

sions in a co-operative organization. The legal competence of self-management organs—namely members—has thus in most cases importance only as authentication” (74). As the author indicates, many of the problems of agrarian co-operatives are part of the general problematic position of agriculture in a socialist economy. An additional terminological difficulty is that in many places Kovačič uses the term *social* when he means *socialist* or *socialized*. The study has summaries in both German and English.

Rajko Ocepek's book (with a difference in title between the cover, *Kmetijsko združništvo na Slovenskem*, and the frontispiece, *Slovensko kmetijsko združništvo*) was published by the Co-operative Union of Slovenia, on the centenary of the first Co-operative Union in Slovenia (1883) and the decennial of the re-foundation of the Co-operative Union of Slovenia (1972). Excluded from this study is any political evaluation of co-operative activities in Slovenia, or of their relation to co-operatives elsewhere in Yugoslavia, in the hope that this will be covered in a future publication. The first part of the book gives a short history of co-operatives in Slovenia, both in a general overview and in three sections: a) before World War II; b) socialist and self-management co-operatives; c) agrarian co-operatives after 1972. In the second part of the book some constituent organizations are described in greater detail. Between the two parts there is a list of Presidents of the Co-operative Union (1944-1982) and of other officers (1972-1982).

As is natural in such an official publication, it is much less critical than the study by Kovačič. In its history it does mention Janez E. Krek, but does not mention his successor Anton Korošec (who was also President of the Co-operative Union of Yugoslavia, and who lectured on co-operation at Belgrade University). Somehow, Gide's Christian name was changed from Charles to Georges. Surprisingly, too, there is no mention of the Rochdale pioneers in connection with co-operative principles adopted by the I.C.A.; also, on the table (18) of co-operatives in 1918, the first column does not add up to the number given, i.e., 730. Nevertheless, the usefulness of this richly-illustrated publication is much enhanced by extensive statistical data and maps. There are summaries in Slovene and in English.

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James C. Davis, *Rise from Want. A Peasant Family in the Machine Age*. Philadelphia: U Philadelphia P, 1986. 165 pp.

Increasingly, historians are interesting themselves in the essentially unwritten histories of the largest section of humankind since the Neolithic—the peasantries, who have made it possible for the conventional historical heroes, members of the élites, to play out their roles. Thus intellectuals, artists and other professionals, priests, military leaders and rulers of fiefs, city states or nations all were freed by peasant labor to carry out their ways of life. Relying on oral histories related by elders and traditional story tellers, and on inferences from village, church and government documents, scholars of various disciplines are beginning to bring to our attention narratives where peasants are the protagonists. No longer are we to be limited to acquaintance with these peoples through impersonal statistical norms and information related from the point of view of ruling classes or foreign travelers. Nor need we rely on information gained from oral art, from myths, epic tales and stories. Important as these sources are, empirical data are also needed. The fieldwork

methods of the anthropologists, the analysis of written documents by historical methods, the study of social organization carried out by sociologists: all are combined in interdisciplinary studies of the neglected mass of the world's populations. Among the many examples, notable are Witold Kula's *Listy emigrantów* (1973), where a sociologist, working in the tradition of Znaniecki, recreates the history of Polish peasant immigrants in Brazil and the United States from analysis of their letters, lost for decades and often written by scribes; and Oscar Lewis' re-study of Tepotzlan (1963) where an anthropologist, not satisfied with Redfield's earlier synchronic study of the same village, places these people in historical perspective.

Rise from Want is the work of the historian James Davis, who traces a Slovene family line (from 1578 to 1978) and its struggles to survive in the inhospitable karst land north of Trst/Trieste. The story of this family takes us from serfdom, through emancipation in 1848, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the absorption of this area by Italy, through World War II and the completion of the industrialization begun in the later 19th century. This family line, traced through males, remained in the same hamlet (with the exception of one short move in 1800) from the days when the family head delivered tithes and male members carried out corvée and cultivated the lord's land, to the present, when Franc Žužek (who died in 1978) and his sons became full-time workers for nearby industries, while daughters increasingly found city work and married men from distant countries, and when the hamlet became surrounded by the villas of rich Italian suburbanites.

As the story clearly shows, it is the peasant who is the victim in war and in famine, as rulers vie with each other for land and power, and it is peasant ingenuity and perseverance that are required if peasantries are to survive and improve their living conditions over the centuries.

In this study it is the Žužek family that bears the hardships of the exploited peasant class, and in addition the difficulties borne by an ethnic minority, in this case one marked by a foreign tongue. Nevertheless one wonders if the Slovene cultural traditions were not also the greatest asset of the Žužek family and other Slovene families in the karst lands. Consider Foster's (1963, 1965) Mexican peasants and other Latin American serf-peasants ground down by Spanish overlords, and Banfield's (1958) southern Italian peasants, as well as other Mediterranean peasantries living on the razor edge. Such peasants have been depicted as ruled by 'amoral familism', and as seeing no use in endless toil since their share of the pie appears to them as forever limited. Moreover, they are described as burdened by suspicions and feuds with their neighbors, who are perceived as greedy and uncooperative. In contrast, the traditional Slovene peasant has exhibited a less pessimistic world view (see Winner 1971). It is true that the group Davis describes was forced to adapt to an environment ecologically similar to other barren Mediterranean lands and parts of Mexico; and it is true that these Slovene peasants were exploited by foreign overlords as were the Mexican Indians; but it seems that other factors were also at work. The findings of this study indicate that the ethic of hard work, family loyalty and cooperative behavior of the Central and South-eastern European peasant has remained the heritage of the Slovene peasant, not only in the green mountains of Slovenia, but also in the karst areas bordering on the Adriatic. Admittedly, such values were tempered by frictions created by inequalities of wealth, by rivalries between brothers due to the rule of primogeniture, and by the burden of exploitation of the overlord or state demanding more as the peasant family gained more. Yet, as this study bears out, neither the ethic of 'amoral familism' ascribed to southern Italian peasants, nor the fate of the Indian peasants who in many parts of Latin America are still struggling

for mere survival, pertains to the Slovene cultivators of the karst. As such comparisons indicate, it becomes increasingly clear today that while peasantry remains a major social type, the primary task now is to further distinguish subtypes which take into account wide differences in historical and environmental factors, and most emphatically differences in cultural traditions.

The story of the Žužeks begins, in this study, with the recreation of the life of serfdom in the karst land, characterized by all the early travails and overbearing problems of this period, such as high infant mortality rate, frequent famines, endless hard labor cultivating the lord's land, walks over rugged terrain to dispersed fields, the fulfilment of feudal obligations, and finally the endurance of life in crowded and unsanitary, small houses. Primogeniture was the feudal law, but since there was not much land left to divide, and since a large majority of children did not survive to adulthood, primogeniture was workable. Marriages were arranged by families and local endogamy was the general practice. Typically, a young man married a woman from a nearby hamlet unless there was no male child; this happened to be the case when Tomaž Žužek (born 1774) married Marina Gabrovič in 1800. Thus the family line of Tomaž (whose ancestors are traced back to 1578) was founded, and it is the thread which unites this study.

Tomaž was a non-inheriting younger brother; Marina was an inheriting daughter since she was the eldest child but had no brothers. In this way patrilocal residence gave way to matrilocal and Tomaž moved to the hamlet of Vižovlje, which was inhabited by fourteen families and was one of a number serving the lord of Devin/Duino.

In 1781 a Hapsburg reform alleviated serf conditions and by 1848 serfdom was abolished, far later, of course, than in Western Europe. Gradually the peasantries freed from serfdom began to feel some effects of incipient urbanism and industrialism, which was already much farther advanced in Western Europe where the Hapsburgs did not rule. We see that the family head (now Jožef) began hauling water for Italian workers on the railroad then being built. By the end of the 19th century sheep-raising was abandoned since European demand for wool was met by imports from Australia and Argentina. Consequently, more grains were grown, the potato became important, and the quality of nutrition improved. The hardworking members of Jožef's family began increasingly to find part-time work supplying limestone to the railroad builders and carrying out other tasks for the new industries. Living conditions improved, houses were tiled and given second floors. More children survived until adulthood. Food was more plentiful and water better. Sanitation was improved and at last there was a significant population increase. Surplus family members found jobs in Trieste and other areas, and also migrated to other countries. Arranged marriages and local endogamy became a thing of the past.

We reach the 20th century and the rapid changes that ensued. Two brothers of the inheriting son are traced as their differing fates are compared. Since neither had land, both had to find work away from the home village. Emil never adjusted to the new life and strayed from one job to another, consoling himself in drink; but Franc, working on roads and in the shipyards, succeeded in meeting the new and difficult challenges, as did so many Slovene non-inheriting peasants. After the hardships of the depression years and the deprivations of wartime, the Žužek family—as the Slovene peasants in the karst in general—began to share in the new prosperity. Destroyed villages were rebuilt; labor unions protected workers' rights; houses were modernized; asphalt roads appeared; and motorcycles, televisions and other signs of modernization were everywhere. Young women found city employment and married their countrymen who left for far-away lands.

The book ends on an ambivalent note, as we see through the eyes of Franc (the last family head whose life story is traced in this study, and who died in 1978) that the karst land is scarred by the marks of the new highway and the debris of industrialization; that family quarrels and discord between neighbors have increased and cooperation between generations has declined; and that communal activities—such as taking part in Mass—are left to only the elders. Competition seems to Franc to be uncontrolled and everywhere destructive of the older way of life that was based on common, shared values. Thus not peasant life but modernization seems to define severe rifts and create suspicions among the people of the karst lands. Yet life is better and suffering is lessened; but hidden costs are part of the story of modernization.

This work should be of interest to all those concerned with the study of peasantries and their fate in the modern world as placed in the historical context. The primary theme is modernization understood within ecological and historical perspective, and although the material is richly suggestive, less attention is given to other aspects of the life and culture of the Slovene family line traced here. There is rewarding use of historical documents to deduce the specifics of life in earlier times, and the material is well illustrated by maps, tables, photographs and works of art depicting life on the karst, exemplified by the reproduction on the jacket.

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Taken together, these three slim volumes provide an informative survey of Slovene beliefs and customs found in the southwest corner of Austria, the area from east of Celovec/Klagenfurt to Šmohor/Hermagor in the West, where Slovenes have lived for over a thousand years. In them we find detailed information about the traditional folklore of the