

RESEARCH ON SLOVENE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: PAST ACHIEVEMENTS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

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There are a number of stages in the history of Slovene immigration to the United States, each with its own characteristics: 1) the immigrant pioneers, beginning with Bishop Baraga and his missionaries; 2) the stage of mass immigration, 1880-1924; 3) the stage of restricted immigration, 1924-1941 (when the main, almost the only, reason for immigration was family reunion); 4) the stage of political immigration, 1945-1955; and 5) the last stage, that of family reunion and also illegal immigration, since 1955. The scholarly and popular literature written at each stage reflects the characteristics of that stage.

A number of bibliographers have been productive in publishing Slovene emigration bibliography. The current *Slovenska bibliografija* includes everything written in Slovene on the topic that is known and accessible to bibliographers, but excludes works written in other languages, and is not therefore remains complete, especially with regard to Slovene emigration.¹ Schlebinger's bibliography does include Slovene-American printed materials, books and articles about Slovene Americans, but it too is incomplete.² The late Jože Bajec researched Slovene newspapers and Slovene immigrants' printed materials; but his bibliography is limited to newspapers preserved in Slovene libraries and is also incomplete.³

On the American side, the following bibliographies represent important contributions: Henry Christian's, on works by and about Adamič⁴; Adam S. Eterovich's, on works about Yugoslavs in the U.S.A. and Canada⁵; and Joseph Dwyer's, published by the Immigration Research Center at the University of Minnesota.⁶ The last-named, like those mentioned above, is incomplete: it includes only articles published in three Slovene-American calendars, the *Slovenski koledar* published by the Slovenska izseljenska matica, and covers the microfilmed newspapers and other collections housed in the Immigration History Research Center.

Popular and popular-scholarly books written about Slovene missionaries, Baraga in particular, have been written from the 19th century right up to our own day. Thus, the first book about Bishop Baraga and the 'missionary period' in the history of Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. was published in the 1890s. Very productive in this respect were two periods: the time after World War I, and a more recent period, preceding Baraga's beatification. Very good books on this subject appeared in both Rome and Ljubljana.⁷ Other Slovene missionaries have attracted considerable attention from researchers.⁸

There is extensive published research on problems relating to Slovene-American socialists, dating from the early immigration period. In this respect, especially important are Janez Stanonik's studies on Smolnikar and his and Marijan Britovšek's on Fuster.⁹ The question of continuity comes to mind here, since this early immigration period had only a relatively modest effect on the later mass immigration. At that time, information on America was available in Slovenia when, in accord with appeals by the priests, money was collected among the faithful for missionaries in America; the early Slovene-American socialists, however, published all their material exclusively in German, and had no impact on the later course of mass immigration.

The first large-scale work dealing with the history of Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. dates from before World War I, namely, the Carinthian Slovene priest Jurij Trunk's

Amerika in Amerikanci. Besides a general sketch of the subject, it surveys Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. according to numerous individual settlements.¹⁰ In 1925 the Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota published a similar book, written by Jože Zavertnik, a socialist and editor of its magazine *Prosveta*.¹¹ These two works are still considered an indispensable source for every historian of Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. Other sources deserving mention are the following: Arnez's monographs on the Slovenes in the Eastern States; Emily Green Balch's *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, which deals *inter alia* with Slovenes, and the *Slovenski biografski leksikon* and various Slovene encyclopedias, with notes on Slovene immigrants between the World Wars.¹² The commemorative books that were published in the U.S.A. on the occasions of various anniversaries are also useful, but mostly as sources of information; they are not considered scholarly.

Since World War II, interest in immigration and attendant problems has increased, both in general and with respect to Slovenes. In the 1960s the Slovenian Research Center of America was established by Edward G. Gobetz, the first person to begin collecting materials on Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. Gobetz, professor of sociology and anthropology at Kent State University, and the editor of books on the Slovene heritage, is its director and sole employee. His approach and interpretation of data tend to be more popular than scholarly. Unfortunately, the materials he has collected in so timely a manner, with so much hard work and at so much financial cost, are not easy of access to the general scholarly public, being housed in the basement of his home. Unfortunately, also, Gobetz limits his published research to the more successful individual Slovenes only, and is silent about Slovene organizations. Also, the eventual fate of all this archival material is uncertain; it is to be hoped that they will be microfilmed and the microfilms lodged with some American Archive.¹³

In Slovenia in the 1960s, the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences established a scholarly center for research on Slovene immigration, now called the Institute for Slovene Emigration.¹⁴ Until 1981, however, this center had no regular employees and was unable to produce scholarly works. In 1979 an interdisciplinary team to research this subject was established at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Ljubljana University, and J. Petrič (who was then working for the Slovenska izseljenska matica) wrote her master's thesis on the literary value of Louis Adamič's works.¹⁵ Under this aegis, from 1979 through 1983 M. Klemenčič (with assistance from colleagues in America, including some of non-Slovene descent) researched the life and work of Adamič; this work culminated in two symposia, one in Ljubljana, the other at the University of Minnesota.¹⁶ Adamič's activities during World War II, which were conditioned by specific political circumstances, and his post-war activity in support of the National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslavia, gave rise to many controversial views and an interesting discussion. Hence, the research into Adamič was later extended to cover the attitudes of all American Slovenes towards World War II, resulting in Klemenčič's doctoral dissertation.¹⁷ Janja Žitnik, who works at the Institute for Slovene Emigration, is writing her master's thesis on Adamič's work "Eagle and the Roots."

During the last decade, problems of Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. have been discussed at various international migration conferences by Jože Velikonja and the present author.¹⁸ Slovenes also hold a notable place in the Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups,¹⁹ and are one of the ethnic groups described in Eva Morawska's recent monograph, a 'community study' of Johnstown, PA.²⁰ At the most recent conference of migration historians, held at the University of Minnesota, the issue was raised as to whether community studies can be considered part of migration history research: the fact that

Morawska viewed Central and East Europeans as one ethnic entity composed of eight ethnic sub-groups made her work questionable from the viewpoint of migration historians. In Johnstown, the characteristics of Slovenes differ considerably from the present author were successful, too, in writing critical analyses of U.S. censuses from 1910 through 1980, with respect to the question of the numbers of persons whose mother tongue or whose ancestry was Slovene.²¹ The choice of authors for historical surveys of American Slovenes and their organization was, however, not always fortunate. For example, Stipanovich's history of the Slovene National Benefit Society, an undertaking that cost a great deal of money, is only a summary of the minutes of that Society's conventions, presented in a well-written framework of general American history.²² In contrast, Toussaint Hočevar has dealt with the problem of the establishment of Slovene fraternal organizations, and also with the influence of Czech Americans in their foundation; and he has also dealt with the settlement of Slovene protestants in colonial Georgia.²³

It is undeniable that a wide gap exists between so-called liberal and socialist American Slovenes on the one hand, and so-called Catholic American Slovenes on the other; and that this gap has widened since World War II. Nevertheless, bridges are being built, and we may dare to envisage a history of American Slovenes that will include the achievements of both groups. As a basis, a number of memoirs have already been published in the U.S.A., the one by Ivan Molek being a good example.²⁴

In Slovenia there are today a number of groups involved in the study of the history of American Slovenes. At the University of Maribor, the present writer is now occupied in collecting materials for a bibliography of articles on American Slovenes published in the 1880-1940 period in Slovene newspapers. He and his students have checked most of the issues of 'Slovenec' and of 'Slovenski narod', and conclude that these two newspapers' interest in American Slovenes was exceptionally wide; the number of bibliographical units found to date is close to 10,000.²⁵ At the same university Judy Sheppard-Kegel wrote her master's thesis on language use among American Slovenes, and Nada Šabec is writing a doctoral dissertation with the working title "Functional and structural constraints on bilingual code-switching in the speech of American Slovenes." The rather complex problem of post-war immigration is also being investigated, and a survey of Yugoslav-U.S. relations is being prepared.

At the University of Ljubljana a group of ethnology students has worked for two years on different aspects of the lives of American Slovenes. A few honours papers resulted from these efforts; the most noteworthy, despite numerous errors, is the one by Sulič.²⁶ J. Petrič (cf. above) is writing her doctoral dissertation on autobiographies of Slovene immigrants to the U.S.A.

Within the framework of research into Slovene immigration to the United States, from the times of the first mass migrations to the present, it will be necessary to write—among other things—historical surveys of fraternal benefit societies other than the two largest ones mentioned above. It will be necessary, also, to study the history of the cultural activities of American Slovenes, especially in the larger centers of settlement. To this end, we should take into consideration both the work of the Slovene Section of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance and its cultural institutions, and the work of the Slovene Catholic Church in the U.S.A.; of especial importance are Slovene parishes, since during the 1920s the Slovene Catholic Church was in charge of 3000 children who, inter alia, learned Slovene in parochial schools. It will be necessary to research the activity of American Slovenes in building churches and in establishing National Homes. Completely unresearched hitherto is the history of Slovene entrepreneurship: contrary to popular views, we find among

immigrants between 1880 and 1924 a considerable number of Slovene entrepreneurs. On the basis of advertisements, at least, it will be possible to assess the number of Slovenes successful in this area, especially in smaller towns such as Joliet IL, Cannonsburgh PA, and so on. American Slovenes have also been quite successful in the cultural, scholarly and sporting life of the U.S.A.: successful individuals are portrayed in Gobetz's *Slovenian Heritage I*. Also to be researched is the history of successful American Slovenes in public life. There have been one U.S. senator and five former U.S. congressmen, and there are three current U.S. congressmen, of Slovene descent.²⁷ Also to be researched are the lives of American Slovenes at lower levels in state, county and city public life: especially in smaller towns settled by Slovenes, there have been and still are many local Slovene American politicians; and this is true for the whole historical period since the 1860s.

There is, therefore, plenty of work for researchers into the history of Slovene Americans. Even today there exist 200 registered Slovene organizations in the U.S.A. whose task is the preservation of Slovene culture.²⁸ We therefore have a twofold task. On the one hand, we should investigate the history of American Slovenes according to their original settlements, using as sources the Community Studies, and including in our research all the aspects of life mentioned above. Ideally, we should study settlement-level history in each of the thirty-five states concerned, finishing with thirty-five monographs; but this is not possible; rather, we must continue the work begun so successfully by Arnez and Gobetz at the level of Community Studies.²⁹ On the other hand, we have to compose an internal synthesis of Slovene immigration to the U.S.A. which will include all aspects of their history. The works by Trunk and Zavertnik were excellent, but 60-70 years have passed since they were published: a great deal, surely, has happened since that time. In addition, progress has been made in the discipline of migration studies. It is now time to start thinking about a new book, one which will synthesize Slovene migration to America. (Of course, Trunk's and Zavertnik's methodology—contacting individuals in different settlements by letter—is no longer applicable.) Further, such a book should not survey the different places of settlement, but should be subdivided according to individual aspects of Slovene-American problems. Community Studies should be of great help in this regard; such Studies will continue to be used subsequently, and will serve as a means of evaluating this synthesis.

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Abbreviations: AN = Acta Neophilologica, ČZN = Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, SIK = Slovenski koledar, SIM = Slovenska izseljenska matica, ZC = Zgodovinski časopis.

1. *Slovenska bibliografija*. XXX: 1976 (Ljubljana: NUK, 1983), 7.
2. See Janko Schlebinger, *Slovenska bibliografija* (Ljubljana, 1946), and his earlier bibliographies: *Slovenska bibliografija za leto 1902 do leta 1906* (Ljubljana, 1903/07), *Slovenska bibliografija za leto 1907 do leta 1912* (Ljubljana, 1913), and *Slovenski časniki in časopisi, bibliografski prehled od 1797 do 1936* (Ljubljana, 1937).
3. See the following, all by Jože Bajec: "O bibliografijah Ameriško-slovenskega izseljenskega tiska," *SIK* 1969: 272-277; "Bibliografija: zgodovinsko gradivo v Ameriškem družinskem koledarju in Majskem glasu," *SIM* 1972: 241-265; "Zgodovinsko gradivo v Koledarju Slovenske izseljenske matice, 1954-1973," *SIK* 1973: 254-267; "Bibliografija del akte Župančič," *SIK* 1974: 318-325; "Bibliografija Anne P. Krasne," *SIK* 1975: 270-277; "Bibliografija del Ivana Zormana," *SIK* 1978: 344-351; comp., *Slovensko izseljensko časopisje: 1891-1945* (Ljubljana: SIM, 1980); "Slovensko izseljensko časopisje 1891-1945, bibliografija," *SIK* 1981: 213-215.

4. Henry A. Christian, *Louis Adamič: A Checklist* (Kent, OH: Kent State Univ. Press., 1971).
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6. Joseph D. Dwyer, assisted by M. Czerwonka, *Slovenes in the United States and Canada. A Bibliography* (University of Minnesota: Immigration History Research Center, 1981.)
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8. See Franz Pirz, *Misionar v polnozhni Ameriki, Podbreshanam, svojim nekdanjim farmanam na Krainskim is Noviga Jorka v spomin* (Ljubljana: Kleinmayr, 1836); Florentin Horvat, *France Pirec: Oče umne sadjereje na Kranjskem in apostolski misijonar med indijanci v Severni Ameriki* (Celovec: Mohorjeva, 1887); France Adamič, *V spomin Francu Pircu* (Ljubljana: Sadjarsko društvo Slovenije, 1982); Ivan L. Zaplotnik, *Janez Cebulj, misijonar v Ameriki. Zivljenjepisna črtica* (Groblje: Misijonišče v Grobljah, 1928); Franc Jaklič, *Slovenski misijonarji Baragovi nasledniki v Ameriki* (Celje: Unio Cleri, 1931); William P. Furlan: *In Charity Unfeigned: The Life of Francis X. Pierz* (St. Cloud MN: Diocese of St. Cloud, 1952); and Bernard Coleman, *Masinaigans: The Little Book: A Biography of Monsignor Joseph F. Buh, Slovenian Missionary in America, 1864-1922* (St. Paul MN: North Central, 1972).
9. See Janez Stanonik, "Andrej Bernard Smolnikar," *SIK* 1962: 170-74; "Longfellow in Smolnikar," *Sodobnost* 12 (1964) 385-403, 524-42 and *AN* 1 (1968) 3-36; "Bibliography of works by A.B. Smolnikar," *AN* 1 (1968) 37-40; "Smolnikar in Valentin Vodnik," *Slavistična revija* 25 (1977) 205-32; "Ameriška leta slovenskega izobraženca Antona Fistra," *SIK* 1980: 197-204; Marijan Britovšek, *Anton Fuster in revolucija 1848 v Avstriji*. (Maribor: Obzorja, 1970); and *Dr. Anton Fister v revoluciji 1848. Vloga in pogledi* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1980).
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11. Jože Zavertnik, *Ameriški Slovenci. Pregled splošne zgodovine Združenih Držav, Slovenskega naseljevanja in nasebin in Slovenske narodne podporne jednote* (Chicago: Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota, 1925).
12. John A. Arnez, *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Connecticut* (New York: Studia Slovenica, 1971), and *Slovenci v New Yorku* (New York: Studia Slovenica, 1966); Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Arno, 1969 [= reprint of 1910 ed.]); Izidor Cankar & France Lukman, eds., *Slovenski biografski leksikon. I.* (Ljubljana: Združena gospodarska banka, 1925-1932); *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije. IV. Hil-Jugos* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod FNRJ, 1960); *Opča enciklopedija JLZ. III. Foc-Iw* (Zagreb: Jugoslovanski leksikografski zavod, 1977).
13. See the review by M. Klemenčič of E. Gobetz, *Slovenian Heritage I*, in *SS* 5/2 (1983) 233-35.
14. See Fran Zwitter, "Študijski center za zgodovino slovenskih izseljencev," *SIK* 1965 38-40, and Janez Stanonik, "Inštitut za izseljenstvo SAZU," *SIK* 1985 107-108.
15. Jerneja Petrič, *Svetovi Louisa Adamiča. Ob tridesetletnici smrti* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1981).
16. Held in September 1981 and May 1981, respectively. For Proceedings of the former, see *Louis Adamič. Simpozij, Univerza Edvarda Kardelja v Ljubljani, Ljubljana 16.-18. september 1981*; proceedings of the Minnesota Symposium will appear shortly.
17. Matjaž Klemenčič, *Delovanje ameriških Slovencev v odnosu do stare domovine v obdobju druge svetovne vojne* (Doktorska disertacija, Ljubljana, 1982). The author acknowledges valuable contributions from Lorraine Lees and Henry Christian. It is suggested that further research into Adamič's activities and American Slovene attitudes can result in little in the way of spectacular scholarly findings, but will merely add small pieces to the mosaic; this also, in view of the panel

- "The role of Louis Adamič during World War Two," held at the AAASS Convention in Kansas City, MO, October 24, 1983: it is regretted that no publication resulted.
18. See M. Klemenčič, "Proučavanje uloge Adamiča i Pupina kao političara," *Medjunarodni problemi* 3-4 (1982) 365-70; "Vystahovalectvo Slovincov z Rakúsko-Uhorska a vystahovalecká politika do prvoj svetovej vojny," in *Vystahovalectvo a Zivot Krajanov vo Svete. K stočnici začietkov vystahovalectva slovenskeho ludu do zamoria* (Bratislava: Matica slovenska, 1982) 105-118; "Uloga M.I. Pupina u borbi za jugoslovanske granice posle Prvog svetskog rata," *Zivot i delo Mihajla Idvorskog Pupina*. . . (Novi Sad, 1985) 391-398; "Proletarec and the acculturation of Slovene workers in the United States," C. Harzig & D. Horerder, eds., *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s to 1930s* (Bremen, 1985) 475-486; and his unpublished "Sources of the Lands of Emigration as a Source for the Study of Migration Processes: the Case of Slovenians." The texts of papers read by the author at various conferences (ten in number since 1980) are available from him upon request.
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 23. Toussaint Hočevar, "Česki vplivi pri snovanju slovenskih podpornih jednot v ZDA," *CZN* 1977/1-2: 234-40, and "Slovenski protestanti v kolonialni Georgiji," *CZN* 1968/4: 145-52.
 24. Mary Molek, transl. Ivan Molek, *Slovene Immigrant History, 1900-1950: Autobiographical Sketches* (Dover DE: M. Molek, Inc., 1979); cf. "Mary Molek: Author, editor, translator," in this issue.
 25. Seven *diplomske naloge* on this subject have now originated in Maribor (here, *PSIS* = *Poročila 'Slovenca' o izseljevanju Slovencev* . . . , and *PSiSNIS* = *Poročila 'Slovenca' in 'Slovenskega naroda' o izseljevanju Slovencev* . . .): Danilo Zadavec, *PSiSNIS*, 1984; Alenka Nežmah, *PSiSNIS iz Avstroogrške monarhije v letih 1906-1910*, 1984; Lidija Janžekovič, *Izseljevanje Slovencev iz slovenskega etničnega ozemlja v letih 1890 do 1895 na podlagi poročil 'Slovenca' in 'Slovenskega naroda'*, 1984; Franc Kregar, *PSIS v letih 1920-1930*, 1984; Danilo Obal, *PSIS v letih 1931-1940*, 1985; Carmen Potnik, *PSiSNIS v letih 1895-1899*, 1985; Darko Kožič, *PSNIS v letih 1920-1930*, 1986.
 26. Nives Sulič, *Thank God I'm Slovenian* (Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 1983). Among the memoirs of important American Slovenes that have published in Slovenia, mention must be made of Vatroslav Grill, *Med dvema svetoma* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1979).
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POVZETEK

Avtor obravnava dosežke dosedanjih raziskav na področju proučevanja problematike slovenskega izseljenstva v ZDA. S to tematiko so se ukvarjali raziskovalci na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze Edvarda Kardelja v Ljubljani, na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru, raziskovalci na Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani ter posamezniki iz vrst slovenskih izseljencev, univerzitetnih učiteljev in privatnih raziskovalcev. V zadnjih petih letih je bila na to temo obranjena ena doktorska disertacija in napisana ena magistrska naloga. Avtor se ukvarja tudi s smernicami bodočega raziskovanja slovenskega izseljenstva in poudarja nujnost celostnega in poglobljenega raziskovanja.