Anglo-Saxon origin, with other Australians, in 1972 forced the government to adopt a new, more tolerant immigration policy called multiculturalism.

These were the postwar political and historic circumstances in which the ethnic identity of first-generation Australian Slovenes originated and developed. This ethnic identity remains an ongoing dynamic process which is closely connected to the broader social processes of the changing emigrant and immigrant societies of the immigrants.

## SOME THOUGHTS ON IDENTITY

Etymologically speaking, identity denotes »sameness« in Slovene.<sup>4</sup> This definition can also be found in the work entitled *Identiteta (Identity)*, Ljubljana 1993, p. 11) by Slovene anthropologist Stane Južnič. After Južnič I cite two kinds

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<sup>3</sup> In 1951, when Australia had a population of about 8.5 million, there lived about 3000 Slovenes (*Misli*, 1/1952, No. 9); in 1963 the Australian population was about 10.5 million (Charles A. Price, *Australian Immigration, A Bibliography and Digest*, No. 2, Canberra 1970, p. A 55), between 10–15,000 of them Slovenes (*Misli*, 11/1963, No. 7); in 1981 the population of the fifth continent already numbered around 14.5 million (*Atlas svijeta / World Atlas*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod »Miroslav Krleža«, 1988, p. 229); about 25–30,000 of them were Slovenes (this information appears from 1975 onwards; in: Jože Prešeren, *Izseljenci v Avstraliji / Immigrants in Australia*, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, IV, Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1990, p. 221).

<sup>4</sup> France Verbinc, *Slovar tujk (Dictionary of Foreign Words)*, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1987, p. 279.

of identity: personal (consisting of an individual's selfidentification and of an identification a society affixes to an individual) and group identity (which, just like an adherence of individual members of a certain society, can be extremely heterogenous). Both are formed through the relation of an individual toward him- or herself, and toward others. Through his personal identity an individual takes part in group (social) identity which is as unstable and diverse as an identity of an individual is multilayered and stratified.

One of the group identities is »movable« identity brought about by the »general mobility of the modern, developed society.«<sup>5</sup> Physical mobility of individuals – immigrants – is a part of this process. A characteristic trait of immigrant identity is that in a new environment it assumes »innumerable aspects«,<sup>6</sup> namely as many as there are differences (racial, ethnic, cultural, etc.) between themselves and the native population. These »aspects« form a component part of group identity as well. Any identity, however, has to be placed within the social reality in which it exists, or else it remains beyond our understanding.

Let me add to this anthropological view of identity also the viewpoint of social psychologists: according to them, the process of socialization, and especially of social interaction between an individual and others, is of utmost importance for the formation of identity. According to Mirjana Nastran-Ule these processes represent »a mirror in which he ... observes himself.«<sup>7</sup> It is this so-called »effect of the mirror self,« in which an individual recognizes himself through the acceptance or the rejection of what others think about himself, which influences the formation of his identity. This identity is divided into personal identity, social identity, and the identity of the self. The first comprises individual characteristics of an individual and his or her capability of action; the second represents the totality of normative expectations an individual has to meet in a social situation, and at the same time the totality of identifications through which he or she is recognized by others; an individual acquires the third identity by maintaining the balance between the personal and the social one. Since this balance cannot be successfully preserved at all times, an »identity crisis of an individual«<sup>8</sup> often occurs in the process of formation of the identity of the self; in searching for him-

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<sup>5</sup> Stane Južnič, *Identiteta (Identity)*, Ljubljana 1993, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Mirjana Nastran-Ule, *Socialna psihologija (Social Psychology)*, Ljubljana 1992, p. 366.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, p. 368.

or herself, a person feeling that everything is possible, that numerous possibilities for his or her identification are thus open, can get lost. The choices of identifying with something are so numerous that a person's identity gradually becomes imperfect, partial, dispersed. Social psychologists call it »patchwork identity.«<sup>9</sup>

This patchwork identity often occurs also among immigrants, in the ethnic identity in which we are especially interested. Life stories of individual immigrants, in our case of Australian Slovenes, best illustrate how their ethnic identity was formed during the course of several decades of living in their new geographical, social, and cultural environment. Their stories speak not only about themselves,<sup>10</sup> but also about others,<sup>11</sup> which within the framework of life stories also fulfills the basic prerogative for a formation of any kind of identity, that is the we – others relationship. From the viewpoint of immigrants their relationship with others reflect the personal and the group identity of the narrator, into which Južnič classifies ethnic identity as well, as has already been said. The necessity of placing the contents of a life story in a historic context enables one an easier understanding of the process of formation of ethnic identity of an individual – an immigrant – in a definite time and place.

## AUSTRALIAN SLOVENES ON ETHNIC IDENTITY

Autobiographies of informants,<sup>12</sup> first-generation Australian Slovenes who came to Australia after 1947, present the basic source from which I had drawn in

<sup>9</sup> Idem, p. 376.

<sup>10</sup> Linda Degh defines autobiographies according to two basic criteria: 1. they are spontaneous oral narratives of individuals, 2. they narrate about oneself (the narrator). See: Linda Degh, *Beauty, Wealth and Power: Career Choices for Women in Folktales, Fairytales and Modern Media*, in: *Life History as a Cultural Construction / Performance*, ed. Tamás Hofer and Péter Niedermüller, Budapest 1988, pp. 13–19.

<sup>11</sup> Velčić's definition of autobiographies is somewhat different: according to her they are based on the dialogue between the narrator and the interrogator, and speak not only about the life of the former, but also about other people incorporated into the story of the narrator's life. See: Mirna Velčić, *Odtisak priče, Intertekstualno proučavanje autobiografije (Impression of the Story, Intertextual Research of Autobiographies)*, Zagreb 1991, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> The article will cite authors of autobiographies (e.g. A. Mariza Ličan). In this manner life stories of Slovene immigrants, recorded in Australia in 1981/82, 1984, and 1990,

order to depict the origin of and the changes in their ethnic identity in the course of their life in immigration. Since most of these autobiographies have already been published,<sup>13</sup> let me just recall certain excerpts from their contents, especially those which vividly illustrate the experience of changes brought about when a certain group of people moves to another part of the world. Visible as well as invisible («ungraspable») symbols of their ethnic identity, which are closely connected to the old, original society as well as the new, host society, are manifested precisely through these experiences of the new, initially foreign, then gradually familiar environment.

Most members of the first generation of Slovenes who had moved to Australia after World War II came there between 1947 and 1968, either as »displaced persons« (D.P's), or as »refugees« (reffos). Since the Australian immigration policy treated all of them on an equal basis, after their arrival to Australia the journey of all the selected informants proceeded in a similar manner: arrival – immigration center («kamp,« »lagar,« »hostel») – moving around Australia (changing jobs and dwellings) – settling down (obtaining permanent jobs, housing arrangements, secured existence, family life, acquired knowledge of at least colloquial English). These were simultaneously the main elements in the autobiographies of Slovene immigrants with which in the course of their daily lives they demonstrated their difference from other immigrant ethnic groups, and even more so from the Australians. These differences were even more pronounced in the period before these Slovene immigrants learned the language of their new homeland:

»During these six months (after her arrival to Australia in 1965, author's note) ... I met Irishmen, Scots, Englishmen. Yet I cannot even begin to describe how miserable I had felt then. They spoke English and I could see them looking at me, asking things, but I was not capable of answering them. I was really de-

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are kept at the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies (Centre of Scientific Research of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts) archives (the Autobiographies of Australian Slovenes Fund).

<sup>13</sup> See: Breda Čebulj-Sajko, *Med srečo in svobodo: Avstralski Slovenci o sebi (Between Happiness and Freedom, Australian Slovenes about Themselves)*, Ljubljana: published by the author, 1992, pp. 87–231; B. Čebulj-Sajko, *Posledice »dvojnje identitete« v vsakdanjem življenju avstralskih Slovencev (Consequences of »Double Identity« in Everyday Life of Australian Slovenes)*, Doctoral thesis, Ljubljana: Department for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, 1994, Appendix.

pressed. Often I would just evade their company, so they finally thought I disliked socializing with them, disliked people. When in reality there just wasn't any communication.« (A. Mariza Ličan)

For the majority this language barrier denoted an otherwise isolation as well, but it gradually disappeared when contacts at work were formed and when marriages occurred.

At the same time, comparisons between what they had left at home and what they encountered in their new environment became part of their everyday reality:

»Wide-eyed we stared from the train. It was the first time that we laid our eyes upon this country (Australia, in 1948, author's note). We were not used to this, there were no villages along the railtracks. Just the rails, and nothing on either side.« (A. Egon Katnik)

»When we got to Sydney (in 1948, author's note), everybody left the ship and proceeded to Bathurst, the central immigration center. There were some sort of military barracks there which had been used during the war. And we were put there ... men in one camp, women and kids in another ... There was plenty of food, just not the kind we could eat. We were served Australian sheep, prepared the Australian way. It had such a smell that we just couldn't eat. So we lived mostly on jam ..., cheese, bread, and porridge.« (A. Jože Čuješ)

»When we came here (to Australia in 1959, author's note), I went to a store ..., into a large Davis Jones. And I looked at those materials and shoes – awful! You couldn't get a decent pair of shoes, or a decent pair of pants ... Ready-made clothes were really terrible. Well, so I said to my sister-in-law, 'Dear god, it was much better in our country!' (in Slovenia, author's note)« (A. Milena Mavko)

»At the train station (in Sydney in 1965, author's note) I watched people. They hurry. If one fell down, maybe nobody would notice. Everybody hurrying by, and you stand there and watch, a stranger among them, ... as if you were not human. And then I was really surprised at houses, at apartments; everything is so different. Especially the city, it does not offer much, it's all the same. ... If I saw a fir tree I thought it was wonderful. It reminded me of home. ... For instance, when you walk around and somebody tells you: 'This is a school.' You gaze at it, seeing those doors and a couple of playgrounds, but they don't mean a thing. Back in my country (in Slovenia, author's note) you walk by a school and know right away that you are passing a school, an institution.« (A. Mariza Ličan)

Even though the majority of immigrants had no intention of remaining abroad permanently, none of the selected informants returned to their original

homeland to stay. During the period in which they became materially independent, thus when they found permanent work, saved enough money to buy an apartment or a house, and sorted out their family life, their emotional connection with their original homeland gradually diminished. It could also be said that their feeling of belonging solely to what is defined as Slovene has started to disappear parallelly to their increasing material independence. Furthermore, simultaneously with this process a double identity gradually started to take shape: the one connected with the Slovene community in Australia and with their previous homeland on one hand, and the one connected with the Australian society on the other. A Slovene immigrant had put it this way:

»Well, I have already learned enough to feel this (Australia, author's note) is my second home, right?« (A. Hedviga Samsa)

It could also be said that this double appurtenance is a compromise between the »old« and the »new«.

In the us – others relationship, namely in the relationship between Slovenes and the Australian society, an important role of distinction was played by the visible symbols of ethnic identity. Since national costumes, ethnic food, music, dances, and singing remain the most recognizable symbols of ethnic identity of the first generation of Slovenes in Australia, this is perfectly understandable. In this respect they are no different from other ethnic groups in Australia. From the very beginning of the Australian multicultural policy other »new Australians« used similar symbols to express their ethnic origins, especially during yearly ethnic events and festivals. This was therefore a process of mutual recognition of the fifth continent's ethnically heterogenous population.

Now, when the first generation of Australian Slovenes are getting older, the tendency of expressing their ethnic identity in everyday public life is less pronounced; stronger is the wish to preserve this ethnic identity within the second generation, be it in societies and religious centers, or within families. During this process the members of the first generation assumed the role of transmitters of the traditions and the culture of their emigrant society onto their children. This was mainly the tradition and the culture which had existed at home in Slovenia at the time of their emigration:

»We, that is the first generation, are not aware that back home (in Slovenia, author's note) everything had changed as well. We still see the Slovenia we had left, right? So we want to educate our young in the same spirit, right? We don't allow the young to proceed beyond that ... They don't need these Slovene traditions. It's more their parents' wish than their own.« (A. Vinko Ovičaj)

The fact is that the children of first-generation Australian Slovenes, thus those who were born in Australia, are primarily Australians, only then Slovenes. Due to their impeccable knowledge of English they are, above all, the link between their parents and the Australian society, much as the first generation of Australian Slovenes were the link between their children and Slovenia:

»When they go home (to Slovenia, author's note), they (the two daughters of a Slovene couple, author's note) say: 'We are going home.' There is something there for them. Their grandmother is there. When we go on holiday to Adelaide, there is no grandmother, there is no aunt. And right away you know who belongs to your family. Our two daughters are proud to be Australian. At the same time, though, they are proud to say: 'We are Slovenian descendants.'« (A. Marta Obleščak)

Children remain one of the most decisive reasons why their parents decided to permanently settle in Australia:

»No, because of my two daughters I could not go back (to Slovenia, author's note). We are friends and have established a close relationship. Nobody, not even the whole of Slovenia, could ever have given me what my daughters and I share.« (A. Marta Obleščak)

Despite the fact that their homeland cannot replace their nuclear family, the life of Slovene immigrants in Australia remains split: their children and an adequate standard of living tie them to Australia, while their feelings and their reliving of their life in Slovenia leave a psychic void in their everyday life:

»I think it is easier to forget one's mother than one's homeland. Mother dies. It is rough. There is the grave, the burial. But living abroad, one gradually forgets. One's youth, the place where one grew up, however, is never forgotten.« (A. Jože Čuješ)

»I have adapted; Australia did me no harm. I do love Australia in my own way, but my roots are back home (in Slovenia, author's note). We do not have two homelands! We all know that we have but one, and that is final! My heart is torn in two halves ... I became accustomed to Australia, but Australia is not my homeland.« (A. Pavla Gruden)

»It may be true that we do not live exactly as we did back home (in Slovenia, author's note). But it is also true that we have not exactly adapted to the Australian way of life.« (A. Vinko Obleščak)

The myth of Slovenia is built upon the nostalgia for the time spent at home, in Slovenia. Slovene immigrants are thus even more torn in their ethnic identity:



»I am downright scared to return to Slovenia. I am afraid I will be disappointed, expecting the beauty I remember from then. ... Those pretty forests of Pohorje, for instance, the things I remember so well. I am really afraid there is already a road identical to the one we have here (in Australia, author's note).« (A. Jože Čuješ)

This idealized notion of their homeland and the people they had left behind has been shattered in some of those who had gone to Slovenia for a visit. Faced with a reality different from the one they had expected, they were disappointed. This disappointment is also reflected in a statement of one of them:

»I went home (to Slovenia, author's note), but you don't have anything there. You do not have what I had left behind ...« (A. Jože Voršič)

According to their opinion their emigrant society had not accepted them anymore, so a return to Australia denoted coming back to a refuge where they could continue remembering their life at home. Yet they have not given up being Slovene, for »Our homeland has been, is, and shall always be in our hearts.« (A. Frido Mavko)

Those, however, whose experience of the nature and people in Slovenia had remained unaffected by the changes there, felt even closer to their original homeland and its people after having returned from a visit:

»I go to Slovenia. My home is there. My brother lives there. I go home and sit in front of our house, and nobody can change that valley. That is the most beautiful image ever painted on this earth.« (A. Marta Obleščak)

Regardless of their relation toward their original home, the inner split of these immigrants still persists. It is based on the fact that they were born in a culture different from the one they live in at present. Their awareness of belonging to both cultures, and its manifestation on the spiritual, emotional, and material level of their life manifests itself as the basic inner conflict of the majority of informants:

»I find myself in a place with no starting-point. It looks like a labyrinth, and I want to rise above it. Rising above it means you have to go home (to Slovenia, author's note), you have to leave your children, your house, and everything. And yet at home you cannot adapt. You are already too old.« (A. Pavla Gruden)

Since they always place themselves in two roles, in the case of Slovenes in Australia the we – others relationship is twofold: in relation to their homeland they see themselves as emigrants, while in relation to the host society they are immigrants. An awareness of their ethnic origins, which forms the basis of their ethnic identity, is always present in both. This ethnic identity was formed in a social process in which – from the viewpoint of the present – both periods in the

lives of immigrants had left their traces: their life at home, spanning from their birth to the time of emigration, and the one afterwards. The result of both is their double ethnic identity which influences their daily lives abroad, be it on the level of individuality (memories of their homeland), family (raising their children in the spirit of tradition and the language they had brought with them to the fifth continent), Slovene community (associations, churches, and religious centers in which the aforementioned visible symbols of their identity are maintained), or on the level of the Australian society as a whole (where, compared to the Australian one, their ethnic identity remains much more defined).

### WHY THE »DOUBLE« ETHNIC IDENTITY

As has already been mentioned, the ethnic identity of Australian Slovenes was formed through the we – others relationship on the level of an individual, of his or her family, Slovene community, Slovene homeland, and the Australian society.

Belonging to something, also identifying with something, thus represented the decisive element which had been changed and transformed throughout different historical periods. Among the first generation of Australian Slovenes this process is not yet completed. Despite this, an analysis of the condition of their ethnic appurtenance at the beginning of 1980's presents an opportunity for at least a hypothetical argumentation of this double identity which is also evident in their autobiographies. I shall analyze it according to the generally established criteria of belonging to the territory, the community, culture, and language,<sup>14</sup> on which an ethnos, and its subsequent ethnic identity, are formed:

– in the process of the formation of immigrants' double ethnic identity the appurtenance of an individual to the territory of his or her ethnic group is especially important. In the case of Australian Slovenes this is an emotional appurtenance to the territory of »domesticity and security«, which they define geographically – it denotes the place where they were born (professional literature defines this appurtenance with the notion of symbolic territoriality).<sup>15</sup> Because they permanently live in an immigrant society, however, in my opinion theirs is also

<sup>14</sup> I summarize this definition after Južnič, *Identiteta...*, p. 268, and after Južnič, *Antropologija (Anthropology)*, Ljubljana 1987, p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> Južnič, *Identiteta*, p. 149.

the case of »actual territoriality«, consequently belonging to the area in which they live;

– furthermore, a more palpable proof of their double ethnic identity is their feeling of belonging to the community. Again we refer to the community in which immigrants were born (the community of origin),<sup>16</sup> as well as the one to which they moved permanently, and which is different from the community of origin (it can also be termed the »immigrant« community). Since immigrants are incorporated into it only gradually, we can also speak about a simultaneous process of the formation of their new – this time double – appurtenance: to the old, emigrant community, and to the new, »immigrant« one;

– within this process the appurtenance to the culture (Austrian Slovene) and the language (English – Slovene) is formed anew.<sup>17</sup> In immigration both criteria of ethnic identity become split.

In view of the doubts regarding the individual, for whom it is »Almost impossible ... to be 'ethnically split' or to have double ethnic identity«,<sup>18</sup> the situation of the immigrant in a foreign environment is so specific that it is getting nearer to, if not entirely identical with, the indicated possibilities of double identity. In view of the criteria analyzed above this identity can be termed ethnic identity. And since the condition of their community in Australia is reflected through the experiences of several individuals – Slovene immigrants, we can speak about double ethnic identity on this level as well.

Yet in formulating this double ethnic identity in such a manner there remains an impression about a rather static, obvious process in the life of the immigrant. In order to avoid this we should consider the fact that identity had not been given to a person at the time of his or her birth, but evolves, as had been stressed by social psychologists, in the course of his or her interaction with others. In order to fulfill this condition it is necessary to live in a social environment in which an individual assumes his or her role and strategy in relation to others. It is this very strategy that enables the manipulation in expressing his or her ethnic identity, especially in a multiethnic society such as the Australian one. According to K. F. Lian this is the only possible means of survival and of cohabitation of the

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<sup>16</sup> Južnič, *Antropologija*, p. 223.

<sup>17</sup> Aside from the already-mentioned adherence to a territory and a community, according to Južnič the most important continuities of ethnic identity are the appurtenances to a culture and to a language (*ibid.*).

<sup>18</sup> Južnič, *Identiteta*, p. 269.

members of different ethnic groups which form such a society.<sup>19</sup> These groups combine the knowledge about their emigrant as well as their immigrant society. Their identification with their original country, community, culture, and language becomes just as acceptable for them as their identification with the country, community, culture, and language of their immigrant society. This is aptly reflected in a reply in the form of a rhetorical question of an Australian Slovene after he was asked whether he was Slovene or Australian:

»Well, how shall I put it?« (A. Bill Marinič)

Eventually it is the specific social situation which decisively influences an immigrant's strategy of expressing his or her double ethnic identity. In the case of ethnic groups in an ethnically diverse society in which their ethnic, cultural, religious, and other differences are slowly diminishing, even a term »multi-ethnic identity«<sup>20</sup> appeared of late – as opposed to the reservations about the possible existence of double ethnic identity. Last but not least, it could be classified as one of the »patchwork identities«, and certainly it also belongs to the complex of »movable identities.« As has already been mentioned, there are »endless« aspects of immigrant identity, and of ethnic identity as well. Double identity is but one of them.

#### POVZETEK

## **ETNIČNA IDENTITETA PRVE POVOJNE GENERACIJE AVSTRALSKIH SLOVENCEV**

*Breda Čebulj Sajko*

*Vsebina članka osvetljuje dva osrednja problema: teoretično opredelitev pojma identiteta (na osnovi socialnoantropoloških in socialnopsiholoških definicij) in osebno doživljanje razvoja in spreminjanja etnične identitete posameznika.*

<sup>19</sup> Kwen Fee Lian, Identity in Minority Group Relations, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 5 (1982), No. 1, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, p. 51.

nih avstralskih Slovencev (pripadnikov prvih generacij, izseljenih v Avstralijo po letu 1945) v novem družbenem in geografskem okolju, in sicer v okviru širšega zgodovinskega procesa spreminjanja izvirne in vselitvene družbe izseljencev.

Avtorica postavi tezo o možnosti obstoja dvojne etnične identitete, ki se izkaže za relevantno že v sami analizi poteka vsakdanjega življenja informatorjev: ko so le-ti dosegli zadovoljivo stopnjo materialne neodvisnosti, je pri njih začel izginjati občutek pripadnosti zgolj k vsemu, kar so imeli za slovensko. Vzporedno s tem procesom pa se je postopoma izoblikovala nova pripadnost, pripadnost avstralski družbi.

Pripadnost nečemu, tudi poistovetenje z nečim, je bil torej tisti odločilni element, ki se je v toku družbenih dogajanj v posameznih zgodovinskih obdobjih spreminjal in preoblikoval. In če upoštevamo zgolj etimološko izpeljavo pojma identiteta, ki v slovenščini pomeni istovetnost, se je le-ta lahko oblikovala le v t.i. odnosu mi – drugi, ki je tudi sicer osnovni kriterij za oblikovanje katerekoli identitete. V primeru avstralskih Slovencev se je izkazal za dvoplastnega, saj sami sebe vedno postavljajo v dve vlogi: v odnosu do rojstne dežele v vlogo izseljencev, do vselitvene družbe pa v vlogo priseljencev. V obeh je stalno prisotno zavedanje etničnega porekla, na katerem temelji njihova etnična identiteta. Kakšna je dejansko, je razpoznavno na ravni posameznikove individualnosti (spominov na domovino), njegove družine (npr. vzgoje otrok v duhu slovenske tradicije in jezika), slovenske skupnosti (društev, klubov, verskih središč) kot tudi na nivoju avstralske družbe v celoti (kjer ostaja njihova etnična identiteta prepoznavna predvsem skozi »vidne simbole« slovenstva – narodne noše, jedi, pesmi...).

Dvojnost v izražanju etnične identitete izseljencev v avstralskem okolju avtorica razloži še s teoretičnega zornega kota: v analizi splošnoveljavnih kriterijev pripadnosti teritoriju, skupnosti, kulturi in jeziku, po katerih se oblikujeta etnija in iz nje etnična identiteta, gre za odraz dejanskega stanja: poistovetenje z izvornim prostorom, skupnostjo, kulturo, jezikom postane za izseljence ravno tako sprejemljivo, kot je sprejemljivo njihovo poistovetenje s prostorom, skupnostjo, kulturo, jezikom vselitvene družbe. Kdaj biti »Slovenec« in kdaj »Avstralec« pa je odvisno od določene družbene situacije, v kateri se znajde posameznik. Zaradi tega lahko govorimo o dvojni etnični identiteti.

V nasprotju s pomisleki o možnosti obstoja tovrstne identitete pa avtorica v zaključku omeni še termin »multietnična identiteta«, ki je v veljavi v multikulturalnih družbah, kakršna je avstralska. Za pripadnike etničnih skupin, ki živijo v takšni družbi in med katerimi se postopoma brišejo etnične, kulturne, verske in druge meje, postaja multietnična identiteta edini možni način sožitja in preživetja.



# ST. JOSEPH KSKJ LOCAL LODGE, BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

Bogdan Kolar

Two characteristic features of the small Slovenian community of Bridgeport, whose origin goes back to the beginning of the 20th century, are its Catholic religion and the fact that its members originally came from the Prekmurje region, more precisely the parishes of Turnišče, Beltinci, Bogojina, Cankova, Selnica, and Štrigova. Their ties with the Hungarians, created in their homeland, brought them to the same part of the city where a large Hungarian group was already living, in the parish of St. Stephen's. It was necessary to develop certain ways of coexistence and collaboration. This resulted in mutual influence, as the Slovenians experienced being a minority.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of World War I, hundreds left the United States and returned to their homeland. The remaining numbers continued their lives and put down roots for a lasting stay in the New World.

## THE SLOVENIAN PARISH

Tracing the beginning of the Slovenian Catholic Church community in Bridgeport, we meet an original clerical personality, Mihael Golob, a priest of the Maribor Diocese.<sup>2</sup> In March 1912 he left his post of assistant pastor at Kri-

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<sup>1</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, New York–Washington 1971, pp. 5–6. This is the only comprehensive work dedicated to the Holy Cross community. It also contains news about Local Lodge no. 148.

<sup>2</sup> He was born on October 22, 1881 at Št. Florijan near Velenje, was ordained as a priest on July 25, 1905, and worked in various parishes in the Maribor Diocese, among them Št. Ilj near Maribor, Sv. Križ pri Ljutomeru, and Nova Cerkev. See the article publis-

ževci in order to avoid the consequences of his political activities, namely, according to the Austrian authorities, his excessive Slovenian national consciousness. With the help of the Franciscan Father Kazimir Zakrajšek, at that time a guest at the St. Nicolas German Church in New York and an occasional pastoral visitor to the Slovenians in Bridgeport, Rev. Golob was authorized by the Bishop of Hartford to take care of the Catholics of Slovenian origin in the city of Bridgeport, Conn. On June 13, 1913, a new parish was established in the Diocese of Hartford, destined to develop pastoral activities for the Slovenians. It was dedicated to the Holy Cross.<sup>3</sup> Before that, for a certain period at the Bishop's request, they were hosted by the Slovak and French Churches. Before beginning his mission among the Slovenians, Fr. Golob, through Fr. Zakrajšek's mediation, settled in the parish of the Slovak pastor Rev. Andrej Komar in Bridgeport, St. John Nepomucene. Slowly he started to contact the Slovenians and from time to time gathered them at St. John's.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time another group of Catholic Slovenians, in Bethlehem, Pa., was looking for a priest who spoke their language and for a church where they could worship God in their native tongue. The Archbishop of Philadelphia allowed them to build a church, where the first Mass was celebrated on October 28, 1917. Their first pastor was Fr. Anselm Murn from the Franciscan Community in New York. Fr. Zakrajšek showed interest in this parish as well. He wrote in his memoirs that he personally intervened for the Slovenian parish with the

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hed in *The Bridgeport Post*, February 7, 1950, which was reproduced by J. A. Arnez in the above mentioned work, pp. 19–20.

<sup>3</sup> »(The) Parish's name of Holy Cross was given in all probability by Father Golob himself. There may be two reasons why he selected that name for the new parish: one of them was the respect and the gratitude he wanted to express to the Slovenian Franciscan Fathers who belonged to the Holy Cross Province; another was the fact that Rev. Golob served in (the) parish at Sv. Križ (Holy Cross) in Slovenia.« – J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 18. Concerning the history of the parish, Fr. Kazimir Zakrajšek stated Fr. Golob's reason for the choice: »He founded the parish which in gratitude to our Commisariate of Holy Cross dedicated to the same patron.« See K. Zakrajšek, *Med Prekmurci v Bridgeportu, Conn.*, *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote*, September 16, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> At the time of the founding of Holy Cross Church, the city of Bridgeport was part of the diocese of Hartford. The diocese of Bridgeport was founded as late as 1953. The original documents could therefore be found in the archives of the respective diocese.



Archbishop of Philadelphia. After receiving the Bishop's consent, he sent Fr. Anzelm Murn to the parish.<sup>5</sup>

Since the two communities were mostly composed of Slovenian faithful who came from the Prekmurje region, they had to cope with almost the same problems, the main one being their original dialect and their desire to have a priest able to preach in their tongue. This was linked to the question of national identity. The Hungarian government, in fact, sent a priest to the two parishes to undermine the influence of the Slovenians from the other regions of Slovenia and to increase the loyalty of the parishioners to the Hungarian cultural and political influence. »The plot was uncovered in Bridgeport, and he (sc. Rev. Lovrenc Horvath, a priest and an agent of the Hungarian government) was ordered out of the diocese by the bishop. His second mission was in Bethlehem, and he experienced such success there that the Hungarian government dispatched a second Prekmurje Slovenian priest.«<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the opposition by some parishioners who disagreed with Rev. Golob, the parish continued to realize its plans. Various groups contributed their share for the improvement of the church. In 1916 a new rectory was added, and later on additional land was purchased for an eventual parish school. The Bishop of Hartford, the Most Rev. John J. Nolan, stood behind Rev. Golob's activities and supported him with his authority. Thus Fr. Golob remained pastor at Holy Cross until his death in 1950.<sup>7</sup>

As we have seen, Fr. Golob's major work lay in building up and furnishing the local church; he did not do this by himself, but was able to attract those who were willing to accept the parish as their own. Attacks on his work usually derived from political or personal reasons; at the same time all the attacks played an important role in the community, as they slowly became a cause of tensions. Those documents which still exist prove that Fr. Golob had to use all of his natural strength of character to defend himself and show that the accusations against him weren't true. From this perspective, he started to come up with all kinds of new ideas. These ideas were usually aimed towards activities, such as getting

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<sup>5</sup> See K. Zakrajšek, *Med Prekmurci v Bridgeportu, Conn., Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, September 16, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> S. Antalics, *The Role of the Clergy in Promoting Old Nationalisms among Foreign Ethnic Minorities*, in: *Slovenia*, 10 (1996), no. 2, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> See *History of the Holy Cross Parish, Holy Cross Parish Diamond Jubilee. 75<sup>th</sup> Celebration*, Fairfield 1988.

community members together, increasing the sense of belonging to the parish and affirmation of Slovenian identity in a multiethnic city. The main focus in his years of work was directed towards paying off loans to the church and the rectory, and also buy some additional furniture which was needed for normal parish life. In the midst of the difficulties in his work, he felt a strong support from the Slovenian Franciscans, who were working for the same aims through publications and many different activities. They helped Fr. Golob with various pastoral services and would take his place whenever he was not available to his flock.

At the time of his arrival in the United States, Fr. Mihael Golob stopped at the Franciscans' house in New York. After the departure of Fr. Anzelm Murn to Bethlehem, Pa., Fr. Golob saw to the needs of Slovenians in New York. Thinking about his future, he became an active partner in preparing the magazine *Ave Maria*. (From this perspective one can already discern his future interest with the publications in the Bridgeport parish.) When on June 17, 1917, the first Slovenian magazine, *Sv. Jožefa Glasnik*, was printed in Bethlehem, Fr. Golob immediately responded by introducing the new magazine to his community as a community publication. To emphasize the importance of the magazine and to get his people interested, he included in the magazine the names of the parish's donors, attempting to make *Sv. Jožefa Glasnik* a parish bulletin.<sup>8</sup>

Because the Slovenian group that settled in Bridgeport and the surrounding area were from the Hapsburg political and ecclesiastical sphere, their typical characteristics could be viewed even from the outside, in that they had their own ideas about the Church and its pastors. However, their experience of a parish was different from the American one, especially concerning the methods of organizing their parish community life, American parish communities being organized in their own traditional way. One of the most obvious differences was in the way of dealing with parish finances and financial support given to pastors; namely, in their home country, Church financing came from the government. Thus, the people thought that the basis for the parish's budgetary and economic stability was the government. However, in the United States all the responsibility for the parish community was handed over to the parishioners. Therefore, it took a while for the parishioners of Holy Cross to adjust to this kind of life and their responsibilities.

In his final years as a pastor in Bridgeport, Fr. Golob tried very hard to

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<sup>8</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 64; D. Friš, *Ameriški Slovenci in katoliška Cerkev 1871–1924*, Celovec–Ljubljana–Dunaj 1995, p. 357.

find a successor who could identify with and speak the language of the Holy Cross parishioners, so that in this way he could continue the origins of his parish. The first one who raised his voice and asked for intervention was Fr. Kazimir Zakrajšek, who at that time was working for the St. Raphael Association in Slovenia. He was looking for pastoral help but the idea couldn't get through, because the war interfered with the priest who was about to come from Fr. Golob's home diocese and help in the parish. It happened that after Fr. Golob's death, the parish was temporarily administered by a Slovak priest born in the United States, Fr. Stephen Vitka. After 1951, the parish received a Slovenian priest from Križevci near Ljutomer, Dr. Andrej Farkaš. He was already acquainted with the founder of the parish, Fr. Golob, as well as the parishioners, because he had visited them on a few prior occasions.<sup>9</sup>

## RELIGIOUS AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Fr. Mihael Golob and all of his successors were familiar with the lifestyle in the parish, which was supposed to be very active in sacramental life, religious education and even in activities lying outside of strictly religious areas. With this in mind, they promoted various activities throughout the liturgical year in the parish, i.e. parish banquets, parties, theatricals, coffee klatsches. All of these gatherings were organized with one purpose, to collect money for a better economic situation in the parish. The rest of the money was earmarked for other church activities, such as parish missions, the annual 40 Hours Devotions, confirmations, triduums, visiting priests or bishops, parish jubilees. To accomplish all of their carefully planned aims, they founded numerous confraternities and fraternal organizations. Slovenian priests had already had some experience with these types of organizations in their home country, where they had blossomed before the outbreak of World War I. Major work in those activities was carried out by the Franciscan Fathers from Slovenia, working among Slovenian people in the United States. They supported the religious and fraternal organizations as an expression of their religious life.

Among many others, the Holy Cross parish initiated the following confraternities and religious associations:

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<sup>9</sup> See K. Zakrajšek, *Med Prekmurci v Bridgeportu, Conn., Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, September 16, 1942, p. 3.

- Confraternity of Mary Scapulary (Bratovščina škapulirske Marije), 1913
- Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi (Tretji red), 1913
- Confraternity of the Holy Rosary (Bratovščina svetega rožnega venca), 1915
- Sodality of the Virgin Mary (Marijina družba), 1915 (which suspended its activities for a period of time and started up again in 1933)
- Holy Name Society (Društvo Nasvetejšega imena Jezusovega), 1933
- Sodality of Christian Mothers (Društvo krščanskih mater), 1933.<sup>10</sup>

Fr. Kazimir Zakrajšek blessed the flag of the Sodality of Christian Mothers in 1942 and on that occasion wrote: »This society is the foundress of all other Mother's societies which were founded in the United States. It will be a vivid reminder of the Holy mission which took place in your parish.«<sup>11</sup>

For English-speaking women, Fr. Zakrajšek founded the Ladies Guild. At the time Fr. Farkaš was pastor, a Men's Society was founded, named after Saints Cyril and Methodius, whose main role was to attract the male population to the parish, especially those who hadn't been active in English speaking associations. The fraternities promoted a variety of activities. But we have to face the facts that the pastors did not have enough attentive ears for them and did not have time to keep up with all of the activities. The result of this lack of time was that many of the new organizations died after a short period. In spite of these difficulties, such groups were a strong support to the parish's projects. In many cases, the societies played an important role in collecting money for furnishings, organizing parish meetings, sports events, and various financial collections. They were also active in other groups, working in the parish in their specific mission. Since Fr. Golob was not available to assist all of the associations, the Franciscans from New York would occasionally come to the parish and help the parishioners (particularly their own Third Order in the parish).

The life and activities of the Slovenian community were for the most part reported on every month in *Ave Maria Magazine*, *Ave Maria Calendar*, *Amerikanski Slovenec*, etc. Sadly, we do not have any of these publications in the archives. The reason is that the documents were moved so many times from one place to another, so that they became lost or ended up in private hands; in this

<sup>10</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, pp. 34–36.

<sup>11</sup> See K. Zakrajšek, *Med Prekmurci v Bridgeportu, Conn.*, *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote*, September 16, 1942, p. 3.

way, we have lost all of the minutes and a majority of the documents from the past.

For the Slovenian newcomers to the United States, fraternal organizations were a new experience in their lives. In their homeland they had not had any encounter with these kinds of organizations, but if by chance they did, they would have been of a smaller size, such as professional associations. These types of fraternities became rooted among the Slovenians very quickly; they were a new way of helping each other. The first and most important purpose of all the organizations was solidarity among its members, which meant collecting money for times of unemployment, or for the sick and disabled. In a sense, it could be said that they tried to cover areas where the State did not do its part. All of these movements were filled with a special national flavor and with Christian principles; they were also a great support for all kinds of pastoral activities in their parishes. However, we cannot fail to mention the impact of their political and ideological orientation, which played a decisive role within the religious and fraternal associations as well as on their members.

### ST. JOSEPH'S LODGE NO. 148

Parish life had been organized, and the parish of Holy Cross soon had a good number of parishioners. Their economic status allowed the parishioners to organize different supportive fraternal groups. In organizing themselves, inspiration was provided by organizations in other Slovenian communities.

On January 26, 1913, the Slovenian community began its regular religious service in the basement of St. Anthony's Church, the same place where the fraternal lodge *Društvo sv. Jožefa* had been founded. Shortly thereafter (on February 15, 1913) it joined the Carniolean Slovenian Catholic Union (*Kranjsko-slovenska katoliška jednota = K.S.K.J.*) and was given the number 148. »It was joined on that first day by 36 people from Holy Cross parish. The first committee to preside over the lodge was composed of a president, Štefan Dominko, vice president, Peter Ferencak, secretary and delegate Father Mihael Golob, and a treasurer, Štefan Horvat.«<sup>12</sup> The latter was the first person who passed away as a member of the St. Joseph Local Lodge.

Initially, the St. Joseph Local Lodge did well financially as a result of not

<sup>12</sup> J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 51.

having a large amount of ill members, and the incomes were good. The St. Joseph lodge was also active in parish life; the members collected money and supported parish activities.<sup>13</sup> As pastor, Fr. Mihael Golob served as a link in the community; as the spiritual director of the local lodge he protected its members from different bad influences and saw to the Catholic character of the association. He put a special emphasis on the members getting married in the Church.

The constant (and often overemphasized) historical and regional character of the Slovenians under the Hapsburg monarchy made a deep impact on them in their native land, and had strong consequences on those who moved to the United States. In Bridgeport the majority of the Slovenian people were from the Prekmurje region, so it was normal to expect that the parish would have those kinds of characteristics in their culture. Therefore, it was almost in vain to expect that they would get along with groups from other Slovenian regions in the parish. Regional differences were, on purpose, stressed by the priest who was sent by Hungarian authorities with special tasks to work on with them. Keeping this in mind, we now understand that when the St. Joseph Local Lodge started to work with the Carniolean Slovenian Catholic Union, the fact that their name contained the word 'Carniolean' (Carniolan) was taken by many as a sign which meant that all the members from Prekmurje had to leave this organization and join one founded by and for people from the Prekmurje region exclusively. In this case, this was a special mutual organization called the First Slovenian Mutual Fraternal Society in America (Prvo Szlovenszko Bratovcsine Pomagajoucze Društvo vu Ameriki = P.S.B.D.), which had already been founded on June 1, 1912, by the Slovenian community in Bethlehem, Pa. This organization stayed within its self-imposed boundary and was organized according to its regional particulars and with a small number of local lodges. In Bridgeport they founded Local Lodge no. 3. The name K.S.K.J. has been a sore point throughout its history, and the members from Bridgeport suggested many times that they would change it, with the danger being that they would diminish the number of their members. Whenever they held meetings they would leave out the attribute 'Carniolean', as a result of all the arguments among them, and preferred to refer to themselves as the Catholic Benefit Group of St. Joseph in Bridgeport.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See *Jubilejna spominska knjiga. 1894–1924*, Cleveland 1924, p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> The same title was also given to the booklet *Pravila in plačilna knjižica katoliškega slovenskega podpornega društva St. Joseph v Bridgeportu, Conn., šte. 148 K.S.K.J.* See also D. Friš – B. Kolar – A. Vovko, *Prvih sto let Kranjsko slovenske katoliške jednote. Pregled zgodovine KSKJ 1894–1994*, Ljubljana 1997.

Another reason for less efficient work of the local lodge was the personality of the pastor, Fr. Golob, who had actually had the idea to found the organization and was an active member himself. The religious dimension in life was a very important part of the local lodge (and of the entire K.S.K.J.). The direction and practical aims can be derived from the name itself. The supreme spiritual director of Jednota, and the spiritual directors of the local lodges, controlled and looked after the religious life of their members. Every Easter they would have an overview of the work and life of the members in the local lodges. With the help of Jednota, Fr. Golob tried to bring into the parish of Holy Cross some Christian principles, but this idea did not fall on fertile soil; in fact, even the opposite effect occurred. The members started to rebel by changing their membership to other local lodges nearby, where the control wasn't as strict as in Bridgeport's local lodge. Likewise, one reason was that the pastors from new areas did not know these parishioners well. It was not only the rebellion against the local lodge which had a specific 'Carniolan' nature, but also rebellion against the principles which led the entire Jednota. The occasion for rebellion was the local pastor himself, who was lingering upon the Jednota's religious nature. His determination could be seen whenever it came to that point of Jednota, especially when the members' lives went against the manners of Christian life in the parish. J. A. Arnez cites from Fr. Golob's announcements book for November 1, 1931, his words: »Društvo sv. Jožefa had a banquet past Sunday, which ended with fighting. That is the way to show you are brothers!« (i.e. members of a Catholic organization).<sup>15</sup>

To meet the expectations of a large number of his parishioners and to get rid of the main sticking point (the name of the local lodge), Fr. Golob founded on January 23, 1921, a new fraternity called Farno betežne pomagajoče društvo fare sv. Križa (The Parish Benefit Society for the infirm members of the Holy Cross Parish). At one point he said, »You should know that this society has been founded to give you a chance of getting insurance in case of sickness or difficulties; so now the good parishioners will not need to register with anti-Church, Lutheran or Calvinist lodges. In our lodge there is a place for every Catholic Slovenian who is willing to submit himself to a right discipline.«<sup>16</sup> The fraternity was too small and did not have enough members to survive for a long period, and ended its labors on January 28, 1923. The organization, which had already been given to the fraternity, was given back to the members.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 53.

Relationships among the parishioners improved after World War I. They did not rebel against the pastor anymore and also gave up arguments, especially in areas where Fr. Golob had put his word. The change could be clearly seen in the larger number of members. In 1924 the adult branch of the local lodge counted around 109 members, and 36 in its juvenile branch. Five years later (1929), in the period of its greatest growth, there were 222 in the first branch and 145 in the youth branch.<sup>17</sup> For the Jednota, the '20s were the time of the biggest numerical increase and a variety of activities. Thus, the fraternity became attractive for many people from the Holy Cross parish; this was the only way that the economic recession of the late '20s did not badly hurt them. At the end of World War II, the number increased to 399 members, which gave the local lodge the right to have three delegates to the convention.<sup>18</sup>

The political changes in Slovenia after World War II were in a special way present among and felt by Slovenians all over the world. In that difficult period a major role in the work for immigrants was played by the Franciscan Fr. Bernard Ambrožič and his coworkers. As a secretary of the League of Catholic Slovenian Americans (*Lige Katoliških Slovencev v Ameriki*) he organized widely dispersed help for overseas immigrants.<sup>19</sup> A big hand in the help with collections was given by Jednota, whose main work dealt with integrating newcomers into local lodges as well as into the new milieu where they found a possibility for a new beginning.<sup>20</sup> The end of the '40s and the early '50s saw a large group of political immigrants settle in Bridgeport and its vicinity. Among them were Serbs, Muslims, and Croats, but the majority were Slovenians. Fr. Andrej Farkaš was pastor of Holy Cross parish and helped them with arranging sponsors for housing and jobs. Even though the immigrants came from different parts of Yugoslavia, he did not care; the main purpose was to obtain a larger number of parishioners and with that in mind, he built a future for his parish.

When Fr. Vitka left the parish a number of Slovak parishioners left as well, and a decline in the congregation resulted. However, according to some estimates from that time, some 500 Slovenians were settling in this part of Connecticut.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> See *Glasilo K.S.K.J.*, 32 (1946), no. 21, May 22, 1946.

<sup>19</sup> See P. B. Ambrožič, *Pomota se popravi, kjer se pojavi. Ob desetletnici League of CSA, Koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1956*, pp. 202–208.

<sup>20</sup> See Ligaš, *Liga Katoliških Slovenskih Amerikancev, Koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1952*, pp. 81–85.

<sup>21</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 73.



That kind of immigration was also felt in Local Lodge no. 148. In the mid-'50s it reached its highest number, 800 members. This was a result of pastor Farkaš's organizing a great deal of activities where the newcomers were involved. They started with drama, music performances, choirs, etc., and also organized a variety of pilgrimages. Groups like the Tamburizans from Pittsburgh were regularly invited, and on these occasions they needed to hire bigger rooms to perform. With that purpose in mind, the parish community together with the pastor renovated underground rooms in the church and the places became available for groups and their meetings.

The St. Joseph Local Lodge held its own activities once a month; their monthly meetings were on the third Sunday after the last service. The money collected from different activities was spent to help the political immigrants and refugees from Europe. The newspaper *Ameriška Domovina* would regularly publish articles under the title *Izpod stolpa sv. Križa* (From under the Holy Cross tower), and brought news about the Slovenian community and their work in Bridgeport. It was a great help for Slovenians who lived in the diocese of Bridgeport (founded in 1953), to become widely known. With the newcomers, the territorial and social status of the parish of Holy Cross acquired a new face, and along with them difficulties unknown until then were brought to the parish. The differences among the prewar and postwar immigrants came to such a point that they changed the entire board of the local lodge. From 1933 until 1960, the secretary of the local lodge was Stefan Piczko, who left an original impact on the lodge. The documents in the lodge archives are written in the Prekmurje Slovenian dialect, which gave a characteristic feature to the local lodge in its first 50 years. From those documents can be discerned the nature of the parish and the purposes of their activities which were planned together with the pastor, and at the same time it could be seen that the majority of the most active members in the local lodge were immigrants from the Prekmurje region. They brought with them their own specific way of life to the Holy Cross parish, which was also their way of interacting in the new country.

In the late '50s, all of the changes got the ball rolling. The secretaries began to use the English language as the official method of communication; for special occasion they would translate the texts into Slovenian. All the lodge activities still had the purposes of covering the local lodge's expenses; for various benefits (i.e. children's Christmas parties), or with the purpose of supporting the parish. A special impact on all those parish activities for many decades had been made by Jože Bojnec, who became a member of the local lodge in Bridgeport

after he had joined the Slovenian community in the early '30s, and put an effort into bringing together the local lodge and the parish. Bojnec was an active member of the parish council, a member of different groups and an officer of St. Joseph Local Lodge. »He has been an active member in all activities in the parish. He worked as a financial administrator from 1952, later on he became secretary of the local lodge and its auditor for almost 36 years and the last two years as honorary member and adviser. He ran the lodge by himself and took care of many activities. And the people knew that his house was always welcoming. He was very supportive when it came to the question of youth activities, Christmas celebrations, and parish picnics, etc.«<sup>22</sup> Bojnec was a convention delegate for almost 30 years.

Despite of the fact that the number of members was not too low, there were not enough volunteers to support special customary services, such as pall bearers. With times changing, new rules arrived. If, until the 1970s, on Palm Sunday the entire community received communion as an obligation, after the '70s this kind of religious practice was not seen as appropriate. Only those practices which remained as an obligation for the members of the entire Jednota were still followed; this was the Easter obligation, which was almost an essential indicator of Catholic identity.

At the beginning of the '60s, when the future of the Holy Cross parish was in question, the fact also had a strong impact on St. Joseph Lodge and its members. As we have said, the parish and the local lodge worked closely with each other. But the fact that many members of the lodge had already moved away from the Bridgeport location of the church meant that they were ready to seek a new site for the church building and make easier access to the church possible for a larger number of parishioners. In the past, Fr. Farkaš had already been thinking about moving the church building; at one time he even thought that it would be necessary to close the parish. After his death in 1967, the parish was administered by Fr. Alojzij Hribšek.<sup>23</sup>

Together with his parishioners, Fr. Hribšek made the decision to keep the

<sup>22</sup> A. Malensek, V blag spomin Jožefu Bojnecu, dolgoletnemu društvenemu tajniku, *Amerikanski Slovenec-Glasilo K.S.K.J.*, vol. 99, no. 12, June 8, 1988, p. 8. Bojnec originated from Bogojina; he left Slovenia for America in 1930 and settled in Bridgeport the following year.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Andrej Farkaš died in an automobile accident on January 20, 1967. See *Prečastiti gospod dr. Andrej Farkaš, drugi župnik slovenske cerkve sv. Križa v Bridgeportu, Conn., USA.*

Slovenian parish alive and to build a new church. The new church, in Fairfield, was finished and dedicated on November 26, 1972.<sup>24</sup> On May 4, 1980, they finished an additional complex for the purpose of different activities organized by the parish pastoral center.<sup>25</sup> In the period of building the new church and reorganizing the parish, the most active role was again played by the St. Joseph Local Lodge, not to deny the work of all the other active groups and fraternities in the parish, whose interest in the future parish's planning was obvious. As Fr. Hribšek said: »St. Joseph Local Lodge does not depend on the parish and the parish does not depend on the local lodge. Working together is beneficial for both sides. We can understand the motives which guided the long time secretary Jožef Bojnec...during his life.«<sup>26</sup>

When the new parish church in Fairfield was completed, a very active part in furnishing it was again played by the St. Joseph Lodge. The donations helped to pay for the minimum functioning of the parish church and the pastoral center next to it. St. Joseph Local Lodge decided on December 12, 1971, to buy a new altar for the church and two brand new candleholders, which was a great help in keeping parish debts low.<sup>27</sup> But from a different perspective the entire parish and various groups had a convenient advantage, because there was enough room for their activities in the pastoral center.

On its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1988 the St. Joseph Local Lodge had some 365 active members, and on this occasion the secretary stated: »The anniversary of St. Joseph Local Lodge no. 148 KSKJ is very meaningful because the majority of its members are from the Holy Cross parish. Our local lodge does not have its own rooms but we can use the parish facilities for our activities.«<sup>28</sup> This was the opportunity to organize a campaign for new members, if we keep in mind that their average age was very high and their number was decreasing.

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<sup>24</sup> See *Dedication of the Holy Cross Church November 26, 1972*. »In spite of its continuity, Holy Cross-parish in 1972 is in many ways different from the one in 1915. The parish is still the same in name; it is still ethnic and not a territorial parish. Naturally and gradually it has become a parish of native Americans who cherish the traditions of their immigrant parents.«

<sup>25</sup> See *Dedication Holy Cross Parish Center*, Fairfield, Connecticut, May 4, 1980.

<sup>26</sup> Al. Hribšek, Ob grobu rajnega Jožeta Bojneca, *Amerikanski Slovenec-Glasilo K.S.K.J.*, vol. 99, no. 14, July 6, 1988, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> See minutes of December 12, 1971 meeting.

<sup>28</sup> A. Malensek, Biserni jubilej društva sv. Jožefa št. 148 KSKJ in fare sv. Križa v Fairfieldu, Conn., *Amerikanski Slovenec-Glasilo KSKJ*, vol. 99, no. 14, July 6, 1988, p. 8.

In accordance with the new organization of the KSKJ and its redefined role, it grew stronger, which meant that the movement brought together its members. The same tendency was also noticeable in the St. Joseph Local Lodge, which saw new types of work and activities among its members. The process of aging and various jubilees meant that the main purpose for celebrating became the anniversaries; nevertheless, they were trying to find other forms of activities for their members. One which had a very positive response among members were 'family festivals'. They were also very supportive of the KSKJ Scholarship Fund. At their meetings they put on the agenda issues about young people and their stronger influence in the local lodge, even though it was clear that these young people were very busy with their school and after-school activities. A great deal of the funds were provided for parish work, common actions and for different purposes, as well as to people in need.

Two of the lodge's original purposes, caretaking and providing health insurance, remained of interest to the older members. The fact was that membership provided the cheapest way of getting health insurance. In the '50s the most important activities became parties. Within this category one can count annual picnics, dances, various games, New Year's celebrations, and celebrating different anniversaries of the members, the parish, or of the local lodge. Here can be seen a high point of working together with the Holy Cross parish. Sometimes the members received the impression that both organizations were connected and that they had the same plans towards reaching the same goals. However, the golden era of the local lodge passed away and the active life slowly declined. Even the number of their celebrations became shortened. The reason for the declining number of activities were found in the aging problem and the non-active lives of the members. Knowing the cause of their problems, the committee did not feel a strong responsibility towards directing the preparation of activities. As a result of their findings, the parish took over the preparation of the New Year's celebrations and picnics.

The elections for new leaders of Local Lodge no. 148 can be considered a sign of interest of young members in the lodge. In 1992 the president of the lodge became Ernest Lagoja, who was 29 years old at the time. During the '90s the life of the lodge again started to flourish. The lodge got new leaders and activities were again at the top of their priorities. Even today, the elections can be understood as a sign of the new spirit and the right path for the future of Jednota. Over all is the truth that this was a result of a feeling of honest belonging to the lodge and fidelity to one's Slovenian roots. Just as an illustration, the current secretary of the lodge still writes and speaks fluent Slovenian.

At the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jednota, the officers of the local lodge 148 were: president Ernest E. Lagoja Jr., vice president Louann Leclerc, secretary and treasurer Anton Malensek, recording secretary Kimberly Piczko, auditors John Lukman and Anthony Nemetz.<sup>29</sup> The total membership was around 300.

For the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the moving of the parish center and the anniversary of the building of the new church, the main celebration took place on April 26, 1998. At that time the community took the opportunity to perform one of their periodic overviews of their activities and work.<sup>30</sup> The situation in the Holy Cross parish had required a new beginning, though a completely different one from what we know of the period before World War I. The new circumstances called for new features for the parish. At the time of pastor Hribšek, Bishop Curtis, granting permission to transfer the church location, envisioned the coming changes. On that occasion the Bishop said that the time was the major cause which forced the parish to change its typical mission as well as its site: »When you look for a location for the new church, keep in mind that I shall not allow you to build close to any of the existing churches. Your new church will have to serve its neighborhood as its parish church. You will not be serving only the Slovenians.«<sup>31</sup> The mission of the church was expressed with the words: »To serve Catholics of Slovenian nationality and to accept into membership any neighbors who come to ask to become members.«

The plans of the church community have been part of the primary mission of St. Joseph Local Lodge no. 148. Its members were very active in different ways, especially in organizing trips, preparing St. Nicholas days, organizing wine harvests and preparing May devotions. They had an active part in organizing meetings for guests from all over the world, especially for Slovenians from various parts of America and guests from Canada, Austria and Italy. The parish community did not have enough cultural groups, and this was a moment that they could get in touch with other cultural groups. Lately the parish has not been culturally active by itself; as a sign of their diminishing interest they did not

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<sup>29</sup> See *100 Years of Strength Through Unity. The Story of the American Slovenian Catholic Union, 1894–1994*, pp. 106–107; D. Friš – B. Kolar – A. Vovko, *Prvih sto let Kranjsko slovenske katoliške jednote. Pregled zgodovine KSKJ 1894–1994*, Ljubljana 1997.

<sup>30</sup> See E. Wuennemann, Holy Cross Parish marks 25 years of new Church, *Fairfield County Catholic*, vol. 15, no. 4, April 1998.

<sup>31</sup> His words are quoted in *Holy Cross in Fairfield. 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, Fairfield 1998.

invite other groups. The only ray of hope was the Slovenian group from New York, which put an effort into ensuring that Slovenian people did not lack for cultural activities. Together with local communities, they organized different cultural performances in Fairfield. The biggest burden for the local lodge was to dispatch the Slovenian press, but even here a lesser interest could be felt.<sup>32</sup>

Recently, a special emphasis has been given to activities which started up at the time when Slovenia became an independent country, among them the Slovenian missionaries in the Third World and the new Slovenian Church institutions. But even before a great amount of support from American Slovenian communities was offered to Fr. J. Klekl from Prekmurje, they were also supporting the Prekmurje region in building new churches (Polana, Odranci), supporting Baraga's Seminary in Ljubljana or different youth centers built in Slovenia by the Salesians between the two wars. In the last few years, a great deal of help has also been offered for building the Slovenian College in Rome, called Slovenik.

## CONCLUSION

Among the many different Slovenian groups located all over the United States, the group from Bridgeport, and after a time from Fairfield, stands out as an interesting exception. It had specific features. Although it was not among the largest groups by number – in the early 1960s it had approximately 1500 members – they were able to build up their original church in Bridgeport and a new one together with the pastoral center in the Fairfield area. Considering the life of the community as such besides the local lodge and the parish, they did not do a great deal in the area of other ethnic institutions, which could have brought different interests to them. The only group active since 1913, when the parish was founded, has been St. Joseph Local Lodge no. 148. The local lodge was very active in people's lives through the organizing of different activities, and was a great help to newcomers to the United States. Besides its own method of operation, it organized a good deal of activities which were in accordance with the parish's life and with Church values. Groups with different sorts of political and ideological aims did not survive. As a confirmation of this, we can cite the words of the historian of the community in Bridgeport, Dr. John A. Arnez, who pointed

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<sup>32</sup> See A. Malensek, *Slovenska kulturna dejavnost pri fari sv. Križa v letih 1972–1997, Holy Cross Church in Fairfield. 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, Fairfield 1998.

out, »In Bridgeport, all the life centered around the church and the parish: there were no actively opposing groups, a circumstance which removed strong compelling reasons to break the inertia.«<sup>33</sup> In other words, the parish had an important role from the very beginning of the Slovenian community in Bridgeport and afterwards in Fairfield. All other activities were directed towards supporting church life.

The Local Lodge sv. Jožefa no. 148, besides its original purpose – that is, the charitable and insurance activities – had also given active aid in the parish community and helped in promoting the Slovenian community from Connecticut on an all-American level. According to all ethnic initiatives, the Local Lodge of St. Joseph is still active in keeping and promoting a sense of national belonging. It is still active in organizing social activities, and special emphasis is given to educational goals among the younger Slovenian population.

#### POVZETEK

### **KRAJEVNO DRUŠTVO K.S.K.J. SV. JOŽEFA V BRIDGEPORTU V CONNECTICUTU**

*Bogdan Kolar*

*Krajevno društvo sv. Jožefa št. 148 Kranjsko slovenske katoliške jednote v Bridgeportu in sedaj v Fairfieldu v Connecticutu je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1913, istočasno s tamkajšnjo slovensko župnijo. Že od vsega začetka so v obeh ustanovah prevladovali Slovenci iz Prekmurja, kar je dajalo posebne značilnosti vsem dejavnostim in ustanovama. Več desetletij so se trudili, da so imeli duhovnike, ki so obvladali njihovo narečje. Ker na ozemlju župnije niso nastajale druge etnične ustanove, je bilo skozi vso zgodovino čutiti zelo tesno povezanost med društvom in župnijo. Ta se je posebej pokazala v času, ko je bila ukinjena župnija v Bridgeportu in je bilo potrebno postaviti novo cerkev in ob njej pastoralno središče v Fairfieldu. To je ponudilo gostoljubnost tudi članom krajevnega društva.*

<sup>33</sup> See J. A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Conn.*, p. 67.

*Pod streho župnijskega doma se srečujejo še danes. Najbolj zavzeti člani društva so aktivni tudi v župniji. Spremembe, do katerih prihaja v vseh etničnih ustanovah v Združenih državah, so prinesle novosti tudi v delovanje skupnosti v Fairfieldu. Sedaj je največja pozornost namenjena družabnim dejavnostim, skrbi za prenašanje narodne zavesti na mlajše rodove in ohranjanju izvirne kulturne dediščine. Sredstva, ki jih z različnimi prireditvami zbere krajevno društvo, so namenjena kulturnim dejavnostim in podpiranju izobraževanja.*



# MARY JUGG MOLEK – AN AMERICAN WRITER AND POET WITH SLOVENE ROOTS

Irena Milanič

This article aims to present Mary Jugg Molek as a literary figure. There are two periods of Mary Jugg Molek's literary creativity: in the thirties she contributed poems, short stories and one-act plays to the *S.N.P.J.* publications: *Mladinski list–Juvenile* and occasionally, *Prosveta*;<sup>1</sup> in the seventies she wrote the book *Immigrant Woman*, compiled the bibliography of Ivan Molek's works, and translated and published his autobiography *Čez hribe in doline* and his novel *Dva svetova*.<sup>2</sup>

Mary Jugg Molek was born of Slovene parents in Chicopee, Kansas, in 1909. In 1932 she moved to Chicago and she was among the first contributors to write only for the English sections of – at that time – predominantly Slovene written immigrant papers.

The bulk of her original work belongs to the first period that began in 1932 and ended in 1941. In 1942 Mary Jugg published only one poem, while her last contribution to the magazine was an autobiographical short story entitled »Charlotta«, published in 1943. These two were the only contributions that she signed with her whole name. Mary Jugg Molek signed her contributions in the first period with her maiden name »Mary Jugg«, and in the seventies with »Mary

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<sup>1</sup> *S.N.P.J.: Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota – Slovene National Benefit Society* (1904– ) is one of the major Slovene assurance societies in the United States. Apart from insuring its members in case of sickness, injury and death, it also has a central cultural function of binding together its Slovene members.

<sup>2</sup> The title of the typescript *Čez hribe in doline – avtobiografske črtice Ivana Molka* was changed by the translator into *Slovene Immigrant History 1900–1950, Autobiographical Sketches by Ivan (John) Molek*.

Molek«. In all, she published ninety poems, thirty-seven short stories and nine one or two-scene plays.

She not only produced literary works but also an incredible amount of articles, publishing them in *Prosveta* (Enlightenment), *Proletarec* (The Proletarian), *Majski glas* (The May Herald) and *Mladinski list* (Juvenile). These articles are relevant because they indicate the writer's main interests – her deep faith in socialist reform, her concern in women's issues and second-generation identities. In some of her articles she was rather radical. She advocated that women and the *S.N.P.J.* youth should be given not only more space but also power inside the Slovene immigrant organizations. Significantly she provocatively entitled her weekly *Proletarec* column »For Women Only« (1<sup>st</sup> January 1936 – 1<sup>st</sup> July 1936), and her milder *Prosveta* column »Women's Round Table« (15<sup>th</sup> July 1936 – 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1938). Professor Christian has pointed out that the appearance of Mary Jugg's articles, particularly her column »Women's Round Table«, in July 1936, represented a »more positive sign for *Prosveta*«. <sup>3</sup> In 1934 she started to organize the Red Falcons, the youngest generation of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation. In 1938 she helped with the establishment of autonomous juvenile clubs: she prepared an outline of very practical advice, which aided the rise of new circles and provided the local leaders with starting ideas for activities. These suggestions were published in several issues of *Mladinski list*.

From July 1939 to April 1943 Mary Jugg's »A Column« regularly appeared in *Prosveta*. In these articles she mainly reflected upon contemporary events. In this period the general international atmosphere was becoming more and more tense because of the outbreak of the Second World War. Her contributions oscillated from advocating an isolationist position, which was shared by the general American public, to advocating a more engaged position with regards to European politics. In many of her articles she worried about the possible development of fascism in America, too. The brutal repression of a strike by the police, incidents where people had taken the law into their own hands and other expressions of dictatorship were reported and commented on in »A Column«. At the same time she also continued reporting on the cultural activities of the *S.N.P.J.*, in particular its Juvenile Clubs, and reviewing the latest published books, films and exhibitions.

Jugg's poems, short stories and plays are entirely rooted in American so-

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<sup>3</sup> Henry Christian, 'The *Prosveta* English Section: Certainly Not Hard News And Never Intended to Be, *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, 2–3 (1992), p. 37.

ciety and its social realities. In the Thirties her main concern was a realistic depiction of the Depression in its everyday scenes. In the Forties when the general economic situation started to improve she shifted her interest to contemporary international events. While in the Thirties her writings were imbued with socialism, in the Forties her fervent socialist faith waned, becoming mainly a pacifist conviction.

In the Thirties Jugg felt she had the role of making her young readers aware of the true causes of the contemporary hopeless economic situation, and she had to help them develop a new and independent vision of what they saw around. The socialist doctrine was the means to reveal the discrepancies in the American egalitarian ideology. She believed in socialist reformism. Socialism could improve American society and recharge the American ideals of democracy, freedom and equal opportunities for all with new, authentic meanings.

Her ideal socialist-democratic society was composed of responsible individuals living in a truly democratic and equal society. The reason why no progress had been achieved in society not only lay in the social system, but also in the individual and his own responsibilities. She started from herself and she frequently expressed a very combative attitude towards life:

When all around is loss and pain  
And discords sweep the land  
When I am met with countless things  
I cannot understand;

When, midst its plenty, Need and Crime  
A nation's power disgrace,  
And bitter winds of cruel want  
Bite sharply in my face,

I will not raise lame hands in prayer  
That gods unseen will set things right –  
Such Faith that is not anything  
But endless space in starless night.

She then proposed how to face this harsh and inexplicable reality. There is a strong individualism, a belief in the potentialities of every single man. At the

same time she underlined the highly responsible attitude everybody has to assume before joining a brotherhood:

But I will free the powers of Me  
I am the Force that guides my life  
Through worthwhile channels, light and cheer,  
Or dark abyss, dismay, and strife.

And when I have resigned Myself  
To steady aim and purpose good  
I will have found with joy intact  
A lasting niche in Brotherhood.<sup>4</sup>

Socialism became the vehicle for a multicultural discourse. Because of the variety of the American ethnic mosaic she saw America as the right place for the creation of a brotherhood amongst people of different ethnic backgrounds. The general idea of a brotherhood could transcend national identities. The calloused hand and the bent form were enough to unite all American workers.

In her literary creations socialism took over ethnicity, which in her works emerged only in a fragmentary way: in the characters' names and surnames, by the sporadic use of Slovene words and phrases and by mentioning old world places. In her writings class-consciousness was more important than ethnicity. In this regard her poem »Nationality« should be considered. She started the first stanza:

And does it, then, make difference –  
The language that you speak?  
And is it nationality  
Or brotherhood we seek?<sup>5</sup>

In the Forties Mary Jugg's attitude towards socialism changed. The play »A League of Nations« exemplifies this. The characters' names show that they are children of different national groups, but they share the same neighborhood. They suddenly learn that the site where they used to meet and play will be no

<sup>4</sup> Resolution, *Mladinski list–Juvenile (ML)*, 12, 1932, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> Nationality, *ML*, 05, 1933, p. 145.

longer »theirs«, and another block will be built there. But the boys decide to build a memorial composed of their favorite toys, with which they played there the most. At that point of the play they are very proud of being capable of cooperation and that from their work a very original monument would result. Their teamwork on a micro-level symbolizes what the big nations should do on an international level. They mention the persecution of Jews in Germany, which they see as one of the gravest consequences of this inability to collaborate with one another. But there is a sudden change in the mood of the play. The boys unexpectedly start to quarrel over an apparent triviality and everybody takes back his own »piece« of the monument.<sup>6</sup> If the socialistic antidote was right, people were still not mature enough to understand its full value and significance.

In the poem »The Call of The New Year«, 1937, Mary Jugg expressed a similar dissatisfaction with socialism. The poem starts with a vision of a field covered with snow with fresh footsteps across it. In the following stanza this vision is broadened by comparison. The field is presented as a neat image in a street pool suddenly shattered by a stone. The sound of the creaking snow expresses a state of mind. The poem is enriched by associations and by new details:

Dull is the sound of the cheerless heart  
Stumping across the snow –  
A violin robbed of its every tone –  
Missing, the strings and the bow.

Stretch of a soft, clean snow is the New Year  
Furrowed to deep, slushy mud;  
Blaring, metallic, falsetto notes  
That fall with a deafening thud.

Jugg was aware that her plans for an improvement of society clashed with the general amorphous attitude of the masses:

Humanity Bleeding; humanity starving;  
Humanity bound with a chain –  
Humanity trampled – afraid of awakening –  
This is the New Year's refrain.

<sup>6</sup> A League of Nations, *ML*, 05, 1939, pp. 5–7.

She cried out for somebody, a »traveler across the virgin plains«, capable of changing the tune (»discover the strings and pick up the bow«) so that events would really take a new course with the New Year. But there was no appeal to the positive potentialities of all people, the idea of community was not stressed. In fact, not only were people seen as a mob incapable of organizing themselves, but also as »afraid of awakening«. She was calling for someone who would be able to give these people strength, through »songs and strains«, but not for an uprising, an active en masse attempt to change the desperate human situation. These songs would only »muffle the drone of humanity's woe«. <sup>7</sup> In other words, their function would be only to reduce and not eliminate the severity of the human condition.

In 1938 *Mladinski List-Juvenile* underwent a general reorganization. Apart from an increasing number of drawings and pictures illustrating the stories, articles and poems, there was no longer the division between the Slovene and English sections. The number of constant columns rose and only in the year 1938 did there appear about twenty-eight constant columns. In particular, the content of the contributions changed. They became lighter, more humorous and gay. There was not only a depiction of harsh social realities; children's verses and stories dealing with fantasy worlds, also started to appear. This influenced Mary Jugg's writings too. In this year she started a series of short stories entitled »Nifty and His Friends«. It was about a dog and its animal friends. Nifty was an »intelligent« dog, whose common sense was sometimes better than humans'. From 1938 on, more and more animals were given voice in her poems and short stories. She also made objects speak, such as a clock, a radio or an old armchair, and this enabled her to present facts in a different perspective. If at the beginning of her career any fantasy dreaming had been discouraged, it was now fostered. From that year on she started to publish more children's rhymes, simple jingles and fairy tale stories. Humor replaced her sarcasm and, for instance, none of her 1938 poems and short stories dealt with any specific social problem.

Although most of Mary Jugg's literary contributions appeared in the youth paper *Mladinski list-Juvenile*, her works, in particular some of her poems, were addressed to an adult public as well. They distinguish themselves by their structure and their contents. Although Mary Jugg always remembered that she was writing for a young audience, she did not just write simple rhymes. On the one hand, some of Mary Jugg's poems have an attentively-chosen formal structure.

<sup>7</sup> The Call of The New Year, *ML*, 01, 1937, p. 17.

She used rhyming couplets, the sonnet and especially the ballad form. But the quatrain where the second and the fourth line rhyme underwent a series of changes, rhythmical adaptations and variations. To break the formal pattern of the lines she frequently used devices such as caesuras, internal rhyming, onomatopoeia, use of refrains and so on. On the other hand, Mary Jugg also composed in free verse and chose peculiar visual layouts for her poems. Despite this, all her poems are compact, since she provided unity through repetition and harmony of imagery. Enjambment was used repeatedly, contributing to the general impression of spontaneity and smoothness. The text achieved unity by the use of words from the same semantic area. Apart from alliteration and assonance, the repetition of the same consonant or vowel sounds, her poems often have a mirroring structure, so that the stanzas have the same number of lines, the same length and the same layout. The same mirroring effect was gained if the stanza ended or began with the same line or a slightly changed line. When she used free verse, she frequently used cross-references to bind the text together. Twenty-two poems out of ninety are in free verse, but none of them is prose. According to Professor Jerneja Petrič, Mary Jugg Molek was probably the first to introduce free verse into Slovene-American literature.<sup>8</sup>

Compared with the other poets' contributions in the *Juvenile*, her poems stand out for the way she dealt with her subject matter. In her anthology Professor Petrič commented how Mary Jugg's poetry had been intellectual, and as such constitutes an isolated example in Slovene-American literature.<sup>9</sup> This is true of her social poems, but especially of her autobiographical poems, where she developed her own original approach. She maintained a refined, psychological level, and she tended to become cryptic. She was frequently enigmatic and obscure. She admitted her fears and doubts, sometimes employing visions from nature. She saw Nature as a perfect, organized world, and in comparison, human reality appeared fallacious and illogical. She tried to explain the human condition and actions by using images of the sea and the different characteristics of the winds. On the one hand, she used nature descriptively, but on the other, it represented an escape and shelter from everyday reality. Her poetry, in these cases, hardly became firm and truly optimistic in a socialist sense and she was unable to end her poems with the purposive and convincing message required by the socialist interpretation of literature. Even though in her articles Mary Jugg advocated a poetry committed to the socialist cause, some

<sup>8</sup> Jerneja Petrič, *Naši na tujih tleh*, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1982, p. 475.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

of her poems eventually went against the socialist interpretation of literature as something functional, clear and direct in its message.

In some of her earliest poems the idea prevailed that man could master nature through the aid of science. In the poem »Credo«, 1933, she expressed the positive idea that powerful natural elements such as the wind and the sea acquire meaning only if they are subdued by man to his service. But in many other poems she realized the smallness of humanity in front of the perfection of Nature, and how mankind was not even able to achieve control over its own complexity. She frequently spoke from her own experience. She saw how our good intentions and resolutions, usually uttered at the beginning of the New Year, were soon forgotten and never carried out. She investigated the causes of such behavior and concluded that it was because of man's fear and doubt. She frequently used images of closed doors, locked chests, insurmountable walls and clothes that cannot be discarded. All these images suggest a sense of entrapment and immobility. In her program poem, »Decision«, 1933, she looked at the future promising a commitment, but realizing the risky and the frightening part of it. Her approach is metaphorical. In this poem she compares the future to a closed book with stiff covers, and then to a chest:

I hold before me a closed book;  
 Not a page has been scanned nor a cover lifted;  
 The words, inspiration, and message  
 Are held within bounds of stiff, coarse buckram  
 That encloses.

A chest of potent ideas  
 Lies locked somewhere within power of my reach.  
 Their strength has never been tested;  
 They are held by strong padlocks  
 Of doubt.  
 [...] <sup>10</sup>

At the end she decides that her New Year will be »a read book / and an opened chest.« But this ending is too plain and contrasts with the generally uncertain atmosphere of the poem.

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<sup>10</sup> Decision, *ML*, 01, 1933, p. 17.



In »Deferment«, 1934, she represents her longings as a vision of a white house on the top of a hill, which promises a kind of paradise of oblivion (»Enter, and all will be forgotten«). But the »I« hesitates, afraid of the steep and long road uphill, whilst knowing that she had better go. When she finally decides and climbs the hill, she realizes that she has just missed the given opportunity forever:

At last, after a great while, I summoned courage  
And climbed the hill and reached the top,  
Only to find  
That a high wind had slammed the door before my eyes  
And locked it fast-inside.<sup>11</sup>

Compared to the poems, the artistic accomplishment of the short stories is limited because of the predominant use of an authorial narrator. Nevertheless, the stories are interesting for their setting, themes and for their individual stylistic expedients. Small town realities with immigrants' shacks and mines nearby – this was the bleak surrounding where most of her short stories were set. The protagonists were young people torn between their expectations, fostered by the American ideology, and the gloomy reality in which they were entrapped. On the other hand, Mary Jugg's plays were practical and, in the first instance, didactic. They were mainly directed to be performed by the juvenile members, and their aim was, on the one hand, to explain socialist concepts, and on the other, to show on a micro-level how big contemporary issues could be solved through cooperation, mutual help and respect.

The reason Jugg gradually stopped contributing to *Juvenile* was not simply political (regarding hers and her husband's disagreements with other executive members of the *S.N.P.J.* about supporting the communists' struggle in the Old Country). Although this probably contributed to her estrangement from the *S.N.P.J.*, the main reason probably was that Mary Molek at that time had just finished writing her Master's thesis and was about to start writing her Ph. D. dissertation.<sup>12</sup> After Ivan Molek's forced resignation from *Prosveta*, she became the breadwinner of the family, working as elementary and high school teacher. In

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<sup>11</sup> Deferment, *ML*, 08, 1934, p. 240.

<sup>12</sup> M. Molek, *Education in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, with Emphasis on the Period from 1918 to 1939*, unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, May 1942.

addition, she taught English in evening schools, helping the new immigrants to adjust themselves to the new environment. No information exists about the couple's life, except for the fact that they lived very modestly, and that they moved to California in the late Fifties.

Thus apparently there is a »barren period« between 1943, when her last contribution was published in *Mladinski list–Juvenile*, and 1976, when her *Immigrant Woman* and translations appeared in print. However, such a sharp division is very unlikely to be regarded as definite. This supposition is confirmed by the correspondence of Margaret E. Haughwout to Mary Jugg Molek.<sup>13</sup> For instance, the letter dated 04, 04, 1951 opens with

Dear Mary,

Ever since reading it I've meant to write and say how much I like your perfect little poem. It is all poetry. It took imagination to write it and requires one to read. [...] Anyhow it says something without saying it and one could mean a dozen or a hundred different experiences.

So further researches need to be undertaken to investigate this period. In addition, Mary Jugg Molek's documents kept at the Chicago Historical Society need to be examined. At the moment they are not available to the public because they have not yet been catalogued.

Only after her husband's death, in 1962, did Mary Molek resume publishing. She moved to Dover, Delaware, and all the works she wrote or translated were published at her own expense. When *Immigrant Woman* was published in 1976, it soon became a considerable success within the Slovene community. The book had three reprints and earned for Mary Jugg Molek the 1978 League of Slovene-American Award for contributions to Slovene-American literature.<sup>14</sup> Influenced by the »ethnic revival«, which began in the 1960's along with the Civil Rights Movement, Mary Molek searched for her own ethnic past. As a matter of fact, all the works she published in the Seventies could be interpreted as a redis-

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<sup>13</sup> Margaret E. Haughwout was Mary Molek's English teacher at Kansas college. They kept up a correspondence from July 1932 to December 1961. Unfortunately, now just the Haughwout letters are available at Pittsburg State University, Special Collections.

<sup>14</sup> John P. Nielsen, Mary J. Molek Wins Author Award, *Ameriška domovina*, 08, 12, 1978, pp. 1 and 3.

covery of her ethnic background, a looking back in search of values that she thought should have been reconsidered, especially by the present generation. In *Immigrant Woman* she documented her mother's life at the beginning of the century, being aware of the immigrant woman's message for the present era. By translating and presenting her husband's works she proceeded to present the life of the immigrant man she married. Especially in his autobiography, her notes, appendices and references were particularly substantial, and her aim was to exalt Ivan Molek's independence of mind, perseverance and constant adherence to his ideals. On the one hand, she underlined the immigrants' contribution to the growth and greatness of the United States. On the other hand, she saw the Seventies negatively as a time when people were lost and in search of identity, a time when drugs, psychoanalysis and transcendental meditation were the rule. People were revolting against an establishment without even knowing exactly what they were contesting. She saw this period as an era marked by destruction and permissiveness, when »only 'want' and 'take' remained«. <sup>15</sup> To all this she contrasted »a chronicle of those who 'did' for that which others are now 'taking'«. <sup>16</sup>

*Immigrant Woman* is a book of recollections, an attempt to reconstruct the life of the author's mother through its most significant and vivid moments. The introduction promises all the elements necessary for a serious ethnic discourse. The author promises to descend genealogically and topologically and recover a world by the aid of the »Memory\_Project dynamics«. <sup>17</sup> The author rather than just recovering an ethnic past, interprets it and therefore inevitably elaborates it, keying the ethnic meaning according to contemporary needs. This is how Professor Boelhower views it:

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<sup>15</sup> Mary Molek, Introduction to *Immigrant Woman (IW)*, Dover, Del.: M. Molek, Inc., 1976, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> As William Boelhower in his *Through a Glass Darkly, Ethnic Semiosis in American Literature*, Venezia: Edizioni Helvetia, 1984, writes, »Ethnic discourse is a discourse of foundations. [...] The foundations of ethnicity are based on the genealogical elaboration of the story behind one's name, one's family name« (p. 81). »Ethnic semiosis can now be defined as nothing more nor less than the interpretative gaze of the subject whose strategy of seeing is determined by the very ethno-symbolic space of the possible world he inhabits [...] this model of seeing is conditioned by the following ethno-semiotic dynamics: MEMORY\_PROJECT.« (p. 87).

The principal task of the sons and daughters in ethnic fiction is to reinterpret the status of the referent as defined by the ancestors. This involves putting contemporary reality between the parentheses of Project and Memory.[...]¹⁸

This biographical attempt represents a recovery of the mother's time and place. But rather than being a mere mnemonic exercise the author puts it in relation with contemporary time and space and points, in the ethnic morals and ethnic way of life, to an ethical answer, a solution for contemporary disorientation.

But personal reasons might also be at the root of her interest in her origins. She might be influenced by a sense of guilt concerning her previous rejection of the immigrant world, because it was so much in contrast with the American standards of living. The author describes the clashes, the scars, the psychological »deep gashes« (p. 11) and »the mental cruelty« (p. 53) that sometimes marked the mother–daughter relationship. This is how she was writing already in 1936:

But sometime – somewhere – someone should pay honest tribute to just these unsung heroines of what America is today. Who brought forth sons and daughters to go out to build and make America »one of the richest countries«. Look at the immigrant women in small towns who slaved and worked in a country that more often than not mocked them for their ways – and because they had nowhere to learn their English.

It was these same women who endured hardships with their husbands who were harnessed into mining coal, building roads, erecting buildings, working in steel mills – making America! [...]

It was these women who suffered many heartaches when their own children came back from school and considered their mothers old fashioned, and even a little backward, for not having learned good English or knowing how to walk with high-heeled shoes.¹⁹

In the book she describes not only her mother's immigrant existence but also how she, the daughter, has grown independently from it by taking her own

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¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

¹⁹ Mary Jugg, *For Women Only*, *Proletarec*, 13, 05, 1936, p. 6.

way. The grown-up writer returns to her past, to document it, but also with the awareness that so many things could not be remembered at all, because they went without being understood at the time when they took place.

Despite the apparent simple layout – introduction, seventeen non-numerated chapters and epilogue – the text is much more complex, since its circular narration does not respect the chapters' division. Incidents are told more than once, but every time the event becomes more detailed, because it is associated with other new and different circumstances. However, there are some central images that, like leitmotifs, reappear from time to time throughout the text and they bind the text together, providing it with an internal structure.

The core figure is certainly that of a patchwork quilt. The significance it bears in the text is transplanted on the structural level. The narrator willfully applies the quilt-making techniques to the composition of the text. As the mother started the coverlet when she was pregnant with her first-born, so the narration starts from that period. As the mother crocheted first every single medallion separately and then sewed them together, so are the patches – the singular events – remembered and described by the grown-up daughter. With such a structural choice the events narrated have no chronological order and there is no hierarchy of incidents.

The mother was always a dominant figure in her daughters' lives and she has »patterned, in her own design, three distinctly different roles for each of the [...] three« daughters.<sup>20</sup> In the text there is a scene where the daughter rebuffs her mother trying to teach her how to sew, deciding that she is not going to be a dressmaker as the mother was. But now, after her mother's death, the Oldest returns to her life by becoming, rather than a dressmaker, a text-maker. In the introduction Molek makes a clear reference to her text as:

[...] A patchwork quilt. Fragments floating into the mind's eye, sometimes like discrete scraps of material, sometimes stitched together. The iridescence of a patch spills now onto one, now onto the next, obscuring the edges; and the two patches could easily be interchangeable. A spotlight illuminates now one, now another. Sometimes it rolls off the entire coverlet, leaving it only an eclipsed backdrop.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *IW*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Molek stresses that the experiences are conveyed through her own »first-hand experience as the oldest child« (p. 3). But this, rather than being presented as a filter to the objectivity of the narration, a limited perspective, is presented as an important element sustaining the reality of the things narrated. The introduction promises that the narrator will tell everything she knows, has apprehended and now remembers. The narrator, in other words, claims omniscience, but this is actually limited to her autobiographical stance, so if this is a biography, it is full of gaps. On the one hand, these gaps are partially filled when they receive a fictional reconstruction – they are transformed into dialogues, and dramatized scenes, rather than being merely narrated. Surprisingly, though, they are integrated into the general flow of the text and the narrator absorbs them in the textual ideology without mentioning them as reconstructed parts. On the other hand, her limited omniscience is exalted in other parts of the text, where the narrator refuses to give a fictionalized reconstruction. This becomes a method of ensuring reliability. By saying that some fragments cannot be reconstructed because they cannot be remembered, the narrator discloses to the reader her strategy by directly pointing the readers' attention to the missing fragment. The narrator, in other words, calls attention to her act of renunciation from writing fiction. When her omniscience becomes restricted, this restriction becomes her justification for the reliability of the things narrated. When a scene is not fully recalled, the narrator directly refers to the text as the quilt. Here are two examples:

What is Memory's residue of that day? [...] That patch of the quilt is faded and lost.

[...] What became of that evening, how it passed, is a patch of the quilt forever frazzled and lost. Only the sunset, that vivid, watercolor sunset remains.<sup>22</sup>

The use of animals is the other device used by the narrator to achieve unity, although on a smaller scale, since they are not given a meta-structural function. This emphasis on animals has the function of revealing the mother's estrangement in front of the new environment. In fact, when she arrives in the New world the first thing that she notices of her would-be husband is that he »looked so different, so changed.«<sup>23</sup> Animals seem to be the only continuity between the Old and the New World.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112 and 121.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

There are two main antithetic movements of the narrator. One is towards complete impassivity, the other is towards an autobiographical involvement. In the first case, the narrator is an authorial narrator, coolly detached from the story. She rarely refers to the characters by name. She prefers to call them by more general and impersonal titles, such as »the Oldest«, when she speaks about the immigrant woman's oldest daughter or, »Immigrant Woman« to designate the mother. The distance between the already grown up – »the Oldest« – and Maria is established by the narrator in order to distinguish the two temporally different stages of the same person. So far, there are three projections of the author's self: on the level of the discourse, the prevalently impersonal, detached narrator, and on the story level, the Oldest who is the one who »pieced together long afterward«<sup>24</sup> and is engaged in reconstructing her mother's life, and Maria (the child and the adolescent). Thus there are three stadiums, three steps, of transmission of experience: Maria (who is the experiencing subject), the Oldest (who looks back at her past and gathers together the information about it) and the narrator, who presents both processes. »The Oldest« manages to see the positive aspects of her earlier education, which she was unable to see as such when she was going through them as Maria.

If the narrator strives to be detached and objective, she does not always succeed, and the female, autobiographical voice takes over from the cold biographer. The narrator is a female one because she is the bearer of a female discourse, which takes the shape of a quilt. Moreover, she voices some prejudice of the time, and when she does so, her critical attitude can be sensed. The autobiographical part of the story coexists with and occasionally takes over from the biographical one. The story starts with the birth of the daughter, the biographer, and not with that of the mother, the Immigrant Woman, »the heroine« after whom the story is titled. Moreover, part of her mother's life in the Old Country, probably about 20 years, is completely ignored. The name of the »small secluded hamlet«,<sup>25</sup> the mother's native place, is never mentioned. There is no mention of the mother's maiden name, nothing is said about her ocean crossing, whether she did it alone or with some relative. There is no reference to the mother's age, except when she dies (»She was eighty-five«).<sup>26</sup> By contrast, Maria's almost exact

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> *IW*, p. 37. As Mary Molek reveals in her conference *The Present, Past and Future of Slovene Immigration*, her mother was from Sv. Lucija, near Gorica–Gorizia. »She sprinkled her speech with both Italian and German words«, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

hour of birth is given («On the second Wednesday in June, 1909, about noon,»)27 and throughout the text her age is recorded.

This temporal stratification of the same person – Maria and the Oldest – shows by itself that there has been a character development. Maria's story is much more articulated than that of the mother. Her school, her first encounter with the American environment, her college, her move to Chicago and her marriage – these are all episodes that are described in the text. All the new experiences the daughter endures are »outside« home and detached from the zone »controlled« by the mother. Her autobiography describes the steps of her estrangement from her ethnic background. Only later will she revisit her ethnic past.

The book is set in Kansas, but no precise geographical name of town or settlement is given. There is an effort to maintain a distant, scholarly standpoint. The daughter does not feel much contact with the place, or at least when the story is told from her point of view, she does not seem to see it. Awareness that this was her familiar surrounding arises only when she leaves for Chicago.

By bus to Chicago. Ejected from all that had been familiar, from all that had budded the myriad, miniscule day-to-day worries; ejected into the horrendously frightening jaws of the unknown.<sup>28</sup>

But when the story is presented from the mother's point of view, a very critical picture of Kansas is given. Actually, I have found excerpts from the book among the negative quotations about Kansas on Internet.<sup>29</sup> The ugliness of the landscape is associated with the bitter disappointment the mother experienced upon her arriving at the »Promised Land«. The immigrant is forced to accept a radical change of landscape, and to her it seems all a »horrible nightmare«. On her arrival all she can notice is dirtiness, dilapidated frame houses and children dressed in rags, making mud pies.

Maria is born in a shanty house, dark inside, after which the family moves to another nearby town in a four-room house, where eight people lived all toget-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>29</sup> »Quotable Kansas« provided as a public service by the Washburn University, Center for Kansas Studies, compiled by Prof. Tom Averill, <http://www.wuacc.edu/referenc/zzcwcks/kansasqu.html/> (11, 12, 1997).



her. The second chapter is clearly set on this farm; there is a garden, chickens, a cow, and pigs. There are trees around the house the mother has planted, but they do not belong to the original landscape. They rather belong to the Old World scenery, which is recreated in the New World. The mother calls them »our property«.<sup>30</sup> When some workmen from town come to cut them down to widen the road, she defends her trees, saying they are the only pleasant aspect of her homestead. It is interesting that the mother is talking to these men in Slovene and that her daughter has to translate for them. But the whole narrative is conveyed in standard English and we hear directly the mother and not the child. Or more precisely, we hear the literary elaboration of what the mother has said. That the text has undergone a formal transformation is demonstrated by the use of repetition, short incisive sentences, alliteration of the »d« sound. Moreover, this continuous and circular repeating of words contributes to the general sensation that any prospect of improvement is barred.

[...] Shame – shame on you people; come around here to cut down, to destroy – not to build up, to make nice! Not to fix that dirty road, all dust-dust-dust. Swallow dust, eat dust – every day. Every day. Horses. Horse dung. Fresh dung; dried up. Dried into dust. Ground up by the wheels. Dung; dirt; dung; dust – everything comes on and around and in the house. [...]<sup>31</sup>

It is interesting, however, to notice that towards the end of the book the narrator expresses how the mother felt a complete identification with the Kansas environment.

She was nonessential. But this was her place. It was her land. It was her home! She must not leave it. No! If she should forsake these surroundings, she would surely die.<sup>32</sup>

This is an identification that recalls much more the Old World condition of dwelling as something static, topological, and recognizes a complete identification between the dwelling place and the dweller. To sum up, if the mother is the uprooted immigrant finding herself in a totally strange milieu, she constantly interacts with this new environment, and even if her response is critical, there is

<sup>30</sup> *JW*, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

still an exchange, a contact and an attempt at improvement. The daughter does not feel such an emotional tie to Kansas; her view is much more superficial, more American perhaps. She is not rooted in a place, but she rather thinks of surroundings in economic terms, such as what job opportunities Kansas offers. The mother persists until the end of her life in the same farming house, where her baby boy and later on her husband have died, and she cannot feel herself at ease in a new environment, in her daughters' new homes in towns, for example.

The figures of the mother and the daughter represent not only two different concepts of space, but also of time. As a matter of fact, the mother's story is presented as part of the past and therefore has become static. The means through which she fights for a livelihood in the New World are imported from the Old World. Even though the mother could be a potential heroine who has crossed the boundaries of home to go to a new place, in the New World her fight is circumscribed to the topographical place, she remains immobile. In fact, many parts of the text stress the mother's wish to remain in one place.<sup>33</sup> The mother is unable to understand the new age improvements, which she calls »Krezzy Fools«. The daughter personifies the present dimension, which is not past-free, since she has constantly to face her mother's objections, comments and ideas. The mother's figure and her authority are always felt. The mother is the bearer of a profound folk wisdom that the daughter Maria continuously questions and finds lacking, because of the identification she has with American culture. The two paralleled stories present in the text are independent, but also profoundly interrelated.

According to Irene P. Winner, this collision between mother and daughter can be seen as an interplay between a static and a dynamic vision of the world which influences the structure of the book as well, since the outcome of it is not a linear biographical recount, but a collage, a patchwork. The scenes are repeated and the stories and events are narrated more than once. The montage is the result of the direct or indirect confrontation of two cultural traditions in an ethnic culture, the traditional culture and the host culture. It has to be noted that montage is not assimilation. That also explains why biography and autobiography succeed in coexisting within the same text.

The mother remains chained to the past, while the daughter emancipates herself from it. It is education that provides the Oldest with the means to leave the ethnic environment and go »into the world«. Through education she gets rid of the superstitions, bigotry and the prejudices that were inherent in the immi-

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<sup>33</sup> *IW*, for instance on pp. 22 and 106.

grant world, especially as regards the woman's role. She leaves home, she chooses to get married at the City Hall and to have no children – three decisions that are the very opposite of what was expected from a young woman in the Slovene community. These decisions the mother cannot comprehend, although she well remembers her own oppression, her grotesque marriage and her difficult child-bearings. When the daughter's wedding is presented, the narrator makes direct reference to the mother's wedding. »On her wedding day there was no wedding dress; thanks heavens! For the disappearances of the Mrs. Baskas. There was no ceremony.« The mother never forgave her oldest daughter for getting married at a registry office, and then the narrator continues: »for the Youngest, the Immigrant Woman engineered a marriage in her own fashion.«<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, however, education enables the oldest daughter to return, look back and document her ethnic roots. Her vision therefore is a double vision: she documents it from the point of view of a trained scientist (detached narration) and that of a daughter who, through the reconstruction of the mother's life, is re-establishing her connection with her own ethnic culture. As Professor I. P. Winner puts it, »she escapes to an educated life, and recreates in her writings the immigrant culture.«<sup>35</sup> Thus the admiring tone that the narrator has for »the deeds« of the mother is the outcome of future years, and not an attribute of Maria as a teenager.

The text is a collage of styles. In stitching the text together the narrator uses citations, quotations and references to film actors, songs and famous personae. Especially in the second part of the book, when she starts to evaluate the education she has received from her mother, putting it in a more positive light, she makes references to literary heroes, to sit-coms and other typical American products, only to discard them in the name of the more genuine ethnic culture. Therefore the book is a renegotiation of Maria's previous attitude; and the positive elements of her upbringing are dug up. She comes to the conclusion that they were the only possible way that the circumstances permitted, and her Spartan upbringing was after all a success. This ultimately is the message of the work. Throughout the text constant clashes between the mother's and daughter's outlook on life are registered. The verbal blows are shown in brief, terse dialogues, but sometimes longer presentations of specific accidents are interpolated. The

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.150 and 152.

<sup>35</sup> Irene Portis Winner, *Ethnic Culture Text As Narration*, in *Literary Anthropology: A New Interdisciplinary Approach to People, Signs and Literature*, Fernando Poyatos (ed.), Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing co., 1988, p. 134.

dialogues make the narration vivid and lively. Sometimes the narrator uses sit-com techniques. For instance, she makes reference to a 1975 American sit-com (Pat Loud family), criticizing the kind of life it represents. The family members' self-centeredness and pleasure-seeking is juxtaposed to what we can see as the ethnic values of self-sacrifice, unselfishness and work. She employs sit-com proceedings – short, incisive dialogues that give insight into what can be defined as everyday life, and a strongly preachy ending. Thus it can be said that she is using a typical American product (the sit-com), charging it with new, ethnic attributes. Through the ethnic glass American society reveals its egoism and narcissism.

The narrator uses sit-com techniques to enlarge her domain. The general tone of the book is epic. Here again the narrator makes a direct mention to a film genre. In fact, the tragedies that hit the family are seen as »[...] nights of horror, colossal as a Ben Hur movie.«<sup>36</sup> The mother is the pioneer who manages to cope with all the adversities, who reveals herself as the engine of the family and is at the end successful. Instead of coming to a land of plenty, as her husband has written in his letters, and instead of marrying a successful pioneer, she marries an indebted and exploited miner and has to work hard as a seamstress and as a housewife to free the family of the numerous debts. The mother's story turns out to be a success story, because by relying on her own moral strength and her own work the mother succeeded in freeing herself and her family from indebtedness and giving her children college education.

On the whole, the book continuously oscillates between a fictionalizing drive and the tendency to be faithful to reality as defined by the mother's life experience. Especially at the beginning of the text the narrator continuously uses repetitions of negative or positive statements as if she could encompass the mother's life story by mere enumeration. The consequence is a rhetorical style that hinders the already weak fictional structure. Many times she becomes obscure and difficult to follow, because the references she is making become meaningful only as the story proceeds. In these parts the book loses its artistic value.

Professor Mirko Jurak points out that her use of a sententious, moralizing manner of story telling does not contribute to the fictional aspect of her narrative. There are scenes that lack artistic inspiration and expressiveness. »They are mainly straightforward descriptions, aroused in the author's mind by the acuteness of the experience, but they are not matched with an equal scope of imaginative power and comprehensiveness of meaning.«<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

On the other hand, the scenes where the mother's reminiscences become overwhelming are artistically the most accomplished. The narrator proceeds through associations, and creates an element of pathos. The reader knows that the Immigrant Woman is caught, but he sees her when she struggles to get free and how she is still convinced that she will go back home as soon as she manages to earn enough money.

It has been noticed that with the exception of the Introduction the author never makes it clear that she is writing about Slovene immigrants and about a Slovene-American family.<sup>38</sup> The text is written in standard English with almost no Slovene words. Nevertheless the ethnic elements reveal themselves overtly, through reference to traditional food, natural home remedies and folk beliefs the mother expresses in the dialogues with her children.

The mother cooks ethnic food at home. The Slovene names of the dishes are never given, but they can be recognized. The soup with noodles, »the mine-strone« and the home-made bread are particularly remembered.<sup>39</sup> As a true Slovene, the mother is a beekeeper too. Homemade honey is the only sweetener known.

The dark honey produced in the rectangular frames of beeswax that had been lowered into the hives was crudely processed, strained through cheesecloth and poured into jars. For many sweetening purposes it served reasonably well. But, »Momma, I can't drink this coffee with honey in it. It makes me gag.«<sup>40</sup>

The mother's »diet« is constantly questioned by her children, as it conflicts with what they learn in school. To that the mother sternly remarks: »when your hygiene book or teacher has to feed you, and has to get it for you, they can dictate what you will eat. Not otherwise.«<sup>41</sup> The idea that everything needs to be saved, conserved, used up, and that nothing should ever be discarded is somehow typical of peasant culture. On the other hand, the American food is looked upon suspiciously by the mother:

<sup>37</sup> Mirko Jurak, *Immigrant Woman*, *Acta Neophilologica*, 13, 1980, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Elish, *Immigrant Woman a Compelling Story*, *Prosveta*, 18, 05, 1977, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> *IW*, pp.57–58.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> All in *IW*, p. 57.

The Oldest learned of steak – round steak, that is, for the first time in the college cafeteria. She didn't think she liked it: leathery, and poured over with a thick, brown coating in the steam table. She told her mother. »That kind of stuff is no good for you. Don't know what all they've mixed together and how long it's [sic] been standing there. Could poison you, even,« said the mother.<sup>42</sup>

The mother cannot enjoy the modern age improvements, and some of them she can not even understand. They represent confusion as opposed to the rigid order that reigned inside the »ethnic« family. She calls all those things »Krezzy Fool« – »this baptism of things incongruous, distasteful, ethically unacceptable, imaginary, or to be so dismissed [...].«

»Ma, Tootsie Mantle says he has two ear plugs he puts on over his head; like this over his head; and he can hear voices and people talking from far, far away – as far away as Milwaukee. They call it a 'radio'.«

»Tootsie Mantle doesn't need ear plugs to hear things like that. Krezzy fool!«

In the New World she continues to stick to old folk beliefs that might be seen as pure superstition by the Americans. One of these is her belief in the power of dreams as predictions of the future. »Contrary to others' disbelief, her clairvoyance made logic to her and could never remotely be categorized as 'Krezzy Fool' in her eyes.«<sup>43</sup>

When the Immigrant Woman arrives in the New Country, she is disillusioned, does not want to get married and therefore is completely passive and submissive to Mrs. Baska, the coarse landlady of her first home. The previously constructed idea of America clashes with reality. The young woman naively believed in everything that her would-be husband had written her. Her disappointment emerges in everything she says or does. But when she learns from her husband that her steamship ticket, the wedding expenses and her wedding outfit which she thought were the landlady's gift, are in fact just borrowed, she changes her meek attitude. Being in debt was a taboo in Slovene village culture and therefore she becomes determined to

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>43</sup> All in *IW*, p. 61.

redeem the family from debt. She takes up sewing for her family and for others, she finds every opportunity to save. She is the homeopathic physician who knows herbal remedies, she makes soap, butter, and she cares for chickens and a cow.

She knits, does cutout embroidery, crochets, and quilts until she is eighty-five. Her sense of color in her handiwork, the text states, was her children's first lesson in art appreciation. She has a green thumb. She has hoped that she will finally arrive at a hilly place with mountains or lush valleys. A place that will resemble her native Slovenia. She attempts to recreate it by planting trees and rose bushes in front of the house.

If she does not manage to return to Europe, she succeeds in convincing her husband to break free from Mrs. Baska's claws and to get firm roots in what later will become their own house. Her family always lives honestly. Although poor she is always charitable and hospitable. Thrifty but not stingy, she will always help other people in distress. She is the focal point of the family not only morally, but economically as well. In lean times her sewing is the only source of income the family has. She is an energetic person, always working, keeping herself busy. Her primary concern is for the daughters, for their education. She always cares for her children although she brings them up rigidly. Her husband wants to move to some other state, but she can not agree with him. She wants her daughters to finish school all in one place.

The daughter has felt throughout her school career the pressure that she has to finish school as soon as possible in order to save the family from its debt at the grocery shop. She frankly admits that she was not so much driven by altruistic feelings, as constrained by her mother. In turn her school career is presented as an epic.

This text is a sincere and a critical study of the author's attitude towards ethnicity. It is, therefore, a brave exposition, since it shows that not everything was so rosy and that ethnicity, when it was »inflicted« and endured, was seen negatively. Ethnicity was not taken for granted by the children, but often fought against and ridiculed. But by being constantly questioned, it emerged somehow reinforced from this confrontation since the mother always had a ready answer to their impertinent questions. For instance, even though the mother learns English from her children, »listening to the children's homework and adding her own remarks«, she always maintains her authority inside the family. When the children mock her English, she retorts, »Don't think because you know English you're smart. For 'smart', you'll have to live awhile.«<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *JW*, p. 37.

The daughter grasps and creates her concept of ethnicity indirectly from the mother's style of life, her morals, sayings and her way of being. It is interesting that she herself, in the Introduction, establishes a bridge of ethnical continuity that goes from the mother to the husband.

[The mother's] beliefs in the simple virtues were completely transmitted to her Oldest (speaking only for herself). She, in turn, found their counterpart in the immigrant man she married. Together, they, because of their life's devotion to ideals, endured tribulations that (over a period of twenty-eight years, until his death) probably would have been eased had they compromised principles.<sup>45</sup>

It is clear that the association she establishes is not only ethnic, but ethical as well. The author considers herself an individualistic and independent American woman, but her ethnic background somehow saves her, taking her back to a heritage of values that the »pure« American society of the Seventies seems to ignore.

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02, p. 6; 02, 03, p. 8; 09, 03, p. 8; 16, 03, p. 7, 30, 03, p. 7; 06, 04, p. 7; 13, 04, p. 8; 27, 04, p. 8; (»Jake«), 04, 05, p. 8; 11, 05, p. 8; 18, 05, p. 8; 25, 05, p. 8; 08, 06, p. 7; 22, 06, p. 8. [column]

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#### POVZETEK

## MARY JUGG MOLEK – AMERIŠKA PISATELJICA IN PESNICA SLOVENSKEGA POREKLA

Irena Milanič

*Mary Jugg je med leti 1932 in 1943 objavila 90 pesmi, 37 kratkih povesti in 9 dramskih enodejank. Njena literarna dela so bila predvsem namenjena mladini, to je ameriškim potomcem slovenskih priseljencev. Najizrazitejša značilnost njenih prispevkov je, da so vsi napisani v angleščini, in to v času, ko so bili izseljenski časopisi še pretežno slovenski.*

*V tridesetih in štiridesetih letih je Mary Jugg poleg literarnih prispevkov pisala tudi članke za tedensko angleško stran dnevnika Prosveta in tednika Proletarec. S temi časopisi je pričela sodelovati leta 1933, leta 1936 pa je že vodila stalno tedensko rubriko, najprej v Proletarcu z izzivalnim naslovom »For Women Only« – Samo za ženske, od julija 1936 do 1938 pa je imela v Prosveti rubriko »Women's Round Table« – Ženska okrogla miza. Nato je imela od leta 1938 do leta 1944 v Prosveti tedenski časopisni stolpec »A Column«. Čeprav brez posebne literarne vrednosti, so ti članki pomembni zaradi avtoričinih naprednih stališč. S posebno odločnostjo je zagovarjala pravico tako žensk kot mladih, da bi v slovenskih izseljenskih organizacijah imeli več odločitvene moči. Mary Jugg pa se ni ustavila le pri pisanju: v Proletarcu, leta 1934, lahko zasledimo njene pozive, nekatere tudi v slovenščini, v katerih je vabila najmlajše, naj se pridružijo novoustanovljeni otroški skupini Rdečih Sokolov, kjer je sama vodila sobotne izvenšolske dejavnosti. Leta 1938 pa je bila med glavnimi pobudni-*

ki za ustanovitev neodvisnih mladinskih krožkov S.N.P.J., Slovenske narodne podporne jednote.

Juggova se v svojih literarnih delih predvsem osredotoča na opis ameriške realnosti, ki je skupna različnim narodnostim. Zaustavlja se pri problemih mlajših rodov ali pa delavstva nasploh. Njeni literarni prispevki iz tridesetih let so socialne slike gospodarske depresije, ki je takrat morila ameriško družbo in najhuje prizadela prav najnižje sloje, torej predvsem priseljence. Literarna dela Juggove imajo malo etničnih elementov, na kar je vplivalo tudi njeno socialistično prepričanje. V njenih prispevkih se slovenski elementi pojavljajo le v drobcih, nejasno in indirektno. Tak odnos ohranja tudi v kasnejših delih.

Leta 1976 je izšel roman *Immigrant Woman* (Priseljenka). V njem se pisateljica spominja matere–priseljenke, a se istočasno zaustavlja tudi pri opisu lastnega otroštva, tako da se biografija in avtobiografija stalno prepletata. To pogojuje dejstvo, da sta tu prisotni dve antitetični pripovedniški perspektivi. Prva je nagnjena k skrajni brezosebnosti in objektivnosti, druga pa se nagiba k avtobiografski vpletenosti. Čeprav se je Mary Jugg Molek prvotno oddaljila od lastne preteklosti in se odločila za neodvisno pot v svet, se sedaj vrača kot izučena in izkušena ženska, ki želi dokumentirati zgodbo svoje matere.

Pisateljčina genealogija se skriva v topologiji. Če hoče povleči na površje svoje etnične korenine, ne more mimo analize teritorija, torej Kansasa. Za razliko od hčerke je mati eno z okoljem, v katerem prebiva. Mati je pionirka, ker je zapustila svoj rodni kraj in se priselila v nepoznan, puščavski Kansas, področje neskončnih ravnin in prerij. A v tem novem kraju je priseljenka s trdim delom uspešno rekonstruirala svoj stari kraj tako glede zunanosti kot glede vrednot.

Molkova se zaveda sporočila, ki ga priseljenka prinaša sodobnim generacijam. Kljub revščini in pomanjkanju so v življenju priseljencev veljale izredno trdne vrednote, ki so jim omogočale obstoj in postopno izboljšanje razmer. Njihova kmečka pokončnost je bila recept za njihov »success story«, za njihov uspeh. Molkova poudarja, da so ti priseljenci obogatitev za Ameriko. Etnično prebujanje se ne sme ustaviti pri zunanjem, formalnem vidiku, temveč mora seči globlje in ovrednotiti prav to priseljenko dediščino vrednot. Molkova zavrača slovenstvo kot abstraktno vrednoto; šele priseljenec s svojim življenjskim dostojanstvom in poštenostjo lahko etničnosti podeli pomen.

Mary Molek je kot otrok doživljala revščino negativno, vendar pa ji sedaj pogled z razdalje omogoča, da v svojem otroštvu lahko vidi tudi pozitivne strani take vzgoje. Materina strogost in trdoživost sta bili edini možni odgovor v tistih

borih razmerah. Knjiga je iskren pogled avtorice na lastno preteklost in na lastne etnične korenine. Avtorica odklanja neproblematično prikazovanje odnosov med generacijami, istočasno pa zagovarja stališče, da sta iz generacijskega trenja oba rodova izšla krepkejša.

Literarna dela Molkove so dokaj osamljen primer intelektualističnega pisanja. Mnoge njene pesmi so napisane v prostem verzu, kar je po mnenju prof. Jerneje Petrič prvi tak primer v slovenskoameriški literaturi. Njena najpogostejša metrična oblika je sicer navadna štirivrstična kitica, vendar pa ta antična baladna forma prehaja skozi vrsto sprememb in adaptacij, predvsem kar se tiče ritma oziroma iskanja posebnih zvočnih efektov in variant. Immigrant Woman izstopa tako po svojem pristopu do obravnavanih tem in dogodkov kot po strukturi. Kombinacija kronološkega in nekronološkega reda pisateljici omogoča, da svojo zgodbo širi s pomočjo asociacij in spominov. Molkova imenuje svoje delo a »patchwork quilt«, iz različnih krp sešita odeja. Krpe so spomini ali pa dogodki, ki prihajajo na površje, a med njimi ni prave kronološke vezi. Namen hčerkebiografije je predvsem zbrati in ponovno sešiti v neko besedilo različne prizore in dogodke. Tekst je fragmentaren tudi stilistično. Pisateljica uporablja različne tehnike: kratki in rezki dialogi med materjo in hčerko spominjajo na zabavno televizijsko nanizanko, življenjski pripetljaji in boj priseljenske družine občasno dobivajo epično-tragične tone in večkrat se pisateljica poslužuje liričnih povzetkov ali metaforičnih sintez. Proza Molkove je nemalokrat intelektualna in psihološko introspektivna.

## IRENA BIRSA: AN AUSTRALIAN POET AND SCHOLAR OF SLOVENE DESCENT

Igor Maver

Many Slovene migrants in Australia, especially those belonging to the younger generation have come to accept Australia as a new, second homeland, a lucky »sunburnt« and in many ways promised country. Of course, children born to Slovene parents in Australia regard themselves as Australians (of Slovene descent, as specified by the title), but they are interested in, if not downright obsessed with, their »roots«. Like so many other migrants from various other emittive countries of the world, their parents have gone through the process of adaptation and assimilation, which is why their children experience a certain linguistic dividedness that is, however, to be regarded as a new positive value. Consequently, they sometimes use in their writing, along with English, also Slovene. The question remains whether or not their work is to be considered part of Slovene (migrant) literature? For these poets traditional »migrant« themes are for the most part no longer true, such as for example the exaggerated sentimental nostalgia for home or the difficulties to assert oneself in a new environment. Rather, their poems transcend these issues and deal with general existential or philosophical questions, impressions taken from the Australian landscape and cityscape, coloured, however, by the typical Slovene melancholy. The artistic level of poetry and its literary articulation written by Slovene migrants in Australia has consistently and considerably risen since the major inflow of migrants right after the Second World War, at the beginning of the fifties. Some bilingualism can be noticed also in the work of the major Slovene migrant poets of the first generation writing primarily in the Slovene language, such as are, for example, Bert Pribac, Pavla Gruden, Danijela Hliš and Jože Žohar (cf. Maver 1998). This study focuses on the scant but fine verse output and the important migrant research conducted by Irena Birsa.

Irena Birsa was born to Slovene parents in 1961 in a migrant camp, where her parents were placed upon their arrival to Australia. Thus she represents the so-called »second generation« of Slovene migrants to Australia or rather a first-generation Australian of Slovene descent, since most migrants tend to reject hyphenation such as, for example, Australian-Slovenes. Birsa studied towards an M. A. degree and researched the history of Slovenes in Victoria. The result of her work is the book *Slovenians in Australia* (Birsa 1994), which was published posthumously, after Birsa's untimely death in 1991. It brings a selection of her articles and essays on the social and cultural history of Slovene migrants in Australia. She was posthumously awarded an M. Ed. degree from La Trobe University in Melbourne for the book which is a valuable source of information and a selection of field material for all those who are professionally or otherwise interested in the Australian migrant community, in the Slovene press, ethnic radio, religious institutions, process of migration and cultural activity of Slovenes living in Australia.

Keith Simkin, the editor (and Birsa's supervisor) of the volume *Slovenians in Australia*, in his preface notes that the book is a collection of Irena Birsa's academic writing from 1984 to 1991, which was to represent the core of her Master of Education Degree thesis and which was partly published in various journals and books in Australia, Slovenia and the United States of America. In her thesis she tried to examine the geographical, historical, ethnographical and social origins of Slovene migrants in Australia and, more specifically, in Victoria. She tried to understand the world migrants (like her parents) created out of old values and new opportunities. As can be seen from the various chapters of the book, she had a keen interest in the history of Slovene religious institutions, clubs, newspapers and Slovene language programmes on the migrant radio broadcasts. There is also a brief biographical prefatory note by Draga Gelt, who also provided an original cover design for the book, red (Slovene) carnations »flying« – migrating to Australia, thus symbolically representing the Slovene and Australian sources of Irena Birsa's inspiration both as a scholar and poet.

Chapter 1 (»Australian Immigration Policies«) introduces the Australian context, while chapters 2, 3 and 4 (»Emigration from Yugoslavia and Slovenia«, »Slovenian Immigration to Australia«, »Slovenian Settlements in Victoria«) analyze the demographic and economic reasons for migration to Australia and Simkin makes it clear that »the early chapters of this volume were written before the momentous events of 1991 which transformed Yugoslavia«, for »the primary meaning of the term 'Yugoslavia' in her writings is the geopolitical area in the Balkan

peninsula...« (vi). The drafts for these chapters were written between 1988 and 1989, based on the material researched in Australia or sent from Slovenia, and in 1990, when Birsa was a visiting scholar at the University of Ljubljana. Chapter 5 («Slovenian Religious Institutions in Victoria») researches the religious institutions and their importance in the social life of Slovene migrants in Victoria, while chapter 6 is devoted to the possibilities of ethnic radio («Ethnic Radio in Australia and Slovenian Language Broadcasting: Development and Direction»). Chapters 7 to 9 explore one of Birsa's favourite themes, Slovene migrant press, and have for the most part already been presented at conferences or separately published before («The Development of a Slovenian Press in Australia: A Short History of *Vestnik*, 1955–1987«, «The Slovenian Press in Australia«, «History and Future of the Slovenian Press in Australia»). The final three chapters (10 to 12) of the book («More than Just an Ethnic Group«, «Slovenian Research in Progress«, «Assimilation vs Multiculturalism. Problems in Australia's Immigration Policy») show just how topical Birsa's ideas were/are. She was critical both of «those Australian attitudes which expected all immigrants to assimilate and which drove Slovenian children to reject the culture of their parents» and of «the Australian policy of multiculturalism which she saw as locking immigrants into positions of inferior economic and social status and as depriving their culture of respect and real, living value» (viii).

In addition to her scholarly interests Birsa wrote poems in English which, with a few exceptions, were not published and exist solely in a manuscript form and not many people know of them. They are highly Impressionistic, with images taken from nature. Some of them also deal with migrant themes, though not exclusively. In the latter ones she juxtaposes the calmness in nature, reminding her of «home», the home of her parents, Slovenia, and, on the other hand, «Little Slovenia» in Melbourne, where her home is and the adopted home of her parents. The poem «Our Little Suburban Plot of Land» (Birsa 1991), for example, contains numerous alliterations and the tiny canary is an effective metaphor representing a migrant, who sings only now and then, «Communicating with the local birds / On something / she / will never understand». In her view even the noise of modern Melbourne cannot «defeat» «Little Slovenia», for the national feelings of its people are strong and die hard. The poems «Summer's First peach» and «The Budding Rose» are again full of alliterations built on the impressions taken from nature, images of calmness that correspond to her state of mind. The peach turns out to be a metaphor representing life, ended suddenly in resignation, while the tyranny of time slowly eats up her youth, «my tiny rose». Birsa's poems are fine

lyrical Impressionistic poems poetically expressing her feelings about life's transience and existential anguish. Birsa's philosophy of life is best expressed in her poem »Thoughts« found in a notebook among her school papers and first published in the book *Slovenians in Australia* (v):

### Thoughts

Life is but a passing thought,  
it drifts beyond our consciousness;  
when alternative topics do not avail,  
the question of life is what we sought.  
Although we can never conclude,  
we attain an inevitable peacefulness  
and gain in our hearts,  
a sense of solitude.

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POVZETEK

**IRENA BIRSA: AVSTRALSKA PESNICA IN  
ZNANSTVENICA SLOVENSKEGA RODU**

Igor Maver

Članek obravnava delo Irene Birsa, ki se je rodila leta 1961 slovenskim staršem v Avstraliji in tako predstavlja t.i. »drugo generacijo« slovenskih izseljencev v Avstraliji oziroma Avstralko »prve generacije« slovenskega rodu. Najprej je analizirano Birsino raziskovalno delo, ki ga je opravila v letih od 1984 do 1991 za svojo magistrsko nalogo na Univerzi La Trobe s področja družbene in kulturne zgodovine slovenskih izseljencev v Avstraliji, s posebnim poudarkom na državi Victoriji in mestu Melbourne, kjer je živela. Spričo Birsine prerane smrti delo ni povsem dokončano, a njena knjiga Slovenians in Australia, s članki, eseji in razpravami, ki je izšla posmrtno leta 1994, je relativno neznan, a zelo dragocen vir podatkov in analiz za vse tiste, ki jih profesionalno ali kako drugače zanima zgodovina slovenske izseljenske skupnosti v Avstraliji, še posebej v Victoriji. V drugem delu članka so predstavljene nekatere subtilno dovršene Birsine pesmi v angleščini, ki so ostale v rokopisu in so javnosti bolj ali manj neznanе.



# **'A WORKING MAN'S PARADISE' – ENGLISH AWARENESS OF EMIGRATION AND NEW ZEALAND IN THE AGE OF SAIL<sup>1</sup>**

Michael Stammers

Migration was a major phenomenon in the demographic history of 19th Century Europe. It is estimated that some forty-four million people left their homelands in search of a better life. More than a third (sixteen million) left the British Isles – ten from England, Scotland and Wales and six from Ireland<sup>2</sup> and this, in turn, was but a part of a wider British internal migration (both permanent and seasonal) that transformed Britain from a rural society to an urban one. Emigration had never taken place on such a scale before and a series of particular 'push' and 'pull' factors appear to have been at work throughout the 19th Century. These included rural unemployment and rising population – two 'push' factors and technological/industrial development and the growth of European colonies in other parts of the world as 'pull' factors. The relative contribution of each factor is a complex and continuing historical problem. Recent studies in history and the social sciences have shown that the volume of emigration will increase when both 'push' and 'pull' factors are operating. In Britain unemployment, and the resulting unrest, was considered a major social problem along with its consequent costs in terms of Poor Law relief. After the reform of the Poor Law in 1834, unemployed countrymen were 'encouraged' by reductions in 'outdoor relief' to move elsewhere to find work – either in new urban industries or abroad. This 'push' factor was reinforced by the 'pull' effects of expanding industries,

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<sup>1</sup> Attributed to Julius Vogel, Colonial treasurer and architect of New Zealand's emigrant policy in the 1870s.

<sup>2</sup> R. I. Woods, *The Population of Britain in the 19th Century in British Population History, from the Black Death to the Present Day*, ed. M. Anderson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 309.

often with better wages and the greater mobility offered by steam railways after 1830 and steamships (at least in the Atlantic) after 1851. Another 'push' factor after 1873 was the long agricultural depression brought about as a result of competition from imports from USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina and New Zealand.<sup>3</sup> The continuing debate on 'the state of the poor' was also coloured by the writings of Malthus who at the end of the 18th Century argued that food supplies could never keep pace with rising population and the surplus people must emigrate. The increasing number of English colonies (some admittedly acquired to deny them to European rivals) were seen as a solution and a source of wealth. As an anonymous writer of 1834 pointed out, 'The transmarine possessions of England are a mine as yet partially explored, inexhaustible in its treasures, requiring only population with a moderate amount of capital to become of immense importance and wealth to the Mother country.'<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the macro causes of migration, what motivated individuals were matters of belief and perception. People believed that they would be better off if they moved. Migration occurred as a result of decisions made by individuals in the light of what they perceived the objective world to be like. 'It did not matter if the migrant held an erroneous view (and many did) – it was that erroneous view that was acted upon rather than objective real-world situation.'<sup>5</sup> So information was the key to an individual's evaluation of whether to emigrate and where to emigrate. Such information took many forms such as recollections of past visits, letters from past migrants, conversations with friends, books, newspapers and pamphlets; and what this paper attempts to explore is how potential emigrants got to know about emigration – especially to New Zealand. It is an anecdotal approach rather than quantitative. Such is the fragmentary character of the sources.

Before embarking on an examination of how the British found out about New Zealand, it is important to recall the chronology and numbers involved. Twenty to twenty-five years after Cook's discovery, New Zealand saw the start of unorganised settlements of whalers, fishermen, shipwrecked mariners, escaped convicts, followed by traders and missionaries. Numbers grew slowly, perhaps

<sup>3</sup> P. Matthias, *The First Industrial Nation. An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1914*, London: Methuen, 1969, pp. 340–341.

<sup>4</sup> Anon. 1834, quoted in A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, London: Longmans, 1959, p. 388.

<sup>5</sup> P. E. White & R. I. Woods, Foundations of Migration Study, in *The Geographical Impact of Migration*, London: Longman, 1981, p. 21.

from fifty in 1800 to 1000 by 1839.<sup>6</sup> 1840 saw the first effective organised immigration with the landing of immigrants at Port Nicholson (Wellington) and by the first census in 1851 the total European population had risen to 26,707, more than doubling again by 1858 to 54,413. By 1864, after the discovery of gold at Otago in 1861, it stood at 171,009. Most of this was fuelled by immigration rather than a natural increase. 1863, the peak year, saw 45,730 arrivals. After a downturn in the late 1860s Vogel's vigorous promotion of subsidised immigration saw another peak in 45,965 arrivals in 1874. This was followed by a tailing off in the 1880s, although the stimulus to agriculture by the introduction of ship refrigeration for meat exports staved off serious decline until 1886. Between that year and 1891, 11,900 more people left than arrived. This was also the time when sailing ships began to be supplanted by steamers in the emigrant trade. It was a predominantly British migration. By 1886, 40 per cent of the European population were English, Scottish or Irish, mainly from labouring and lower middle-class backgrounds; many were small town and country dwellers. Then there were cultural minority groups: Germans, Scandinavians and some Chinese. Finally, there were migrants from other colonial societies, notably goldrushers from Australia and California.<sup>7</sup>

Emigration was a universal topic in Britain. It was inescapable, especially from the 1840s which saw the mass exodus from Ireland as a result of the disastrous failure of the potato crop between 1845 and 1847, and then the miraculous get rich stories coming back from California in 1849 and then Australia in 1851. But even before these three events, consciousness of emigration was high both at government and individual level. There was a widespread belief that emigration would not only relieve population pressure and consequent unemployment and unrest, but it was also seen as a huge potential market for British goods, a method of opening up new areas for investment, and a God-given command to his chosen people to 'Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the Earth and subdue it.'<sup>8</sup> The 'encouragement' to migrate was embedded in the 1834 Poor Law Act. However, the Government shrank from direct encouragement of emigration alt-

<sup>6</sup> A. U. McLintock, ed., *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, Wellington: The Government Printer, 1966, pp. 130–139.

<sup>7</sup> J. Graham, Settler Society, in W. H. Williams with B. R. Williams (eds), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford & Wellington: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> Emigrants Penny Magazine, Plymouth 1850–1, quoted in C. Coleman, *Passage to America*, London: Hutchinson, 1972, p. 38.

though it was concerned about the predominance of emigrants going to The United States of America – a foreign country and potential rival. A new solution to the problem of assisting emigration to the colonies was proposed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield who argued that the existing system of granting away colonial lands to almost anyone prepared to organise a settlement was wasteful and hindered development. Instead, he proposed that British colonial lands should be sold and the income applied to support large-scale emigration. Wakefield's proposals were attractive because they were above all cheap and simple. In 1837, T. F. Elliot was appointed the first Agent General for emigration. In 1840 government involvement was extended by the appointment of the Colonial Land & Emigration Commission. It was also obliged to enact a series of Passenger Acts from 1832 to try and set minimum standards of diet and accommodation for emigrant ships. Many other groups were involved in encouraging emigration either by direct financial support or by propaganda. The Mormons, for example, arranged parties of the faithful to sail en bloc on their own chartered ships and spread the word through their own news sheets. The topic also received coverage in the national and local newspapers of which there were a growing number. Between 1826 and 1850 forty provincial newspapers were launched and after the abolition of Advertisement Tax in 1853 and Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855, a further 260 came into being.<sup>9</sup> These carried advertisements for sailings, reports of local groups of emigrants leaving, and letters on the subject. Some were in favour and some were warnings by the disillusioned. For example, *The Caernarfon Herald* of April 23rd 1853 carried the following, 'It is grievous to think that so many hard-working countrymen and women, physically worse off than the slaves of South America are to be found eking out a most miserable existence, half clad and half fed (in North Wales) who, if once in New Zealand, might fare sumptuously with a tithe of their present drudgery.' Or, by contrast, a letter from the *Macclesfield Courier* of January 27th 1855, Melbourne: 'Sir, we were astonished upon our arrival here to find all the golden accounts we had heard in England of the state of this colony, as far as regards the great want of labour, and the high rate of wages paid here, together with the flattering accounts of the gold fields, have been greatly magnified, and we are induced to write this letter, the insertion of which will confer a boon to the working men intending to emigrate hither.'

At a national level, newspapers increased in number, variety and circulation – the establishment of a national network of railways and the electric tele-

<sup>9</sup> K. Williams, *The English Newspaper*, London: Springwood, 1979, pp. 67–69.

graph made it possible to send the news to all major towns overnight and new types of periodical appeared with pictures for the first time. The *Illustrated London News* was the most important. To this day its influence on emigration studies is still present, because its powerful woodcuts of emigrants departing, scenes on board, new lands, shipwrecks etc. are an important pictorial source of evidence of this mass movement of people. Imagine its impact from the 1840's when availability of visual material was very limited. How those pictures must have been scrutinised! Emigration stories were even found in the new humorous papers – *Punch*, for example, established in 1844, carried a satirical piece on emigration for the Upper Classes – pointing a finger at the conservatism of the House of Lords. Newspaper stories, adverts and pictures supported a growing network of passenger agents both in ports and inland towns. These agents worked for major lines such as the Black Ball, Eagle & White Star to Australia but also for the Emigration Commissioners who took a special interest in supporting emigration to Australia and New Zealand. Plymouth, which by 1850 was the second most important port of departure for New Zealand had no less than seven agents. Country towns such as Tavistock in Devon might have a local agent. In that case this was Edward Turner who sold contract tickets to privately funded passengers at twelve and a half percent commission and also actively advised emigrants on where to go and what to take. What to take was always a major concern and it gave rise to what amounted to an emigrant 'goods industry.' Apart from the advertisements for sailings which appeared in newspapers, there were promotions of stocks of goods which could make the emigrant a good profit on landing; preserved food and clothing for the voyage; tents, portable homes and mining tools and insurance if things went awry. To take three examples: J. Linderwick advertised in the 1860s for the New Zealand gold diggings: 'Emigrants will find smoking pipes the most profitable article they can take to the Gold Regions' or the *Watkins' London Directory* of 1853 advertised: 'Bakers' antidote to seasickness. *The Times* newspaper in its impression of July 29th says 'No emigrant shall venture to sea without it.' R. G. Paget advertised 'Tents for emigrants, with a military bell tent, 30 feet round costing £2.10s'; while in 1860 the Western Life Assurance & Annuity Society insured 'Travellers, mariners and emigrants 'on moderate terms.'

But this plethora of information was of no use if there was no access to it either because of illiteracy or the expense. Those least likely to afford newspapers were the illiterate poor who stood to gain most from migrating. It is, in fact, very difficult to know what proportion of the population could not read or write.

E. P. Thompson pointed out in his seminal *The Making of English Working Class*, 'It is difficult to generalise as to the diffusion of literacy in the early years of the 19th century. The 'industrious classes' touched at one pole, the million or more who were illiterate or whose literary skill amounted to little more than the ability to spell out a few words or write their names. At the other pole, there were men of considerable literacy attainment.'<sup>10</sup> There had certainly been a growing concern for a provision of elementary education from the first Sunday schools in 1783 to the rapid advance of the church based National schools. The government was gradually drawn in to improve teacher training in 1839. By 1850 its educational budget totalled half a million pounds; but it was not until the 1870 Act there was universal elementary education available. Alongside the development of schools, albeit providing the basics only, was a high growth in adult education especially through the Mechanics Institutes' movement. From the first founded in Glasgow in 1799 it grew to 610 by 1851, with 600,000 members.<sup>11</sup> Churches, church schools and mechanics' institutions usually contained lending libraries and some at least reported that books on travels and voyages were among the most popular loans.<sup>12</sup> Cheap educational literature alone became increasingly available from the 1820s with the establishment of the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* in 1826 and the *Penny Encyclopaedia* in 1833 with its long chapter on New Zealand. The Liverpool Library was founded with emigrants in mind: 'In a great public library they (the emigrants) could see maps of all countries and books specially written for particular colonies; they could obtain all that is necessary to be known respecting the climate, soil and general productions; they could see actual objects in the museum.'<sup>13</sup> While these facilities were increasingly available to town dwellers, those in rural parts, in villages, did not have the same opportunities. Nevertheless, newspapers were available, usually in local public houses (often for a fee) and for everyone that read, there would be others who would listen, dream, and perhaps act.

So how did New Zealand fit in this web of information and information

<sup>10</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London: Gollancz, 1963, p. 782.

<sup>11</sup> Caul's S.J & Boulwood, *An Introductory History of English Education since 1800*, 4th edition, London: University Tutorial Press, 1967, p. 320.

<sup>12</sup> T. Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, London: Library Association, 1964, p. 199.

<sup>13</sup> A. Hume, *Suggestions for the Advancement of Literature and Learning in Liverpool*, Liverpool: privately published, 1851, p. 19 (in fact, the Liverpool Library and Museum were set up in 1851 and moved to their present building in 1858).



points? At first, it did not; settlement had been haphazard, and largely ignored which, in a way, was strange because it had better climate and more natural resources than Australia. It was not, however, on any of the main trading routes, lying as it did too far to the east and the south. This perhaps explains why it was not formally annexed until 1840 – the same year as the annexation of the Falkland Islands which clearly had a strategic position on the route Cape Horn and the west coast of America, but were of little value as a place of major settlement or trading. Perhaps the prevailing attitude even in the 1850's is summed up by the Liverpool historian Thomas Baines: 'The colony of New Zealand, at the very ends of the earth contained in 1849 a British population of 22,751 inhabitants; imported £147,767 worth of manufactures and produce, and exported £75,984' – a curt dismissal especially when compared to his fulsome praise of Victoria and New South Wales.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, New Zealand gradually did achieve greater prominence in English consciousness over the next twenty-five years. This can be seen in the rise in the number of newspaper stories about the colony, the increase in the number of letters and reminiscences coming home, and the increase in the number of agencies promoting emigration. The newspapers' increased coverage can be crudely measured by counting the number of 'stories' printed by *The Times* at ten year intervals:

1840	18
1850	13
1860	48
1870	62

Not all were positive: much of the coverage was about the wars with the Maoris – a possible disincentive to emigrate. Nevertheless, they did create a much greater awareness of New Zealand's existence and, incidentally, created a new type of settler, the discouraged soldier.<sup>15</sup> Graphic pictures and stories of military campaigns always excited the public imagination.<sup>16</sup> The plant, animal specimens and artefacts arriving in increasing quantities to museums, universities and private collections perhaps had a similar effect. Although the first Kiwi

<sup>14</sup> T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and the Town of Liverpool*, Liverpool: Longman, Green and Longmans, London & author, 1852, p. 816.

<sup>15</sup> M. Barthorp, *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers' Impressions of the First Maori War*, London: Hodder & Stourton, 1979, p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> J. Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p. 126.

specimen arrived in the United Kingdom in 1812, it was not until the 1840's that large numbers of New Zealand birds found their way into British collections where they excited much curiosity. For example, the Liverpool Museum had over 158 specimens. By 1859 New Zealand's flora had perhaps more impact. The first published catalogue *Flora Nova Zeelandiae* by Sir J. D. Hooker was published as early as 1853 and the popular passion for fern growing and collecting took off in the same decade, with living and pressed specimens being sent to Britain. At one time there was a New Zealand Fern Company that specialised in the presentation of pressed ferns in books.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, visual material of any kind was immensely important in spreading awareness especially in an era less well endowed with pictorial material than our own. The woodcuts of the *Illustrated London News* and similar journals must have had some influence either pro – emphasising the scenery, the economy and the attractions of the Gold Rush at Otago or anti – in images of shipwrecks or fires at sea such as that on the *Cospatrick* of November 18th 1874. The power of the visual was used at the time by emigration promoting bodies; magic lantern shows were available. In 1849, S. Brees, surveyor to the New Zealand Company exhibited the *Colonial Panorama of New Zealand* in London – a large scale moving panorama. *The Times* reviewer was impressed: 'Mr. Brees' Panorama will do more to promote emigration than one thousand speeches and resolutions.'<sup>18</sup> There was also a growing literature about the Colony: Charles Heaphy's *Narrative of a Residence in Various Parts of New Zealand* of 1841 was among the first while A. S. Thompson's *The Story of New Zealand Past and Present – Savage and Civilized* of 1859 was the first detailed and accurate account of the islands and their first inhabitants. More and more personal accounts flowed back to 'the Mother country' in letters and diaries. These achieved a wider circulation if published as Samuel Butler's *A First Year in the Canterbury Settlement* of 1862. More overtly propagandist were the guides for potential emigrants, such as Shaw Savill Line Guide of 1864 or those produced by the Self-Help Emigration Society of London. The latter's *Hints to Emigrants* was remarkably forthright and honest about the pains of emigrating: 'the man most likely to prove a success in any Colony is one who, in addition to his special calling, has a good sound constitution, plenty of pluck and perseve-

<sup>17</sup> M. Richard, New Zealand Specimen Books, in *The Pteridologist* 1.3, London: The Pteridological Society, 1986, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> R. Hyde, *Panoramania Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing View'*, London: Trefoil, 1988, pp. 142–143.

rance and who does not care about comforts at first, but rather enjoys the freedom and rough and ready ways of colonial life.'<sup>19</sup> Among those not advised to go were the Idle, the Dissolute and Worthless, and the clerks and shopmen unused to physical effort. Another guide from the same decade gave much the same advice: 'A young, healthy single man, of good morals and principles, energetic and ready to 'rough it' with a handicraft of some kind will succeed in New Zealand.'<sup>20</sup> It was no place for exiling the family scapegrace or ne'er-do-well.

A whole range of organisations had been started to assist specific groups to emigrate. Clearly, the government bodies, the Commissioners, were most important because they had the resources to charter their own ships and grant free passages. Selection was, however, restrictive. Emigrants had to be labourers, shepherds, miners or female domestic servants with a few skilled tradesmen. Young married couples without children were the most acceptable candidates. Assisted schemes were also run first by the Provinces, for example under The Special Settlement Act of 1858 which made part payments of the fare with land grants. The special settlements were created where undeveloped land was let to a contractor who agreed to find settlers, was a feature of the 1860s and this encouraged religious or ethnic groups to move en masse. In 1863, 150 Danes moved in with half their fare paid and land grants. Another United Kingdom example was Albertland Special Settlement Association which was formed in 1861 by W. Ransom Brame, an ardent Baptist and editor of the *Birmingham Post*. Brame set up a committee and appointed himself travelling secretary. The organised meetings were held at non-conformist chapels not only Baptist but Methodist and other denominations. After tea and a musical interlude the audience would be addressed on the subject of emigration to New Zealand.<sup>21</sup> Brame was successful and his group sailed from the East India Docks, London in June 1862 – an event recorded in both the *Illustrated London News* and the *Penny Illustrated Magazine*. In 1864 the Colonial government's direct involvement increased with the establishment of the Immigration Advisory Board in London with a budget of £200,000 and this was enhanced by the New Zealand Commissioners' Act of 1869 and the Immigration and Public Works Act of 1870. Rail, road development and free

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<sup>19</sup> E. Wilson Gate, *Hints to Emigrants*, 2nd edition, London: Self-Help Emigration Society, 1894, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> J. Murray Moore, *New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid and Tourist*, London: Sampson, Lowe, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> J. L. Borrows, *Albertland*, Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1969, p. 18.

passages for new settlers were to be financed by government borrowing under the latter Act. Free passages were granted to either British subjects selected by the Agent General in London or nominated by New Zealand residents. Between 1871 and 1880 over 100,000 were selected or nominated. This 'Vogel scheme' – the inspiration of the ambitious Colonial Treasurer, Julius Vogel – was abruptly reduced by 1880. The collapse of the Scottish City of Glasgow Bank in 1878 had a direct and serious effect on the colonial government's finances, and therefore on their ability to fund assisted passages. The Agent General before the collapse of the Vogel schemes employed regional agents and travelling speakers to spread information about New Zealand. In 1879, for example, the Reverend J. Barry gave a talk at the Wesleyan Chapel in the north eastern town of Tow Law. He painted a vision of New Zealand as the 'promised land' and certainly he persuaded John Hillary, a shopkeeper with a family of eight to take the decision to emigrate on the government chartered ship *Westland*. Hillary felt deceived on his arrival at Lyttleton because there was nothing but intermittent casual work for him and his sons and within a year he was on the steamer back to England and Tow Law. The depression of the 1880s had begun to take effect.<sup>22</sup> Besides the official organisations, there were a range of societies and associations promoting or assisting emigration. Some were national such as the British and Colonial Emigration Society or Kelsall's Charity which supplied grants for emigrants' outfits for the voyage. Others were local and specific such as the Clerkenwell Emigration Club and Fund, or Miss Maria Rye's Female Middle Class Emigration Society.<sup>23</sup> Miss Rye ran a women's employment agency for legal copying work in London and had noted the rising demand for superior servants and governesses in Australia, New Zealand and Natal. She felt that some of the women who begged her for employment would be ideally suited not least 'because an elevation of morals being an inevitable result of the mere presence in the colony of a number of high class women.'<sup>24</sup> Her society lasted from 1862 to 1875 and settled over 300 women, mainly in New Zealand. Other special interest groups included trade unions whose membership grew rapidly in the 1870s with the

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<sup>22</sup> Hillary J. Haddon, *Westland – The Journal of John Hillary 1879*, London: Janus Publishing, 1995, pp. 26, 80.

<sup>23</sup> All the above-mentioned groups and other London-based societies held meetings at the Mansion House, London to co-ordinate their plans to stimulate emigration. *The Times*, 1st, 3rd and 27th January and 12th February 1870.

<sup>24</sup> J. Trollope, *Britannia's Daughters*, London: Hutchinson, 1988, p. 64.

depression of the British economy – especially in agriculture. The National Agricultural Labourers' Union founded in Warwickshire in 1872 had four items in its 'mission statement': Accident, Burial, Sickness and Emigrants. The Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union through regular collections was able to send 410 emigrants to New Zealand in 1874 and another 400 in 1879. As one agricultural worker who was emigrating said at the time: 'We should like to see our children better off than we have been.'<sup>25</sup>

One should not underestimate the importance of regular shipping services in developing the information links between Britain and New Zealand, and reducing the feeling of remoteness from 'the Mother country'. In this respect, the establishment of two regular dedicated lines to New Zealand – Shaw, Savill from London and Hendersons from Glasgow – in 1858 was a crucial piece of progress. They employed good quality ships capable of fast, safe passages. The introduction of steamers from 1879 by the New Zealand Shipping Company greatly reduced voyage times and strengthened the links, especially from the 1880s onwards when its two main rivals merged and bought steam ships.

This brief review of some of the sources of information available to a potential emigrant does appear to show how awareness of New Zealand as an emigrant destination grew from a more general consciousness of the need and value of emigration. It also shows the crucial government role in disseminating information and providing subsidies, which turned an individual's aspiration to travel to 'the working man's paradise' into a firm decision.

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<sup>25</sup> W. A. Armstrong, *The Flight from the Land*, in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed. G. E. Mingay, Sutton: Far Thrupp, 1998, pp. 129–130.

## POVZETEK

**»RAJ ZA DELAVNEGA ČLOVEKA« – ANGLEŠKA ZAVEST O IZSELJENSTVU IN NOVI ZELANDIJI V DOBI JADRNIC***Michael Stammers*

Izseljevanje predstavlja enega najvidnejših pojavov v demografski zgodovini Evrope 19. stoletja, pri čemer je imela Velika Britanija pomembno vlogo. Ocenjujejo, da se je v tem času od skupno 44 milijonov evropskih izseljencev izselilo kar 16 milijonov ljudi z britanskih otokov. Na tako množično izseljevanje je vplivala cela vrsta potisnih in na drugi strani privlačnih dejavnikov (an. 'push' and 'pull' factors), kot so brezposelnost na podeželju, porast prebivalstva, rast evropskih kolonij in razvoj parnega transporta.

Ne glede na splošne vzroke izseljevanja pa sta posameznike pri njihovi odločitvi za izselitev motivirali predvsem njihovo prepričanje in dojemanje izseljenstva, ki sta bili odvisni od dostopnosti tovrstnih informacij. Te so se pojavljale v različnih oblikah, od spominskih zapisov z obiskov, pisem, knjig, časopisov pa do razgovorov s povratniki. Namen tega prispevka je raziskati, kako so tedanji potencialni izseljenci prihajali v stik z informacijami o Novi Zelandiji in njenih možnostih za priseljevanje.

V britanski koloniji Novi Zelandiji vse do leta 1840 ni bilo nobenih organiziranih naselbin. Do leta 1851 so ob prvem popisu registrirali 26.707 prebivalcev. V desetletju po odkritju zlata leta 1861 je priseljevanje skokovito naraščalo; v osemdesetih letih je začelo upadati, vendar je razvoj hlajenih parnikov za izvoz mesa in drugih kmetijskih pridelkov povečal potrebo po kmetijskih delavcih v koloniji in s tem spodbudil prihod novih priseljencev. Prevladovali so angleški, škotski in irski priseljenci delavskega porekla.

V Britaniji se je zavest o pomenu izseljevanja začela raztezati od vlade navzdol. To je bilo deloma posledica naravnih katastrof, npr. poraznih letin krompirja na Irskem, pa tudi glavnih odkritij zlata v Kaliforniji leta 1849 in v Avstraliji leta 1851, na izseljevanje pa so gledali tudi kot na »zdravilo« za socialne nemire in hkrati v njem videli pot do prekomorskih tržišč za britansko blago.

Vlada je začela podpirati izseljevanje v britanske kolonije leta 1840 s formiranjem Komisije za kolonialno zemljo in izseljevanje, ki je lahko prodajala kolonialna zemljišča, z dobičkom od prodaje pa podpirala nadaljnje množično izseljevanje. Vlada je tudi uvedla zakone o predpisanih potovalnih standardih na izseljenskih ladjah.

Glavni vir informacij so bili časopisi, ki so prinašali zgodbe, slike in oglaševanje v zvezi z izseljevanjem. Časopisi so postajali vse dostopnejši širši javnosti, zlasti s pocenitvijo zaradi znižanih davkov, na drugi strani pa se je povečalo zanimanje zanje s širjenjem pismenosti med delavstvom, ki je bilo posledica razvoja šol in drugih izobraževalnih ustanov, med katerimi je bila tudi cela veriga t.i. »tehničnih inštitutov«.

O Novi Zelandiji se v Britaniji sprva ni dosti pisalo, na začetku so celo prevladovala svarila pred tamkajšnjo izselitvijo spričo vojn z Maori pa tudi zaradi velike oddaljenosti te dežele. Do poznih šestdesetih let pa je bila na voljo že kar obsežna in pestra literatura o mnogih vidikih in perspektivah te kolonije. Izseljevanje v Novo Zelandijo je izrecno spodbujala omenjena vladna komisija, razen nje pa tudi številna neuradna telesa, ki so imela kakršnokoli korist od Posebnega zakona o naseljevanju iz leta 1858; pozneje pa je priseljevanje spodbujala tudi sama kolonialna uprava s t.i. »Voglovim načrtom«. Ta je vključeval cerkvene organizacije, dobrodelne akcije in trgovska združenja. Upoštevati pa je treba tudi ugodne posledice razvoja rednega ladijskega prometa, sprva z jadrnicami, po letu 1879 pa s parniki.

Zavest o Novi Zelandiji kot cilju izseljevanja se je porodila sredi 19. stoletja iz naraščajoče splošne zavesti v Britaniji o nujnosti in pomenu izseljevanja, pri čemer je vlada s podpiranjem in spodbujanjem izseljevanja odigrala ključno vlogo.

— PRESS AND EMIGRATION. —





## PRESS AND EMIGRATION

Available for discussion, 3 October 1999

NEWS

### **OKROGLA MIZA**

#### **»TISK IN IZSELJENSTVO«**

#### **ROUNDTABLE**

#### **»PRESS AND EMIGRATION«**



## **PRESS AND EMIGRATION**

### **Roundtable discussion, 1 October 1999**

#### **AEMI**

**The Association of European Migration Institutions Annual Meeting,  
Portorož, Slovenia, 29 September – 2 October 1999**

**KNUT DJUPEDAL** (The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Ottestad, Norway; AEMI chairman): Ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the second day of our meeting, and to this roundtable on the press and emigration. As long as we have had newspapers, the press has been interested in the phenomenon of emigration – not perhaps as history, but because emigration sold newspapers. Advertisements for emigration and letters from America published in newspapers lead people to go out and buy and read them. And of course, whoever wished to sell tickets or land in America to potential emigrants could use the press. Thus the press lived reasonably well on emigration. Today, the press is a source for historians who wish to study emigration, not only those seeking facts about the actual emigration itself, but also a source for those who wish to look at attitudes, feelings, and political ideas about the emigration. Take Norway, for example, where the press was utilized both to publish letters praising America, and to make jokes about returning migrants and to warn against emigration because it was bad for the home country if all those people left it.

**ADAM WALASZEK** (Polonia Institute, Krakow, Poland; roundtable moderator): What Knut was asking, basically, is what came first, the press or emigration, and of course I am wondering whether you will have the answer to that. There is much more, of course, to it; there are many more questions to be asked, and they have been asked and they are asked and they will be asked, as long as the ethnic press exists, as long as emigration exists, as long as historians live. And this is our agenda for today. The first presentation will be read by Irena Gantar Godina; this is the paper by Marjan Drnovšek from Ljubljana, from the Academy of

Sciences and Arts, who is unfortunately ill and cannot be with us, but many of you already know him. The title of the presentation is »Printed Material and the Mass Emigration of Slovenes.« Then we will have a presentation by Janja Žitnik; she is from the same institution, the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, and she is the editor of the publication *Two Homelands* or *Dve Domovini*. She will speak about Slovene emigrant literature, periodicals and other publications, and the reading public in Slovenia. Then the floor will basically be yours, we will have time not for endless – there will be limits – but for a discussion, which hopefully will be very fruitful. So let us hear what Dr Drnovšek has to say. (Henceforward the moderation entrances will be omitted. Editor's note.)

## PRINTED MATERIAL AND THE MASS EMIGRATION OF SLOVENES

Marjan Drnovšek

The individual's decision to leave his home and settle in another country, whether for a long period or a short one, has always been subject to the influence of the various types of information received at the time, either orally, via private correspondence, or, most importantly, from the press, in the broadest sense of the word. The following paper devotes itself to an outline of the various types of printed matter that existed and the visual material that appeared in public.

During the period of mass emigration of Slovenes (from around 1890 to 1914, or 1924) many different **newspapers** were available, and literacy was relatively high. I should note in passing that most emigrants were from rural areas (76 per cent in 1890, 73 per cent in 1900, and 67 per cent in 1910). These people had learnt the basics of reading and writing in elementary school. The simultaneous growth in the number of local newspapers in Slovenia indicates that reading culture was also spreading among this section of the population. Newspapers in Slovenia published a large amount of information about the USA and the Slovene immigrants living there. This might take the form of letters, travel writing, 'news' from America (and to a lesser extent from Germany and Egypt), warnings and information from state and church authorities and critical intellectuals, the advertisements of emigrants' societies, or literary works by emigrants. Immigrants' newspapers in the USA likewise published many articles about the 'old homeland'. The mutual exchange of newspapers from both sides of the Atlantic was an established practice, something confirmed by the fact that prices were quoted in both US dollars and German marks at the head of newspapers in Slovenia. Through this connection via newspapers of the 'old' and 'new' homelands, a special cultural or media-based connection between the two worlds was established, which cannot be traced before this time and which disappears after the end

of the period of mass emigration. During the period in question Slovenes were well informed about America, about working conditions and living conditions there, about wages, political conditions, economic crises, et cetera, and thus their image of it was far removed from the unrealistic picture of 'a rich country across the Atlantic' which people still cherished in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The power of the press was also much greater at that time because it was in fact the only public medium. Not until the 1920s were newspapers joined by radio and the increasing use of visual material such as film. Almanacs providing useful information (e.g. exchange rates, US measures, postage rates, et cetera) as well as specialist papers and creative writing with the emphasis on the life of people in the old and new homelands, were popular on both sides of the Atlantic.

During the period in question there were also a number of small presses publishing brochures, booklets or information sheets. Foremost among these were **travel instructions** (two examples being *Kažipot* and *Reiseführer*) in which the emigrant was given advice and basic information about the journey. We should remember that most emigrants were ignorant of the languages of the countries through which they travelled, and indeed very few even spoke English. Instructions written in their native language were accordingly extremely welcome. Even on Ellis Island many emigrants were given bilingual **handbooks** such as Viktor Kubelka's *Slovene-English Conversations* (1912). These contained simple dialogues which immigrants needed to know in order to communicate in their new environment. Numerous brochures were published in America, too (e.g. **instructions on how to apply for American citizenship** and the **statutes and rules** of sundry societies), along with **posters** for society events, **wall calendars**, et cetera. However this is already material which relates to the emigrants' new life in America and as such requires special treatment.

Besides newspapers, Slovenia was inundated in this period with a great deal of other printed matter incorporating all the technical innovations of the day, e.g. photography, colouring, coloured print and suchlike. The walls of every village inn were hung with **posters** proclaiming the enticing offers of various shipping lines (I should mention in passing that the advertisements of shipping companies also appeared in newspapers, even in those which opposed emigration. Money, after all, is money!). Many of the posters featured drawings or photographs of steamers. It was no coincidence that the inn was chosen as the location for distributing this type of printed material. Archive sources tell us that many innkeepers in Slovenia also played the role of 'intermediary', in other words they directed travelling emigrants to specific shipping company agents. We also know

of an example of pictures of steamers hanging in a school classroom, which made many teachers very angry.

**Advertisement brochures, leaflets, and railway and shipping timetables** were also circulated which interested parties received on request by post or were given on trains and in other public places. Archive sources contain extensive reports of how Ljubljana's police force pursued those supplying this material on the trains which passed through the city. (Ljubljana was an important railway junction of the Zagreb–Trieste and Vienna–Trieste lines and the line running towards Switzerland and France.) Many of those leaving were also found to be in possession of letters from foreign (European) agencies written in Slovene relating to their journey across Europe or across the Atlantic. The letters of these agencies bore decorative letterheads providing basic information – the letter of Ivan Bihel on the Swiss–Austrian border, for example, which proclaimed 'Serbo-Croatian, German, Slovene and Italian spoken'. The use of Slovene (and often also of Croatian) indicates the interest of these agents in obtaining as many customers as possible from the countries where large-scale emigration was taking place. They often employed a Slovene-speaking clerk for this work and for the reception and dispatching of Slovene emigrants (for example Albin Kunc at the Zwilchenbart agency in Basle, who handled travellers for the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique in Paris. This agency even had a **sign** bearing the word *Izseljevanje* (Emigration) on the front of its building at the main railway station in Basle). We know that even in Ljubljana there were **signs on railings or the fronts of buildings**, especially in Kolodvorska Street, where most travel offices for emigrants were located. These signs unfortunately no longer exist. One sign on the railing of Number 41, Kolodvorska Street even led to the prosecution of an emigration agent called Edvard Kristan, the representative of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique in Paris. Even more elaborate in terms of written and visual material, were the windows and frontages of the emigration offices, all of them competing with each other to attract emigrants into their offices to buy tickets.

Discoveries of pictures on religious buildings and private buildings are fairly rare. We do know of a case of a rural chapel painted with the representation of a transatlantic steamer (with two funnels) and a Madonna and Child. This chapel stands in the Savinja valley region, near the village of Kokarje in the Dreta valley in Štajerska. Another example is a house in the village of Selišče in Dolenjska, which is decorated with a painting of a four-funnelled steamer by local artist Jakob Kobe.

Another special group of printed items includes **passports, tickets, various certificates** from the journey (such as the 'Inspection Card' proving that the holder had undergone a medical examination), forms from police records on illegal emigrants. These items are little works of art in themselves, from the *fin de siècle*, a period in which it was customary to make even perfectly dull documents look beautiful. The addresses of agents and pictures of ships were also printed on the waxed **canvas pouches** used to hold travel documents – those supplied by Edvard Tavčar, for example, an agent with offices at Number 35, Kolodvorska Street and the representative of Bremen-based Norddeutscher Lloyd.

In this period special printed **advertisement cards** were also common. These took the form of large visiting cards with a drawing on one side and text on the other. One surviving example is the card of Franz Missler of Bremen, with a colour picture of the agent himself and a picture of a steamer on the front, and an invitation in Slovene on the back. A **label** stuck in the hatband or pinned to the coat identified the men and women who worked as agents of the shipping companies and who waited for their passengers at the railway stations and ports. The label, either of paper or cloth, bore the name of the shipping company or travel agent, while some also had a drawing of the ship.

**Maps** of Europe and America showing railway connections and providing other information such as journey times, ticket prices, et cetera, were also quite common. These were published by individual shipping companies. Emigrants used them in order to familiarise themselves with the journey they were to make, while the maps also served as an advertisement for the companies which published them.

The period of mass emigration was a golden age for the picture postcard industry in Europe, and also in Slovenia. Emigration agencies and shipping companies printed postcards as a form of advertisement. These were bought by (or given to) emigrants and posted home during the journey. Most depicted either an emigration office or a liner. Many were posted from the ship, since the larger liners had their own post offices. At home these postcards also served as advertisements, since they were circulated around the village. Their function as advertisements is confirmed by the fact that the front or picture side of the postcard also carried information from the shipping company about, for example, the speed of the passage, the comfort afforded by the steamer, and so on. Sending postcards from America was also very common among Slovenes. In addition to American postcards depicting towns and cities, this period also saw the appearance of Slovene postcards showing Slovene churches, the premises of societies and other



buildings, groups of emigrants, et cetera. Many sent home **photographs** of themselves as postcards, and these photographs thus acquired a 'public' role.

A special area is represented by the literature and rare specialist works which at this time appeared in Slovenia and in the USA and which were mainly concerned with the themes of emigration and emigrants. Their purpose was in the main pedagogical, and many also struck a warning note (e.g. the book by Jakob Alešovec with the telling title *Ne v Ameriko / Don't Go to America*, 1883, 1912) and stressed the importance of preserving a national consciousness and the Catholic faith. These were often ideologically and politically coloured, and also informative, for example the work by Jurij Trunk entitled *Amerika in Amerikanci* (America and the Americans, 1912) intended for American Slovenes and people in the old homeland. Overall, though, it would be fair to say that the period of mass emigration from Slovenia did not produce a very substantial body of work on the phenomenon itself, while the response to it in Slovene music and art was even smaller.

In this paper I have mentioned just a few items of printed and visual material. These can also be seen in my book *Pot slovenskih izseljencev na tuje* (The Journey of Slovene Emigrants to Foreign Lands, 1991). The diversity of printed material during the period of mass emigration of Slovenes points to a unique boom in the printed word and pictures and photographs industry, especially in relation to the advertisements of emigration agencies on the one hand, and the warnings of the Church and the state on the other. As I have already mentioned, the press at that time connected Slovenia with America and Europe, something still too little researched by historiography in Slovenia. The main purpose of my article, however, is to draw attention to those items of printed matter which were mass produced during the period of mass emigration, but which today are rare, since very few of them are to be found in archives, libraries and private collections. They are also important as museum pieces, since we do not have a museum dedicated to emigration in Slovenia, and general national and local museums devote little attention to this material. That, however is another story.



# SLOVENE EMIGRANT LITERATURE, PERIODICALS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND THE READING PUBLIC IN SLOVENIA

Janja Žitnik

In this discussion I shall concentrate on the issue of Slovene emigrant literary writing and its accessibility to the reading public in Slovenia, and also briefly draw attention to the problem of the accessibility of, and familiarity (or lack of it) with the emigrant periodical press and other publications, if we wish to talk about the general level of informedness of the reading public in Slovenia.

More Slovenes emigrated from the Slovene ethnic territory before the Second World War than after 1945, and yet post-war emigrants, probably mainly because of their different educational structure, wrote and published more literary works than pre-war emigrants did. Before Slovenia gained independence, post-war emigrants, most of whom were political emigrants, and among whom there was a relatively high number of fairly productive writers, for the most part published their work via the main emigrant publishing houses and Slovene publishing houses in cities over the border such as Klagenfurt, Gorizia and Trieste. In recent years a series of publishers in Slovenia itself have opened their doors to new literary works by emigrants or have reprinted some of the more successful older books which until now have barely been accessible to Slovenes in the homeland. During the period of the harshest political totalitarianism it was the case, in particular with the publications of Slovene post-war political emigrants, that importing these works into Slovenia – even individual copies, i.e. for personal use – was a criminal action.

Among centres of Slovene emigration, the capital of Argentina is undoubtedly the place which most stands out in the area of publishing. In terms of number of published literary works by emigrants **Slovenska kulturna akcija** (SKA, founded 1954) is most active, and with its extensive list of titles of this type decisively outstrips not only all the other Slovene publishing houses in Buenos

Aires but also those elsewhere in the world, including those in the countries bordering Slovenia and in Slovenia itself. To date, SKA has published 169 titles, of which almost a third are literary works by Slovene emigrant authors (slightly less than 50). Conditionally we could also add to this group all the volumes of the reviews *Meddobje* and *Vrednote*, which together represent half of all the publications of the SKA and in which literary contributions have a visible place in terms of both quantity and quality. Of those emigrant authors who have published their literary works through SKA, most are writers from Argentina – these have contributed slightly more than half of the literary publications of this publisher. The remaining publications are literary works by individual Slovene authors from, for the most part, the USA, Italy, Japan and Austria.

Other Slovene institutions in Buenos Aires which occasionally also publish literary works by emigrant writers are **Svobodna Slovenija**, **Tabor**, **Vestnik**, **Katoliški misijoni**, **Baragovo misijonišče** (or **Editorial Baraga**), **Slovensko dušno pastirstvo**, **Slovensko gledališče**, **Sij slovenske svobode**, **Mladinska vez**, and **Duhovno življenje**.

Slovene writers from other parts of the world also periodically publish via their own (usually local) emigrant publishing houses, organizations and societies in the USA and Australia, and in Vienna and London. Pre-war Slovene emigrants to the USA published their literary works for the most part in Chicago via the **Prosvetna matica** and the **Slovenska narodna podporna jednota** (Slovene National Benefit Society – SNPJ), especially as part of its **Prosvetna knjižnica** (Educational Library – also in Chicago). The second publishing centre in the USA is in Ohio, where the well-known private research institution The Slovenian Research Center of America operates in the Cleveland suburb of Willoughby Hills, while Cleveland itself is (or was) home to four institutions taking the role of publisher of individual literary works. These are **Ameriška domovina**, **Slovenska pisarna**, **Triglav** and **Lilija**. In Australia this role was taken as necessary by **Slovensko društvo Melbourne** (Slovene Society in Melbourne) and **Društvo jugoslovanskih pisateljev v Avstraliji in Novi Zelandiji** (The Society of Yugoslav Writers in Australia and New Zealand). In Vienna the LOG publishing house is still active; in London, Lev Detela and Milena Merlak have published some works via their own **Sodobna knjiga**, while one Slovene emigrant work has been published by **Pika Print** in London, and by **The Lapwing Private Press** in Canberra, Australia.

Most literary works by Slovene emigrant authors (over 80) have been **self-published**. Slovene emigrants began self-publishing their literary works while

still in refugee camps, especially those at Spittal on the Drava and at Eboli. Following emigration, most self-published works in the USA appeared in Cleveland, while some also appeared in New York, Chicago, Dover (Delaware) and Sitka (Alaska). Toronto was the centre of this activity in Canada, while in Australia self-published works appeared in all major cities. Centres of activity in South America were Buenos Aires, Perquenco (Chile) and Sucre (Ecuador), and in Europe, Gorizia, Trieste, Klagenfurt, Rome, Louvain and Brussels. The centres of this activity in Slovenia were Ljubljana, Maribor and Ravne na Koroškem.

As I have said, until recently Slovene publishing houses across the border greatly surpassed publishers in Slovenia in terms of the publishing of emigrant literature. The largest number of works of this type (over 40) have appeared via the **Mohorjeva družba** in Klagenfurt, while individual titles have been published by **Setev** in Klagenfurt and **Dom prosvete v Tinjah**. The Gorizia **Mohorjeva družba** boasts nearly the same number of books by emigrant authors as the Celje branch of the same society does (see below). In Trieste a whole range of Slovene publishing houses and institutions have published and in some cases are still publishing works by emigrants. Foremost among these are **Mladika** and **Tabor**. For some years Lev Detela's private publishing house **Sodobna knjiga** was quite active in Trieste, while individual literary works have been contributed by **Setev**, **Slovenska prosvetna matica**, and **Založništvo tržaškega tiska** in the same city.

I have already stressed that until a few years ago only a few publishing houses in Slovenia itself published works by emigrants. At present **Slovenska izseljenska matica** and **Mladinska knjiga** lead the field in terms of the number of works of literature by Slovene emigrant authors published. These are followed by **DZS**, **Prešernova družba**, **Družina**, **Ilex-Impex**, **Slovenska matica**, **Mihelač**, **Cankarjeva založba** and **Slomškova založba** in Ljubljana, while individual titles have also been published by **Aleph**, **Art agencija**, **Delo**, **Horvat Mg-M**, **M&M**, **Modrijan**, **Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete** and in 1990–91 **Novo Jutro** and **Založništvo Slovenske knjige**.

In Maribor the largest number of books by emigrants have been published by **Obzorja**, followed by the Maribor **Slomškova družba**. In Novo Mesto **Dolenjska založba** occasionally publishes works by emigrant authors, as do **Ognjišče** and **Lipa** in Koper and **Pomurska založba** in Murska Sobota. These publishers usually decide to publish books by emigrant writers from their own region. The Celje **Mohorjeva družba** far outstrips all other publishers in Slovenia in this field, and has published more than twice as many works by emigrants than

even **Slovenska izseljenska matica**, **Mladinska knjiga** and the Maribor-based **Obzorja**.

Just as with their books, until recently Slovene emigrant writers also published their shorter literary writings for the most part in the emigrant periodical press (mainly in the USA, Argentina and Australia) and in Slovene journals and reviews in Klagenfurt, Gorizia and Trieste. More recently their literary and semi-literary writings, particularly poetry, short prose and essays have begun to appear increasingly in newspapers and literary reviews published in Slovenia. A comprehensive review of the titles of emigrant, cross-border and domestic periodical publications in which most emigrant literary contributions can be found will be prepared upon some other occasion. It is in any case clear that nowadays the general reading public in Slovenia is not familiar either with the emigrant periodical press or with emigrant non-literary publications, despite the fact that their importance in preserving national consciousness among emigrants (and hence their general national importance) should merit more attention from the domestic public.

Slovene emigrant literature has been presented in relatively complete form to readers in Slovenia in the monograph on the subject entitled *Slovenska izseljenska književnost* (Slovene Emigrant Literature) published in three volumes this year by the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies in Ljubljana. Other areas of artistic creation by Slovene emigrants which to date have not been systematically researched and presented to the Slovene public include painting, sculpture, traditional arts and crafts (carving, ceramics, etc.) and many other areas, in particular the theatre, which is extremely well-developed. As regards the emigrant press, the recent publication of a review of Slovene emigrant literature has thrust into the foreground the need for a similar monographic presentation of informative, cultural, political, religious and educational journalism which in all periods has played a leading role in preserving the mother language and national consciousness in emigrant communities and which even today is still quite active. Emigrant editors, correspondents, priests and teachers now have the increasingly painful feeling that they have been overlooked by the country of their birth. A considerable part of the periodical press of Slovene emigrants was in fact presented in Maribor in 1991, at the international symposium 'Immigrant Press in Countries of Immigration', while papers from the symposium were published the following year in the Maribor-based *Znanstvena revija* and in part in *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* 2-3. The information contained in the papers from this symposium which deal with the Slovene emigrant press (quite a number of

papers deal with the emigrant press of other European nations) is complemented by publications such as *Kulturno ustvarjanje Slovencev v Južni Ameriki* (Ljubljana, 1995), similar publications prepared by emigrants themselves – usually on major anniversaries – in which they also present their own journalistic activities in a given country of immigration, and presentations of individual emigrant newspapers which, especially in the 1970s, were regularly published by Martin Jevnikar in the Trieste-based *Mladika*, the exhibition *Slovenski tisk v zdomstvu po letu 1945* held at the National and University Library in Ljubljana in 1991, and so on. There is thus enough material to begin systematic research into this area, and since we still do not have a complete and comprehensive presentation of our emigrant journalism, we shall shortly have to decide who will be able to tackle this demanding task in a sufficiently organized way.





## DISCUSSION

AURELIO GIORDANO (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Emigrazione, Tramonti, Italy): Let me express my appreciation to the hosting institution on emigration here in Slovenia, the Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies, choosing such an important subject for our annual meeting – and this roundtable – as a special branch of publishing for emigration, namely the »Emigration Press«, so essential for our institutions.

The Italian Study Center on Emigration is a structure with the task of information, study, operational and logistical support to the annual Italian conference on emigration, providing technical and organizational competences to the conference, dissemination of documents and results produced, maintenance of relations with other study centers, information centers, the interested individuals and entities. We work in Italian language, and all materials destined to other countries are submitted to translation.

At this point of the roundtable, let's heed that we still miss noticing what kind of press we are talking about. Is it the »press for the emigrants«, meaning the press from the original country destined to the emigrants in other countries, or the press for the communities issued abroad and circulating also in the countries of departure, or both.

Moreover, focusing on what kind of press we are and what press we have, we investigate also into the role of our information about emigration and the correlated activities.

To do it we should need to know how many different materials are included in the kind of press we are interested in. How many newspapers, magazines, and agencies; we need to know the kind of books on emigration issued in the

wide range of the different activities, or connected with other operational areas such as tourism, genealogy and others.

The C.I.S.E. works on emigration worldwide and does not publish any printed matter, we produce information and researches and disseminate them through the following magazines published in Tramonti (SA):

1) *EE (European Emigration)*, started in 1998 as a magazine for the debate on European emigration and as an emigration show-case for institutions and interested entrepreneurs.

2) *TPE (Tramonti per Emigrati)*, started in 1988 as a national magazine with its program called »Italian Pride«, issuing publications dedicated to Italy, the Italian regions and cities. Until this day »Italian Pride« has issued the following: *Italia nel Mondo, Napoli nel Mondo, Bracigliano nel Mondo, Castel S. Giorgio nel Mondo, Roscigno nel Mondo, Costiera Amalfitana nel Mondo, Maiori nel Mondo, Tramonti nel Mondo.* »Nel mondo« means »all over the world«, or »in the world«.

We should have knowledge of all the periodicals issued in the countries here represented, when they started publishing, the editor, the publisher, and so on. From Finland and Sweden, where they have a quarterly, to the unknown others, including special issues such as, for example, those from Norway or the ones issued in Northern Ireland, where the period of publication of their bulletin is not regular and it looks like a special issue. And so forth.

And again, we should know if there are organizations connected with the emigrant press. In Italy, for example, our periodicals have a »Federation of the Emigration Press« and the »Union of the Periodicals«.

Looking around ourselves we find out that not all of us have publishing as a current and dominant activity. Not all of our institutions have a production of books or magazines, or both. And also they have different editorial lines as, for example, the Finnish Institute of Migration that issues researches on Finnish emigration, and the Slovene Institute for Emigration Studies that prints out books on their conferences, monographs, a journal and a bulletin. And so forth.

So we should need a general panorama of our European emigration editorial production, such as a general catalogue or a publication introducing us to the huge world of European emigration in terms of books, magazines and publications in general.

Also, shifting to the documentation produced on emigration by our institutions, we find out that only in Italy there is a permanent collection of periodicals and journals. It is named *Emeroteca*, this word means »magazine-journal

library«. Tramonti's *Emeroteca* is provided with periodicals (and a section of books) of diverse emigrants in the world. Our *Emeroteca* is an independent department inside our organization and it is a reference point for researchers, universities and many institutions.

When experts or interested people come up to our place for researches, we would also like to have a CD-ROM or a list, or any printed matter they can look at to get information also on the emigration from your countries. It would probably take some effort to scroll the titles, the journals, the books, the nations, and so on; at this time there is no survey of the many collections on emigration in Europe and all over the planet.

I believe the *Emeroteca* has an important task, and it is a big commitment aimed at making the emigration press more available.

The work already developed in Europe in our institutions is not enough anyway, there is more to find out inside each nation. For example, keeping in touch with the Italian communities in the United States of America, we come to know of many publications that we have missed and that we have not been in touch with yet. Doing the same investigation in all the other countries would be »an ocean«. When something is so big, in Italy we say, »it's an ocean«, we can swim without seeing the arrival.

I propose to establish a strong collaboration between the members of the AEMI and our *Emeroteca*, suggesting to make an effort to create a data bank in the shape of a CD-ROM, including all the catalogues of the collections we have in our institutions, to be updated every year. I believe it would supply the demand at large.

Finally, we could coordinate the efforts we make separately in our institutions, and put together the best opportunities that we find in our countries. Suppose, for example, our publications may have the same size, it would mean buying the same paper, same weight, we could use the same printing machine, publishing house, and so on. It looks like we could figure a big discount in the main general sense.

Anyway, it is a hard point as I already made this proposal also to the Italian Federation of Emigration Press, and they do not understand it yet. They say they want their own style, even though the style is not the size, as the style depends on the images, the text, the design and the contents, whereas the size depends on the height, the base, the paper and the finishing. This is a proposal on which we are available to go on, and we hope to develop it together with you all on common bases.

I tried already to launch the debate on this matter, the printed matter, writing about our activity, keeping in touch with all the presidents of the institutions here represented, and the most successful relation I had with Slovenia, as they sent us all their production of books and magazines, and with Finland that exchanges publications with us. We also had good relations with a few other institutions, but there is still much to do.

One thing I missed saying, I am the publisher of the magazine *EE, European Emigration*. You can have a look of it here at the exposition side of the table and take some issues.

**JANJA ŽITNIK** (Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia): I would also like to take this opportunity, as I don't know if I will get another one later on, to make a practical suggestion connected with what Aurelio mentioned. I think we can now establish a regular exchange of our own periodical publications, scientific journals, bulletins and newsletters among all the AEMI member institutions. This has already been going on between our institute and some of your institutes, but not with all of them. We publish, for example, *Two Homelands* and our bulletin, and if you agree I would like to write a letter to each of you later on towards the end of the year and formally suggest a regular exchange individually. Of course we are mainly interested in sending our publications in exchange for those of your journals and bulletins which are being published in English or at least partly in English.

**KNUT DJUPEDAL**: The question Janja just raised has been discussed before in the Association. It would be appropriate to do this now, and as far as addresses are concerned, we have them in our membership list. For my part, I would be happy to do this at our museum. Perhaps we can just add the address list of the Association to the address list over those to whom we send our other publications. And if we all did that, the exchange would then get started on a regular basis.

**ULF BEIJBOM** (The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden): The ethnic press is the most important narrative source we have about emigration, and therefore we should care for it much better than has been done. In 1987 there was a book on that subject published in America edited by Sally Miller, called *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, and it gives reviews of the different nationalities' publication activities, and also examines the purpose and the results of the

ethnic press. I contributed an article to that book, and I have asked them to Xerox it so that you can have a copy of my article on the Swedish press.

If we look at the Swedish-American press, we can see right away that it is as early as the immigration itself. It is quite surprising that they started to publish magazines, and the newspapers were weeklies or semi-weeklies, but nevertheless they gave the news from the homeland and the news of different activities within the ethnic group. And from that aspect, the press really played a great role in keeping the immigrants together, to create a national identity in the American melting pot before they could handle the English language, because they printed it in their own languages.

The first attempt to attain an ethnic press among Scandinavians was as early as the 1840s, when they tried to publish a common magazine called *Scandinavian* in New York, and then they tried in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian. But over all the years, in the case of the Swedes, almost 1000 newspapers and magazines were published. The numbers for the other Scandinavians are also very high. The highest are for the Germans, and Karl Wittke is, I think, still the leading researcher in the field of the ethnic press; his examination of the German press in America is still an example for the rest of us. But modern research has waited quite a long time to use the ethnic press; in the case of the Swedes, about 250 newspapers and magazines have been microfilmed and most of them are available in the House of Emigrants in Växjö, Sweden.

Lately we have started to take excerpts from the press, and first of all we have tried to meet the interests of genealogical research, because in the ethnic press you have very detailed personal descriptions, so-called obituaries, where you can get not just names and data but a little description of their lives, and with the help of a computer you can create an enormous register of such information. And that is right now being done by, not people hired by us, but by, more or less, laymen in the local historical societies all over the country. And they have, for years, also tried it in America, at Augustana College, where there is a very rich collection called the Linder Collection, with 10,000's of entrances to personal histories.

The ethnic press is also very interesting to study as a social phenomenon, in that it pretended to serve the common immigrants' interests, but the journalists and the organizers of the press were often from the bourgeois class or the upper classes, because in order to go into publishing you must have a certain level of education. So it was people who had been to college back home, or *gymnasium*, pastors and so on, who started this press, and the journalists therefore formed, we can say, the upper strata of immigrant society. Because within every ethnic group

you can study social levels. At the top you have self-made businessmen who became fairly rich and were also represented in American, that is, in Anglo-Saxon society, and then you have priests, and you have journalists and you have society leaders. Very soon you can study, especially in the case of northern Europeans, a dualism in the press, because part of the press, mostly the majority, is serving church interests; they are sponsored by different churches, in the Swedish case by the Lutheran Augustana church, the strongest one, and by other kinds of churches. And then you have the so-called liberal phalanx in opposition against this more conservative church phalanx, and the debate in the editorials, the internal debate, mostly deals with the differences in the interests between the Christian and the non-Christian groups. Because the idea is to try to recruit as many members as possible for these diverse organizations. From that viewpoint, the ethnic press is also very interesting in order to study the internal life of a society in immigrant America, immigrant Australia or wherever. Lately, research groups have been formed to take up these studies in more detail.

A spin-off effect of the press was book publishing houses, which Janja discussed in her presentation, and it is also surprising to see how much was published to be read by the immigrants, published in their languages, and of course printed in America. It is an immense literature. Right now we are creating computerized bibliographies on that literature. In the case of the Swedes, we are speaking of something between 5000 and 10,000 different titles of books published in America during our emigration, that is, up to 1930, and I can just imagine how many were published in German and in the other Scandinavian languages. Well, all this talk is to make it clear that this is a very open and in a way, also burgeoning research field. And this research field could perhaps be a topic for us to go around together, because the parallels are about the same; whether you study the Swedish ethnic press in America, the German ethnic press, the Slovene ethnic press or books published, you will find far more similarities than differences. So this is a very appropriate topic for seminars, and perhaps eventually a bibliography could be published by us together here.

**HENNING BENDER** (The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark): Denmark has its peak years of emigration just like the rest of northern Europe, from the 1880s until the turn of the century. And those were the years of the peak production of Danish books and newspapers in foreign countries: North America, South America, Australia and New Zealand. But I will boast that we have one recommendation for Denmark, which is that we had a smaller amount of immi-

grants than the Swedes or Norwegians; it was only 300,000, while there were 1.2 million Swedes. This means that it was possible, already by the turn of the century, to found a central library in Chicago where all Danish books and all Danish newspapers were collected. This was then moved in 1929 to Denmark, to Aalborg, and this is the reason why we call it the National Collection of Books and Documents on Immigration History. Because we have practically everything which has ever been printed in the Danish language outside Denmark. And this means all the original newspapers and all the original books, because they have come in through collections in the United States.

They are mainly divided into four groups. There are two branches of the Danish Lutheran Church – a very holy one and a very happy one, as they call them. They each have their literature. Then there are the Mormons – and it is very often forgotten that 10 percent of all people in Utah are of Danish origin, so that one of the main collections of Danish literature and newspapers is, in fact, also in Salt Lake City. And then, the majority of Danes do not care about the church at all, so this is the reason why it is very important that there were collections in New York and in Chicago, which were collected in the Twenties. An overview of the lists was done at the University of Michigan two years ago in a guide to the Danish Immigration Archives, in which you will find an overview of the whole collection. If I am sitting here boasting about this, it is because I don't think there are other countries that have a complete collection of all books and all newspapers written outside the country in their own language. I think it is important that during the Danish experience in this case, they started from the turn of the century to make a register of all names mentioned in all newspapers and so on, and we have this register, so that you can find all names mentioned in this huge amount of material from the turn of the century. Now it is much easier because of those many hundreds of newspapers which existed in the United States, now there are only two left, one in Illinois and one in California. So our task is not as heavy as it was at the turn of the century to keep a register of all Danish newspapers and Danish literature, but it has been done – that I would like to say.

**DINA TOLFSBY** (The Norwegian-American Collection, Oslo, Norway): I want to tell you about the Norwegian-American Historical Association, because the Norwegian Americans are very lucky in the respect that the Norwegian-American Historical Association was founded in Northfield in 1925, and ever since they have been busy documenting Norwegian-American life. This autumn they are publishing their 35<sup>th</sup> volume of essays, and in addition they have published 11

books in their travel and description series; 34 books in the special publications series; seven in the authors series; three in the biographical series; and four in the topical series. Actually, the *American Historical Review* said in an issue that the Norwegian-American Historical Association is the most active historical society among the immigrant groups in the United States. It is called NAHA for short, and we have a Norwegian branch. Both Knut Djupedal and I are on the board of this branch. We arrange seminars every third year; the next one is going to be in Hamar in the year 2000, in connection with an international conference of historians. We also publish essay collections. Later this autumn we are publishing volume VII and VIII in our series. Volume VIII is a bibliography compiled by Jostein Mode, covering the period 1975–1998. This is a follow up of the bibliography by Johanna Barstad from 1975, which covers the period 1825–1975.

Professor Odd S. Lovoll, the author of *The Promise of America* (1984 and 1999) has written a new book entitled *The Promise Fulfilled: A Portrait of Norwegian Americans Today*. Professor Orm Øverland is another important scholar. One of his books in the NAHA series entitled *The Western Home*, is the literary history of the Norwegian Americans. The Norwegian Americans were very active. For instance, as for the press, there is a total of 540 titles of Norwegian-American newspapers. Of course, some existed only for a couple of months, but others were published for years. But now there are only two Norwegian-American newspapers: *Norway Times* in New York and *Western Viking* in Seattle.

The Norwegian Americans wrote many letters home to Norway. Professor Orm Øverland has edited three thick volumes of America letters, because the letters are also important sources with regard to Norwegian-American history in addition to other source material.

Of course, there are several institutions in Norway working in this field, but I won't go into these now. I just thought that it was important to mention the Norwegian-American Historical Association in Northfield, Minnesota.

**OLAVI KOIVUKANGAS** (Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland): As Ulf mentioned, my country's papers are really old. They are almost as old as immigration. But I would like to remind you that we are doing research on vintage material, so in my own experience doing research on immigration from my country, Finland, in many cases I found handwritten old papers very useful. I've been studying Finns in Australia; they were in quite small numbers, but they had some very compact communities, and they started to write on handwritten paper with nice pictures. I would just like to mention as an example, at the beginning of this



century there was a Finnish utopian socialist, or Communist society. They founded a society called the Hermit Society, and this had a handwritten paper called *The Orphan*. Some people found these papers a long time ago in Canada, where one of the members of this utopian society later moved. There are about 400 very beautifully written papers, and I remember reading in them the local history.

Now I am writing, for future historians, about how many members there were there, how many men, how many women, how many children, how many Swedish-speaking, Finnish-speaking, and so on. And I think that without these handwritten pieces of paper, I wouldn't be able to write the proper history of this utopian Communist society. These handwritten papers were being produced quite late; we know that in the Dominican Republic, as late as 1929 they had 100 papers. But these have disappeared. So the one thing to remember is that even after there were printed papers, we should take these things into consideration. As historians, we found this to be one of the major sources of research, and it is a good mirror of the whole world and of society, both for the country of emigration and the country of immigration. But the research also contains many problems. You can not believe everything that is written in the papers. This is a big theoretical question, how to use your sources. You must compare your sources from the press with interviews, with literature and so on. But it is very important. Discussing this topic here today is, I think, very useful.

My final comment would go to Henning Bender. You said that you have all the immigrant papers published all over the world in your archives, and that is quite a claim. Also other people here are surprised and wonder if you really do have every Danish paper published all over the world. If you do, it is good for you, because we are missing a lot of titles – we know that there were so few copies of the Finnish early papers in America and that they were lost, from the 1860s, '70s and so on. But there is a lot of work to be done. You are doing a good work now.

**MATJAZ KLEMENČIČ** (University of Maribor, Slovenia): I have basically nothing to add to the papers that were given by my friends concerning Slovenes. I would like, however, to emphasize how important the ethnic newspapers are in researching immigration, and with all the hassles that newspapers as a secondary source have, sometimes this is the only possible source for events that happened in the immigrant communities. This is the first point. The second point is where those newspapers are stored. For the Slovenes, this is the National and University Library, and we were lucky – I mean, the Slovene researchers were lucky,

because there were some librarians at the Ljubljana University Library who were able to collect all those newspapers. I would not say that they have all of them there, but I would say that most of them are there, which means that what is not there is in the Immigration History Research Center collection for the United States and in some other collections concerning the other countries of immigration of the Slovenes.

However, I would also have to add that concerning the restrictions that were there for using those newspapers during the era from 1945 until 1990 in Slovenia – the so-called Communist era, or whatever one might call it – not all of the researchers were allowed to use those materials. However, the librarians were allowed to gather those materials, which is the important part. So I would say that we have almost all of the materials in the University Library. However, there is one problem left with those materials that are there, namely, they are not accessible even today because of the bad physical state of the newspapers, which I think is something which is common to every ethnic group that we are dealing with. We are trying to persuade the people at the University Library to microfilm those newspapers; they have done that, now, for quite a few of them. But there is still a question of whether to use microfilming; some newspapers are in such bad shape that microfilming might destroy the possibility of using the original newspaper afterwards. So the question is, I think, from an historian's point of view, whether it is more important to preserve original newspapers or to make their contents available for general use. If they are destroyed once they are on microfilm, it is not important from an historian's point of view; from an archivist's point of view, I think they have the opposite view on that. This is something that we are considering, we are fighting with, all the time. I think this is not only a problem in the Slovenes' case, but also for the rest of the ethnic groups in the world.

And then, when we are talking about the press and supra-ethnic, supra-national studies, I'm going to mention the book *Distant Magnets: Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840–1930* (Ellis Island series, New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993), which was edited by Dirk Hoerder and in which most of the papers are also done on the basis of newspaper materials.

JANJA ŽITNIK: I would like to add that this summer a seminar was organized in Ljubljana for keepers of the archives of Slovene emigrant societies. It was organized by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia in cooperation with the National and University Library in Ljubljana, Slovene Ministry of Foreign Af-

fairs, and also with our institute. The task of the seminar was to find the best way to preserve these materials. The problem is not only the shape of the newspapers and other materials, the problem is also the limited space in these archives, and therefore it is necessary to establish appropriate criteria for a selection of the materials contained in these archives.

JOEL WURL (The Immigration History Research Center, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA): I think the problems of preservation of the ethnic press, the immigrant press, in the United States and elsewhere run very deep, and Matjaž and Janja have explained that to some extent. I want to congratulate Henning and take his word for the probability that he has managed to capture and preserve the entirety of the Danish press in his institution. That is a rare accomplishment; he is correct, I think, in asserting that he may be unique in that regard. In the United States we still, I think, suffer fundamentally from a perception problem among mainstream Americans, mainstream researchers and librarians, in that we have this myth of the illiterate immigrant. This assumption that those who came, came with very little in the way of reading and writing abilities, won't go away. This is a persistent problem; it is one that scholarship over the last 25 to 30 years, I think, has helped to overcome, but it is not yet completely overcome. So the problems in preserving this resource stem in large part from that kind of understanding, or misunderstanding.

Also, as Olavi has pointed out, the fugitive nature of many of the publications is critical to understand both in attempting to assess the importance of the press, but also in trying to understand how to document it, how to curate and preserve it – not only for early publications, Olavi, in terms of handwritten materials, but I can think of periodicals produced even after World War II by a number of communities that were coming to the United States and going elsewhere, of course, following the war, communities in exile, the so-called DPs or displaced persons coming to the United States and elsewhere. In many cases they were producing newspapers or other periodicals in handwritten form or mimeograph-typewritten, very poor materials that were being produced on whatever they could find. So we encountered that kind of circumstance on a regular basis, too, which complicates preservation problems.

I want to commend the two papers today; I was very pleased to have the opportunity to hear them, and it was good to see that the conception of the press is not limited simply to newspapers. Too often, I think, when we talk about this subject our minds are focused on newspapers and newsprint, and sometimes other

periodical literature, but not often, and usually not focused enough on other publications that emerged from these printing houses. It is good to see that these two presentations were aware of that, and I think we all need to be remembering that as we think about the immigrant press. And we must not forget radio; that was mentioned and I was glad to hear that, and that is, I think, a grossly neglected topic in the United States, the impact of ethnic radio as the immigrant communities are transformed into ethnic communities in later generations, at a later time period.

And finally I wanted to say that, while I think it is one thing for us to know well what has been written and to understand the character and nature of the immigrant press, it is another thing to understand how it was read, and the impact of these publications on the communities. And that has been a real elusive topic, I think, for historians and others who have tried to understand immigrant communities. Who was reading *Prosveta*, who was reading *Il Progresso*, the Italian-American newspaper; who was reading *Ethnikos Keryx*, a Greek newspaper, and what kind of impact did that have on their behaviors? It's almost impossible to discern that from the press itself, but one source that I would like to refer you to that I think cannot be overlooked is the archives of these publishing companies, the records that they produced in the process of generating these periodicals. We have, at the Immigration History Research Center, the archives of several publishing firms, and they are absolutely critical for understanding readership and readership behavior. One important example of this is the Polish newspaper *Amerika Echo*, which was published in Toledo, Ohio. We have huge archives, and as part of those archives we have letters received from readers of the newspaper to the editor commenting on a whole range of things. In a sense, the editor was setting up a kind of bulletin board in the newspaper and inviting the readers to submit information, reactions to the paper, but also just comments on what was happening in the community. So this becomes a very important source for gathering information on reading habits and perceptions as people were encountering the press. There was a recent book published, in fact, which touches on this specific subject as it relates to *Amerika Echo*; this book is called *Print Culture in a Diverse America*. It was the result of a conference organized, I think, in 1997 if I remember correctly, at the University of Wisconsin; they have a Center for Print Culture Studies, and a number of us were invited to give case studies on immigrant publishing activities. Ania Kirchmann, who has done research on Polish immigration, contributed that essay on *Amerika Echo*; Rudy Vecoli also has a

contribution to that book. It is available through the University of Wisconsin Press, if you are interested.

**KNUT DJUPEDAL:** I have some comments on the talk so far. I am working on a presentation for a seminar next year in the United States, entitled »Presenting the New World in the Old Country.« In this connection, I am perhaps stating the obvious, that until the 1920s, there were only three ways by which anyone in Europe could know anything about America. The one was by going there, physically moving across the ocean and seeing it for oneself; the second was by word of mouth; the third was the printed word. There were no other means of communicating between the new world and the old country. And since the only one of these three ways of which we today have a record is the printed word, then the sources we are talking about are most important. Perhaps we have never really considered how important they are. Even artifacts don't tell us anything about how they got from America to Europe unless there is some text with them which tells us their story.

One example of this which I am taking up in the new world and the old country, is the whole idea of America as »a land of opportunity«. It occurs to me that this is not an American idea. It is, in fact, a European idea transferred to America. It was after all, not the native American who claimed that America was the land of opportunity. It was all the Europeans who had the wish to make a million dollars, and who then acted on their wish. In time, the idea was taken up in America and used as an advertising gimmick, if you will, to bring more people to that land; and naturally, those who in fact did make a million dollars had, from their point of view at least, proved that the idea could become reality.

But the original idea comes out of press, posters, broadsides, letters, and talk in Europe during the 1500's and 1600's.

Another thing is the whole idea of the noble savage as opposed to the terrible savage, which is a European conception of American natives going back all the way to the saga of the Greenlanders, if you want to go back even before Columbus.

Now, could this one aspect of the printed word in Europe be developed further in connection with the press and emigration?

Two other short points. I wish someone would do more about ethnic radio, particularly now that, in our country at least, there is a Nordic television station starting up in the United States this year, broadcasting Scandinavian programs for the Nordic ethnic groups in the US. This is interesting, I think, because

as a rule in Norway, the powers that be have decided that emigration is over and the Norwegian ethnic society is dying and disappearing. Meanwhile, we are starting a radio program aimed at the same disappearing society. I find that interesting, because on the other side of the Atlantic, they say that Norwegian ethnic society is not disappearing, but changing.

And finally, just to point out what was mentioned at the end here, we have at the museum now a master's student from the University of Oslo working on the archives of the *Decorahposten* (i.e. the single most famous Norwegian-American newspaper). She is analyzing the readership of the newspaper and their ideas by what they write to the newspaper, letters to the editor, and so on.

**ULF BEIJBOM:** I would like to add to Knut's list of emigration promoters the handwritten word, above all the America letter. Professor Orm Øverland has by publishing Norwegian America letters demonstrated the value of this material. But it should immediately be said about the America letter that if it is not written by an educated or a verbally talented person, it is frugal when it comes to details. It really does not give very much except for some very hot recommendations to come over to this promised land. So it gives the emigration researcher relatively little to put in a dissertation. But nevertheless, it played an exceptionally profound role among future emigrants, because here came a message, a written message from a person whom you trusted, because the writer of the letter was your brother, your cousin, a relative, a former neighbor, and in most cases you trusted them, in contrast to the flyers and the brochures that were distributed by the emigrant agencies.

But still, the newspaper is the principal narrative source about life in the ethnic communities. Therefore, I would stress once more that we should really try to do what we can to have more of it microfilmed. In most cases, the national libraries have microfilmed the newspapers but not by following a certain scheme; they have done it because this or that researcher has asked them to microfilm that newspaper. So therefore, much remains to be done. In America, the different historical societies have microfilmed the ethnic press; for instance, the Minnesota Historical Society has done an enormous job, and also when it comes to the Swedish-American ethnic press. But still, there are many lacunae in the field. So if you want to do something here in the field of preserving historical material, we perhaps could get together – I do not mean that we could do it right away, perhaps it has to be prepared by a committee, perhaps we could get EU money for such a project to have the ethnic press microfilmed. Because as you said, the

paper quality is very low and especially in the American climate, it deteriorates very quickly. Some of them have been laminated, but it's a very costly process to laminate newspaper pages. So therefore the only way, I think, to have the press preserved is to have it microfilmed.

**BRIAN LAMBKIN** (Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, N. Ireland): This is just to pick up on a point made by Ulf earlier about the relationship between institutions like ours and local historical societies. You seemed to be implying, Ulf, that there is a strong relationship and an interest in local historical societies, and I am just wondering how much of an advantage there could be in promoting awareness of emigration materials among such societies, and getting them to make use of the material and in the process, more material may come to light. I would be interested to hear comments from any other members about that.

**HENNING BENDER**: Yes, that is just the point, I think, because the material, and not only newspapers (and even we have almost all – I am quite aware that maybe we do not have the complete collection), but also photos, letters and all this sort of material, is so difficult to collect because it is among private persons all over the continents, and for our part, scattered all over because the Danes are minorities everywhere, so it is difficult to find. This is the reason that the five Nordic countries, financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers, have decided to make five traveling exhibitions to go around from April 2000 for two years, showing Scandinavian emigration to the United States in a rather small exhibition together with different IT stuff which will be called »Scandinavian Roots, American Lives«. The intention of this is that it should go from all five Nordic countries all over to all those small places, church communities, societies and everywhere, and of course we can only do this because we are five countries doing this together and it is just the last attempt to get this material which is going, of course, to disappear. We have not mentioned something which I also find very important, and which has nothing to do with the press; these are the photos. If you go around North America or elsewhere, you will find photos and you will find collections regarding the Danes, but they are stored in terrible places, so that they will disappear in a few years if nobody does anything about it. And so, of course, will the papers and newspapers and other items. We will try to do this from the Scandinavian countries. We don't know if we will succeed. We don't think that people will deliver it to us, but what we have is a scanner along

with the exhibition and the idea is that people will come, look at the exhibition, and say, »Oh, it's a poor, bad exhibition, we have something which is much better«. And then we will tell them, »Oh, it's nice, come with us and we will copy it.«

**ULF BEIJBOM:** You asked about the provincial societies and our role, and I can only answer for the Swedes, and I think I also can include the Norwegians, when I say that our provincial historical societies are very strong and numerous, and in a way also influential, but they do not have much money so you can't expect them to go into microfilming of newspapers and so forth. But in many local societies they have taken up projects of going through newspapers, not just the ones published in America but also our own papers, and excerpting materials on emigration, and it has been extremely useful in our case to have a series of databanks with information about how America was advertised back home, and how the personal situation among immigrants was reflected in obituaries over there. So I think the provincial societies are a vehicle of great importance, especially in Sweden and Norway, I know too little about the situations in Finland and Denmark. Without them, the Emigrant Institute in Sweden would have been much poorer in terms of material.

**KNUT DJUPEDAL:** I can attest to what Ulf says about Norwegians, at least. We have local historical societies all over the country. When they publish journals, and many do, there will always be something about emigration, someone who left and came back, a letter, stories, whatever.

Perhaps a more important source in Norway is what we call *Bygdebøker*, the local history books. The smallest administrative unit in Norway – the *kommune* – will take it upon itself to publish a local history going back to the beginning of known history. If they have the money, they will publish them in six or eight volumes. And in these local histories, you will, as a rule, find the history of every farm in the area; who lived there, when they owned it, when they sold it and emigrated. These local histories have been discovered by the genealogists, and because of that, old ones are now fetching prices in antiquarian stores that are just out of sight. These are extremely good sources.

An interesting sidelight on that is that in the US, in those districts where Norwegians settled, the people are also writing and publishing similar local histories. I have heard that there is a direct connection, i.e., »You are doing it in Norway, let's do it here.« These too, are becoming interesting to genealogists. They tell how immigrants came from Norway and settled, who the first settler



was, who his descendants are, what they bought and sold, and so on. These American histories are a very important source which has not been used enough by professional historians – as opposed to the genealogists, who use them all the time.

**JOEL WURL:** Well, if I may just follow up on Knut's comment. For many immigrant communities, a very important source for that kind of local historical community, even family information, is the Almanac, or *Kalendar* or *Koledar*, depending on the individual community. These were published as annual booklets in many cases, and often included community reports from throughout the United States of various happenings, at various levels of depth. They can be extraordinary sources for serious historical research, and you are right that the genealogists eat them up, they find them particularly valuable. That is another source coming out of the ethnic press that can't be overlooked.

**KNUT DJUPEDAL:** As we approach the end of this roundtable, I would like to ask you to think about three things. One is the point Olavi raised about our joint research work. Then there is the point that Tony raised about the emigrant lists. Finally, there is Wolfgang's point about cultural tourism. We talked about working groups last year, and it would seem to me appropriate that we now establish working groups for some of these questions. So think about which group you would like to be in, because if you are asking the chairman to do more, then you have to do more, too. (This question was started the day before and further discussed at the AEMI work session the next morning; see Knut Djupedal's report on the AEMI projects, published in the *Reports and Reflections* section of this issue of *Two Homelands*. Editor's note.)

**ADAM WALASZEK:** Thanks to all of you who participated in the discussion, thank you for the presentations, and I guess we all benefited from what we heard – from the obvious topics and the topics which we had not expected would arise; we have exchanged some fascinating new information, from which all of us will profit. Thank you very much for being here.



RAJ DOZ I GRADIVOI PROFESSORIA  
CRISTIANA ZA MONOGRAFIO  
O LOUISU ADAMICU

**VIRI**

**IN GRADIVO**

**- DOCUMENTATION**



# KAJ BO Z GRADIVOM PROFESORJA CHRISTIANA ZA MONOGRAFIJO O LOUISU ADAMIČU

Tine T. Kurent

Profesor Christian, klical sem ga Henry, je bil nazadnje v Ljubljani zgodaj poleti 1994. Takrat je najino preliminarno poročilo o Vankovem kolažu *Videnje druge svetovne vojne* že bilo v tisku, zato nisem več mogel vnesti njegovega podatka, kaj je Adamič pisal o Douglasu Chandlerju. Tekst sem mu lahko prebral le iz tipkopisa. Menil je, da ga mora vključiti v končno razpravo: »*I will need it for the reference.*« Mene pa je zanimala velikost kolaža. Vankova žena Margaret, njen oče dr. DeWitt Stetten in njena prijateljica Stella, žena Louisa Adamiča, so bili namreč Judje, zato sem pričakoval v dimenzijah kolaža gematrična sporočila. S številkami v merah (v inčih) mi je lahko takoj postregel, o drugih podatkih mi je obljubil dolgo pismo, obenem pa je želel, naj mu napišem vse povedano. Peljal sem ga po Ljubljani, da je fotografiral spomenik Ivanu Adamiču in Rudolfu Lundru, poljansko gimnazijo, na kateri se je šolal Louis Adamič, in še kaj. Naslednjega dne je odletel domov; spotoma mi je iz Londona poslal kartico s pozdravi in obljubo »*my long letter follows*«.

Najin članek je kmalu izšel,<sup>1</sup> poslal sem mu ga, prav tako pa tudi dve dolgi pismi s podatki, ki so ga zanimali. Od njega pa nič. Tudi na novoletno čestitko ni odgovoril. Zato mu za naslednji božič nisem več pisal.

Medtem sem objavil dopolnilo, kdo je bil Vankov in Adamičev Chandler.<sup>2</sup> Resignirano sem se že sprijaznil s tem, da z najino razpravo ne bo nič –

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<sup>1</sup> Henry A. Christian, Tine T. Kurent, Kolaž Maksimilijana Vanke »Videnje druge svetovne vojne«, *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 18 (1994), str. 221–223.

<sup>2</sup> T. Kurent, Vankov in Adamičev Chandler: Dogodek iz njune borbe proti nacizmu in antisemitizmu, *Zbornik občin Grosuplje, Ivančna gorica, Dobrepolje*, 19 (1996), str. 209.

mislil sem si, da je pač našel novo zanimanje, ko mi je čez par let pozno ponoči prinesel sel pismo (*Extremely urgent*) s končno redakcijo najine razprave o Vankovem kolažu in tremi sporočili.

Sporočilo z dne 30. junija je cirkular, namenjen vsem, ki jim zadnji dve leti ni pisal (**priloga 1**). Sporočilo, napisano 15. julija (**priloga 2**), je kopija prijave najine razprave urednici revije *Art in America*,<sup>3</sup> sporočilo z datumom 16. julija pa je bilo namenjeno meni (**priloga 3**). Sporoča, da bilo leto 1995 izgubljeno leto – svojo bolezen je omenil že na prejšnjem listu. Pomemben se mi zdi odstavek, kjer mi sporoča, kako je poskrbel za redakcijo in dokončanje svojega pisanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča:

*Obstaja možnost, da bo nekdo – sicer kvalificiran, vendar ne ravno literarno – sposoben prevzeti vse moje delo. Če bo šlo po sreči, bo dobil vse moje trakove, na katerih razlagam svoje še ne napisane poglede na Louisa in njegovo življenje; dobil bo vse moje gradivo in zapiske, tako da bo zgodba končno in tudi korektno le povedana. Bomo videli, vendar če bo kaj iz tega, boš zagotovo vključen in se boš dobil z njim in tako naprej.*<sup>4</sup>

Henryjevo pismo me je razžalostilo. Prijatelj mi umira in objava dela o stricu Louisu se ustavlja, če ne celo izgublja. Obenem pa mi je naložil delo za objavo najine razprave:

*Verjamem, da je najin članek zdaj kar dober in kompleten; poskusil sem vključiti kar precej iz najine krajše verzije in dati temu vso moč, ki po mojem iz njega izhaja. Zdaj pa prepuščam tebi, da ga spraviš pod streho...*

Računal sem, da bi bile za objavo najprimernejše *Likovne besede*, ki prinašajo tekste v angleščini s slovenskim prevodom in ilustracije v barvah. Dr. Jaka Bonča, ki je bil tam sourednik, mi je obljubil, da bo razprava izšla že v prvi številki, že decembra. Vse to sem sporočil Henryju, da bi ga razveselil. Pa sem se veselil prezgodaj.

Henry mi je odgovoril šele 12. avgusta (**priloga 4**), da ga bolezen ovira pri pisanju. Dovoljuje mi, da razpravo priredim za tisk: »Napiši, prosim, kakršno koli obliko ali različico, ki bi jo rad videl, da pride v omenjene publikacije, revidiraj, kot se ti zdi prav.«

<sup>3</sup> Christianu je bilo očitno mnogo do tega, da razprava izide, če ne v ZDA, pa pri nas ali na Hrvaškem, v angleščini ali pa v slovenščini. Razlagal mi je, da je Vankov kolaž *Videnje druge svetovne vojne* zanimiv kot simbol za ameriške Jude toliko kot Picasso-va *Guernica* za antifašistični svet. Za nas je zanimiv tudi zaradi Adamiča.

<sup>4</sup> To je moj prevod; tudi naslednje angleške citate sem prevedel v slovenščino. T. K.

Ko že druga številka revije *Likovne besede* ni prinesla najine razprave, sem prosil uredništvo, naj mi tipkopis in ilustracije vrne, ker sem se bal nadaljnega zavlačevanja. Urednik g. Ložar se je ljubeznivo opravičil za zamujanje, napol obljubil, da bi razpravo le objavil, če je drugje ne bi marali, in predlagal, naj mu ob priliki pošljem še kaj. Ker sem se bal podaljšanega zavlačevanja, sem ponudil delo reviji *Dve domovini*. Dr. Janja Žitnik me je razveselila z obljubo takojšnje objave. Rad bi poslal Henryju natisnjeno razpravo čimprej, škoda samo, ker revija *Dve domovini* ne objavlja ilustracij v barvah.

Barvno reprodukcijo Vankovega kolaža je objavila pozneje gospa Alenka Puhar v *Delu* s pripombo, da je ta »ganljivi *hommage* tu prvokrat objavljen v barvah; podrobna razprava o sliki s črnobelimi ilustracijami pa je objavljena v zborniku *Dve domovini*, 1997.«<sup>5</sup> O Maksu Vanki poudarja, da »je bil hrvaški slikar, tudi profesor na akademiji v Zagrebu, torej je učil tudi večino slovenskih slikarjev, rojenih na začetku stoletja.«<sup>6</sup>

Razpravo sem mu poslal, kakor hitro je izšla, toda profesor Christian je 4. aprila 1997 umrl,<sup>7</sup> ne da bi videl natisa najine razprave. Potrdila o prejemu nisem dobil, prav tako ne za dva nekrologa. Zaskrbelo me je, da je delo na monografiji Louisa Adamiča ne samo zastalo, ampak da je na ameriški strani najbrž celo izgubljeno. Kdo ga bo nadaljeval? Kdo naših raziskovalcev? Profesor Janez Stanonik, dr. Janja Žitnik, profesor Matjaž Klemenčič?

Molk z one strani luže je trajal vse do pomladi 1999, ko mi je Henryjeva hčerka Judith pisala, da je na prošnjo profesorja Rudolpha Vecolija poslala vse gradivo, ki ga je zbral Henry o Adamiču, ustanovi *Immigration History Research Center* Univerze v Minnesoti (IHRC) s prošnjo, naj dovolim, da izroči tudi moja pisma. Ponudila mi je, da mi pošlje nekaj Adamičevih knjig iz zapuščine. Zaskrbelo pa me je njeno pisanje, da je Henry naročil uničiti »vse njegovo znanstveno pisanje«. To pomeni, da Henry ni poskrbel, da bi nekdo – čeprav ne šolan literarno – mogel nadaljevati (njegovo) delo,« kot mi je obljubil. Komentar Miss Judith ga kaže drugačnega, kot sem ga videl sam.

Judith sem odgovoril, da je njena odločitev, da prepusti gradivo profesor-

<sup>5</sup> A. Puhar, V Adamičevi orbiti: Med tovarišem in gospodom je velika razlika, *Delo*, 3. september 1998, str. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ne Vanka kot eden naših učiteljev ne njegov kolaž očitno za *Likovne besede* nista zanimiva.

<sup>7</sup> J. Stanonik, In Memoriam Henry A, Christian, *Acta neophilologica*, 30 (1997), str. 3–5.

ju Vecoliju, pravilna, razen če se sama ne bo lotila urejanja očetovih papirjev. Ali ni imel Henry v mislih prav nje kot urednice njegovega dela o Adamiču? Zaprošil sem jo tudi, naj mi pošlje vsaj kopije, ki so v zvezi z Adamičem. Gradivo za Adamičevo biografijo me zanima, najbrž pa tudi celo vrsto naših institucij, na primer Rokopisni oddelek NUK, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU, nenazadnje Adamičev muzej v Prapročah.

Odpisala mi je 21. aprila 1999, da mojih separatov in nekrologov ni dobila, da je njen oče nameraval prepustiti gradivo profesorju Tomu Evertu, ponovno obljubila pošiljko knjig, dovolila objavo Christianovega pisanja in obljubila, da bo sporočila mojo prošnjo za kopije gradiva profesorju Vecoliju. Poslala mi je tudi naslov Vankove hčerke Peggy.

Takoj sem ji poslal separate in kopije objav v zvezi s Henryjem,<sup>8</sup> podobno tudi na naslov Peggy Vanka.<sup>9</sup> Obema sem tudi obljubil separat o gematričnih sporočilih v Vankovem kolažu. Medtem sem namreč kolaž decifriral in poslal razpravo v angleščini in slovenščini *Likovnim besedam* – revija objavlja dvojezične razprave – z upanjem, da bo vsaj zdaj objavljen Vankov kolaž v barvah. Urednika sta moje delo prijazno sprejela, čez čas pa sta mi ga vrnila, ker so »sklenili, da ga ne bomo objavili.«<sup>10</sup>

V svoji zahvali mi je Vankova hči Miss Peggy Brasko sporočila, da bo prihodnje leto spomladi retrospektiva Vankovih del v muzeju Michener v Doylestownu v Pennsylvaniji, Christianov in moj članek o Vankovem kolažu da je sprejet v katalog razstave.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Christian, T. Kurent, Reading a Painting: Maxo Vanka's Collage »World War II«, *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, 8 (1997), str. 89–105; T. Kurent, Vankov in Adamičev Chandler: Dogodek iz njune borbe proti nacizmu in antisemitizmu, gl. op. 2; H. A. Christian, T. T. Kurent, Kolaž Maksimiliana Vanke »Videnje druge svetovne Vojne«, gl. op. 1; H. A. Christian, T. Kurent, Louis Adamič in Makso Vanka proti antisemitskemu propagandistu, *2000 Dvatisoč*, št. 96/97, 1997, str. 235–240; T. Kurent, In memoriam: Henry A. Christian, 1931–1997, *Rodna gruda*, julij 1997, str. 40; Popravek (Errata), *Rodna gruda*, avg.–sept. 1997, str. 41; T. Kurent, Odšli so. Umrl je Henry A. Christian, *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 20 (1998), str. 215; A. Puhar, Med tovarišem in gospodom je velika razlika, gl. op. 5; J. Stanonik, In Memoriam Henry A. Christian, gl. op. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Enako kot v op. 8, razen objav T. Kurenta v *Rodni grudi* in *Zborniku občine Grosuplje*.

<sup>10</sup> Pozneje so mi povedali, da je odklonil objavo dr. Jure Mikuž, ki da »ima čez vso likovno umetnost od arhitekture do slikarstva.« Potolazili pa so me, da ne gre za nasprotovanje niti Louisu Adamiču niti Maksimilijanu Vanki.



Profesor Rudolph Vecoli, ki vodi Immigration History Research Center Univerze v Minnesoti, me je formalno zaprosil, naj jim dovolim vključiti v Christianovo-Adamičevo gradivo tudi moja pisma, in mi sporočil dve pomembni obvestili. Prvič, da bomo dobili kopije gradiva o Adamiču, kar ga je zbral Henry, in drugič, da namerava njegov *Center* ustanoviti sklad za slovensko-ameriške študije pri IHCR, ga formalno poimenovati po Adamiču in Christianu in tako omogočiti raziskovalcem študij slovenskoameriške zgodovine in kulture. Obenem obljublja, da bomo dobili kopijo inventarja s popisom vsega gradiva v zvezi s Slovenijo in Adamičem.

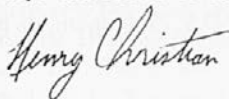
Drugo obvestilo, da namerava IHRC ustanoviti sklad za študij slovenskega izseljenstva v Ameriki, je širšega značaja. Sklad »*A Fund for Slovene-American Studies*« bo za svoje delo potreboval sredstva. V zvezi s tem je Vecolijev poziv za sodelovanje pri financiranju Sklada.

O vsem tem obveščam slovensko javnost s tem poročilom. Prvotno sem nameraval objaviti faksimile obeh pisem Miss Judith Christian in pisma profesorja Vecolija ter jih tudi komentirati, toda doslej še nisem dobil njenega dovoljenja za objavo. Ker je profesor formalno prosil, naj jim dovolim objavljati svoja pisma profesorju Christianu, menim, da moram tudi sam zaprositi za njuno dovoljenje. Profesorju Vecoliju sem odpisal, da bom seznanil vse, ki bi jih njegov načrt za ustanovitev študijskega sklada Adamič/Christian lahko zanimal, in ga prosil, naj mi dovoli objaviti njegovo pismo. Enako sem prosil tudi Judith Christian. Vecoliju sem zaenkrat poslal Adamičeve znamke in se mu zahvalil za vse, kar dela v spomin na mojega pokojnega strica Louisa in pokojnega prijatelja Henryja. Ko nas je obiskal predsednik Clinton, je bil obnovljen sporazum o znanstvenem in tehnološkem sodelovanju med RS in ZDA. Zdaj upam, da bo Adamičev življenjepis le prišel do zaključka in objave.

30 June, 1996

About 1 March it seemed a very good idea to write a short Christmas message to persons who had not received a holiday greeting from me; I quickly realized that group could include those who had not had a message even for two years, and--why not?--some to whom I never sent such messages even though my affection and friendship for them was in no way in question. About 1 May this methodology appeared even more useful. If I worked quickly I could parallel a moment for those who still saw May Day through Hawthorne's May: Pole eyes, those who still cared about Red May Day, and/or those who perhaps once did but preferred May 4 or did honestly not give a damn about May at all except that it is "a long, long time" between then and December. Now, approaching 4 July Independence Day, writing this seems most necessary as I combat in the best manner I can this aggressive cancer which so suddenly is stealing my life.

So to you--dear, old, new friend and/or colleague (thus the letterhead which may not apply or appeal to some)--mid-year joy for the seasons past and with hope the season to come.



435 Wyoming Ave.  
Millburn, New Jersey 07041  
U.S.A.

Priloga 1: S pismom dne 30. junija 1996 je prof. Henry Christian sporočil vsem, ki jim zadnji čas ni pisal niti za božič, da se bori z rakom.

15 July, 1996

Elizabeth C. Baker  
Editor  
Art in America  
575 Broadway  
New York, New York 10012

Dear Elizabeth C. Baker:

We send here an article titled "Reading a Painting: Maxo Vanka's Collage 'World War II'" which we believe is the kind of piece in which readers of Art in America will be interested. Included with a reproduction of the collage and two detail portions of segments 1 and 5 as noted on page 12 of the manuscript are three examples of what we call Vanka's "unknown" sketches, and the Paris-shape view. We can also supply additional slides and prints if needed.

We shall be very grateful for any consideration you and your staff will give this article. We feel Vanka needs to be "recorded" in some more certain manner than thus far and ask therefore that should you find this article does not meet your needs you at least consider our writing another piece stating these unknown categories and using perhaps six to eight other illustrations.

About the authors:

Henry A. Christian is Professor of English and American Culture and Director of the Program in Graduate Liberal Studies at the Newark Campus of Rutgers University. His publications include Louis Adamic: A Checklist, Selected Letters of Louis Adamic published in Slovene, The City in Literature: An Introduction, and articles on Adamic and other American writers published in the United States, the Netherlands, Japan, and the Republic of Slovenia.

Tine Kurent is the nephew of the Slovene born American writer Louis Adamic and Professor Emeritus of Architecture at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. He was educated in Belgrade, Ljubljana, London, and Athens. He has lectured in Yugoslavia, Italy, Java, U.S.A., and Cyprus, and has published articles on architecture, the modular aspects of Roman construction, theory of composition, and especially the work of the Slovene architect Jože Plečnik in scholarly journals in Europe and Asia. His The Slovene Insurance House: Plečnik's Symbols: 1900-1990 appeared in 1990. He and Henry A. Christian have previously published an article on a John Ross collagraph view of the City of Ljubljana and the very short article on this collage mentioned in the footnotes to this submission.

Thank you again for your attention.

Yours truly,

Better summer address and phone:  
435 Wyoming Avenue, Millburn, N.J. 07041  
201-379-1058

  
Henry A. Christian

Priloga 2: Henry Christian ponuja razpravo *Reading a Painting: Maxo Vanka's Collage 'World War II'* reviji *Art in America*.

16 July, 1996

Prof. Tine Kurent  
Igriška 12  
Ljubljana  
Republic of Slovenia

Dear Tine,

I am sorry this has taken so long, but 1995 was a lost year for me and the other sheet tells you about this year. I believe our article is now very fine and complete; I tried to incorporate much of our lesser version and then give this all the power I believe it generates. I now leave it to you to market the piece, hopefully in an English version somewhere. You might end up in Slovene; then I would think possibly it could go into a Croatian journal if you can manage that and are willing. I am also sending it here to Art in America and will worry about double submissions in English if and when that happens. I am happy with this; it may be among my best work with you there too, though perhaps the idea that it may be my last work is exercising some influence. Actually I have arranged to do about three or four articles right here from the house, and one is the opening speech from 1981 for Acta with some few revisions. It is still a very good paper that one from Minnesota--oh, wasn't that all so long ago and don't I regret so much between then and now.

There is the possibility that someone--qualified but not literary exactly--may be able to take over all my work. If it goes right, he will have tapes from me spelling out my not written down insights into Louis and his life; and he will have all my materials and notes, so perhaps the story will be finally told, and correctly. We shall see, but if anything does come of this, you will be involved most certainly and probably meet him and so on.

If you need more prints, so on for the article, let me know. I wish I could go to Munchen and then on Adria to that little field and end up at the Union. Perhaps so day yet...

Zdravo, Tine



12 August, 1996

Professor Tine T. Kurent  
 Igriška 12  
 1000 Ljubljana  
 Slovenia

*I read these expecting  
 you more for safety than for  
 speed.*

Dear Tine,

Thank you for your two letters. My medical treatments do not allow me to always answer when and how that I wish, but just now I have both some strength and some freedom from drugs to do some real work.

As to Chandler and the first article. That first article was a primary speculation, much like first viewing the collage. Therefore, as I say in note 8, the final article contains several speculations made earlier and able to be discarded as more information unfolds, just as the collage is a very private matter for the three families and then explodes into world-wide meaning because of what Chandler does after the collage has been painted.

Please write any form or version you wish to go into those publications you mentioned, revising as you think fit. I would hold back on giving the piece to Acta--because it is about Vanka, after all, and because I hope soon to send Acta that Symposium speech. I doubt they would want to have two items and I don't want them to have the chance to make a choice.

I too want to see this article in the American journal, but the editor's office said they were far behind on their schedule and a decision would not come quickly--I had hoped it would--and of course it is really a very far hope that they will take the piece; we should be very happy and lucky to have it appear here.

These three copies I send here are  $\times \frac{1}{2}$  hope a bit darker, but the original is in New York. Perhaps I should try copies that are larger; that may make the light letters more clear.

Tahara has written me too; I must tell him that Rogelj was the Adamic Memorial Foundation and that there is no means of support for him from such a source. I do not know what he means about "the list of L.A. books to be published for the centennial of Adamic's birthday" or the introduction he believes I will write. I have to ask him; I haven't a lot of space to do such writing. Is such new editions what you refer to in the October 2, 1994 passages about Vida Tomšič?

I do not understand about the Slovenski biografski leksikon; they wrote me a year or so ago asking about my father and mother and so on--information which I supplied. What should I do now? I really had hoped to be in that volume.

I tire now, so Zdravo!



Priloga 4: Zadnje Christianovo pismo 12. avgusta 1996 je narekovala skrb za razpravo o Vankovem kolažu.

## SUMMARY

**ABOUT THE MATERIAL COMPILED  
BY PROFESSOR CHRISTIAN  
FOR A MONOGRAPH ON LOUIS ADAMIC**

Tine T. Kurent

*His premature death prevented Professor Henry A. Christian from publishing his monograph on life and work of Louis Adamic. However, he has left a rich legacy – his research material of Adamiciana – as a basis for the continuation of his work. His daughters, Judith Christian and Carolyn Needham, have donated his papers to the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) at the University of Minnesota. Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli, head of the IHRC, has added the new acquisition to the archives of the IHRC, and established a fund for Slovene-American studies. This fund would provide research assistance for graduate students, either American or Slovene, who would help process Slovene-American materials in the IHRC, including the Christian papers, and at the same time, pursue graduate studies related to Slovene-American history and culture. Professor Vecoli informed me that it seemed appropriate to him that such a fund should bear the name »The Louis Adamic/Henry Christian Fund for Slovene American Studies«, and added the appeal for contributions to the fund, both in Slovenia and the United States. By acquiring the Henry Christian Papers, which complement the extensive IHRC holdings of Adamic and Slovene-American materials, and by establishing the Adamic/Christian Fund, a major center for Slovene-American studies will be created.*

## THE IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER AND THE SLOVENIAN AMERICAN COLLECTION

Joel Wurl

The Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) is a unit of the University of Minnesota dedicated to fostering research on and understanding of the history of American immigration. One of the nation's leading archival/library repositories of source material on immigration and ethnicity, the IHRC locates, collects, preserves, and makes available for research the records of 24 ethnic groups that originated in eastern, central and southern Europe and the Near East. Although diverse in religions, cultures, and languages, they were the »new immigrants«, those who came to this country during the Great Migration that gained momentum in the 1880s and peaked in the first decades of this century.

The Center serves scholars and the public in the state of Minnesota, in the nation, and internationally. It educates and enriches the lives of many through 1) newsletters, press releases, and media appearances; 2) exchanges of students, scholars, and research materials; 3) visits and correspondence with individuals and representatives of institutions and organizations in the ethnic communities; and 4) public lectures, conferences, and exhibits. The Friends of the IHRC, an independent support group, assists in these outreach efforts by providing a bridge to the ethnic communities.

The IHRC's collections include printed, manuscript, and audio-visual materials of national and local origin. The print collection consists of 23,000 books and pamphlets, more than 3,000 serial titles and over 900 newspaper titles. Most of these publications are the products of ethnic presses in the United States and Canada from the late nineteenth century to the present; but there are also many academic and popular works from university and commercial publishers. The manuscript holdings consist of ca. 900 collections occupying 4,500 linear feet. Typical collections include the personal papers of community leaders, clergy-

men, and journalists and the records of fraternal organizations, service agencies, and publishing companies. Audio-visual materials consist of small, but rapidly growing, files of phonograph records, photographs, and oral history tape recordings.

**The Slovenian American Collection** at the IHRC includes an extensive body of archival, monographic, and periodical sources. The Center's archival holdings are particularly strong in the area of Slovenian fraternal benefit organizations. The IHRC maintains the records of the Slovene National Benefit Society (SNPJ), the American Fraternal Union, the Slovenian Progressive Benefit Society, and the Zveza »Lilija« Wisconsin. Slovenian (and other South Slavic) political activism is significantly reflected in the records of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation. The religious dimension of Slovenian immigrant life is also prominently represented through the records of several individual parishes as well as the papers of clergymen Wenceslau Sholar and John Zaplotnik. The Slovenian American monograph collection includes ca. 500 volumes covering a wide range of subjects. Most of these are detailed in the work *Slovenes in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography*, by Joseph Dwyer (1981). Included is a rich collection of writings by author and social activist Louis Adamic, whose life is further documented in the papers of his biographer, Henry Christian. The IHRC maintains some 60 newspaper and 125 serial titles published by and for Slovenian American communities. Among those with extensive runs of issues are *Amerikanski Slovenec*, *Ave Maria Koledar*, *Glas Naroda*, *Glasiilo KSKJ*, *Nova Doba*, and *Prosveta*.

The holdings of the IHRC are available for research use in person from 8:30 to 4:30, Monday through Friday, and Saturdays by appointment. For more information about the Center's collections and programs contact: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 222 21st St. S., Suite 311, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455, ph. (612) 625-4800 (as of 2/1, 2000). Web site: [www.umn.edu/ihrc](http://www.umn.edu/ihrc). Persons who have material they would like to donate to the IHRC are warmly encouraged to send a brief description to Rudolph J. Vecoli, IHRC Director, or Joel Wurl, IHRC Curator, at the above address.



# ARCHIVES HISTORIQUES DU CIEMI (La presse de l'immigration italienne en France pendant la période fasciste, 1921–1945)

Antonio Perotti

## INTRODUCTION

La presse italienne éditée à l'étranger dans plusieurs pays européens, destinée aux émigrés italiens, pendant la période fasciste (1921–1945), a été marquée profondément par les événements politiques qui se sont déroulés dans la péninsule après l'arrivée au pouvoir de Mussolini et du fascisme.

Ce qui caractérisait la presse diffusée parmi les immigrés italiens avant la première guerre mondiale c'était le fait qu'elle était dans sa quasi totalité rédigée et éditée en Italie, en Allemagne ou en Suisse. Elle était, en outre marquée par trois grandes inspirations, opposées entre elles, qui guidaient la presse ouvrière de l'époque en Italie: la première était liée à la tradition catholique (dès la fin du XIXe siècle, l'Eglise en Italie avait en effet donné origine à plusieurs institutions pour l'assistance religieuse et sociale de ses compatriotes à l'étranger); la deuxième était d'inspiration socialiste; la troisième avait une orientation anticléricale et révolutionnaire.

Dès 1904, l'hebdomadaire *La Patria* trouva un large écho dans les milieux traditionnels et catholiques. Organe de l'Opera Assistenza (Œuvre Assistance), organisation d'inspiration catholique, fondée le 10 mai 1880, par Mgr G. Bonomelli qui en sera le président dès la fondation jusqu'à sa mort (1914). L'œuvre s'occupait des immigrés italiens en Europe. Cette publication avait au début (1904–1908) installé sa rédaction à Fribourg (Allemagne), puis de 1908 jusqu'en 1914 à Bâle (Suisse). Suspendue pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, elle ne reprit que plus tard à Milan. L'hebdomadaire réservait une place importante aux articles de formation religieuse et morale. Des rubriques importantes étaient réservées aux informations sur le marché du travail et les activités des divers centres que l'Opera Assistenza avait créés en Europe.

La presse socialiste était très diffusée. Partout on pouvait se procurer facilement l'*Avanti*, quotidien du PSI (fondé à Rome en 1897), publié à partir de décembre 1926, sous forme réduite, à Paris et tiré à environ 10.000 exemplaires. Toutefois, c'était la presse anticléricale (tel l'*Asino*) et la presse anarchique et révolutionnaire (tels *Avanguardia Libertaria*, *La Terra*, *l'Intransigente*, *la Favilla*, *Combattiamo*, *L'Avvenire sociale*, *Il Grido della folla*, *L'Agitazione*, *Il Pensiero*) qui connaissaient la plus large diffusion.

À la suite de la prise du pouvoir de Mussolini en 1922, l'orientation de la presse italienne à l'étranger se politise selon deux directions: d'une part, la presse antifasciste, fragmentée par opposition idéologique et par diversité relevant de la tactique de lutte contre le régime fasciste en plusieurs courants (socialiste maximalistes et réformistes, communistes, syndicalistes, républicains et militants de la Ligue des droits de l'homme): d'autre part, la presse fasciste, expression du Secrétariat général des «fasci» à l'étranger, et de la propagande fasciste en général.

La presse en provenance de l'Italie se réduit, depuis 1927, à la presse éditée en Italie par le régime fasciste. La presse italienne éditée à l'étranger était concentrée dans les deux principaux pays où l'opposition antifasciste avait implanté sa présence et d'où on développait son action: Paris et Bruxelles.

Des recherches menées sur l'histoire de la presse italienne à l'étranger il résulterait que dans les années '20 et '30 le nombre des périodiques italiens à l'étranger avait dépassé les 350 titres, la plus grande partie concentrée en Europe, dont 230 (77%) en France. De ces derniers 52 (29%) étaient anarchiques; 49 (27%) communistes et dissidents de gauche; 19 socialistes (11%); 8 républicains (5%); 5 Justice et Liberté (3%); 23 journaux antifascistes divers (13%) et 10 de la presse syndicale (6%) (voir les Actes du Colloque «L'immigration italienne en France dans les années vingt», Paris, CEDEI, 1988).

Dans cette période naît aussi un hebdomadaire d'inspiration catholique émanant des Missions catholiques italiennes en France, *Il Corriere*, édité et rédigé à Agen (France) de 1926 à 1941.

L'hebdomadaire *Il Corriere* était dirigé par un ancien membre de l'œuvre Bonomelli qui fut souvent accusée, par le journal *Il Riscatto*, édité à Bruxelles, porte-parole du communisme italien de Belgique, du Luxembourg, de la Sarre et de la Lorraine, de collusion avec le régime fasciste et de délation des militants communistes auprès des autorités italiennes. Le directeur du *Corriere* fut assassiné par un anarchiste italien à Agen en 1943.

Le premier numéro de *Il Riscatto*, «hebdomadaire pour la défense des ouvriers italiens immigrés en Belgique» parut en 1926 et il fut édité jusqu'au

début de 1933. Le journal fut confisqué à plusieurs reprises par la police et ses lecteurs étaient considérés comme subversifs.

Entre 1922 et 1935 la presse italienne, éditée en Italie et surtout dans les plus importants pays de l'immigration italienne en Europe était marquée par une grande divergence d'options politiques, même à l'intérieur de l'opposition antifasciste.

Depuis 1935, les partis antifascistes retrouvèrent leur unité d'action face à la guerre d'Espagne et à l'intervention de Mussolini en Abyssinie.

Le Congrès des Italiens contre la guerre d'Afrique, qui eut lieu à Bruxelles les 12 et 13 octobre 1935, réunit environ 400 délégués de toutes tendances politiques, y compris les catholiques et les républicains.

Ainsi naquit un «Front unique dans la lutte contre le fascisme et contre la guerre d'Abyssinie» qui amena les forces antifascistes à une collaboration politique et associative toujours plus grande.

Cette volonté d'unité fut confirmée dès les premiers mois de 1936, lors de l'apparition des Fronts populaires, puis en 1937 à l'occasion du rassemblement de toutes les forces antifascistes au sein de l'Union Populaire Italienne (UPI), qui avait été constituée lors du Congrès de Lyon «pour le pain, la paix et la liberté». L'UPI eut son propre quotidien, *La Voce degli Italiani* (du 11 juillet 1937 au 26 août 1939), et même un bulletin interne.

Cette volonté d'unité éclatera au cours de l'été 1939 à l'occasion du pacte de non-agression germano-soviétique.

La presse antifasciste n'avait pas le droit de cité. Elle était souvent censurée et devait être diffusée dans la clandestinité. Les périodiques antifascistes les plus connus outre *Lo Stato operaio*, qui existait depuis 1927 et qui arrêta sa publication en 1939 – *La Voce delle donne* (1936), édité à Paris, *La Voce repubblicana*, édité depuis décembre 1937 à Annemasse (France) pendant la guerre d'Espagne, le *Grido del popolo* («cri du peuple»), édité à Paris jusqu'en 1937, et l'hebdomadaire de l'Union Populaire Italienne (UPI), *La Voce degli italiani*, édité à Paris de 1937 à 1939.

Benito Gallo, dans son ouvrage sur «Les italiens au Grand Duché de Luxembourg» (imprimerie Saint Paul, 1987), a publié la liste des principales bibliothèques qui possèdent des périodiques de l'émigration italienne pendant la période fasciste, que nous reproduisons en note.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Principales bibliothèques qui possèdent les périodiques de l'émigration italienne: Biblioteca nazionale – Rome (collection complète de l'hebdomadaire *Il Legionario*); Istituto G. Feltrinelli – Milan (collection complète du bimensuel *Prometeo*; collection de

Dans cette liste figurent les Archives du Centre d'Informations et d'Études sur les Migrations Internationales de Paris (CIEMI), pour lequel l'auteur fait exclusivement mention de la collection complète qui est gardée de l'hebdomadaire *Il Corriere* (1926–1941). Benito Gallo, dans le même ouvrage, dresse aussi une liste des nombreux journaux et périodiques édités en Europe dans la période 1922–1945 en direction des émigrés italiens, en donnant une répartition par courant idéologique (journaux communistes, socialistes, antifascistes, anarchistes et républicains).

Dans cette note d'archives nous avons crû utile de faire état de l'ensemble des documents concernant la presse qui sont conservés chez les archives du CIEMI, à Paris.

Bien qu'il s'agisse souvent d'un recueil très fragmentaire et lacuneux (parfois il s'agit d'exemplaires uniques) nous estimons qu'il constitue une source d'information et de documentation toujours intéressante pour les chercheurs.<sup>2</sup>

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l'hebdomadaire *Il Riscatto* du 30 octobre 1926 au 18 février 1928; ensuite les numéros isolés: 3.3.1928, 2.9.1928, 17.3.1929, 23.6.1929, 20 numéros de l'année 1930, toute l'année 1931 et 9 numéros de l'année 1932); Bibliothèque nationale suisse – Berne (collection complète du mensuel *La Patria*, de 1904 à 1914); Bibliothèque nationale – Paris (collection incomplètes de plusieurs périodiques: *L'Adunata dei refrattari*, *La Nuova Italia*, *L'Avanti*, *Il Nuovo Avanti*, *Il grido del popolo*, *Tribuna d'Italia*, etc.); Centre d'information et d'études sur les migrations internationales – Paris (collection complète de l'hebdomadaire *Il Corriere*, 1926–1944, organe des Missions catholiques italiennes en Europe); Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine – Nanterre (collections incomplètes de plusieurs périodiques: *Il Dovere*, *L'Asino*, *Il Risveglio anarchico*, *Il Risveglio socialista anarchico*, *Italia*, *La défense des victimes du fascisme*, *Bollettino del Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori*, *La Lega L'Iniziativa*, *La voce delle donne*, *Dovere-agence*, *Germinal*, *La Difesa*, *L'Ordine nuovo*, *Battaglie sindacali*, quaderni *Giustizia e Libertà*, *Lo Stato operaio*, *La Libertà*, *L'Italia del popolo*, *L'Esilio*, *Guerra di classe*, *L'Adunata dei refrattari*, etc.); Bibliothèque de la Ville de Strasbourg (collection complète de l'hebdomadaire *La Voce d'Italia*, 1925–1927); Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles (série de l'hebdomadaire *Il Riscatto* du n° du 7 janvier 1928 au n° du 29 décembre 1930).

<sup>2</sup> Pour la construction du cadre historique nous nous sommes surtout servi de l'ouvrage de Santi Fedele, *Storie della Concentrazione Antifascista 1927–1934*, Feltrinelli, Ed. Milan, 1976, 196 pp. et du recueil: *France des étrangers, Presse et mémoire, France des libérés*, réalisé par l'association GÉNÉRIQUES, Editions Ouvrières, Paris, 1990, 201 pp.

## LES JOURNAUX À COLLECTION COMPLÈTE OU COUVRANT DES PÉRIODES IMPORTANTES

### *Il Corriere*

«Settimanale italiano». Direction: rue Grande Horloge, 57. Agen, France. Fondé à Agen (Lot-et-Garonne) en septembre 1926 par le prêtre journaliste de Bergame (Italie) Mgr Eugenio Noradino Torricella, ex-secrétaire de la Nonciature Apostolique à Vienne (Autriche) pendant la première guerre mondiale, promoteur du Parti Polulaire dans sa région d'origine et aussi de Don Sturzo (fondateur du même Parti), qu'il aida pendant son exil à Paris.

L'hebdomadaire s'adressa surtout aux agriculteurs italiens dans le Sud-Ouest de la France, où Mgr Torricella exerçait son activité missionnaire, mais ayant dès l'origine l'aspiration à devenir le journal non seulement des italiens en France mais de tous les italiens en Europe. Le sous-titre, de fait, a été changé d'abord en «hebdomadaire des italiens à l'étranger» (janvier-novembre 1929) pour ensuite (dès novembre 1929 jusqu'à la mort tragique de son fondateur) en «organe des missions Catholiques Italiennes en Europe». Mgr Torricella fut assassiné le 7 janvier 1944 dans son bureau de rédaction à Agen par deux anarchiques, Enzo Godeas et Enrico Zanel.

Les archives CIEMI conservent la collection entière de l'hebdomadaire de 1926 au mois d'août 1944. La publication du *Corriere* fut suspendue de juin 1940 à février 1941 (période de belligérance entre l'Italie et la France) et l'hebdomadaire fut édité en format réduit de 1942 à 1944.

Le *Corriere* constitue une source irremplaçable pour l'histoire des Missions Italiennes en France dans la période successive à la dissolution de l'œuvre de Mgr Bonomelli décrétée par le sain Siège en 1928 et à la disparition qui s'en est suivie de l'hebdomadaire de l'œuvre «La Patria».

### *La Nuova Italia (L'Italie Nouvelle)*

Quotidien des Italiens en France. Direction: 31, Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris. Premier Organe du «fascio» de Paris, à vocation nationale. Fondé en 1922, comme hebdomadaire, par le journaliste Nicola Bonservizi, fondateur de l'organisa-

tion fasciste à Paris où depuis un certain temps il exerçait son activité et où il fut assassiné le 21 février 1924. Il est le plus connu et le plus diffusé des journaux fascistes en France: il tirait à 10.000/12.000 exemplaires au début des années trente.

Les archives CIEMI conservent plusieurs années du journal, dont certaines presque complètes, mais avec des numéros souvent »coupés«. A partir d'octobre 1940 jusqu'à septembre 1941 le journal est paru à périodicité hebdomadaire. Les archives CIEMI conservent les exemplaires suivants:

- (1931) -382 / 383 / 411  
 (1932) -426 / 436 / 443 / 445-452 / 454-456 / 460-462 / 465 / 468-471 / 473-476  
 (1933) -477 / 480-483 / 486-497 / 500 / 501 / 503 / 506 / 508 / 510 / 522 / 523 / 525 / 526  
 (1940) -878 / 880 / 881 / 882 / 885  
 (1941) -1-37 / 40 / 43-83 / 886-895 / 898-900 / 903-907 / 912-917 / 920-923  
 (1942) -84 / 85 / 87-96 / 98-119 / 121-139 / 141-153 / 155-176 / 179-199 / 201-223 / 225-227 / 229-234 / 236-241 / 243-312 / 314-324 / 326-336 / 338-351 / 353-368 / 370-392  
 (1943) -1-5 / 7-21 / 23-38 / 40-45 / 47-85 / 87 / 89 / 90 / 92-95 / 97-104 / 106-129 / 131 / 133-138 / 140-148 / 150-157 / 159-168 / 170-174 / 177-179 / 181 / 184-193 / 195-199 / 201 / 203-293 / 295-298 / 300 / 393  
 (1944) -1-11 / 13-22 / 24-103 / 105-192

### *Il Legionario*

»Settimanale degli italiani all'estero«. Dès janvier 1938 à l'été 1939 avec le sous-titre »Bollettino dei Fasci italiani all'estero«. Fondé en 1923, il était édité par le Secrétariat Général du Parti fasciste. Rédaction: Via Giustiniani, 5. Rome (par la suite: Via Buoncompagni, 30. Rome).

Les archives CIEMI conservent plusieurs années, tout en bon état, à partir de 1931 jusqu'à 1939. Numéros qui manquent pour la période 1931-1937:

- (1931) -1 / 7  
 (1932) -9 / 14 / 15 / 17 / 30 / 38 / 39 / 40 / 42 / 47  
 (1933) -6 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 15 / 22 / 31 / 35 / 40 / 41 / 42 / 43 / 44  
 (1934) -1 / 10 / 13 / 16 / 19 / 29 / 30

(1935) -11 / 12 / 13 / 16 / 20 / 30 / 31 / 39

(1936) -9 / 20 / 26 / 30 / 37 / 38 / 39

(1937) -3 / 4 / 5 / 7 / 8 / 10 / 11 / 12 / 13 / 14 / 15 / 21 / 23 / 25 / 26 / 27 / 28 /  
29 / 30 / 32 / 34 / 35

De la période 1938-1939 sont conservés seulement les numéros suivants:  
1 / 3 / 5 / 6 / 7 (1938) et 26 (1939).

### *Il Merlo (Le Merle)*

Sous-titre: »fischia e se ne infischia una volta alla settimana« (il siffle et il s'en fiche une fois par semaine). Direction et administration: 32, rue des Favorites, 75015 Paris. Feuille satirique dénigratoire des exilés antifascistes. L'hebdomadaire a été fondé en 1934 à Paris par l'ex-antifasciste Alberto Giannini, directeur auparavant avec Alberto Cienca à Paris du *Becco Giallo* (le bec jaune), hebdomadaire satirique antifasciste, interdit en Italie, diffusé dans la période »aventinienne« (lorsque l'opposition parlementaire au fascisme s'était retirée sur le col Aventino à Rome). Suspendu en Italie, l'hebdomadaire avait repris la publication en France jusqu'en 1931, année où il cessa de paraître. Quelques années après, en 1934, Alberto Giannini passa au service du régime fasciste, en commençant la publication de l'hebdomadaire *Il Merlo*.

De cette collection, les archives du CIEMI conservent plusieurs numéros des années 1936-1937, période dans laquelle le régime fasciste vécut son apogée (victoire en Ethiopie et en Espagne et inefficacité des sanctions décrétées contre l'Italie par la Société des Nations).

Dans les archives sont conservées les numéros suivants :

(1936) -85 / 98 / 109 / 116 / 128 / 130 / 132

(1937) -134 / 139 / 140 / 144 / 145 / 150 / 154 / 156 / 158 / 159 / 162 / 163 /  
165 / 167 / 168 / 170 / 173

### *La voce degli italiani (La voix des italiens)*

Quotidien. Direction: 3, rue de Stockholm, 75008 Paris. Fondé à Paris en juillet 1937, quotidien de l'Unione Popolare Italiana (Union Populaire italienne), le nouveau organisme unitaire crée la même année par ce parti communiste italien visant à réunir au delà des militants antifascistes, tous ceux qui poursuiva-

ient un programme de paix et de liberté, y compris les travailleurs catholiques. Le quotidien était tiré à 27.000 exemplaires et il bénéficiait de la collaboration des personnalités italiennes exilées à Paris, tels que Pietro Nenni, Luigi Campolonghi et des radicaux français.

*La voce degli italiani* revêt un intérêt particulier pour l'étude de la politique de rapprochement aux catholiques du Parti communiste italien, surtout la fin de 1937 et courant 1938, lorsque le Parti communiste a poursuivi, sur la base du dissentiment entre catholiques et nazis la lutte menée par le fascisme contre l'Action Catholique et l'attitude critique de Pie XI contre le racisme fasciste.

Dans les archives du CIEMI sont conservés seulement une douzaine de numéros, mais ayant un certain intérêt par les articles de Luigi Campolonghi concernant une enquête faite parmi les agriculteurs italiens du Languedoc et de la Gascogne:

- (1937) -1 / 3 / 15 / 30 / 34 / 35 / 36 / 38 / 61 / 69  
 (1938) -24 / 25  
 (1939) -142

### *La Libertà*

Hebdomadaire de la Confédération antifasciste, dirigé par le socialiste C. Treves. Direction et Administration: 103 Faubourg Saint Denis, 75010 Paris. Fondé en 1927 (son tirage initial était de 20.000 exemplaires) il parut jusqu'en 1934.

A la Concentration antifasciste, fondée à Paris en 1927, dont l'objectif était de rassembler les antifascistes non communistes, adhérèrent le «Parti socialiste maximaliste», le parti socialiste unitaire, le parti républicain, la confédération du Travail, la Ligue italienne des droits de l'homme et, à partir de 1931, aussi le nouveau mouvement «Giustizia-Libertà» (Justice/ Liberté). La Concentration fût dissoute en mai 1934 après deux ans de crise, due surtout au dissentiment entre le P.S.I. et le mouvement Justice et Liberté, à la mort de Turati en 1932, puis celle de Treves en 1933. Après quatre mois d'existence, le journal tirait à quelques 15.500 exemplaires, chiffre qui tombe à 1.700 en 1928.

Les numéros conservés dans les archives du CIEMI se réfèrent aux années de la crise de la Concentration, lorsque l'hebdomadaire était dirigé par C. Treves (décédé en juin 1933), qui avait maintenu le journal à un haut niveau culturel et politique, dans l'orientation politique traditionnelle réformiste favorable à la collaboration avec les forces démocratiques-bourgeoises et hostiles à toute hypothèse



de rapprochement entre socialistes et communistes. Edité sans solution de continuité du 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1927 jusqu'à la dissolution de la Concentration, La Libertà est parue chaque semaine, en grand format de 4 pages (rarement de 6).

Numéros conservés aux archives:

(1932) -16 / 18-23 / 26-32 / 36-39 / 41-45 / 47

(1933) -2-5 / 7 / 9 / 10 / 12-23 / 45

## JOURNAUX DONT LES ARCHIVES CONSERVENT SEULEMENT QUELQUES NUMÉROS

### *La Tribune d'Italie*

»Settimanale del tempo nostro« (Hebdomadaire de notre temps). Fondé à Paris en décembre 1937 (bilingue) par Alberto Giannini. Direction: 32, rue des Favorites, 75015 Paris. D'inspiration fasciste. Numéros existants:

(1937) -1

(1938) -3 / 4 / 5 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 12 / 17 / 18 / 19 / 20

### *La Voce d'Italia*

»Organe national de propagande et de collaboration franco-italienne«. Hebdomadaire d'inspiration fasciste, fondé à Paris en 1925. Administration et direction: 15, rue Jules Verne, 75011 Paris. Numéros existants: (février-avril 1929) - 6 / 10 / 14

### *L'Esilio (L'Exil)*

Périodique antifasciste fondé à Paris en 1930. Bimensuel. Rédaction et Administration: 14, rue Malher, 75004 Paris. Numéros existants:

(1934) -1 / 2 / 3

*Fraternité (Edizione italiana)*

Mensuel. Direction et Administration: 3, rue Monthalon, 75009 Paris. Les archives conservent deux numéros de 1937: 6 / 8. Le numéro 6 est consacré à l'assassinat des frères Carlo et Nello Rosselli, perpétré le mois précédent.

*Fraternité*

»Organe de liaison entre les travailleurs français et immigrés«. Mensuel fondé en 1936. Le mensuel reproduisait sous le titre une phrase de Clovis Huguès: »La France ne connaît pas d'étrangers«. Numéros existants:

- (1936) -10  
 (1937) -20 / 22  
 (1938) -29  
 (1939) -34 / 36 / 37 / 38

*La Voce delle Donne (La Voix des Femmes)*

Revue mensuelle en langue italienne du Comité mondial des femmes contre la guerre et le fascisme. Direction et Administration . 25, rue d'Alsace, 75010 Paris. Fondé à Paris en 1936. Numéros existants:

- (1936) -1 / 3

*Giustizia e Libertà (Justice et Liberté)*

Fondé à Paris en 1934, organe officiel du mouvement né dans la deuxième moitié de 1929 sous l'animation de Rosselli, Lussu et Tarchiani. Du journal est conservé un seul numéro:

- (1935) -50

*Il risveglio italiano*

»Organo delle colonie italiane in Francia«. Hebdomadaire de quatre pages, en grand format, fondé à Paris en 1898. Direction: 10, rue Saulnier, 75009 Paris.

A partir de 1920, l'hebdomadaire a commencé à publier un supplément »L'Italien de France«, dont le titre a par la suite changé: »Réveil Italien«. Dans la période dont les archives CIEMI conservent quelques numéros (1057 de 1921 et 1209, 1248 et 1253 de 1933), il en était directeur, G. Padovani, animateur de la Ligue Franco-italienne.

Des numéros conservés, il résulte que à Paris en 1921 existaient deux revues culturelles, l'une intitulée »Etudes Italiennes«, éditée par l'Union Intellectuelle Franco-italienne, aux éditions E. Leroux, 28, rue Bonaparte, 75008 Paris et la »Nouvelle Revue d'Italie«, publication mensuelle franco-italienne éditée par la librairie Felix Alcan de Paris.

*Don Quichotte*

»Quotidien de l'Action Latine«. Quotidien fondé à Marseille le 21 février 1920 par le journaliste Luigi Campolonghi ex-correspondant de « Il Secolo », journal libéral et anticlérical de Milan, très répandu dans le milieu immigré italien en Europe, d'où il avait démissionné après l'arrivée du fascisme au pouvoir. La direction du journal fut transférée par la suite à Paris. Direction: 16, rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, Paris.

Le seul numéro du quotidien conservé aux archives du CIEMI (n°307 du 21 janvier 1921) est entièrement en langue française, de quatre pages, longuement consacrées à l'information de la communauté italienne.



INSTITUT ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO  
ZRC SAZIJA NA 50. JUBILEJNI  
KONVENCiji AAASS

## **POROČILA IN**

### **RAZMIŠLJANJA**

### **REPORTS**

### **- AND REFLECTIONS**



# INŠTITUT ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO ZRC SAZU NA 50. JUBILEJNI KONVENCIJI AAASS

Zvone Žigon

Dr. Breda Čebulj Sajko, dr. Marina Lukšič - Hacin in mag. Zvone Žigon, raziskovalci na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU, so se septembra 1998<sup>1</sup> udeležili 30. nacionalne konvencije ob 50. obletnici AAASS, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (Ameriškega združenja za podporo slovanskih študij) v kraju Boca Raton na Floridi v Združenih državah Amerike. Konferenco je pripravila Southern Conference on Slavic Studies (Južna konferenca za slovanske študije), in sicer od 24. do 27. septembra, v hotelskem kompleksu Boca Raton. Slovenske predavateljce je podprla organizacija Society for Slovene Studies (Društvo za slovanske študije).

Na programu konference je bilo navedenih kar 385 panelov – omizij z običajno tremi referenti, kar priča o velikosti in pomembnosti tega dogodka. Prevladovala so teme, povezane z zgodovino in aktualnimi procesi v Rusiji oziroma nekdanji Sovjetski zvezi, precej pa je bilo tudi panelov v zvezi z Ukrajino, balkanskimi državami in tudi (neslovansko) Madžarsko. Razpravljalcev je bilo zaradi hurikana George, ki je divjal med Karibi in Florido ravno v času konference, sicer nekaj manj, večina predstavnikov iz Slovenije pa je kljub nenavadnim vremenskim razmeram sodelovala na svojih panelih.<sup>2</sup>

Raziskovalci z Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo so svoje raziskovanje predstavili na panelu 8–23 z naslovom *Transformation of Ethnic Identity Among Slovene Immigrants* (Spreminjanje etnične identitete med slovenskimi izseljen-

<sup>1</sup> Poročilo je bilo zaradi časovne stiske nemogoče objaviti v prejšnji številki *Dveh domovin/Two Homelands*.

<sup>2</sup> Na konferenci so iz Slovenije med drugimi sodelovali še dr. Matjaž Klemenčič, dr. Andrej Vovko, mag. Vera Klopčič idr.

ci). Naslovi posameznih referatov so bili: dr. Breda Čebulj Sajko, *Ethnic Identity Among the First Generation of Australian Slovenes* (Etnična identiteta pri prvi generaciji slovenskih izseljencev v Avstraliji); dr. Marina Lukšič - Hacin, *Process of Resocialization and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Slovenes in Sweden* (Resocializacija in etnična identiteta: primer Slovencev na Švedskem); mag. Zvone Žigon, *Descendants of Slovene Immigrants in Argentina and Uruguay* (Potomci slovenskih izseljencev v Argentini in Urugvaju). Vodja omizja je bil dr. David Stermole (MacDonald Collegiate Institute), uradna diskutantka pa dr. Frances Swyripa (University of Alberta, Canada).

**Dr. Breda Čebulj Sajko** je poudarila pomen imigracije za usodo Avstralije, ki so jo v tem smislu oblikovali tudi slovenski izseljenci – v tej deželi naj bi jih živel od 25.000 do 30.000. Tako kot drugi so bili tudi Slovenci močno podvrženi uradni avstralski imigracijski politiki, ki je krojila način njihovega prilagajanja novemu kulturnemu okolju. Od sprva razmeroma enovite anglofonske kulture se je s prihodom priseljencev različnih narodnosti spremenila tudi etnična struktura avstralskega prebivalstva, kar je bilo vzrok za sprejem tolerantnejše imigracijske politike, imenovane multikulturalizem. Dr. Čebulj Sajko je etnično identiteto kot osebno in skupinsko identiteto raziskovala tudi s pomočjo avtobiografske metode, ki ji je v referatu posvetila razmeroma veliko pozornosti. Njeni informatorji (sogovorniki) so prišli v Avstralijo – večinoma na podoben način – v obdobju od 1947 do 1966, njihove življenjske zgodbe pa ne govorijo samo o njih, ampak tudi o okolju, s katerim so prihajali v stik. Pripadniki prve generacije so čedalje bolj usmerjeni k ohranjanju etnične identitete pri drugi generaciji, tako v okviru društvenih in verskih središč kot v družinskem življenju – pa čeprav se je izkazalo za dejstvo, da gre pri drugi generaciji v prvi vrsti za Avstralce in šele nato Slovence. Ugotavlja tudi, da so prav otroci eden od glavnih razlogov za stalno naselitev v Avstraliji, čeprav ostaja njihovo življenje tudi po taki odločitvi še vedno razdvojeno.

**Dr. Marina Lukšič - Hacin** se je v svoji razpravi ukvarjala predvsem s procesom resocializacije v primeru prihoda izseljenca v novo družbeno okolje, v njenem primeru Slovencev na Švedsko. Avtorica je uvodoma označila proces resocializacije kot proces spreminjanja že izoblikovanih osebnosti, prisoten še posebej v sodobni kompleksni družbi, v kateri procesa primarne in sekundarne socializacije kot procesa prilagajanja družbenemu okolju ne zadoščata več. Še posebej to velja ob prehodu iz ene kulture v drugo, ko se mora že »izoblikovan« posameznik vnovič prilagajati novi dominantni družbi. Gre za spremembo odnosa do lastne etnične identitete, in to predvsem na individualni ravni. Velik del



razprave je bil namenjen razčiščevanju pomenov teoretičnih pojmov, kot so npr. etničnost, identiteta itd., v konkretnem delu referata pa je avtorica predstavila svoje raziskovanje resocializacije v smislu transformacije etnične identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci na Švedskem, opravljeno v letu 1995. Raziskava je potekala predvsem v obliki globinskih intervjujev s predstavniki socializatorjev (družina, vrstniki, šola, mediji, vera). Referat je predstavil nekatere najznačilnejše ugotovitve, povezane s prihodom v švedsko kulturo in doživljanjem le-te ter z ohranjanjem slovenske etnične identitete. Ena od ugotovitev je tudi ta, da resocializacija osebo sicer preoblikuje, a nikoli ne v popolnosti, in to ne glede na zavestno težnjo posameznika. Tudi če posameznik noče imeti opravka s slovenskim, je to del njega, vanj je »ujet«. Popolna etnična transformacija pri prvi generaciji torej ni možna.

**Mag. Zvone Žigon** je svoje raziskovanje posvetil drugi generaciji oziroma načinom ohranjanja etnične identitete v izseljenstvu skozi rodove – v Argentini in Urugvaju. Njegovo raziskovanje je potekalo v obliki kombinacije globinskih intervjujev, opazovanja z udeležbo in popotniškega dnevnika z zabeleženimi opažanji, pa tudi s pomočjo dopisovanja. V svojem referatu je opozoril na razlike v modelu ohranjanja etnične identitete med izseljenci v Argentini in Urugvaju iz obdobja med svetovnimi vojnami, ko je bilo naseljevanje neorganizirano in razpršeno, ter na povojni val politične emigracije, ki je v novo (argentinsko) okolje prispela razmeroma strnjena, na soočenje z novo kulturo pripravljena še iz begunskih taborišč v Italiji in Avstriji ter »opremljena« s številnimi intelektualci (učitelji, duhovniki, arhitekti...). Zaradi močnejšega društvenega življenja, trdno organiziranega sistema izobraževanja v slovenskem jeziku in kulturi, razmeroma močno navzoče endogamije in izrazite ideološke enovitosti je ta skupnost ostala precej odporna na asimilacijske vplive, kar se kaže pri drugi generaciji, ki skoraj v celoti tekoče govori slovenski jezik in zadnja leta postaja tudi nosilka ohranjanja slovenske etnične identitete v Argentini. Žigon je nanizal kvalitativno gibljivo lestvico ravni občutenja etnične identitete, od minimalnega vedenja o etničnem izvoru do odločitve za preselitev v primarno domovino oziroma domovino staršev. Glede druge generacije predvojnih izseljencev je avtor ugotovil, da je le-ta v dobršni meri že asimilirana, raven navzočnosti slovenske etnične identitete je precej drugačna, večinoma že brez slovenskega jezika. Razpravljalec je opozoril na dvojnost sekundarne in deloma že primarne socializacije, ki so ji izpostavljeni potomci izseljencev, saj so razpeti med slovensko vzgojo v družini, sobotni slovenski šoli in cerkvi ter dominantno argentinsko (urugvajsko) okolje, množične medije, redno šolo itd.

Po predstavitvi referatov vseh treh raziskovalcev se je razvila živahna razprava, v kateri so udeleženci – poleg številnih vprašanj za referente – pohvalili strokovno raven nastopov in samo tematiko ocenili kot izjemno zanimivo.

Konferenco je spremljala močna razstavno-sejemska dejavnost, saj je bila v vhodni dvorani razstavljena strokovna literatura različnih družboslovnih znanstvenih ved, povezana s slovanskim prostorom oziroma kulturo. V času konferen- ce so se raziskovalci z Inštituta udeležili tudi redne skupščine Society for Slovene Studies.

## AVTOBIOGRAFSKA METODA (okrogla miza v okviru historičnega seminarja ZRC SAZU, 10. maj 1999)

Breda Čebulj Sajko

Historični seminar (vodja: mag. Metoda Kokole) že vrsto let deluje na Znanstvenoraziskovalnem centru Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (ZRC SAZU). V njegovih okvirih se srečujejo tuji in domači predavatelji z različnih raziskovalnih področij, ki v obliki predavanj prezentirajo zbranemu občinstvu svoje raziskovalno delo, različne poglede na različno tematiko ipd. Ker smo s strani organizatorjev seminarja dobili na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo pobudo za sodelovanje, se mi je rodila ideja o izvedbi okrogle mize na temo avtobiografska metoda. Tako smo v najlepšem spomladanskem mesecu organizirali pogovor o pri nas, lahko bi rekli, do sedaj teoretično slabo obravnavani omenjeni metodi dela, ki jo etnologi, pa tudi drugi raziskovalci, zavedno ali nezavedno pogosto uporabljamo pri svojem terenskem delu. Zaradi zanimivosti tematike, ki je izredno povezana z raziskovanjem izseljenstva, sem se odločila, da posname-mo in transkribiramo potek okrogle mize in ga v celoti objavimo v zadnji dvojni številki *Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva* v letu 1999. Na tem mestu pa v skrajšani obliki, tj. v obliki »terenskega zapiska« raziskovalca, objavljam le nekatere povzetke celotnega poteka omenjenega pogovora.

Naša »zgodba o avtobiografiji« ima naslednji potek: odšli smo na »teren« – v Malo dvorano ZRC SAZU – in vključili mikrofon ter pričeli s snemanjem pogovora o avtobiografski metodi s povabljenimi sogovorniki. Uvodne misli so bile namenjene predstavitvi nekaterih (predvsem v tujini) že znanih izkušenj z avtobiografsko metodo in uporabo avtobiografskih virov. Potem je stekel pogovor, izkazali so se različni pogledi in problemi v zvezi z osnovno temo: doma se že dlje časa ukvarjamo z zbiranjem avtobiografskih zgodb, vendar smo šele v zadnjem času začeli s sistematičnim delom na tem področju, ki ga skušamo osvetliti tudi z vidika teorije. Težko je opredeliti, kaj je sploh avtobiografija: ali je

to že vsaka izgovorjena ali zapisana izjava informatorja (»delna avtobiografija«) ali neka strnjena zgodba poteka dogajanj v življenju posameznika – pripovedovalca, ali so to pisma, memoari, dnevniki... So pri samem procesu nastajanja pomembna vprašanja in navodila izpraševalca ali naj le-ta prepusti konstrukcijo življenjske zgodbe samemu pripovedovalcu? Vkolikor da, je informator ustvarjal in ga lahko imamo za soavtorja raziskave. Kaj narediti z avtobiografskimi podatki? Potrebno jih je kritično ovrednotiti, jih primerjati z ostalimi razpoložljivimi viri in jih umestiti v kontekst zgodovinskega dogajanja, na katerega se veže določena pripoved.

Kako umestiti pridobljene avtobiografske podatke v raziskavo? Odločitev je v rokah raziskovalca in njegove konstrukcije raziskave ter v zvezi s tem selekcioniranjem avtobiografskih podatkov. Je to pravilen postopek ali se s tem »poškoduje« avtobiografski dokument? Vzoren primer uporabe avtobiografij je približno naslednji: objaviti življenjsko zgodbo v celoti in iz njene vsebine razložiti vlogo posameznika, njegove življenjske skupnosti in okolja v danem časovnem obdobju in zgodovinskem dogajanju.

Življenjska zgodba, ki nam jo pripoveduje informator, mora imeti logično zaporedje nizanja dogodkov v življenju pripovedovalca. So v tej zgodbi prisotni vsi dogodki? V tej točki postane pripovedovalec selektor svojega življenja. Pove nam tista dejstva, ki so zanj pomembna. Pri tem obstaja možnost dodajanja, pretiravanja oziroma zamolčanja, odvzemanja snovi iz življenjske zgodbe posameznika po njegovi lastni presoji. Raziskovalca pri tem zanima vzrok tega pojava.

Avtobiografska zgodba postane torej selektivna avtobiografija, selektivna s strani raziskovalca in s strani pripovedovalca.

In kako je z resničnostjo, verodostojnostjo vsebin avtobiografskih zgodb? Sogovorniki so mnenja, da je osnovno vodilo reševanja tega problema opredelitev objektivne, če hočete »zgodovinske« resnice, ki služi kot skelet vsem ostalim subjektivnim resnicam, izrečenim v avtobiografskih pripovedih. Te so torej pojmovane kot osebne resnice, ki dopolnjujejo, zapolnjujejo ali zavračajo dano – občo priznano objektivnost in nam hkrati omogočajo »vpogled od znotraj« v neko kulturo. Pri tem se izkaže relativnost objektivnega, ki je v končni fazi prav tako subjektivno – vmeščeno v določeno časovno obdobje in družbeno dogajanje. Zato v življenjskih zgodbah nima smisla iskati absolutne resnice, temveč le individualni pogled pripovedovalca na svet. Različnost in pestrost teh pogledov na predmet raziskovalčevega zanimanja nam v končni fazi osvetli določen zgodovinski trenutek. Zato je potrebno tudi objektivne vire preverjati s subjektivnimi.

Avtobiografija je jezik določene kulture, saj v procesu prepoznavanja sa-

mega sebe tako raziskovalec kot pripovedovalec prepoznavata druge. Ali obratno. Življenjska zgodba je zato zgodba o sebi in o drugih. Je proces, v katerem se konstituira identiteta (posameznika, skupine, etnije, države, kulture...), le-ta pa je med drugim v središču pozornosti raziskovalcev izseljenstva.

Pogovor še vedno teče. Zaplete se pri načinu zapisovanja ustnih avtobiografij. Tega problema ne občuti tisti, ki sledi pripovedovalcu z vizualnimi sredstvi (kamera) beleženja njegove zgodbe. Ostali udeleženci okrogle mize, razen zgodovinarjev in literarnih zgodovinarjev, so postavljeni pred dileme: transkribirati posnete pogovore v knjižnem ali pogovornem jeziku, objaviti tekst avtobiografije dobesedno ali selektivno, izogniti se pri tem »občutljivim«, »intimnim« – zaupnim – izpovednim delom pripovedi ali ne. To nas privede do problema manipulacije s tovrstnimi podatki in etike raziskovalca pri uporabi teh informacij v znanstvene namene, ki ne smejo prizadeti informatorja. Nasploh prevlada mnenje, da je potrebno pripovedovalca predčasno seznaniti z namenom raziskave in si za to pridobiti njegovo zaupanje in soglasje. Je potemtakem še potrebna avtorizacija zapisanega pogovora? Če da, koliko ostaja »popravljen« življenjska zgodba s strani njenega avtorja še pristna, originalna? Temu problemu se zopet izogne zapisovanje avtobiografskih zgodb z vizualno tehniko.

In za konec: kako je pri nas s hranjenjem tovrstnega (osebnega) že zbrane gradiva in tistega, ki šele nastaja ali bo še nastalo? Za pretekla obdobja je delno arhivirano po ustreznih državnih inštitucijah in pri posameznikih. Pri slednjih nastopi problem dostopnosti in nenazadnje problem uničevanja že zapisanih avtobiografij. Tisto, kar nastaja danes neposredno na terenu, pa je zaenkrat še dokaj nesistematično zbiranje – odvisno od pobud – posameznih raziskovalcev, še posebno tistih, ki se ukvarjajo z raziskovanjem izseljenstva. Vendar se stvari premikajo na bolje.

Prišli smo do konca in izklopili mikrofona. Stojimo še dolgo ugotovljali, da ni pravil in ni enotnih zakonitosti nastajanja in oblikovanja življenjskih zgodb – in tako ni enega in edinega odgovora na vprašanje, kaj je avtobiografija in kaj je avtobiografska metoda. In, če dobro premislimo, je to prednost vseh nas, ki se s tem problemom ukvarjamo: iskanje odgovora nas sili k ustvarjalnosti, nas potiska v dvome, ki nas vodijo k napredku. Tudi tu nam namreč različnost subjektivnih pogledov na objektivno danost omogoča vpogled znanstvenih disciplin od znotraj – v same sebe.

Slovenska etnologija je v zadnjem času v prepoznavanju same sebe v odnosu do raziskovanja avtobiografij naredila precejšen korak naprej.



## NEKAJ BESED O OBISKU INŠTITUTA POLONIJNI V KRAKOVU

Breda Čebulj Sajko

Na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU že četrto leto poteka projekt Dopolnjevanje in preučevanje virov in literature o slovenski emigracijski problematiki. Poleg tega se s svojim raznolikim gradivom Inštitut vključuje še v Program zbirke ZRC SAZU (oboje vodi na Inštitutu avtorica tega prispevka). Namen obojega je, poleg urejanja stare in zbiranja nove dokumentacije, ki jo v končni fazi hrani Inštitut, tudi navezovanje stikov med sodelavci Inštituta z raziskovalci ter dokumentalisti s sorodnih inštitucij po svetu. Dokaj utečene in po potrebi posameznikov občasno bolj ali manj pogoste vezi že tečejo v okviru slovenskega etničnega prostora, pravtako tudi s sodelavci v tujini, o čemer redno poročamo v našem letnem glasilu *Bilten*. V letošnjem letu pa smo še posebej uspešno navezali kontakte z raziskovalci Inštituta Polonijny (Inštituta Polonije), ki je del Jagiellonske univerze v Krakovu. V maju sem bila namreč gostja dr. Jana Lencznarowicza, zgodovinarja z omenjenega inštituta. Z njegovo pomočjo sem lahko spoznala raziskovalno delo in publikacije njegovih sodelavcev ter njihov dokumentacijski fond.

Inštitut Polonijny je, podobno kot naš Inštitut, član Association of European Migration Institutions (Združenja evropskih migracijskih institucij) in je interdisciplinarni raziskovalni in pedagoški center, ustanovljen leta 1972. Še posebej od leta 1976 dalje se je v poljskem prostoru uveljavil kot najpomembnejša ustanova za raziskovanje poljske emigracijske problematike in poljske emigrantske literature. Njegovo ime »Polonijny« je sinonim za poljske etnične skupine, ki živijo po vsem svetu. Poleg raziskav opravljajo sodelavci Inštituta, ki so po strokah razdeljeni v več oddelkov, tudi pedagoško dejavnost: zgodovinarji, sociologi, literarni zgodovinarji in lingvisti predavajo tujim študentom poljskega jezika poljsko zgodovino in kulturo. Inštitut je do nedavnega imel svoje prostore v gra-

du ob Visli v krakovskem predmestju Przegorzały, ki je danes v najemu ameriške družbe Motorola. To je spremenilo prostorsko situacijo Inštituta: danes se nahajajo v skromnih prostorih hotelske zgradbe, ki so sicer last Inštituta, vendar namenjeni tujim študentom in obiskovalcem. Svoje pisarne imajo le direktor Inštituta, prof. dr. Władisław Miodunka, upravna služba Inštituta ter arhiv in knjižnica. V zgradbi hotela so tudi predavalnice. Vsi ostali zaposleni so bolj ali manj vezani na delo v svojem domačem okolju.

Inštitut, ki zaposluje 33 sodelavcev, ima trenutno štiri oddelke: oddelek za moderno lingvistiko (kadrovsko najmočnejši), oddelek za raziskovanje zgodovine mednarodnih migracij, oddelek za raziskovanje poljske literature v tujini, oddelek za sociologijo nacionalnosti in etničnosti in oddelek za raziskovanje poljske kulture v tujini. V zadnjih dveh oddelkih so zaposleni sociologi, lingvisti in filologi prevladujejo v prvem in tretjem oddelku, medtem ko so v drugem oddelku zaposleni zgodovinarji. Zgolj za primerjavo naj omenim, da je sorodnost v zastopanosti raziskovalcev iz posameznih znanstvenih disciplin med našim in »poljskim« inštitutom precejšnja: tudi pri nas pokrivamo raziskovanje migracij s podobnih vidikov (sociologija, antropologija, zgodovina, literarna zgodovina, etnologija), zato smo na srečanjih ob različnih priložnostih (predvsem na »portoroških« simpozijih v organizaciji našega Inštituta) hitro vzpostavili medsebojne kontakte.

Ker sem bila gostja oddelka za raziskovanje zgodovine mednarodnih migracij, namenjam nekaj več besed posameznikom in njihovemu delu na tem oddelku:

Prof. dr. Adam Walaszek, predstojnik, je poznavalec poljske emigracije v Združenih državah Amerike. Njegov interes je še posebej usmerjen v raziskovanje etnične zgodovine Združenih držav, zgodovine delavskega in socialnega gibanja v tem delu sveta, v kar umešča tudi svoja raziskovanja ameriških Poljakov. Prof. dr. Halina Florkowska-Francić se posveča zgodovini poljske skupnosti v Švici in Franciji v 19. in 20. stoletju. V njenih publikacijah jo zanima tudi povezava med poljsko politično in ekonomsko emigracijo v Evropi in Ameriki pred letom 1918. Dr. Jan Lencznarowicz raziskuje splošne mednarodne migracijske tokove, v katere so bili vpeti Poljaki, prisilno poljsko emigracijo, še posebno pa poljsko etnično skupnost v Avstraliji. Mag. Janusz Pezda proučuje poljske izseljence v Franciji. Dr. Anna Reczynska se ukvarja z zgodovino Poljakov v Kanadi, zanima pa jo tudi položaj etničnih in nacionalnih manjšin v poljski zgodovini in kulturi. Dr. Andrzej Zięba je raziskovalec zgodovine vzhodne in centralne Evrope v 19. in 20. stoletju, še posebej Poljakov in Ukrajincev.



Vsi zgodovinarji na Inštitutu so zelo plodni v svojem raziskovanju: svoja spoznanja publicirajo v samostojnih izdajah ali pa v okviru znanstvene periodike *Przegląd Polonijny*, *Prace Polonijne* in *Prace Instytutu Polonijnego*, ki izhajajo v okviru Jagiellonske univerze. Večino njihovih objav nam je krakovski inštitut podaril oziroma zamenjal za objave sodelavcev našega Inštituta. Hranimo jih v knjižnici in so na voljo uporabnikom.

Inštitut Polonijny ima poleg knjižnice tudi skromen arhiv. V primerjavi z mnogoštevilno poljsko emigracijo bi obiskovalec pričakoval izredno obsežno arhivsko gradivo na tej centralni ustanovi za raziskovanje poljske diaspore, vendar ni tako: celotno gradivo je popisano v dveh zvezkih malega formata in obsega nekaj dokumentacije o izseljencih, ki živijo v Afriki, Avstraliji in Novi Zelandiji, Braziliji, Čilu, splošno v Evropi, v bivši Sovjetski zvezi, Kanadi, Mehiki, še posebej v nekaterih zahodnih, centralnih (tudi v Sloveniji) in vzhodnih evropskih državah ter, seveda, v Združenih državah Amerike. V tem pogledu je naš Inštitut v mnogo boljšem položaju.

Petdnevni obisk je poleg omenjene izmenjave literature in pregleda arhiva prinesel tudi izmenjavo osebnih mnenj in pogledov na raziskovanje migracij, pa tudi snovanja načrtov za skupen projekt med obema inštitutoma. Do sedaj je naše sodelovanje potekalo predvsem v okviru obeh simpozijev, ki jih je, kot že povedano, organiziral naš Inštitut leta 1995 in 1998 v Portorožu (na prvem je sodeloval dr. Walaszek, na drugem pa dr. Florkowska-Frančić in dr. Lencznarowicz) ter v okviru AEMI, v prihodnje pa bo dr. Walaszek član uredniškega odbora naše znanstvene revije *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, dr. Jan Lencznarowicz pa je bil v oktobru 1999 gost Historičnega seminarja ZRC, kjer je imel predavanje o poljski emigraciji. Kot ploden rezultat medsebojnega sodelovanja se je izkazala tudi skupna sekcija v zasedbi slovenskih-poljskih-srbskih raziskovalcev na 34. svetovnem kongresu v organizaciji Mednarodnega sociološkega inštituta (International Institute of Sociology) v Tel Avivu julija 1999.

Naš projekt, ki sem ga omenila na začetku prispevka, se bo iztekel konec naslednjega leta. Prijavili bomo njegovo nadaljevanje, ki bo temeljilo na razširitvi in poglobitvi konkretnih povezav med nami in pomembnejšimi institucijami ter dokumentalističnimi centri po Evropi. Če nam bodo finančna sredstva dopuščala, nameravamo obiskati vsaj še nekatere izmed njih, saj so se osebne povezave izkazale za mnogo pristnejše in plodnejše kot pa kontaktiranje prek medijev sodobne elektronske družbe.



**LETNA KONFERENCA AEMI V ORGANIZACIJI  
INŠTITUTA ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO  
ZRC SAZU V PORTOROŽU,  
29. september – 2. oktober 1999**

Irena Gantar Godina

Na redni letni konferenci AEMI (The Association of European Migration Institutions) so se zbrale vse članice Združenja razen članic iz Islandije in Aaland. Na zborovanju – prvi dan – sta bila sprejeta še dva člana, Institut za emigracije iz Zagreba in profesor Joel Wurl kot individualni član iz IHRC (Immigration History Research Center, St. Paul, Minnesota). Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU je kot polnopravni član sodeloval pri volitvah novega predsednika AEMI; po živahni razpravi je bil potrjen statut združenja in predstavljeno nadaljnje delo oz. projekti AEMI.

Naslednji dan je potekala okrogla miza »Tisk in izseljenstvo« – z uvodnima referatoma dr. Marjana Drnovška in dr. Janje Žitnik (oba z Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU). V razpravi je sodelovala večina udeležencev konference: iz Danske (Henning Bender, The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg), Švedske (prof. dr. Ulf Beijbom, The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö), Norveške (Dina Toflsby, The Norwegian-American Collection, Oslo, in Knut Djupedal, The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Ottestad), Finske (prof. dr. Olavi Koivukangas, Institute of Migration, Turku), ZDA (prof. Joel Wurl, IHRC, St. Paul, Minnesota), Severne Irske (prof. dr. Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh), Italije (Aurelio Giordano, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Emigrazione, Tramonti) in Slovenije (dr. Janja Žitnik, ZRC SAZU, in prof. dr. Matjaž Klemenčič, Univerza v Mariboru). Razpravo je povezoval prof. dr. Adam Walaszek (Polonia Institute, Jagiellonian University, Krakov, Poljska). Razpravljalci so v sklepni besedi ugotovili, da so razprave o pomenu tiska pri preučevanju izseljenstva neizčrpana tema, da pa bi bilo potrebno podobno okroglo mizo ponoviti oz. jo še razširiti (tudi s prispevki izvene-

vropskih razpravljavcev). Prispevki z okrogle mize so objavljeni v tej številki revije *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*.

Pomemben del konference je bil tudi prikaz računalniške obdelave t.i. iskanja korenin: prikazi gospe Dine Tolsby iz Norveške, prof. Rummerja iz ZDA in dr. Wolfganga Gramsa iz Oldenburga v Nemčiji so bili izjemno koristni tudi za slovenske raziskovalce izseljenstva.

Srečanje članic AEMI v organizaciji slovenske članice, tj. Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU, je bilo vsestransko zelo uspešno, o čemer pričajo tudi odzivi samih udeležencev.

## BASIC INFORMATION ON THE AEMI MEMBER INSTITUTIONS AND PROJECTS

Knut Djupedal

The Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) was founded in 1991. One of the reasons for its founding, although not the only one, was to create a means by which member institutions could keep in touch with each other, pass on information among each other, and not the least, to create a forum through which one of its members – or the Association at large – could invite other members to join in cooperative trans-national projects within the field of migration.

In keeping with this founding ideal, member institutions have initiated several trans-national projects, and invited other member institutions to join them. In several cases, these projects received funding from the EU commission. One such project was the »Routes to the Roots« cultural tourism project, initiated in Germany in 1994. Another was the SEE-ME (Emigration History on CD-ROM) initiated in Northern Ireland in 1995. A third is the on-going »Scandinavian Roots – American Lives« Millenium Exhibition Project (1998–2000). All of these, and several others have involved at least three, and most often four or five, member institutions. In most cases, the projects would not have been possible had not AEMI existed as a means by which members could quickly and easily contact each other.

At this last meeting in Portorož, the membership decided that AEMI itself would initiate three projects. Three institutions were each assigned the task of coordinating one of the three projects, and creating a working group for that project among the membership. Thus, the Finnish Migration Institute was assigned the task of looking into the number and kind of research projects within the field of migration, which are either under way or in planning throughout Europe, creating a working group for this work, and reporting their findings at the next meeting. The Research Center for Lower Saxons in the USA at the University of

Oldenbourg was assigned the task of looking into the problems associated with digitalized emigrant lists, while the »Routes to the Roots« organization was assigned the task of creating a working group concerned with European cultural tourism. Member institutions were invited to join any – or all – of these three working groups. Also, the Finnish Migration Institute, the Swedish Migration Institute, and the Norwegian Emigrant Museum agreed to begin work on a common project concerning interviews with emigrants. All of these projects are designed with one thing in mind: to be trans-national, and indeed, pan-European.

#### THE AEMI MEMBER INSTITUTIONS

**The Danish Emigration Archives** (Det danske Udvandrerarkiv)

Arkivstraede 1, P.O.Box 1731, DK-9100 Aalborg, Denmark

Ph.: (+45) 99 31 42 20; Fax: (+45) 98 10 22 48

**Archives Department**, Maritime Archives & Library, Merseyside Maritime Museum

Albert Dock, Pier Head, Liverpool L3 4AQ, England

Ph.: (+44) 151 478 4418; Fax: (+44) 151 478 4590

**Institute of Migration**, Finland (Siirtolaisuusinstituutti)

Piispankatu 3, SF-20500 Turku, Finland

Ph.: (+358) 2 2317 536; Fax: (+358) 2 2333 460

**The Åland Islands' Emigrant Institute**

Landskapsarkivet, Strandgatan 22, P.O.Box 60, FIN-22 101 Mariehamn, Åland

Ph.: (+358) 18 25 104; Fax: (+358) 18 19 155

**The North Frisian Emigrant Archive** (Auswanderer-Archiv Nordfriesland)

Nordfriisk Instituut, Süderstraße 30, D-25821 Bredstedt, Germany

Ph.: (+49) 4671 2081; Fax: (+49) 4671 1333

**The German Emigration Museum** (Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum)

Inselstraße 6, D-27568 Bremerhaven, Germany

Ph.: (+49) 471 490 96; Fax: (+49) 471 490 96

**Historic Emigration Office, Tourismus-Zentrale Hamburg GmbH**

Steinstraße 7, D-20095 Hamburg, Germany

Ph.: (+49) 40300 51 282; Fax: (+49) 40300 51 220

**Research Center Lower Saxons in the USA**

Institut für Politikwissenschaft II, Carl von Ossietzky Universität,

Ammerländer Heerstraße 115-118, Postfach 2503, D-26111 Oldenburg, Germany

Ph.: (+49) 441 7982614/3059; Fax: (+49) 441 9706180

**Routes to the Roots**

Babenend 127, D-26127 Oldenburg, Germany

Ph.: (+49) 441 962 0433; Fax: (+49) 441 962 0434

**The Icelandic Emigration Center**

565 Hofsóss, Iceland

Ph.: (+354) 453 7935; Fax: (+354) 453 7936

**Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Emigrazione**

Via Fontaniello 22, I-84010 Tramonti (SA), Italia

Ph.: (+39) 089 876139; Fax: (+39) 089 876512

**Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines (CMDH)**

Gare-Usines, L-3481 Dudelange, Luxembourg

Ph.: (+352) 51 69 58 1; Fax: (+352) 51 69 58 5

**The Ulster-American Folk Park**

Mellon Road, Castletown, Omagh, Co. Tyrone, BT78 5QY, N. Ireland

Ph.: (+44) 1662 243292; Fax: (+44) 1662 242241

**The Norwegian Emigrant Museum (Norsk Utvandrer museum)**

Åkershagan, N-2312 Ottestad, Norway

Ph.: (+47) 62 57 48 50; Fax: (+47) 62 57 48 51

**The Norwegian-American Collections, University Library**

Drammensveien 42, N-0242 Oslo, Norway

Ph.: (+47) 22 85 91 67; Fax: (+47) 22 85 90 50

**Fylkesarkivet i Sogn og Fjordane**

Fylkeshuset, N-5842 Leikanger, Norway  
Ph.: (+47) 57 65 61 00; Fax: (+47) 57 65 30 20

**The Norwegian Emigration Center (Det norske utvandrersenteret)**

Strandkaien 31, N-4005 Stavanger, Norway  
Ph.: (+47) 51 53 88 60; Fax: (+47) 51 53 88 63

**Polonia Institute, Jagiellonian University**

P-30-252 Kraków, ul. Jodłowa 13, Poland  
Ph.: (+48) 12 42 97 632; Fax: (+48) 12 42 99 351

**The San Marino Emigrant's Museum and Study Center**

(Museo dell'Emigrante / Centro Studi Permanente sull'Emigrazione)  
Antico Monastero di Santa Chiara, Contrada Omerelli 24,  
Repubblica di San Marino Città 47890  
Ph.: 378 0549 88 51 71; Fax: 378 0549 88 51 70

**The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies (Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo)**

Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts  
SLO-1000 Ljubljana, Gosposka 13, Slovenia  
Ph.: (+386) 61 1256 068; Fax: (+386) 61 1255 253, or (+386) 61 1257 802

**The Swedish Emigrant Institute (Svenska Emigrantinstitutet)**

Vilhelm Mobergs gata 4, Box 201, S-351 04 Växjö 1, Sweden  
Ph.: (+46) 470 201 20; Fax: (+46) 470 394 16



### 34. SVETOVNI KONGRES MEDNARODNEGA SOCIOLOŠKEGA INŠTITUTA (Multiple Modernities in an Era of Globalization, Tel Aviv, Izrael, 11.–15. julij 1999)

Breda Čebulj Sajko

V juliju 1999, v času počitnic in sončnega poletja (11.–15. 7.), je v Tel Avivu v Izraelu potekal 34. svetovni kongres Mednarodnega sociološkega inštituta (International Institute of Sociology). Raznolikost udeležencev iz vsega sveta in iz različnih humanističnih in družboslovnih znanosti je med seboj povezovala vodilna tema kongresa *Multiple Modernities in an Era of Globalization*. Kljub temu, da je izredno pester in zgoščen program dajal prednost sociologom, smo v okviru vsakdanjih plenarnih in delovnih sekcij, na okroglih mizah in samostojnih predavanjih zelo pogosto poslušali tudi prispevke ekonomistov, pravnikov, demografov, politologov, antropologov, zgodovinarjev, etnologov, lingvistov, filozofov, psihologov, psihiatrov... 422 aktivno sodelujočih znanstvenikov je sodelovalo v 125 različnih sekcijah, ki so se po vsebini združevale v štiri osnovne tematske sklope: *Language of Modernity*, *Multiple Modernities: Convergence and Divergence*, *Crossing the Millenium* in *The State of the Art*. Sekcija *Slavic Ethnic Groups and Migration*, v kateri smo sodelovali etnologinja, zgodovinar in antropolog z Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU, zgodovinar z Inštituta Polonijny pri Jagiellonski univerzi v Krakovu ter etnologinja z Etnografskega inštituta SANU v Beogradu, je bila uvrščena v prvi omenjeni sklop.

V predstavitvi prispevkov naše sekcije bi veljalo na kratko omeniti naslednje: naš osnovni namen je bil, predstaviti zgodovino in življenje slovenskih izseljencev pred in po drugi svetovni vojni v primerjavi s srbskim in poljskim izseljenstvom. Dr. Marjan Drnovšek je v svojem referatu *Fewness of Slovenes and Economic Emigration* osvetlil tri poglobljena obdobja v procesu izseljevanja naših ljudi: 1890–1924, 1920–1941 in 1965–1973 in pri tem izpostavil na eni strani maloštevilnost slovenskega prebivalstva ter vzroke za odhajanje Sloven-

cev na tuje, na drugi strani pa najpogostejše smeri izseljevanja ter dejavnike privabljanja in restrikcije sprejemanja emigrantov v izseljenskih deželah.

Mag. Zvone Žigon je v svojem prispevku *Slovene Political Emigration in Argentina* prikazal potek in nastajanje slovenske skupnosti v omenjenem delu Južne Amerike po drugi svetovni vojni ter poudaril več desetletij trajajočo homogenost te skupnosti, osnovano na enotnem, tj. političnem vzroku izselitve njenih pripadnikov iz domovine. Glede na formiranje Slovenije v samostojno državo s pluralističnim političnim sistemom v zadnjem desetletju pa, kot poudarja avtor, postopoma izginja politična konotacija slovenske emigracije v Argentini.

Dr. Breda Čebulj Sajko, organizatorica in vodja omenjene sekcije, je s predstavitvijo izseljevanja Slovencev v Avstralijo pred in po drugi svetovni vojni (*To Emigrate or to Stay? – Why Slovenes Emigrated to Australia*) skušala opozoriti predvsem na dva različna pogleda na t.i. »zgodovinsko resnico«: prvi se kaže v luči zgodovinskih, ekonomskih, socialnih itd. dejstev, ki so v preteklosti pogojevala izseljevanje Slovencev v ta del sveta, in ga imenujemo »objektivni«; drugi pa izstopa iz samih pripovedi izseljencev, tj. avstralskih Slovencev, ki so v intervjujih spregovorili o svojem življenju, v katerem je ravno proces izseljevanja odločilno vplival na njihovo nadaljnjo življenjsko usodo. Imenujemo ga »subjektivni«. Mnogokrat se oba dopolnjujeta v prikazovanju poteka izseljevanja, velikokrat pa se tudi razhajata. Na ta način pride do veljave tudi »subjektivna resnica« posameznika, ki je nenazadnje živi udeleženec nekega zgodovinskega trenutka.

Dr. Jan Lencznarowicz se je v referatu *The Myths of the Polish World War II Emigrants* osredotočil na problem ohranjanja različnih »mitov« med poljsko emigracijo, razpršeno in mnogoštevilno prisotno po vsem svetu. Preko njih namreč opravičujejo smisel svojega obstoja v tujini in na nek način zanikajo nostalgično navezanost na domovino. Prikrivanje tovrstnih čustev v bistvu ostaja edini možni izhod v razdvojenosti izseljenca, ko le-ta ne vidi več prave možnosti za povratek v rojstni kraj.

Zadnji prispevek v predstavljeni sekciji je napisala mag. Mirjana Pavlović in nosi naslov *The Intra-Ethnic Differences, Ethnic Identity of Serbs in Chicago*. Žal se avtorica zaradi tedanjih vojnih razmer v Jugoslaviji ni mogla osebno udeležiti kongresa in smo referat v skrajšani obliki občinstvu sami prebrali. Vsebinsko govori o načinu oblikovanja etnične identitete kanadskih Srbov skozi več generacij. Glede na dolžino bivanja izseljencev v tujini ter njihovih medsebojnih generacijskih razlik se tovrstna identiteta manifestira znotraj skupnosti in v sami imigrantski družbi na različnih nivojih vsakdanjega življenja. Avtorica je pouda-

rila, da gre v primeru Srbov v Chicagu za etnično identiteto kot skupinsko identiteto in je njeno izkazovanje dinamičen proces, ki sloni na objektivnih in subjektivnih, realnih in simboličnih dejavnikih.

Migracijski tematiki je bilo namenjenih še nekaj sekcij: *Migration and Citizenship; The Multiple Meanings of »Home«; Ethnicity and Migration; Media, Identities and Territories; Gender and Multi-Culturalism* idr. V ospredju vsebine kongresa pa je bil izraelsko palestinski spor in posledice le-tega (židovska diaspora), o čemer je tekla beseda tudi na posebni okrogli mizi s palestinskim in izraelskim sogovornikom, organizirani na najstarejši židovski univerzi Hebrew University of Jeruzalem.

Kongres, v katerega so organizatorji vključili tudi ogled Jeruzalema, je bil posebna izkušnja za slovenske udeležence: poleg vsebine referatov smo zainteresiranim slušateljem in ostalim sodelujočim na družabnih srečanjih pojasnjevali tudi vlogo današnje Slovenije v svetu in problematiko Balkana. Kot edini predstavniki ene izmed najmlajših držav na svetu smo na nek način doživeli tudi poslanstvo uveljavljanja slovenske državnosti in hkrati tudi naše znanosti na Bližnjem vzhodu.



# MED PREKMURSKIMI ROJAKI V BETLEHEMU V PENNSYLVANIJI

Kratek zapis o delovnem in raziskovalnem obisku od  
4. do 21. oktobra 1999

Mihael Kuzmič

Leta 1979, torej točno pred dvajsetimi leti, sem prvič obiskal Betlehem v Pennsylvaniji in se srečal s prekmurskimi izseljenci. Prve generacije s samega začetka našega stoletja ni bilo več med njimi, toda njihovi potomci so še govorili staro, arhaično prekmurščino in so bili čustveno do neke mere navezani na stare kraje svojih staršev. Bogastvo njihovega narodnega čustvovanja, pestre verske, kulturne in literarne dejavnosti ter ohranjeni stari običaji so me tako prevzeli, da sem si začel delati zapiske. Kolikor je bilo možno, sem tudi zbral zapisana in ustna gradiva o njihovem življenju.

Ob nekaj naslednjih obiskih sem še naprej zbiral gradivo za zgodovino tega segmenta slovenskega izseljenstva. Objavil sem številne članke in razprave. Delo bi rad zaokrožil, a je bilo vmes še nekaj vrzeli, ki bi jih lahko zapolnil samo s ponovnim obiskom Betlehema v Pennsylvaniji. Iz te potrebe se je rodila želja, ki se je z razumevanjem ZRC in Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo v Ljubljani tudi uresničila.

Središče moje raziskovalne pozornosti je bilo priseljevanje slovenskih rojakov v Betlehem in okolico v času od leta 1893, ko se je priselil Jožef Prelec, do leta 1924. Do leta 1918 so se priseljevali iz županij Vas in Zala z zahodnega dela Madžarske, po letu 1919 pa iz Prekmurja v tedanji Kraljevini SHS in malo pozneje Jugoslaviji. Pozoren pa sem bil tudi na vsa koristna gradiva po letu 1924. Obiskal sem predvsem naslednje cerkve in ustanove:

**1. St. John's Windish Lutheran Church** (Slovensko evangeličansko cerkev sv. Ivana) v Betlehemu. Pastor dr. Garry Langensiepen je pokazal veliko zanimanja za moje delo; v veliko pomoč sta mi bila tudi arhivar Frank Podleiszek in tajnica Sheila Novak. Sistematično urejajo cerkvene arhive in knjižnico.

Hranijo vse cerkvene knjige od leta 1910 dalje, velik del kartotek, korespondence. Večje število starih fotografij je dobro ohranjenih.

Posebna dragocenost so ohranjene številke časopisa *Szlobodna reics* iz leta 1929 in *Szlovenszke novine*, ki so ga nasledile. Hranijo tudi večje število časopisa *Amerikanszki Szlovincov Glasz*, toda le iz obdobja proti koncu izhajanja, to je iz četrtega in petega desetletja. Pravo presenečenje pa je bilo odkritje prevodov številnih dramskih del, ki jih je uprizarjala dramska skupina v tridesetih letih. Najpomembnejši pisci in prevajalci dramskih tekstov v prekmurščini so bili Jožef Novak, Aleksander Polgar, Aleksander Kardoš in pastor dr. Ernest Stiegler. Omenjeni pastor je napisal tudi roman v angleščini *So they shall reap...*, ki opisuje mesto in njegove prebivalce v prvih tridesetih letih tega stoletja. Glede na tematiko in privlačnost dogajanja bi ga bilo dobro prevesti in izdati v slovenščini in madžarščini. Dragoceno odkritje je tudi prekmursko-angleški slovar, ki ga je pripravil John Kucsan. Nekaj materialov sem fotokopiral, večino pa jih bodo mikrofilmali in bodo potem na voljo uporabnikom, kajti dokumenti so na tako starem in slabem papirju, da jih ni mogoče preslikavati.

V zadnjih letih se je med prekmurskimi rojaki zelo obudila slovenska narodna zavest. Cerkev sv. Ivana ima vse možnosti, da postane z bogatim cerkvenim arhivom in knjižnico najzanimivejši vzorec priseljenske nacionalne cerkve v Betlehemu – tako za ogled kot tudi za raziskovanje.

**2. St. Joseph's RC Church** (Katoliška cerkev sv. Jožefa). Ustanovili so jo prekmurski katoliški izseljenci v drugem desetletju; od samega začetka jo vodijo frančiškani. Danes spada v okvir hrvaške frančiškanske kustodije. Župnik p. Joseph Galic je v Betlehemu šele dve leti in se v obilici pastoralnega dela še ni utegnil podrobneje seznaniti z arhivi in zgodovino župnije. Vseeno mi je dal precej koristnega in zanimivega gradiva, predvsem v obliki spomenic in priložnostnih jubilejnih publikacij.

**3. St. John Kapistrano RC Church** (Madžarska katoliška cerkev sv. Ivana Kapistrana). Ustanovljena je bila leta 1903. Do leta 1913 ji je pripadalo veliko slovenskih vernikov, potem so si zgradili svojo cerkev. Župnik Edward Bolez mi je dovolil pregled krstnih, poročnih in pogrebniških knjig za to obdobje. V njih je veliko prekmurskih priimkov z označbo krajev, od koder so prišli priseljenci v Ameriko.

**4. Hungarian Evangelical Reformed Church** (Madžarska kalvinska cerkev), v kateri je pastor Ronald Hari, potomec prekmurskih priseljencev. Tudi v cerkvenih knjigah te cerkve sem našel precej prekmurskih priimkov, kar lahko kaže na dejstvo, da so bili med prekmurskimi izseljenci tudi verniki kalvinske

veroizpovedi – ali pa samo na praktičnost evangeličanskih vernikov, da so se vključili v najbližjo cerkev z najbližjim naukom.

**5. Bethlehem Public Library** (Betlehemska mestna knjižnica) ima poseben, skrbno varovan oddelek, ki ga imenujejo kar »Bethlehem room«. V njem so zbrane vse knjige in (mikrofilmano) gradivo, ki se nanašajo na zgodovino mesta. Priseljenci z vso njihovo pestro zgodovino so predstavljeni v glavnem toliko in tako, kakor so se sami predstavili. Slovenski priseljenci so omenjeni malokrat in še to obrobno. Predstavlja jih samo nekaj cerkvenih jubilejnih brošur. Pregledal sem *City directories*, kjer pa sem naletel na velik problem. Do leta 1919 so imeli priseljenci iz Madžarske v veliko primerih iste priimke, čeprav so bili različne narodnosti. Npr. priimke Kovač, Horvat, itd so imeli madžarski, slovenski in hrvaški priseljenci. Na tej osnovi torej ni možno identificirati vseh slovenskih priseljencev; šele pozneje, po letu 1921 so v primeru obrtnikov, trgovcev, mesarjev, gostilničarjev v slovenskih časopisih pri njihovih reklamah omenjali tudi njihovo narodnost.

**6. Lehigh University Library** ima dva oddelka. S Slovenci se po njihovem pregledu in evidenci do zdaj še ni nihče znanstveno ukvarjal.

Moje raziskave so imele omejen časovni in tematski okvir, zato se nisem posebej posvetil narodnostnim, socialnim in dobrodelnim društvom v cerkvah in izven njih. Ravno tako ni bilo možno zbrati biografskih podatkov vseh tistih slovenskih rojakov na betlehenskem področju, ki bi si po svojem delu in vlogi zaslužili mesto v primernem biografskem pregledu pri njih v Ameriki ali pri nas v Sloveniji.

Na koncu bi rad zapisal še nekaj opažanj s tega potovanja. Prekmurski rojaki so od preloma stoletja naprej prispevali ogromen delež k materialnemu, gospodarskemu, kulturnemu, verskemu in političnemu razvoju mesta Betlehema in okolice. Toda o tem razen njih samih skoraj nihče ničesar ne ve. Zato bi bilo potrebno njihovo dosedanje delo doma v Ameriki in sodelovanje s Slovenijo dvigniti na višjo strokovno in znanstveno raziskovalno raven. Pri tem želim opozoriti predvsem na tri možna izhodišča:

a) V Betlehemu deluje že okrog devet let Združenje pobratenih mest Betlehem – Murska Sobota, ki je odločilno pripomoglo, da je bila leta 1996 podpisana v Betlehemu listina o pobratenju mest, v Murski Soboti pa je bila znova podpisana leta 1999. Podobno združenje ali društvo bi potrebovali tudi pri nas; v prihodnje bi usklajevalo obiske, akcije in projekte.

b) Strokovna društva v Sloveniji, npr. zgodovinsko, slavistično – bi se lahko povezala z ustreznimi društvi v Betlehemu in pripravljala skupne seminar-

je ali simpozije o temah s področja izseljenstva, ki sodijo na njihovo področje. Za zdaj lahko opazimo prve resne korake v to smer samo na cerkveno-teološkem področju med Senioratom Evangeličanske cerkve v Sloveniji in Evangeličansko teološko fakulteto v Philadelphiji v Pennsylvaniji.

3. Betlehem je univerzitetno mesto, čeprav le manjše, z okrog 5000 študenti. Sodelovanje med Univerzo Lehigh in slovenskima univerzama (ali vsaj nekaterimi fakultetami) bi lahko služilo ne le koristni izmenjavi profesorjev in študentov, temveč bi dolgoročno lahko pripomoglo k afirmaciji slovenskih izseljencev v tem predelu Pennsylvanije v strokovnih in znanstvenih krogih.

Zanimanje in pripravljenost nekaterih betlehemskih intelektualcev za sodelovanje v tej smeri (Stephen Antalics, Frank Podlesizek, Ronald Hari, Karl Krueger idr.) je dober temelj za upanje, da se nam obeta učinkovitejše raziskovalno delo.



# PROMOCIJA SLOVENIJE, LOUISA ADAMIČA, IVANA CIMERMANA IN FRANA LEVSTIKA NA JAPONSKIH STRANEH INTERNETA

Tine T. Kurent

Profesor Shozo Tahara je začel prevajati knjige Louisa Adamiča v japonščino že leta 1980.<sup>1</sup> (Glej na **prilogi 1** naslovnice na ovitkih Adamičevih knjig v japonščini pri založbi PMC Publications Inc., Chiyodaku Lidabashi 4-4-5, Panpian Hights 501, Tokyo, Japan.) Za Adamičevo stoletnico je pripravil za tisk devet njegovih knjig<sup>2</sup> (**priloga 2**), toda ekonomska kriza na Daljnem vzhodu je zadela tudi tokijske založnike. Da bi svoje delo spravil v tisk, se trudi opozoriti domačo javnost prek Interneta na svoje delo in tako tudi na Slovenijo.

Ko me je pred leti prosil za slovensko literaturo v angleščini, mi je Drago Jančar dal za Taharo svoja dela in brošuro *Discover Slovenia*. Slednjo je Tahara prevedel za japonsko publiko, medtem pa je naš Urad za informiranje RS že izdal svojo japonsko verzijo brošure. Poslal sem mu tudi druga dela, med drugim tudi Levstikovega *Martina Krpana* skupaj z lepimi ilustracijami Marijana Amalietija ter *Boomerangs* Ivana Cimermana. Ti dve deli sta Taharo očitno najbolj navdušili.

Zakaj se je navdušil nad Adamičem, razlaga Tahara sam v avtobiografiji: »Petega maja 1980 sem naletel na Adamičevo knjigo *The Native's Return* v domači prodajalni rabljenih knjig v Tokiu. Zelo močno me je ganila, ko sem jo bral

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<sup>1</sup> T. Kurent, Louis Adamič na Japonskem, *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 16 (1990); isti, Še dve Adamičevi knjigi izbrani med priporočeno literaturo za knjižnice in šole po vsej Japonski, *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 17 (1992); isti, Shozo Tahara, *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 19 (1996); isti, Louis Adamič v japonščini, *Rodna gruda*, 1995, št. 8–9 (avg.–sept.).

<sup>2</sup> T. Kurent, Za stoletnico rojstva – izbor Adamičevih knjig na Japonskem, *Rodna gruda*, 1996, št. 10. Ponatis v: *Zbornik občine Grosuplje*, 20 (1998).

v svojem tokijskem stanovanju. Ta pisatelj je bil tedaj neznan na Japonskem, vendar je bila njegova knjiga zame resnično vznemirljiva, saj je bila napisana z vseh mogočih vidikov, s stališča politike, ekonomije, zgodovine, literature itd. Takoj sem naročil njegove knjige iz ZDA, vedno bolj so me prevzemale. Takrat sem že poznal knjigo *Louis Adamic: A Check List*, ki jo je napisal Henry A. Christian. Tako. Ni mi šlo v glavo, kako to, da tak pisatelj še ni znan na Japonskem.« (*Rodna gruda*, 1995, št. 8–9)

Zakaj je Taharo prevzel Levstikov *Martin Krpan*, je razumljivo, saj gre za pripoved, da malo takih. Aforizmi, ki jih je Ivan Cimerman zbral v knjigo *Bumerangi*, ali *Boomerangs* po angleško, pa so Japoncem, vzgojenim v duhovnosti haiku poezije, bliže kot Evropejcem ali celo Američanom. Tahara mi o tem piše 27. marca 1999: »I thank you, too, for the suggestion of the English text of *Martin Krpan* and illustrations of Marijan Amalietti. The story strongly touched my heart. I think Adamic read it many times and learned from it very well. It seems to me, it is the core of Slovenian Culture or Slovenia. Amalietti got hold of its soul. Its soul inspires *The Boomerangs* too, I suppose. I want to know more and more about *Krpan* and Levstik himself and need any information of them for good translation. Last night, as reading *The Eagle and the Roots*, it occurs to me, that I want to hear directly from you about Adamic you met.« (pismo 27. 3. 1999)

Ko je na Internetu našel stran o Adamiču (**priloga 3**), je sklenil narediti reklamo za svoje prevajanje še v japonščini. Poslal mi je vstopni naslov svoje *homepage* z dne 5. julija 1999 na Internetu z razlago, kako detajlno predstavlja Slovenijo in Adamiča ter razlaga Cimermanov *Boomerangs* in Levstikovega *Martina Krpana*. Pismu (**priloga 4**) je dodal *post scriptum*: »**Louis's books cannot go hidden from the world!**« Poslal mi je tudi svoje 17 strani dolgo sporočilo, naslovljeno *Louis Adamic in Japan*, s tremi poglavji:

**To Louis Adamic's Fans of the World!**

Louis Adamic Collection,

Louis Adamic by Tine Kurent.

Gre za japonski tekst z angleškim prevodom, da bomo tudi mi, ki ne znamo japonsko, vedeli, za kaj gre. (Verjamem, da je njegova japonščina boljša od njegove angleščine.) Ker je 17 strani le preveč za *Dve domovini*, prilagam samo prvo in zadnjo stran (**priloga 5 in 6**).

Taharova reklama je zanimiva ne le zaradi eksotične japonske pisave, ampak tudi kot prikaz, kako odločno se borijo »na odprtem trgu« za uspeh (tako bombastičnega poziva, kot je parafraza »*Fans of the World!*«, pri nas ne bi v

raklamne namene zagrešil nihče), predvsem pa kot prikaz, da so Republiko Slovenijo, Louisa Adamiča in slovensko literaturo Japonci odkrili šele zdaj.

## PRILOGE

- Priloga 1: Naslovnice na ovitkih treh v japonščino prestavljenih knjig Louisa Adamiča, ki so izšle pri založbi PMC Publications Inc., Chiodaku Lida-bashi 4-4-5, Panpian Hights 501, Tokyo, Japan.
- Priloga 2: Seznam devetih Adamičevih knjig, ki so bile prevedene v japonščino in pripravljene za objavo v počastitev stoletnice Adamičevega rojstva. Tiskanje je preprečila ekonomska kriza, ki je ravno takrat zadela tudi Japonsko.
- Priloga 3: Prof. Shozo Tahara sporoča, da je našel »Adamic homepage« na Internetu.
- Priloga 4: Najava obvestila o Louisu Adamiču na Internetu v japonščini z vstopnim naslovom <http://www.synapse.ne.jp/~saitani/synapse-auto-page/>.
- Priloga 5: Začetek 17 strani obsegajočega sporočila *Louis Adamic in Japan* v japonščini z angleškim prevodom.
- Priloga 6: Na zadnji strani sporočila je tudi najava o Taharovih japonskih prevodih knjige *Boomerangs* Ivana Cimermana, brošure *Discover Slovenia* in povesti *Martin Krpan* Frana Levstika.



Louis Adamic

1898年ユーゴスラヴィアに生まれる。14歳でアメリカに単身移住。ニューヨークの新聞社、陸軍、水先案内事務所など職を転々としたあと作家活動に入る。1931年出版の「ダイナマイト」で一躍脚光を浴びると、「ジャングルの中の笑ひ」(32年)、「掃蕩」(34年)、「私のアメリカ」(38年)と、移民としての体験から世界を見つめた大作を次々発表。特に本作品が収録されている「多くの国々から」(39年)は40年度の最も重要な本としてベストセラーとなった。それらの作品群は、アメリカ・エスニック文学、あるいは1960年代後半に開花したニュージャーナリズム文学の先駆をなすものとして、さらには、多民族問題を扱うなかで、戦後の世界を予告したものとして、今日、再評価の声が高い。1951年没。

ルイス・アダミック作品集1

## 日本人の顔をした 若いアメリカ人

A Young American with a Japanese Face

ルイス・アダミック著  
田原正三訳

日本人の顔をした若いアメリカ人  
ルイス・アダミック著／田原正三訳

季刊 汎 PAN-

14

1989年9月

目次

Louis Adamic



汎-Pansophy |

秋刀魚の食べ方——マイク・室道人 4

Priloga 1

※1930年代・エスニック文学

ルイス・アダミック作品集

訳 田原正三

[Introduction] H. A. Christian

- (1) 「ジャングルの中の笑い」(1932)  
*Laughing In the Jungle*
- (2) 「ダイナマイト」(1931)  
*Dynamite*
- (3) 「わが祖国ユーゴスラヴィアの人々」(1934)  
*The Native's Return*
- (4) 「短編選集」I II III(1929, 34, 35)  
I Robinson Jeffers - A Portrait / II Struggle /  
III Lucas, King of Balkas
- (5) 「暗黒の草原」(1935)  
*Grandsons*
- (6) 「人生のゆりかご」(1936)  
*Cradle of Life*
- (7) 「グアテマラへの旅」(1937)  
*The House in Antigua*
- (8) 「私のアメリカ」(1938)  
*My America*
- (9) 「多くの国々から」(1939, 40)  
*From Many Lands*



from Mr. Shozo Tahara,  
 2-19 Nagahama-cho Naze-shi  
 Kagoshima-ken 894-0076 JAPAN

Dean Prof. Tine Kurent  
 Last night, I found the Adamic homepage  
 of Slovenia in the Internet, and was  
 deeply moved to see the pictures of Louis,  
 birthplace, his family etc. In near  
 future, I plan to make his homepage  
 here too. Now, Negotiations are under  
 way for the books with publishers.  
 一青一いごしま。赤一いごしま Shozō

Dear Tine Kurent

6/7/1999

I have set up Louis Adamic homepage on the Internet. The title is **Louis Adamic in Japan**. Now, under registration.

I enclosed the English version—have added your article about Adamic on the *Posta Slovenije*, which is best I think.

In Japanese version, I gave a full and detailed account of Introduction about Adamic, his collection and present condition in Japanese translation, his chronology. I did also a few explanation about *The Boomerans*, *Discover Slovenia*, *Martin Krpan*.

My home page

<http://www.synapse.ne.jp/~saitani/synapse-auto-page/>

Yours sincerely

Shozo Tahara

p. s. "Louis books cannot go hidden from the world."!!

I am sending the same letter to Mr. Ivan Cimerman

*Louis Adamic in Japan*あなたは XXXXXXXXXX 番目です

名前
生年月日 (年齢) ????年??月??日 (??歳)
血液型 A型
趣味 なし
紹介文

To Louis Adamic's  
fans of the world!

Louis Adamic  
Collection.

Louis Adamic by  
Tine Kurent

ルイス・アダミック  
ク-旧ユーゴ(ス  
ロヴェニア)出身  
のアメリカ移民作  
家

ルイス・アダミック  
ク作品集 翻訳  
田原正三

ルイス・アダミック  
ク年譜

## To Louis Adamic's fans of the world!

English here and Japanese next

LOUIS ADAMIC

To Louis Adamic's fans of the world!

by Japanese translator Shozo Tahara

I am a Japanese translator of Noted Slovenian-American author Louis Adamic. My first encounter with Adamic was his *The Native's Return* at the secondhand bookstore in Tokyo as a graduate student. I was deeply moved by it though I have never heard his name. Then, I ordered his books from USA and was more and more possessed by his fascinating. I wondered why such a writer and his books was not known in Japan. A few years later, I met the late Professor Henry A. Christian of Rutgers University in New Jersey who was the main researcher of Adamic. (Later, I have translated most of his papers or articles concerning Adamic). There, I found for the first time that his book was a bestseller and his International Conference and Symposium had been held in both America and



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- Dictionary of American Biography 1951-1955 (Scribners);
- Dictionary of Literary Biography.

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☆ 同訳者によるその他のスロヴェニア関係翻訳書

『ブーメラン——世紀末の星を往く』

THE BOOMERANGS by Ivan Cimmerman

権威・権力とは無縁のスロヴェニア・ビート世代詩人による世紀末化したユーゴ紛争、「バルカン闘技場」に対する警句集。凄まじい風刺、笑いとユーモア、鋭い洞察、そして温かいヒューマニズム、... 文化的に洗練されたスロヴェニア人のエッセンス。現在5ヶ国語に翻訳されている独立後スロヴェニア共和国の名著。

コンドルは鳥のなかでスター 片目の王は盲目の臣民のなかでコンドル。  
サルから人間誕生までは1200万年。動物園まではたったの5分！  
俺は俺の人生で悲劇の主役を演じ、喜劇の脇役を演じている。ワイフはチケツト売り。

『新生スロヴェニア共和国案内』

DISCOVER SLOVENIA

1991年に旧ユーゴから独立宣言したスロヴェニア共和国について、写真やイラストなどがたっぷり入った、歴史、文化、政治、経済、そして自然や人々の暮らしなどミニ百科事典ふうで紹介したもの。ヨーロッパ最小国、人口僅か200万足らずのスロヴェニアの一千年にわたる独立悲願の思いが行間からにじみ出る。

『マルティン・クルパン』

MARTIN KRUPAN by Fran Levstik

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I owe a debt to many people as follows.

The late my father who is the first reader of my translation, the late Dr. Henry A. Christian, Mr. Kazuhisa Imai of the PMC publisher, Dr. France Adamic of Adamic's brother, Dr. Tine Kurent of Adamic's nephew, the late Prof. Touru Takahashi, the late Prof. Hachirou Hitaka, Prof. Yuuichi Nagasaki, Prof. Aya Shimizu, and others.  
Shozo Thara



**KNJIŽNE**

**OCENE**

**BOOK**

**REVIEWS**



Z v o n e Ž i g o n, **Otroci dveh domovin: Slovenstvo v Južni Ameriki.** Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1998, 269 str.

*Otroci dveh domovin* je na več ravneh zasnovano poročilo o slovenstvu v Južni Ameriki. Delo vključuje znanstveno-analitično raven, zgodovinski oris preseljevanja Slovencev v Latinsko Ameriko po posameznih deželah in analizo, v dodatku pa prinaša dnevnik s študijskega potovanja, izpovedi izseljencev in pogovore, ki jih je avtor opravil z izseljenci. Na koncu ima knjiga še povzetek v španskem in angleškem jeziku. Delo je nastalo na sotočju več strok. Avtor je po osnovni izobrazbi novinar in od tu je spisal berljivo besedilo s potrebno lahkotnostjo. Študiral je antropologijo, s čimer si je izpilil strokovno terminologijo in metodo raziskovanja z udeležbo. Hkrati pa je posegel v problematiko migracijskih študij in dodal delu tudi politološke dimenzije. Ta večnivojskost poročanja postavlja v središče prav avtorja, ki tako postane del naslova, ne le objektivni opazovalec zunanjih dogajanj.

Prvi del, v katerem avtor opredeljuje ključne pojme, kot so identiteta, socializacija, kultura, narod, akulturacija, migracija, je po pravici kratek. Avtor predstavlja ključne pojme in si nastavlja analitični aparat, ki ga uporablja v drugem delu razprave, in si s tem kupi vstopnico za znanstveno razpravo.

Najobsežnejše poglavje avtor namenja argentinskim Slovincem. Emigracija je tam razdeljena na dva dela: predvojni in povojni. Čas izselitve v veliki meri določa tudi politično orientacijo: medvojna je bolj antifašistična, povojna pa pretežno antikomunistična in poudarjeno katoliška. Avtor podrobno predstavi društva izseljencev in njihovo organizacijsko členitev. Izpostavlja organiziranost povojne politične emigracije v nekakšno mini državo, ki ji pogojno pravi tudi mini teokratična skupnost. To poglavje je v resnici zelo poučno za razumevanje ravnanja nekaterih političnih sil v Sloveniji v procesu po osamosvojitvi vse do danes. Izostreno razgrinja politično kulturo polovičnega dela slovenskega družbenega telesa, ki se je do skrajnosti lahko razvila in utrdila v izolaciji od drugega svojega v domovini Sloveniji sicer organskega dela. V poglavju o mitski strukturi slovenske politične emigracije je avtor pokazal svojo analitično moč. Izpostavlja mit o vrnitvi in mit o mučeništvu, na katerima je zgrajena neprepustnost slovenske politične emigracije v Argentini. Avtor ugotavlja, da skupnost ni opustila obeh mitov niti po uvedbi demokracije v Sloveniji, saj bi opustitev v resnici pomenila izgubo stebra, na katerega se opira. Kljub temu zanimivo ugotavlja, da je slovenska politična emigracija po skoraj petdesetih letih bivanja v Argentini končno prispela tja. V nadaljevanju podrobno predstavlja institucije,

ki so jih Slovenci v Argentini postavili za utrjevanje in prenašanje slovenske identitete in predvsem jezika na nove rodove. Podrobneje predstavlja društveno življenje v Buenos Airesu, Bariločah in v Mendози.

Sledijo bolj evidenčni opisi slovenskih izseljencev v Urugvaju, Braziliji in Čilu. V teh državah namreč živi večje število Slovencev, medtem ko jih je v drugih državah Latinske Amerike neugotovljivo malo. Avtor tu opozarja na premalo raziskan pojav posameznikov ali posameznih družin, ki živijo izseljensko življenje daleč od organizacij in skupin rojakov. Na koncu tega razdelka avtor dodaja kratko primerjavo med slovensko in litvansko emigracijo v Argentini.

Kratek, a poglobljen analitični del razvija model ohranjanja etnične identitete in razčlenjuje kvalitativne ravni občutenja etnične identitete. Avtor v sklepu ugotavlja, da se bo morala slovenska emigracija zlasti v Argentini otresti političnega kriterija ob presojanju sodelovanja med društvi in matico. Poleg tega izpostavlja za marsikoga morda bolečo ugotovitev, da tudi znanje slovenskega jezika ne more biti izključni razlog za vključevanje v kroge slovenstva.

Dodatek ima dokumentarno vrednost. Na ravni izpovedi, potopisa, literarnih zapisov priča o celovitem problemu ohranjanja identitete Slovencev v tujini. To je plastičen prikaz prej bolj analitično linearnih zapopadenj problema dvojne etnične identitete.

*Otroci dveh domovin* je delo, ki odpira ne le vrata v razumevanje slovenstva na tujem, predvsem v Latinski Ameriki, temveč predvsem tu v Sloveniji. Zato naj jo bere vsak, ki se še ne pozna dovolj, pa tudi tisti, ki se zanimajo za sveže pristope k preučevanju migracij in etnične identitete.

Igor Lukšič

**Marjan Drnovšek, Usodna privlačnost Amerike.** (Korenine), Nova revija, Ljubljana 1998, 390 str.

Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU je leta 1995 pripravil znanstveno srečanje na temo Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje. Strokovnjaki z različnih področij so takrat govorili o razkoraku med podobo, ki jo je o imigrantskem okolju, v katerega se je namenil, v sebi nosil bodoči izseljenec, in resničnostjo, ki se je ob dejanskem stiku s to družbo največkrat izkazala za precej drugačno. Trenutke od zapustitve matične domovine do priho-

da v »Ameriko« in še posebej po njem so spremljale dramatične spremembe v življenju posameznika, sprememba okolja pa je vplivala tudi na njegovo osebnostno oziroma etnično identiteto.

V zbirki Korenine založbe Nova revija je leta 1998 izšla knjiga *Usodna privlačnost Amerike* izpod peresa dr. Marjana Drnovška, znanstvenega svetnika na omenjenem inštitutu. Delo bi vsekakor lahko označili kot obsežno opredmetenje pred štirimi leti obravnavane tematike. Napisano je s perspektive zgodovinarja, ki izrazito obvlada delo z arhivskim gradivom (avtor je bil več let tudi arhivar), hkrati pa na svojstven način, prek podrobnega, na videz morda odvečnega (p)opisovanja številnih podrobnosti iz življenjskih zgodb posameznikov, odgovarja na vprašanja sociologije, socialne psihologije, antropologije itd. Zgodovinarska, pa vendar tudi sociološka ali socialnoantropološka je tudi metoda dela, ki, resnici na ljubo, kljub svoji izrazito kvalitativni naravi bralca obogati z izkušnjo, ki mu je ne bi mogla ponuditi še tako natančno in kakovostno opravljena empirična študija.

Marjan Drnovšek v delu *Usodna privlačnost Amerike* zajema predvsem obdobje od 19. stoletja do začetka prve svetovne vojne. Uvodoma oriše zgodovinske okliščine stanja na Slovenskem, formalne zapreke in pretežno negativen odnos države, Cerkev in tiska do izseljevanja. Pri tem trezno ugotavlja, da so bili materialno pomanjkanje in pa agenti, ki so novačili izseljence, precej uspešnejši od dejavnikov, ki naj bi jih obdržali doma. Med drugim ugotavlja zelo dobro informiranost Slovencev o Ameriki, predvsem po zaslugi časopisja, ki je redno objavljalo poročila o življenju v ZDA, pisem, ustnih informacij povratnikov itd. Kljub nekaterim izrazito negativnim poročilom pa se je mit Amerike kot dežele blagostanja ohranil, strinjamo se lahko, da vse do danes. Skupaj z avtorjem smo v tem delu knjige še na domačih tleh, postavljeni smo v kožo nekoga, ki se odloča o življenjskem koraku – o odhodu v tujino. Avtor se v tej luči v veliki meri zadržuje pri zasebnih pismih, ki so romala od že izseljenih rojakov domov in v obratni smeri. Pri tem ga ne zanima literarna vrednost, ampak predvsem vsebinski pomen; pisma – v knjigi jih tako kot drugo besedilo pogosto spremljajo arhivske fotografije – izražajo najintimnejša občutenja ob prvem stiku s tujino, doživljanje plovbe čez Atlantik oziroma še prej potovanja čez Evropo, videnje same Amerike itd. Tu je avtor pozoren na odziv oziroma na vpliv tega pisanja na oblikovanje podobe o Ameriki med Slovenci na Slovenskem. Povzema pisma pomembnejših in bolj znanih izseljencev (misijonarjev), predvsem pa »malih« ljudi, saj je bil njihov glas za mnoge verodostojnejši.

Drnovšek zavrača odklonilen odnos do potopisov in očitane jim subjek-

tivnosti, saj le-to lahko zasledimo tudi v drugih virih. Osebni pogled je zanj dragocenejši, ker ne povzema le iz drugih virov, ampak piše o lastnem doživljanju sveta, kaže na to, kaj se je piscu samemu zdelo pomembno na poti in ob prvem stiku z Ameriko, in ne, kar so drugi pričakovali od njega. Všeč mu je intimnost, ki je lastna osebnim pismom, drobni, vsakdanji dogodki s potovanja, iz življenja v ZDA. Na ta način najlaže in najbolj živo razumemo izseljenčev vsakdanjik, gre za najbolj osebne, neposredne in za razumevanje človeških strani bivanja v novem okolju najbolj izrazne informacije, hkrati pa se poučimo o značilnostih in specifikah (novega) sveta, ki je obdajal pisca. Pri tem nam že raven izobraženosti avtorja, razberljiva iz jezika v pismu, pove veliko o njem, o okolju, iz katerega je izhajal itd. Zgodba posameznika je kot osebna izkušnja pomembna za razumevanje procesa izseljevanja, laže razumemo *push-pull* dejavnike, ki so vplivali na izselitev. Kot piše avtor: »Prvič v zgodovini je pisana beseda preprostega človeka postala pomembna za razumevanje velikega zgodovinskega procesa, tj. izseljevanja.« (Drnovšek, str. 42)

Knjiga, ki se spogleduje tudi s pojmi etnične identitete, pojmovanjem narodnosti, domovine... v časih izseljevanja v Ameriko, med drugim ugotavlja, da je bil materni jezik tisti, ki je prvi določal narodno pripadnost, da pa je bila ob tem močna tudi »vaska«, regijska ali deželna zavest oziroma identiteta.

Posebno poglavje je namenjeno plovbi čez ocean, za izseljence gotovo najrazburljivejšemu dogodku, povezanemu ne le s pustolovščino, ampak tudi z velikimi vsotami denarja (za vozovnico), s prvim »fizičnim preizkusom« na poti do boljšega kruha. V nadaljevanju se delo večjidel »preseli« v Ameriko. Izvemo ogromno o naseljevanju, prvih težavah, ustalitvi v novem okolju, sčasoma čedalje več tudi o ohranjanju slovenstva. Le-to je bilo v veliki meri povezano z delovanjem misijonarjev in drugih duhovnikov, sčasoma pa čedalje bolj tudi z združevanjem v izseljenska društva, ustanavljanjem časopisja itd.

Knjiga *Usodna privlačnost Amerike* avtorja dr. Marjana Drnovška ni le prispevek k poznavanju zgodovine slovenskega izseljevanja. Na nevsiljiv način nas prepriča, da je ta zgodovina tudi del zgodovine slovenskega naroda (kar je avtorjev namen). Če naj to tematiko torej sprejmemo kot tako, jo moramo ne le razumeti, ampak tudi doumeti, začutiti. Knjiga nam ponuja prav to in zato je več kot dobrodošlo branje za vsakogar, predvsem pa za tiste, od katerih je odvisna prihodnost odnosa slovenske države (in naroda) do svojega razseljenega dela.



Janja Žitnik s sodelovanjem Helge Glušič, ur., **Slovenska izseljenska književnost**. Založba ZRC SAZU in založba Rokus, Ljubljana 1999, 1291 str.

Leta 1999 sta založbi ZRC in Rokus izdali izčrpen pregled slovenske izseljenske književnosti v treh zvezkih z naslovom *Slovenska izseljenska književnost*. Delo je plod štiriletnega znanstvenoraziskovalnega dela na projektu Slovenska izseljenska književnost pri Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani, pri katerem je sodelovalo enajst literarnih zgodovinarjev (Janez Stanonik, Mirko Jurak, Jerneja Petrič, Igor Maver, Helga Glušič, Taras Kermauner s sodelovanjem Alenke Goljevšček, Barbara Suša, Lev Detela, Martin Jevnikar, Zora Tavčar, Janja Žitnik) in štirje sodelavci s področja drugih humanističnih ved (Marjan Drnovšek, Irene Mislej, Avgušтина Budja, Mihael Kuzmič). Glavna urednica monografije in nosilka tega izjemno pomembnega projekta za splošno narodovo zgodovinsko, umetniško in kulturno podobo je bila (ob sodelovanju Helge Glušič) Janja Žitnik. Helga Glušič v sklepnih misli *Slovenske izseljenske književnosti 3* raziskanemu gradivu pripisuje dvojno vrednost: odkrivanje narodove celovite kulturne in društvene dejavnosti ter posameznikove usode, njegovo intimno doživljanje sveta. Sintetična in analitična monografija se odlikuje po svoji sistematičnosti, ideološki neobremenjenosti in preglednosti, saj zajema slovensko diasporo vseh zemljepisnih področij: od Evrope, Avstralije, Azije (1. zvezek), Severne Amerike (2. zvezek) do Južne Amerike (3. zvezek).

**Slovenska izseljenska književnost 1: Evropa, Avstralija, Azija.** 400 str.

O slovenski izseljenski književnosti v Evropi razpravljajo Marjan Drnovšek, Avgušтина Budja, Janja Žitnik in Lev Detela, Avstraliji Igor Maver in Barbara Suša, Aziji pa Lev Detela. Sestavljalci bio- in bibliografij so Lev Detela, Janja Žitnik, Avgušтина Budja, Barbara Suša in Igor Maver. Informacijsko vrednost monografije bogatita poleg vsebinskega še osebno in periodično kazalo (sestavila sta ju Zvezdana Bizjak - Pitamic in Jure Žitnik).

Pregled slovenske izseljenske zgodovine v Evropi zajema v prvem poglavju obdobje od začetkov izseljevanja v 15. stoletju (leta 1472 se v izseljenstvu omenja glasbenik in piskar Andrej iz Ljubljane) do leta 1940 – o tem Marjan Drnovšek v poglavju *Izseljevanje Slovencev v razvite evropske države do leta 1940*. Pojme emigracija, imigracija, integracija in asimilacija sloveni: pojem izseljenec razlaga širše kot SSKJ, in sicer izseljenstvo pojmuje kot celoto procesov in pojavov od odhoda z doma, tj. izselitev ali emigracija, do prihoda v tujino,

tj. priselitev ali imigracija, vraščanjem v novo okolje (integracija) in izginjanjem (asimilacija). Navaja številne razloge za zapuščanje domovine (od ekonomskih, verskih, političnih, nazorskih do popotniških in drugih razlogov) in razpravlja o vplivu 1. svetovne vojne na izseljevanje (pomanjkanje moške delovne sile, razvijajoče se gospodarstvo). Posebno pozornost posveti ustanavljanju prvih slovenskih izseljenskih društev (sprva jim pripisuje izrazito karitativno vlogo, nato pa preoblikovanje v kulturna, prosvetna in družabna središča Slovencev), vlogi izseljenskih duhovnikov in učiteljev ter ohranjanju slovenskega jezika, izseljenskim knjižnicam (ustanavljali so jih predvsem prizadevni posamezniki). Poleg časopisnega in revialnega tiska iz domovine obravnava tudi tistega, ki je izhajal v priseljskih domovinah, pri čemer poudarja, da je na obstoj tiska pogubno vplivala maloštevilnost in razpršenost bralstva ter velika mobilnost slovenskih izseljencev. Drnovškov splošno- in kulturnozgodovinski uvod dopolnjuje poglavje Avguštine Budja o povojnih slovenskih izseljencih na Švedskem.

Razprava Janje Žitnik *Literarni poskusi Slovencev v drugih deželah Evrope do leta 1945* obravnava leposlovni odziv slovenskih izseljencev do konca 2. svetovne vojne in slovenske pisatelje in izobražence na Dunaju, določi vlogo Dunaja pri formiranju slovenske humanistične inteligence ter njegov pomen za uspešen razvoj suverene slovenske nacionalne književnosti. Razprava vključuje poemski seznam najbolj znanih slovenskih študentov, njihovo številčnost (od ustanovitve dunajske univerze leta 1364 do leta 1518 je na Dunaju študiralo 2271 študentov iz slovenskih dežel), deleže v odstotkih (npr. leta 1535 je bil delež slovenskih študentov 70-odstoten), študijske smeri, stopnjo pridobljene izobrazbe, pa tudi njihovo poklicno pot. Pregled slovenskih leposlovnih prispevkov v izseljenskem časopisju (upoštevani so tudi časopisi, podnaslovljeni s pridevnikom »jugoslovanski«) kaže, da slovenski leposlovni prispevki v zahodnoevropskem izseljenskem časopisju nimajo posebne umetniške vrednosti, zanimivi pa so kot zgodovinski dokument. Ob primerjavi evropskega in ameriškega slovenskega izseljenskega časopisja se pokaže več podobnosti kot razlik: skupne so npr. prevladujoče pesniške oblike, slog, tematika in motivika. Pesniškim dosežkom Vojeslava Moleta, ki je večino časa med vojnama in po 2. svetovni vojni preživel v Krakovu, njegovi tedanji kritiki niso pripisali posebne umetniške vrednosti. Med vidnejše dosežke slovenske kratke proze je uvrščena zbirka Janka Lavrina *Med osem in osemdeset* (1987), saj »odkriva povsem zrelega avtorja, ki piše že s skoraj virtuosno lahkostjo, duhovitostjo, psihološko pronicljivostjo in izzivalno sprenevedavim pripovednim načinom, s katerim želi zakriti tisoč in en provokativni namig za fasado navidezne trivialnosti in lažne enoznačnosti vsaj

na prvi pogled nezahtevnih, dokaj preprostih fabul« (Žitnik, 1999/1, str. 113). Avtorica pripisuje poseben pomen Lavrinovemu uvajanju ruske književnosti, literarnoteoretičnih in -kritičnih pogledov v angleško kulturno zavest, njegovim primerjalnim študijam s področja evropske književnosti ter literarnokritični metodi, s katero je oblikoval poglobljene psihološke prikaze književnih ustvarjalcev.

Sledi poglavje Leva Detele o povojni slovenski zdomski književnosti, in sicer o publikacijskih možnostih v evropskem zdomstvu in začetkih v evropskem begunstvu od 1945 do 1949; avtor posebej analizira taborišča v Avstriji in Italiji. Med pogloblitve literarne dokumente slovenske zdomske književnosti v začetnem obdobju prišteva nekatera književna dela Tineta Debeljaka (npr. pesnitev *Velika črna maša za pobite Slovence*, 1949) in Karla Muserja (npr. povest *Rotija*, 1947, roman *Kaplan Klemen*, 1965, najobširnejše prozno delo *Ljudje pod bičem*, 1963, 1964, 1966). Posebej so predstavljeni posamezni zemljepisno določeni t.i. »zdomski krogi« in njihovi predstavniki. To so tržaško-goriški zdomski krog (Vinko Beličič, Stanko Janežič, Franc Jeza, Jože Peterlin, Martin Jevnikar ter z zdomskimi književniki povezana primorska zamejca Avguštin Žele ter Stefan Tonkli), koroški (Metod Turnšek, Janez Polanc ter Jože Urbanija - Limbarski), rimski (Rafko Vodeb, Karel Vladimir Truhlar, France Dolinar), belgijski (Dimitrij Oton Jeruc), angleški (Saša Jerman, Ljubo Sirc, revija *Klic Triglava*), dunajski (Lev Detela, Milena Merlak Detela – avtorica predstavitve njunega obsežnega opusa je Janja Žitnik, v ta krog pa sodi še Tea Rovšek - Witzemann), nemški (Igor Šentjurec), švicarski (Vladimir Vauhnik) ter švedski zdomski krog (Marija Hriberšek, Mihaela Barišič - Hojnik, Avgušтина Budja, Adi Golčman, Tone Jakše, Rado Omota, Zvone Podvinski), ki ga obravnava Avgušтина Budja. Med prevajalci (zdomske) književnosti v Evropi omenja Lev Detela npr. Ferdinanda Kolednika, Gerolda Schmidta, Bernharda Straussa, Hildo Bergner, Petra Kerscha, Franca Husuja idr. Zadnje poglavje *V matično življenje integrirani slovenski besedni ustvarjalci v evropskem prostoru* prinaša pregled delovanja Slovencev v širših mednarodnih okvirih od Janka Lavrina, Sonje Porle, Evgena Bavčarja, Brine Švigelj Merat, Maruše Krese do Vilija Steguja in Alme Karlin.

Gradivo slovenske izseljenske književnosti v Avstraliji in Aziji je popisano v predzadnjem poglavju *Slovenske izseljenske književnosti 1*. Igor Maver poroča o Slovencih v Avstraliji ter literarnem ustvarjanju avstralskih Slovencev v angleškem jeziku, Barbara Suša pa v slovenskem jeziku; ista v Sklepu povzame literarno snovanje avstralskih Slovencev od prve polovice 50. let, ko beležimo začetke v slovenskem jeziku, do leta 1998, ko je izšla knjiga (in film) Richarda Flanagana *The sound of one hand clapping* (Zvok ene ploskajoče roke). Sloven-

ci so – v primerjavi z Evropo – hitro odkrili Avstralijo (leta 1988 je praznovala dvesto let naselitve belcev), saj jo je že okoli leta 1860 z avstrijsko vojaško fregato prvi obiskal Matija Kliner. Prvi Slovenci naj bi se za stalno naselili v Avstraliji okrog leta 1910, prvi večji val priseljevanja pa je povzročilo zakonsko omejevanje priseljevanja v ZDA v začetku 20. let tega stoletja. Tri desetletja kasneje so bila ustanovljena prva slovenska društva ter prvi slovenski časopis *Misli* (Sydney, 1952); prva slovenska knjižnica, imenovana *Baraga House*, pa je bila uradno odprta leta 1977. Leto kasneje je avstralska vlada ustanovila etnični radio, ki odtlej oddaja tudi v slovenščini (začetki oddajanja v slovenščini sicer segajo v leto 1975). Literarno poslanstvo je deloma prevzela literarna revija *Svobodni razgovori*, *The Australian Slovenian Review* pa je prvi časopis z izključno angleškimi prispevki, ki skrbi za ohranjanje in odkrivanje slovenskih korenin. Barbara Suša izpostavlja med avstralskimi Slovenci, ki so ustvarjali v slovenskem jeziku, Pavlo Gruden, Berta Pribaca, Cilko Žagar, Petra Košaka, Jožeta Žoharja in Danijelo Hliš, slednjo posebej obravnava tudi Igor Maver, in sicer med tistimi, ki so ustvarjali v angleškem jeziku (poleg Hlišove še Michelle Leber, Irena Birsa, Ivan Kobal, Janko Majnik in Victoria Zabukovec).

O dveh slovenskih književnih ustvarjalcih v Aziji – Jožetu Cukaletu in Vladimirju Kosu – piše Lev Detela. Poroča, da v Aziji in Afriki ni obsežnih slovenskih skupnosti ali kolonij, posamezniki, med njimi posebej misijonarji, pa novinarsko-informativne sestavke pogosto širijo v intenzivno doživeta osebna pričevanja, vendar brez posebne literarne vrednosti (npr. Pepi Labreht iz Benina, Lojze Letonja idr. z Madagaskarja, Zvonka Mikec iz Angole, Bogdana Kavčič iz Ruande.) Kvalitetnejše pesmi in krajšo prozo je v Kalkuti v Indiji (vmes tudi v Daki v Bangladešu) ustvarjal Jože Cukale, katerega pisava je preprostejša, tu in tam celo tezna, vendar začinjena s čarom multikulturne Indije. Tine Debeljak in France Papež sta v *Antologijo slovenskega zdomskega pesništva*, ki je izšla leta 1980 v Buenos Airesu, uvrstila dve Cukaletovi pesmi. Murskosobočan Vladimir Kos, profesor na tokijski katoliški jezuitski univerzi Sophia in misijonar v revnem tokijskem predmestju, je po mnenju Leva Detele (pridružuje pa se mu tudi Helga Glušič) eden najizvirnejših, najkvalitetnejših in najplodovitejših literatov slovenskega zdomstva, za katerega je značilna individualistično izostrena, formalno preoblikovana in vsebinsko modernizirana pesniška dikcija, uveljavil pa se je tudi kot pisec kratke proze in publicist. V Sloveniji sta izšli dve Kosovi knjigi: *Eseji z japonskih otokov* (1997) in izbor pesmi *Cvet, ki je rekel Nagasaki* (1998).

*Slovenska izseljenska književnost I* je izreden prispevek slovenski literar-

ni zgodovini. Prinaša pregled različnih oblik izseljenskega delovanja (tako kulturnega kot književnega) treh zemljepisnih področij (Evrope, Avstralije in Azije), pri čemer obsega bio- in bibliografski pregled preko 40 književnih ustvarjalcev. Pestrost monografije kažejo tudi metodološka izhodišča, tako nekateri raziskovalci obravnavajo celotno slovensko izseljensko književnost določenega zemljepisnega področja (ne glede na literarno vrednost), npr. Avgušтина Budja, Janja Žitnik, Igor Maver, Barbara Suša, drugi (npr. Lev Detela pri obravnavi slovenske izseljenske književnosti v Aziji in Afriki) razpravljajo o tisti slovenski izseljenski književnosti, ki s stališča literarnoestetskih kriterijev izstopa. Določeni prispevki so izrazito literarnovedno zasnovani, drugi izhajajo iz širših humanističnih perspektiv. Poleg sistematičnega in vsestranskega pregleda delovanja izseljencev, v katerem odseva spoštovanje do slovenskega izseljenskega ustvarjanja, znanstvenoraziskovalna zagnanost in potreba po strokovnem informiranju, skuša monografija raziskano gradivo ovrednotiti in izluščiti bisere slovenskega izseljenskega književnega ustvarjanja. Sourednica monografije Helga Glušič med evropskimi književnimi ustvarjalci na Dunaju izpostavlja Leva Detela in Mileno Merlak Detela, v Veliki Britaniji Janka Lavrina, na Tržaškem Vinka Beličiča, v Rimu Vladimirja Truhlarja ter v nemščini napisane romane Igorja Šentjurca. V Avstraliji, kjer se je najbolj razvilo pesništvo, uvršča med vrhove slovenskega izseljenskega književnega ustvarjanja Berta Pribaca, Jožeta Žoharja in Pavlo Gruden, v Aziji pa Vladimirja Kosa. Slednji izstopa v celotnem slovenskem izseljenskem pesništvu.

*Slovenska izseljenska književnost 1* je splošno uporabna monografija tako za študente humanističnih usmeritev kot srednješolske in visokošolske učitelje. Namenjena je vsem, ki bi se želeli o slovenskem izseljenskem kulturnem in književnem delovanju poučiti na poljuden in sistematičen način. Da monografija lahko služi tudi kot učbeniško gradivo, temelj za natančnejše raziskovalno delo, dokazuje njena splošna informacijska vrednost in likovno-grafična oblikovanost (predvsem bogato slikovno gradivo).

Alenka Žbogar

### **Slovenska izseljenska književnost 2: Severna Amerika.** 484 str.

Pregled slovenske izseljenske književnosti, ki je nastal kot rezultat štiritletne raziskave Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo, obsega tri knjige, od katerih

je druga namenjena pregledu ustvarjanja Slovencev v ZDA in Kanadi. Knjiga pomeni izčrpen pregled in ovrednotenje ustvarjanja Slovencev na tem koncu sveta, in sicer obravnava dela, ki so napisana v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku, v pregled pa so uvrščeni vsi avtorji ne glede na ideološko pripadnost. Da gre za izčrпно delo, nam kaže že obseg knjige, ki znaša skoraj 500 strani, pri čemer obsega pregled književnosti v ZDA okoli 300 strani, ustvarjanje v Kanadi približno 100 strani, ostalo pa je namenjeno biografijam in bibliografijam posameznih avtorjev ter kazalu oseb in periodike. Pregled so pripravili priznani slovenski proučevalci izseljenske književnosti, to so Janez Stanonik, Mirko Jurak, Jerneja Petrič, Helga Glušič, Janja Žitnik in Mihael Kuzmič.

V prvem delu je predstavljena slovenska književnost v ZDA, in sicer je razdeljena v tri obdobja: književnost Slovencev v ZDA pred letom 1891, književnost slovenskih priseljencev in njihovih potomcev od leta 1891, književnost novih slovenskih priseljencev po letu 1945, posebno poglavje pa je posvečeno literarni dejavnosti prekmurskih Slovencev.

Janez Stanonik piše, da prvo obdobje obsega čas od odkritja Amerike in prvih slovenskih priseljencev do leta 1891, ko začne v Chicagu izhajati prvi slovenski časopis *Amerikanski Slovenec*. Najznačilnejša literarna oblika tega obdobja so pisma, predvsem misijonska pisma, ki so namenjena bralcem v Sloveniji pa tudi širše v habsburški monarhiji, najdemo pa tudi potopise, avtobiografije, verskopoučna dela, poljudnoznanstvene tekste ter prve zametke poezije. Osrednje mesto zavzema delo Friderika Barage, podrobneje pa so obranavani še Ivan Ratkaj, Marcus Antonius Kappus, Ferdinand Konšak, Franc Pirc, Andrej Bernard Smolnikar, Janez Čebulj in Anton Fister. Vsi avtorji so postavljeni v širok kulturno-zgodovinski kontekst svojega časa.

Literarno najobsežnejše je drugo obdobje. Jerneja Petrič poroča, da so bili slovenski priseljenci preprosti, večinoma neizobraženi, zato so bili sprva tudi njihovi leposlovnih prispevki skromni; polagoma pa so se izoblikovali posamezniki z nekaj več formalne izobrazbe in ti so postali nosilci kulturnega gibanja, časnikarstva in umetnosti. Na področju proze je pogost realistično-naturalistični koncept pisanja, avtorji z nostalgijo gledajo na domači kraj, po drugi strani pa so kritični do izkoriščevalskega družbenega sistema v tujini. Med proznimi žanri najdemo še t.i. proletarsko književnost, dokumentarno prozo, avtobiografije, potopise, občasno se pojavlja tudi humoristično pisanje, pomembna pa je še mladinska književnost, ki je nastala zlasti za potrebe šolske mladine. Med poezijo prevladujejo razumske, trezne pesmi s socialnokritično tematiko, širok motivni razpon imajo domovinske pesmi, osebnoizpovedna in ljubezenska lirika, v manjši meri pa nastajajo še didak-

tična poezija ter satirične in šaljive pesmi. Živahno je bilo tudi dogajanje na dramskem področju, saj so številna društva zahtevala vedno nova besedila, vendar pa je bilo ameriškoslovenskih dramatikov malo. Igre so nastajale pod vplivom aktualnih dogodkov ali pa so snov jemale iz zgodovine, ljudskemu okusu pa so najbolj ustrezale veseloigre. Jerneja Petrič natančneje opiše razvoj spominske in avtobiografske proze, ki kaže specifične razmere, v katerih je nastajala, in pomeni dva izmed najbolj produktivnih žanrov. V nadaljevanju podrobno predstavi življenje in ustvarjalni opus kar 37 piscev, ki jih razdeli v naslednje skupine: avtorji krščanske struje, proletarski pisci in zmerna levica, ideološko nevtralni pisci in humoristi, drugi pomembnejši ustvarjalci ter občasni in priložnostni pisci. O Louisu Adamiču kot osrednji osebnosti tistega časa piše Janja Žitnik.

Literarni dejavnosti prekmurskih Slovencev je namenjeno samostojno poglavje, saj se od ostalih izseljencev ločijo po verski pripadnosti in navezanosti na tradicijo pisanja v prekmurščini. Mihael Kuzmič nas seznanja s kratkim zgodovinskim orisom izseljevanja, predstavi najpomembnejša avtorja, to sta Aleksander Kardoš in Jožef Novak, ter številne druge, ki so pisali prozo, poezijo in dramatiko, ki pa se v svojih idejnih, snovnih in motivnih elementih niso razlikovale od ustvarjanja ostalih slovenskih izseljencev. Vidni del ustvarjanja predstavlja prevodna literatura, zlasti iz madžarščine.

Helga Glušič opaža, da je ustvarjalnost slovenskih povojnih emigrantov močnejša na področjih politične in znanstvene publicistike ter verske, potopisne in v manjši meri tudi spominske literature. Najpomembnejše je delo Karla Mau-serja ter pesmi Milene Šoukal, drugi vidnejši ustvarjalci pa so še Mirko Javornik, Marjan Jakopič, Frank Bükvič in Mara Cerar Hull.

V drugem delu knjige Mirko Jurak predstavlja slovensko književno ustvarjanje v Kanadi. V uvodnem besedilu analizira zgodovinske, geografske in družbene razmere ter ugotavlja, da so Slovenci v večjem številu prihajali v Kanado po letu 1924, njihovo priseljevanje pa je potekalo v treh valovih. Danes naj bi v Kanadi živele okoli 45 tisoč Slovencev, ki oblikujejo pestro društveno, cerkveno in kulturno delovanje. To se kaže v izdajanju številnih časopisov, glasil, zbornikov, prevodov, v organizaciji športnih dejavnosti, slovenskega radia, nedeljske šole ipd. Na literarnem področju je zlasti v zadnjem desetletju najbolj kvaliteten del produkcije proza, in sicer romani ter kratke zgodbe, v katerih je opazen motiv odločitve protagonistov, da zapustijo Slovenijo, in s tem povezano pričakovanje, razočaranje, občutek krivde... Pesniško ustvarjanje je zelo raznoliko, tako po motivni kot tudi estetski plati, manj izrazita pa je dramatika. Po-

drobneje obravnavani avtorji so Zdravko Jelinčič, Ted Kramolc, Ludve Potokar, Irma Marinčič Ožbalt, Ivan Dolenc, Cvetka Kocjančič in Tom Ložar.

Literarni ustvarjalci v ZDA in Kanadi so prikazani v okviru svojega širšega kulturnega udejstvovanja, pri vseh pomembnejših pa je prikazana tudi njihova literarna razvojna pot. Literarna besedila so opremljena z zvrstnimi oznakami, idejnimi značilnostmi in kratko vsebino, pri kvalitetnejših delih temu sledi tudi slogovna analiza in obsežnejši komentar. Pri vrednostnih sodbah so raziskovalci upoštevali zlasti inovativnost posameznega dela, opozorili so, kje preseže tipične vzorce pisanja izseljenskih avtorjev, na drugi strani pa vidijo glavne slabosti del predvsem v moteči tendenčnosti in propagandnosti, v konvencionalnih izseljenskih temah, patetičnosti ter površnem jeziku.

Zadnji razdelek knjige nosi naslov *Biografije in bibliografije*. V njem so prikazane življenjske usode 71 piscev, med katerimi je 12 žensk. Biografije so zanimivo branje, saj nam kažejo, v kakšnih situacijah se je znašel slovenski človek, kako je reagiral, kakšne preizkušnje so ga čakale ipd. Včasih tako srečamo prav neverjetne življenjske zgodbe posameznikov z obilico pustolovskega duha in iznajdljivosti, ki so morali veliko tvegati, a so z ogromno vitalne energije uspeli; za primer vzemimo življenje Friderika Barage, Louisa Adamiča ali Freda Bahovca. Kratkemu orisu življenjske poti posameznega avtorja nato sledi bibliografski zapis knjižnih izdaj njegovih del ter objave v antologijah.

Knjiga *Slovenska izseljenska književnost 2* je namenjena široki bralski publiki, saj je napisana poljudno, pregledno, dovolj sistematično, za dodatno privlačnost pa poskrbi tudi slikovno gradivo, to so fotografije avtorjev, naslovnice, članov društev, pomembnejših rokopisov ipd. V knjigi je zbrano ogromno gradiva in podatkov, ki so tako prvič predstavljeni in dostopni širši slovenski javnosti na enem mestu. Če so to problematiko do sedaj poznali predvsem raziskovalci izseljenstva, literarni zgodovinarji in radovedni posamezniki, je ta pregled slovenske ustvarjalnosti zapolnil veliko praznino ne samo v literarni zgodovini, ampak v nepoznavanju slovenske zgodovine in kulture, ki se je odvijala izven matične države. Zbrano gradivo bo služilo kot nepogrešljiv temelj za vsa nadaljnja raziskovanja, saj je smiselno nadaljevati z monografsko analizo posameznih avtorjev in žanrov ter jim tako določiti ustrezno mesto in vrednost znotraj slovenske literarne zgodovine, kar pa se bo zgodilo šele takrat, ko bodo ti avtorji vključeni v splošne preglede in zgodovine slovenske književnosti, v leksikone, učne načrte in študijske programe. Knjiga *Slovenska izseljenska književnost* pomeni obetaven začetek.



**Slovenska izseljenska književnost 3: Južna Amerika.** 407 str.

Temeljno gibalno evropskega hrepenenja je izguba ali oddaljenost zaželenega; močna želja po njegovi izpolnitvi pa je neusahljivi vir umetniških inspiracij. Zapis izseljenske literature v tem hrepenenjskem modelu oblikuje zelo enostavno in ponavljajočo se podobo – njegovo hrepenenje je vedno usmerjeno proti domovini.

Izseljenska književnost se nam tako lahko zazdi zaradi enakomotivnih prvin in podobnih idejnih zasnov zelo šablonska, česar poglobljena literarnozgodovinska raziskava, za razliko od literarne kritike, ne more več zamažati. Pri vrednotenju zdomske literature pa ne smemo pozabiti na njen posebni položaj ohranjanja identitete in razkrivanja lastne intimne ob spremenjenih (največkrat nezaželenih) pogojih življenja. Takšno dihotomijo literarne presoje upoštevajo vsi raziskovalci v monografiji *Slovenska izseljenska književnost 3: Južna Amerika* (1999). V literarnih delih slovenskih zdomcev opazijo neinovativnost in stilno neuskkljenost oziroma razpršenost, vendar se zaradi velike senzibilnosti rajši izogonejo poglobljeni literarnoteoretski sodbi in poudarjajo pristnost piščevih občutij, zaradi dostopnosti najširšemu krogu bralstva pa njihovo prepričljivost. Na osnovi nekaterih literarnih del z visoko umetniško vrednostjo opravičujejo temeljito analizo njihovih celotnih opusov.

Razlog za takšen znanstven pristop je v sami trilogiji večkrat pojasnjen, še najbolj eksplicitno ga je razvezala Helga Glušič v sklepni misli (358): »Raziskava književnosti slovenskih izseljencev ni le izraz znanstvene zagnanosti in potrebe po strokovni informaciji, temveč **odraz spoštovanja** do vsega v izseljenstvu ustvarjenega kulturnega in predvsem književnega bogastva. **Strožje vrednotenje kulturne dejavnosti** in posebej književnosti, ki nastaja v izseljenstvu, je zaradi tega mnogo **težje** in **zahtevnejše**, čeprav je iz obsežnega gradiva mogoče in potrebno poudariti tiste izstopajoče dogodke in osebnosti, ki sodijo v vrhove slovenskega izseljenskega literarnega ustvarjanja.« (poudarila A.Z.S.)

Zdomski literaturi se znanstveno lažje približamo z nadčasovne perspektive, ki ustvarjanje naših izseljencev primerja z (zaradi diskriminacije) »manjšinsko literaturo.«<sup>1</sup> Literarni kriteriji pregledovanja njene ustvarjalnosti se morajo

<sup>1</sup> O načinu delovanja manjšinske književnosti, kamor prištevamo tudi »literaturo žensk« in ustvarjanje različnih narodnostnih skupnosti, so pisale: Rada Iveković, Sudbina »slabog« subjekta i kritika »nastajanja ženske«, *Književnost*, 41 (1986), št. 8–9; Nina Pelikan Strauss, Rethinking Feminist Humanism, *Philosophy and Literature*, 14 (1990),

od »večinske« literature razlikovati: sledijo njenim razvojnim fazam uveljavitve. Tako so začetne publikacije in knjižne objave bolj dokumentaristične, nase glasno opozarjajo s provokativnostjo, največkrat izraženo v radikalno drugačnem družbenopolitičnem prepričanju. Do uveljavitve in javne potrditve označuje prve zapise prezrte<sup>2</sup> književnosti popisovalna strast, s katero hočejo umetniki ali raziskovalci čim bolj natančno zabeležiti literarno ustvarjanje, ki je bilo prej širšemu krogu javnosti neznano, zamolčano ali narobe predstavljeno. Ker monografija vključuje tudi drugo, primerjalno, redukcijsko in vrednotenjsko fazo, se uspešno približuje svojemu končnemu cilju: vključitvi izseljenske književnosti v širši kontekst slovenske književnosti. Na tej tretji (zadnji) uveljavitveni stopnji, osvobojeni različnih predsodkov (predvsem političnih), pa bo potrebno kriterije izbire v slovenski literarni kanon poostriti, predvsem pa se znebiti sentimentalne strpnosti.

Kvaliteta predstavljenih literarnih del je vplivala tudi na izbor in razmerje znanstvenih metod raziskovalcev. Pri zelo okornih in stereotipnih ustvarjalnih poskusih izseljencev so se avtorji monografije posvetili bolj biografiji, da bi s pestrostjo družbenopolitične in kulturne aktivnosti opravičili svoj izbor, za vse pa je značilna (z vključevanjem v slovenski kontekst sta izjema le Taras Kermauner in Helga Glušič) odsotnost primerjalne metode. Filozofsko metodo je v interpretaciji izseljenske dramatike uspešno vključil Taras Kermauner, motijo le njegovi zaključki posameznih razprav, ki s svojo meditativno nedorečenostjo kršijo okvir znanstveno zastavljene študije.

Knjiga *Slovenska izseljenska književnost 3* je kronološko razdeljena na dva večja segmenta: Literarno delo južnoameriških Slovencev pred 2. svetovno vojno in Povojna slovenska književnost v Južni Ameriki. Starejša zdomska literatura je urejena po dvodelni zvrstni tipologiji (proza, poezija), novejša pa po tridelni (proza, poezija, dramatika). O prozi prvega dela je pisala Irene Mislej, poeziji pa se je posvetila Zora Tavčar. Irene Mislej začne prozni pregled z navajanjem časopisov (*Jadran*, *Gospodarstvo*), glasil in revij (*Moje versko življenje*, *Njiva...*) ter njihovih sodelavcev. Kot razlog za relativno skromno literarno

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št. 2; Sandra M. Gilbert in Susan Gubar, *Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality*, *New Literary History*, 16 (1985).

<sup>2</sup> Težke okoliščine nastanka zdomske literature in začetništvo v novi državi je Janja Žitnik v Uvodu k prvi knjigi (18) s stališča kulturnega in narodnoohranjevalnega pomena primerjala z začetki slovenstva v reformaciji ali s skoraj analognim pomenom čitalniške kulture na Slovenskem.

udejstvovanje navaja pomanjkanje rednih glasil in pravih priložnosti za razvoj vrhunškega kulturnega življenja. Tudi Zora Tavčar v uvodu v razdelek Poezija, kjer povzame ugotovitve svoje raziskave, predvideva, da bi nešolana, a literarno zagnana populacija bolj napredovala, če bi se Slovenci v pionirskih letih naseljevanja v Južno Ameriko združili v okviru zahtevnejše literarne revije, ki ne bi podpirala in razvijala samo narodnobuditeljske in verskovzgojne naloge. Pesnike predvojne generacije (ustvarjali so v letih 1930–1945) imenuje celo stihoklepci (46), vendar o njihovem pesnjenju razmišlja spoštljivo, saj jih je v tujino prignala ekonomska kriza, Primorce pa tudi beg pred fašizmom. Ta val izseljencev so sestavljali večinoma nižji socialni sloji, katerih literarni zapisi prav zaradi manjše literarne osveščenosti ne morejo biti izvirni.

Zora Tavčar je avtorje, ki so pisali v argentinski tisk omenjenega obdobja, razdelila v dva sklopa. V prvem so predstavljeni trije pesniki, ki so zbrali svoje objavljene in neobjavljene pesmi v rokopisni in tipkopisni zbirki (David Fortunat Doktorič, Ivan (Jan) Kacin, Bogomil Trampuž Bratina), drugi sklop pa obravnava ostale pesnike in pesnice ter sodelavce tedanjega argentinskega slovenskega tiska.

Drugi del knjige z naslovom Povojna slovenska književnost v Južni Ameriki je obsežnejši, saj zajema povojno generacijo, s katero se je slovensko kulturno življenje znatno obogatilo. Martin Jevnikar, avtor študije o prozi, pregleda literarno ustvarjanje izseljencev po rodovih. V prvi rod zdomske literature prišteje ustvarjalce, ki so zapustili Slovenijo leta 1945, v drugega približno deset let mlajše sodelavce. Ti so se lahko vključili v urejeno kulturno delovanje v Argentini, ki je pritegnilo tudi vodilne ustvarjalce z drugih celin. V tretji rod pa je Martin Jevnikar uvrstil vse ustvarjalce, ki so se rodili po letu 1920.

Njegov izčrpen zgodovinski pregled začetkov, kulturnega organiziranja in delovanja ne poda nekega preglednega načrta proznih ustvarjalcev, ampak se bolj ukvarja z urednikovanji in izdajanji naslednjih publikacij: lista *Svobodna Slovenija* (1941), zbornika *Koledar Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1949*, revije *Meddobje* in informativnega glasila *Glas Slovenske kulturne akcije*. Osrednjo pozornost pa posveti šestnajstim pisateljem, pri katerih ga zanima tudi izvenkulturna dejavnost.

Helga Glušič preuči poezijo (v razdelku Poezija) glede na pesniške zbirke, pesnikova pomembna obdobja (»begunstvo«, službovanje, obiski in izleti), pogosto pa pesniška dela razvrsti tematološko. V uvodu v svojo raziskavo poudari, da so najstarejši zdomske pesniki izšli iz dominsvetovske duhovne tradicije. Iz nje izvira tudi poezija Tineta Debeljaka, ki je v zdomske poezijo uvedla tema-

tiko domovine in tragičnega slovesa od nje. Pesniško obliko in njeno sporočilo so sprostili šele novi tokovi (pesniki France Papež, Tine Debeljak ml., Vinko Rode). V njihovih pesmih se je poetični svet odprl argentinski pokrajini, kar je poezijo oplemenitilo, poglobila pa so jo socialna in bivanjska vprašanja. Najbolj odkrito, igrivo in ustvarjalno izpovedujejo svoj notranji svet (njihov resnični dom) predstavniki najmlajše generacije, ki se včasih rajši izpovejo v španskem jeziku.

V zadnji raziskavi (Dramatika) izpostavi Taras Kermauner tematološko podobnost dram: vsaj polovica jih zajema snov iz dogodkov druge svetovne vojne in njenih posledic. Meni, da so žanrsko enakopravne dramam iz NOB, za katere tudi velja, da nimajo umetniške vrednosti. Medtem ko so se drame NOB igrale že med samo vojno, so bile drame slovenske politične emigracije v Argentini (SPED) napisane šele po vojni. Taras Kermauner ocenjuje, da jih je premalo za pregledno razvrstitev, čeprav zastopajo isto pomensko strukturo – socialno verski kolektivizem. Razprava kljub želji po »objektivnosti« prehaja v pomensko in versko presojo, celo v sodbe – na to nas avtorefleksivno opozori Kermauner sam.

Najkrajši razdelek Literarno ustvarjanje slovenskih izseljencev v španskem jeziku se zdi zaradi svoje kratke dodatne informacije o najmlajšem rodu, ki piše v španskem jeziku (npr. priznana pisateljica Vlady Kociancich) nepotreben, saj je bila ta logična posledica jezikovne asimilacije omenjena že v prejšnjih uvodnih besedah. Tehtnejše in bližje informativnosti je obsežnejše poglavje *Biografije in bibliografije*. V njem so namreč zbrani vsi pomembni življenjepisni podatki, ki zaradi usmerjenosti raziskav na literarno delo niso zajeti v osrednjih poglavjih.

Sklepna misel Helge Glušič v *Slovenski izseljenski književnosti* (od str. 357–360) pomaga bralcem, da si v množici podatkov ustvarijo (ali potrdijo) svojo pravo izbiro najbolj zanimivih in kvalitetnih literarnih del. Avtorica med ustvarjalci prvega vala izpostavi pesniški delež Davida Fortunata Doktoriča, v kulturnem delovanju drugega vala pa poudari publicistično, poetično in organizacijsko dejavnost literarnega zgodovinarja Tineta Debeljaka. Od pripovednikov v tem valu posebej »pohvali« Ruda Jurčeca, od dramatikov Zorka Simčiča ter pesnike Franceta Papeža, Vinka Žitnika in Vinka Rodeta.

Življenje izseljencev, zaznamovano z domotožjem, je narekovalo najprej neinovativne, zgolj narodnoosveščevalne literarne izdelke. Šele drugi val zdomcev je bolj prisluhnil novemu, drugačnemu geografskemu okolju in ustvaril ne navadna, zanimiva in kvalitetna literarna dela. Vse tri knjige raziskave *Slovenska*

*izseljenska književnost* so jih dovolj natančno predstavile slovenski javnosti. Zdaj čakajo samo še na enakopravno vključitev v slovensko literarno tradicijo.

Alojzija Zupan Sosič

Irena Gantar Godina, ur., **Intelektualci v diaspori**: Zbornik referatov simpozija »100. obletnica rojstva Louisa Adamiča – Intelektualci v diaspori«, Portorož, Slovenija 1.–5. septembra 1998. ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1999, 248 str.

Široko zasnovan, dobro pripravljen in zelo odmeven simpozij z ugledno mednarodno udeležbo, ki ga je v naslovu omenjem kraju in času pripravil Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU, je vzel pod drobnogled zelo zanimivo in še vse premalo proučeno vprašanje življenja in dela intelektualcev zunaj matične države. Težišče je bilo seveda na slovenskih intelektualcih, prispevki neslovenskih avtorjev pa so odprli zanimive in dragocene primerjave z izkušnjami iz nekaterih drugih držav.

Še kaki dve desetletji nazaj je bil za tedanje uradno politiko v matični Sloveniji skoraj edini sinonim za »dobrega« izseljenskega intelektualca publicist, književnik in politik Louis Adamič, ki je bil vsaj na prvi pogled »najljubši izseljenski sin« novi jugoslovanski/slovenski komunistični totalitarni oblasti. Adamič je bil kot posledica tega v zadnjih desetletjih nedvomno daleč najboljše proučeni slovenski izseljenec. Tudi portoroški simpozij, ki je značilno posvečen stoletnici njegovega rojstva, ter za njim zbornik mu namenjata še vedno daleč največ pozornosti od vseh izseljenskih osebnosti: simpozij v večji ali manjši meri vsaj devet in zbornik vsaj pet prispevkov. Do omenjene razlike je prišlo zato, ker so štiri izmed referatov iz Adamičevega sklopa, ki so jih pripravili Janja Žitnik, Rozina Švent, Tine Kurent in France Adamič, objavili že prej na drugem mestu, in sicer v 9. številki revije *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* v letu simpozija 1998. V zborniku jih je objavljenih nadaljnjih pet. Tako piše Mirko Jurak o sodelovanju Adamiča s publicistom in politikom Vatrom Grillom, Mihael Kuzmič o pastoru, teologu in zgodovinarju Jožetu Miheliču (1902–1989) kot o Adamičevem prijatelju, madžarski politolog in velik poznavalec slovenske zgodovine in sodobnih vprašanj Imre Szilagy o primerjavi zavzetosti za lastni narod Louisa Adamiča in madžarskega izseljenskega intelektualca Ozskarja Jaszija, Matjaž Kle-

menčič pa primerja Adamičeva razmišljanja o Sloveniji kot o delu združene Evrope s pogledi na to vprašanje nekaterih drugih slovenskih izseljenskih intelektualcev v ZDA, predvsem Mihe Kreka in Cirila Žebota. Irene Mislej vzame Adamičevo delo in njegov vpliv za izhodišče svojega prispevka o vlogi intelektualcev v južnoameriški slovenski skupnosti, predvsem oni v Argentini pred in po II. svetovni vojni. V svojem prispevku predstavi predvsem intelektualca iz vrst predvojne primorske emigracije Viktorja Kjudra ter Rudo Jurčeca in Vinka Brumna, pripadnika povojnega protikomunističnega izseljenstva.

Če odmislimo »skupni imenovalce« Louisa Adamiča v omenjenih petih prispevkih, je ostalih 21 v zborniku objavljenih referatov znotraj osnovne usmeritve proučevanja izseljenskih intelektualcev zelo pestrih tako po osnovni stroki avtorjev kot po njihovi narodni oziroma državni pripadnosti. Kot preberemo v uvodu, ki ga je prispevala urednica Irena Gantar Godina, večina avtorjev v zborniku omenjeno vprašanje proučuje z zgodovinskega vidika, zastopani pa so tudi literarnoteoretični, etnološki, sociološki, antropološki in v dveh primerih tudi lastni izkustveni vidiki. Med avtorji so zastopani vsi »hišni« raziskovalci Inštituta za slovenski izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU (5 poleg že omenjene Janje Žitnik, ki je svoj prispevek objavila v tej reviji), poleg njih pa naletimo še na 11 slovenskih avtorjev, od katerih so štirje pripadniki slovenske diaspore v Evropi, ZDA in Kanadi, ena pa povratnica iz slovenskega izseljenstva v Argentini. Ostali avtorji so po narodnosti oz. državni pripadnosti Poljaki (2), Rusi (2), Srbi (2), Madžari in Italijani (po 1), medtem ko sta kanadska avtorja različnega narodnostnega izvora – angleškega in poljskega. Teme, ki jih obravnavajo, so v veliki meri, ne pa v celoti, povezane z vprašanji intelektualcev njihovega lastnega naroda.

Naj v zgornjem narodnostnem vrstnem redu preletimo objavljene prispevke. V bloku avtorjev z Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo piše Marina Lukšič-Hacin o različnih opredelitvah in razumevanjih pojma intelektualce, Marjan Drnovšek o nekaterih pogledih slovenskih intelektualcev do vprašanj izseljevanja do leta 1941 s posebnim poudarkom na stališčih katoliške Cerkve, Zvone Žigon o mislecu in raziskovalcu južnoameriške indijske kulture Janezu Benigarju, Breda Čebulj Sajko o slovenskoavstralskem izseljenskem književniku Jožetu Čuješu in Irena Gantar Godina o »obratnem izseljenskem intelektualcu«, češkem učitelju, pisatelju in publicistu Janu Legu, ki je dvajset let deloval med Slovenci.

V drugem slovenskem sklopu naletimo poleg že omenjenih prispevkov Juraka, Kuzmiča, Klemenčiča in Mislejeve še na objavo referatov dunajskega Slovenca Leva Detele o problemu diaspore v razmišljanjih slovenskih zdomskih

intelektualcev po letu 1945, poleg drugih predvsem Rude Jurčeca, Franceta Papeža, Vinka Brumna, Tineta Debeljaka, Milana Komarja in Toneta Brulca; Ivana Mavra o slovenski poeziji v ZDA s posebnim poudarkom na delu Ivana Zormanana; Američana slovenskih korenin Timothyja Pogačarja o poeziji in prozi v *Ameriškem družinskem koledarju*, Nives Sulič o pismih Annie – Nančke, pripadnice tretje generacije slovenskih priseljencev v ZDA svoji družini v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja ter Vasilija Melika o nadaljnjih dveh »slovenskih intelektualcih v obratni smeri« – slovenskih politikih Mihaelu Hermannu, rojenem na nemškem Štajerskem, in kočevskem Nemcu Petru Koslerju (Kozlerju), ki po izvoru in rojstvu torej nista bila Slovenca. Že omenjeni lastni doživetji intelektualcev v diaspori predstavljata umetnica (književnica in lončarka) Ifigenija Simonović, bolj znana s prejšnjim priimkom Zagoričnik, ki zadnjih 20 let živi v Londonu, in Metka Zupančič, profesorica na Bowdoin College v ameriški državi Maine.

Kanadčan Gordon Skilling obravnava usodo političnih beguncev – Čehov in Slovakov – v izgnanstvu v letih 1948–1989, torej od nasilnega prevzema oblasti do nenasilnega propada komunističnega totalitarnega režima na Češko-slovaškem, Poljaka Halina Florkowska-Frančič in Jan Lencznarowicz pa usodo poljskega izseljenca, pisatelja in borca na neodvisno Poljsko Zygmunta Milkowskega (1824–1915) ter poljskih intelektualcev – političnih beguncev pred komunističnim režimom po II. svetovni vojni v Avstraliji. Kanadski avtor poljskega izvora Edward Mozejko piše o poljskih pisateljih in intelektualcih v Kanadi, predvsem tistih, ki so se priselili po II. svetovni vojni v dveh večjih valovih. Ruska avtorja Iskra Čurkina in Jevgenij Firsov sta prispevala predstavitev delovanja slovenskega izseljenca v Rusijo, šolnika, publicista in znanstvenika rusofilskih prepričanj Davorina Hostnika, znanega po njegovih skrajnih protikatoliških prispevkih v *Slovenskem narodu* pod psevdonimom Krutorogov (rojen 1853, umrl po letu 1923), ter ruskega filozofa Ivana Iljina (1883–1954), ki je potem, ko so ga boljševiki leta 1922 izgnali, deloval kot begunec v zahodni Evropi. Z vprašanji ruskih pregnancev, intelektualcev iz vrst menjševikov v zahodni Evropi in ZDA, se ukvarja italijanski znanstvenik Andrea Panaccione. Srbska prispevka sta posvečena osebnosti Mihajla Pupina v izseljenskem in srbskem domačem tisku (Mirjana Pavlovič) in znamenitim srbskim intelektualcem v sosednjih državah – Madžarski in Romuniji (Dušan Drljača). Prispevek Imreja Szilagyja je bil že omenjen v Adamičevem sklopu.

Simpozij in zbornik kot njegov dopolnjeni in razširjeni sad sta dragocena predvsem iz dveh razlogov. Kot prvič sta naši pozornosti ponovno in poudarjeno približala vrsto slovenskih izseljenskih intelektualnih osebnosti in nedvomno zelo

obogatila naše biografsko, bibliografsko in še marsikatero drugo znanje o njih. Velikokrat se še dandanes premalo zavedamo, da so vse te osebnosti neločljiv delež slovenske duhovne elite in bi morale biti kot take vedno prisotne v naši zavesti in nenazadnje tudi v ustreznih reprezentativnih publikacijah. Znano je, da v nekaterih od njih v prejšnjem sistemu marsikateri izmed njih zaradi »moralno-politične oporečnosti« ni našel svojega zasluženega mesta. (Tako v prvem zvezku *Enciklopedije Slovenije* nedavno umrli Vinko Beličič). Kot drugo sta simpozij in zbornik potegnili tudi zanimive primerjave slovenskih intelektualnih osebnosti v diaspori in njihovih duhovnih vrstnikov pri nekaterih geografsko in še kako drugače bližnjih ali malo manj bližnjih vzhodnoevropskih narodih (navajano po abecednem redu: Čehih, Poljakih, Rusih, Slovakih, Srbih). Ob nedvomni upravičenosti ukvarjanja z Louisom Adamičem sta nam nazorno pokazala, da smo Slovenci poleg njega v preteklosti premogli (in da jih premoremo še danes) vrsto drugih nadvse pomembnih izseljenskih intelektualcev, ki prav tako kot Adamič (in najbrž zaradi pretekle in sedanje zanemarjenosti kakšen še celo več) zaslužijo naše poglobljeno raziskovanje. Nenazadnje je to poleg omenjenega zbornika lepo pokazal in dokazal še en pomemben dosežek sodelovanja Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo z vrsto uglednih zunanjih sodelavcev – temeljna publikacija *Slovenska izseljenska književnost v treh zajetnih delih*, ki pa zasluži samostojno predstavitev v vsej polnosti na drugem mestu.

Andrej Vovko

Breda Čebulj Sajko, **Etnologija in izseljenstvo**: Slovenci po svetu kot predmet etnoloških raziskav v letih 1926–1993. Knjižnica Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva 29, Ljubljana 1999, 182 str.

Napisati pregled dela, opravljenega v zvezi z določeno tematiko, je lahko za etnologa, vajenega izzivov polnega terenskega dela in stalnega kontakta z informatorji, zelo drugačno in kaj duhamorno delo. Breda Čebulj Sajko, zaposlena na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, je po številnih letih preučevanja predvsem slovenskih izseljencev v daljni Avstraliji – katerega rezultat so številni članki, referati in publikacije – v to kislo jabolko ugriznila prostovoljno, rezultat njene ga dela pa je pričujoča knjiga.



Sintetični pregled raziskav slovenskega izseljenstva smo etnologi zelo potrebovali, prav tako bo koristil tudi drugim raziskovalcem, ki se s to problematiko srečujejo na svojem delovnem mestu, v študentskih klopeh ali morda le ljubiteljsko. Predstavlja dobrodošlo primerjavo tudi s tistimi družboslovnimi in humanističnimi strokami, ki so podobne preglede na temo izseljenstva že opravile.

Avtorica je časovno obdobje, ki je predmet njenega zanimanja, zamejila z letoma 1926, ko je izšla prva številka etnološke strokovne revije *Etnolog*, in 1993, čeprav izbira te zadnje letnice ni povsem jasna ali s čim utemeljena; naslednjih let, ki so bila nedvomno zelo bogata z najrazličnejšimi etnološkimi prispevki na temo izseljenstva, avtorica ni upoštevala in pregled se z letom 1993 tudi zaključí. V njem so upoštewane samostojne etnološke knjižne objave in članki, monografije in topografski pregledi, študentske naloge in periodika z etnološkimi prispevki na temo izseljenstva. Zdi se mi škoda, da na tem mestu ni več prostora posvečenega podrobnemu prikazu »izseljenske« številke *Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva* iz leta 1982, saj je v tistem času taka tematska publikacija pomenila lep dosežek v preučevanju slovenskih izseljencev.

Prikazu in analizi etnoloških aktivnosti, posvečenih obravnavani problematiki – v strokovnem časopisju, na posvetovanjih, v okviru Seminarja za preučevanje izseljenstva in zdomstva na Oddelku za etnologijo Filozofske fakultete, v študentskih nalogah in samostojnih izdajah – sledi tudi s pomočjo tabel prikazana analiza preučенosti slovenskega izseljenstva po geografskih in časovnih območjih, po posameznih področjih etnološkega raziskovanja načina življenja, in glede na metode dela, ki so jih posamezni raziskovalci uporabili v svojih delih; prav to zadnje, nadvse zanimivo poglavje, je žal prekratko, da bi lahko zainteresiranemu bralcu nudilo kaj več kot le površen uvid v metodologijo, ki so si jo slovenski etnologi izbirali ob raziskovanju najrazličnejših področij slovenskega izseljenstva. Tu se pregled etnološkega ustvarjanja na področju izseljenstva v glavnem konča; avtorica se k njemu povrne le v dveh krajših poglavjih o avtobiografiji.

Drugi del knjige je posvečen avtobiografijam. To je izredno zanimiva tema, ki tako med slovenskimi etnologi kot tudi med pripadniki drugih strok poraja marsikatera vprašanja in ideje; to je med drugim pokazal tudi pogovor o tej problematiki, ki ga je pred nekaj meseci pripravil Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in katerega izsledki so že natisnjeni. Avtorica začenja razdelek o avtobiografiji z obširno definicijo in kronološkim opisom raziskovanja avtobiografij, v katerem je zlasti veliko pozornosti posvetila pionirjema, ameriškim sociologoma Thomasu in Znanieckemu, pa tudi drugim psihologom, zgodovinarjem in literarnim zgodovinarjem, ki so se s to problematiko veliko ukvarjali. Povedne so primerja-

ve z drugimi, tako domačimi kot tujimi, družboslovnimi in humanističnimi strokami, med katerimi imajo – vsaj pri nekaterih – tovrstne raziskave v primerjavi s položajem v Sloveniji mnogo dolgotrajnejšo tradicijo. Sledi prikaz stanja v tuji antropologiji, etnologiji in etnografiji. Stanju v slovenski etnologiji je žal posvečeno precej manj prostora, čeprav se zanimanje za to problematiko in tudi vključevanje avtobiografskih elementov v raziskave o slovenskem izseljenstvu dogaja že dlje časa. Zato se zdi, da je poglavju o avtobiografiji, ki je lahko le eden izmed več možnih metodoloških pristopov, odmerjen nesorazmerno velik del publikacije.

Pričujoči analitični pregled preteklih raziskav slovenskega izseljenstva vse do začetka devetdesetih let nam tako nudi podroben – in že precej časa pogrešan – vpogled na dogajanja v tej problematiki, ki so burile (ali še burijo) domišljijo slovenskih etnologov. Prikaže nam, katerim problemom so etnologi doslej posvečali največ energije in prelitega črnila. Obenem pa razkriva tudi bele lise na področju preučevanja slovenskih izseljencev, ki bodo tudi v bodoče izzivalale etnologe in jih mamile k podrobnejši obdelavi. Teh do sedaj še neobdelanih področij je precej, avtorica v zaključku omenja med drugim tudi raziskave življenja pripadnikov politične emigracije, slovenskih intelektualcev na tujem, pa tudi posameznikov, ki se ne vključujejo v bogato kulturno aktivnost slovenskih izseljenskih društev po svetu. Dela tako še dolgo ne bo zmanjkalo, vsaj za tiste, ki jih omenjena problematika zanima in jim buri domišljijo.

Nives Sulič

**Marina Lukšič-Hacin, Multikulturalizem in migracije.** Založba ZRC, Ljubljana 1999, 269 str.

Nekega jesenskega dne leta 1997 so vaščani v mirni belokranjski vasi postavili stražo, trdno odločeni, da romski družini, ki si je tam kupila hišo, ne dovolijo ne vstopa ne naselitve. Odločitev je izšla iz predstave, da cigani kradejo, lažejo in ubijajo, njena trdnost pa iz prepričanja, da imajo vaščani do zaščite svojega kraja kot Slovenci in državljani vso pravico. Burni medijski odmevi in polemike, ki jih je sprožila postavitve vaše straže, so se polegli, preden se je zaresna razprava o tem problemu sploh začela. To je bila redka priložnost, ko bi se v Sloveniji lahko lotili vprašanja sožitja različnih ljudi in kultur, problemov konkretne, vsakodnevne koeksistence in definicij državljanstva ter enakosti pravic. Vendar je ostala neizkoriščena, zapleteni problemi pa nerešeni in vprašanja odprta.

Marina Lukšič-Hacin se v svoji knjigi s suhoparnim naslovom *Multikulturalizem in migracije* ukvarja s takšnim zanimivim in krvavo resnim področjem, kot je sobivanje ljudi z različnimi kulturnimi identitetami. Knjigo o multikulturalizmu in migracijah je zasnovala kot teoretsko obsežno in poglobljeno delo, ki predmet zanimanja uvede v vsej kompleksnosti in problematičnosti, da bi ga potem na konkretnem primeru slovenskih izseljencev na Švedskem natančno, pregledno in verodostojno analizirala. V slovenski prostor prinaša besedilo, ki je zaradi aktualnosti problema nujno potrebno, in si zato samo želim, da bi ga založba, ki ga je izdala, uspela približati čimširšemu bralskemu krogu. To bi ne smelo biti težko, ker ga je avtorica napisala berljivo in razumljivo, v kar je nedvomno vložila dodaten napor, redke med slovenskimi znanstveniki in raziskovalci.

Prvi del knjige obsega zgodovinsko razpravo o modernih migracijah, migracijskih politikah in ideologijah, in teoretsko razpravo o kulturi in družbi, o identiteti in socializaciji, o kolonializmu in multikulturalizmu. V njem je izpostavljena tako pojmovna in konceptualna zmeda, ki spremlja teoretske razprave o multikulturalizmu, kot tudi paradoksnost in problematičnost njegove praktične izvedbe. Zame je med drugim posebej zanimivo, da Marina Lukšič-Hacin izpostavi tisto paradoksnost teorije multikulturalizma, ki je povezana s konceptom človekovih pravic. Pri tem opozori, da izvira paradoks konceptov multikulturalizma in človekovih pravic iz premestitve kulturnega relativizma z nivoja položaja med različnimi kulturnimi skupnostmi na nivo položaja posameznika v določeni kulturi. Ta premestitev povzroči, da se v imenu kulturnega relativizma, ki zagovarja enakopravnost kulturnih sistemov, posega v obstoječe sisteme vrednot zaradi zaščite individualnih človekovih pravic prav preko evropocentrizma, ki ga kulturni relativizem odpravlja oziroma konceptualno razgrajuje.

Avtorica si v tem kontekstu zastavi vprašanje, kaj je cilj multikulturalizma: ali zagotavljanje obstoja manjšinskih kultur ali zagotavljanje enakopravnega položaja pripadnikom manjšinskih kultur s pripadniki večinske kulture in potemtakem ukinitve njihovega specifičnega, kulturno pogojenega položaja. Dileme in paradokse teorije in prakse multikulturalizma najprej opredeli teoretsko, potem pa se jih loti empirično na konkretnem primeru. Pri tem zvesto sledi uvodoma poudarjenemu temeljnemu izhodišču svojega dela, da so pojmi in predpostavke ter hipoteze analize vedno zgodovinsko in kulturno družbeno pogojeni, zato jih je treba proučevati v povezanosti s konkretno situacijo.

Analiza pojma in pojavov multikulturalizma se tako v drugem delu knjige osredotoči na sodobne migracije in na specifični primer švedskega multikulturalizma, ki ga je avtorica raziskala skozi konkretni položaj slovenskih priseljencev

na Švedskem. Raziskava položaja slovenskih priseljencev na Švedskem je kvalitativnega značaja, kar je gotovo pravilna metodološka odločitev avtorice, ki je želela ugotoviti predvsem strukturo sistema vrednot in mehanizme njihovega spreminjanja. Odločitev za švedski primer je še posebej zanimiva zato, ker je Švedska edina država v Evropi, ki je politiko multikulturalizma uvedla že v sedemdesetih letih in predstavlja konec devetdesetih pravi mali laboratorij za raziskovanje učinkov konkretnih političnih in zakonodajnih odločitev.

Marina Lukšič-Hacin s pomočjo poglobljenih intervjujev, opazovanj in s pregledom sekundarnih virov ni izoblikovala samo dokaj celovite podobe življenja in razmišljanja slovenskih priseljencev na Švedskem, temveč je analizirala tudi enega od možnih konkretnih odgovorov na omenjeni teoretski paradoks multikulturalizma. Ugotovila je, da je v švedskem primeru multikulturalizem sicer zaščita manjšinskih kultur, vendar ima zaščita posameznega pripadnika manjšinske kulture prednost. Švedska politika multikulturalizma primarno ščiti individualne človekove pravice in v konfliktu med njimi in kolektivnimi, kulturno pogojenimi pravicami stoji na strani posameznika. To je najbolj očitno na področjih, kot so odnos do dela, razmerja med spoloma in odnos staršev do otrok. Ko je razlika med švedsko demokratično kulturo in priseljsko drugačno kulturo največja, je tudi tolerantnost švedskega multikulturalizma najšibkejša.

Povedano drugače, paradoks multikulturalizma in kulturnega relativizma se razreši ob meji tolerance. Mejo tolerance pa vedno postavi tisti, ki s tolerantnostjo resno misli in jo hoče zaščititi pred izničenjem netolerantnih. Kar je gotovo še eno dragoceno sporočilo avtorice knjige o multikulturalizmu, o katerem bi morala družba vaških straž in plitvih razprav o družbenih problemih koeksistence kulturno različnih ljudi, resno razmisliti.

Mirjam Milharčič-Hladnik

J o ž e R a n t, ur., **Zbornik dela v zvestobi in ljubezni: Zedinjena Slovenija 1948–1998**. Zedinjena Slovenija, Buenos Aires 1998, 809 str.

Slovenska povojna politična emigracija (SPE) je nemudoma po prihodu v begunska taborišča v Avstriji in Italiji organizirala versko, kulturno in družabno življenje, ustvarila interni izobraževalni sistem ter skrbela za informacijsko dejavnost, s katero je, poleg cerkvenega in šolskega podsistema, utrjevala ideološko

enotnost te skupnosti. Med leti 1947 in 1949 ter nato še v sredini 50. let je v Argentini prišlo okoli 6.000 pripadnikov SPE – predvsem pripadnikov različnih protikomunističnih vojaških formacij in drugih nasprotnikov komunistične revolucije in političnega sistema ter njihovih družin. 25. januarja 1948 so takrat še ne tako številni slovenski begunci v Buenos Airesu ustanovili Društvo Slovencev (DS), katerega prvi predsednik je bil Miloš Stare. Društvo, ki se je pozneje preimenovalo v Zedinjeno Slovenijo, je od takrat predstavljalo (in predstavlja še danes) osrednjo, krovno organizacijo poveljne slovenske politične emigracije v Argentini. Ta naziv je sicer formalne narave, v skladu z natančno organizacijsko strukturo SPE, pa tudi sicer je ta organizacija ena najmočnejših slovenskih izseljenskih ustanov v svetu, ne glede na njihov izvor, čas ali način delovanja. Od začetka dalje skrbi za organiziranost in usklajenost delovanja skupnosti na kulturnem, političnem, izobraževalnem in vseh drugih področjih, pri čemer je njeno delovanje na verskem področju tesno usklajeno s slovenskimi cerkvenimi strukturami v Argentini.

Ob 50. obletnici svoje ustanovitve je ta ustanova izdala *Zbornik dela v zvestobi in ljubezni: Zedinjena Slovenija 1948 – 1998*. Delo je neprecenljive vrednosti, saj na 809 straneh velikega formata v strnjeni pisavi povzema polstoletno delo te organizacije in s tem posredno celotne slovenske poveljne izseljenske skupnosti v Buenos Airesu in drugih argentinskih mestih. Avtor je na ta način zaokrožil bogato izdajateljsko dejavnost SPE s koreninami v begunskih taboriščih. Prebrskal je ogromno arhivskega gradiva, zapisnike sej odborov, vse številke tednika *Svobodna Slovenija* in s tem tako članom izseljenske skupnosti kot zunanjim obiskovalcem in raziskovalcem omogočil temeljit vpogled v njeno preteklost, življenje in razvoj. Res je, kot skromno ugotavlja avtor, da »to delo ne zajema vse zgodovine slovenske politične emigracije ali tretjega slovenskega vseljenskega toka v Argentini. Življenje in delovanje te skupnosti v različnih ustanovah je bilo in je še prepestro, da bi ga bilo mogoče zaobseči v delovanju ene samo ustanove« (str. 6) – ali v eni sami, čeprav zajetni knjigi – lahko dodamo. Pa vendar je Zedinjena Slovenija središčna organizacija, možgan in srce tega slovenskega narodnega telesa v Argentini in njeno delovanje je (bilo) vzrok in posledica delovanja celotne skupnosti – tudi po ustanovitvi številnih krajevnih domov, ki so živeli svoje, razmeroma neodvisno življenje.

Avtor je ob izjemno veliki količini podatkov skušal ustvariti karseda sistematičen in pregleden zapis, kar mu je v precejšnji meri tudi uspelo. Zbornik je sestavljen iz štirih glavnih delov: 1. Zgodovina in zgodbe, 2. Storitve in dosežki, 3. Podoba ZS v imenikih, seznamih in številkah ter 4. Priloge.

Prvo poglavje uvodoma preleti glavne tokove slovenskega priseljevanja

v Argentino in preide na podrobnejše opisovanje začetkov povojnega priseljevanja. Veliko pozornost namenja navidezno nepomembnim podrobnostim, težavam, ki so spremljale začetnike te organizirane skupnosti; prav prek teh detajlov pa bralcu da priložnost, da se vživi v počutje priseljencev, predvsem organizatorjev novega življenja. Nadaljuje s povzemanjem dogodkov ob ustanavljanju Društva Slovencev in razvojem organizacije in dela v SPE, pri čemer so mu v veliko oporo predvsem zapiski sej različnih odborov ter pisanje časnika *Svobodna Slovenija*. Zanimivo je, da kljub osebni vključenosti v skupnost glavni urednik ohranja visoko stopnjo objektivnosti. Predvsem glede delovanja skupnosti je – kljub nemalokrat zapisanim pohvalam – dokaj dosleden pri prikazovanju neso glasij, težav, razhajanj, ki so se pojavljala v njej, celo podpoglavje namenja opoziciji znotraj DS, opisuje kritične trenutke pri nastanku SKA (Slovenske kulturne akcije) itd. (Gotovo je bilo nasprotovanj, zapletov, težav še veliko več, a to naj bo predmet drugih razprav, ki morda ne sodijo ravno v jubilejni zbornik...)

Za tiste, ki jim je povojna zgodovina že nekoliko oddaljena, »neotipljiva«, so še posebej zanimivi opisi dogodkov v približno zadnjih desetih letih, ko se v zapisih začnejo pojavljati politične (in druge) osebnosti, povezane s slovenskim osamosvajanjem, politično pluralizacijo in aktualnim političnim in kulturnim življenjem v domovini. Drugo poglavje zelo podrobno opisuje spominske proslave ob obletnicah povojnih pobojev, slovenske dneve in druge kulturne prireditve. Omenjeni so vsi avtorji, nastopajoči, pa tudi priprave na posamezno prireditev, vzdušje med občinstvom ipd., kar bralca prepriča o nadpovprečni kulturni izobrazenosti, usposobljenosti in prizadevnosti pri izdelovanju scenografij, koreografij, režiranju, izvajanju prireditev. Skozi besedila oziroma odlomke recitacij, scenskih prizorov itd. zunanji opazovalec začuti, se pouči o smeri, globini in moči ideološkega naboja – brez tega bi ta skupnost danes ne bila to in takšna, kot je, ne v smislu ohranitve etnične in še manj politične identitete.

Dobrodošel je pregled delovanja posameznih krajevnih domov, kreditne zadruge Sloga, Zveze slovenskih mater in žena in še posebej šolstva – temu je SPE posvečala izjemno pozornost, zato so tudi zapiski razmeroma detajlni, kar je omogočilo oblikovanje informativnih razpredelnic in grafikonov o gibanju števila dijakinj in dijakov, navedbo imen učiteljev skozi vsa leta organiziranega (in neorganiziranega) šolstva in podobno. Knjiga v drugem in tretjem delu vsebuje krajše zapise o delovanju drugih slovenskoargentinskih organizacij ter o odnosu do slovenskih vladnih in nevladnih ustanov, ki se ukvarjajo z izseljenstvom, izrazito dokumentarno vrednost pa imajo številni pregledi – sezname pred-

sednikov, odbornikov, članov, prireditev, denarnih obračunov itd., ter v Prilogi zbrane kopije različnih dokumentov, predvsem uradnih izjav, dopisov in pravilnikov.

Urednik zbornika nikoli ni spadal med redne politične ali drugačne aktiviste Zedinjene Slovenije in tudi po drugih platih ga laže štejem za izjemo kot pa za »prototipskega« člana slovenske politične emigracije v Argentini; hkrati pa se zavedamo njegove izobraženosti, razgledanosti in samodejne vpetosti v življenje te izseljenske skupnosti oziroma vsakdanjih ali vsaj občasnih stikov z akterji, ki se pojavljajo v knjigi. Taka pozicija povečuje možnost, da so njegovi sprotni kratki komentarji, ki spremljajo posamezne dokumentirane navedbe (predvsem o dogodkih in odnosih znotraj skupnosti), poznavalski in, upajmo, karseda nepristranski. Če se zavedamo, da delo ni strogo znanstvene narave, ampak skuša prodreti do razumevanja vsakogar, so tovrstne subjektivne opazke lahko tudi dobrodošle in dajejo obsežni publikaciji življenje, »dušo«, in že zaradi avtorjeve osebne note predstavljajo novo, svojevrstno informacijo.

Knjiga je bogato opremljena s fotografijami in tiskana na kakovostnem papirju, kar priča o tem, da so se urednik, sodelavci, pobudniki in pokrovitelji zavedali pomena publikacije. Ugotovimo namreč lahko, da gre za trenutno najpomembnejše, osrednje pregledno delo o slovenski povojni politični emigraciji v Argentini oziroma predvsem o njeni krovni organizaciji Zedinjena Slovenija.

Z v o n e Ž i g o n

**B o ž i d a r F i n k, Na tujem v domovini.** Mohorjeva družba, Celovec, Ljubljana, Dunaj 1999, 174 str.

Po *Zborniku dela v zvestobi in ljubezni: Zedinjena Slovenija 1948–1998* predstavlja knjiga Božidarja Finka *Na tujem v domovini* eno tistih publikacij, ki slovenski javnosti približujejo temeljne miselne tokove slovenske politične emigracije v Argentini skozi njeno petdesetletno zgodovino. Delo seveda ni edino te vrste, nasprotno, predvsem v knjižnih izdajah Slovenske kulturne akcije (Buenos Aires) jih je izšla že cela vrsta, pa vendar prinaša koristno in za mnoge novo pisanje; s tem mislim najbolj na slovensko strokovno in širšo javnost, ki je s problematiko (političnega) izseljenstva slabo ali površno seznanjena. Gre za prerez razmišljanj človeka, ki je s to izseljensko skupnostjo skoraj dobesedno »zrasel«, saj je bil v njej dejavno vključen zadnjih petdeset let.

Zbirka člankov in govorov bivšega interniranca v Gonarsu, domobranca, političnega begunca, sicer pa pravnika Božidarja Finka je razdeljena na tri temeljna vsebinska poglavja: Upor proti revoluciji, Politično zdomstvo in Slovenska državnost. Prvo se ukvarja predvsem z razčiščevanjem vzrokov političnega izseljenstva – smislom in pomenom, vzroki in cilji domobranstva – ter z vprašanjem sprave. Že naslov drugega poglavja nakazuje, da gre za razmišljanja o smislu in pomenu same politične izseljenske skupnosti, njenega vztrajanja pri brez-pogojni zvestobi slovenskemu jeziku in kulturi ter njenem odnosu do matične domovine na način, kot ga je ta skupnost (in še posebej avtor kot eden od njenih mnenjskih voditeljev) gojila in doživljala skozi desetletja skoraj popolne blokade kulturnih in drugih stikov. Prav ta in tovrstna besedila so prispevala k notranji idejni enotnosti slovenske politične emigracije, ki več kot pol stoletja vztraja pri svoji izrazito politični, verski ter slovenski identiteti, temelječi na zvestobi spominu na »mučenike« – padle in pobite domobrancelje in druge nasprotnike komunizma. (Izstopa razprava Mi in Slovenija iz leta 1995.)

Tretje poglavje se vsebinsko navezuje na drugo, besedila v njem pa bralca seznanijo z avtorjevimi mislimi o slovenski politični prihodnosti, napisanimi in objavljenimi v tamkajšnji periodiki (znotraj slovenske politične emigracije) v časih, ko je bila samostojnost in politična pluralnost Slovenije doma še napol prepovedana tema. Kljub očitni vpletenosti v problematiko in pripadnosti nemu polu, zmora avtor ob vsej ostrini tudi veliko mero tolerantnosti, »nasprotni strani« priznava tisto, kar se mu zdi pozitivnega, vendar se ob tem niti za korak ne oddalji od svoje načelne protikomunistične drže.

Ne glede na svetovnonazorsko ali politično prepričanje bralca gre torej predvsem za izdatno informacijo o miselno-ideološkem razvoju gledanja na vprašanja, povezana s samo usodo te specifične slovenske izseljenske skupnosti v Argentini in njenim dejavnim spremljanjem dogajanja v domovini.

Z v o n e Ž i g o n

T o n e R o d e, **Mesto pristan**. SKA, Buenos Aires 1997

Zbirka *Mesto pristan* (s posvetilom pesnikovemu učitelju slovenščine Fridu Bezniku) vsebuje štiri poglavja: V luči teme, V up me vleče brezup, Veter stresa telefonske žice, Prebudil sem se pred nevihto, Fridu Bezniku posvečen razdelek



s pesmijo V osamljenem baru. Ciklusi vodijo od intimnega razgleda po robovih pesnikove bivanjske zavesti in prehajajo od zunanosti k intimnim eksistenčnim stanjem. Vsak cikel uvaja razpoloženjska pesem (opremljena z nežno abstraktno risbo), ki napoveduje eno od vodilnih misli cikla (prva misel: »Če / je dan odtočna cev bobnenja, je / noč globoka sled razmišljanja. // Pod njo položim besede. V njej naj / bodo maziljene.«).

Za nekatere teh pesmi so značilni nekoliko daljši verzi s prvimi epskega verza, s čimer se pesem umirja in blaži krčevito ostrino pesnikovega intelekta (pesem Prebudil sem se pred nevihto: »Prebudil sem se pred nevihto. Ptiči so v jatah / odletavali z dreves. Vstal sem in se podal preko / sipin do razbitih grebenov valov in za njimi še dalj.«).

Poezija Toneta Rodeta povezuje dve navidezno nasprotujoči si stvari, intelekt in čutnost. Temelj pesnikovih občutij je dejanskost, polna drobnih predmetov in jasnih oblik, ki izražajo velemestni svet, ki ga obdaja, obremenjuje in hkrati navdihuje, saj je dovolj izpraznjen (Kupola: »sedemdeset balkonov / in nobene rože«), da v njem ne najde koda usode, zato pa pesniku ponuja igrivost in posmeh, v katerem se zrcali tesnoba (»tesna mreža duše«) in moreča »asfaltnost«, ki zanika vrednost arhetipske poetičnosti, izražene v pojmih »njive« in »korenine« (pesmi Luža, Stopnice). Rodetova poezija uporniško sprejema ta svet kot spodbudo (pesem Njive: »Moji / asfaltni / prsti / rujejo / smrti / zobe.«) in se odloča za polno in dejavno soočanje z razjedajočim ga velemestom. Bojeviti odnos do resničnosti na poetičnejši način izraža v pesmi Kruh in vino, v kateri z izrazi samozapovedi »Lomi« in »Pij« oblikuje misel o preskušnji, ki daje moč (»Morda izkoplješ dušo / morda prežgeš v temnem molku / škrge.«), ter v pesmi Čoln, ki izraža pogled v prihodnost s harmonično čustveno umirjenostjo. Že v prvem ciklu se pojavi tudi izraziti ironični naboj (pesem Golobje), ki se z navidez lahkotno brezbriznostjo posmehuje vsakdanji praznini življenja in tudi umetnosti brez duhovne vsebine (pesem Usta s podnaslovom Postmoderni: »nove sheme / za besede // nove rože / za stare krste / / da jih trebiš / v nove sklede // in jih žgeš / v strupene / pline«).

V pesmih, ki sta v naslovu zbirke (Mesto, Pristan), se spogledujeta dve bivanjski raspoloženji, ki s poetično podobo povezujeta doživljanje prve in druge generacije priseljencev v Argentino: najprej je Mesto, doživeto kot z vso možno ostrino občuten osrednji prostor pesnikovega doživljanja (»V ceveh tipaje trka prha. / Za steno v temi tuli pes. / Ržena hostija se mi ponuja z vrha. / Drobtine maše prebodeno plahto nebes.«), Pristan pa s podnaslovom is Prešerna – »...čas v nji rabelj hudi...« – na občuten, pretresljiv in pesniško abstrakten način (z značilno poetiko zvočne impresije) oblikuje temo prihajanja v pristan: »Vzne-

mirja me pesem pristana: / rjava veriga in ladja, / v blatno dno udrt hrbet, / na rob priklenjeno zapestje.«

Pri oblikovanju metafore in posebno izstopajoče zvočnosti je mogoče opaziti navezanost na Murnovo in Snojevo poezijo, ki je na Rodeta vplivala tudi z obliko pesmi (mestoma zelo kratek verz – niz posamičnih besed: pesmi Prah, Luna, Sanje) in z abstraktnostjo podob, s katerimi izraža tesnobo, ironično zanihanje in bivanjsko negotovost (pesem Pampa: »Papir je zvit, madež je siv in bled, / razlite žgo besede v toku časa. / Za reko zrem tja daleč na ravan, / v obraz usode, ki me neizprosno čaka.«). Rodetove kratke pesmi so zaradi tega dramatično ekspresivne ali zvočno igrive, njegove daljše pesmi pa impresivne, zvočno ubrane ali ironično ostre podobe velemesta (pesem Kupola), predvsem pa pesnikovega miselnega in ustvarjalnega umetniškega iskanja (pesem Lov: »Iščem te, / seme duha. / Puščica sem napetega / loka upanja na preži /svetega.«).

Za Rodetovo poezijo je značilno osupljivo jezikovno bogastvo, ki skupaj z močno osebno poetičnostjo predstavlja najizrazitejše literarnoumetniško gradivo v sodobnem slovenskem pesniškem ustvarjanju v Argentini. Zbirka *Mesto pristan* je značilna po jezikovnem izzivu, metaforični izvirnosti in po motivih, ki so blizu pokrajinskim pesniškim podobam argentinske pokrajine s srebrnimi drevesi, s školjko-dušo, valovi, vetrom, trsom in posebnim zvenenjem narave, z lebdečimi besedami, ki izražajo čutnost in lepoto in v katerih je znamenje človekove odprtosti vibriranju kozmosa. Pesnikova »duša, ki potuje in išče« je ustvarjalno odprta in sproščena, kljub oviram, ki jih metaforično predstavljajo dež, pepel, veter in zlovesči zven velemesta, ki ni brez slikovite podobe lune in umirjene simbolike sonca.

Zbirko zaključuje elegija v spomin Fridu Bezniku v obliki nagovora, ki je hkrati slavonspev besedi (V osamljenem baru):

Ne bom te več slišal.  
Ne boš dolgo tukaj ostal.  
Iz velemestnega hrupa  
Se boš glasu Besede odzval.

Beseda, v katero veruješ,  
Ti razodene globino neba.  
Beseda Lepota, Beseda resnica  
Ti polno povrne, kar zemlja ne zna.

Igor Šentjerc, **Vaters Land**. Langen Müller, München 1997, 351 str.

Igor Šentjerc (rojen 1927 v Slovenj Gradcu, umrl 1996 na Bavarskem) je pisatelj s posebno usodo. Čeprav je v prvih letih po drugi svetovni vojni sodil k obetavnim mladim slovenskim avtorjem in je leposlovne prozne prispevke z vojno in ljubezensko tematiko začel objavljati v tedanjih vodilnih slovenskih revijah *Novi svet*, *Naša sodobnost*, *Tovariš*, pozneje pa se je celo pridružil kritičnemu mlademu krogu pri kmalu ukinjeni reviji *Beseda*, je večino svojih tekstov napisal v nemškem jeziku.

Šentjerc je namreč od prve polovice petdesetih let živel v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji. Sin levo usmerjenega ravnatelja meščanske šole pa se je z nemškim svetom srečal že v času druge svetovne vojne, saj je tedaj z materjo bival v sedanjí Avstriji, kjer je v Hornu v Nižji Avstriji obiskoval gimnazijo, ob koncu vojne pa se je priključil slovenskim partizanom. Postal je funkcionar SKOJA in načelnik AGITPROPA pri tedanji Fizkulturni zvezi Slovenije. Leta 1949 je bil že pomočnik glavnega urednika ljubljanskega športnega časopisa *Polet*. Ta časnik je postopoma preoblikoval v prvi ljudski, manj ideološki časopis na Slovenskem. Na izčrpen in kritičen način so v novi *Poletovi prilogi* začeli razmišljati tudi o dolgo časa tabuiziranih temah. Z obširnimi prikazom protikomunistične vstaje v Vzhodnem Berlinu 17. junija 1952 so pritegnili pozornost najširše slovenske javnosti in močno zvišali naklado. To dejstvo je vznemirilo slovensko partijsko vodstvo. Različne intrige in postopki za zaviranje dela in odstranitev nezaželenih so Šentjurca prisilili, da je zapustil Slovenijo. Tedaj so v Ljubljani pripravljali izdajo njegovih svojevrstnih novel o usodi ljudi v razgibanem prelomnem času, ki bi morale iziti pod naslovom *Novele štirih* (paralelno zbirki *Pesmi štirih*), vendar so zaradi Šentjurčevega odhoda v tujino izločili njegove tekste in knjigo objavili pod lapidarnim naslovom *Novele* le s prispevki ostalih treh (Hienga, Lojzeta Kovačiča in Frančka Bohanca).

V Nemčiji je Šentjerc začel postopoma pisati žanrsko zanimive in napete zgodbe v nemškem jeziku, na začetku še po slovenskih predlogah. Njegovo zelo razvejano nemško literarno dejavnost, o kateri je na Slovenskem zelo malo znane ga, bi lahko razdelili na tri obsežne sklope:

1. politični in kriminalni romani in novele z utopično naravnostjo in realno dokumentiranim družbenim ozadjem (sem sodita znani roman *Molitev za morilca* iz leta 1958 o madžarski protikomunistični vstaji v letu 1956 ter vojni roman *Nepomirljivi tok* iz leta 1960 s pandemonično opisano atmosfero nemških poslednjih bojev proti Rusom leta 1945);

2. čustveno stopnjevani »ženski roman« z ljubezenskimi zgodbami v realnem okolju in z zgodovinskim ozadjem (ta dela je Šentjursc objavljval v visokih nakladah pod psevdonimom Igor von Percha; zelo značilno delo iz tega sklopa je *Šarlota, grofica potsdamska* iz leta 1972);

3. univerzalni evropski družbeni roman o prelomnem kriznem obdobju 20. stoletja.

Poleg tega je napisal tudi nekaj mladinskih knjig in praktičnih del za turiste, še v Sloveniji pa se je ukvarjal tudi s prevajalstvom (E. A. Poe, *Propad hiše Usher*, 1952, skupaj z Zoranom Jerinom).

Šele v zadnji ustvarjalni fazi se je vrnil k zahtevnemu oblikovanju zgodovinsko-družbenega evropskega romana v usodnem prelomnem obdobju 20. stoletja. To snov je skušal predstaviti v širokih nadregionalnih zarisih in v perspektivi značilnih družinskih usod – seizmogramov trdega stoletja. V romanu *Ogenj in meč* iz leta 1989 je razčlenil potek prve svetovne vojne na Balkanu. V ospredju je usoda avstrijskega diplomata Stefana Meystra in črnogorske bolničarke Rade iz družine Bošković. Tej knjigi je leta 1992 sledil roman *V viharju*, v katerem je predstavil konec prve svetovne vojne v Šleziji ter nemško-poljske napetosti tik pred prihodom Hitlerja na oblast. Ob pestrem političnem dogajanju je zarisal zgodbo nemške plemiške družine von Prettwitz in jo prepletel z različnimi ljubezenskimi razmerji.

Nadaljevanje tega obširnega opusa v več knjigah je preprečila nenadna pisateljeva smrt leta 1996. Nastajajočega romana *Očetova dežela* (*Vaters Land*, Münchenska založba Langen Müller, 1997) ni mogel več dokončati. Napisal je le prva dva dela spet zelo razvejano načrtovane knjige (*Mama*, str. 13–138; *Gwendolyn*, str. 141–255), medtem ko sta zadnji del (*Očetova dežela*, str. 259–351) provizorično pripravila za tisk po avtorjevih zapiskih Šentjurčeva žena Eva-Marianne in Rolf Ulrici. Roman je žal ostal torzo.

V tem zadnjem nedokončanem delu opisuje usodo nezakonskega sina mlade vdove bogatega Romuna, ki je umrl sredi prve svetovne vojne. Njena mati, junakova babica, je bila zavedna slovenska učiteljica iz Gorice. Avstroogrske šolske oblasti so jo zaradi izrazite narodne zavednosti kazensko prestavile v zakotja monarhije na Sedmograško, kjer se je poročila z romunskim učiteljskim kolegom Anatolom Andreesijem. Svojo hčerko sta vzgajala po načelu »Kolikor jezikov znaš, toliko mož veljaš« v prizadevni večjezičnosti. Zato tudi njen sin Milan poleg različnih svetovnih jezikov razmeroma dobro obvlada slovenščino. Vendar ni posebno narodno ozaveščen, ker je (podobno kot Šentjursc) pravzaprav narodni kozmopolit.

Nevarna zgodovina 20. stoletja je ozadje Milanove razgibane življenjske zgodbe. Ko išče v blodnjaku političnih in vojaških trenj pred drugo svetovno vojno širom po Evropi svojega pravega očeta, nemškega oficirja iz družine von Prettwitz (ta je glavni akter dogajanja romana *V viharju*; Milanova mati ga je spoznala in vzljubila med nemško-avstrijsko vojaško zasedbo Romunije sredi prve svetovne vojne), zaide v pasti španske državljanske vojne. Tam se sreča z Jankom Petričem, slovenskim boljševiskim revolucionarjem iz okolice Ptuja. Doživi krvave boje v Estremaduri in pri Madridu. Romantično se zaljubi v ameriško bolničarko s še bolj romantično nenavadnim imenom Gwendelyn (Gvendelin), znanim iz starih keltskih mitoloških pripovedi, ter doživi resnično ljubezen z anarhistko Peggy. Znajde se v smrtnih nevarnostih, vendar si končno reši življenje na begu iz Katalonije čez Pireneje v Francijo – na poti v »nemško« deželo svojega neznanega očeta, ki ga hoče končno spoznati. Mu bo to uspelo?

Obžalovati moramo, da v po avtorjevi smrti dopolnjenem delu manjka prav ta zaključni odločilni splet in sklep, Milanov prihod v očetovo domovino Nemčijo v času Hitlerjeve diktature in srečanje s konservativnim plemiškim očetom, polkovnikom v nemški vojski. Taki so bili nekaj let pozneje načrtovalci atentata na Hitlerja, ko so spoznali, da je prevaral ljudstvo in Nemčijo ter jima povzročil usodno škodo. Von Prettwitz se pojavi v Španiji pri vojakih z generalom Francom povezane nemške legije Condor že v 25. poglavju drugega dela. Je vnuk nemškega veleposestnika z istim imenom, ki je ena od osrednjih osebnosti Šentjurčevega romana *V viharju*. Medtem ko je to poglavje pisatelju še uspelo dokončati, so omembe von Prettwitza tri poglavja pozneje, ko primerja špansko pokrajino z južnosrbsko, ki jo je spoznal v prvi svetovni vojni, že delo Šentjurčeve žene. Zdaj razmišlja o novih načinih vojskovanja, vendar si ne želi nove velike vojne tragedije z desetimi milijoni mrtvih in dvajsetimi milijoni ranjenih, kar je bil krvni davek prve svetovne vojne (28. poglavje dodatnega tretjega dela, str. 270). Hitlerjeva Nemčija izkoristi špansko državljansko vojno kot poskusnega kunca, na katerem preizkuša strategijo »bliskovite vojne« (Blitzkriega), kar bo uporabila v bližnji novi svetovni vojni, ki naj ji omogoči, da postane vodilna sila sveta.

V svoj zadnji roman je Šentjure vtikal vrsto slovenskih stavkov in besed. Skozi tekst se kot rdeča nit vije osrednja civilizacijska misel Milanove mame o »srčni kulturi« kot pomembnem sestavnem delu kultiviranega meščanskega življenja. Slovenski pojem »srčna kultura« zapiše Šentjure večkrat (str. 51, 52, 62, 63, 72, 91, 99), žal pa so slovenske besede natisnjene brez znakov za č, š, ž. Nasprotje te stare srčnosti je znano (ne le slovensko) mnenje »Politika je svinja«,

ki ga pisatelj spet v slovenščini položi na usta Milanove meščanske matere (str. 70, 98, 194). Tudi drugi slovenski izreki, vtakani v ta roman, so navadno moralistične sodbe o človeku in družbi, npr. »Več jezikov znaš, več ljudi veljaš« (str. 51). Napredka ne more nihče zaustaviti, »ne bog, ne vrag, pa tud' ne Turk« (str. 52). Novo razsežnost vnese v roman komunistični revolucionar Janko Petrič, s katerim se Milan znajde v Španiji v udarnem bataljonu Čapajev XIII. internacionalne brigade. Petrič glavnega junaka takoj nagovori kar po slovensko (»zapri vrata, bedak! Ali imaš rep?«) in je zelo začuden, ko ga ta razume (»Ja, ja, bom«), zato reče: »Glej ga no, si me razumel? Ali si Slovenec?« in je nadvse presenečen, ko mu ta odgovori: »Ne, Rumun...« (vse str. 155). Že na naslednji strani se Petrič spet po slovensko zadere: »Vstani, Rumun, čas je!« Komunist in ateist Petrič zavpije, ko ga v boju s falangisti zadene krogla, po slovensko: »Jezus, Marija, kaj pa zdaj?« (str. 227). Seveda so vsi slovenski stavki ali besede v knjigi pod črto prevedeni v nemščino. (Na slovenski idiom spominjajo celo imena nekaterih neslovenskih oseb. Med te sodi romunsko komunist z dokaj neromunskim imenom Cornelius Kveder, ki mladega Milana previdno seznanja z idejami prepovedane komunistične partije.)

Milanovo rojstvo 26. novembra 1918 obda avtor že takoj na začetku z rojem ruskih »vil rojenic« (str. 15), o katerih ruska spletična dečku pozneje vedno znova pripoveduje. Pri rojstvu glavnega junaka v romanu sta hkrati tudi poglavitna slovanska bogova Perun in Svarog, bog Sonca, ki pošilja »sedem žarkov – las sedmih vil rojenic«, kar naj bi bilo po mnenju pestunje dobro znamenje, saj se velika vojna 1914–18 hitro bliža koncu. Zanimivo je, da se v zadnjem še izpod Šentjurčevega peresa dokončanem poglavju v zadnjih vrsticah spet pojavi vojni bog Perun, Milan, ki ga je ob bombnem napadu zasulo v neki kleti in se tako rekoč živ pokopan v zadnjem trenutku reši iz objema smrti, pa lahko spet začuti usodno moč »sedmih vil rojenic« (26. poglavje, str. 255).

K slovenskemu obeležju zadnjega Šentjurčevega romana prispeva tudi mladostni spomin komuniste Janka Petriča na poletne počitnice pri »krasni Dravi« v bližini Ptujja, razvejani, skoraj kilometer široki, s pragozdom na otokih in s peščenimi sipinami, mrzli in polni imenitnih rib, ob kateri so otroci pekli koruzo in krompir in se veselili neštetihih dogodivščin (str. 203–204). Petrič se spominja tudi svojega očeta, ki je bil v prvi svetovni vojni vojak na avstroogrsko-italijanski fronti ob Soči. Preden je šel v boj, se je vedno obril. Tak je tudi sam, saj meni, da je treba umreti dostojno, torej »obrit«. Petrič je strog komunist starega kova, ki zastopa mnenje, »da je ideja vse, ti pa si nič... Tvoje osebne želje so nepomembne...« (str. 185). Med drugim poudari, da moramo upoštevati, da je »rušiči-

na bodoči svetovni jezik. Kot jezik svetovne revolucije bo kmalu izpodrinila in nadomestila angleščino, ta jezik kapitalizma in nenasitnega razbrzdanega kolonializma...» (str. 186). Stalin bi bil tega slovenskega pripravljalca svetovne revolucije sredi španske državljanske vojne verjetno prav vesel. Slovenska mentaliteta je nasploh predstavljena predvsem kot stroga, rigorozna in razumarska, kar se še posebej razkrije v liku Janka Petriča, delno pa celo iz pripovedi Milanove matere in avtorjevih skopih komentajev o Slovencih in slovenstvu.

V nasprotju s strogo motiviranim slovenskim revolucionarjem je Milan individualist, meščan in liberalec brez jasne ideološke pozicije, ki se v divjem viharju 20. stoletja po igri usode »vil rojenic« najde sredi najhujših nevarnosti, na katere sploh ni pripravljen. Doma velja za »milega mojega Milana«, kar je kljub srbokroatizmu tipični žargon slovenske meščanske družbe v prvih desetletjih dvajsetega stoletja. »Mili moj« (str. 62, 73, 119) pa je seveda tudi prispodoba materine miline, ljubeznivosti in meščanske kultiviranosti (s katerimi razvaja svojega »milega« sina Milana). Je razpoznavni znak »materine dežele«, ki pa jo bo moral zaradi vedno večje politične represije kmalu zapustiti. Njegova mati, ki je zaradi »srčne kulture« nudila skrivališče komunističnim revolucionarjem v svoji hiši v romunskem mestu Craiova, postane žrtev nasilja fašistične Železne garde in umre v zaporu, čeprav je popolnoma nepolitična, podobno kot njen sin. V romanu nastopi vrsta politikov in višjih oficirjev, tudi Hitler kot »bojovník za mir med narodi« v času berlinske poletne olimpijade leta 1936, ki jo obišče Milanov domači učitelj Klaus von Stockhausen. Ta je po nagnjenju homoseksualec in postane pozneje prav tako žrtev romunske Železne garde. Srečamo se z jugoslovanskim regentom knezom Pavlom, vodjo anarhističnih protifašističnih borcev Nikolajem Astapovičem Rudenkom, imenovanim Stenka (Razin), najbolj skrivnosten pa je »tovariš Crni«, visoki komunistični funkcionar iz Črne gore, ki brezobzirno izkorišča zaupanje svojih privržencev (»Milane, dodji vamo... Dodji vamo, ne boj se...«, str. 344). Ob razsulu republikanske Španije in Francovi zmagi ga mora Milan, ki je zaradi materinih težav moral pobegniti iz Romunije s pomočjo komunističnih ilegalcev in so ga nato prisilno mobilizirali v internacionalno brigado, rešiti čez Pireneje v Francijo. Se mu bo s tem odprla pot do očeta, ki ga išče že vse življenje? Bo potomec slovenskih prednikov končno prišel v očetovo domovino Nemčijo na pragu druge svetovne vojne? To vprašanje, kot rečeno, ostaja odprto. Romana tudi pisateljeva žena ni dokončala, saj v zaključku le nakazuje pot do te možne rešitve – in kljub nevarnemu času do morebitnega srečnega razpleta.

Pisateljeva smrt knjigi ni bila v korist. Zlasti v drugem delu je opazna

premajhna lektorjeva skrbnost, poleg tega se je v tekst vrnilo tudi nekaj tiskarskih pomanjkljivosti. Olajševalna okoliščina bi lahko bila velika množina oseb in podatkov. Kljub temu je neprijetno, da se ena glavnih oseb, slovenski komunist in španski protifašistični borec Janko Petrič pojavi na strani 299 npr. pod imenom Janko Petersic, na strani 318 pa celo pod imenom Janko Brem. To pač dokazuje, da je Šentjure v zasnutkih enega svojih junakov še poimenoval na različne načine, vendar bi lektor v posthumni izdaji moral to popraviti.

Kljub temu je nedokončani roman *Očetova dežela* tipična in verjetno zadnja Šentjurčeva knjiga. Sprva v slovenščini piše avtor v njej še enkrat razvija svoje značilne spretnosti: natančni faktografski pogled združuje z navajanjem zgodovinskih dejstev in poročil. Svoje male in velike junake uspešno premika čez veliko šahovnico evropske zgodovine 20. stoletja. V nekaterih odlomkih o ilegalnem uporništvu in španski državljanski vojni zaslutimo, da pozna avtor to snov tako rekoč iz prve roke, da je tudi sam kot mlad slovenski aktivist po drugi svetovni vojni doživel kaj podobnega. Morda bo kdo od Šentjurčevih v nemškem prostoru dokaj številnih bralcev obžaloval, da pisatelj ni mogel postaviti pike na i in napisati še zadnjega romana – o drugi svetovni vojni, zlomu fašizma in vzponu ter postopnem razpadu komunizma ob razrasti realnega kapitalizma v tako imenovanih demokratičnih parlamentarnih sistemih. Sicer pa ga je morda vseeno napisal, v svojih začetnih literarnih fazah, ko je med drugim objavil romane *Nepomirljivi tok* (1960), *Molitev za morilca* (1958) ali pa *Bogá jezna roka* (1983), v katerem razgali ekološko, politično in družbeno krizo današnjega sveta v načinu utopičnega kriminalnega romana, v katerem glavni junak, na videz malomeščanski münchenski univerzitetni profesor Arnold May, postane »moralistični« patološki maščevalec, ki sklene, da bo »z znanstveno metodo« izničil človeštvo. K sreči se mu ta načrt ne posreči. Morda je pisatelj vendarle upal, da bo kljub vsem patologijam in krutim vojnim obračunavanjem 20. stoletja človeštvo navsezadnje prenovljeno vstopilo v novo in morda boljše tisočletje.

Lev Detela



# NAVODILA IN PRIPOROČILA AVTORJEM\*

## 1. Vsebinska zasnova revije

Revija *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* je namenjena objavi razprav, znanstvenih in strokovnih prispevkov, poročil, razmišljanj in knjižnih ocen s področja izseljenstva oziroma izseljenskih študij. Revija je večdisciplinarna in dvojezična. Pred sprejemom v objavo pošlje uredništvo znanstvene prispevke v anonimni obliki v strokovno recenzijo.

## 2. Razprave in članki

Razprave in znanstveni članki, ki jih bo uredništvo te revije prejelo v rednem roku (do 31. julija) in ki bodo napisani v skladu z navodili pod to točko, bodo po zaključenem recenzentskem postopku objavljeni v tekoči številki *Dveh domovin*, in sicer v redni rubriki *Razprave in članki* ali v občasnih rubrikah *Viri in gradivo* oziroma *Portreti*. V slednjih dveh rubrikah so lahko objavljeni tudi strokovni prispevki, za katere ta navodila ne veljajo (torej niso opremljeni z opombami, seznamom literature, povzetkom in avtorskim izvlečkom). Napisani morajo biti v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku, kar velja za vse prispevke v tej reviji. Članki v drugih zahodnih jezikih (npr. francoščini, španščini) so objavljeni le izjemoma. V nasprotju s strokovnimi prispevki, poročili in ocenami morajo biti razprave in znanstveni članki opremljeni z opombami, seznamom literature, povzetkom in avtorskim izvlečkom. V znanstvenem članku za rubriko *Viri in gradivo* naj citirano gradivo zavzema največ dve tretjini članka, avtorjev komentar objavljenega gradiva pa naj obsega vsaj eno tretjino celotnega besedila.

**Opombe in bibliografske navedbe:** Opombe pod črto naj praviloma vsebujejo dopolnilno besedilo (komentarje). Ker gre za večdisciplinarno revijo, sta v skla-

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\* Po »Navodilih za oblikovanje znanstvenih in strokovnih periodičnih publikacij, ki jih sofinancira MZT«, morajo biti navodila avtorjem objavljena v vsakem zvezku periodične publikacije. Ker jih letos prvič objavljamo, jim tokrat namenjamo več prostora, kot jim ga bomo v prihodnje.

du z uveljavljeno mednarodno prakso posameznih znanstvenih disciplin še vedno sprejemljiva dva sistema citiranja oz. bibliografskih navedb.

V člankih s področja zgodovine, literarne zgodovine, etnologije ipd. so v mednarodni praksi tudi bibliografske navedbe v opombah (prim. znanstvene revije *Studi Emigrazione*, *Journal of American Ethnic History* itd.), vendar morajo ob prvi navedbi vsebovati vse potrebne podatke: pri citiranju iz knjige ime avtorja, naslov knjige, kraj, založbo, leto izida, stran; pri citiranju iz članka v zborniku ime avtorja, naslov članka, naslov publikacije, ime urednika, kraj, založbo, leto izida, stran; pri citiranju članka v periodiki ime avtorja, naslov članka, naslov časopisa/revije, letnik, številko (pri dnevnikih datum), stran. Glede vrstnega reda podatkov, izbora ločil in ležečega tiska naj avtorji upoštevajo obliko bibliografskih navedb v dosedanjih številkah te revije. Pri citiranju korespondence in drugega arhivskega gradiva morajo biti navedeni naslednji podatki: ime avtorja in naslov dokumenta (ime avtorja in prejemnika, če gre za korespondenco, npr. Pismo Anne Praček Krasne Mirku G. Kuhlu), datum dokumenta, ime arhiva, ime fonda, oznaka škatle in mape (ter številka dokumenta in stran).

V člankih s področja sociologije, ekonomije, psihologije, psihiatrije itd. je v praksi kratka navedba reference v oklepaju na koncu samega citata (priimek avtorja citiranega besedila, letnica izida publikacije, stran), vendar mora biti tak članek na koncu opremljen z natančnim seznamom referenc pod naslovom »Literatura« z vsemi zgoraj navedenimi bibliografskimi podatki. Bibliografske navedbe v »Literaturi« so razvrščene po abecedi, priimku in imenu avtorja sledi leto izida citiranega besedila, nato pa še vsi drugi zgoraj omenjeni podatki.

**Povzetek** naj obsega 1 do 3 strani in naj bo napisan v drugem jeziku kot članek: angleški članki morajo biti opremljeni s slovenskim povzetkom – za prevod lahko poskrbi uredništvo, slovenski članki pa z angleškim povzetkom. V primerih, ko je težišče članka usmerjeno na kako drugo govorno področje (npr. špansko, francosko, nemško), je članek lahko še dodatno opremljen s povzetkom v tem jeziku.

**Avtorski izvleček** naj bo napisan v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku. Vsebuje naj podatke o avtorju (gl. rubriko *Avtorski izvlečki* v dosedanjih številkah revije *Dve domovini*), naslov članka in kratek abstrakt v obsegu do 150 besed. V abstraktu naj bodo predstavljeni namen članka, tematski obseg, oris znanstvene metode in okvirna navedba virov.

### 3. Poročila

Poročilo o znanstvenem ali strokovnem posvetovanju, kulturni prireditvi, občnem zboru, študijskem potovanju, pedagoškem ali raziskovalnem delu na področju izseljenske problematike lahko obsega do ene polovice avtorske pole (do 8 strani) in je lahko napisano v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku. Opombe pod črto, navedba literature, povzetek in avtorski izvleček niso potrebni. Če gre za poročilo o konferenci, ki je le deloma posvečena izseljenski problematiki, je zaželeno, da poročilo uvodoma predstavi celotno srečanje (naslov konference, kraj in datum, navedba organizatorja, število udeležencev in navedba dežel, iz katerih prihajajo, glavne teme panelov). Osrednji del poročila naj bo posvečen omizjem z izseljensko tematiko. Poročilo naj v zaključku vsebuje avtorjevo oceno posebej predstavljenih omizij/panelov (prebranih referatov, diskusij, udeležbe slušateljev in pomena teh panelov v okviru izseljenskih študij) ter končno še kratko oceno celotnega srečanja. Kadar poročilo služi avtorju kot izhodišče za širše razmišljanje, je lahko ob koncu opremljeno še s krajšim splošnejšim komentarjem.

### 4. Knjižne ocene

Če gre za literarno študijo izseljenskega leposlovnega dela, jo bo uredništvo uvrstilo v rubriko *Razprave in članki* pod pogojem, da je napisana v skladu z zgornjimi navodili za oblikovanje razprav in člankov. Klasične knjižne ocene znanstvenih, strokovnih in tudi leposlovnih del s področja izseljenstva pa bodo objavljene v rubriki *Knjižne ocene*. Navedba literature in opombe pod črto v tej rubriki niso nujne. Naslov ocene mora vsebovati ime avtorja ali glavnega urednika ocenjene publikacije, naslov publikacije, založbo, kraj in letnico izida ter število strani. Kadar gre za oceno zbornika ali revije s širšo tematiko, je priporočljivo, da je uvodoma na kratko predstavljena celotna publikacija, nato pa naj se avtor ocene osredotoči na vsebino in vrednotenje prispevkov s področja izseljenskih študij. Kadar knjižna ocena služi ocenjevalcu kot izhodišče za širše razmišljanje, je lahko ob koncu opremljena še s krajšim splošnejšim komentarjem. Tudi knjižna ocena je lahko napisana v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku.

### 5. Sprejemanje predlaganih prispevkov

Uredništvo sprejema predlagane prispevke **na disketi** (Word 6.0/95) **in v enem priloženem izvodu tipkopisa** vse leto. Recenzentski postopek poteka tudi po zapadlem (zgoraj navedenem) rednem roku, vendar bodo znanstveni prispevki,

ki bodo prispeli v uredništvo v drugi polovici leta, le izjemoma lahko objavljeni v tekoči številki *Dveh domovin*; kadar to ne bo mogoče, bodo uvrščeni v naslednjo številko revije. Za prispevke, ki jih uredništvo ne pošilja v recenzijo (poročila in knjižne ocene), je priporočljivo, da jih avtorji pošljejo čim prej po zaključnem dogodku, o katerem poročajo, oziroma čim prej po izidu obravnavane knjige.

Janja Žitnik  
Glavna urednica

# INSTRUCTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO AUTHORS\*

## 1. Content of the journal

*Dve domovini/Two Homelands* is a journal devoted to the publication of essays, scholarly and specialist papers, reports, reflections and book reviews from the field of emigration studies. The journal is multi-disciplinary and bilingual. Before accepting scholarly papers for publication the editorial board submits them anonymously to be reviewed by experts.

## 2. Essays and articles

Essays and scholarly articles received by the editorial board before the regular closing date (31 July) and written in accordance with the instructions listed under this point, will, after undergoing the review procedure, be published in the current issue of *Two Homelands*, in the regular section *Essays and Articles* or in the occasional *Documentation* or *Portraits* sections. These latter two sections may include specialist papers to which these instructions do not apply (i.e. they do not include footnotes, a bibliography, a summary and an author's abstract). They must be written in Slovene or English, as must all papers in this magazine. Articles written in other western languages (eg. French, Spanish) are published only exceptionally. In contrast to specialist papers as well as reports and reviews, essays and scholarly papers must include footnotes, a bibliography, a summary and an author's abstract. A maximum of two thirds of scholarly papers for the section *Documentation* should be taken up with the material being cited, while at least a third of the whole text must comprise the author's commentary on the published material.

**Notes and references:** footnotes should generally contain additional text (commentary). Since the magazine is a multi-disciplinary publication, two systems of

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\* According to the »Instructions for the design of scholarly and specialist periodical publications co-financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology«, instructions to authors must appear in every volume of a periodical publication. As this is their first appearance, the editor decided they can take up more space than they will in the future.

giving references are still acceptable, in accordance with the standard world practice of individual academic disciplines.

In articles from the fields of history, literary history, ethnology, etc., footnotes also contain bibliographical references (cf. academic publications such as *Studi Emigrazione* and *The Journal of American Ethnic History*), though the first reference to a work must contain all the necessary data: when quoting from a book, the name of the author, the title of the book, the place of publication, the publisher, the year of publication and the page number; when quoting from an article published in a collection of scholarly papers, the name of the author, the title of the article, the title of the publication, the name of the editor, the place of publication, the publisher, the year of publication and the page number; when quoting from an article in a periodical, the name of the author, the title of the article, the title of the newspaper/journal, the volume, the number (in the case of daily newspapers, the date), and the page number. With regard to the order in which the information should appear, punctuation conventions and italic text, authors should follow the form in which bibliographical references are given in previous issues of this journal. When quoting from correspondence and other archive material, the following information should be provided: the name of the author and the title of the document (in the case of correspondence, the name of the writer and the addressee, e.g. »letter of Anna Praček Krasna to Mirko G. Kuhel«), the date of the document, the name of the archive, the name of the collection, and the box and file reference numbers (plus the number of the document and the page number).

With articles from the fields of sociology, economics, psychology, psychiatry, etc., the practice is to use a short reference in brackets immediately after the quotation itself (the surname of the author of the quoted text, the year of publication and the page number), while such articles must end with a precise list of references containing all the bibliographical data listed above. Bibliographical references are arranged alphabetically, the name of the author is followed by the year of publication of the quoted text, and then by all the other above-mentioned data.

**The summary** should cover 1 to 3 pages and be written in a different language to the article: English articles must include a summary in Slovene – the translation can be provided by the editorial board – and Slovene articles a summary in English. In cases where the focus of the article is on a different language area (e.g. Spanish, French, German), the article may additionally include a summary in that language.

**The author's abstract** should be written in Slovene and English. It should contain data on the author (see the *Authors' Abstracts* section in previous issues of *Two Homelands*), the title of the article and a short abstract of up to 150 words. The abstract should present the aim of the article, its thematic scope, an outline of the academic method and a skeleton list of sources.

### 3. Reports

Reports on scholarly or specialist conferences, cultural events, general meetings, study trips, teaching or research work in the field of emigration studies can cover up to eight pages and may be written in Slovene or English. Footnotes, references, summaries and authors' abstracts are not required. In the case of reports on conferences only partially dedicated to emigration issues, it is preferable to include in the introduction a presentation of the conference as a whole (title of the conference, place and date, organizer, number of participants and the countries they come from, main topics of panels). The main part of the report should be devoted to panels on emigration-related themes. The report should conclude with the author's assessment of these panels (papers read, discussions, audience participation and the importance of these panels within the framework of emigration studies) and, finally, with a brief assessment of the conference as a whole. Where the report serves the author as a starting point for broader reflections, it may also include a brief general commentary at the end.

### 4. Book reviews

Literary studies of works of literature by emigrants will be placed in the section *Essays and Articles* provided they are written in accordance with the above instructions governing the format of essays and articles. Traditional book reviews of scholarly, specialist and literary works from the field of emigration will be published in the *Book Reviews* section. Bibliographies and footnotes are not necessary in this section. The title of the review must contain the name of the author or the editor-in-chief of the publication being reviewed, the title of the publication, the publisher, the place of publication, the year of publication and the number of pages. In the case of reviews of collections of papers or journals dealing with broader subject matter, a brief presentation of the publication as a whole is recommended in the introduction, after which the reviewer should concentrate on evaluating the articles relating to emigration studies. When a book review

serves the reviewer as a starting point for a broader reflection, it may end with a brief general commentary. Book reviews may be written in Slovene or English.

### **5. Acceptance of submitted articles**

The editorial board accepts articles throughout the year. Articles should be submitted **on diskette** (Word 6.0/95), and **one typed copy** must also be provided. The review procedure continues to run after the regular closing date (stated above), although scholarly papers arriving at the editorial office in the second half of the year can only be published in the current issue of *Two Homelands* in exceptional cases. When this is not possible, they will be inserted in the following edition of the journal. In the case of articles not sent for review (reports and book reviews), authors are recommended to send them as soon as possible after the end of the event on which they are reporting, or as soon as possible after the publication of the book being reviewed.

*Janja Žitnik*  
Editor-in-chief



**AVTORSKI**

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**IZVLEČKI**

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**AUTHORS'**

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**ABSTRACTS**

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## **Slovenstvo v Venezueli**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 21–33

V obdobju 1947–60 se je priselilo v Venezuelo od 550–650 Slovencev, ki so se kljub kulturnemu in klimatskemu šoku uspešno integrirali v imigrantsko okolje. Po zaslugi slovenskega duhovnika Janeza Grilca so imeli že leta 1958 redne slovenske maše, leta 1966 pa so ustanovili svoje društvo. Po nedavni Grilčevi smrti je ta slovenska skupnost pred prelomnico: ali bo – ob pomoči Slovenije – tudi brez dosedanjega organizatorja lahko ohranila društvo in slovensko identiteto v izseljenstvu ali pa bo nepovezanost botrovala njihovi pospešeni asimilaciji.

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## **Začetek, razvoj in današnje stanje srednješolskih tečajev v povojni slovenski emigraciji v Argentini**

**Dve domovini/Two Homenalds**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 35–45

V tujini vsakdo zelo ceni vrednost materinščine, v našem primeru slovenskega jezika. Povojni slovenski priseljenci v Argentini so čutili za naravno dolžnost, da govorno in pisano besedo predajo svojim potomcem. Zato so ustanavljali skupna krajevna središča, osnovnošolske in srednješolske tečaje z namenom, da dopolnjujejo predajo materinščine v družinah. O vpisu v srednješolske tečaje soodločajo dijaki sami, ti pa so že precej pod vplivom okolja, ki poskuša doseči potrebno izobrazbo s čim manjšim trudom. Zaradi tega je tudi sorazmerno manjši vpis. Če je bila v družinah prve generacije predaja materinščine otrokom dolžnost, v družinah druge generacije zavest o tej dolžnosti popušča, kar vpliva na otroke predvsem v dobi adolescence. Pri tem ne gre pozabiti na narodno mešane zakone, ki so tem bolj izpostavljeni asimilaciji.

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### **Slovene identity in Venezuela**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 21–33

In the period 1947–60 between 550 and 600 Slovenes immigrated to Venezuela and despite the culture shock and 'climate shock' successfully integrated themselves into the new environment. Thanks to the work of the Slovene priest Janez Grilc, they had regular Slovene masses by as early as 1958, and in 1966 they founded their own society. Following Grilc's recent death this Slovene community is facing a turning point: either it will be able, with Slovenia's help, to preserve its society and its Slovene identity even without its former organizer, or lack of interconnection will lead to its accelerated assimilation.

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### **The beginning, development and present state of secondary school courses among post-war Slovene immigrants in Argentina**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 35–45

All those who live abroad value their mother tongue very highly. In our case this is the Slovene language. Post-war Slovene immigrants to Argentina felt it their natural duty to pass on the spoken and written language to their descendants. They therefore founded joint local centres and primary school and secondary school courses designed to complement the transfer of the mother tongue taking place in families. The decision to enrol in secondary school courses is made by the children themselves, though they are already considerably under the influence of an environment which tries to achieve the necessary education with the minimum effort. For this reason enrolments are relatively few. If in first-generation families passing on the mother tongue was a duty, in second-generation families consciousness of this duty lessens, which affects children mainly during the period of adolescence. We should of course not forget ethnically mixed marriages, which are so much the more exposed to assimilation.

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### **Etnična identiteta prve povojne generacije avstralskih Slovencev**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 47–59

Vsebina razprave osvetljuje dva osrednja problema: teoretično opredelitev pojma identiteta (na osnovi socialnoantropoloških in socialnopsiholoških definicij) in osebno doživljanje razvoja in spreminjanja etnične identitete posameznih avstralskih Slovencev (pripadnikov prve generacije, ki so se izselili v Avstralijo po letu 1945) v novem družbenem in geografskem okolju, in sicer v okviru širšega zgodovinskega procesa spreminjanja izvorne in vselitvene družbe izseljencev/priseljencev.

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**Kolar, Bogdan**, dr., docent, vodja Nadškofijskega arhiva v Ljubljani, Nadškofijski arhiv, Krekov trg 1, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

### **Krajevno društvo K.S.K.J. sv. Jožefa v Bridgeportu v Connecticutu**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 61–78

Med več kot dvesto krajevnimi društvi Kranjsko slovenske katoliške jednote, ki so nastala po Združenih državah, je bilo društvo sv. Jožefa v Bridgeportu in nato v Fairfieldu v Connecticutu tesno povezano s tamkajšnjo slovensko župnijo. V obeh ustanovah so prevladovali slovenski priseljenci iz Prekmurja, kar je tako župniji kot krajevnemu društvu dajalo izvorne značilnosti. Ob ustanovitvi je bilo društvo podporno in zavarovalno. V njegovem sedanjem delovanju prevladujeta družabnost in skrb za ohranjanje slovenskih etničnih značilnosti.

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### **Ethnic identity of the first postwar generation of Australian Slovenes**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 47–59

The paper discusses two central topics: a theoretical denotation of the term 'identity' (on the basis of social-anthropological and social-psychological definitions), and a personal experience of the development and transformation of ethnic identity of individual Australian Slovenes (of the first generation, who emigrated to Australia after 1945) in a new social and geographical milieu. This specific experience was part of a wider historical process of transformation which affected the original as well as the immigrant societies of emigrants/immigrants.

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**Kolar, Bogdan**, Ph. D., assistant professor, head of the Archdiocesan Archives in Ljubljana, Krekov trg 1, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

### **St. Joseph KSKJ Local Lodge, Bridgeport, Connecticut**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 61–78

More than two hundred local branches of the *Kranjsko slovenska katoliška jednota* were founded across the United States. One of these, the Society of St. Joseph in Bridgeport, Connecticut (and subsequently in Fairfield, Connecticut), was closely connected to the Slovene parish there. Both institutions were dominated by Slovene immigrants from Prekmurje, which gave original characteristics to both parish and local society. At the time of its foundation the society offered support and protection. Its current activities are predominantly social and connected with the preservation of Slovene ethnic features.

**Milanič, Irena**, dipl. angl. na Univerzi v Trstu; ul. Conti 38, Trieste–Trst, Italija

**Mary Jugg Molek – Ameriška pisateljica in pesnica slovenskega porekla**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 79–114

Članek predstavlja literarno delo Mary Jugg Molek (1909–1982). Avtorica analizira predvsem pesmi Juggove, ki so bile objavljene med leti 1932–1943 v *Mladinskem listu–Juvenile*, in predstavlja knjigo *Immigrant Woman* (Priseljenka), objavljeno leta 1976. Avtorica se zaustavlja pri prikazovanju odnosa, ki ga je imela ta pisateljica druge generacije do svojih slovenskih korenin.

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**Maver, Igor**, dr., izr. prof., Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

**Irena Birsa: Avstralska pesnica in znanstvenica slovenskega rodu**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 115–119

V članku je analizirano znanstveno in umetniško delo Irene Birsa, ki se je rodila v Avstraliji slovenskim staršem. Spričo svoje prerane smrti leta 1991 raziskovalnega dela s področja slovenske izseljenske skupnosti v Avstraliji, posebej v državi Victoriji, ni uspela dokončati, vendar je leta 1994 posmrtno izšla njena knjiga člankov, esejev in razprav *Slovenians in Australia*, ki predstavlja dragocen vir podatkov za raziskovalce omenjenega področja. V drugem delu so predstavljene nekatere redke Birsine pesmi, ki obstoje v rokopisu, a so subtilno dovršene in praktično neznane širši publiki.

Milanič, Irena, B. A. at the University of Trieste; Via Conti 38, Trieste-Trst, Italy

**Mary Jugg Molek – an American writer and poet with Slovene roots**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 79–114

The article aims to give an overview on the literary works of Mary Jugg Molek (1909–1982). The author of the article investigates in particular her poems published between 1932 and 1943 in *Mladinski list – Juvenile* and her book *Immigrant Woman* published in 1976. Insight is given as to how this second-generation poet and writer dealt with her Slovene background.

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**Maver, Igor**, Ph. D., associate professor, University of Ljubljana, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

**Irena Birsa: An Australian poet and scholar of Slovene descent**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 115–119

The article analyzes the academic and artistic work of Irena Birsa, who was born in Australia to Slovene parents. Her premature death in 1991 meant that her research on the Slovene emigrant community in Australia, particularly in the state of Victoria, was not completed. In 1994, however, a book of her articles, essays and papers, entitled *Slovenians in Australia* appeared posthumously. This book represents a valuable source of data for researchers into this area. The second half of the article discusses some of Irena Birsa's rare poems which though in manuscript form are subtly perfected and practically unknown to the general public.



**Stammers, Michael**, Kustos Pomorskega muzeja Merseyside, Albert Dock, Liverpool L3 4AQ, Velika Britanija

»Raj za delavnega človeka« – angleška zavest o izseljenstvu in Novi Zelandiji v dobi jadrnic

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 121–133

Izseljevanje predstavlja enega najvidnejših pojavov v demografski zgodovini Evrope 19. stoletja, pri čemer je imela Velika Britanija pomembno vlogo. Ocenjujejo, da se je v tem času od skupno 44 milijonov evropskih izseljencev izselilo kar 16 milijonov ljudi z britanskih otokov. Na tako množično izseljevanje je vplivala cela vrsta potisnih in na drugi strani privlačnih dejavnikov (an. 'push' and 'pull' factors), kot so brezposelnost na podeželju, porast prebivalstva, rast evropskih kolonij in razvoj parnega transporta. Ne glede na splošne vzroke izseljevanja pa sta posameznike pri njihovi odločitvi za izselitev motivirali predvsem njihovo prepričanje in dožemanje izseljenstva, ki sta bili odvisni od dostopnosti tovrstnih informacij. Te so se pojavljale v različnih oblikah, od spominskih zapisov z obiskov, pisem, knjig, časopisov pa do razgovorov s povratniki. Namen tega prispevka je raziskati, kako so tedanji potencialni izseljenci prihajali v stik z informacijami o Novi Zelandiji in njenih možnostih za priseljevanje.

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**Kurent, Tine T.**, dr., upokojeni redni profesor arhitekture, Igriška 12, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

**Kaj bo z gradivom profesorja Christiana za monografijo o Louisu Adamiču**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, Razprave o izseljenstvu, 10, 1999, str. 171–180

Profesorju Henryju A. Christianu je prerana smrt preprečila objavo monografije o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča. Njegova bogata zapuščina – zbrano gradivo o Adamiču – pa kljub temu predstavlja dragoceno osnovo za nadaljevanje njegovega raziskovalnega dela. Njegovi hčerki Judith Christian in Carolyn Needham sta darovali njegovo gradivo ustanovi Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) na Univerzi v Minnesoti. Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli, direktor IHRC, je poslano gradivo vključil v obstoječi arhiv IHRC in hkrati ustanovil »Sklad Louisa Adamiča in Henryja Christiana za slovenskoameriške študije«. Sklad naj bi podpiral slovenske ali ameriške podiplomske študente pri urejanju slovenskoameriškega gradiva v arhivu IHRC ter pri raziskovanju slovenskoameriške zgodovine in kulture.

**Stammers, Michael**, Keeper of Merseyside Maritime Museum, Albert Dock, Liverpool L3 4AQ, Great Britain

**'A Working Man's Paradise' – English awareness of emigration and New Zealand in the Age of Sail**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 121–133

Migration was a major phenomenon in the demographic history of Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and Britain played an important role with an estimated 16 million emigrants out of a European total of 44 million. A series of 'push' and 'pull' factors were at work including rural unemployment, rising population and the growth of European colonies and the development of steam transport. Whatever the macro causes individuals were motivated by belief and perception and these were influenced by the availability of information. This information took many forms including recollections of past visits, letters, books, newspapers etc. and this paper explores how potential emigrants found out about New Zealand.

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**About the material compiled by professor Christian for a monograph on Louis Adamic**

**Dve domovini/Two Homelands**, *Migration Studies*, 10, 1999, pp. 171–180

His premature death prevented Professor Henry A. Christian from publishing his monograph on life and work of Louis Adamic. However, he has left a rich legacy – his research material of Adamiciana – as a basis for the continuation of his work. His daughters, Judith Christian and Carolyn Needham, have donated his papers to the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) at the University of Minnesota. Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli, head of the IHRC, has added the new acquisition to the archives of the IHRC, and established »The Louis Adamic/Henry Christian Fund for Slovene American Studies«. This fund would provide research assistance for graduate students, either American or Slovene, who would help process Slovene-American materials in the IHRC, including the Christian papers, and at the same time, pursue graduate studies related to Slovene-American history and culture.



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