

Working-Class Tastes versus Working-Class Leaders' Cultural Agenda in a Diaspora Newspaper

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to determine the literary—and more broadly, artistic—tastes of working-class Slovene-Americans in the U.S. during the interwar period as compared to the mission of the main working-class Slovene-American newspaper, *Prosveta* (*Enlightenment*).² We sought to determine whether there was a discrepancy between the two and if so, the reasons for it. To that end, we posited that working-class tastes can be deduced from reports in *Prosveta* on theatrical performances. The reports were furnished by local contributors across the U.S. The newspaper editors' agenda can be seen in the selection of Slovene-language fiction and translations, which were a staple of *Prosveta's* contents. We examined reports on theatrical productions and fiction published in the newspaper from 1933 to 1937, when the theatrical performances were particularly numerous and when the paper and its sponsoring organization celebrated several important anniversaries and reflected on the past and founding principles. The results have shown that despite the continuous efforts of the editors to accustom their readers to classical authors, working-class audiences preferred light-hearted entertainment.

Key words: ethnic press, newspaper *Prosveta*, diaspora theater, translation studies

1. Introduction

In the late nineteenth century, between 1870 and 1900, almost twelve million immigrants arrived in the United States (Greenspan and Wooldrige 2018: 502), among them also a considerable number of Slovene-speaking immigrants from the Central-European monarchy of Austria-Hungary. It is estimated that between 1860 and 1914 up to 300,000 Slovene speakers moved

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² The translation of *prosveta* is “education.” “Enlightenment” is a synonym for “education.” “Enlightenment” was used in the publication information on p. 2 of the paper since its founding and was added to the masthead in 1979. Since 1916, the U.S. Postal Service has processed newspaper mailings as “The Enlightenment.” Thanks to the current editor, Jay Sedmak, for help with this information. Confusion may arise because the word is capitalized and could also refer in English to the historical period (Slov. *Razsvetljentsvo*).

to the U.S. (Klemenčič 2013: 614–15).³ In their new settlements, they started to establish fraternal insurance societies, which initially provided mainly support in case of illness, injury, and death, and later also promoted other community activities (Susel 1996). The largest among such fraternal insurance societies was the Slovenska narodna podporna jednota (Slovene National Benefit Society, hereafter SNPJ); for example, in 1937 the society had 49,478 members (Žitnik Serafin 2020: 259). The Slovene National Benefit Society defined itself as a progressive society, whose membership consisted mainly of working-class men and women.

Besides providing financial support to its members in need, the SNPJ and its local chapters or lodges also organized cultural events and supported the publication of a newspaper. The Society's Slovene newspaper was first called *Glasilo Slovenske narodne podporne enote* (Herald of the Slovene National Benefit Society, 1908–16), and from 1916 onwards *Prosveta* (*Enlightenment*). The language in which *Prosveta* was published changed throughout time: at first it was published entirely in Slovene, but from 1926 onwards it started publishing weekly English pages to address the younger generation of Slovene-Americans. Younger SNPJ members lobbied unsuccessfully for a daily English page in the 1930s, but starting in 1948, half of the eight-page paper was in English. In 2015, the last Slovene page was published in the newspaper, and today *Prosveta* is entirely in English. *Prosveta* was published six days a week from 1916 through 1933, then five days a week. This downward trend continued in the next decades: in 1970s it was published four times (or even less) a week, it then soon became a weekly, and has now turned into an online monthly. In its best days it had from 3000 to 7000 subscribers (Pogačar 2017: 343–44; Baer and Pokorn 2018).

2. The aim

The purpose of this article is to determine what were the literary—and more broadly, artistic—tastes of working-class Slovene-Americans in the U.S. during the interwar period as compared to the mission of the main working-class Slovene-American newspaper, *Prosveta* (*Enlightenment*). We sought to determine whether there was a discrepancy between the two and if so, the reasons for it. The prominent Slovene-American writer Louis Adamic, who described himself as a working-class writer for the working class, posited a disconnect, opining that workers did not read “books or serious, purposeful magazines and proletarian literature” (i.e., literature addressed to the working class); instead, the working class “hardly reads anything apart from the local

³ Klemenčič estimates 240,000. Another source puts the figure at 300,000 (Drnovšek 1994: 21).

Sunday and daily newspapers and an occasional copy of Liberty, True Romances, Wild West Tales or Screen Romances” (1934: 321–22).⁴

Prosveta’s cultural mission under editors Jože Zavertnik (1916–29) and Ivan Molek (1929–44) was set forth in the newspaper’s first issue:

“*Prosveta* will educate our working class in the progressive and modern spirit. There is a huge gap of ignorance, spiritual laziness and cultural backwardness among our people and a lot of work and effort will be needed to seal this gap. The sacred mission of *Prosveta* will be to endeavor to fill this gap.”⁵

In 1936, on the newspaper’s twentieth anniversary, SNPJ official (and post-WW II editor) Frank Zaitz asserted that the paper “fully lives up to the meaning of the word ENLIGHTENMENT,”⁶ and “educational papers, defenders of human rights, and builders of human civilization will always be needed!”⁷ The SNPJ’s leader, Vincent Cankar, had also reasserted *Prosveta*’s mission when the paper was experiencing financial difficulties in 1933: “The membership and Slovene people in America in general desire learning and need education, and there is no better means of educating people in general in the spirit of progressively conscious workers than a well-designed daily. *Prosveta* does both quite well.”⁸ Raising cultural awareness, part of which was increased appreciation of Slovene and world literature, went hand in hand with workers’ rights and dignity. This was the newspaper’s cultural mission, which Zavertnik and Molek sought to implement.

On the SNPJ’s thirtieth anniversary in 1934, Zaitz summarized Molek’s literary achievements since 1904 and drew a parallel between them

⁴ Proletarian literature of the 1930s meant literature by, for, or about the working class. Adamic and *Prosveta* editor Molek qualify in all three ways, but neither saw literature as a tool to inspire communist revolution (Enyeart 2019: 45). Later in the 1930s, Adamic tempered his pessimistic view of working-class readers (e-mail from John Enyeart, 11 February 2021).

⁵ *Prosveta*, 1 July 1916.

⁶ “pomenu besede PROSVETE odgovarja v polni meri”

⁷ “Vzgojni glasniki, branitelji ljudskih pravic in graditelji človečanske civilizacije, bodo zmerom potrebni!” (“Dvajset let Prosvete,” *Prosveta*, 1 July 1936).

⁸ “Članstvo in slovensko ljudstvo v Ameriki sploh pa je željno poduka in potrebuje izobrazbe, za izobrazbo splošnega ljudstva pa tudi ni boljšega sredstva ko je dober, v duhu napredno zavednega delavstva urejevan dnevnik. Prosveta vrši oboje prav dobro” (“Resna beseda o vprašanju dnevnika,” *Prosveta*, 25 January 1933). The mid-1930s were a retrospective time of taking stock for SNPJ leaders and *Prosveta*. Yet another anniversary, the SNPJ’s thirtieth, was marked by celebrations and prompted Ivan Molek’s short history of the organization in *Prosveta*, repeated in English in the 21 March, 28 March, and 4 April 1934 issues. The final installment emphasized the need to reconcile generations’ interests.

and the society's anniversary.⁹ The same year, part 2 of Molek's trilogy about a Slovene immigrant in America, *Veliko mravljišče* (The great anthill) was published in Ljubljana, and Adamic defended him (in English) against those in Slovenia who criticized Molek's writing style, pointing out his disadvantaged background and struggles in the U.S. Adamic characterized Molek as "an authentic and interesting Slovene writer..." who is "primarily (and frankly) a journalist, a recorder of things and events, a propagandist. We should accept him as such and be grateful to him."¹⁰ Yet, Molek, who made his way as a writer like Jack London's Martin Eden, did not reserve *Prosveta*'s pages exclusively for working class literature. *Prosveta* offered an ample number of "classics" from Slovene and world literature to educate its working-class readers.

It would be erroneous to equate working class literature in *Prosveta*—for, by, or about workers—with new American proletarian literature during the 1930s, as epitomized in the well-known anthology *Proletarian Literature in the United States* (Hicks et al. 1935). First of all, most Slovene emigres came from rural areas and entered the industrial labor force in the U.S. Fiction in *Prosveta* with rural settings in the homeland may have interested them. Second-generation Slovene-Americans were more likely to identify not with a class but with (the Caucasian) race and their ethnic heritage (Lauter and Fitzgerald 2001: 7). Literature about the working class in *Prosveta* must be understood broadly as literature about the disadvantaged in U.S. society, the homeland, and other countries that could increase readers' awareness of the reasons for their social status. Other kinds of fiction could lift their cultural level, as *Prosveta* editors saw it, in general.

3. The corpus and the method

We posited that working-class tastes can be deduced from reports in *Prosveta* on theatrical performances. The reports were furnished by local contributors across the U.S. The majority of these reports appeared in the section of the newspaper called "Glasovi iz naših naselbin" (Voices from our communities) which was not regulated by the newspaper editor. We therefore considered these reports to reflect the taste of the community. The newspaper editors' agenda can be seen in the selection of Slovene-language fiction and literary translations, which were a staple of *Prosveta*'s contents. We examined reports on theatrical productions and fiction (original and translated) published in the newspaper from 1933 to 1937. This period of five years was selected because in 1933 the number of issues of *Prosveta* fell from on average 305 issues per year (between 1918 and 1932) to 254 issues on

⁹ "Ob tridesetletnici društva Slavije in SNPJ," *Prosveta*, 28 March 1934.

¹⁰ "Molek Continues the Story of Tone Plesec," *Prosveta*, 3 January 1934. It is curious that nowhere in part 1 of the trilogy, *Two Worlds*, does Molek's character read.

average per year between 1933 and 1937. The circulation fell due to the stringent economic situation. During this period, despite and sometimes because of economic conditions, the paper and its sponsoring organization had matured, as can be seen in several important organizational anniversaries during those years—the thirtieth anniversary of the SNPJ, the twentieth anniversary of *Prosveta*, and the tenth of its English-language page—as well as reflections on the past and founding principles.

All issues of *Prosveta* are digitalized and available online in the Digital Library of Slovenia.¹¹ The majority of the material on the portal is provided by the National and University Library, which also keeps all issues of *Prosveta* in its periodicals department. We have examined both digitalized and original copies of the newspaper. All issues of *Prosveta* between 1933 and 1937 were read (in total 1269 issues), and all translations and reports on theatrical production published on its pages were recorded and examined. The lists were then compared to the catalogues on Wikisource,¹² which contain all published literary works in *Prosveta* for the years 1933, 1934, and 1935.¹³

3. Literary translations in *Prosveta*

Between 1933 and 1937, *Prosveta* continuously published literature (usually on its last page): either written originally in Slovene or in Slovene translation (figure 1). Between 1933 and 1937, translations represented 66% of all literary works published in *Prosveta*. In addition to that, two-thirds (67%) of all longer works published in installments were translations as well.

3.1 Serialized translations

When selecting the translations to be published in serialized form, *Prosveta*'s editors often chose translations of novels written by authors that supported the political orientation of the newspaper and were aligned with progressive views (figure 1). For example, in 1933 and 1934, just a year after its original publication, they published a Slovene translation of an autobiographical work by the most prominent Slovene-American author and a staunch socialist, Louis Adamic's *Laughing in the Jungle*; and in 1932 and 1933, the translation of similarly politically inclined Jack London's novel *The Iron Hill*. Slovene translations of Jack London's works were also published in 1935 and 1936 (*The Valley of the Moon*), and in 1936 and 1937 (*Smoke Bellew*). In 1934, they published the Slovene translation of the novel *Carl and Anna* by the

¹¹ <http://www.dlib.si/>

¹² <https://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Prosveta>

¹³ We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Miran Hladnik of the University of Ljubljana and his students, who have been assembling detailed data on *Prosveta* at sl.wikiversity.org, including on the years 1931–35 (Plantan 2018).

German socialist writer Leonhard Frank; in 1935, a translation of the most prominent representative of Soviet Socialist Realism, Maxim Gorky's *Mother*; and in 1937, the Slovene translation of *Familien Franck* by the Danish socialist writer Martin Andersen Nexø.

Year	Number of works	Number of translations	% translations	Number of serialized works	Number of translations among serialized works	% translations
1933	135	54	40%	4	2	50%
	112	57	51%	5	3	60%
1935	101	82	81%	4	2	50%
1936	149	122	82%	4	3	75%
1937	98	76	78%	3	3	100%

Fig. 1. Number of literary works and literary translations published in *Prosveta* between 1933 and 1937

In addition to publishing authors with kindred political views, the editors of *Prosveta* also published canonical writers, such as Emile Zola, Knut Hamsun, and Fyodor Dostoyevsky: in 1934 they published the entire Slovene translation of Zola's *Germinal*, in 1936 the translation of Knut Hamsun's *Hunger*, and in 1937 and 1938, that of Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*.

The majority of translations in *Prosveta* were reprints of translations that had already been published in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (figure 2). The majority of the translated literary works were first published in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes a few years before their reprint in *Prosveta*; for example, Slovene translations of Jack London's *Smoke Bellew*, *The Iron Heel*, and *The Valley of the Moon* were first published in Europe in 1926, in 1927, and in 1931 respectively—that is, four to ten years before they were reprinted in the Slovene-American newspaper. Similarly, the Slovene translation of Martin Andersen Nexø's work was published in Europe five years before (in 1932) and that of Frank's novel a year before (in 1933) its publication in *Prosveta*'s pages. Occasionally, however, and this seems to be the case of Gorky's *Mother* and Louis Adamic's *Laughing in the Jungle*, the translations appeared in *Prosveta* in the same year as they were published in book format in Europe.

Year translation published in <i>Prosveta</i>	Author	Original title	Translated title	Year original published	Year first published in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia
1932–33	Jack London	<i>The Iron Hill</i>	<i>Železna peta</i>	1908	1927
1933–34	Louis Adamic	<i>Laughing in the Jungle</i>	<i>Smeh v džungli</i>	1932	1933
	Leonhard Frank	<i>Karl und Anna</i>	<i>Karl in Ana</i>	1926	1933
	Émile Zola	<i>Germinal</i>	<i>Germinal</i>	1885	1933
1935	Maxim Gorky	<i>Mat'</i>	<i>Mati: socialen roman</i>	1909	1935
1935–36	Jack London	<i>The Valley of the Moon</i>	<i>Dolina meseca</i>	1913	1931
1936	Knut Hamsun	<i>Sult</i>	<i>Glad</i>	1890	1925
1936–37	Jack London	<i>Smoke Bellew</i>	<i>Krištof Dimač</i>	1912	1926
1937	Martin Andersen Nexø	<i>Familien Franck</i>	<i>Prokletstvo</i>	1901	1932
1937–38	Fyodor Dostoyevsky	Братья Карамáзовы	<i>Bratje Karamazovi</i>	1880	1929

Fig. 2. Translations serialized in *Prosveta*, 1933–37

3.2 Translations of short stories

Between 1933 and 1938, 391 Slovene translations of short stories were published in *Prosveta*—i.e., 78 translations on average per year. Translations were done from Croatian, Czech, Danish, English, Esperanto, French, German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Serbian; the names of translators were, in general, not given. Again, the editors published the works of the authors with whom they shared their political views (e.g., the Soviet authors Maxim Gorky, Ilya Ehrenburg (1891–1967), Mikhail Zoshchenko (1894–1958), and the Danish socialist author Martin Andersen Nexø), but also of those that provided entertainment to the readers. For example, the most popular authors were the satirical liberal Russian author Arkady Averchenko (1881–1925), and the Russian classic Anton Chekhov (1860–1904); the and liberal writer Karel Čapek (1890–1938), the Serbian author Branislav Nušić (1864–1938), the French short-story writer Frédéric Boutet (1874–1941), and the renowned

Anatole France and Guy de Maupassant; the British H. G. Wells, and the U.S. authors Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain. (It should be noted that France was a communist, as was Hašek for a brief time after WW I.) Besides these prominent authors, the newspaper published translations of many others, who wrote short stories mainly for entertainment purposes.

3.3 Translation of Slovene literary works into English

The vast majority of translated literary texts published in *Prosveta* between 1933 and 1937 were translations into Slovene. However, occasionally the editors also published English translations of Slovene literary works in its so-called “English pages,” which from 1926 onwards addressed the members of their community, in particular their second generation, who had shifted to English and were no longer fluent in Slovene. In 1934, for example, *Prosveta* thus published English translations of two short stories by the most prominent modernist Slovene author Ivan Cankar.

3.4 The purpose of translated literary works

In 1921, the editors published in *Prosveta* an article entitled “Izobrazba je ključ do vrat, ki vodijo v svobodo!” (Education is the key to the door that leads to freedom),¹⁴ in which they argued that workers should strive to better themselves through education and thus empower themselves. In order to help them along this path, in 1927 they introduced a special section to the newspaper entitled (“Biseri iz svetovne literature” (Gems of world literature), in which they published critical introductions to and translations of the works by Guy de Maupassant, Anatole France, Arthur Schopenhauer, Jules Lemaitre, William Shakespeare, J. W. Goethe, Giovanni Verga, Gerhart Hauptmann, Emile Zola, Francis Bacon, Mark Twain, Anton Chekhov, P. B. Shelley, G. Boccaccio, Honoré de Balzac, Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Leonid Andreev, Jules Verne, Gustave Flaubert, Washington Irving, Oscar Wilde, Maxim Gorky, E. A. Poe, Charles Lamb, F. M. Dostoyevsky, François Coppée, Jules Lemaitre, Charles Dickens, Alphonse Daudet and Jonathan Swift. They believed that workers should be educated through high-quality translations of literary and philosophical works.

A similar attempt was also made in the English pages of the newspaper. Already in 1926, they introduced a section called “Slovene literature,” which contained English translations of Slovene literary works and short biographies of prominent Slovene authors. The purpose of this was explained by the editors of the newspaper in 1926: “This, we hope, will be **educational** [authors’ emphasis] as well as interesting reading for everyone

¹⁴ 12 January 1941.

of our readers, and at the same time it will be an informative answer to all the numerous inquiries about Slovene literature.”¹⁵

The editors thus did not attempt to hide the fact that these translations were used for the instruction of their readers. In selecting the works for the education of their readership, however, the corpus of translated works shows that the editors chose predominantly classics, canonical authors, and had a preference for left-wing, progressive authors.

4. Reports on theatrical presentations

Local contributors to *Prosveta* regularly reported theatrical presentations in their communities across the U.S. The reports were found in the occasional section “Naši odri” (Our stages), in local SNPJ lodges’ missives to the paper, and in official reports on lodge activities. The contents of the reports varied widely, from a note that a play would be staged (sometimes without its title or author), to more extensive reports that named the players and/or provided a synopsis of the action. It is likely that not all performances were reported in *Prosveta*, and, of course, theatrical activities of other Slovene-American organizations, including Roman Catholic-affiliated ones, were not reported. Thus, the number of performances noted in *Prosveta* suggests widespread and vibrant amateur theater activities among Slovene-Americans.

Between 1933 and 1937, there was evidence of twenty-eight different plays a year on average—from twenty-four in 1933 and 1935 to thirty-nine in 1934. Many plays were put on by theatrical groups associated with local SNPJ lodges or cultural centers. In metropolitan areas like Chicago, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh, they attracted people from nearby towns, and sometimes took their performances there. Yet there were also reports of performances in remote places like Pueblo, Colorado and Eveluth, Minnesota.

Decisions about which plays to stage offer insights into the artistic preferences of Slovene-Americans across the U.S.—both those involved in theater and their audiences. There had been a strong preference for comedies, many of which were adaptations of foreign works, in amateur theatrical groups associated with reading societies in the Slovene-populated provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire since the mid-nineteenth century (Perenič 2011: 61–64).¹⁶ This might seem counterintuitive, given the amateur groups’ aims of promoting Slovene ethnic and national awareness and advancing their political interests in the Austrian Empire. In the U.S., choirs often formed the

¹⁵ “Introduction to Slovene Literature,” *Prosveta*, 12 May 1926.

¹⁶ Also see Perenič (2019) on Miroslav Vilhar, a leading author of comedic plays (sing. *šaloigra*) and locally grounded farces (sing. *burka*) for nineteenth-century Slovene reading clubs. Both terms are frequently used in reports to *Prosveta*, more often than comedy (*komedija*).

bases for theatrical groups, followed by dedicated drama groups and the Yugoslav Socialist Union's (Jugoslovanska socialistična zveza [JSZ]) drama clubs (Žitnik Serafin 2020: 273). The latter was relatively more inclined towards politically inspired works. Detroit's Slavec choir provides a good example of the first.¹⁷ The drama club Soča in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania (fifteen miles north of Pittsburgh) is representative of the second,¹⁸ while we find four JSZ clubs in Chicago staging a play about the Paris Commune in 1934.¹⁹ SNPJ lodges often cooperated with a drama group on a production.

Theatrical activities increased in the 1920s and, as we saw, continued through the economic turmoil of the 1930s. This took place as interest in amateur theater grew in the U.S., as evidenced by the spread of the Little Theater Movement from the 1920s. Two factors brought pressure to bear on *Prosveta*'s practice of publishing serious fiction. First, subscriptions decreased during the economic crisis of the early 1930s and the paper was reduced in size and weekly issues (to five) (Sedmak 2004: 41). The paper struggled to sell new subscriptions through the 1930s, while resisting pressure to increase the use of English (Sedmak 2004: 51).²⁰ The second factor was pressure from second-generation Slovene-Americans who were generally less interested in the paper's progressive stance, political reporting, and fiction to see more content—and preferably in English—devoted to athletics and social gatherings (Sedmak 2004: 47, 50–51). Nonetheless, *Prosveta*'s practice of publishing an array of fiction continued in the 1930s even if the number of works decreased. Theatrical groups faced similar tensions as they sought to preserve Slovene-language performances and attract audiences. Theatrical performances were artistic undertakings but also

¹⁷ For example, it staged Englebert Gangl's *Sin (Son)* 20 March 1934. L. Junko, "Naše aktivnosti," *Prosveta*, 28 March 1934.

¹⁸ For example, it performed Ivan Cankar's *Hlapci* on 31 December 1933. John Koklich, "Uspela uprizoritev 'Hlapcev,'" *Prosveta*, 12 January 1934.

¹⁹ Ivan Molek, "Proslava Pariške komune," *Prosveta* 8 March 1934. The play was entitled *Zadnji dan* (The last day) and written by Slovene-American Joško Oven. The report was written by *Prosveta*'s editor.

²⁰ The most serious challenge was in the early 1930s, but by 1937, subscriptions were still below target: 5,200 daily and 27,000 weekly copies. The publications manager said young SNPJ members were not becoming subscribers. (Philip Godina, "Report of the Manager of the SNPJ Publications" *Prosveta*, 17 March 1937). In 1933, an annual subscription cost six dollars ("Dnevnik za pet tednikov v družini" *Prosveta*, 14 June 1933). This was the equivalent per issue price of the *New York Times*, but included mailing. In 1933, when *Prosveta* was in serious financial trouble, SNPJ officer Vincent Cankar estimated the cost of an issue to be two cents and the subscription rate to be no costlier than rates of other daily papers in the U.S. (Vincent Cankar, "Resna beseda o vprašanju dnevnika," *Prosveta*, 25 January 1933).

social events and an avenue of escape from difficult daily lives during the Great Depression.

The range of theatrical presentations was wide. Our survey found a small number of productions for children, nineteenth-century and contemporary comedies, a substantial number of operettas, dramas by leading twentieth-century writer Ivan Cankar, plays about labor issues, and English-language plays, including by Eugene O'Neill, and contemporary comedies. Selections were doubtless a function of groups' and group leaders' interests and abilities but naturally had to take into account prospective appeal. A Chicago contributor put it this way in inviting people to the Sava choir's staging of Filip Terčelj's contemporary operetta *Srce in denar* (The heart and money): "Some of our more serious friends say that workers' stages shouldn't be given over to comedies, but host only workers' songs and plays, something more revolutionary. But there is no 'revolutionary' material to be had for comedies."²¹ He was surely correct that the choir's abilities (the first type of theatrical group) were better suited to comedy. The correspondent who reported on the Canonsburg production of Cankar's *Hlapci* (The servants, see note 15) observed the actors' difficulties:

The drama 'Hlapci' was one of the most difficult dramas to date on the Canonsburg stage. In the first and even second acts, the audience was a little restless, and the actors were unsure of themselves. They gradually improved, so that in the third act the drama came to life...²²

The easiest dramatic form for a choir was an operetta. A newspaper contributor's synopsis of the operetta *Snubači* (The suitors) shows how songs were linked to form a dramatic presentation (the quotation marks indicate the songs):

In scene 1, a girl is watering flowers and singing, "Where are my flowers." Her father is sitting on a bench in front of the house smoking his pipe. The boys sing in answer from the village, "Tonight we're going to court her, right to the house outside the village." They stop at the house and greet them,

²¹ "Nekateri naši bolj resni prijatelji pravijo, da bi se delavski odri ne smeli ukvarjati s komedijami, ampak le z delavskimi pesmami n igrami—z nekaj bolj revolucionarnim. Toda komedija ne more dobiti 'revolucionarnega' materiala na razpolago" (Tajnik, "Impozanten program prihodnjega Savinega koncerta," *Prosveta*, 14 November 1934).

²² "Drama 'Hlapci' je bila ena najtežjih dram kolikor se jih je že igralo na canonsburškem odru. V prvem in tudi v drugem dejanju je bilo občanstvo malo razburkano in tudi igralci so bili nesigurni. Stojema so se boljšali, tako da v tretjem dejanju je prišla drama do polne veljave..." (John Koklich, "Uspela uprizoritev 'Hlapcev,'" *Prosveta*, 12 January 1934).

“Good evening, father of the house...” and they leave. The father goes into the house. One of the boys remains. The girl comes out of the house. The boy sings to her, “Tell me, tell me, girl.” The girl doesn’t care for him... “because your hut is too small” and goes into the house. The boy is angry: “You’ll still come to me...” and he leaves. Another boy comes and sings, “My dad told me, marry, boy...” and leaves.

In scene 4, the girl comes out of the house and sings, “A little church stands on a hill, St. Anton reigns there...” and leaves.

Scene 5. Night. A third boy comes and looks around, frightened. He goes up to a window, knocks in fright, and sings, “Urška, Urška, are you already asleep?” The girl opens the window and the both sweetly sing like nightingales, “We’ll make our home, a home of happiness and peace, may our love there never end.” Another boy appears while they’re singing. He looks angrily at the boy flirting with the girl and threatens him with a fist. The boy and girl don’t notice him. Then he disappears behind a tree. There is a commotion behind the house. The boy and girl look at each other in fear but immediately calm down. The commotion becomes louder. The boy runs away frightened. Urška closes the window. The second boy comes back on stage and sadly and accusingly, “My love, what have you done...” and leaves.

In scene 7, the girl is sitting on the bench in front of the house with her handiwork. The boy suitors come and sing. In a while the father comes out of the house, sits down on the bench, and looks disparagingly at the suitors. A cobbler awkwardly bows to the girl and sings, “I’m a cobbler and I ask you if you’ll have me.” The girl doesn’t care for him and sings “...you sit on a stool all day and smell of tar at night.” After him, a tavern keeper, doctor, and carpenter court her, but the girl refuses them all. She likes only the gardener, because “...he sits in the garden all day and smells of flowers at night.” The father is enraged and thunders, “You worthless suitors...” The boys are angry and answer, “So long, dad, blow it out of your ear and find other suitors.” The boys leave. A somewhat dirty Juriј Klančič comes around the house. The girl opens the window and douses him with water. Juriј is all wet. The boys, who are watching him in hiding, laugh at him, “...you’re a handsome lad, your threads are wet.” They sing to the girl from in front of the house, “good night, vain girl, you’ve chased off

all the boys, ta-dum. You'll be an old maid, and we're leaving,
leaving. Yippee."²³

The synopsis shows how the production moved quickly from scene to scene and the script consisted of a series of popular songs that the audience could as well have heard in concert.

Four of the thirty-nine different productions in 1934 were operettas (*operetta* or *spevoigra*) and a fifth was called a "farce with singing" (*burka s petjem*). An exception was the most ambitious musical production reported during these years, a joint Slovene-Czech staging of Smetana's *Bartered Bride* in Cleveland. The proportion of comedies and operettas to all theatrical productions 1933–37 was 32%, 38%, 30%, 52%, and 61% (raw numbers: 7, 15, 7, 12, 19), pointing to an increasing trend. There might in fact have been more, but we were unable to categorize some productions or their titles were missing from newspaper reports.

Yet the proportion of non-comedic productions during these years was surprisingly high. The director of one of the most popular dramas on labor themes, *Rdeče rože* (Red roses), spoke to the issue of play selection before a performance by an established Cleveland troupe:

In his brief greeting remarks, Louis Kaferle stressed that the current times demand some clear labor content, from which workers can learn, instead of shallow farces and comedies. The Anton Verovšek Drama Society, being aware of that, decided to stage the labor drama *Rdeče rože*.²⁴

The action of the contemporary (1932) play, which was staged in the Dravska banovina (equivalent to today's Slovenia) and the U.S., is summarized for readers of *Prosveta*:

The conscientious worker Tone Jerič, a workers' representative and organizer, has two children with his wife Cilka. His wife's sister Ivanka lives with them. She is supposed to marry France, Tone's co-worker and close friend. France and Ivanka prepare a house and look forward to the day they set up household there. Ivanka's sister Cilka is ill. She has liver problems and her days

²³ Rudolf Skala, "Koncert in 'Snubači' na waukeganskem odru," *Prosveta*, 16 March 1937.

²⁴ "...Louis Kaferle s kratkim pozdravnim nagovorom, v katerem je povdaril, da zahteva današnji čas, da se postavi na naše odre namesto plehkih burk in komedij nakaj izrazito delavskega, nekaj, od česar se delavstvo lahko nekaj nauči; dram. Društvo Anton Verovšek se tega zaveda, zato se je odločilo postaviti na oder delavsko dramo 'Rdeče rože'" (Ivan Jontez, "Pismo iz Clevelanda," *Prosveta*, 18 October 1934). The audience of 400 at the 14 October performance suggests substantial community interest. Jontez contributed fiction on labor themes to *Prosveta*.

are numbered. All four are nice people and industrious and conscientious workers who see and feel the injustices in the factory. Tone prepares the workers for a strike with France's help. They're aware that a strike is no easy thing, that they could lose everything. Nonetheless, the workers are determined to strike against the poor conditions, layoffs, and pay cuts.

The heartless foreman Filder runs the factory. He uses every underhanded means to ruin conscientious workers and their organization. He's a good example of a dissolute and immoral boss. He satisfies his inhuman passions with the poor female workers who become his victims, and then he tosses them off. He intends to get Ivanka, too, but his vicious plan is foiled. Tone is a thorn in his side because he is the chief leader of the conscientious workers in Filder's factory. He uses sharp tongues to ruin him. He has a few traitors to the workers on his side. The betrayed and robbed worker Mara comes in handy. He had ruined her. Tone is arrested on suspicion of having murdered Filder. Cilka dies as a result of the charge against her husband... Tone is finally cleared when it turns out that Mara murdered Filder.²⁵

The straightforward parallel between abuse of laborers and sexual abuse is at the heart of another play, *Kamnolom* (The quarry), by leading Slovene social realist writer Tone Seliškar. (Both *Rdeče rože* and *Kamnolom* are set in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.) It is notable that *Kamnolom* was a JSZ Chicago production; based on a correspondent's summary, it is difficult to imagine it being staged in smaller towns by SNPJ-affiliated drama groups:

A young, energetic labor leader, Milan, and his beautiful wife Liza live in a blue-collar neighborhood of an industrial city. Their marriage is happy for the first years, but fate suddenly brings a handsome, morally degenerate foreman, Alfred, to the quarry. Liza is more inclined to bad than good, so intimate relations develop between them, and they don't remain secret for long. Whispers about the affair reach Milan, and a worm of jealousy grows in him, eating at his soul until it boils over. That's the condition we find Milan in when the factory siren sounds, to which he is loath to respond in his extreme spiritual torment. When Milan leaves for work, Alfred suddenly shows up. He has a criminal idea in mind—to send Milan to the Bosnian quarries and thus clear his path to Liza. But then Adam

²⁵ P.O., "Rdeče rože na našem odru," *Prosveta*, 10 October 1934.

comes into the room. There is a wild scene between him and Liza.

In act 2, men and women workers appear by the quarry enjoying their meager lunch. Some joke, others read, and yet others philosophize, with Milan thinking about his fate and his Liza's 'dull, watery eyes.' Alfred tries hard to convince Milan to go to the Bosnian quarries. But then Milan gets fired up. The anger he has been nurturing at this scoundrel explodes with dynamic force: he tells him in no uncertain terms what he thinks of him, and threatens him with a stick of dynamite. Milan has a spiritual awakening. In his sick imagination he sees grotesque monstrosities flying in his face. It is then the workers call on him to blow up a cliff. Milan remains in a dangerous spot until the explosion takes place. The results are horrific; the workers bring Milan out of the quarry crippled and blind.

The third act takes us to Milan's home. Adam is in his element; he stands before Liza like a grotesque mask and pronounces a terrible judgment on her, but she has lost her last feelings of dignity and lets loose in his face. Alfred comes upon the scene with dishonorable intentions. He has brought champagne and a silk dress with him. Drinking orgies follow, and there would be others, too, were it not for Milan's spirit. Liza floats in heavenly heights. She has drunk the cup of intoxication to the bottom. She drives Alfred to distraction with her flirting. She reaches the height of outrageousness when she wheels the crippled Milan from his room and makes fun of both of them. Then a spark of life appears in Milan's wounded brain; he works his way to Liza and in his agony starts to strangle her. Seeing this, Alfred gets a knife, which Liza pulls out of his hands, and sticks it in her husband's heart. After this tragedy, Liza and Alfred's relationship completely changes. Adam finds his son Milan dead and vows to brutally avenge him.

Fourth act: The despairing Liza and her lover arrive at a villa. Even though she is naïve, she gradually starts to realize her crime, and begs Alfred to take her with him to Vienna, but she encounters unexpected resistance from him. Even though he is an accomplice, the villain casts all the blame on Liza and lets loose on her. She gathers from his sarcastic remarks that she was just a concubine for him, as were countless others, so she becomes rebellious. There follow extremely tense scenes that will deeply affect your emotions. In the meantime, an enraged mob looking for Alfred bursts onto the scene, led by Adam, but the coward escapes them. Then the women attack Liza and beat her to death. Her last words are devoted to Adam, but her eyes express a silent indictment of the ferocious

representative of capitalism, which is guilty of the deaths of two young and loving hearts.²⁶

The reporter surely highlights sensational scenes in the interests of attendance, and in so doing the exploitation parallel breaks down, especially when he tells of Liza killing her husband and the mob exacting justice on her, a person who is said to have been predisposed to immorality. Turning parts of the script into song in the U.S. production seems to have been a way to increase audience appeal.

Prosveta editor Ivan Molek was the (Slovene-)American counterpart of Moškrič and Seliškar. There were reports in *Prosveta* on six of his plays between 1934 and 1937.²⁷ Dramas on labor themes by such playwrights as Moškrič, Seliškar, and Molek were contemporary, while comedies and musical dramas were from different periods. A number of plays were twenty to fifty years old. For example, Ivan Kovačič Soški's comedy *Sokratov god*, performed in 1933, was published in 1911. The same year and in 1935, Fran Govekar's popular musical drama *Rokovnjači* (The robbers) was staged; it was originally published in 1899. In 1934, Jaka Štoka's comedy *Moč uniforme* (The power of the uniform), published in 1909, was performed in the Cleveland area. Another turn-of-the-century comedy, staged in 1936, was Ernest Klavžar's *V posredovalnici* (At the agency). The oldest comedy put on during these years was Rudolf Hahn's *Čevljar baron* or *Baron-Čevljar* (Baron shoemaker, a translation from German). A musical comedy, it was performed in Ljubljana as early as 1871, and was one of the few plays that appeared in *Prosveta* reports in more than one year (1935–36). A summary of the action shows how the classic comedic trope of a recovered birthright is inverted in favor of lower social class identity:

Six years of apprenticeship for shoemaking or any other trade is really a long time. In the old days, when a guild master belonged to the leading burghers and his helper was somebody, too, a six-year apprenticeship for any occupation was usual...

And the musical play 'Baron-Čevljar,' which will be the second part of Sava's Sunday, 24 November fall concert in the SNPJ hall, revolves around the life of Nace, a shoemaker's apprentice. Nace (John Hujan) learned shoemaking for six years, raised children, cleaned shoes, and received kicks or blows with a belt. And when he was done, he found out that he wasn't an 'ordinary animal' but a baron. Soon after he was born, his wet nurse had switched him with her son Ralf because she

²⁶ Frank Česen, "Zadnji klic za Kamnolom," *Prosveta* 1 July 1936.

²⁷ Molek published all forty-eight plays in periodicals (Lukšič Hacin et al.: 342)

wanted to make him a baron, and a make a shoemaker out of the baron's son.

When Nace learns of the trick, When Nace learns of the trick, he goes to the home of his mother, Countess Ostrovrški's (Mary Udovich) home with all of his common-sense, cobbler's humor, and he feels good. He struts around the yard like a rooster. But Nace was raised among simple people and soon realizes he doesn't belong with 'higher ups,' despite his noble background. When his former cobbler comrades come to visit and his beloved Marička (Ernestine Jugg) falls into his arms, he decides to hang up his baron's title, wed, and become a master shoemaker. His mother goes on to dote upon her imagined son Ralf (Anton Medved) and treating her noble headaches.

That is the core of the musical play, which is full of humor with songs worked in.

The *Prosveta* correspondent reminds readers of the way apprenticeships worked in nineteenth-century Slovenia, because they were several generations removed from the reality of the "old country," yet however much the societies differed, social differences were easily comprehended. The comedy is far from a play about the labor struggle; instead, it is a humorous look at class consciousness.

Some of the same divisions that existed among the works of fiction published in *Prosveta* apply to the theatrical productions reported in the paper. In addition to genre differences discussed thus far, there were full-length productions, such as Cankar's *Hlapci*, and one-acts; plays by Slovene-Americans and writers in Slovenia; and original Slovene-language works and translations. The one difference without a parallel in *Prosveta* was a number of English-language plays. Full-length productions were in the minority. In 1933, for instance, there were only three: two productions of Cankar's *Hlapci*, and one of Fran Govekar's *Rokovnjači*, and one of Fran Saleški Finžgar's *Veriga*. This is understandable, since amateur companies put on only one performance, unless they took it to another town. Appendices 1–5 show that with the exception of Molek's plays, the works of only a few Slovene-American writers were staged each year. The majority of scripts were by Slovene writers from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s. A significant number of plays were translated into Slovene. A surprising finding was that there were from one to four English-language plays put on each year, a clear sign of shifting audience interest and probably language ability, and a sign of headwinds for amateur theatrical groups' goal of preserving the language in public performances.

The research was based on reports of theatrical productions—most of them upcoming—in *Prosveta*. The reports from localities across the U.S.

were generally quite brief. Correspondents treated a production as a local event to which they were inviting newspaper readers on behalf of sponsoring organizations, and so they gave performance times and sometimes ticket prices. They frequently omitted the names of playwrights and never indicated that a play was translated into Slovene. A number of correspondents even left out the title of the play. Since these were reports on local events, correspondents not infrequently listed the names of the amateur actors and noted activities before and after the play, further strengthening the impression that, like dances and picnics, the performances were social events. This supports the proposition that audience interest was an important factor in selecting works to perform. Brevity (noting a play was a one-act), genre (comedy, operetta), success (reception in another locale), and sometimes cultural importance (a classic like *Hlapci*) were pieces of information that were highlighted in reports. A correspondent who writes a detailed description of a comedy about two frauds includes pointed appeals: A man “brings a chicken in to be treated and says he has ‘no luck with girls,’ because no one wants to have him as a ‘match,’ so he’s looking for help, which he gets. (It’s a good reason for young men who would like to meet a girl and get married but for some reason girls don’t like them to come to the play.)” The correspondent concludes that,

audience members will have a chance to see things they have never seen in their lives. If you die beforehand, you’ll be sorry afterwards. If you see nothing but how they pull teeth by a “new method,” it’s worth it for every normally educated person to pay a dollar. But we’ve set a reduced price of 35 cents for advance tickets and 50 cents the day of the show, and so we’ve made it possible for every Slovene living in Waukegan and North Chicago to have a really good time... What I’ve written is just a bit of what will happen on the day of the show. I also ought to mention that you should wear a sturdy belt so as not to burst from laughing.²⁸

The section of *Prosveta* that this appeared in, “Glasovi iz naših naselbin” (Voices from our communities), carried most of the news on theatrical performances. The newspaper editor did not regulate the contributions, an additional reason for considering the reports on theatrical events as indicators of Slovene community members’ preferences.

Their preferences were for entertaining art, including choir performances and comedies, which was part of a community’s social gatherings. *Prosveta* reports on theatrical performances often noted choir performances that would take place before or after and refreshments. There was scant mention of dramas’ educational value, except in instances like a

²⁸ Martin Judnič, “‘Dva potepuha’ v Waukeganu,” *Prosveta*, 6 February 1936.

presentation of Cankar's *Hlapci* or a Molek play. In this regard, the selection of plays in the mid-1930s diverged from *Prosveta's* unwavering dedication to fiction to raise workers' level of education. Editor Molek and Publications Manager Filip Godina maintained this program, which went back to *Prosveta's* founding, and they could afford to do so despite business challenges thanks to subsidies from the SNPJ. Promoting *delavska kultura* 'workers' culture' and class consciousness was a noble pursuit but a costly one given the falling number of readers whose first language was Slovene. Younger SNPJ members and Slovene-Americans in general were not likely to be engaged by literature meant to enlighten them, and perhaps not by reading at all.

The divergent interests of *Prosveta's* editors and younger Slovene-Americans were evident at the SNPJ's May 1937 convention. A resolution on the SNPJ's principles obligated the society to support cultural as well as political action in the interests of labor, pointing to the publishing house Prosvetna matica in Chicago and the *Cankarjeva revija* (Cankar review) in Cleveland as examples. It went on to cite the need for more educational and political work with younger, English-speaking members, to "foster cultural activity among our youth and at the same time... financially support athletics."²⁹ The opposition of cultural activity and athletics encapsulated a generational divide that had been expanding since the English section of *Prosveta* began a decade earlier.

5. Conclusions

The survey of theatrical performances in Slovene-American communities in the U.S. from 1933 to 1937, as reported in *Prosveta*, shows a significant divergence between the artistic tastes in the varied locales and the tastes of cultural leaders at the newspaper, as evidenced in the choice of literary publications during the same years. While there were theatrical productions on labor themes, among them some authored by *Prosveta's* prolific editor, Ivan Molek, there appears to have been a preference for and trend towards comedies based on audience appeal and the fact that singing groups frequently staged theatrical performances.³⁰ Choirs' role in staging theatrical performances in part explains the trend towards comedies. As was the case with nineteenth-century reading societies' productions of comedies, language preservation partnered well with comedic genres, while labor class-conscious drama, like much of *Prosveta's* fiction, especially serialized translations, did

²⁹ Donald J. Lotrich, "Enajsta redna konvencija SNPJ" *Prosveta* 2 June 1937. See also: Donald J. Lotrich, "Enajsta redna konvencija SNPJ. Resolucija za gojitev atletike v SNPJ" *Prosveta* 10 June 1937.

³⁰ The survey did not include the regular and numerous reports on singing groups' concerts. Data on concerts would furnish an argument for song being a superior vehicle for preserving the Slovene language in America.

not play a role in language maintenance. Comedies staged in Slovene-American communities were enjoyable social events that provided escape from challenging circumstances during the Great Depression. Some short fiction in *Prosveta* was—and had been since the paper’s founding—for entertainment, but the greatest volume had an educational purpose. Theatrical productions and *Prosveta* contributors’ reports on them represented different artistic preferences, ones that favored entertainment and acknowledged the social aspect of attending performances. Theatrical productions and *Prosveta* contributors’ reports on them largely represented divergent artistic tastes, ones that favored lighter entertainment that was still in the Slovene language, and emphasized the social aspect of attending performances.

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Appendix 1: reports on theatrical presentations, 1933

22 different plays (one-acts counted together), 7 identifiable as comedies or operettas, 3 identifiable as by Slovene-American authors (Ivan Molek, Frank Zaitz, Katka Zupančič)

<i>Prosveta</i> edition	performance	title	author	location	group
13 Jan.	1 Jan.	Trije vaški svetniki	[J. Armand and J. Balda]	Canonsburg, PA	Soča
5 Jan.	11 Dec. 1932	Mrak	Branislav Nušič	Cleveland	Verovšek drama society
3 March	? ³¹	3 one-acts	?	Chicago	Czech choir Karl Marks
30 March	26 March	3 one-acts Za narodovo žulje	? Frank Zaitz	Chicago	Czech choir Karl Marks
6 April	30 April	Hlapci	Ivan Cankar	Strabane, PA	Postojnska jama 138 ³²
13 April	28 April	Veriga	[Fran Saleški Finžgar]	Milwaukee	Slovene Home drama group and choir
20 April	30 April	Za narodovo žulje	Frank Zaitz	Milwaukee	Socialist Club 37, 130
"	"	They Found Themselves	?	"	
26 May	30 May	Ciganka in njeni otroci	?	Canton, OH	
1 June	30 May	Janko Brič in njegovi otroci	Katka Župančič		children's school group Pionir
1 June	3 June	Sokratov god	[Ivan Kovačič Soški]	Lorain, OH	drama section of Slovene Home

³¹ A question mark or blank cell indicates that information is missing from the *Prosveta* article. Information in brackets is supplied by the authors.

³² A numeral next to an organization's name indicates an SNPJ lodge.

5 June	10 June	Loud Speaker	John Howard Lawson	Chicago	drama section of Youth Labor League
25 Oct.	29 Oct.	Rokovnjači	[Fran Govekar]	Milwaukee	
1 Nov.	?	Nova igra	Ivan Molek	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
2 Nov.	11 Nov.	Postrešek Nace pri zaslišanju	?	Bridgeport, OH	Socialist Club 11
15 Nov.	19 Nov.	Ženitev	?	Johnstown, PA	Naša sloga 600
22 Nov.	2 Dec.	Železni križ	?	Luzerne, PA	Kammik 204
29 Nov.	3 Dec.	V nedeljo zjutraj	Ivan Molek	Pueblo, CO	society Orel
	"	Slovenski Janez v New Yorku	?	"	"
29 Nov.	recently	Ženitev	?	Johnstown, Pa.	Women's society 600
1 Dec.	?	Grobovi bodo izpregovorili	?	Springfield, IL	Socialist Club
11 Dec.	31 Dec.	Hlapci	Ivan Cankar	Canonsburg, PA	drama club Soča
18 Dec.	24 Dec.	Kdor ne uboga ga tepe nadloga	?	Sharon Farrell, PA	
26 Dec.	17 Dec.	Pepelčica	folktale	Cleveland	
27 Dec.	31 Dec.	Gospa Kordula ali Gašper Strahopetec	[Ernest Klavžar]	Moon Run, PA	

Appendix 2: reports on theatrical presentations, 1934

39 different dramas, 15 identifiable as comedies, 3 identifiable as Slovene-American authors (Ivan Molek, Joško Oven, Etbin Kristan)

<i>Prosveta</i> edition	perfor- mance	title	author	location	group
12 Jan.	31 Dec.	Hlapci	Cankar	Canonsburg, PA	Soča drama society
17 Jan.	31 Dec. 1933	Radikalna kura	[Rudolf Dobovišek]	Detroit	
2 Feb.	4 Feb. 26 Nov. 1933	Srce	?	Cleveland	Delavec choir, Socialist Club 28
16 Feb.	11 Feb.	Moč uniforme	[Jaka Štoka]	Cleveland	
19 Feb.	11 Feb. 13 May	three-act play Dve sestri	?	Chisholm, MN	
19 Feb.	24 Feb.	Sem se oženil, se kesam Nace Hlačnica	? ?	Gowanda, NY	
22 Feb.	11 Feb.	Nova igra Parlor Matches	Ivan Molek [Walter Ben Hare]	La Salle, IL	Mohawk
22 Feb.	4 March	?		Gilbert, MN	?
28 Feb.	4 March	Zadnji dan	Joško Oven	Chicago	Socialist Club 16, 20, 224
8 March	?	Zadnji dan	Joško Oven	Chicago	4 Socialist Clubs
8 March	17 March	Sin	[Englebert Gangl]	Detroit	
15 March	25 March	Kdo je blazen Black "Ell"	? [Miles Malleeson]	Cleveland	Zarja
21 March	25 March	Kdo je blazen Black Ell [sic 'Ell]	Etbin Kristan [Miles Malleeson]	Cleveland	Zarja choir
28 March	20 March Easter week	Sin Nova igra Wedding	[Englebert Gangl] Ivan Molek ?	Detroit	choir Slavec Socialist Clubs 114, 115
2 April	7 April	Kobila in Nevesta Prisega v polnoči	? [Manica Koman]	Canonsburg, PA Pittsburg	Soča drama society Soča drama society

6 April	15 April	Navadni človek	[Miran Jarc]	La Salle, IL	Slovene Nation Home
12 April	15 April 28 April	Ženitev Nova igra Nova igra	? Ivan Molek Ivan Molek	Waukegan, IL Cleveland	Socialist Club
13 April	recently	What Price Coal [Živela] zdrava kri	Upton Sinclair Ivan Molek	Cleveland Cleveland	
18 April	29 April	Mačka in kanarček	?	Cleveland	
18 April	29 April	kratka igra o stricu Gašperju	?	Chicago	
20 April	7 April	Moč uniforme	[Jaka Štoka]	Girard, Oh.	
25 April	?	Živela zdrava kri	[Molek]	Milwaukee	
25 April	7 April	Moč uniforme	[Jaka Štoka]	Girard, OH	Drama society Verovšek
25 April	29 April	Prisega v polnoči	[Manica Koman]	Pittsburg	Soča drama society
25 April	19 May	Poročna noč	?	Johnstown, PA	Naša sloga 600
25 April	29 April	Stric Gašper	?	Chicago	
26 April	29 April	Grobovi bodo izpregovorili Navaden človek	? [Miran Jarc]	La Salle, IL	Oglesby and La Salle actors
2 May	7 April	Moč uniforme	[Jaka Štoka]	Girard, OH	Drama society Verovšek
2 May	6 May	?	?	Detroit	Svoboda in Slavec choirs
17 May	6 May	Ciganska nevesta	?	Detroit	Svoboda in Slavec choirs
31 May	3 June	Cigani	?	Pittsburgh	Rokonjači
18 July	29 July	Prodana nevesta	Smetana	Cleveland	Zarja and Vojan choirs
10 Sept.	Labor Day	Andrej in njegovi grehi	?	Belle Vernon, PA	society Nagelj, Valley
14 Sept.	Labor Day	Andrej in njegovi grehi	?	Johnstown, PA	amateurs from Export, PA
28 Sept.	14 Oct.	Vlomilec	?	Waukegan, IL	
1 Oct.	21 Oct.	Ciganska nevesta	?	Detroit	Svoboda and Slavec choirs
5 Oct.	3 Sept.	Andrej in njegovi grehi	?	West Newton, PA	amateurs from Export, PA

10 Oct.	14 Oct.	Neznanje angleščine v Ameriki Živela zdrava kri	? [Molek]	Springfield, IL	
10 Oct.	21 Oct.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
10 Oct.	21 Oct.	Red Roses	Jože Moškrič	Chicago	
10 Oct.	21 Oct.	Bartered Bride	Smetana	Cleveland	Zarja and Vojan choirs
16 Oct.	21 Oct.	Ciganska nevesta	?	Detroit	
17 Oct.	21 Oct.	Rdeče rože	Mokrič [sic]	Chicago	
17 Oct.	21 Oct.	Ciganska nevesta	?	Detroit	
17 Oct.	21 Oct.	Ribičeva hči	[Ivan Pregelj]	Milwaukee	ženski pevski zbor Planinska Roža
17 Oct.	21 Oct.	two plays	?	Cleveland	amateurs
18 Oct.	21 Oct.	Ribičeva hči	[Ivan Pregelj]	Ribičeva hči	Planinska Roža
18 Oct.	4 Nov.	Na kmetiji in v kajžici	?	Cleveland	Delavec choir, Socialist Club 28
18 Oct.	14 Oct.	Rdeče rože	Moškric	Cleveland	drama society Verovšek
19 Oct.	29 Nov.	Prodana nevesta	Smetana	Cleveland	Zarja and Vojan choirs
24 Oct.	21 Oct. 5 weeks	Rdeče rože Srce in denar Rdeče rože	[Moškric] [Filip Terčelj]	Chicago	Sava Socialist Club 1
24 Oct.	29 Nov.	Prodana nevesta	[Smetana]	Cleveland	Zarja and Vojan choirs
24 Oct.	3 Nov.	Poslednji mož	?	Barberton, OH	
31 Oct.	3 Nov.	Glavni dobytek	[Fr. Lipah]	Canonsburg, PA	Soča drama so
31 Oct.	4 Nov.	Na kmetiji in v kajžici	?	Cleveland	Delavec from Newburg, OH
1 Nov.	4 Nov.	Na kmetiji in v kajžici	?	Cleveland	Delavec
14 Nov.	25 Nov.	Srce in denar	[Filip Terčelj]	Chicago	
15 Nov.	31 Dec.	Slaba vest	[Ludwig Arzengruber]	Waukegan, IL	

21 Nov.	29 Nov.	Nova igra	?	Moon Run, PA	
21 Nov.	25 Nov.	Srce in denar	[Filip Terčelj]	Chicago	
22 Nov.	30 Dec.	Slaba vest	?	Waukegan, IL	SND drama club
22 Nov.	Feb. or March	Katakombe	?	Waukegan, IL	SND drama club
27 Nov.	19 Nov.	Prodana nevesta	[Smetana]	Cleveland	Zarja and Voljan choirs
28 Nov.	13 Dec	Here Comes Charlie	[Jay Tobias]	La Salle, IL	
28 Nov.	2 Dec.	Srce in denar	[Filip Terčelj]	Chicago	Sava
28 Nov.	1 Dec.	Črodejna brivnica	[Dragotin Vodopivec]	Johnstown, PA	SNPJ 684
7 Dec.	4 Nov.	Na kmetiji in v kajžici	?	Cleveland	Delavec
10 Dec.	29 Dec.	three plays	?	Boydsville, OH	
10 Dec.	30 Dec.	Mučeniki	Simon Horvat	Los Angeles	
12 Dec.	16 Dec.	Deseti brat	[Josip Jurčič]	Lorain, OH	Reading room club
12 Dec.	13 Dec.	Here Comes Charlie	[Jay Tobias]	La Salle, IL	Mohawks 573
13 Dec.	25 Dec.	Brodar na Volgi	?	Youngstown OH	amateurs from Farrell, PA
13 Dec.	24 Dec.	Stevedore	?	Chicago	
21 Dec.	29 Dec.	three one-acts	?	Boydsville, OH	

Appendix 3: reports on theatrical presentations, 1935

23 different dramas, 7 identifiable as comedies, 1 identifiable as Slovene-American author (Ivan Molek)

<i>Prosveta</i> edition	performance	title	author	location	group
20 Feb.	23 Feb.	Pastir Peter in kralj Briljantin ter copernica Hudamora	?	Indianapolis	
27 Feb.	3 March	Rdeče rože	Jože Mokrič [sic]	Detroit	Socialist Club 114, 115
27 Feb.	10 March	Biserno slavje Mi rastemo	Molek	Chicago	Socialist Club 1 School group
13 March	31 March	Plehar v Leadvillu	?	Pueblo, CO	
13 March	7 April	The Hairy Ape	Eugene O'Neill	Detroit	Socialist Club 114
13 March	3 Feb.	operetta	?	Barberton, OH	Delavec choir and Javornik choir
17 April	14 April	Kmeta ali gospoda	?	Chicago	Sava choir
17 April	28 April	Ciganin	?	Struthers, OH	Tamburize n group Velebit
17 April	4 May	Krst revoljucionarja	?	?down, PA	
17 April	5 May 19 May	Rdeče rože "	[Jože Mokrič]	LaSalle, IL Waukegan, Ill.	Socialist Club 1 "
17 April	21 April	Trpini	?	Lorain, OH	drama club of Bled SNPJ
24 April	28 April	Ciganka	?	Cleveland	Delavec
24 April	1 May	Pol vode, pol vina	?	Cicero, IL	
29 April	planned Easter week, canceled	Živo srebro	?	North Chicago, IL	Slovene National Home drama club

29 April	8 June	O ta maček	?	Johnstown, PA	Triglav 82
29 April	4 May	Krst revolucionarj a	?	Johnstown, PA	
8 May	19 May	Rdeče rože	[Jože Mokrič]	Waukegan, IL	
8 May	21 April	Rdeče rože	Mokrič	Canons- burg, PA	Ilirija choir
8 May	5 May	Rdeče rože	Mokrič	La Salle, Ill.	
8 May	11 May	?		Bridgeport, OH	Socialist Club 11
29 May	2 June	Rdeče rože	Jože Moškrič [sic]	Library, PA	Soča drama society
29 May	1 June	Kovačev študent Cynthia's Strategy	[Vinko Vodopivec] [May Hewes Dodge]	Willard, WI	
14 Oct.	27 Oct.	Rokovnjači	[Fran Govekar]	Pittsburgh, PA	
17 Oct.	27 Oct.	Biserno slavje	Ivan Molek	Detroit	Socialist Club 114, 115
11 Nov.	17 Nov.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Mokrič]	West Allis, WI	Socialist Club 1
13 Nov.	16 Nov.	The Great Plumner Breach of Promise Case	[Effie Woodward Meriman]	Library, PA	Library educa- tional center
13 Nov.	24 Nov.	Baron- Čevljar	?	Chicago	Sava choir
13 Nov.	17 Nov.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Milwaukee	Socialist Club 1
25 Nov.	15 Dec.	New Deal	[Molek]	West Allis, WI	Socialist Club 37
9 Dec.	30 Nov.	Biserno slavje Zamorska brivnica	Ivan Molek	Cleveland	
9 Dec.	1 Jan. 1936	Mlinar in njegova hči	[Ernst Benjamin Salomo Raupach]	Detroit	

Appendix 4: reports on theatrical presentations, 1936

23 different dramas, 12 identifiable as comedies, 1 identifiable as a Slovene-American author (Katka Zupančič)

edition	performance date	title	author	location	group
14 Jan.	25 Dec. 1935	Trije Miklavži	Katka Zupančičeva	Strabane, PA	SNPJ 138, 589
15 Jan.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Sheboygan, WI	Socialist Club 1
22 Jan.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Sheboygan, WI	Socialist Club 1
24 Jan.	16 Feb.	Dva potepuha	?	Waukegan, IL	
29 Jan.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	Jože Moškrič	Sheboygan, WI	Socialist Club 1
29 Jan.	2 Feb.	Trije vaški svetniki	? [J. Armand and J. Balda]	Library, PA	Educational and entertainment center
29 Jan.	16 Feb.	Dva potepuha	?	Waukegan, IL	Slovene National Home drama club
5 Feb.	16 Feb.	Dva potepuha	?	Waukegan, IL	Slovene National Home drama club
5 Feb.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	Jože Moškrič	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
6 Feb.	8 Feb.	Fest fant	?	Cleveland	Cvet choir
6 Feb.					
8 Feb.	recently	Anarhist	?	Johnstown, PA	SNPJ 82
12 Feb.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Sheboygan, Wisc.	Socialist Club 1
12 Feb.	5 April	Čevljar baron	[Rudolf Hahn]	Cleveland	Socialist Club 27
12 Feb.	1 March 1 March	Mrak Micka	[Branislav Nušič] ?	Eveluth, MN	
12 Feb.	16 Feb.	Dva potepuha	?	Waukegan, IL	
13 Feb.	5 April	Čevljar baron	[Rudolf Hahn]	Cleveland	Zarja choir
13 Feb.	16 Feb.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	Sheboygan, WI	Socialist Club 1

18 March	22 March	Trije tički	?	Cleveland	SNPJ 477
18 March	12 April	Razkrinkana morala	Jože Moškrič	Canonsburg, PA	Soča drama society
1 April	5 April	Baron čevljar	[Rudolf Hahn]		
1 April 1935	12 April 1935	Gostilna pfi Figovcu	?	Detroit	Svoboda choir
1 April 1935	12 April	Revček Andrejček	[Karol Morré]	Barberton, OH	Slovenija drama club
22 April	26 April	Prodani ded	?	Chicago	
22 April	26 April	Kamnolom	Tone Seliškar	Detroit	Socialist Club 114, 115
22 April	past Saturday	Ile	O'Neill	Cleveland	Jugoslav Little Theater
6 May	1 May	Falcon Dolls from Everywhere	?	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
10 June	4 July	Kamnolom	Tone Seliškar; J. Berliag wrote music for prose	Chicago	Socialist Club 114, 115
1 July	4 July	V posredovalnici	[E. Klavžar]	Canonsburg, PA	Soča drama society
1 July	4 July	Kamnolom	Tone Seliškar		
29 July	6 Sept.	Vdova Rošlinka	[Cvetko Golar]	Library, PA	
30 Sept.	11 Oct.	Rdeče rože	[Jože Moškrič]	South Chicago, IL	Socialist Club 1
30 Sept.	4 Oct.	?	?	Cleveland	Vipavski raj SNPJ
14 Oct.	1? Nov.	Glavni dobitek	Fr. Lipah	Waukegan, IL	
14 Oct.	24 Oct.	Trije vaški svetniki	[J. Armand and J. Balda]	Barberton, OH	Ljubljana SNPJ 73
14 Oct.	15 Nov.	Izganjanje vruga	?	Chicago	SNPJ 86
14 Oct.	18 Oct.	? (kratka igra)		Cleveland	Cankar Foundation
28 Oct.	1 Nov. 29 Nov.	Glavni dobitek	[Fr. Lipah]	Waukegan, IL Milwaukee	
25 Nov.	29 Nov.	Hlapec Jernej	Cankar	Cleveland	Cankar Foundation

27 Nov.	10 Dec.	The Bohemian Girl (Češko dekle)	Michael W. Balfe	Cleveland	Federal Music Project WPA, sponsored by Slovene National Home
28 Nov.	?	?	?	Detroit	

Appendix 5: reports on theatrical presentations, 1937

31 different dramas, 19 identifiable as comedies, 2 identifiable as Slovene-American authors (J. Berliag, Ivan Molek)

<i>Prosveta</i> edition	performance date	title	author	location	group
13 Jan.	?	Here Comes Charlie	[Jay Tobias]	Sheboygan, WI	SNPJ Moderns
13 Jan.	17 Jan.	Škrati in krojač	?	Cleveland	SNPJ 142
14 Jan.	17 Jan.	Janez hoče v nebesa	?	Cleveland	skupna društva SSPZ
5 Feb.	14 Feb.	Plačica	Ivan Molek	Cleveland	Cankarjeva ustanova
8 Feb.	28 March	Morje	Zvonimir Kosem	Detroit	Socialist Club 114, 115
11 Feb.	14 Feb.	Plačica	Ivan Molek	Cleveland	Cankar Foundation
12 Feb.	14 Feb.	Radi oreha	[Dragotin Vodopivec]	Cleveland	
17 Feb.	28 Feb.	Glavni dobitek	Fr. Lipah	Chicago	Slovene Home Waukegan
24 Feb.	28 Feb.	Glavni dobitek	[Fr. Lipah]	Chicago	Slovene Home Waukegan
2 March	28 Feb.	Glavni dobitek	Fr. Lipah	Chicago	Slovene Home Waukegan

10 March	31 March	Sin	[Gangl]	Pittsburgh	Prešeren choir
15 March	28 March	Morje	[Zvonomir Kosem]	Detroit	Socialist Club 114, 115
16 March	28 March	Snubači	J. Berliag	Waukegan, IL	
16 March	21 March	Sin	Gangl (znani pisatelj in učitelj)	Pittsburgh	Prešeren choir
17 March	21 March	Sin	Gangl	Pittsburgh	Prešeren choir
18 March	28 March	Rdeče rože	?	Barberton, OH	Slovenija drama society
25 March	28 March	Princezka in pastirček	Pavel Golia	Cleveland	Slovene Home school
31 March	4 April	Prodani ded	?	Buffalo, NY	SNPJ 710, 405
31 March	4 April	Women's Might	?	Buffalo, NY	
2 April	11 April	?	?	La Salle, IL	SNPJ 573
7 April	11 April	Deacon Dubbs	?	La Salle, IL	SNPJ 573
12 April	Easter week (past)	Čevljar in vrag	?	Milwaukee	SNPJ Naprej
19 April	24 April	Telefon	?	McKees Rocks, PA	Bratstvo drama society (Pittsburgh)
20 April	1 May	Hist [sic], She's a Man	?	Bridgeport, OH	Socialist Club 11
21 April	2 May	Doktor Kramp	Ivan Molek	Cleveland	27
21 April	25 April	Trije ptički	?	Chicago	
19 May	23 May	Strah z dolgo roko	?	De Pue, IL	SNPJ 59
5 May	9 May	Sanje pod lipo	? translated by John Berliag	Detroit	Svoboda choir

25 June	past year?	Hlapec Jernej	[Ivan Cankar]	Cleveland	Ivan Cankar drama society
6 Oct.	9 Oct.	Luka in Jaka	?		SNPJ 73 and dramsko društvo Slovenija
13 Oct.	24 Oct.	Jakob Ruda	[Ivan Cankar]	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
20 Oct.	24 Oct.	Jakob Ruda	[Ivan Cankar]	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
22 Oct.	24 Oct.	Jakob Ruda	[Ivan Cankar]	Chicago	Socialist Club 1
26 Oct.	30 Oct.	The Bashful Mr. Dobbs	?	West Newton, PA	SNPJ 739
12 Nov.	14 Nov.	Glavni dobitek	[Fr. Lipah]	Barberton, OH	Slovenija drama society
16 Nov.	28 Nov.	Rodoljub iz Slovenije	?	Pittsburgh	SNPJ 216 Prešeren choir
17 Nov.	21 Nov.	Jakob Ruda	[Ivan Cankar]	Waukegan, IL	Socialist Club 1
17 Nov.	Thanks-giving	Pri zlatem sodčku	Danilo Cerar	Cleveland	Zarja choir
18 Nov.	25 Nov.	Čarodejna brivnica	?	Moon Run, PA	SNPJ 88
1 Dec.	9 Oct.	Luka in Jaka	?	Barberton, OH	Slovenija drama society
1 Dec.	15 Jan. 1938	Krojač Fipa	?	Conemaugh, PA	SNPJ 500
8 Dec.	19 Dec.	Cilka in njena punčka	?	Chicago	Sokol
9 Dec.	21 Nov.	Jakob Ruda	? [Ivan Cankar]	Waukegan, IL	Socialist Club 1
15 Dec.	30 Jan. 1938	Čevljar in vrag	?	Sheboygan, WI	
22 Dec.		Cilka in njena punčka	?	Chicago	

POVZETEK**RAZKORAK MED OKUSOM DELAVSKEGA RAZREDA IN
KULTURNO STRATEGIJO DELAVSKIH VODIJ V
IZSELJENSKEM ČASOPISU**

V članku poskušava odgovoriti na vprašanje, kakšen je bil literarni – in širše tudi umetniški – okus delavskega razreda slovenskih Američanov v ZDA v medvojnem obdobju, in ugotoviti, ali se je ta skladal z načrtanim poslanstvom Prosvete (The Enlightenment), osrednjega delavskega časopisa slovenske izseljenske skupnosti v ZDA. Poskušala sva ugotoviti, ali je med okusom bralstva in poslanstvom časopisa prihajalo do razhajanj in razloge za ta razhajanja, v kolikor je do teh razhajanj prihajalo. Predpostavljala sva, da lahko izpeljeva opis okusa delavskega razreda iz poročil v Prosveti o gledaliških dogodkih, ki so jih prispevali slovenski izseljenci iz raznih krajev v ZDA, medtem ko sva poslanstvo časopisnih urednikov razbrala iz izbora slovenskih literarnih del in številnih literarnih prevodov, objavljenih na straneh Prosvete. Pregledala sva vsa poročila o gledaliških uprizoritvah in literarna dela, objavljena v časopisu med 1933 in 1937, tj. v obdobju, ko je časopis poročal o številnih gledaliških dogodkih in ko je organizacija, ki je ustanovila in sponzorirala časopis, praznovala več pomembnih obletnic in je ponovno premislila svoja osnovna načela. Rezultati so pokazali, da se je delavsko občinstvo, kljub nenehnim naporom urednikov, da bi navdušili svoje bralstvo nad klasičnimi avtorji, raje odločalo za lahkotnejše razvedrilo.