

**SOOČENJE MITA IN REALNOSTI OB PRIHODU  
IZSELJENCEV V NOVO OKOLJE**

**THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MYTH AND REALITY  
ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE EMIGRANTS TO A NEW LAND**









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Zbornik referatov s simpozija "Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu  
izseljencev v novo okolje", Portorož, Slovenija, 18.-19. maja 1995

Proceedings of the Symposium "The Confrontation Between Myth and Reality  
on the Arrival of the Emigrants to a New Land", Portorož, Slovenia,  
May 18 - May 19, 1995



Inštitut za izseljenstvo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU  
Novi trg 4, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Urednica: Irena Gantar Godina  
Tehnična urednica: Špela Marinšek  
DTP: Matjaž Mauser  
Prevodi: AMIDAS, Ljubljana  
Tisk: Tiskarna Pleško

Fotografija na naslovnici je povzeta iz knjige: *História da Imigração no Brasil as Familias*, Sao Paulo, 1980.

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<https://doi.org/10.3986/9616182153>

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

314.743(063)

SIMPOZIJ Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje (1995 ; Portorož)

Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje : zbornik referatov s simpozija "Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje", Portorož, Slovenija, 18.-19. maja 1995 = *The Confrontation Between Myth and Reality on the Arrival of the Emigrants to a New Land : Proceedings of the Symposium "The Confrontation Between Myth and Reality on the Arrival of the Emigrants to a New Land"*, Portorož, Slovenia, May 18 - May 19, 1995 / [urednica Irena Gantar Godina; prevodi Amidas]. - Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, Inštitut za izseljenstvo, 1996

ISBN 961-6182-15-3

1. Gl. stv. nasl. 2. Vzp. stv. nasl. 3. Gantar Godina Irena. - I. Godina, Irena Gantar - glej Gantar Godina, Irena. - II. Symposium *The Confrontation Between Myth and Reality on the Arrival of the Emigrants to a New Land* (1995; Portorož) glej Simpozij Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje (1995 ; Portorož)  
60786944

Zbornik je izšel s finančno pomočjo Ministrstva za znanost in tehnologijo R Slovenije. Po mnenju Ministrstva za znanost in tehnologijo R Slovenije št. 415-01-71/96 z dne 20.6.1996 šteje publikacija med proizvode, za katere se plačuje 5% davek od prometa proizvodov.

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## **PREDGOVOR**

Irena Gantar Godina  
glavna urednica

Deseta obletnica delovanja Inštituta v okviru Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra SAZU, ki jo bomo sodelavci praznovali novembra 1996, res ni obletnica, ki bi ustrezno zaznamovala celoten opus sodelavcev Inštituta. Pomeni predvsem formalizacijo statusa, saj je bilo raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva že davno prej povsem utečeno in plodno, o čemer priča ogromna bibliografija,<sup>1</sup> izdajanje znanstvene revije Dve domovini/Two Homelands od leta 1990 (6 letnikov), izdajanje vsakoletnega pregleda dela Inštituta v dvojezični publikaciji Bilten/Newsletter (7 letnikov), zbiranje in urejanje arhivskega gradiva, izseljenske periodike, znanstvenih in leposlovnih publikacij, pa zbiranje in objavlanje znanstvene in strokovne bibliografije s tega področja.

Temeljne naloge Inštituta pa so v največji meri zajete v prijavljenih raziskovalnih projektih, od katerih so trenutno s strani MZT finančno podprti štirje, (dr. M.Drnovšek, dr. J. Žitnik, dr.I. Gantar Godina), na dokončno odločitev pa čakamo še za dva projekta.

V zadnjih letih smo uspeli vzpostaviti zavidljivo široko mrežo mednarodnega znanstvenega sodelovanja. Rezultati tega sodelovanja so vidni tako na področju vključevanja sodelavcev Inštituta v mednarodne projekte (npr. M. Drnovšek), odprtost tujih revij za prispevke naših sodelavcev, številna zastopanost tujih raziskovalcev na naših simpozijih in v naši znanstveni reviji, njihova pripravljenost za sodelovanje v uredniškem odboru omenjene revije in skrb za redno seznanjanje o novih publikacijah in dogajanjih na tem področju. Velik manko pa vidimo v nekoordiniranem nastopu raziskovalcev slovenskega izseljenstva v tujini, kar je velika ovira za uspešno predstavitev, delo in nenazadnje tudi za uveljavitev rezultatov slovenskih migracijskih študij v tujini.

Predstavitev celotnega spektra dejavnosti se zdi na tem mestu in v tem času nujna, saj je delo Inštituta velikokrat, milo rečeno, neupoštevano če ne že spregledano, seveda prej v Sloveniji kot v tujini. Naj omenim dolgoletna prizadevanja sodelavcev Inštituta, da bi vzpostavili tvorno in tekoče sodelovanje z vsemi raziskovalnimi inštitucijami in posamezniki v Sloveniji, ki se ukvarjajo z raziskovanjem slovenskega izseljenstva, če ne drugače, že zaradi neizogibne koordinacije raziskovalnih programov. V večini primerov so bila

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<sup>1</sup> Samo novejših monografij (od leta 1987) 6 (šestih) sodelavcev Inštituta je 10 (deset). Podrobnejši vpogled v celotno bibliografijo sodelavcev nudijo vsakoletni Letopisi SAZU oz. ZRC SAZU.

tovrstna prizadevanja uspešna, kar se kaže tudi v dejstvu, da se vse več raziskovalcev iz Slovenije želi aktivno vključiti v naše raziskovalne projekte. Na drugi strani pa je tembolj nerazumljiv odziv nekaterih inštitucij, ki za sodelovanje, žal, niso pokazale nikakršnega interesa.

Ena številnih nalog Inštituta je tudi organizacija znanstvenih sestankov, ki naj bi seznanjali domačo in tujo strokovno javnost z izsledki slovenskih raziskovalcev izseljenske problematike, in obenem oplemenitili domače znanje z izsledki znanstvenikov iz tujine. Že na prvem Letnem mednarodnem posvetovanju raziskovalcev slovenskega izseljenstva, ki smo ga organizirali maja 1992 v Ljubljani, se je pokazalo, da so tovrstna medsebojna seznanjanja ne le dobrodošla, marveč nujna, saj je problematika izseljevanja večplastna, za vsako državo ali narod specifična, z različnimi predznaki obremenjena in na ta način vzajemno poučna.

Tudi zato smo se delavci Inštituta odločili organizirati 3. srečanje (2. srečanje je potekalo leta 1993 na Opčinah pri Trstu v organizaciji Odseka za zgodovino Narodne in študijske knjižnice v Trstu, kjer je Inštitut sodeloval tudi pri organizaciji) z nekoliko širšo, pa vendarle še vedno povsem izseljensko problematiko. Ta naj bi bila kolikor mogoče univerzalna in seveda večdisciplinarna. Odločili smo se povabiti tako zgodovinarje, sociologe, etnologe kot tudi literarne zgodovinarje, antropologe, kulturnike in literate. Povabili smo tiste, ki raziskujejo arhivsko gradivo, pa tiste, ki prebirajo izseljensko leposlovje in znanstveno publiciranje, do tistih, ki se z raziskovanjem vzrokov in posledic izseljevanja ukvarjajo na globalni in lokalni ravni. Naslov "Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu izseljencev v novo okolje" je referentom dopuščal dovolj široko polje za razpravo, kar je razvidno tudi iz natisnjenega gradiva. V razpravah slovenskih referentov, med katerimi jih nekaj ne živi v Sloveniji, so bila v ospredju predvsem razmišljanja in počutje slovenskih izseljencev ob prihodu v prekomorske dežele, o kulturnih, socialnih in socioloških oz. antropoloških razsežnostih izseljevanja, o "tipičnih" usodah posameznikov, in odsevu izseljenskih situacij v arhivskem gradivu, v korespondenci in literarnih delih.

Povsem novo dimenzijo srečanja in samega zbornika pa so dali referati tujih udeležencev (Holtmann -Oldenburg, Wałaszek -Krakow, Schultz -Bremerhaven, Babiak -Bratislava, Rätzel -Hamburg, Čizmić, Banović in Laušić -Zagreb, Pavlović in Krstanović -Beograd). Njihovi prispevki omogočajo vpogled v podobne tematike drugih narodov, predvsem evropskih, in hkrati plodno primerjavo, ki vmešča slovensko problematiko v evropski prostor. S tem se je bistveno razširilo vsebinsko področje raziskovanja izseljevanja, ki ga pokriva Inštitut, čeprav se, ne glede na dolgoletno raziskovalno tradicijo, še vedno srečujemo s problemom marginalizacije raziskovanja izseljevanja v slovenskem prostoru - tako s strani financerjev kot univerze in raziskovalnih inštitucij.

Menim, da je z izidom zbornika najlepše zabeležena deseta obletnica Inštituta in prepričana sem, da ga bo dobro sprejela strokovna in širša javnost doma in v tujini.

## **FOREWORD**

Irena Gantar Godina  
Editor-in-chief

The tenth anniversary of the Institute as part of the Research Centre of SAZU (Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts), which will be celebrated in November 1996, is not in truth an appropriate occasion to mark all the work of the Institute. It primarily marks a formalisation of status, since research into Slovene emigration has for a long time been fruitful, as can be seen from the massive bibliography,<sup>1</sup> the publication of the academic journal *Dve Domovini/Two Homelands* which began in 1990 (six issues), the annual review of the Institute's work in the bilingual publication *Bilten/Newsletter* (seven issues), the collection and sorting of archive material, emigrant periodicals, scientific and literary publications, and the gathering and publication of a scientific and professional bibliography on emigration.

The basic tasks of the Institute are largely covered by formal research projects, four of which, led by Dr. M. Drnovšek, Dr. J. Žitnik and Dr. I. Gantar Godina, are currently funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology (MZT). We are still awaiting final decisions on two more.

In recent years, we have restored an enviable degree of international research cooperation. The results of this cooperation are clearly visible: Institute staff take part in international projects (e. g. M. Drnovšek); foreign journals are open to contributions from our staff; foreign researchers attend our seminars and submit papers for our journals, and also help on the journals' editorial committees; and we are kept informed of new publications and events in this field. But a huge deficiency one can see in an uncoordinated work of the Slovenian scholars abroad, which appears to be a great obstacle for a succesful promotion, work and - last but not least - to carry into effect the results of the Slovenian migration studies outside Slovenia.

At the present time, a description of the whole range of our activities is necessary, since the work of the Institute is often, to put it mildly, disregarded if not outright ignored, particularly in Slovenia. I should draw particular attention to the long-standing efforts by the Institute's staff to establish creative and ongoing research with all research institutes and individuals in Slovenia studying Slovene emigration, if for no other reason than to coordinate research

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<sup>1</sup> Since 1987 six cooperators of the Institute have published ten monographs. The detailed view to the complete bibliography one can find in yearly *Letopis SAZU* and *ZRC SAZU*, respectively.

programmes. In most cases, these efforts have been successful - more and more Slovene researchers want to play an active role in our research projects. This is in stark contrast to the response of certain institutions, which showed absolutely no interest.

Another of the Institute's tasks is to organise scientific gatherings, both to inform the domestic and international professional public of the findings of Slovene emigration researchers, and to supplement Slovene knowledge with the findings of foreign researchers. At the very first Annual International Conference of Slovene Emigration Researchers, organised in May 1992 in Ljubljana, it was clear that this sort of meeting was not only welcome, but pressing, since the problem of emigration is multi-layered, with each country or nation having its own specific difficulties. Such meetings are thus mutually educational.

This is another reason why we decided to organise a third meeting (the second was held in Villa Opicina near Trieste, organised by the History Department of the National and Student Library in Trieste with the help of the Institute) with a wider theme, while still concentrating primarily on emigration. This should in some way be universal and multidisciplinary. We therefore decided to invite historians, sociologists and ethnologists, as well as literary historians, anthropologists and people working in culture and literature. We invited people studying archive material, people preparing emigrant literary and scientific publications, and those dealing with the patterns and consequences of emigration on a global and local level. The title "The Clash between Myth and Reality on Arrival in New Lands" gave speakers sufficient room for discussion, as can be seen from the conference proceedings. At the forefront of debates among Slovene speakers, including some from abroad, were the thoughts and feelings of emigrants on arrival overseas, the "typical" fate of individuals, and the representation of the emigrants' situation in archive material, correspondence and literature.

Foreign delegates brought a new dimension to the meeting and the published proceedings (Holtmann - Oldenburg; Walaszek - Krakov; Schultz - Bremerhaven; Babiak - Bratislava; Rätzzel - Hamburg; Čizmić, Banović and Laušić - Zagreb; Pavlović and Krstanović - Beograd). Their contributions provided an insight into the situation in other nations, especially in Europe, and at the same time placed the Slovene problem in a European context. As a result, the field of study of emigration at the Institute was widened, although, despite the long-standing research tradition, we increasingly face the problem of the marginalisation of emigration research in Slovenia, both on the part of the research funders and the university and research institutes.

I feel that the publication of the conference proceedings is the best way to mark the tenth anniversary of the Institute, and I am convinced that they will be well received by the professional public, both at home and abroad.





## **SOOČENJE MITA IN REALNOSTI OB PRIHODU IZSELJENCEV V NOVO OKOLJE**

Pozdrav udeležencem strokovnega srečanja  
državni sekretar za Slovence po svetu Peter Vencelj

Spoštovani udeleženci strokovnega srečanja, spoštovani gostje, dragi prijatelji, v čast in veselje mi je, da vas smem pozdraviti kot predstavnik slovenske vlade, kot državni sekretar MZZ z nalogo skrbeti za stike med slovensko državo in Slovenci v zamejstvu in v svetu. Slovenska ustava govori o skrbi za vse dele slovenstva. Govori o skrbi za zamejske Slovence na avtohtonem ozemlju, o zdomcih in o izseljencih. Srečanje, ki ga je pripravil Inštitut za izseljenstvo pri ZRC SAZU se bo torej dotaknilo enega od oblik slovenske diaspore, in to z vidika pričakovanj in želja na eni strani in soočenja z realnimi razmerami v deželah, kamor so prišli na drugi strani.

Po naših ocenah zunaj Slovenije živi kake pol miliona naših ljudi, od tega polovica kot izseljenci. Zunajevropske države, kjer jih živi največ del so ZDA, Kanada, Argentina in Avstralija. Vzroki, ki so naše ljudi pognali v svet, so bili različni, različne so bile možnosti v novih deželah, različne so bile usode posameznikov, različna je bila sreča. Največ slovenskih izseljencev se je izselilo zaradi ekonomskega vzroka, ko so ljudje odhajali s trebuhom za kruhom. Drug, pomemben del predstavljajo politični emigranti, ki so odšli v svet zaradi razmer znotraj slovenskega narodnega ozemlja po končani prvi in drugi svetovni vojni. Tu mislim na Slovence v rapalski Italiji v času fašizma, na Slovence iz osrednjega dela Slovenije po koncu druge svetovne vojne, in tudi na Slovence, ki so iz političnih razlogov odhajali iz Slovenije v času SFRJ. Ne nazadnje ni malo slovenskih izseljencev, ki so odšli iz domovine iz razlogov, ki niso bili ne ekonomsko in ne politično pogojeni. Nekateri preprosto niso želeli služiti vojaškega roka, druge je gnal v svet avanturizem, tretji so se poročili ali odšli službeni in ostali v novi domovini in podobno.

Prepričan sem, da usoda slovenskega človeka, slovenskega naroda, ni bila v tem stoletju nič drugačna kot so bile usode drugih narodov. Zato je tema tega srečanja po svoji vsebini univerzalna, kar kažejo tudi referenti iz drugih držav. Vsem udeležencem želim prijetno bivanje v Sloveniji in uspešno strokovno delo. Prav posebej pa želim, da bi srečanje udeležence med seboj povežalo v nova in utrdilo stara prijateljstva. Hvala lepa za vašo pozornost.

## **THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MYTH AND REALITY ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE EMIGRANTS IN A NEW LAND**

Greeting words  
State Secretary for the Slovenes Abroad Peter Vencelj

Dear participants, dear guests and dear friends. It is a great honour and a pleasure for me to greet you on behalf of the Slovene government. As state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, my position has involved looking after the relationship between ourselves and Slovenes living in neighbouring countries as well as further afield. The Slovene constitution addresses the issue of attending to the welfare of indigenous Slovene communities and migrant workers in the neighbouring countries and emigrant Slovene communities worldwide. This meeting, which was organised by the *Institute for Emigration Studies* at the Centre for Scientific Research at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, will discuss one of the aspects of the Slovene diaspora from the point of view of the expectations and the confrontation with reality in the countries in which they settled.

Approximately half a million Slovenes live outside Slovenia, of which half are emigrants. The majority of Slovene emigrants live in the United States, Canada, Argentina and Australia. Their reasons for leaving our country were varied, as were the opportunities available to them in their new countries and the different destinies and luck which overtook all of them. The major motivation behind Slovene emigration is an economic one which led Slovenes to leave their native country in order to survive.

The second significant proportion of emigrants is made up of people who left for political reasons connected to the political situation in Slovene lands after the First and Second World Wars. There were Slovenes who remained in Italy as a result of the Rapallo Treaties during the period of fascist domination, as well as Slovenes who originated mainly from Slovenia's central regions at the end of the Second World War and Slovenes who left for political reasons at the time of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. There are also a number of Slovenes who left Slovenia for neither economic nor political reasons. Some of them were simply leaving to avoid serving in the armed forces, some were adventurers and others married or went on official visits abroad and decided to stay there.

## **The Confrontation Between Myth and Reality**

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I am convinced that the destiny of Slovene individuals or the Slovene nation in this century did not differ from the destiny of other nations. The subject of this meeting would therefore appear to be a universal one and this is confirmed by the presence of participants from other countries. I wish you all a very pleasant stay in Slovenia and successful results for your work. I would particularly hope that our meeting will help to forge new friendships between participants as well as to strengthen existing relationships.



## **MIT O NESPREMENJENI DOMOVINI**

Marko Jenšterle

O tem, da bi slovenska povojna emigracija v tujino bežala zaradi mita o nekakšnem boljšem svetu, bi glede na razmere v katerih je ta množični eksodus potekal težko govorili. Če so slovenski izseljenci pred drugo svetovno vojno v svet res odhajali zaradi glasov o raju v Ameriki, njihovi nasledniki po vojni preko Atlantika niso potovali več zaradi takšnih razlogov. Šlo je za kruto dejstvo, da po porazu evropskega nacizma in fašizma na svetu ni bilo ravnno veliko držav, ki bi bile pripravljene sprejeti tiste, ki so na kakršen koli način sodelovali z njima in se borili na nasprotni strani zaveznikov. Severna Amerika je bila pri sprejemanju emigrantov zelo jasna in je gledala samo na svoje koristi. Prostor je nudila le dela zmožnim, ne pa tudi njihovim družinam. Argentina, ki je danes eden največjih centrov slovenskih povojnih emigrantov, pa je bila pripravljena sprejeti vse, z enim samim pogojem, da slovenske politične zdrahe pustijo doma. Režim v Argentini pod predsednikom Juanom Domingom Peronom je bil poleg tega našim emigrantom dovolj blizu, da so se naselili v tej južnoameriški državi, kjer so zatočišče našli mnogi pregnanci iz druge svetovne vojne, med njimi tudi nekaj glavnih nacističnih voditeljev, ki so ušli roki pravice.

Takoj po končani vojni skorajda ni bilo slovenskega ubežnika, ki ne bi bil prepričan, da se čez mejo v Avstrijo umika le začasno, saj naj bi kmalu prišlo do dogovora med zavezniki, s katerimi bi v Jugoslaviji odpravili komunizem in napravili prostor za vrnitev antikomunističnih borcev. Toda zgodovina se je odvijala drugače od teh pričakovanj. Vrnitve, kolikor jih je bilo, so bile neprostoVOLjne in so se končale v eni največjih tragedij slovenskega naroda, z množičnimi poboji brez sodnih procesov. Tisti, ki so še ostali v tujini so se morali podati na negotovo pot zdomstva.

Slovenski pisatelj Lojze Kovačič v svojem romanu *Prišleki* opisuje odhod pisatelja dr. Tineta Debeljaka in njegovo prepričanje, da gre le za začasen umik z dogodkom, ko mu je sredi maja 1945 prinesel v branje tri svoje zgodbe. Kovačič piše, da mu je dr. Debeljak odgovoril: "*Zdaj jih ne morem vzeti. Prinesel mi jih boš, ko se urnem.*"<sup>1</sup> Bil je prepričan, da bo to čez nekaj tednov, morda mesecev, niti slučajno pa ni razmišljal o tem, da za vedno odhaja iz domovine. Tudi drugi emigranti potrjujejo, da so se umikali le za kratek čas. Ciril Markež v enem od svojih objavljenih pisem na primer piše: "*Zvesto se držimo idej in načel, zaradi katerih smo morali zapustiti domovino. Resda,*

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<sup>1</sup> Lojze Kovačič, *Prišleki*, I. knjiga, Slovenska Matica, Ljubljana, str. 476.

*naiuno smo šli od doma le za 14 dni. Nismo pričakovali izdaje od Angležev, nismo slutili, da smo bili zabarantani. Umaknili smo se pred Rusi, ne pred partizani, ki nas niso mogli ustaviti na poti čez Ljubelj, ampak so nas, varno skriti, opazovali, kot je priznal partizan, znanec iz mojih otroških let.”<sup>2</sup> Ker so torej emigranti v novi svet prišli neprostovoljno, je logično, da ga niso mogli takoj vzljubiti, mnogi tudi nikoli kasneje. O teh dilemah je filozof Vinko Brumen v svojem tekstu v Novem svetu - Kvišku srca! pisal tako: “V novi svet smo prišli. Ni nam nov samo zaradi tega, ker smo ga že poprej poznali s tem imenom. Marsikaj nam je novo tukaj. Tako novo, da se je pač usakdo uprašal po prihodu semkaj: Ali se bom mogel tukaj kdaj udomačiti? Ali mi bo mogla kdaj ta dežela postati druga domovina? Posebej so stopile pred usakogar izmed nas nove tiste posebnosti nove dežele, ki so nas neprijetno iznenadile. Takoj je bila pozabljena usa tolikokrat sanjana čokolada, ki smo jo v duhu gledali pred seboj čez krožnik bagnolskih ‘dobrot’; pozabljeno je bilo v hipu vse čisto, kar smo dobrega pričakovali. Izza megle nasanjane obljubljenе dežele so se prikazali prvi obrisi resničnega sveta.”<sup>3</sup> Brumen piše tudi o tem, da sami niso vedeli, kakšna je resničnost, ki jih čaka, pri tem pa so si še domovino v času prisilnega brezdolja in življenja v taboriščih zasanjali po svoje. V tujini: jih je pričakalo nekaj čisto novega. Treba se je bilo postaviti na svoje noge, poiskati delo, stanovanje... Toda hkrati s tem se je že začel dobro organiziran proces ohranjanja slovenske identitete, kulture in zavesti, ki ga je zastavilo kulturno in politično vodstvo emigracije. Brumen o odnosu do domovine piše naslednje: “In stara domovina, ljubezen do lastnega naroda? Nihče nam ne more in ne sme iztrgati iz srca dragih spominov na snežne gore in vinske gričke, bele cerkvice na vrhovih, košate gozdove in v zeleno tančico sadnega drevoja zavite vasi, bistre potočke in deroče reke, z znojem in krvjo mnogih spomenikov prepojena polja! Nihče nam ne more in ne sme vzeti mladostnih spominov, ljubezni do domačih, ki so ostali v domovini! Ni jezika in ni glasbe, ki bi mogla preglasiti v naši duši sladke zvoke materine slovenske besede, tihega ponosa pripadništva k majhnemu narodu, ki se je znal ohraniti in kulturno izoblikovati v tekmi z velikimi sosedi in ga uspeha in izobrazbe ni treba biti sram.*

*Nihče nam ne more in ne sme vzeti naše ljubezni do stare domovine in do slovenskega naroda. Toda, ljubezen ni niti v vzdihovanju in joku, niti v pretiravanju lepote in vrednot domače zemlje in narodne kulture, niti ne preziranje in zaničevanje drugačnega načina življenja pri drugih narodih.”<sup>4</sup>*

Danes ni nobenega dvoma, da je slovenski emigraciji v Argentini treba dati vse priznanje za njeno požrtvovalno delo na področju ohranjanja naroda, vendar pa se stvari hitro zapletejo glede statusa, ki naj bi ga emigracija imela v današnjem slovenskem prostoru. Ker gre za skupnost, ki ves čas poudarja, da

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<sup>2</sup> Ciril Markež, *Nič se niso spremenili...*, Slovenec, 20. decembra 1994

<sup>3</sup> Vinko Brumen, *V Novem svetu - Kvišku srca!*, Koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1949, Buenos Aires, str. 38

<sup>4</sup> isto, str. 41

je politična emigracija, je torej vprašanje njenega mesta v Sloveniji izključno politično vprašanje. Vprašanje smisla nadaljnega obstoja politične emigracije se je pojavilo takoj po slovenski neodvisnosti. Tedanji minister za Slovence po svetu dr. Janez Dular je o koncu politične emigracije govoril ob svojem obisku Buenos Airesa, menil pa je, da so antikomunistični zdomci v novih družbenih razmerah tudi izgubili svoj smisel, saj pravi: "Vselej, kadar sem se pogovarjal s predstavniki nekdanje politične emigracije ali pa z drugimi ljudmi o tej politični emigraciji, sem poudarjal, da je s propadom komunizma tudi antikomunizem izgubil svoj smisel, svoj naboj. Rekel sem večkrat, da je v stališčih politične emigracije ta komponenta zdaj izgubljena in da bodo morali v nadaljnjem osmišljanju svojih političnih stališč poiskati nove elemente, da bi ostali povezani, da bi se ne razpustili in porazgubili. Antikomunizem kot generalno ideološko nasprotje komunizma, ne le kot nasprotje monopolu ene partije nad državo in družbo, se je namreč izpel. Tudi na ideološki ravni se je komunizem kompromitiral, razpadel, zato antikomunizem nima več cilja, na katerega bi bilo vredno streljati."<sup>5</sup> Dularjevo prepričanje, da je z demokracijo prišel tudi konec antikomunizma kot generalnega ideološkega nasprotja komunizmu, je bilo leta 1990 razumljivo v luči tedanje zamenjave sistema. Navsezadnje je sama emigracija že pred tem zagovarjala podobna stališča. Tako je na primer Tine Debeljak ml. emigrantsko stališče do Jugoslavije in komunizma še v času bivšega sistema označil na naslednji način: "Mi smo za suvereno Slovenijo. Za Jugoslavijo pa, če nam to koristi. To danes priznavajo tako tisti, ki so bili včasih absolutni Jugoslovani, kot oni, ki so bili za absolutno samostojno Slovenijo. Niti slučajno pa nismo najprej Jugoslovani in potem Slovenci. Z antikomunizmom pa je drug problem. Precej pomembnejša za nas je demokracija. Mi smo vsi seveda proti komunizmu. Vendar nismo antikomunisti v že naprej negativnem smislu, temveč zato, ker je naša politična osnova pač krščanska demokracija. Med vojsko smo bili proti komunizmu tudi zaradi samoobrambe. Idejno smo seveda vsi proti komunizmu, sicer pa mi povejte, kdo je danes idejno še komunist? Še v Sloveniji jih ni več videti. V današnjem časopisju se o komunizmu ne govori več. Če sprejemajo tržni zakon in podobno, kakšen komunizem pa je to? Kot sem že nekajkrat omenil, sta naši prvi načeli demokracija in suverenost. Znotraj tega pa se potem lahko zmenimo. Če v tistem trenutku, ko bo Slovenija imela resnično demokracijo, na poštenih volitvah zmaga partija, naj vlada. Meni pa mora seveda pustiti, da imam pred volitvami enake pravice in možnosti kot ona, po zmagi pa me mora pustiti delovati v opoziciji in sodelovati na naslednjih volitvah."<sup>6</sup> Leta kasneje pa se je pokazalo, da politična emigracija svojega antikomunizma v glavnem ni zamenjala z drugo motivacijo obstoja. Tako so predvsem stranke, ki so v svoj program vključile tudi emigrantsko dimenzijo (v prvi vrsti gre za Slovenske

<sup>5</sup> Slava Partlič, Pogovor z dr. Janezom Dularjem, ministrom za Slovence po svetu: *Antikomunizem je izgubil tarčo, vredno strela*; Delo, Sobotna priloga, 8. septembra 1990

<sup>6</sup> Marko Jenšterle, Pogovor z Tinetom Debeljakom ml.: *Mi smo za suvereno Slovenijo*, za *Jugoslavijo pa, če nam to koristi*; Telex, 7. decembra 1989

krščanske demokrate) ob odhodu z vlade v opozicijo začele govoriti o nedemokratskem sistemu in novem totalitarizmu in s tem dale vedeti, da je zanje Slovenija demokratična le tedaj, kadar so sami na oblasti.

Politični emigranti so verjetno dokaj kmalu po prihodu v zdomstvo začeli razmišljati o tem, da zanje praktično ni več vrnitve in so temu prilagodili svojo politiko. V letih po odhodu skorajda ni bilo človeka, ki bi lahko verjel v tako hiter konec komunizma, kakršnemu smo bili priča koncem osemdesetih in na začetku devetdesetih let. Proces je bil celo drugačen. Ko so Slovenci pred komunizmom prebežali v Argentino, se je le-ta v Latinski Ameriki šele začel. Koncem petdesetih let je izbruhnila revolucija na Kubi in se potem nezadržno začela širiti po vsem kontinentu. Argentina, ki je po drugi svetovni vojni, v Peronovem času, odprtih rok sprejela desničarske emigrante, je nato "rodila" svetovno znanega Che Guevaro, ki se je še posebej po svoji smrti spremenil v pravi mit "viteza gverile". Slovenski begunci so zbežali iz ideološko globoko razklane Slovenije na konec sveta in se zdaj znašli v še večjih nasprotjih Latinske Amerike. Povsem razumljivo je torej, da so ob vojaških udarih podprli dejanja vojske in da tudi še danes ne morejo objektivno presojati njenih zločinov nad argentinskim ljudstvom. Slovenska politična emigracija v Argentini vztrajno ponavlja, da problem izginulih v tej državi ni tako pereč kot ga oznanja svetovna javnost, in ne verjame niti strokovni komisiji, ki je dokazala, da je v času vojaške hunte izginilo najmanj 9000 ljudi. Politični emigranti Sloveniji ves čas dopovedujejo, kako imajo za seboj izkušnjo življenja v demokraciji, ne glede na to, da so skupaj z Argentinci ves ta čas živeli v diktaturi, čeprav z drugačnim predznakom. Njihova izkušnja s komunizmom v domovini je bila prehuda, da bi lahko neprizadeto gledali njegovo eksperimentiranje v novi deželi, kjer je celo velik del latinskoameriške cerkve nenadoma začel s svojo teologijo osvoboditve zagovarjati podobna stališča kot levica.

Slovenci so rešitev videli v zapiranju svoje skupnosti, saj so bili prepričani, da se je le na ta način mogoče upreti zunanjim vplivom. Poudarjena nacionalnost in popolna nezainteresiranost do Argentine in njene kulture, to sta dve glavni značilnosti slovenske politične emigracije. Ne le, da se ni ukvarjala z argentinskim kulturnim življenjem, ampak se ni trudila niti toliko, da bi svojo kulturo predstavila širšemu okolju. Slovenski pisatelj Aleš Debeljak je to zaprtost opazil na naslednji način: "*Drugače kot druge antikomunistične diaspore iz vzhodne Evrope, slovenska ni za uveljavitev naše književnosti v Severni oz. Južni Ameriki naredila niti osnovne poteze: prevedla klasike. Če še razumemo, da niso hoteli prevajati Kocbeka, pa je težko dojeti, zakaj niso poskusili usaj z Balantičem. Češka in poljska emigracija sta npr. ravnali veliko bolj modro. Škvorecky kot emigrant je ustanovil svojo založbo v kanadskem eksilu in poskrbel za prevode temeljnih del iz češčine v angleščino.*"<sup>7</sup>

Ta zaprtost v mnogočem traja tudi še sedaj, saj emigranti pogosto ne morejo

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<sup>7</sup> Majda Hostnik-Šetinc, Pogovor z Alešem Debeljakom, *Erotični blaznež za literaturo*; Dnevnik, 3. decembra 1994



razumeti, da Slovenci v Argentino ne prihajajo več samo z namenom, da bi videli njihov "slovenski čudež", ampak jih zanima navezava stikov z Argentino. V tem je bil brez dvoma tudi srž konflikta, ki je nastal ob gostovanju Slovenskega mladinskega gledališča iz Ljubljane s predstavo Šeherezada v buenosaireškem gledališču Cervantes. Slovenska cerkev v Argentini je našim izseljencem odsvetovala ogled predstave, ker naj bi šlo za izredno krute prizore in erotične scene, neprimerne za otroke in mladino, kot tudi ne za "zdravo, etično čutečega človeka". Emigracija se je kasneje soočila z dejstvom, da so o gostovanju slovenskega gledališča navdušeno in pozitivno poročali vsi argentinski mediji in na koncu slovensko predstavo celo proglasili za enega najpomembnejših kulturnih dogodkov tega leta v Argentini, vendar to ni omajalo njenih trdnih stališč. Delu so sicer priznali umetniške "odlike", vendar takoj za tem dodali: "*Toda umetniški vidik ni in ne sme biti za nikogar, še manj pa za kristjana, edini vidik, pod katerim presoja človekove stvaritve. Umetnost ni najvišja na lestvici človeških vrednot. Nad njo so moralne in nad temi verske vrednote.*"<sup>\*</sup> Argentinski mediji so Šeherezado presojali z očmi sedanjega časa in neobremenjeni s politiko. To gostovanje je navsezadnje naredilo večji prodor slovenske kulture v argentinski kulturni prostor in njegove množične medije, kot katerokoli kulturno delo politične emigracije v vsem času njenega življenja v Argentini. Do tedaj ni bilo s slovenstvom povezanega kulturnega dogodka, o katerem bi na tako obširen način poročali argentinski časopisi, radijske postaje in televizije.

Emigrantom se je čas ustavil tedaj, ko so odšli iz domovine. Zaradi tega so njihove današnje sodbe in pogledi na reševanje ključnih problemov slovenske sodobnosti identični tistim, kakršne so v Sloveniji ponujali v času pred drugo svetovno vojno. Tudi to, da so se po odhodu naselili v eni največjih metropol na svetu, dobesedno kulturni prestolnici Južne Amerike, ni bistveno vplivalo na njihova stališča. Sredi milijonskega Buenos Airesa so si postavili slovenske vasi in živeli zaprto slovenskost, v ničemer povezano z urbanim načinom življenja, kakršnega zahteva ritem argentinske prestolnice. Ker je bil Buenos Aires v času njihovega prihoda že milijonsko mesto so se v glavnem naseljevali na njegovem obrobju in bili tako tudi fizično oddaljeni od mestnega jedra. V neposredni bližini hiš so si postavili svoje slovenske domove, ki so postali center družbenega in družabnega življenja, zaradi tega pa večina tudi ni imela večjih potreb po spoznavanju argentinskega okolja.

Tisoče kilometrov proč od Ljubljane so si zgradili svojo Slovenijo in eno od naselij celo poimenovali Slovenska vas, njeno glavno ulico pa po Janezu Hladniku. Slovenija, ki se je po koncu druge svetovne vojne začela hitro razvijati in zaradi tega tudi po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 hitro ujela korak z zahodno Evropo, je nekje na drugem koncu sveta ostala upodobljena v času, ki je v matični domovini že izginil.

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<sup>\*</sup> Lojze Kukovica, *Nekaj o Šeherezadi*, Duhovno življenje, št. 5, junij 1994

Zaradi tega je "slovenski čudež" v Argentini tako zelo zanimiv za naše etnologe, saj v njem še vedno lahko najdejo vrsto nekdanjih tipičnih slovenskih pojavov, ki jih doma že ni več. Tako na primer poslikavo velikonočnih pisanic, da o lingvistiki niti ne govorimo. Toda medtem, ko je emigracija za domovino ohranila te dragocene posebnosti, je hkrati za njo zaostala pet dolgih desetletij. Domovina se je v tem času močno spremenila in mnogi emigranti so ob ponovnem stiku z njo doživeli hud šok. Najprej gre za fizično spremembo. Povojni komunizem je za sabo puščal hude posledice, predvsem za ideološke nasprotnike. Svet desnice, upodobljen v cerkvah in sakralnih objektih je zamenjal svet socialističnega realizma. Mogočni kipi s podobami revolucije so zavzeli glavna mestna središča.

Drugo in za emigracijo hujše je bila sprememba miselnosti. Ljudje so se na socializem počasi navadili. Sistem je resda na začetku na krut način obračunal z ideološkimi nasprotniki in opozicijo znotraj komunističnih vrst, potem pa je počasi začel popuščati in ljudstvo prefinjeno "podkupovati". Jugoslavija je izkoristila idealen položaj na meji med Vzhodom in Zahodom ter čas hladne vojne. Ljudje so živeli ugodno in ob odprtih mejah. Poleg tega so poznali stanje na Vzhodu in so ga lahko ves čas primerjali s svojim. Množičnega disidentstva praktično ni bilo, nezadovoljstvo s sistemom je bilo omejeno na interne in predvsem intelektualne kroge in lahko rečemo, da bi tudi komunizem v Jugoslaviji živel še nekaj časa, če ne bi država propadla zaradi etničnih konfliktov, predvsem pa, če se ne bi podrla njegova lažna gospodarska osnova.

Realnost Jugoslavije in njene politične ureditve je nekaj let po prihodu v zdomstvo sprejel tudi velik del politične emigracije, zaradi česar je v njenih kulturnih krogih koncem šestdesetih let celo prišlo do hudega spora v osrednji kulturni ustanovi, Slovenski kulturni akciji. Tam sta se izoblikovali dve skupini. Ena je bila radikalno slovenska, ki je imela teoretično izdelan koncept slovenske države, temelječ na izrazitem antikomunizmu. Njej nasproti je stala druga skupina, zmernejša, do Jugoslavije in komunizma prizanesljivejša, saj se je upirala temu, da bi v osnutek novih pravil SKA vneseli člen, ki ga je predlagal Božidar Fink, pravi pa naslednje: "*Slovenska kulturna akcija je organizacija slovenskih protikomunističnih kulturnih delavcev in podpornikov v zdomstvu, ki hočejo z ustvarjalnim in posredovalnim delom prispevati k obrambi in bogatenju duhovnih vrednot človeka in narodne skupnosti ter se vključuje v boj za svobodo slovenskega naroda.*"<sup>9</sup>

Protipredlog je bil namreč takšen: "*Slovenska kulturna akcija je organizacija slovenskih zemeljskih in zdomskih kulturnih delavcev, ki žele z ustvarjalnim in posredovalnim delom pomagati pri ustvarjanju in širjenju kulturnih vrednot,*

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<sup>9</sup> Glas Slovenske kulturne akcije, 11. IV. 1996

posebno slovenskih. *Idejni temelj organizacije je naravni etični zakon, potrjen in izpopolnjen po krščanskem svetovnem nazoru.*"<sup>10</sup>

Antikomunizem tu ni bil več posebej izpostavljen, saj so menili, da bi moral v takem primeru obsoditi tudi druge totalitarizme, kot so fašizem, nacizem itd. V bistvu je ta skupina Jugoslavijo tedaj sprejela kot dejstvo in se je na tak način proti njej tudi bojevala. Njeni pripadniki niso imeli predsodkov pred potovanji v izgubljeno domovino, zaradi česar so si pri nasprotnikih nakopali še večje težave, z današnje situacije pa je mogoče presoditi, da so ravno ti ljudje precej lažje sprejeli konkretno stanje v Sloveniji po razglasitvi samostojnosti, kjer je emigrantska politika dobila legitimen prostor v slovenski politiki, vendar ji slednja niti slučajno ni zaradi njene tragične usode priznala ekskluzivnih pravic pri urejanju sedanjosti.

Emigracija je nekaj časa še upala, da se bomo Slovenci razveselili njene vrnitve in jo bomo sprejeli odprtih rok, ko pa je doumela, da je realnost domovine precej drugačna od podobe, kakršno so si zdomci v letih eksila izoblikovali v svoji zavesti, se je odločila za radikalnejša dejanja. Zahtevala je, da državni zbor in pristojne oblasti Slovenije *"izrecno obsodijo komunistično partijo, ker je med vojno in okupacijo zlorabila slovensko željo po svobodi in narodnoosvobodilni boj v svoje revolucionarne namene,"*<sup>11</sup> ter med drugim tudi, da *"obsodijo zločine, ki so jih izvajali nosilci revolucije nad slovenskim narodom pod pretvezo osvobodilnega boja, hoteč uničiti svoje ideje in politične nasprotnike."*<sup>12</sup> Mit o Sloveniji, ki čaka da se politična emigracija na belih konjih vrne domov je bil le nekaj let po neodvisnosti dokončno porušen. Slovenija za razliko od nekaterih drugih vzhodnoevropskih držav ni napravila obračuna s svojo povojno preteklostjo. Nekdanji komunistični voditelji so se mirno umaknili v pokoj in zdaj celo spet dvigajo glave, njihovi mlajši nasledniki pa so se spremenili v socialdemokrate ali pa se porazgubili v paleti novih političnih strank. Slovenci so se še enkrat izkazali za izredne pragmatike. Množica, ki je prej brez večjega odpora sprejemala povojni socializem in njegove dobre stvari se je hitro prilagodila novi stvarnosti in se ni hotela obremenjevati z obračunavanjem s preteklostjo. Stranke, ki so menile, da bi bilo potrebno potegniti črto ločnico med zgodovino in sedanjostjo pa so ta načela vnesle v taktiko njihovega dnevnopolitičnega boja in jih s tem razvrednotila. Obračun s komunizmom ni bil več vprašanje etike, ampak politike in z njo povezanega boja za oblast. Emigracija se je praktično izgubila v slovenskem vsakdanu, saj je najprej prisegala na politiko krščanske demokracije, da bi se po tem, ko je ugotovila, kako le-ta v smislu obstanka na oblasti mirno paktira z bivšimi komunisti in liberalci, navezala na tiste socialne demokrate, katere s pojmom

<sup>10</sup> *Glas Slovenske kulturne akcije*, 11. IV. 1996

<sup>11</sup> *Poziv državnemu zboru in pristojnim oblastem države Slovenije*, Svobodna Slovenija, 29. decembra 1994.

<sup>12</sup> *Poziv državnemu zboru in pristojnim oblastem države Slovenije*, Svobodna Slovenija, 29. decembra 1994.

socialna demokracija veže samo ime stranke in nič drugega. Njihov program je daleč od socialdemokratske levice, saj je prevzel desničarske formule. Da bi bila zmeda še večja so politično emigracijo izigrali celo njihovi potencialni zavezniki. Brez njene odobritve si je ena od novih slovenskih strank desnice prevzela ime Slovenska ljudska stranka in ga legalno registrirala. Predvojna Slovenska ljudska stranka je bila ves čas temelj političnega delovanja emigracije, saj je nadaljevala izročila tiste SLS, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1905. Toda, če ji je uspelo zdržati vsa desetletja eksila, je ves ta trud ob demokraciji izničila novonastala kmečka stranka, ki je brez dovoljenja prevzela njeno ime, povrh vsega pa še sodi na desni pol političnega prostora v Sloveniji.

Emigracijo je torej zmedlo preživetje levice v Sloveniji, toda še bolj od tega ji je škodila popolna razklanost desnice, zaradi česar tudi tako pogosto menja okrilja političnih strank, pri tem pa se vedno znova sooča z dejstvom, da jo le-te v prvi vrsti izrabljajo za svoje neposredne politične cilje, njenim zahtevam pa so le redko pripravljene prisluhniti.

Precej krivde za to stanje nosi sama, saj je pred slovenstvo takoj po padcu komunizma začela postavljati politiko. Tudi emigracija je slovensko demokracijo priznavala le, če je bila sama deležna oblasti, čim pa se je morala umakniti v opozicijo, je politični sistem v Sloveniji razglasila za nedemokracičen. Ker je njen politični vrh formalno del vodstva stranke Slovenskih krščanskih demokratov in kot tak tudi močno vpliva na njeno strategijo ter politiko, lahko rečemo, da nima nikakršnega odnosa do slovenske države, saj ne priznava njenih osnovnih simbolov, kadar to ni v njenem neposrednem interesu. V želji, da bi opravičila svoja dejanja v času druge svetovne vojne pa se poslužuje najrazličnejših metod. Ta del slovenske desnice (tu ne gre več samo za emigracijo) je na primer v času proslav ob 50. letnici konca vojne celo od zaveznikov pričakoval pokoro. Predsednik Nove Slovenske zaveze dr. Tine Velikonja je na primer veleposlaništvu Velike Britanije poslal odprto pismo v katerem je med drugim zapisal: *“Prepričani smo - spričo tega, kar se je zgodilo leta 1945 na Koroškem ter v jamah in breznih Kočevskega Roga, in spričo tega, da sta oba dogodka med seboj vzročno povezana - da bi za mnoge Slovence, če ne za večino, nastop britanskih vojakov ali veteranov na majski paradi v Ljubljani pomenil hudo žalitev. Britansko prisotnost bi gotovo imeli za ponovitev smrtne obsodbe, ki je bila pred davnim časom izdana na Koroškem, v opreki s pravili, ki veljajo med civiliziranimi narodi.”*<sup>13</sup>

Tragična izkušnja emigracije iz časa po drugi svetovni vojni je tista točka, ki ji onemogoča stik z današnjo Slovenijo. Tu niti ne gre več samo za emigracijski problem, saj se na tem mestu razhajajo tudi Slovenci v domovini, temeljni vzrok pa je ravno v tem, ker v domovini nikoli ni bilo splošnega interesa po razčiščenju tega dela zgodovine.

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<sup>13</sup> Dr. Tine Velikonja, predsednik NSZ, - *Odprto Pismo Veleposlaništvu Velike Britanije v Republiki Sloveniji*, Svobodna Slovenija, Buenos Aires, 27. aprila 1995

Za Urugvaj, državo v neposredni bližini Argentine, kjer so prav tako doživeli levo in desno politično skrajnost, pogosto pravijo, da v njej nihče noče razjasniti bližnje zgodovine, ker se vsi čutijo krive za nekaj. Gre torej za kolektivno krivdo. Zelo podobno je s Slovenci. Emigrante in desnico teži prisega Hitlerju, na bivše komuniste in njihove naslednike na levi pritiskajo povojni izvensodni poboji političnih nasprotnikov. In namesto da bi skupaj vzeli v zakup to nacionalno travmo, jo raje izkoriščajo za medsebojne politične spopade.

### SUMMARY

#### THE MYTH OF THE UNCHANGED HOME COUNTRY

Marko Jenšterle

We can hardly talk about post-war Slovenian emigrants fleeing abroad just because they believed in the myth of a better world, if we take a closer look at the conditions in which this exodus took place. If before World War II Slovenian emigrants were departing from their home country primarily because of rumours circulating about the "paradise" of America, the reasons of those who followed later were quite different. The main reason was the cruel fact that, after Nazism and fascism had been defeated in Europe, there were very few countries in the world prepared to accept those who had in any way collaborated with fascism or fought against the Allies.

Immediately after the war ended, there was hardly a Slovenian refugee who would not have believed that their crossing the border with Austria would only be temporary, since the opinion prevailed that an agreement among the Allies would soon be reached through which communism would be done away within Yugoslavia, and those who had fought against communism would be allowed to return to their homes. The course of history, however, did not fulfil these expectations. Soon after they arrived in their new environment, political emigrants began to be aware of the fact that there was practically no chance of returning home; consequently they adjusted their philosophy to the new conditions. In the years after their departure there was hardly anyone who would have believed that the abrupt collapse of communism, witnessed in the late 1980's and early 1990's, was possible at all. The Slovenian people believed that their only chance of survival was to isolate their community and thus resist external influence. They emphasised national awareness, and the complete

lack of interest in Argentina and its culture are the two main characteristics of Slovenian political emigrants in that country. For them, time stopped when they left their home country. Their present-day judgements and views on addressing the key problems of the current situation in Slovenia are therefore identical to those Slovenia was offered before World War II. Moreover, emigrants were confused by the survival of the Left in Slovenia; what affected them even more, however, was the complete disintegration of the Right.

# **POVIJEST O PRVIM HRVATIMA U AUSTRALIJI I NOVOM ZELANDU**

Branimir Banović

## **Uvod**

Vremenski gledajući, prve susrete i rano hrvatsko doseljništvo u spomenutim prekomorskim zemljama možemo svrstati u red pionirskih migracija.

Obzirom na vremenski raspon migracijskog procesa i broj doseljenika, za Hrvate su to već poodavno klasični i tradicionalni imigracijski prostori.

Kao posljedica dugotrajnog procesa doseljavanja, danas u tim zemljama živi približno 320.000 Hrvata. Od toga broja na Australiju otpada okruglo 300.000 lica.<sup>1</sup> Ostatak čine novozelandski Hrvati.<sup>2</sup> Spomenuti broj posljedica je kako brojačno velikog doseljavanja - poslije drugog svjetskog rata, tako i tradicionalnog procesa lančane migracije kojim je, sredinom 19. stoljeća, otpočelo iseljavanje iz Hrvatske (ponajprije Dalmacije) u Australiju i Novi Zeland.

### **Prvi susreti Hrvata s Australijom i rana hrvatska imigracija u toj zemlji**

Prve kontakte Hrvata s Australijom, kao i s većinom prekomorskih zemalja, ostvarila su sredinom 19. stoljeća dalmatinski moreplovci. Bila je to, ujedno, i prva hrvatska pionirska populacija na tom kontinentu.

Kronološki gledajući, prema povijesno verificiranim izvorima, prvi je dodir s Australijom ostvario poznati hrvatski moreplovac kapetan Ivo Visin. Putujući austrijskim brodom "Splendido" oko svijeta on se 1854. godine zatekao i u Australiji.<sup>3</sup> Visin je, tom prilikom, u brodskom dnevniku, uz ostalo, opisao "zlatnu groznicu" u Victoriji i New South Wales-u. Spomenuti je izvještaj, zacijelo, indirektno podsticajno djelovao na otvaranje ciklusa lančane migracije.

Među povijesno utemeljene susrete Hrvata s Australijom svakako valja ubrojiti i boravak Tome Skalića u toj zemlji 1856. godine.<sup>4</sup> Spomenuti je svjetski

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<sup>1</sup> *Australian Census of Population*, Dept. of Statistic, Canberra, 1987., XXXVI/216.

<sup>2</sup> Procjena prema imigracijskoj statistici Novo Zelanda.

<sup>3</sup> *The Shipping Gazette-Sydney General Trade List*, Volume XI, December 4, 1854., p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *Neven*, Zagreb, 1856.

moreplovac tom prilikom posjetio Sydney i zlatonosna polja New South Wales-a. Po povratku u domovinu, putopis o boravku u Australiji objavio je iste godine u poznatom časopisu tog vremena - "Nevenu". Karakterom sadržaja taj je putopis sigurno indirektno podsticajno djelovao na hrvatsku, prije svega dalmatinsku, potencijalnu emigraciju da izabere Australiju kao moguću zemlju useljenja.

Rani i, obzirom na udaljenost te plovidbe na jedra, relativno brojni kontakti Hrvata s Australijom, ostvareni su i prilikom boravka austrijskih ratnih i hrvatskih trgovačkih brodova pod austrijskom zastavom u lukama te zemlje tijekom druge polovine 19. stoljeća. U tom kontekstu spominjemo boravak austrijske fregate "Novara", koja je u vodama Australije boravila 1858. godine.<sup>5</sup> Uzgred, radi se o istom ratnom brodu s kojeg se, prema sačuvanom izvještaju, iste godine iskrcao dio dalmatinske posade na Novom Zelandu. Prilikom posjete Australiji, uz spomenutu "Novaru", rane susrete s tim kontinentom imale su većinske posade dalmatinskih Hrvata s austrijskih ratnih brodova "Saida", "Kaizerin Elizabetha", "Leopard", "Helgoland", "Panther" i dr.<sup>6</sup> Da su pojedinci, dezertirajući s tih brodova, postali dio pionirske hrvatske doseljeničke populacije te zemlje realna je pretpostavka. Takva je pretpostavka zacijelo još i bliža istini kada su u pitanju boravci hrvatskih trgovačkih jedrenjaka tijekom prve decenije 19. stoljeća. "Stipan", "Tri sina", "Metta", "Deveron", "Sava", "Alba", "Kontesa Hilda", "Franjo Josip I", i dr., samo su dio imena hrvatskih brodova koji su se u to vrijeme zatekli u Australiji.<sup>7</sup>

Da su prve susrete s Australijom ostvarili isključivo naši pomorci, uz ostalo, svjedoče i preživjeli brodolomci. Naime, dijelovi obale Zapadne Australije tijekom 19. stoljeća nisu bili samo groblja holandskih, britanskih i lokalnih brodova, već i mjesta pogibije, ali i spasenja priličnog broja Hrvata. U tom je kontekstu posebno dramatičan brodolom barke "Stefano" 1875. godine.<sup>8</sup> Natovaren s 1300 tona ugljena, brod je iz Cardiffa (Wales) zaplovio put Hong-Konga, u Hong-Kong nikad nije stigao, jer se zahvaljujući pogrešnom proračunu navigatora 27. listopada spomenute godine razbio o podvodni greben kot Point Cloates-a. Brodolom su preživjela devetorica mornara od kojih su sedmorica, nakon gotovo godinu dana lutanja bespućima Zapadne Australije, iscrpljeni gladu i bolestima, podlegli. Šesnaestogodišnjeg Miha Bačića i devetnaestogodišnjeg Ivana Jurića spasili su Aboridani. Nakon oporavka u Framentleu vratili su se u rodnu Dalmaciju 7. kolovoza 1876. godine. Uz

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<sup>5</sup> *Viaggio Intorno Al Globo Della Fregata Austriaca Novara Negli Ani 1857. 1858. 1859 - Sotto Al Comando Del Commodoro B. De Wallerstorf-Urbaur*, Volumes 1, 2, p. 3., I Sydney Morning Herald, December 8, 1858., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *The Advertiser*, Albany, W.A., 5 January 1891., I Batty Library, Perth, Acc 1496, AN 2. File 1689, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> R. Barbalić; I. Jurković, *Oploviti Cape Horn*. Rijeka, 1972., str. 25-40.

<sup>8</sup> S. Skrula, *I Naufraghi del Bark Austro-Ungarico Stefano alla Costa Nord-Ouest dell Australia*, Dubrovnik, 1877.



navedene preživjele, sva ostala posada, do jednog Hrvati iz Dalmacije, završila je svoj prvi susret s Australijom pod zaista nesretnim okolnostima.

Doseljavanje Hrvata u Australiju imalo je sredinom 19. stoljeća dobrim dijelom pionirski karakter. Radilo se, naime, o sporadičnom i individualnom useljavanju mahom dalmatinskih mornara, koji su u to vrijeme često činili pretežite dijelove posada austrijskih ratnih i trgovačkih brodova. U tu kategoriju valja ubrojiti i nemali broj onih koji su, pretrpjevši brodolom, spas našli na kopnu Australije. U svakom slučaju avanturizam, kao popratna pojava svake pionirske imigracije, nije u ovom slučaju mimoišao ni Hrvate. Neki od njih, očito privučeni zlatom, dragim kamenjem, ali i drugim mogućnostima koje im je ta prostrana i rijetko naseljena zemlja obilato nudila, iskricali su se i ostali. Drugi pak, vrativši se, u svojim su sredinama počeli širiti glas o Australiji kao iznimno povoljnoj useljeničkoj sredini. Na taj način, ujedno, stvorene su i osnovne pretpostavke za početak kasnije snažnog procesa lančane migracije.

Prvi pojedinačno zabilježen hrvatski doseljenik u Australiji bio je Vicko Vuković s otoka Šipana blizu Dubrovnika.<sup>9</sup> Iskrcašći se u Fremantle-u (Zapadna Australija) 1858. godine, promijenio je ime u John Vincent. Ožujka 1867. godine oženio se Irkinjom Bridget Russell. Imao je petero djece, a poginuo je u brodolomu "Rosette", kod Dampier arhipelaga blizu sjeverozapadne obale Zapadne Australije.<sup>10</sup>

Prema dostupnim izvorima, prva se skupina od pedeset dalmatinskih Hrvata iskrcala s britanskog broda "Dingo" u luci Adelaide 22. studenog 1854. godine.<sup>11</sup> U ovom se slučaju, dakle, nije radilo samo o ranim susretima, već o pionirskom naseljavanju kontinenta. Potomke te rane imigracije, čiji su pradjedovi otpočeli ciklus lančane migracije, i danas nalazimo na tlu Južne Australije.

Drugu veću grupu Hrvata u Australiji činili su mornari s otoka Visa. Dio tih otočana nalazimo u Perthu 1883. godine.<sup>12</sup> Ime, zastava i matična luka broda kojim su prispjeli nisu poznati. Međutim, njihova imena i prezimena, zajedno s mjestima rođenja, poznata su i dostupna javnosti.<sup>13</sup> Potomci tih doseljenika, kao i drugih hrvatskih emigranata, pristiglih procesom rane lančane migracije, žive i danas u tom dijelu Zapadne Australije koja je, gotovo do recentnog vremena, u kontinentalnim razmjerima, bila jedan od tradicionalnih hrvatskih imigracijskih prostora.<sup>14</sup> Uz navedene primjere, u tom pionirskom razdoblju,

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<sup>9</sup> J. Luetić, *Katastrofa barka Stefano*, Pomorstvo, Rijeka, god. 10, br. 1-2, 1955., str. 32

<sup>10</sup> West Australian Catholic Record, 22 May 1879.

<sup>11</sup> Commonwealth Immigration Department (Appendix II/12), Adelaide.

<sup>12</sup> M. Tkalčević, *Croats in Australia*, Victoria College Press, Burwood, 1987., str. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Djelomični popis iskrcanih mornara nalazi se u posjedu Mladena Cara iz Safety Beya (Zapadna Australija).

<sup>14</sup> Prema statistici zemlje useljenja računa se da je na prostoru Zapadne Australije, do završetka drugog svjetskog rata, obitavalo između 30% - 40% od ukupnog broja doseljenih Hrvata. U tom su se vremenskom rasponu jačim aglomeracijama naše imigracije isticala šira gradska

poznate su i brojne druge grupice, kao i ne mali broj pojedinaca koji su iz Hrvatske (točnije Dalmacije) doselili u New South Wales, Victoriju i druge dijelove kontinenta. S druge strane, prema povijesnim izvorima, spomenuta je hrvatska pionirska doseljenička populacija odigrala zapaženu ulogu u podizanju vinogradarstva (Victoria), voćarstva (New South Wales) i rudarstva (Zapadna Australija), pridonijevši na taj način općem ekonomskom prosperitetu te zemlje.

### **Prvi Hrvati na Novom Zelandu**

Gotovo dvjesto godina poslije Tasmanova otkrića Novog Zelanda (1642.) i dvadesetak godina po Cookovu ponovom susretu (1769.) s tim, za Europu već zaboravljenim pacifičkim otočjem, prvi Hrvati koji su ugledali maorsku "Zemlju velikog bijelog oblaka" bili su dalmatinski mornari.<sup>15</sup> Dakle, najranije vijesti koje spominju Hrvate u toj zemlji potječu iz 1858. godine. Sačuvane su kao izvještaja pohranjenog u Dubrovačkom arhivu, a donose se na ekspediciju austrijskog znanstvenika i istraživača Ferdinanda von Hochstetera, koji je austrijskim ratnim brodom "Novara", posjetio Novi Zeland 1858. godine.<sup>16</sup> Među posadom tog broda bilo je i mornara iz Dalmacije, od kojih su neki dezertirali s broda i ostali na Novom Zelandu.<sup>17</sup> Došavši u dodir s oklandskom trgovcima smole kauri-drвета, koji su im poklonili kolekciju togproizvoda Dalmatinci su, nakon povratka u Hrvatsku, počeli široko propagirati ideju mogućnosti velike i relativno brze zarade na poljima smole kauri drвета, tako da je slijedećih godina jedan dio mladih ljudi, otputovavši na Novi Zeland, otvorio ciklus lančane migracije. U kontekstu prvih susreta Hrvata s Novim Zelandom, prema pričanju starih iseljenika, spominje se i brodolom austrijskih kitolovaca, koji se dogodio 1860. godine ispred Kaipai Harbour-a, a s kojih se spasilo nekoliko mornara s Pelješca. Poslije oporavka ti su se mornari navodno zaposlili na obližnjim poljima smole kauri-drвета.<sup>18</sup> Vjerojatno je da su neki od njih otpočeli lančanu migraciju s Pelješca (Dalmacija) na Novi Zeland.

Prvi, imenom i prezimenom znani Hrvati, koji su svoja "pionirska lutanja" (wondering migration) završili na Novom Zelandu i otpočeli proces lančane migracije, bili su nesumljivo Dalmatinci. U tom kontekstu spominje se Josip Martin (Giuseppe Martin) s otoka Visa koji je na Novi Zeland doselio 1861. godine.<sup>19</sup> Uz navedenog pionira u naseljavanju te zemlje, na popisu Kraljevske

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područja Perth i Fremantle, te poznati rudarski reviri Bouldera i Kalgoorlie u unutrašnjosti zemlje.

<sup>15</sup> K. W. Thomson i A.D. Trlin, *Immigrants in New Zealand*, Palmerston North, N.Z., str. 69.

<sup>16</sup> A.D. Trlin, *Jugoslaveni na Novom Zelandu*, Zbornik, Iseljništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije, Zagreb, 1978., str. 444.

<sup>17</sup> A.D. Trlin, *Jugoslaveni na Novom Zelandu*, Zbornik, Iseljništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije, Zagreb, 1978., str. 444.

<sup>18</sup> A.H. Reed, *The Gumdigger, The Story of Kauri-Gum*, Dunedin, N.Z., 1948, str. 160-161.

<sup>19</sup> I. Čizmić, *Iz Dalmacije na Novi Zeland*, Zagreb, 1981., str. 15.

komisije za ekstrakciju smole kauri drveta nalazi se zaista velik broj dalmatinskih kopača. Među njima spominje se Pavle Lupis s Pelješca koji je 1881. godine iz Dargavilla (Sjeverni otok) otputovao kući, te oženivši se poveo sa sobom na Novi Zeland ženu i nekoliko rodaka, što je možda najočitiji primjer početne faze procesa lančane migracije u pionirskoj kolonizacijskoj fazi naseljavanja naših ljudi.<sup>20</sup> Inače Lupis je došao na Novi Zeland “/.../ kao mornar na engleskom migracijskom brodu s kojeg je 1860. godine pobjegao u Lytteltonu”.<sup>21</sup> U kategoriji prvih hrvatskih doseljenika valja svakako ubrojiti i Nikolu Sinčića jer je na Novi Zeland došao 1864. godine.<sup>22</sup> Iz rodne Rijeke emigrirao je 1861. godine. Nakon trogodišnjeg lutanja Indijom i Australijom (uz domovinu, većina hrvatskog ranog doseljeničtva potječe iz te zemlje) konačno se trajno naselio u mjestu Waipo, radeći na održavanju telefonskih linija.<sup>23</sup> I u ovom se slučaju, dakle, radi o još jednom iz plejade “lutajućih migranata”, što ponovno ukazuje na ispravnost Price-ove teze o načinu i karakteru migracija dijela stanovništva naše obale i otoka od sredine do konca 19. stoljeća.

Nismo daleko od istine ako ustvrdimo da su, ponajprije, bogata nalazišta smole kauri drveta Sjevernog otoka, a potom i zlato Južnog otoka uvjetovali prva dva veća vala naseljavanja te zemlje. Stoga zahvaljujući smoli (1847.) i zlatu (1861.) period od sredine do kraja 19. vijeka, možemo nazvati razdobljem kolonizacije Novog Zelanda u kojoj su, uz pripadnike raznih europskih nacija, učestvovali i Hrvati iz Dalmacije.

### SUMMARY

#### THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST CROATS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Branimir Banović

In historical terms, the first encounters of the early Croatians in Australia and New Zealand can be considered to have been a part of pioneering migratory movements.

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<sup>20</sup> A.D. Trlin, *Now Respected, Once Despised*. Palmerston North, N.Z., 1979., str. 17.

<sup>21</sup> Isto, 443.

<sup>22</sup> R. Gilmore, *Slaveni Novog Zelanda*, The Auckland Star, Auckland, 7. VI 1956.

<sup>23</sup> *Izještaj i evidencija Kraljevske komisije za proizvodnju kauri smole na Novom Zelandu*. Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1898, H-12, str. 34-35, (Arhiv ZAMIN).

Because of an on-going flow of emigration, nearly 320,000 Croats now live in these countries. Around 300,000 of these people reside in Australia and the remaining number consists of Croats living in New Zealand. This figure has been attained, on the one hand, by the heavy flow of immigration which took place after the Second World War, and on the other as a consequence of the traditional process of chain migration which commenced in the middle of the 19th century when people began to leave Croatia (Dalmatia in the first instance) and head for Australia and New Zealand .

Dalmatian sailors were the first to establish contact with Australia as well as with the majority of other countries overseas in the middle of the 19th century. This represented the first Croatian pioneer population to settle on this continent.

From a chronological point of view, historically verifiable sources confirm that the first contact with Australia was made by the renowned Croatian sailor, Captain Ivo Visin. Having travelled around the world on the Australian ship *Splendido*, Visin found himself in Australia in 1854.

Almost two hundred years after Tasman's discovery of New Zealand in 1642 and about 90 years after Captain Cook's various visits to this Pacific island which had been almost totally forgotten by the rest of Europe, the first Croats to set eyes on the Maori Land of the "big white cloud" were Dalmatian sailors. Consequently, the earliest reports mentioning Croats in this country date from 1858. They have been preserved as a part of the report stored in the Dubrovnik Archives and they refer to the expedition conducted by the Austrian scientist and explorer Ferdinand von Hochsteler who visited New Zealand in 1858 with the Austrian frigate *Novara*. Among the crew of this ship there were sailors from Dalmatia, some of whom deserted and remained in New Zealand and in this way settled among the pioneer emigrants in the new country.

## **PRVI SPOMENI O HRVATIMA NA AFRIČKOM KONTINENTU**

Ante Laušić

O iseljeništvu kao općoj pojavi kod koje se stanovništvo privremeno ili stalno iselilo iz domovine zbog gospodarskih, društvenih ili psiholoških motiva, napisane su biblioteke studija, rasprava i osvrti svakojake naravi. U nijednoj od njih, barem ne u hrvatskoj iseljeničkoj historiografiji, zasad još uvijek nemamo, a iluzorno je i očekivati, neprijeporne podatke o točnom vremenu, imenu i prezimenu prve osobe ili grupe koja je napustila domovinu i udomila se na jednome od izvan europskih kontinenata, dakle i onome afričkom. Utoliko je teže odgovoriti na naznačeni problem što je i prije 30-ih godina 19. stoljeća, kada se može govoriti o znatnijem prekomorskom iseljavanju i donekle njegovu praćenju s naših prostora, također bilo podosta usamljenih i neorganiziranih iseljavanja o kojima postoje stanovite predaje i poneko svjedočanstvo, ali ne i nesporna izvorna grada. Dakle, tko je prvi i kada iz Hrvatske stupio na afričko tlo jest i ostat će nepoznanicom, pa nam stanovite predaje, legende i štura svjedočanstva koja su doprla do nas utješno stoje kao nadomjestak relevantnim izvorima. To je činjenica s kojom se slažu svi istraživači iseljeničkog fenomena, jednako kao što se moraju složiti s činjenicom da je u tim predajama i legendama sazdan barem djelić povijesne istine.

Podimo tragom i redosljedom vijesti od sjevera prema jugu što bi i prema vremenskom slijedu (ali ne i smjerovima) odgovaralo useljavanju Hrvata na "crni kontinent". Naime, tijekom drugoga svjetskog rata, prilikom proslave 1000. obljetnice Al-Azharskog sveučilišta u Kairu, izbila je na vidjelo teza da je osnivač Kaira, veliki vojskovođa Džahvar, podrijetlom Hrvat. Zastupnici dotične pretpostavke svoje su mišljenje temeljili na nekoliko cita iz studije Vladimira Mažuranića Melek "Jaša Dubrovčanin" u Indiji godine 1480-1528. i njegovi prethodnici u Islamu prije deset stoljeća.<sup>1</sup> Tu Mažuranić na jednom mjestu kaže "*kako je poput mletačke 'Riva del Schiavoni' što se je našim jezikom nekada izgovaralo 'Riva od Hrvatov', u Palermu sav predjel grada oko luke označavao po arapskom nazivu 'sloujenskog naroda'. Iz te sredine potekao je 'Džauher', Djaukar iliti Geohoar (i Jahuar), 'Delmato' po Leonu Afrikancu*". Na stranici 559. Mažuranić nastavlja: "*Meni se čini, da se nalazi veoma zanimljivih tipova među ovima našim ljudima Sloujenima (možda zbilja i o pojedinom kojem Rusu*

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<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Mažuranić: "Melek Jaša Dubrovčanin u Indiji godine 1480-1528. i njegovi prethodnici u Islamu prije deset stoljeća", Zbornik kralja Tomislava, Zagreb, 1925, str. 219-290. i 554-681

između njih) u službi arapskih dinastija. U najvećem dijelu svakako su oni 'Jugoslaveni' Hrvati i Srbi. Dašto, prema prilikama, u prvom redu bit će između njih najpretežniji broj Hrvata sa obala Jadrana i zaleđa njihova od Kotora do Trsta. Vrijedno bi bilo, da se posveti pažnja svakome njih, koji se je bio zaslugom ili srećom, povjesnički istekao. Pitam se: kad bi bilo zabilježeno u kojoj arapskoj kronici, da je graditelj Kaira i osvajač Afrike, Džauhar, po porijetlu Nijemac, Talijan ili Francuz, ne bi li velik trud bio posvećen u krugu historika, njegovih zemljaka, da se objasni njegov život? Lukarević nam o Džauharu donosi kako Biaglo Bevilaqua piše, da je rodom bio iz Cautata, a Arapin Leon veli da je Dalmata".

Dotičnom se Mažuranićevu izvješću pridružuje, premda neovisno od njega, i ono Hadži Mehmeda ef. Handžića, poznatog orijentaliste i teološkog pisca, profesora Više islamske šeriatsko-tehnološke škole, nekoć studenta El-Azharskog sveučilišta, koji se na temelju "arabskih historičnih vrela" odvažio na tvrdnju da bi Džehver "mogao biti naše gore list, tj. Hrvat", pozivajući se pritom na arapskog povjesničara Ibni Dukmana "koji u svom djelu *El-Intisa naziva Džehvera Slavenom (essakalibi)*". Štoviše, Handžić je uvjeren da je u to vrijeme u Egiptu bilo više islamiziranih Hrvata na visokim položajima. Među njima spominje dvojicu istaknutih Slavena, imenom Kajsara i Muzafera, te poslanika nekog Hafifu, za kojega izrjekom kaže da je bio "dakako Hrvat".<sup>2</sup> Ovo su, naravno, samo pretpostavke, koje će biti teško osnažiti neprikosnovenim vrelima, utoliko teže što smo sigurni da je vrijeme izbrisalo svaki trag čak i nadanju u spoznanju iz te daleke prošlosti.

Medutim, nema nikakva spora da su Hrvati, i to najvećim dijelom s obale Jadrana, u značajnijem broju, počeli dolaziti u Egipat u 18. stoljeću, o čemu imamo dosta pisanih i materijalnih dokaza.<sup>3</sup> Njihovi potomci i novopridošli Hrvati u velike će sudjelovati u desetogodišnjoj (1859-1869) izgradnji Sueskog kanala. Procjene o njihovu broju u tom pothvatu se razlikuju. U Hrvatskom dnevniku od 17. prosinca 1930. čitamo da se može raditi o nekoliko stotina, a u monografiji Katolička crkva i Hrvati izvan domovine<sup>4</sup> do 3000 Hrvata, pretežito mladih ljudi iz Hrvatskog primorja (Vinodolskog, Grižana, Bribira, Selca i Novog) te iz Dalmacije ponajviše s otoka Korčule i dubrovačke okolice. Premda su većinom radili kao fizički radnici, među njima je bilo i mornara, sitnih trgovaca, voditelja čamaca... Njihov zemljak inženjer Anton Luković iz Boke kotorske, koji se školovao u Mlecima i Padovi i deset godina prije početka gradnje kanala živio u Aleksandriji, bio je desna ruka projektantu i graditelju, francuskom diplomatu Ferdinandu de Lessepsu. A da se i ne govori o Frani Piškuliću, odnosno o Andriji Lončariću Josipovu iz Selca, koji je minom raznio posljednju zapreku što je dijelila Sredozemno od Crvenog mora, te

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<sup>2</sup> Ljubomir Antić: "Hrvati u Africi - crna sudbina na crnom kontinentu, Večernji list, Zagreb, 26.12.1990.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Journal d'Égypte*, Kairo, 21. siječnja 1936.

<sup>4</sup> *Katolička crkva i Hrvati izvan domovine*, Zagreb, 1980.

Dubrovničanu fra Luji Čurčiću koji je na dan otvaranja kanala obavio njegov blagoslov.

Dragocijene vijesti o stanju u hrvatskoj koloniji u Egiptu dvadeset godina nakon otvaranja Sueskog kanala, donosi nam jedno pismo koje je upućeno 25. siječnja iz Port Saida, a objavljeno u zadarskom Narodnom listu 16. veljače godine 1889. Uz konstataciju da u Port Saidu, Ismailiji i Suezu živi oko 2000 Hrvata i Srba, te su po brojnosti ispred Talijana, Francuza i Engleza, a samo iza Grka, pisac nas upoznaje s imovnim stanjem naših iseljenika, njihovim zanimanjima i oblicima društvenog okupljanja. Našavši se u tako velikom broju Hrvati su osnovali, kao i u drugim onovremenim naseobinama, svoje društvo koje su nazvali Slavljenska sloga. Utemeljeno je po zamisli slovenskog franjevca Huberta Renata, koji je u početku predlagao da se društvo nazove Slovensko-hrvatsko društvo za uzajamnu pomoć i prosvjetu, ali je zbog prisutnosti još nekih slavenskih grupa, odnosno za "ljubav blažene sloge" usvojeno ime koje će pogodovati svim Slavenima. "*Uprava je prepuštena Slovincima i Hrvatima, a iz bratske ljubavi prepustiše ovi ostalim skupinama pravo na svoja dva člana u upraviteljstvu, radi nužne kontrole.*"<sup>5</sup> Predsjednikom je izabran dr. Lujo Žaja, rodom iz Korčule, a za potpredsjednika Slovenac Ivan Fernus.

Iz navedenog pisma također doznasmo da u to vrijeme u Aleksandriji i Kairu živi oko 4000 Hrvata i Slovenaca, pa "*ako se svi odzovu, pa i oni naši Hrvati na Sueckom prokopu, naše će se mlado društvo u razmjerno kratko vrijeme bujno razvijati i postat će množnim uporištem za našu naseobinu i folklorom s kojim će morati računati naši pomadareni konzulati.*"<sup>6</sup>

Raspoloživi dokumenti i literatura osim Egipta tek usputno spominju Hivate u drugim zemljama sjeverne Afrike: u Tunisu ih je, kako piše Mladen Lorković, neposredno nakon prvoga svjetskog rata, bilo oko 300,<sup>7</sup> a tek stotinjak u Alžiru, kako nas izvješćuje Iseljenički komesarijat u Zagrebu godine 1934. O vremenu njihova doseljenja i svakolikom životu do toga vremena izvori nam ne ostaviše nikakva značajnijeg traga.

Evo nas u Etiopiji i Zambiji, afričkim zemljama u kojima hrvatskih iseljenika u značenju kako danas tumačimo dotični pojam tu nema. Međutim, prisutnost braće Mirka i Steve Seljana koje susrećemo kao ugledne znanstvenike u suorganizatore političke vlasti među prvim ljudima na dvoru cara Menelika II. u Adis Abebi, te šezdesetak obitelji u Zambiji govori da su i ovdje poneki Hrvati našli svoje utočište negdje pred sam kraj 19. stoljeća.

Današnja Južnoafrička republika jedina je tipična useljenička zemlja na afričkom kontinentu. Približno točne procjene ukazuju na broj od 6000 Hrvata

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<sup>5</sup> Ljubomir Antić, *Isto*, Večernji list, Zagreb, 27. XII. 1990.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Mladen Lorković, *Narod i zemlja Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1939, str. 213-214.

koliko ih danas tamo obitava. Istina je da ovdje, kao u ostalom i u drugim hrvatskim iseljeničkim naseobinama u Africi, ne postoje neprijeporna vrela o tome kada su se prvi Hrvati doselili na južnoafričke prostore, ali slijedom raspoložive arhivske i literarne građe možemo se prilično pouzdano približiti tom vremenu. Većeslav Holjevac, naprimjer, pretpostavlja *“da je to bilo oko godine 1885. i da su se (prvi hrvatski emigranti, op. A. L.) nastanili u provinciji Capetown”*, odnosno da je bilo *“pojedinaca doseljenih iz primorskih krajeva Hrvatske koji su živjeli u Transvaalu još u vrijeme otkrića zlata, a neki su se borili i u burskom ratu”*. Svoje pretpostavke Holjevac temelji na sačuvanoj uspomeni o Nikoli Stipetiću *“koji je bio jedan od pionira i doselio se oko godine 1890. iz Slanog kraj Dubrovnika sa skupinom od deset Hrvata iz Dalmacije”* što se nastaniše u Kimberleyu u rudnicima dijamanata.<sup>8</sup>

Ovu pretpostavku, međutim, obaraju izvori iz arhiva u Cape Townu i Haagu (Nizozemska) koji prvoga hrvatskog stalnog useljenika u Južnoj Africi stavljaju u mjesec lipanj godine 1757. Riječ je o Franciscu Dragu koji da je, prema nizozemskim izvorima, potjecao iz Castelnua (Hercegnovi) a te se godine kao aktivni vojnik u sklužbi Istočno-Indijske nizozemske kompanije silom prilika našao u Cape Townu. Slijedeće 1758. godine, tvrdi isti izvor, u Cape Townu naseljava se Riječanin Josip Cigančić, kasnije poznatiji pod imenom Domingo Rosa. Takvih pojedinačnih useljavanja bilo je u 18. stoljeću podosta, a služenje na raznim brodovima u svojstvu arquebusiera (neke vrste puškara) ostat će kroz to vrijeme najčešće zanimanje hrvatskih došljaka na tlu Južne Afrike.

Razmjerno malen broj Hrvata na južnoafričkom tlu tijekom 18. stoljeća objašnjava se time što je Istočno-Indijska kompanija držala Cape i Cape Town kao “prolazne i opskrbne postaje” za svoje brodove koji su plovili prema Indiji i drugim posjedima u Aziji, a ta mjesta svojim utočištem službenicima kompanije, pri čemu su prednost u naseljavanju imali Nizozemci, Nijemci i ostali građani protestantskih zemalja. Raspuštanjem Istočno-Indijske kompanije (1806). još će se snažnije osjetiti davanje prednosti za useljavanje Englezima i pripadnicima drugih protestantskih sljedbi iz Njemačke, Švedske, Švicarske, a mnogo rjede našim ljudima koji, za razliku od drugih useljenika, bijahu pravi emigranti bez ikakve profesionalne veze s Afrikom. Značajno ime među našim ljudima koji su nekako u to vrijeme tu stigli “truhom za kruhom” jest i Jeronim Marinković iz Istre. Nedugo nakon dolaska s grupom Talijana (1829.) oženio se Nizozemkom, a potomci njegovih osmero djece i danas žive u Južnoj Africi kao ugledni građani i “pripadnici reformirane protestantske holandske crkve”.

Do godine 1870. useljavanje Hrvata u južnoafričke prostore može se smatrati pojedinačnim, neorganiziranim i profesionalno neodređenim. Osim o Nikoli Matkoviću iz Dubrovnika, vlasniku gostionice u Cape Townu između 1860. i

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<sup>8</sup> Većeslav Holjevac, *Hrvati izvan domovine*, Zagreb, 1986, str. 256.



1868. i njegovu bratu mornaru Pavlu te stanovitom Gušiću, također Dubrovčaninu (u drugoj južnoafričkoj britanskoj koloniji Natalu), izvori, koliko nam je zasad poznato, nisu ostavili drugih tragova. Osjetan pomak nastaje pronalaskom zlata i dijamanata u Cape-koloniji i Transvaalu, što će registrirati popis stanovništva (cenzus) iz 1875., kada je u toj koloniji navedeno 14 emigranata iz Austrije, 3 iz Mađarske i 68 iz Italije, dok će cenzus iz 1891. zabilježiti već 229 osoba iz Austro-Ugarske (među njima su Hrvati zasigurno činili većinu), dvije iz Srbije i jednu iz Crne Gore, ne računajući useljenike u koloniji Transvaalu.<sup>9</sup>

O radu i životu Hrvata među domorocima na južnoafričkom tlu s početka 20. stoljeća pisao je u svojim *Crticama iz Južne Afrike*<sup>10</sup> Klement Malinarić, koji je tamo stigao davne 1901. *“U Africi je”,* kaže on, *“dobar radnik dobro plaćen, a neuještom ide zlo, jer ga gospodar neće, sve da mu se badava ponudi (...). Težacima i nepismenima nije dopušteno dolaziti u Kapsku zemlju, jer su za težačke poslove dostatni crnci - Kafari.”* O posljedicama koje su vidljive nakon nedavno okončanog burskog rata (1899-1902) Malinarić piše da se *“uz rijeku Oranje i Moder nalaze sami grobovi ubijenih vojnika”,* te nastavlja: *“Gotovo svako tristo metara uz željeznicu je kućica iz vreća zemljom naloženih za obranu, a uz prugu je bodljikava žica iza koje leže konjske kosti i podrapane kože. Sve ove ratne spremne se redovito popravljaju, dao da se nadaju da će ih opet rabiti.”*

Patnje i stradanja kojima je bilo izloženo dvadesetak Hrvata na gradnji transafričke željezničke pruge (od Cape Towna do Aleksandrije), odnosno na njezinoj 1570-oj milji, kojih dvjesto milja od rodezijskog grada Bolovaja - u pustinji, koju je u pet dana *“neveselo pregazio”* i naš Malinarić, on će zapisati: *“Mjeseca rujna 1902. oputovali su iz Bolovaja i uzeli sobom platnene šatore, oružje i hrane za 2000 lira i vozili se najprije željeznicom, a onda kolima punih dvadeset dana. Kako sada javljaju, imaju svoja ležišta na drveću po pet metara visoko od zemlje, jer se boje divlje zujeradi, koja je u ovim krajevima vrlo brojna i krvoločna. Vrlo često se dogodi da im noću hijena ili lav kojega crnca rastrgne. Ondje nema više bijelog naroda, već sami crnci (...). Narod je ondje još divlji, pa će, nema sumnje, naše kod gradnje željeznice napadati. Osim toga se imaju ovi radnici boriti sa užasnom vrućinom i mnogim drugim neprilikama. U onim pustinjama nalazi se množina sitnog pijeska sa kojim vjetar željezničkom prometu više dodijava nego kod nas snijeg(...).”*

Način života i dio vjerskih običaja tamošnjih urođenika, svakidašnjih napasnika na bijele došljake, K. Malinarić opisao je ovako: *“To su crnci, takozvani Kafari koji služe u Africi za težački posao, pa su narodu, pogotovo*

<sup>9</sup> Ante Laušić: *“Hrvati i Hrvatska katolička zajednica u Južnoj Africi”*, Marulić, br. 6, Zagreb, 1993, str. 931-940.

<sup>10</sup> Klement Malinarić: *“Crtice iz Južne Afrike”*, Danica (kalendar), Pittsburgh, 1904.

*Englezima, pravi robovi. Visoki su top i jaki ljudi, tamnosvijetle kože, a hodaju više goli nego obučeni. Kod svakog zlatnog rudnika imade ih 300-500. Plaću dobivaju mjesečno, a za hranu dobivaju svaki 3 funte kukuruznog sirkovog brašna bez soli i smoka, a u nedjelju nekakvo slano meso (...). Kuću prave sebi crnci od pletera, a odozgor pokriju dugom travom. Po noći spavaju dosta malo, već lože pred kućom vatru i onako u buci sprovadaju tri dijela noći. O Bogu također nešto znadu, jer kad ih tko nedjeljomna radnju siluje, onda pitaju što će reći Kos (Bog), koji neće moći spavati ako budu oni radili, pa pritom pokažu prstom u nebo. Bijelcima su crnci pogibeljni. Nema tome davno što su na putu između Gvela i Bolovaja napali i ubili dvadeset Engleza, kojima je postavljen kameni spomenik.”*

U surovim i suncem isprženim rodezijskim prostorima gdje je radio stanoviti broj naših iseljenika i gdje je crna groznica svakodnevno vrebala, veliku nevolju pričinjavali su mravi i skakavci, tamaneći drvo, robu i svako zelenilo. Navirali su zrakom u tolikoj mjeri “da se čini da pada najgušći snijeg”. No ti napasnici, nadalje će Malinarić, “*crncima su prava blagodat. Namažu lonac pa ga ture usred mravnjaka, a kad se nakupe mravi, naliju vode u lonac pa ga pristave k vatri. Kad voda uzavre, jelo je gotovo - pojedu skupa juhu i mrave. A kad se pojave skakavci, pa u predvečerje počnu sjedati, dolaze crnci sa vrećama, napune ih, a onda sipaju skakavce na žeravicu, pa kad im krila izgore, prigotovljeni su za jelo. Većim išćupaju velike noge, pa ih onda suše na suncu, a posušene upotrebljavaju za hranu”.*

Premda je otada prošlo gotovo jedno stoljeće, ovo Malinarićevo istinito svjedočanstvo još je i danas svojim jednim dijelom prisutno u svekolikom životu hrvatskih iseljenika na jugu “crnog kontinenta”. Ako, naime, naših ljudi više nema na tako teškim fizičkim poslovima u južnoafričkim bespućima, kamenolomima i dubokim rudokopima, zamijenivši ih mnogo lakšim i unosnijim privatnim djelatnostima, ostala je i nadalje ona nesigurnost, a nerijetko i pogibeljnost od mnogoljudnijeg crnačkog stanovništva koje neplanski i nezaustavljivo nadire u bogatija državna središta (Johannesburg, Pretoriju, Durban, Cape Town...) kamo gotovo isključivo i obitavaju bijeli doseljenici. Otud i činjenica što se u zadnje vrijeme među njima uveliko razmišlja o iseljavanju s tih prostora, a nerijetki su to već i učinili, unatoč stečenom bogastvu i velikim mogućnostima daljne zarade.

SUMMARY

FIRST REPORTS OF THE CROATS IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Ante Laušić

First reports on the Croats in the African continent are comprised in the assumption that the founder of Cairo, the legendary army leader Džahvar, is of Croatian origin.

However, on the basis of absolutely reliable sources, we can not talk about a group of Croats in this part of Africa until the first half of the 18th century and their taking part in the building of the Suez Canal (1859-1869). Towards the end of the same century, about 4000 Croats and Slovenes were living in Aleksandria and Cairo where they founded their benefit society under the name Slavljanska sloga.

Besides Egypt, the documents and other literature mention Croats in Tunis and Algeria, Ethiopia and Zambia only incidentally.

Today's South African Republic is the only typical immigrant country in the African continent. Approximately exact estimates point at the number of 6000 Croats living today in this country. The first Croatian immigrant in the south of Africa is considered to be Francisco Drago who arrived at Cape Town from Herceg Novi in June 1757.

The author of this article refers to authentic data on the life of first immigrants in the south of this black continent and draws the attention to the fact that today the life of their descendents and later immigrants is unsafe since they are surrounded by the dominant Negro population, hence some even emigrate from the South African Republic and leave for the United States or New Zealand.



## **EMIGRANT TALES**

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

### **The Meeting of Two Worlds in a Mythological Labyrinth**

Migrations represent a universe of eternal occurrence and duration that lay down their own laws and rules in communication among people. Migrations are also caused by various social situations and relations, thus becoming a specific feature of a certain historical era. In the search for the familiar, in the confrontation with the other, the foreign, the movements of people give rise to adequate fluctuations in communication and alignment. This is why human communities and their cultures define their borders, comfort one another and clash through migrations. The opening of emigrants' records, the acquaintance with everyday emigrant life, and the recording of biographies provide a more comprehensive view of this problem.<sup>1</sup>

### **In the World of Chronicles and Tales**

When you find yourself in the USA, Australia or Canada and get to know the everyday life of emigrants you realize that you are in a colourful world of specific contradictions. These countries have provided refuge and become homes for many people from the Balkans over many decades. Chronicles record that young people from many regions, including Lika, Kordun, Šumadija, Slavonija, and Banat have long been emigrating to distant continents in search of work and the fulfilment of their dreams of a better life.<sup>2</sup> These travellers even reached the forests of Saskatchewan, the icy banks of the Yukon, the suburbs

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<sup>1</sup> Work on a project called the Ethnological Study of Emigrants and Minorities began in the Ethnographic Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) in 1981. Research has been carried out to date in Canada, the U.S.A., Hungary etc.; articles have been published in domestic and foreign publications, and people taking part in this project have attended domestic and international congresses. The following books have been published: Mirjana Pavlović, *Srbi u Čikagu, problem etničkog identiteta* (Serbs in Chicago, the Problem of Ethnic Identity), Belgrade 1990 and Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Srbi u Kanadi. Život i simboli identiteta* (Serbs in Canada, their Life and Symbols of Identity), Belgrade 1992; Mladena Prelić, *Srbi u selu Lovri u Madjarskoj tokom XX. veka* (Serbs in the village of Lovri in Hungary in the course of the XX century), Budapest 1995 and in the scope of the edition *Životopisi* (Biographies), book: Sara Ivošević-Vukelić, *Od Jagetića do Pitsburga* (From Jagetić to Pittsburgh), Belgrade 1992.

<sup>2</sup> One of the first comprehensive works on the problem of emigrants was the book by Ljubomir Kosier: *Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci u Americi* (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in America), Belgrade 1926.

of the American megalopolises of New York and Pittsburgh and the deserts of Australia. Flowing into the vast river of newcomers, clearing forests, building railways, working in mines and living in workers' ghettos, the emigrants are the contemporaries of a history - an era in the making.<sup>3</sup> The few records that exist mention that overseas countries were also a refuge for the exiled, the disappointed, in short for fugitives. Wars, persecutions and waves of refugees have always represented a significant part of the black chronicle of an era with many hidden or publically glorified truths.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the emigrant chronicles encompass the fates of all those who, in search of success, realized their dream of a promised land - the story of well-known and celebrated scientists, artists, businessmen, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Emigrants live through their history, they create it in their chronicles and tales, preserving them for themselves and their descendants. That is, in short, the circle that establishes the descendant-forefather relationship. And what about the homeland? It satisfies itself with tales travelling through time and space that reach it by chance. How do emigrants' tales originate? There first exists the experience that survives in the memory, that is there remain pictures that are remembered, they are preserved in the consciousness and are transmitted into messages through verbal communication. That is how news-information originates, tales from everyday life, chronicles as dedicated emigrants' histories. There remains for the collector a treasure trove of individual biographies: from the memories of old emigrants who already have many descendants, born Canadians or Americans, to those of young newcomers who, under the label of "brain drain", are writing the first pages of their immigrant experience in great centres such as Toronto, Vancouver, or L.A.

Among the hundred or so tales or biographies that I recorded during my research in Canada, there is that of Steve, born in Toronto, whose grandfather Djura emigrated to Canada in 1906. Going in search of this information, I heard the continuation of the story from Steve's father Marko. *"Yes, my father even got as far as the Yukon. He travelled everywhere from Alaska to Alberta and Vancouver. He worked on the so-called 'extra gang' on the railway; he was one of the best workers in the gold mines, he lived in a boarding house with many*

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<sup>3</sup> Articles on the first emigrants were published in the emigrant press, eg. Naše novine, Canada 28 June 1978; Naš kalendar, Toronto 1955, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Part of the emigrant history in the war and post-war period was for many years under a veil of mystery of inaccessible records and censorship. Something of the fate of the people who arrived in the USA and Canada after the Second World War, coming mainly from prison camps, is written in emigrant publications such as church and school commemoration albums or the emigrant press, eg. Kanadski Srbobran, Američki Srbobran, etc.

<sup>5</sup> For example, books: Louis Adamič, *Smijeh u džungli, Autobiografija jednog američkog useljenika* (Laughter in the Jungle, the Autobiography of an American Immigrant), Sarajevo 1952; Mihailo Pupin, *Od pušnjaka do naučenjaka* (From Meadows to Science) 1924.

*other newcomers, married a woman from the Ukraine and bought a farm in Eddson.*"<sup>6</sup>

Gordana and Ljuba have been in Vancouver since 1994. They set off for There, where they thought that "*everything will be better*", armed with degrees and institute experience. They speak of their first experiences, of administrative labyrinths to obtain visas, of full and empty pockets, of computer firms in Canada and the USA, of keeping company with their countrymen, and of Belgrade moved to Vancouver.<sup>7</sup>

Through the many decades of emigrant experience there have remained memorabilia - the retold and recorded testimonies that build up a particular rhetorical and literary genre.<sup>8</sup> Memorabilia represent excerpts of reality divided into episodes as narrative entities that build up a biography - a description of life - in the corresponding chronological series. What are the basic characteristics of emigrant tales - memorabilia?

1. The tales are experienced or non-experienced reality; that is they are works in which both the tellers and the heroes speak. The transmission of the messages moves from the told to the retold.

2. Each tale with its versions represents a unique and authentic narration - an immense number of scenarios arise. However, the composition framework of the tales reveals analogies on the formal and semantic structure of emigrant history and confession.

3. The content of the tales encourages expansiveness in the cross transmission of the messages, whereby the refuge of the anonymous and the private is abandoned and the sphere of public communication is entered.

4. The events and the heroes of the tales are built into the personal and collective memory: the path from personal histories and confessions to the telling of tales.

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<sup>6</sup> This is an excerpt from the material used in the book: Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Srbi u Kanadi, život i simboli identiteta* (Serbs in Canada, their life and Symbols of Identity), op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Work was conducted in the SANU Ethnographic Institute in 1994/95 on the collection of material on the latest wave of emigration to overseas countries. "In the last four years alone, 1990/1993, 719 research workers have left the country, which is 67 per cent of the total number of those who have gone abroad in a 15-year period as registered in university, research and development institutions", see Vladimir Grecic, *Ubrzani odliv stručnjaka kao posledica sankcija - uzroci, legitimitet, legalitet i posledice* (The Accelerated Exodus of Experts as the Consequence of Sanctions - Causes, Legitimacy, Legality and Consequences), SANU naučni skupovi Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti knj. LXXVI, Odeljenje društvenih nauka knj. 15, Belgrade 1994, 137.

<sup>8</sup> Maja Bošković-Stulli, *Usmeno pjesništvo u obzoru književnosti* (Spoken Poetry in the Horizon of Literature) Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb 1984, 323.

5. Everything in the tales is true, for those who believe in them. This excludes the possibility of verification.

6. In terms of dramatic structure all the tales are made up of plot and outcome, whereby a separate genre is built up founded in part on epic modality.

7. Emigrant tales intertwine elements of documented fact and unreality.

8. The narrative structure builds up codices and value systems in the identification of what is on the road towards the creation of stereotype and prejudice.

Amazing and wonderful tales travel through time and space, linking forefathers and descendants, the emigrant and the home environment. Dedicated chronicles and travelling tales create the emigrant epic poem that has epic form, historic continuity, rich content and style of expression. The leitmotif of the emigrant epic poem is the departure from the homeland and the arrival in another environment, that is the meeting of two worlds. Ritual phases are noted on the manifest level of the reading of emigrant scenarios. These phases establish the new roles and relations between those who are departing and those who are staying, between the newcomers and the people already settled there. Thus, episodes stand out that represent major stages in the life of emigrants: decision, preparation, leave-taking departure, journey, arrival in the new environment, meeting and managing in the new world, acceptance of new everyday life, and links with the homeland. The stages of emigration are accompanied by the practice of customary conduct, thus establishing ritual formulae between the everyday and the non-everyday. The heroes of the tales appear in the roles of potential traveller, traveller, foreigner, emigrant that denote a change in social status through rites of passage.<sup>9</sup> The ritual phases refer to symbolic meanings that reveal on a latent level the mythical face of this phenomenon. The dramaturgy of the emigrant tales builds pro-mythical structures: imagined paradise, adaptive chaos on the rim of hell, escape in the emigrant cosmos...<sup>10</sup> The mythical basis of the emigrants' tales becomes an entry visa into the interpretation of the messages that modify the social order in communication.

### **In the World of Myths**

The emergence of myths: on a symbolic level the leaving of the home and departure into another environment is denoted with the basic contrasts: life/death (this world - that world), power/powerlessness, good/evil, one's

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<sup>9</sup> Van Gennep differentiates three rites of passage: leave-taking, passage and meeting. See Arnold Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, Chicago University Press, 1972, 2-5.

<sup>10</sup> Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović and Mirjana Pavlović, *Iseljenička priča - mit i realnost* (Emigrant Tale - Myth and reality), Glasnik etnografskog instituta SANU, 38, Belgrade 1989.



own/belonging to others (I - we - they). These categories denote passage from the profane into the world of space and time and vice versa, as well as a change in social status. How is this symbolic path established?

Events enter into tales, tales build up events. A series of pictures forms itself into a typical scenario that is recognizable to both those who create it and to those for whom it is intended.

The prologue of the tales first reveals the idea of the future traveller / emigrant. This is the thought / dream (dream of paradise).<sup>11</sup>

In the twenties, the old emigrants Milan, Peko and Dmtar were dreaming in remote Kordun villages of a better life. News sometimes filtered through to them of gold mines, good earnings somewhere distant over the sea.

Towards the end of this century, Ljuba and Gordana are listening to the stories of their friends who have gone to Toronto and Vancouver. They want to live better, to realize their professional ambitions, to go "until something changes here".

Pictures of the imagined world are shown in their ambivalence: wonderful and terrifying. The structure of the tales single out separate syntagmatic codes: "distant world", the "world of prosperity", the "world of plenty", the "Free World", the "world of great possibilities", but also the "dangerous world", the "cruel world" or the "world of melancholy and nostalgia". These are paradigms in the structure of the tale that represent the push-pull mechanism and create the model of the desired and the undesired. The meeting of two worlds originates in the idea. In the consciousness of the individual, the decision is an act that represents the end of one life and the beginning of a new one. The collective dream becomes individual action. From that moment, the potential emigrant is the selected (predetermined) member of his local community who is expected to fulfil the common dream.

In his biography Milan explains: *"I was the oldest son. There were many mouths to feed. I heard stories of gold mines in Canada. My family collected some money, and I went into the world."*

Gordana says: *"My parents were against the departure, but Ljuba's parents told us to go where it would be better for us." I heard that the climate in Vancouver is more pleasant than in Toronto and that there is work in Ljuba's profession."*

The departure is approved and controlled with the oath that the links with the family and the homeland will not be cut. The power of the home collective is stressed on a symbolic level. So, the selected member separates himself from his everyday life and enters into an administrative labyrinth of

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*

identification - a particular form of catharsis. In every tale, the passage through administrative purgatory is stressed with its forms, stamps, certificates, and checks. The selected member becomes the novice with his entry into the zone of the non-everyday world - the first degree of separation. The journey is a particular episode in the biography. The narrations are rich in dramatic turns, especially if the journey is to a distant place. Distant places are even more distant if you go by sea. It used to take 15 days to travel from Hamburg to Halifax, while today it takes 12 hours to reach Vancouver. The feelings and the mood of the individual who finds himself in this marginal phase of the rite of passage are recognizable characteristics: all differences merge into a picture of the same traveller. Stress is laid on the sense of uncertainty, fear, curiosity in the meeting with the Other world.

What awaits the heroes in the further episodes of the tales? The first touch.

*"I staggered into the waiting room of the immigrant office in Halifax, expecting that they would check us and put us into a train. I didn't know a word of English. I was in a line with the sign Coal Branch. A wilderness and two shacks..."* (an excerpt from the tale of an old emigrant).

*"Ljuba's friend met us at Vancouver airport and took us to an apartment behind the main Robson Street. Our countrymen had named the building we moved into Beogradjanka. I felt as if I had just stepped onto another planet - rushing around buying furniture, making contacts..."* (an excerpt from the tale of a new immigrant).

The first day in emigrant biographies is recorded as adaptive chaos. The novice becomes a martyr, that is he merges into a column of loners, of foreigners. On the symbolic level, adaptation means rebirth: (learning to) see, (learning to) talk, (learning to) walk. Communication starts from the beginning. The twists and turns of the tale show disorder, confusion, exhaustion in the first steps of communication. New trials are awaiting the foreigner in the different environment: martial arts in the struggle for survival.

*"We worked 10 to 15 hours a day in the mines. We slept in some huts. Up there in the north the winters are terrible. A real Golgotha."*

*"I work all day in the greyness of a computer room. With every false step you become an outsider in a serious match."*

That was how Milan, Ljuba and other old and new emigrants described their first days. The novices and martyrs become heroes. Leaving the adaptive cage, the powerless loner becomes a powerful individual - someone who belongs. The lone foreigner becomes a member of the new collective. New pictures from emigrant life encourage a gradation of tale telling: fall and rise.

*"That was the Canada we were building. We built our blood and sweat into its railways and mines."*

An 80 year old man told me: "I left with empty pockets. I did anything that came along in Canada, and in the end I became the owner of an airline company. This is me on a picture with a Canadian politician. My sons are now managing the company..."

"I left for Canada with 8,000 dollars - that's some kind of guarantee. I work in a well-known computer firm..."

This is the end or the beginning of one or many destinies. The dramaturgical outcome of the tales could be denoted as the creation of the emigrant microcosmos. Stretched between two worlds, the emigrant joins them in the emigrant micro-world. Everything he does is for the good of the society in which he lives and for the emigrant community: "we were the best workers in the gold mines", "a few of us built the first church", "we were among the first founders of workers' unions before the war"<sup>12</sup> In the identity labyrinth this implies the permanent intertwining of adopted and transmitted elements from the emigrant and the new settled everyday way of life. The person who belongs - the double - fits in and establishes certain rules in communication whereby the power of the imperative of the emigrant collective is glorified. For this reason biographies are full of tales about the creation of colonies, of emigrant solidarity: sacred places and sublime acts in the expression of community spirit.

Travelling myths: The told becomes the retold. News reaches the homeland of their people abroad. Emigrant tales become new pictures and presentations, they are introduced in such a way that the home environment accepts them. It is sufficient to listen to local gossip and hear once again about the uncle from America, friends from Belgrade who live Abroad; about small Great benefactors; or you can just leaf through the daily and periodical press where exclusive articles are published about Our People abroad.<sup>13</sup> News reaches home of struggle, failure, the downfall and the ascent of people who have left the country: "America is a long way off", "Over the Atlantic for fortune", "Over the ocean into death", "Our dollar millionaire", "He created everything from nothing"...<sup>14</sup> Through unseen but retold pictures, ideas are gained about the emigrants that excite and horrify public opinion at home. Believe it or not! The awareness of unknown distant places arouses the thought that the life of

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<sup>12</sup> Parts of bibliographies of the oldest emigrants are published in emigrant publications, eg. an interview with Petar Danovic, *Commemoration Album of St. Nicholas Serbian Orthodox Church*, 10, 1965-1975, 54 or the article of Milos Grubić, *Jugoslovenski napredni pokret u SAD i Kanadi 1935-1945* (The Yugoslav Progressive Movement in the U.S.A. and Canada), Toronto, 1983, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Putujuće priče iz daleka* (Travelling Tales from Distant Places), Glasnik Etnografskog instituta XLII, Belgrade 1993, 129-143.

<sup>14</sup> These are only some of the headlines from the Belgrade daily and periodical press, see Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Putujuće priče iz daleka* (Travelling Tales from Distant Places), ibid, 136-137.

emigrants is something exceptional. It is considered that special endurance, ability to cope and persistence are required. As distant, invisible heroes they become sacred beings. That is why emigrants bear in themselves the desired virtues of the saviour and the benefactor. Such solidarity represents a voluntary, public and moral act.<sup>15</sup> The greater the misfortunes and troubles in the homeland, the more the power of the emigrant is stressed. In return they will not be forgotten because they have not turned renegade.

*"My wife writes that our daughter has been born. She writes again telling me to help them, to send a few dollars. What can I send them when I haven't paid my travel expenses? In the end I send 50 dollars to my father, 5 dollars to my mother, 5 to my wife, 5 to my daughters. I had to borrow most of it."*<sup>16</sup>

A few days ago my friends who live in Toronto arrived in Belgrade on holiday. They brought a lot of packages and parcels to the great delight of the children and adults. They then went to the orphanage in Zvečanska Street and donated a set of hygiene products for the children.

As representatives of one world and protectors of another world, the intermediary role is exalted in bringing them closer together. It is usually stressed that they are a link, a bridge, in contacts.

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The journey from the asceticism of the newcomer (sacrifice and self-denial to the victor and the benefactor in the meeting of the two worlds) projects the emigrant myth. It lives in the direct impression of both those who relate it and those for whom it is intended. The impression is shown as something absolute, for only as such is it convincing. This is why there can be no doubt in the emigrant myth. It forms a holy empire and becomes a holy tale.<sup>17</sup> That is how pictures and ideas of the "foreign, unknown, miraculous world", "of bitter life and nostalgic emigrants", "of the light and the dark side of emigrant life" accumulate and are formed over decades through biographies and travelling tales.

### **The Mythologization of the Stereotype (Ethnic, Ideological and Status)**

We have seen that biographies and travelling tales reveal the emigrants as heroes of epic proportions with a lyrical ecstasy that finds its refuge in memories and nostalgia. However, the emigrant model leaves its pro-mythical structure and becomes part of another scenario that enters into the sphere of

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<sup>15</sup> Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Solidarnost kao etički i ideološki fenomen - Srbi u Kanadi* (Solidarity as an Ethnic and Ideological Phenomenon - Serbs in Canada), Nezetise-identitas..., Bekescsaba, 1991, 305.

<sup>16</sup> *Moj život* (My Life) Naš kalendar, Toronto 1958, 46.

<sup>17</sup> Edmund Leach, *Claude Levi Strauss. XX vek*, Belgrade 1982, 66; Ernst Kasirer, *Filozofija simboličkih oblika - mitsko mišljenje*, Novi Sad 1985, 83-84.

standardized categories in inter-group identification and stratification. Stereotypes have an important role in alignment - "*adjunct to the human activity of categorizing which leads us to minimize certain differences between people who are members of the same groups, and to exaggerate the same difference between those people and others who belong to another group.*"<sup>18</sup>

The immigrant model leaves its pro-mythical structure (emigrant - non-emigrant), becoming a part of the ethnic scenario. How? The pilgrimage to the Promised Land is laborious, and life there is uncertain. Only the strongest and the most persistent remain. Having overcome a series of obstacles, the emigrant reaches his goal. In order to do that, he must be resolute, bold, resourceful, and courageous. These are universal characteristics for they occur in many similar situations in which the emigrant does not only behave the way he feels, but the way he considers to be desirable.<sup>19</sup> However, in the epilogue of the narrative episodes positions are put forward with the help of which emigrants demonstrate their ethnic option and the distinction (for example) into Serbs and non-Serbs. Relying on ethnic marks and symbols it is stressed that "*in true Serbian homes a family saint's day candle is always burning, that it is the duty of Serbian emigrants to foster their language and to transmit it to their descendants, to cherish the spirit of Orthodoxy, to put Serbian dishes on the table*". The ideas of the desired and undesired ethnic recognition and representation have formed a traditional heritage: the customs and traditions that have their roots in the Kosovo myth, in heroic warriors and self-sacrificing mothers... In this way a hierarchy of attributes is established for which it is believed that they are the primeval characteristics of their ethnic group.

In reply to my question of what Serbian attributes are, in the epilogue to her narration a woman emigrant read an excerpt from the speech of the president of the Kola sprskih sestara (Serbian women's humanitarian organization) in Toronto: "*Serbian women had to have virtues possessed by the great Serbian women from our past: the piety of the mother of St. Sava, the self-abnegation of the Jugović mother, the stoicism and patience of mother Jevrosima, the tenderness of Empress Milica and the charity of the Kosovo maid. Dear sisters, you are those Serbian women.*"<sup>20</sup>

Standard ethnic values encourage the establishment of an inter-group monologue in the ethnic micro-world and an inter-group dialogue in the acquisition of certain positions in the ethnic hierarchy. The basic parameters of

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<sup>18</sup> A. Anderson and James Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada*, Theoretical Perspectives, Canada 1981, 58-9.

<sup>19</sup> Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović and Mirjana Pavlocić, *Iseljenička priča - mit i realnost* (The Emigrant Tale, the Myth and the Reality), *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Besides these and similar slogans, emigrants of Serbian origin in Canada made a survey and established a specific scale of moral characteristics that are considered "Serbian characteristics" see Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Srbi u Kanadi, život i simboli identiteta* (Serbs in Canada, their Life and their Symbols of Identity), *ibid.*

channelling these relations are power and greatness at the crossroads of the real and the mythical. It is on these relations that authority and status are founded in the social hierarchy. In this way the ethnic group assumes the characteristics of the individual emigrant as powerful/powerless and victims. The emigrant myth becomes the ethnic myth. Through mythologization the group coherence of the Serbian immigrant population is achieved as well as that of any other in the multi-ethnic American and Canadian societies. But it should not be forgotten that the emigrant lifestyle implies a dual identity that favours the intermingling of transmitted and adopted elements.<sup>21</sup>

Going in search of the messages in the tales, ideological and status stereotypes are noted that set up new rules in grouping and alignment. The tales frequently go out of the framework of emigrant history, entering into the maelstrom of homeland past and present. The corresponding communication models labelled with ideological signs are established in their structure. The story tellers and heroes go through an ideological time machine presenting themselves as the participators in and witnesses to spectacular historical events.

Some of the people I talked to described indirect or direct participation in the Second World War, either as followers of Draža Mihailović's Chetnik movement or as participants and sympathizers of the Partisan Communist movement. For them those are days that cannot be forgotten. The old combatants of the Spanish Civil War have their memories; other emigrants aggrandize the post-war days of the construction and renewal of the mother country in which they participated on a voluntary basis.<sup>22</sup> Today the young immigrants are witnesses of a new history that is being born. This is why pages of their biographies are written with the tumultuous events of chaotic Balkan reality. Thence the confusion and concern in their accounts and confessions.

The accumulated experience, conventions and emotions set up a specific value scale between the desired and the undesired, thus establishing yet again the distinction between US and THEM. Each age and social order contains its own codes that are accessible only to those who know how to decipher them. Emigrant tales, therefore, reveal closed systems in identifications, whereby the aspiration is towards ideological exclusivity and inviolability: moments of rapture or the sinking of certain ideologies. Travelling tales are also consistent with the times in which they emerge. In the pictures of (in)visible emigrant heroes, ideas are accumulated and prejudices created with positive and negative connotations of Our People Over There.

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<sup>21</sup> Mirjana Pavlović, *Jezici i kulture u doticajima* (Languages and Cultures in Contact) Zbornik I. Međunarodnog skupa, Pula 14.-15. April 1988, Pula, 182.

<sup>22</sup> Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, *Srbi u Kanadi* (Serbs in Canada) op. cit., 53-65.

The reading and interpretation of the messages of these unique tales through the mythical labyrinth (the emigrant myth, the myth of the homeland, the myth of the country of immigration, the myth of emigrants) demonstrate their effective and vital strength in the creation and stressing of the I - WE community spirit. But the micro-worlds are restricted by entering the ground of opposites and antagonism. These are the characteristics of the mythical utterance: convince and shock. Whether it is because of the distance, the foreign, the change, it reflects unusual experience but also teaches. Therefore biographies and travelling tales can become animators and manipulators in the achievement of adequate social and political goals. Overcoming their emigrant anonymity, they represent a suitable means for bringing people, their communities and cultures closer together, but also for separating them. They accompany reality only as long as it is not misused.

### POVZETEK

#### IZSELJENSKE ZGODBE

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Problem izseljevanja je aktualen in še premalo obdelan fenomen. Na temelju dolgoletnih raziskav in objavljenih del predstavlja pričujoči prispevek en aspekt sinteze, ki temelji na analizi izseljenskih zgodb - življenjepisov in potopisov - (kako domovina gleda na izseljenstvo). Prispevek je koncipiran kot analiza vsebin zgodb izseljencev srbskega porekla vseh valov doseljevanja, zlasti v Kanado. Na manifestativni in latentni ravni so kompozicijski okvir pripovedi ritualne faze - formule in simbolični kodeksi, ki sestavljajo promitske strukture: namišljeni raj, adaptivni kaos na robu pekla, - nevidni junaki v predstavah v domovini. Zgodbe kažejo tudi kako izseljenski mit postaja etnični mit in kako se s pomočjo stereotipa oblikujejo ideološke predstave in predsodki. Prebiranje in razlaga sporočil tovrstnih izpovedi skozi mitski labirint kažeta njihovo dejavno in zagonsko moč pri doseganju enotnosti JAZ-MI, pa tudi omejevanje in poudarjanje nasprotij. To pa pomeni, da mitski temelji zgodb spremljajo resničnost vse dotlej, dokler je ni mogoče zlorabiti pri spodbujanju antagonizmov med ljudmi in njihovimi skupnostmi.





## MIT IZGUBLJENEGA - PROBLEM IZKORENINJENOSTI OB PRILAGODITVI NOVEMU ŽIVLJENJSKEMU PROSTORU NA NEKATERIH PRIMERIH IZ SLOVENSKE ZDOMSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Lev Detela

*Zdomstvo* je posebna bivanjska kategorija, ki je usodno povezana z osnovnimi razmerji od doma in domovine. Od splošnejšega in širšega pojma *izseljeništv* se loči zaradi dodatnih političnih travmatičnih obremenitev. To je razvidno že na prvi stopnji slovenske zdomske literature, kot je nastajala predvsem po različnih begunskih taboriščih v Italiji in Avstriji. V njej se pojavijo, včasih tudi uveljavijo, depresivni odsevi časa s spomini na obračunavanja in krvoprelitja v drugi svetovni vojni, povezana s pobojem domobrancev, frustracijami ob prebegih čez mejo, tavanjih v neznano in na tuje (glej n.pr. roman Zorka Simčiča *Človek na obeh straneh stene*, SKA, Buenos Aires, 1957).

Izguba domovine je v prvi zdomski fazi, včasih pa tudi pozneje, združena z življenjskim obupom, žalostjo, neoprijemljivo grozo. Prihaja celo do različnih psihogenij, oziroma psihotičnih reakcij, ki so jim izpostavljeni ob izgubi domovine na sploh begunci iz najrazličnejših držav in narodnosti, kar je med drugim na primeru 7.500 beguncev obeh spolov in različnih starostnih stopenj iz 20 narodov raziskovala Švicarka dr. Maria Pfister. (Glej poročilo *Haimatverlust und psychische Erkrankung, Bericht über die 6. Jahresversammlung der Weltvereinigung für Psychische Hygiene, Verlag für medizinische Wissenschaften Wilhelm, Wien-Bonn 1956, str. 111-122*).

*Zakaj si daleč, domovina?* je značilno zapisal v zadnjem življenjskem obdobju v Belgiji živeči pesnik Oton Dimitrij Jeruc (1916-1989), ki je bil ustvarjalno zelo aktiven zlasti v italijanskem vojaškem begunskem taborišču. Toda tudi v zadnji, belgijski življenjski ustvarjalni fazi se ni znal prilagoditi razmeram v tujini, ki ga v bistvu ne zanima niti kot pokrajinski motiv ali filozofski problem. Raje se regresivno zateka v idiliko izgubljenih gorenjskih prelestnosti. Tujine kot konkretnega sveta s konkretnimi ljudmi praktično ne vidi. Soočenje s tujo stvarnostjo namreč še potencira pesnikovo notranjo tesnobo, poudari samoto:

*Kvišku ozrem se, nebo je temno,  
vse okrog mene le hladna tujina,*

*na vratu pa čutim ledeno rokó,  
zakaj tako daleč si, o domovina!*

(Antologija slovenskega zdomskega pesništva, SKA, Buenos Aires, 1980, str. 85)

Sanje o lepem, varnem, kar pravljicnem idiličnem izgubljenem svetu nekdanje domovine zrcalijo še drugi tedanji pesniški poskusi, na primer v avstrijskih taboriških nastali verzi Erika Kovačiča *Romar na beli cesti* (1948). V prvi povojni pesniški zbirki Vinka Beličiča *Pot iz doline* (založba Tabor, Trst 1954), v kateri je avtor objavil niz pesmi iz obdobja od maja 1945 do januarja 1954, je prisotnost izgubljenega doma ponekod še naravnost bolesto povezana z željo po vrnitvi v staro domovino. Intimnost doživljanja dogodkov in stanj zna stopnjevati s slikovitimi opisi narave. V ciklu *Gorske večernice* hrepeni (podobno kot Tine Debeljak v pesniški zbirki *Poljub*, Svobodna Slovenija, Buenos Aires, 1951) po ženi, od katere mora zaradi političnih razmer ločeno živeti. Oglasi se spomin na mater (*Mrtvi materi*), ki jo je izgubil skoraj istočasno kot domovino.

Tudi Rafko Vodeb, ki je svojo izkoreninjenost v tujem svetu skušal prerasti z naslonitvijo na religiozne in umetniške univerzalizme, se v obeh v tujini izdanih pesniških zbirkah (*Kam potujejo oblaki*, založba Alma Mater, Rim, 1953 in *Človek sem*, Tabor, Buenos Aires 1958) vedno znova vrača h grenki domovinski tematiki. Tako se s pesmijo *Žalostno pismo* oglasi že v prvi - dvojni - številki prvega letnika buenosaireške zdomske kulturne revije Meddobje v letu 1954:

*Oni dan ob morju sem se spomnil nate.  
(Valovi so me bičali v obraz.)  
In sem te videl, ko si z mize  
posmeknila drobtinice v predpasnik.*

*Veš, trd je tuji kruh  
in grenka kaplja  
in bridka misel,  
da se vse v preteklost staplja,  
da bo na koncu vse samo spomin.*

(Meddobje I, št. 1-2, str.2).

Sicer pa skuša Vodeb prebiti kliše stalnega vračanja v spomine o izgubljeni domovini in lepši preteklosti, ki se v določenih trenutkih pri nekaterih avtorjih uveljavi kot dejanski razpoznavni idiom zdomske odtujenosti, iz katere se prizadeti retrogradno in regresivno ozirajo nazaj v idealizirano predstavljeno domovino pred nastopom komunizma, kar postane in ostane dejanski mit izgubljenega. Še posebno, ker se hrepenenje po vrnitvi izgubljenega pretvori v okameneli kliše nespremenljive varne domačnosti. V spremni besedi k prvi pesniški zbirki zapiše: "*Pesnik in duhovnik ni nikoli brezdomec: šimi svet mu je domovina. Japonski hajkaji dajo tako utisom iz večnega, mednarodnega Rima besedo in obliko*".

Karel Mauser, ki sodi zaradi enostavne in privlačne strukture svojih del med najbolj priljubljene zdomske avtorje, je - preden se je leta 1951 izselil v Združene države Amerike, napisal v avstrijskih taboriščih, kjer se je preživljal tudi kot gozdni in cestni delavec, več povesti, ki se deloma gode v idealizirani pisateljevi rodni Gorenjski. V povesti *Rotija* (Celovec, 1947) je na idiličen način naslikal trpljenje nezakonske matere, medtem ko je zgodba iz povesti *Sin mrtvega* (Celovec 1947) pravzaprav zajeta iz aktualnega vojnega dogajanja - čeprav je tudi zaradi britanske kontrole tiska nevtralizirana v priliko preoblikovani slehernosti. Osebe se gibljejo sredi idilično zarisane podeželja, vendar je njihovo notranje življenje obteženo s spraševanjem vesti. Povest *Prekleta kri* (Celovec 1948) je "usodnostno" pretkana z mračnimi dogodki o nemoralni Piškotarjevi družini, ki izkorišča bajtarja, zapeljuje in ubija, toda dom pride v druge roke in je zadoščeno pravici. Pozneje je Mauser podobno kot Frank Bükvič svojo tematiko razširil in psihološko diferenciral (n.pr. *Ljudje pod bičem*, trije deli 1963, 1964, 1966, čeprav rad slika vizijo idealnega človeka (*Kaplan Klemen*, 1965 v knjižni obliki, že 1949 kot podlistek) in utopijo idealiziranih odnosov med ljudmi. Najbolj vneti idilik starega slovenskega življenja pa je Metod Turnšek, avtor najprej v Trstu, pozneje med Slovenci na avstrijskem Koroškem nastalih idil in zgodb iz slovenske preteklosti in stare katoliške Slovenije. Klišeju idiličnega ne ubeži prav tako Stanko Janežič v pesmih in prozi o slovenskih izseljencih (n.pr. prozna zbirka *Med domom in svetom*, Koper 1994).

Vendar pa že kmalu po koncu druge svetovne vojne začno v slovensko zdomsko literaturo vdirati motivi preseljevanja v *Novi svet* onstran oceanov. Doživetje teh usodnih pasaž je prvič obelodanjeno v zborniku *Koledarju Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1949* v Buenos Airesu. Tu objavi Mirko Šušteršič - Valiant značilno pesem *Odhod*:

Oči otrok  
so sinje  
kot ocean  
in nebó:  
"Očka, kam gremo?"

.....  
Čez ravnik,  
kjer orkan,  
tajfun in cikloni  
blazné.  
Bridkost  
bo ost  
slonokoščena  
usem v srcé...

.....  
Kaplje solz...  
za naše žene.

.....  
*Zlato? Petrolej?  
Nakit za neveste?  
Prej ali slej  
smrt s tuje ceste?*

(Koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1949, str. 37).

Slovenska zdomska novela in pesem iz tega časa sta polni tožb in žalosti zaradi vseprisotnega oddaljevanja (izseljevanja) od domovine v "izurženost" Argentine, Združenih držav Amerike in drugih dežel onstran oceanov. Vedno znova zaslišimo s strani zbornikov - koledarjev Svobodne Slovenije v Buenos Airesu pretresljivi glas slovenskega človeka v stiski, ki so mu vzeli zemljo in dom, ženo in otroke in ki z velikimi ladjami pluje na drugo stran temnih oceanov:

*Kot blodni ptiči,  
ki jih vihar čez morje žene,  
bežimo - jate raztepane -  
iskat miru med tuje trate  
s spominom na pobite brate.*

(pesnik Igor - verjetno psevdonim za Ljubljancana Adolfa Škrjanca; koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1950, str. 26.).

V prvem koledarju Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1949 objavi tedaj v Gradcu živeči Erik Kovačič pesem Šenklaški zvon, ki bi jo lahko uporabili kot vzorčni primer mita izgubljene domovine:

*Dom, dom, dom,  
poje šenklaški zvon,  
kot da v pesmi dom je skrit,  
kot da v bron je dom ulit,  
kot da izginja tuji svet  
in domov se vračam spet...*

*Duša na tujem zasanja o domu.  
Topla ljubezen, sreča domača  
hiše očetove spet se povrača,  
sanja mladosti se je povmila,  
duša iz radosti čaše je pila...*

*...Pesem še poje o domovini.  
Meni popotniku v mrzli tujini..  
...Duša bi vedno z zvonom še pela:  
"Dom, dom, dom..."*

(Koledar Svobodne Slovenije 1949, str. 17).

Tudi v prvi, v Avstraliji objavljeni slovenski knjigi pesmi *Bronasti tolkač* (1962) uveljavi ob naturalistični intimi in zmernem modernizmu Humbert Pribac idealizirane spominske metafore na domačo Istro ob frustracijah v tujini.

Ob izgubi domovine se uveljavi nova bivanjska razsežnost: brezdomstvo, izkoreninjenost, tujstvo. Pojavijo se različni znaki duhovne krize, negotovost in strah, različne motnje socialnega življenja, ujetost v lastni zaprti krog ob izgubi identitete (domovinskih značilnosti).

Toda že v Koledarju Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1949 objavi Vinko Brumen sestavek *V novem svetu - Kvišku srca*, v katerem poroča o težavah v tujini in se vpraša: Ali nam je obupati? Poudari več faktorjev, ki omogočajo pozitivno integracijo v novo družbo ob istočasnem ohranjanju prvotne narodne identitete in njene kulture. Vrednote, ki jih Brumen omenja, sodijo nedvomno v sklop tistih faktorjev, ki jih danes ponavadi označujemo kot interkulturalnost, kot multikulturalnost. Na strani 39 na primer zapiše: *“Novi razgledi nam zelo lahko koristijo, če se bomo znali in hoteli z njimi koristiti. Saj smo vobče bili preveč vaški v svojem obzorju in pojmovanjih. Zato smo se tako bali vsake daljave in zato nam je bilo še posebej hudo iti tako daleč po svetu.”* Zapiše (str. 40): *“Naprej glejmo, ne nazaj! Kar smo izgubili, smo izgubili in ves jok in žalovanje nam tega več ne vrne... Saj nihče ne taji, da je težka ločitev od vsega, kar nam je bilo domače in ljubo in drago. Pa je taka ločitev često nujna in pogoj za napredek ter nov vzpon.”* Pristavi, da se je treba živeti v nove razmere (str. 40): *“Dežela, ki nas je sprejela, pričakuje, da ji posvetimo vse sile, v korist njej, sebi in svojim. Čim bolje se bomo uživali, tem bolje se bomo znašli in tem več bomo mogli storiti...”* Vendar takoj pristavi: *“Nihče nam ne more in ne sme iztrgati iz srca dragih spominov... Nihče nam ne more vzeti in ne sme vzeti naše ljubezni do stare domovine in slovenskega naroda... Svojo ljubezen do domovine bomo najlepše pokazali, če se bomo tukaj izkazali... Najbolje bomo storili, če bomo znali združevati ljubezen do stare domovine z resnim delom za novo; tudi sami bomo imeli od tega največ koristi.”*

Slovenski skupnosti v Argentini se je posrečilo skozi več generacij ohraniti slovensko narodno in kulturno identiteto, a se istočasno vseeno tvorno vključiti v argentinsko družbo. Pri tem je kot bodrilni faktor vsekakor delovala zavest nekakšne civilizacijske krepostnosti sredi manj aktivne in ozaveščene argentinske populacije. Slovenski narodni upad in asimilacija v tujejezične skupnosti pa je bila zagotovo večja v aktivnejših in agresivnejših skupnostih, na primer v Evropi, pa tudi v Združenih državah Amerike, v Kanadi in Avstraliji, kjer negativno deluje tudi veliki asimilacijski pritisk večinskega potrošništva in industrijsko-tehničnega utripa.

V teh zlasti izven-argentinskih (oziroma izven-južnoameriških) strukturah bi lahko govorili o agresivnejših vedenjskih načinih večine. Nanjo manjšinska zdomsko-izseljenska skupnost ponavadi odgovarja na različne načine, predvsem pa

1. *da se sploh ne brani*, temveč *se skuša čimprej asimilirati*, to je zlit (spojiti) z večinskim okoljem (kar velja tudi za vedenjski način delov slovenske narodne manjšine v Italiji, Avstriji ali na Madžarskem);

2. *se brani* in razvije mehanizme ozaveščenega delovanja za zaščito narodne identitete, pri čemer pripada književni pa tudi splošnokulturni dejavnosti važna mobilizacijska naloga (Argentina);

3. *se ne brani*, a *tudi ne asimilira*, temveč razvije različne oblike vztrajanja v svojem narodnem idiomu, k čemer sodi ohranjanje vere; narodne folklore in vedenjskih norm v geto zaprtem družinskem in skupinskem življenju (tak način je tipičen za vrsto migrantov zlasti iz nižjih slojev in kultur, n.pr. za skupnosti Turkov, Italjanov ali Špancev v tujem svetu, vendar je veljal tudi za dele slovenske migracije v tuji svet, zlasti za slovenske delavske in kmečke sloje izven področij z že razvito slovensko intelektualno infrastrukturo (področja v ZDA, Avstralija, Kanada, evropske samote).

Toda vrnimo se še enkrat k začetkom slovenske zdomske književnosti. Tudi nekoliko skromna prozna ustvarjalnost tedanjega časa je pod vtisom slovenske bratomorne vojne in vetrinjske tragedije zaznamovana s travmami trpkega slovenskega begunskega vsakdanjega dneva (n.pr. Jože Novak, *Matija Trpin*, zbornik-koledar Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1952; Tine Brezovec /verjetno psevdonim?/, *Usodna brzojavka*, črtica iz begunskega življenja, zbornik Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1955 - in drugo).

Novakov *Matija Trpin* je sicer preprosto in z enostavnimi sredstvi pripovedovana parabola o katoliškem, slovenskem beguncu, ki se v Buenos Airesu zaradi grozot, ki jih je doživel ob koncu vojne v Sloveniji (uboj žene in sina) zlomi in zapije: "Misli... so prepredle Ocean, preskočile Italijo, smuknile na Koroško, obstale za hip v leseni baraki in planile čez Ljubelj... Tam za ovinkom, za cerkvijo pod onim hribom... Kot v odgovor pa je Matija zaslišal umirajoči glas. podoben glasu sirene, zadnjim pojemajočim zvokom. ...Toda to ni bil glas sirene. Ne! Ta glas je Matija slišal pred šestimi leti. Tam za Ljubeljem. Množica ljudi se je valila čez pokrajino, jok in molitev, kletev in drdranje strojnic se je mešalo v zmedi. Tam je Matija izgubil svojo srečo in kri. Ženin obraz, in kri, črna lisa čez sinkovo obličje ter Matija z dojenčkom v naročju in zadnje slovo brez besed, samo presunljivo otožen pojemajoč glas in ženine velike umirajoče oči..." (Koledar Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1952, str. 151).

Brezovčeva *Usodna brzojavka* (zbornik koledar Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1955, str. 163-169) je črno-bela agitka v protikomunističnem načinu iz druge svetovne vojne o dveh povratnikih v Slovenijo - Jugoslavijo, kjer ju vojaški stražar po naročilu višjih organov načrtno ubije, čeprav oblasti prikažejo dogodek kot nesrečno naključje. Zgodba je vsekakor svarilo tistim, ki bi se hoteli vrniti v domovino, da tega ne storijo, temveč naj raje vztrajajo v emigraciji, pa naj je še tako težka.

Šele postopoma se je prva slovenska zdomska generacija v Argentini prilagajala novim razmeram. Sin literarnega zgodovinarja, pisatelja in pesnika dr. Tineta Debeljaka Tine Debeljak mlajši se tozadevno spominja na očeta (Večer, Maribor, 20. oktobra 1990, str. 28): *“Zagledal sem se čez pampo, evkalipt pred mojim oknom se je tresel v vetru kot moj spomin, ki sem ga klical izpod obzorja...”* V pesniški zbirki *Mariji* (Svobodna Slovenija, Buenos Aires 1954) joka Debeljak kot *“Jeremija ob vodah babilonskih”*. Slovenski pesnik se je nenadoma znašel v babilonski sužnosti, težko prenaša usodo, *“harfo obesil lje/ na vrbo. Jokal jaz, o, Marija, sem v vele mestih milijonskih, pojoč na struno trdo...”*

Tozadevno zelo značilne so le delno objavljene Debeljakove literarne reportaže in zgodbe o slovenskih izseljencih v Argentini *Črni kamnitnik* (n.pr. *Smrt Mata Matkoviča*, koledar zbornik Svobodne Slovenije za leto 1952).

Premik od mita v odločilnejše soočenje z novo argentinsko stvarnostjo pa se uveljavi šele konec sedemdesetih let v buenosaireški reviji mlajše generacije *Druga vrsta*. Čeprav je spomin na čas *“pred tem”*, na dobo *“nazaj”*, ki so jo mojstrili starši in dedi, na domovino *“izven novega prostora”* tudi pri mlajših in najmlajših argentinskih slovenskih ustvarjalcih posredno in sekundarno vedno prisoten, se pri Tinetu Debeljaku mlajšem, Pavlu Fajdigi, Vinku Rodetu ali Andreju Rotu uveljavlja tudi nova argentinska domovina, ki pridobiva na neodtujenem, primarnem pomenu, čeprav istočasno žari realnost ali mit prve, rojstne dežele staršev, ki kot Izrael Abrahamove judovske naslednike vabi iz diaspore tudi Slovence nazaj iz odtujenosti v neodtujenost v primarnem izvoru, studencu, viru. V nekem smislu pridobi mit izgubljenega v desetletjih, ko se deli slovenske skupnosti v zdomstvu že začenjajo razsipavati v tujejezičnem morju, svojo metafizično dimenzijo zavezanosti rodovno-narodnemu izvoru in prvotni domovini. Morda je v tem sklopu zelo značilna daljša novela Stanka Kocipra *Tjašek Gomez počiva v pampi*, objavljena v mariborski kulturni reviji *Dialogi*, št. 7 (julij 1991). Odisejada in križev pot slovenskega štajerskega Goričanca od prisilno mobiliziranega nemškega vojaka na ruski fronti, partizana in potem k domobrancem prebeglega pristaša idej generala Rupnika, se nadaljuje na argentinskih tleh. Tjašek Gomez mojstri svojo usodo na prostranstvih argentinske pampe pri donu Rudolfu, prilagaja se novim življenjskim načinom, že začenja zadosti tekoče tolči kasteljanščino: *“Tjašek Gomez je v samoti nepregledne pampe - odkril Ameriko...”* (str. 25). In vendar tli za to asimilacijo v novo okolje večna prapodoba slovenske domovine, ki se ob Tjašekovi smrti stopnjuje v apoteozo izgubljenega in v viziji stalnega vračanja b domovinsko pranaročje pridobljenega mitosa iz realnega toposa: *“Domotožje je preveč bolelo, neutešeno hrepenenje po svetečih gorica h je vsa ta dolga leta v pampi bilo premočno, da bi preslišali sedaj, ko so se vrata doma odprla.”* (str. 27). *“In pousod se oglašajo zvonovi. Pri Svetinjah..., na Bolfenku..., na Humu..., pri sv. Tomažu..., pri sv. Miklavžu... . Tjašek Gomez gre med goricami s sladkim tovorom odrešenja...”* V smrti je spet prispel v svojo prvo, pravo domovino, čeprav je v mlinih zdomstva že zdavnaj postal drugačen, nov človek, homo

novus. Zato je njegova identiteta zdaj sinteza, oziroma hibridno križanje starega in novega, kar pa je lahko pozitivno: "*In Tjašek Gomez čuti, vidi, da blagoslov njegovega odrešenja polje vse do Blatnega jezera v madžarskih ravninah in do bele Bogojine na Prekmurskem, pa doli do Ivančice na Hrvaškem in čez Dravske polje do strmih Haloz in Pohorja in belih špičkov Kamniških planin, za katerimi se v nedogled odpira zelena pampa, preko katere mu na iskrem belcu vihra Maria Rosa...*" (kulturna revija Dialogi, Maribor, št. 7, 1991, str. 29).

Medtem ko se idiom izgubljene domovine v nekaterih pesmih Franceta Papeža kaže v transformirani obliki modernistične arhaizirane nadčasnosti (pesnikov novi Ulikses se n.pr. razrašča v lik klasičnega, a obenem modernega brezdomca), ga nekateri preoblikujejo v alienirano grotesko eksistencialne krize in ogroženosti, ki pogojuje zdomstvo (Milena Merlak, Lev Detela), a v viziji krepostnega vračanja h koreninam idealne Slovenijekrepi in vzpodbuja naprej (Vladimir Kos). Na poseben način je problem skušal rešiti Zorko Simčič. V dramskem tekstu (za mlade in stare otroke) *Trije muzikantje ali povratek Lepe Vide* (Maribor 1994) je znano ljudsko pesem preoblikoval v zdomsko pesem neutolažljivega domotožja po rodnem domu in domačih ljudeh.

Mit izgubljenega naraste v primarno vrednoto. Ob povratku v domovino se iz ideala širi ali kruši v realna obeležja, postaja del take ali drugačne dejanske resničnosti.



## SUMMARY

### THE MYTH OF THE LOST - PROBLEM OF ROOTLESSNESS DURING ADAPTATION TO A NEW LIVING ENVIRONMENT: SOME EXAMPLES FROM SLOVENE EMIGRANT LITERATURE

Lev Detela

In the first phase of Slovene emigrant literature after 1945 the loss of the homeland was associated with depressing reflections on the time, with memories of the burdensome events of the Second World War. In literary compositions, originating particularly in a number of different refugee camps in the first post-war years, there is a bitter awareness of the loss of home, frequently and intensively linked to a desire for a return home. The bulk of authors were not interested in new (foreign) environments, not even as landscape motifs or philosophical questions. The lost homeland often made itself felt as the real identification of the idiom of emigrant alienation, from which poets and prose writers looked back, in a reactionary and regressive fashion, to an ideal representation of Slovenia before the arrival of the communists, which becomes and remains the real myth of the lost.

In the next phase too (migration to and settling in new living structures in different European countries, and above all in Argentina, the United States, Canada and Australia) there existed for quite some time the motif of the "outcast" from the Slovene homeland with the deeply moving voice of the lonely man in trouble who prefers to lose himself in the beautiful world of dreams and his memories of the idyllically depicted, archaically experienced lost home. The move from the myth of the lost to a more substantial confrontation with the new reality came about relatively late on, for example in Argentina at the end of the 1970s in the pages of the Buenos Aires youth magazine *Druga Vista* (The Other Kind). The dimensions of the new environment begin to emerge, which along with the parents' memories (myths) of what had been lost take on a new meaning; from the literature of the younger generations born abroad, the Slovene homeland of their forefathers stands out as the primary source of a certain special identity.



## **SLOVENES IN AUSTRALIA: SOME DECADES LATER TOWARDS A RESEARCH AGENDA**

Zlatko Skrbiš

This paper will address some of the questions related to the persistence of ethnic identity among Slovenes in Australia. The presence of several thousand of them in Australia is largely a post-Second World War phenomenon. More precisely, the vast majority of first generation Slovene migrants arrived there between the early 1950's and mid-1970's. A distance of several decades from this time helps us to reflect upon some trends in these processes more accurately. For a researcher, there is an interesting world opening up beyond first generation migrants. Australian-Slovene settings are increasingly composed of adult second generation individuals and their children. Anecdotal evidence for what is happening to Australian-Slovenes in terms of assimilation and acculturation certainly exists, yet it is usually inadequate and partial. Cross-generational aspects of these processes in particular - despite some pioneering work already done (Birsa 1994, Čebulj-Sajko 1992, Pallota-Chiarolli and Skrbiš 1994, Skrbiš 1994) - await more systematic inquiry. Besides, discussing ethnic identities is a complex endeavour (Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. P. 1975; Watson, J. L. 1977; Waters 1990) and this short presentation has no ambition to be exhaustive. In fact, it represents an early stage in the building of a broader research agenda.

To begin, I will present the dominant opinion of leaders of Slovene ethnic organizations in Australia. For the purpose of some of my previous research (Skrbiš 1994), they were asked to explain which aspects of Slovene culture in the Australian migrant environment are most important for the maintenance of ethnic identity. They commonly pointed to the Slovene language and religion,<sup>1</sup> and I propose to examine these two elements more closely.

It can be argued that Slovene culture is language-centred and that Slovene Catholic Missions around Australia overtly emphasize the link which exists between Catholicism and the "Slovene way of life". Yet a closer analysis reveals that these two elements of culture are far from playing a crucial role in cross-generational cultural transmission among Slovenes in Australia. The analyses showed that Slovene language is not the language of communication

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<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, when discussing religion, respondents (irrespective of generation or age) never questioned which religion this question referred to. This observation is important for two reasons. First, it shows the extent to which Roman Catholicism is perceived as a constitutive part of Slovene heritage. And second, it shows a degree of cross-cultural ignorance.

with parents for a vast majority of second generation Slovenes. Analysis of the experience of 30 second generation Slovenes revealed, for example, that more than 60% of them use English as the main language of conversation with their parents (Skrbiš 1994, p. 432). I suspect that more extensive research would only increase this percentage and, as a matter of fact, many second generation respondents who claim to speak some Slovene at home have in mind a seldom used version of kitchen-Slovene. However, even this small-sample analysis shows the intensity of mother tongue decline from the first to second generation. As far as religion is concerned, one can observe that first generation Slovene migrants have almost a monopoly on church attendance. Moreover, the English language is increasingly used during church services in Slovene churches in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne.<sup>2</sup> In Adelaide, the language of religious education for children of Slovene descent is English. Overall, it seems hard to find justification for the claims that language and religion are of such central importance. Furthermore, this supposition seems to be an imaginary projection of first generation migrants rather than a realistic assessment. The question remains: How is it possible to make sense of these contradictory claims?

Upon arrival in Australia, Slovenes formed many cultural and social organizations, some of them of secular and some of sacred provenance. Ethnic schools and religious education classes were established and attended by several hundred pupils. They were taught the Slovene language and were acquainted with the Slovene culture. No one can deny the value of this education and the efforts put into the organizing and functioning of these classes. Yet, from a historically distant perspective I argue that this knowledge of language and culture was mostly confined to their involvement in ethnic community organizations as children. In other words, language and religion are neither the most indicative nor the most important factors which need to be observed.

As an alternative, I suggest that the common use of ethnic symbols in expressing the Slovene ethnic identity be scrutinized. It is well known that ethno-cultural education in a migrant context often places strong emphasis on those elements of ethnic culture which are often of minor significance in homelands. Among Slovenes in Australia this can be illustrated with the examples of folklore and national costumes. In the entire post-Second World War period in Slovenia, there has never been a strong emphasis placed on folk dancing. If it wasn't for Slovene ethnologists, many of the traditional dances would have been forgotten. In Australia on the other hand, the folklore has always been one of the dominant forms of ethnic self-identification and self-expression. Similarly, Slovenes in Australia commonly present themselves to the Australian public in national costumes. By doing this, they privilege what is

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<sup>2</sup> These are the cities with the largest proportions of the Slovene population in Australia and the only Australian cities with established Slovene Franciscan Catholic Missions.

a rather marginal and residual form of ethnic identification in their homeland. The main reason for this is that due to their minority status position in the new social environment, they are encouraged to expose and emphasise the most visible components of their cultures, to help create an image of ethnocultural distinctiveness. The increased use of (what is believed to be) more or less authentic ethnic symbols, makes ethnic culture supposedly more easily identifiable. It needs to be emphasised, however, that many other migrant groups in Australia and elsewhere are also prone to engage in these public exclamations of identities (e.g. Scottish kilts and bagpipes for Scots and castanets for Spaniards).<sup>3</sup>

At this point it is necessary to refer to what Herbert J. Gans (1979; see also Gans 1994) called symbolic ethnicity. His paper deals with third generation migrants in the US but is nevertheless relevant to our discussion. He states that: "*Since ethnic identity needs are neither intense nor frequent in this generation, (...) ethnics do not need either ethnic cultures or organisations; instead, they resort to the use of ethnic symbols. As a result, ethnicity may be turning into symbolic ethnicity, an ethnicity of the last resort, which could, nevertheless, persist for generations.*" (Gans 1979, p. 1).

In applying Gans' concept of symbolic ethnicity to the Australian-Slovene context, one notes important differences. I will raise several points in reference to the applicability of his concepts in the Australian-Slovene context. These points should be basically understood and read as guidelines for further research.

**Firstly**, he talks about the third generation of migrants in the US. We can only vaguely anticipate what is going to happen with the third generation Slovenes in Australia. It is certainly difficult to expect a large-scale ethnic revival.

**Secondly**, in contrast to some of his contemporaries, Gans states that there has been no ethnic revival in America. In his words, what appears to be an ethnic revival is nothing but a more visible form of long-standing phenomena.

In Australia, one cannot perceive any increased visibility of Slovene ethnic identity symbols due to an increasing number of adult second generation individuals. Instead, one can note quite the opposite trend. The second generation is largely invisible and there are many problems related to the inclusion of the second generation into the leadership of ethnic community organizations. In general, there is a lack of interest in the second generation in getting involved with ethnic organization activities.

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<sup>3</sup> These practices can reach the margins of extremes, as the following interview with an American who strongly identified with her Irish roots: "We have Saint Patrick's Day here in this house. We have the biggest party. ... The green, even the dogs wear green. I am Irish" (Waters 1990, p. 63).

This leads to my **third** point. Gans' observation that descendants of migrants do not need ethnic community organizations to express their identities is valid if applied to Slovene first generation migrants. Their ethnic identities increasingly resort to the use of ethnic symbols, and they recognize their Slovenianism through the material objects of this culture. They resort to cultural symbolism, somehow unique to their migrant environment (e.g. tourist souvenirs such as human figures dressed up in national costumes, hay-lofts, lime-tree leaves, and flags). In other words, their ethnic identification is increasingly driven by material symbolism.

**Fourthly**, the fact that the second generation resorts to symbolism is to be ascribed to the first generation and their emphasising of those aspects of native culture which have strong visual and symbolic components (e.g. folklore, art and crafts, which dominate literature). This is probably the most crucial, yet almost systematically avoided point in most contemporary discussions on the issue. Although every culture consists of symbolic mediation mechanisms I am inclined to think that in a migrant context these mechanisms play a more selective as well as a more emphasised role. Selection mechanisms depend on many different factors, such as social conditions in the host society, the political orientation of first generation migrants, an education profile of ethnic community members, etc. Generally speaking, the first generation Slovenes in Australia have had no ambition to procreate the kind of "genuine", "generic", "full-blooded" Slovenianism based on ethno-political exclusivism. This is an important consideration, particularly because there are highly involved migrant groups in Australia which share these ambitious expectations (all driven by interest in homeland politics).<sup>4</sup> It is the first generation migrants who can successfully manipulate the selection of appropriate symbols. Regrettably, Gans' theory gives no consideration to these pre-selection mechanisms in migrants' ethno-symbolic identifications.

**Fifthly** and finally, one still finds second generation individuals in ethnic community organisations, although not in big numbers nor regularly. Their children (i.e. third generation) are also sometimes brought in to participate in folk-dancing, ethnic music performances and learning the language, although in even smaller numbers than the second generation. Is this something that forecasts the possibility of a third generation ethnic revival (Hansen 1952)? And does this undermine my previous claim that ethnic organisations lose their importance for ethnic identification with second (and subsequent) generation individuals? Following my own research results I feel tempted to say no to all these questions. Moreover I argue that what is at work here is only a gesture of respect for Slovene ethnic culture and the generation of their migrant parents and forebears rather than an involved participation in ethnic group rituals. Yet it

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<sup>4</sup> E.g. Armenians, Croatians, East Timorese, Serbian. Benedict Anderson (1992) gives an interesting background perspective on the issue.

is nevertheless important to emphasise that the gesture itself takes part in the game of ethnic symbolism.

To summarise, the experiment with Gans' conceptual model in this paper shows that this cannot be mechanically applied to the Australian-Slovene context and that it actually fails to address an important issue of pre-selection mechanisms which are at the root of discussing symbolic ethnicity. Nevertheless, any further research into Slovenes in Australia will have to seriously address the question of symbolic ethnicity and the importance of cultural symbolism, because the Slovene culture and language in Australia will certainly further transmute itself into a variety of symbolic forms.

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## POVZETEK

### SLOVENCİ V AVSTRALIJI: NEKAJ DESE'TLETIJ POZNEJE

Zlatko Skrbiš

Avtor obravnava nekatera vprašanja, pomembna za razpravo o ohranjanju slovenske etnične identitete v Avstraliji, in govori o glavnih točkah, ki naj jih zajema kazalo vsake prihodnje raziskave. Kljub nekaterim dosedanjim raziskavam o avstralskih Slovencih so nujno potrebni tako celoviti pregled vprašanj, povezanih z obstojem avstralsko-slovenskih "značilnosti tujega porekla", kot tudi bolj analitski pristopi k medgeneracijskemu prenašanju etnično-narodne identifikacije. Zdaj je pravi čas za izvedbo take raziskave, še posebno zato, ker je številčnejši dotok novih migrantov iz Slovenije v Avstralijo prenehal in ker se slovenske etnične organizacije v Avstraliji starajo.

Avtor ugotavlja, da kljub osrednjemu mestu slovenskega jezika jezik ne more biti glavna in edina usmeritev nadaljnega raziskovanja. Dosedanje raziskave kažejo, da je ohranjanje slovenskega jezika iz generacije v generacijo v Avstraliji relativno slabo in da postaja simbolna identifikacija glavno sredstvo in oblika izražanja slovenstva. V teh okoliščinah lahko produktivno uporabimo Gansov model "simbolne etničnosti". Primer otrok slovenskih migrantov jasno kaže, da se vse bolj zatekajo k tistim vidikom njihove izvorne etnične kulture, ki imajo močne vizualne in simbolne poteze, pa čeprav to ne povečuje njihove vidljivosti v okolju gostiteljske družbe. V tej zvezi je zastopano stališče, da Gansov model ne more zadovoljivo pojasniti oblik, sredstev in razlogov za selektivno prenašanje etnične identitete in njenih simbolov med generacijami. Avtor zastopa mnenje, da bo slovenska kultura v Avstraliji doživela nadaljnjo preobrazbo v simbolne oblike.



## **DIE MYTHEN DER SLOWAKISCHEN STAATLICHKEIT IM KONTEXT DER SLOWAKEN DER VOJVODINA**

Michal Babiak

Die Slowaken von Vojvodina gehören zu den am meisten erhaltenen Zweigen der slowakischen Nation im Ausland. In einem relativ langen zweihundertfünfzigjährigen Zeitraum (die ersten Slowaken kamen auf das Gebiet der heutigen Vojvodina im Jahre 1745) bewahrten diese Slowaken ihre Sprache, charakteristische Merkmale der Angehörigkeit zur slowakischen Kultur und zum slowakischen Volk - sowohl in den Erscheinungen der materiellen Kultur als auch in der geistigen Sphäre. Das 250-jährige Leben, das reich an Kontakten mit Angehörigen anderer Nationen, mit denen die Slowaken in Vojvodina zusammenlebten (vor allem mit Serben, Deutschen und Ungarn) war, gab dieser slowakischen Enklave auch zahlreiche spezifische Merkmale, die dann zu einigen autochthonen Erscheinungen dieser Kultur führten, aber im Prinzip blieb es auch weiterhin eine starke slowakische Kommunität mit einer klar profilierten slowakischen Sphäre der Kulturangehörigkeit.

Wahrscheinlich ist es nicht notwendig, auf dieser Stelle wieder zu beweisen, daß die territoriale Abgetrenntheit der Slowaken der Vojvodina von der Slowakei und damit auch die relativ große Entfernung ihrer hervorragenden politisch-kulturellen Repräsentanten vom Geschehen in der Slowakei nicht automatisch einen kleinen Anteil dieses Zweiges der slowakischen Nation im gesamtslowakischen Rahmen bedeuteten. Die starken schöpferischen Impulse in Fragen der Nation, Politik, Kultur, Literatur und der Publizistik u.a. der Slowaken von Vojvodina im 19. Jahrhundert (erwähnt seien nur die wichtigsten Aktivisten: Ján Stehlo, Jozef Podhradský, Leopold Branislav Abaffy, Gustáv Maršall-Petrovský; als auch die Veranstaltungen der hervorragenden politischen und kulturellen Repräsentanten aus der Slowakei - Karol Kuzmány und Viliam Paulíny-Tóth - unter den Slowaken von Vojvodina) fanden sehr starke Resonanz auch in der Slowakei.

Dieser Zweig der slowakischen Nation von Vojvodina geriet in der Periode der national-emanzipatorischen Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert in eine zweifache Position: zum einen sind die Slowaken von Vojvodina ein Teil desselben Staates - der österreichischen bzw. österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, aber sie sind trotzdem territorial vom Heimatland getrennt, so daß die innere Konsolidierung dieser Enklave auf der nationalen Ebene beinahe erzwungen wurde: die Organisierung des eigenen nationalen Lebens ist eine Sache des Daseins und der Vitalisierung; zum anderen bildet das starke Gefühl

der nationalen Zusammengehörigkeit bei den nationalen Repräsentanten von Vojvodina nicht die Idee der nationalen Sezession, sondern umgekehrt, sie nehmen an allen gesamtslowakischen Veranstaltungen ebenbürtig teil.

Die Idee der slowakischen Staatlichkeit wurde von den Repräsentanten der slowakischen Nation der Vojvodina nicht auf dem Hintergrund der slowakischen Autonomie in Vojvodina durchgeführt, sondern in einem nationalen, einheitlichen, gesamtslowakischen Rahmen, worauf die Aktivisten von Vojvodina öfter hingewiesen hatten: "Wie es jedem gut bekannt ist, außer in dem nur von Slowaken bewohnten Teil unserer Heimat, die sich an die himmelhohe Tatra anlehnt, befinden sich Tausende von Slowaken, von Baum des Volkes weggerissen, zerstreut in der ganzen ungarischen Heimat, hier als einzelne Insel, dort wieder als einsame Werder. An den Ufern der fischreichen Tisa, der königlichen Donau, im reichen Banat, in Bačka, im fruchtbaren Bekeš, in Sabolč usw. sind es ganze Dörfer, die vom slowakischen Volk bewohnt werden. Auf diese Dörfer möchten wir die Aufmerksamkeit derer richten, die in Sv. Martin die Zukunft und das Wohl der Nation besprechen sollen. Vergessen Sie (...) uns Verlorenen nicht, wir sind doch auch Blut ihres Blutes, und Leib ihres Leibes, Zweige und Blüten desselben Baumes wie sie. Suchen Sie (...) nach einem Weg, damit auch für uns die Morgenröte des nationalen Rechtes aufleuchtet, daß auch für uns der schöne Tag der wunderbaren, wirklichen Freiheit anbricht, damit die Sonne des nationalen Bewußtseins auch auf uns, in der Mitte einer fremden Welt lebenden Brüder strahlt, damit wir uns, zusammen mit euch, über die wirkliche Freiheit des Volkes freuen und mit unseren Kräften für die Entwicklung und das Wohl der slowakischen Nation arbeiten könnten." (L.A. Abaffy: Peštbudinske vedomosti).

Die Literatur der Slowaken von Vojvodina in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts war nicht von Romantik befreit. Das Anknüpfen an die realistischen Ansatzpunkte der slowakischen Prosa in der Slowakei, vor allem an die Prosa von Svetozár Hurban Vajanský, erscheint bei den Schriftstellern der Vojvodina erst in 80. Jahren in den Werken von Gustáv Maršall-Petrovský und später in den Werken von Ján Čajak. Die Literatur, die früher in der Vojvodina geschrieben wurde, war noch in der Sphäre der Poetik der Romantiker, die zu der Gruppe um Ludovít Štúr gehörten, - wie Kalinčiak, Tomášik oder unter dem Einfluß des romantischen Messianismus. Gerade in der Literatur dieser verspäteten Romantik, die das Werk von Felix Kutlik und Jozef Podhradský darstellt - wird die Frage der Staatlichkeit der Slowaken in den Vordergrund gestellt.

Der Mythos der slowakischen Staatlichkeit ist für das Werk von Jozef Podhradský wahrscheinlich auch deshalb charakteristisch, weil der Mythos als die Gattung und als ein die Fabel bildende Faktor typischer für die Poetik des Messianismus ist zu welcher wir auch Podhradský einreihen, als für die romantische Abenteuernovellistik, im Rahmen derer sich das Werk von Felix Kutlik befindet. Als der romantische Ahasver Jozef Podhradský im Jahre 1863

nach Novi Sad kam, um hier als Professor tätig zu sein, war er schon als Autor des grossen romantischen Dramas *Holuby a Sulek* bekannt. Anlässlich dessen möchten wir auf sein serbisch geschriebenes Drama *Leposava i njeno gubilište, ili Novogradske komendije* aufmerksam machen, das 1869 herausgebracht wurde. Auch wenn dieses Drama für das serbische Publikum geschrieben wurde, finden wir hier auch solche Teile, die sich auf die Mythen von Staaten der Slowaken und Tschechen beziehen: hier wird die slowakische Staatlichkeit der Epoche des Königs Svatopluk erwähnt, weiter die Hussiten, die Krone des Königs Wenzel usw. Die gesellschaftliche Kritik dieses Dramas richtet Podhradský gegen die Feinde der progressiven emanzipatorischen Kräfte in der Slowakei. In dem Drama läßt ein Teil des der slawischen Einigkeit nicht gönnenden Chores, aus Angst vor der Erneuerung des slowakischen Staates, die Repräsentanten der Nation für Irren erklären und in ein Irrenhaus einsperren. Romantisch gespaltet klingt auch eine andere Szene in *Leposava*, wenn Podhradský mittels eines nationalen Sängers über die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse in der Slowakei und in Tschechien spricht: "Der Slowake lebt in seiner Tatra ruhig und sicher. Seine Lieder drücken tiefe Trauer aus, aus welchen die Freude als die Hoffnung auf bessere Zukunft entspringt. Ein ganz anderer Geist herrscht bei den Tschechen. Der Tscheche befindet sich in Gefahr, die ihn von allen Seiten bedroht. Deshalb ist auch der Geist seiner Lieder für immer hussitisch." (*Leposava*, Novi Sad 1869, S. 30)

Der romantische Taumel von Podhradský ist in der ganzen Breite des Dramas klar zu sehen. Anstatt eines mehr konkreten Programms der nationalen Emanzipation bietet Podhradský eine ganze Palette von messianistischen Visionen der sich annähernden Freiheit an, die die unterjochten slawischen Völker befreit und ihnen ihre altertümlichen Staaten zurückbringt.

Im Drama *Leposava* legt Podhradský den Nachdruck auf die Konfrontation der national-mythologischen Sphäre und der konkreten gegenwärtigen national-emanzipatorischen Politik: der Verlust der staatlichen Selbstständigkeit wegen des Verrates, die von den Feinden ausgenützten historischen und gegenwärtigen Streite und Zwiespalte in den nationalen Parteien, die Abwesenheit des konkreten nationalen Programms, usw. In der Analyse der damaligen Ereignisse auf der slowakischen politischen Szene ging Podhradský auch von dem Vergleich mit der damaligen serbischen, polnischen und tschechischen politischen Szene aus, und in manchen Fällen nahm er an ihr aktiv teil. In politischen Pamphleten, in halbhistorischen Studien, usw. spricht er romantisch gehoben, auf dem Hintergrund vom Mythos und Geschichte, über aktuelle Angelegenheiten. Auch hier geht er von dem Standpunkt des Messianismus aus, aber er ist auch fähig sich für die Idee der gesamtslawischen Zusammengehörigkeit von Ján Kollár zu begeistern. Wahrscheinlich war Podhradský kein Mensch, für welchen die nationalen Mythen über die Entstehung der eigenen Staatlichkeit als Mittel zur Wiederbelebung des

nationalen Empfindungsvermögens dienen konnten, aber er glaubte an Mythen, er lebte in ihnen. Die Mythen dienten ihm nicht, er diente ihnen.

Eine pragmatischere Beziehung zu Mythen hatte der evangelische Priester von Kulpín, Prosaiker, dessen Begabung sich in der Zeit der Existenz von Matica slovenská (1863-1875) voll entwickelte, Félix Kutlík. Wenn Kutlík, der zwanzig Jahre jünger als Podhradský war, einen nationalen Mythos erwähnt, dann ist es in der Funktion eines Beispiels. Ähnlich wie Podhradský, begann sich auch Kutlík in seinen literarischen Arbeiten teilweise für die südslawische Umgebung zu interessieren: die orientalische Exotik der Sagen und Entführungen von Heiducken, der Aufstand in Bosnien-Herzegowina im Jahre 1875 und die Beziehung der Gruppe um Ludovít Štúr zur südslawischen epischen Poesie - waren in 70-er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts erfolgreiche, beliebte Themen in der slowakischen Prosa. Kutlík nützt dieses Interesse aus, um seine starken national-emanzipatorisch orientierten Ideen durchzuführen. Die Elemente wie z.B. die nüchternere Stellungnahme zu Mythen, Gebrauch mehr vom Historischen als vom Mythischen in mythologischen Schichten seiner Prosa, machen die Werke von Kutlík lebendiger. Und diese Lebensrealität der Helden und Situationen von Kutlík wollte als Beispiel des Kampfes für die Volksbefreiung dienen: so wie die Südslawen kämpfen, sollten auch die Slowaken kämpfen.

Sowohl ist die Absicht von Kutlík viel realer und direkter, als auch der Gebrauch vom Mythos für das Denken über die staatliche Selbstständigkeit von Slowaken treffender ist, als wir es bei Podhradský finden, bleibt doch auch Kutlík im großen Maße in der tragischen Trauer der Romantik gefangen: er trauert mehr als er konkret handelt, und wenn er rebellieren will - so rebelliert er in Gleichnissen.

Über das Universalversprechen von Podhradský "Es kommt die Zeit" und die Konzeption des Interesses für die südslawische Epik, aus welcher Kutlík hervorging, kam erst bei Gustáv Maršall Petrovský die Idee der konkreten Aktion der national-emanzipatorischen Bewegung durch die Anwendung der positiven Erfahrungen der regen politischen Zusammenarbeit der Slowaken und Serben von Vojvodina: die slowakisch-serbische Konvention über den gemeinsamen Antritt in den Wahlen in das Ungarische Parlament, die von Karol Kuzmány und D. Stratimirovič in Kulpín im Jahre 1865 unterzeichnet wurde; die Wahl der national-orientierten Abgeordneten in diesem Wahlkreis, die Zusammenarbeit auf dem Boden des evangelischen Lyzeums in Bratislava, die Tätigkeit von Svetozár Miletič, usw. Maršall-Petrovský sieht in diesem gemeinsamen Antritt die Kraft, die erfolgreich den Regierungsangriffen standhalten und der slowakischen Emanzipation helfen kann.

Im Milieu von Vojvodina war die Konzeption von Maršall zeitgemäß real und vital. Aber nach der Emigration in die USA verschwindet auch bei ihm dieser Realismus. Maršall schreibt hier seinen romantischsten, unrealsten und von

Mythen überfüllten Roman Jánošík. Ähnlich, wie fünfundzwanzig Jahre vor ihm Podhradský die Skelette der mittelalterlichen Könige ausgrub und sie auf die Bühne stellte, wollte auch Maršall in Jánošík den vergangenen Ruhm des slowakischen Staates nicht nur deklamieren, sondern (schon überhaupt nicht dem Zeitgeist entsprechend) läßt er Jánošík die geheimnisvolle Höhle entdecken, wo die Reliquien und Insignien der slowakischen Staatlichkeit auf den Augenblick warten, wann sie wieder im Tageslicht erglänzen: *“Über dem Thron an der vorderen Seite der Höhle glänzte das Wappen der Slowakei: die drei Berge Tatra, Matra, Fatra mit Saphiren ausgelegt und das zweiarmlige Kreuz aus leuchtenden Diamanten, während die goldene Umrandung mit Rubinen reich geschmückt war. Unter dem Wappen stand ein Kreuz aus Ebenholz mit der Figur des gefolterten Christus und nebenan hingen die slowakischen Fahnen aus Seide, mit Perlen und goldenen Fransen. Über Wappen, Kreuz und Fahnen glänzte die Überschrift in goldenen Buchstaben “Slowake, leide nicht mehr!” und unter ihm “Für Gott und Volk!”* (G.M. Petrovský, Jánošík, s. 89)

In der Zeit, als das 19. Jahrhundert schon zu Ende ging und die Industrialisierung, der industrielle Fortschritt und die technische Revolution ihr Tempo steigerten, waren unter der Slowaken der Vojvodina die schönen Mythen über den slowakischen Staat - über die Tragödie des mittelalterlichen und über die Entstehung des neuen Staates noch lebendig. Der neue Staat war aber noch weit hinter allen Bergen. Dabei war aber ihr Glauben an die Volksfreiheit am mythischsten, wie darüber auch Félix Kutlík nachdenkt: *“Einsam in einem Wagen sitzend, dachte ich über meine eigene Berufung, die persönliche und die nationale, nach. Aber Brüder! Wir laufen schon lange Zeit neben dem Wagen. Doch einmal erleben wir, daß wir in dem Wagen sitzen werden, weil der Wagen auch uns gehört und wir bekommen ihn doch einmal aus der Pfandleihanstalt!”* (F. Kutlík, Dva dni v Uhrách)

Nach der Entstehung der selbständigen Tschechoslowakischen Republik im Jahre 1918, als die Slowaken in der Slowakei in den gemeinsamen Staat mit Tschechen und die Slowaken vom Süden der Monarchie in die Staaten Ungarn, Jugoslawien und Rumänien gelangten, begannen auch die Slowaken der Vojvodina ein selbständigeres Profil der eigenen kulturellen Präsentation zu bilden. Das Gefühl, daß sie nicht mehr in demselben Staat leben wie die Slowaken in der Slowakei, bildet hier neue Elemente der Beziehungen zur Slowakei als zu der alten, mythischen Heimat. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser neuen mythischen Ebene zeigt sich bei den slowakischen Intellektuellen und Schriftstellern von Vojvodina in immer größerem Maße die Tendenz, die Aufmerksamkeit der kulturellen und politischen Öffentlichkeit in der Slowakei auf die Zweige der Nation im Ausland zu lenken. Am markantesten zeigte sich diese Tendenz in Bemühungen des hervorragenden Literaturkritikers, Universitätsprofessors in Bratislava und bedeutenden nationalen Repräsentanten Andrej Mráz, der aus Bačsky Petrovec in der Vojvodina stammte. Er bemüht sich in seiner berühmten Arbeit Rozhovory o

juhoslovanských Slovákoch (Bratislava 1948) den notwendigen Bedarf eines aktiven Interesses für das Leben und die Position der Slowaken im Ausland durchzusetzen. Die essayistische Arbeit von Mráz ist ein hervorragendes Beispiel des Denkens über die Lebensgestaltung der Slowaken im Ausland - über ihre alltäglichen mythischen Überlegungen von der Slowakei als alter Heimat und über die Gestaltung des Zusammenlebens in der neuen Umgebung. Das, was er bei allen ausländischen Slowaken sehr hoch schätzt, ist ein starkes Nationalbewußtsein und eine innige Beziehung zur Slowakei, wofür er eine klare reziproke Stellungnahme von der Slowakei fordert.

## POVZETEK

### MITI SLOVAŠKE DRŽAVNOSTI V KONTEKSTU VOJVODINSKIH SLOVAKOV

Michal Babiak

Michal Babiak analizira v svojem delu najpomembnejše momente literarnih del, ki se ukvarjajo z odnosom vojvodinskih Slovakov do vprašanja slovaške državnosti. Odločujoč trenutek, skozi katerega prizmo se ta odnos karakterizira, je trenutek mitskega naroda, v katerem postane ideja obnovitve slovaške državnosti in narodne osvoboditve trajna. Slovaki v Vojvodini (ki živijo na območju današnje Vojvodine v Jugoslaviji) so pomemben del slovaškega naroda. Ta narodnostna skupina Slovakov, ki jo sestavlja 65.000 prebivalcev, je v to pokrajino prišla v polovici 18. stoletja. Že od začetka 19. stoletja so v tej skupnosti delovali pomembni pisatelji, ki se uvrščajo med najboljše v celotnem slovaškem prostoru. M. Babiak posveča največjo pozornost dobi narodno romantičnih mitov v literarnih delih Felixa Kutlika, mesijanskega pisatelja in dramatika Jozefa Podhradskega in prozaika Gustava Maršalla - Petrovskega. Večina slovaško-vojvodinskih pisateljev ustvarja v svojih literarnih delih močno kulturnopolitično vzporednico med slovaškim narodom in jugoslovanskimi narodi, ki so se prav tako borili za svojo narodnostno osamosvojitve: primer izrazitih in odkritih borcev jugoslovanskih narodov - ti vojvodinsko-slovaški pisatelji so dali spodbudo tudi slovaškemu narodnemu osamosvojitvenemu gibanju za izrazitost boja za pridobitev narodnostne svobode in države. Mitološki vidik v slovaško-vojvodinski literaturi se je natanko določil v 20. stoletju in v razsežnostih odnosov med Slovaki v Vojvodini in Slovaki v stari domovini Slovaški.

## **ÊTRE CITOYEN DANS UN CLIMAT XÉNOPHOBE**

Nora Rätzzel

Der Titel paßt eigentlich nicht zu einem Beitrag aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, denn die überwiegende Mehrheit der Migranten und Migrantinnen sind keine Bürgerinnen und Bürger, obgleich über die Hälfte von Ihnen bereits in der Bundesrepublik geboren wurden. 1990 waren 1,7% (101 370 von 5 342 532) eingebürgert, 1991 2,4% (141 630 von 5 882 267) gegenüber 16 251=0,6% im Jahre 1988. Vielleicht müßte man den Titel abwandeln und fragen: Bürger werden, in einem rassistischen Klima? Damit wäre einer der möglichen Gründe für die niedrige Einbürgerungsrate angedeutet.

Im allgemeinen werden jedoch andere Gründe genannt. Eine der häufig vorgebrachten Erklärungen argumentiert mit behaupteten spezifischen "Eigenschaften" bestimmter Bevölkerungsgruppen. So ließen sich vor allem Türkinnen und Türken nicht einbürgern, weil sie eine besondere Bindung an ihr Heimatland haben. Oder, in einer eher materialistischen Argumentation, sie wollten ihre Erbrechte nicht verlieren und zögen es deshalb vor, die Staatsangehörigkeit ihres Herkunftslandes zu behalten. Glaubt man solchen Gründen, so muß man sich wundern, wenn man einen Blick über die Grenze wirft, zum Beispiel nach Schweden. Dort war die Einbürgerungsrate 15 mal so hoch wie in der Bundesrepublik, obwohl *ius soli* gilt, das heißt, obwohl in Schweden geborene Kinder von Migrantinnen automatisch die schwedische Staatsangehörigkeit bekommen. Sie müssen sich also gar nicht erst einbürgern und fallen damit aus der Statistik heraus.

Angesichts solcher Unterschiede liegt der Schluß nahe, daß die Zahl der Einbürgerungen weniger in den "Eigenschaften" der eingewanderten Bevölkerungsgruppen zu suchen sind, als vielmehr in den Lebensbedingungen des Landes, in dem die Einwanderinnen leben. Die ersten Bedingungen, die zu untersuchen wären, sind das Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht und die Einbürgerungsrichtlinien.

### **Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht**

Bestimmend für den Erwerb der Staatsangehörigkeit ist immer noch das Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz (=RuStAG) vom 22.7.1913. Dieses Gesetz aus dem Kaiserreich, das auch in der Weimarer Republik galt, wurde zwar oftmals abgeändert, aber im Kern beibehalten, um mit einer Staatsangehörigkeit, die aus dem ehemaligen Deutschen Reich abgeleitet war, den Anspruch auf "die Wiedervereinigung des geteilten Deutschland" zu untermauern.

Abänderungen dieses Gesetzes wurden nicht nur nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg vorgenommen, sondern auch im Faschismus durch die Nürnberger Reichsgesetze, die bestimmten, daß Deutsche nur Personen mit "deutschem oder artverwandten Blut" sein konnten. Juden und Roma wurde auf dieser Basis die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit entzogen. (Die Nürnberger Reichsgesetze waren übrigens das erste Gesetzeswerk, das eine einheitliche deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit schuf. Vorher war die Staatsangehörigkeit der Länder bestimmend). Diese Bestimmung ist selbstverständlich nicht mehr in Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht enthalten. Aber es gibt leider Relikte aus diesem Gesetzeswerk im deutschen Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht, beispielsweise das Beamtenrecht. Während im alten Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht bis zur Weimarer Republik eine fünfjährige Tätigkeit als Beamter das RECHT auf Einbürgerung begründete, wurde im Faschismus der Beamtenstatus von der "Eigenschaft als Deutscher" abhängig gemacht. Diese Bestimmung gilt noch heute. So müssen beispielsweise in Hamburg Beamtenanwärterinnen unterschreiben, daß sie Deutsche sind und daß weder ihre Eltern noch ihre Großeltern längere Zeit im Ausland gelebt haben.

Ausgehend vom Fortbestand des Deutschen Reiches (vgl. Entscheidungen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts 36,1) wollte die Bundesrepublik das Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht dieses Reiches für alle Angehörigen des geteilten Deutschland aufrechterhalten. Staatsvolk der Bundesrepublik sind daher nicht "Bundesbürger", sondern "Deutsche" nach Art. 116 Grundgesetz.

*"Deutscher im Sinne des Grundgesetzes ist vorbehaltlich anderweitiger gesetzlicher Regelung, wer die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzt oder als Flüchtling oder Vertriebener deutscher Volkszugehörigkeit oder als dessen Ehegatte oder Abkömmling in dem Gebiete des Deutschen Reiches nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1937 Aufnahme gefunden hat."*

Die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit wird erworben durch Abstammung von deutschen Eltern, Legitimation und Adoption oder durch Einbürgerung. Nach dem gemäß § 4 RuStAG uneingeschränkt geltenden Abstammungsprinzip (Ius-Sanguinis-Prinzip) ist ein Kind unabhängig vom Ort der Geburt deutscher Staatsangehöriger, wenn ein Elternteil (bei unehelicher Geburt die Mutter) Deutsche(r) ist (§ 4 Abs. 1 RuStAG). Elemente des Territorialprinzips (Ius-Soli-Prinzips) gelten in Deutschland nicht.

Die im Grundgesetz erwähnte "deutsche Volkszugehörigkeit" wird im Paragraph 6 des Bundesvertriebenengesetzes näher definiert. Interessanterweise hält sich diese Definition eng an einen Erlaß des Reichsministers des Innern von 1939. Dort heißt es: Deutscher Volkszugehöriger ist, *"wer sich selbst als Angehöriger des deutschen Volkes bekennt, sofern diese Bekenntnis durch bestimmte Tatsachen, wie Sprache, Erziehung, Kultur usw. bestätigt wird."*



Im Bundesvertriebenengesetz von 1953 heißt es: Deutscher Volkszugehöriger ist, *“wer sich in seiner Heimat zum Deutschen Volkstum bekannt hat, sofern dieses Bekenntnis durch Merkmale wie Abstammung, Sprache, Erziehung, Kultur bestätigt wird.”*

Damit soll keineswegs gesagt werden, daß die Bundesrepublik ein faschistischer Staat ist oder daß es eine ununterbrochene Kontinuität vom Faschismus zur demokratischen Bundesrepublik gibt. Aber es scheint mir doch notwendig, darauf hinzuweisen, daß es gerade im Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht Elemente gibt, die aus dem Faschismus übernommen wurden und die von einer Mehrheit der machthabenden PolitikerInnen verteidigt werden, als gehörten sie zu den Errungenschaften der demokratischen deutschen Tradition. Man muß deutlich machen, daß diese Elemente ganz im Gegenteil mit einer demokratischen deutschen Tradition unvereinbar sind. Diese Tradition, die es auch gibt und auf die man sich heute gerne beruft, hatte eine ganz andere Vorstellung darüber, wie die Zugehörigkeit zum Deutschen Nationalstaat zu bestimmen sei. So einigte sich die Mehrheit der Paulskirchenversammlung (1848/49), die die erste demokratische Verfassung für eine deutsche Nation ausarbeitete, auf folgende Formulierung:

*“Jeder ist ein Deutscher, der auf dem deutschen Gebiete wohnt ...der Begriff Nation (ist) ein viel weiterer geworden als früher. Er hat sich völlig geändert, die Nationalität ist nicht mehr begrenzt durch die Abstammung und die Sprache, sondern ganz einfach bestimmt durch den politischen Organismus, durch den Staat.”*

Es ist an der Zeit, sich auf diese Traditionen zu besinnen, wenn es um die Demokratisierung der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft geht.

### Einbürgerung

EinwanderInnen, die schon Jahrzehnte in der Bundesrepublik leben, oder deren hier geborene Kinder, die keine deutschen Vorfahren vorweisen können, können eventuell über die Einbürgerung die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit erwerben. In den §§ 85-91 des Ausländergesetzes wird für junge Ausländer im Alter von 16 bis 23 Jahren, die sich seit mindestens 8 Jahren in der Bundesrepublik aufhalten und hier 6 Jahre Schulbesuch nachweisen können, und für Ausländer mit einem rechtmäßigen Aufenthalt von 15 Jahren und gesichertem Unterhalt ein Regelanspruch auf Einbürgerung zu erleichterten Konditionen geschaffen: Die Einbürgerung wird für diese Gruppen vom Aufwachsen im Land bzw. von der Aufenthaltsdauer, und nicht mehr von ethnisch-kultureller Assimilation, wie es bis dahin der Fall war (s. nächster Absatz), abhängig gemacht. Einbürgerungsansprüche wegen fünfzehnjährigem Aufenthalt müssen jedoch bis zum 31.12.1995 geltend gemacht werden.

Diese Einbürgerungsansprüche sind durch Auflagen eingeschränkt. Sie sind gebunden an: genügend Wohnraum, Sicherung des Unterhalts ohne

Inanspruchnahme öffentlicher Mittel, Nichtvorliegen von Ausweisungsgründen. Ein Ausweisungsgrund wird schon durch Ordnungswidrigkeiten im Straßenverkehr gesetzt (vgl. Franz 1990a:5).

Von diesen neuen Bestimmungen abgesehen, ist die Einbürgerungspraxis nach wie vor restriktiv. Die Einbürgerung liegt im Ermessen der Behörden und soll nur erfolgen, wenn ein öffentliches Interesse an der Einbürgerung besteht (2.2. Einbürgerungsrichtlinien von 1977=EinbRiLi). Zu den subjektiven Voraussetzungen der Bewerber gehören ihre "freiwillige und dauernde Hinwendung zu Deutschland", ihre "Einstellung zum deutschen Kulturkreis", die "Einordnung in deutsche Lebensverhältnisse" (3.1.1. EinbRiLi). (Rittstieg 1991: 1385).

In der Regel ist die zeitliche Mindestvoraussetzung ein 10-jähriger anrechenbarer Inlandsaufenthalt. Aber: *"Deutscher Wehrdienst während des letzten Weltkrieges und daraufhin gemeinsam mit Deutschen erlittene Gefangenschaft kann auf die Aufenthaltsdauer im Inland angerechnet werden"*. (3.2.1. EinbRiLi) Dagegen gilt jedoch: *"Inlandsaufenthalt überwiegend unter Ausländern ist in der Regel nicht auf die Aufenthaltsdauer anzurechnen."* (3.2.1. EinbRiLi) Wenn EinwanderInnen beispielsweise in einem Nationalitätenverein ihres Herkunftslandes sind, kann dies als Hindernis für die Einbürgerung gelten.

Viele Ausländer, die alle Voraussetzungen zur Einbürgerung erfüllen, verzichten auf sie, da von ihnen - im Gegensatz zu "volksdeutschen" Aussiedlern - die Aufgabe der bisherigen Staatsangehörigkeit verlangt wird (5.3.1. EinbRiLi).

Diese Gesetzgebung, die, wie wir gesehen haben, ausschließlich an der Idee der Nation als einer "ethnischen Einheit" orientiert ist, ist Ausdruck eines bestimmten, historisch dominanten Nationalbewußtseins und bestimmt wiederum dieses Nationalbewußtsein.

Auf dieses moderne Nationalbewußtsein und seinem Zusammenhang zur spezifisch deutschen Form des Rassismus will ich im folgenden kurz eingehen.

### Nation und "Ausländer" in der Bundesrepublik vor der Vereinigung

Es gehört (oder muß man sagen es gehörte?) zur westdeutschen Identität, den Rassismus und das hieß, den Antisemitismus überwunden zu haben. Die Gründung der Bundesrepublik ist als die Stunde Null konstruiert, als eine Wiedergeburt ohne Sünde. Daraus läßt sich u.a. die Tabuisierung nicht nur des Begriffs "Rasse", sondern auch des Begriffs Rassismus erklären.

Ganz im Gegensatz zu der immer wieder geäußerten Behauptung, nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg seien Diskussionen über die deutsche Nation tabu gewesen, weshalb jetzt diese Debatte um so heftiger hervorbreche, zeigt eine Analyse der größten deutschen Tageszeitungen (Rätzzel 1992a), daß diese Debatte immer stark präsent war. Die diskutierte Frage war: Kann es eine deutsche Na-

tion geben, wenn es zwei deutsche Staaten gibt? Die Antwort war, sowohl in der rechten wie in der liberalen Presse immer positiv. Unterschiedlich war die Art und Weise, wie die deutsche Nation definiert wurde. Im bis zu Beginn der achtziger Jahre dominanten Diskurs wurde die deutsche Nation zweifach bestimmt: Einerseits wurde an einer einheitlichen deutschen Nation trotz zweier deutscher Staaten festgehalten. Andererseits bildete sich eine deutsche Identität als spezifisch bundesrepublikanisch in Abgrenzung zu Ostdeutschen heraus. Diese wurde jedoch als die deutsche Identität überhaupt gedacht. Zur Illustration ein Zitat:

Wichtig sei, so Waigel, der heutige Finanzminister und damalige Vorsitzende der Christlich Sozialen Union (CSU) in einem Interview mit der Welt am 15. Januar 1987, ein *“natürliches, geläutertes Nationalbewußtsein, das die Bindung der Deutschen an ihre Nation und reichhaltige Geschichte dokumentiert.”* Dabei solle man nicht zu sehr *“rückwärts denken”*, denn dann werde verdrängt, *“was gerade die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den 40 Jahren an Aufbauarbeit, an Solidarität und Stabilität für den demokratischen Westen geleistet hat, wie groß ihre Beiträge zur Aufrechterhaltung der Freiheit und der Gewährleistung der Menschenrechte waren.”*

Die Bindung *“der Deutschen an ihre Nation”* soll sich also über die demokratischen Errungenschaften der Bundesrepublik herstellen. Damit sind Praxis und Erfahrungen der Ostdeutschen, die ja auch zur Nation gehören sollen, per definitionem ausgeschlossen.

Unter diesem Oberflächendiskurs eines *“Verfassungspatriotismus”*, oder einer *“Westorientierung”* wirkte und wirkt jedoch weiterhin der Abstammungsdiskurs. Denn nur darüber läßt sich, bei bestehender Gegensätzlichkeit im politischen, kulturellen und im Bereich des Alltagslebens, eine Einheit von West- und Ostdeutschen definieren.

Bis Mitte der achtziger Jahre kommen EinwanderInnen in den Diskursen über die deutsche Nation nicht vor, wie umgekehrt, in den Diskursen über EinwanderInnen, (*“Ausländer”*) die Gefährdung *“der deutschen Nation”* nur in den ausgesprochen rechten Diskursen vorkommt. (vgl. Rathzel 1992a). *“Ausländer”* werden aber als Verursacher sozialer Probleme wahrgenommen: sie besetzen Wohnungen, sie senken das Niveau in den Schulen, sie belasten das soziale Netz, sie machen den Hauptteil der Jugendkriminalität aus (Bedrohungsphantasien).

Rassistische Bilder existierten also durchaus. Sie sind nicht etwas, das plötzlich nach der Vereinigung emporkam. Sie artikulieren sich aber nicht im Zusammenhang mit einer *“nationalen Identität”*, sondern vor allem in Darstellungen der EinwanderInnen als *“soziale Zeitbombe”*.

Die Vorstellung von einer Überfremdung der *“deutschen Nation”*, der *“deutschen Identität”* betritt in der zweiten Hälfte der achtziger Jahre die

respektable politische Bühne, am prominentesten vertreten durch den bayerischen CSU-Politiker Stoiber, der vor einer "durchrassten Gesellschaft" warnt. Er wird später diesen Begriff zurücknehmen müssen.

### **Rassismen in der "vereinigten" Bundesrepublik**

Was geschieht, wenn das umgekehrte Spiegelbild aus seinem Rahmen heraustritt und, pochend auf sein Geburtsrecht, die Identität mit dem Gespiegelten einklagt? Seit der Vereinigung hat sich die Debatte um die Abschaffung des Asylrechts zur Eindämmung der "Asylantenflut" so zugespitzt, daß dieses Recht 1990 faktisch beseitigt worden ist. Es gilt nur noch für Flüchtlinge, die mit dem Flugzeug oder mit dem Schiff kommen, und zwar aus einem Land, in dem laut Definition der Bundesregierung Menschenrechtsverletzungen stattfinden. Gleichzeitig haben serienmäßige Angriffe gegen Flüchtlinge und ihre Unterkünfte, sowie gegen EinwanderInnen, zum Teil auch gegen Obdachlose und Behinderte über 20 Tote gefordert.

Nach den Pogromen in Hoyerswerda und dann wieder nach denen in Rostock wurde der neue Rassismus in Deutschland vorwiegend als ostdeutsches Phänomen behandelt<sup>1</sup>. Dabei wurden Ostdeutsche als demokratieunfähige, obrigkeitshörige Individuen dargestellt, die den erreichten zivilgesellschaftlichen Stand in Westdeutschland gefährdeten. Ein Autor in der taz ließ sich zu der Aussage hinreißen, Ostdeutsche müßten "umerzogen" werden, wenn sie gleichberechtigte Bürger sein wollten. (Vgl. Rätzzel 1992b)

Folgende Episode wurde in der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung geschildert:

Nach der Lichterkette in Frankfurt in der überfüllten U-Bahn: Ein Mann mit sächsischen Akzent sagt: *"Ich versteh' das nicht, alles wegen der paar Kanaken."* Ein Mitfahrer antwortet: *"Sei ruhig, oder Du steigst aus. Euretwegen müssen wir doch den ganzen Quatsch hier veranstalten."*

Die Lichterketten fanden jedoch statt, nachdem im westdeutschen Städtchen Mölln drei Türkinnen bei einem Anschlag auf ihr Wohnhaus verbrannt waren. Die Täter waren Jugendliche aus dem Ort. Unabhängig davon, wo rassistische Anschläge stattfinden, scheinen sie im Westen dazu zu dienen, sich der eigenen demokratischen, toleranten, westlichen Identität im Gegensatz zur östlichen Demokratieunfähigkeit zu vergewissern.

Das ist freilich nicht die ganze Geschichte. Proteste gegen Flüchtlinge, gegen die Einrichtung von Lagern (aber nicht im Interesse der Flüchtlinge), gegen "Asylmißbrauch" etc. sind im Westen ebenso auf der Tagesordnung wie im Osten. Die Bedrohungsvorstellung verschärft sich durch ihre Verknüpfung mit der Gegensätzlichkeit zwischen West und Ost: Gerade weil diese Probleme so groß sind, aber, da sie interne Probleme sind, gelöst werden müssen, muß

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<sup>1</sup> Wobei ich nicht bestreiten will, daß die Formen des Rassismus in Ostdeutschland andere, daß heißt auch, aggressiver und offener waren.

man sich, so ein großer Teil der veröffentlichten Meinung befreien von importierten Problemen. Ich denke, nachdem es das "Asylantenproblem" nicht mehr wird geben dürfen, da ja Maßnahmen dagegen getroffen wurden, wird sich die Bedrohungsvorstellung auf das "Problem der Illegalen" verschieben.<sup>2</sup>

In Ostdeutschland haben Angriffe auf MigrantInnen und Flüchtlinge eine andere Bedeutung. Solche Vorkommnisse wie in Rostock können als symbolische Akte des Eintretens in eine (nichtexistente) Gemeinschaft der Deutschen begriffen werden. "Ausländer raus", "Deutschland den Deutschen", lassen sich als Beschwörungen einer Klarheit lesen, die es nicht gibt. Wer ist Ausländer? Wer ist Deutscher? Indem man diese Klarheit proklamiert, reklamiert man, in Abgrenzung zu den "Besserwissis" das Erstgeburtsrecht. Man wird Vorreiter einer Rückbesinnung auf das "wahre Deutschtum." So läßt sich ein Vorsprung gegenüber den Westdeutschen gewinnen, die sonst auf allen Gebieten im vereinten Deutschland den Ton angeben und ihre Lebens- und Wirtschaftsweise den Ostdeutschen oktroyieren.

Vielleicht könnte man schlußfolgern: Abwehr und Ausgrenzung von Flüchtlingen und EinwanderInnen schaffen keine Einheit zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschen, auch keine fiktive. Sie sind vielmehr der Einsatz in der Auseinandersetzung darüber, was in Zukunft als deutsch gelten soll. Dabei wird im Westen eine scharfe Trennungslinie gezogen zwischen "Ausländern", mit denen man befreundet ist, ("Mein Freund ist Ausländer") weil man sie für integriert und für ökonomisch notwendig hält und "Asylanten", die nicht "zu uns" gehören und die uns "auf der Tasche" liegen.

Die politischen Reaktionen auf die Manifestationen des neuen Rassismus sind vor allem darauf gerichtet, das Problem einzugrenzen: als Problem der Ostdeutschen, als Jugendproblem, als Problem rechter Jugendlicher, von links als Problem staatlicher Politik. Was weniger im Blickpunkt steht, ist die ausgrenzende Grundstruktur der staatlichen Apparate und gesellschaftlichen Institutionen. Auf das Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht, das auf Abstammung beruht, wird in diesem Zusammenhang noch am häufigsten hingewiesen. Weniger Beachtung findet die Tatsache, daß Schulen, Medien, Verwaltungen,

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<sup>2</sup> Seit dem Sommer 1993 scheint sich die Entwicklung noch in eine andere Richtung zu verschieben: Jeden Tag wurden Wohnungen/Häuser in Brand gesetzt, in denen Türkinnen und Türken leben oder Geschäfte und Restaurants betreiben. Seit in der Nacht zum 28. Mai fünf türkische Frauen und Kinder bei einem Brandanschlag verbrannten scheinen die Rechten in der Offensive. Es fällt schwer zu glauben, daß dies alles spontane Angriffe einzelner, lediglich betrunkenere Jugendlicher sind. Die Gegendemonstrationen werden kleiner und (daher?) teilweise gewalttätig. Während der Ruf nach doppelter Staatsbürgerschaft lauter wird, titelt die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung am 8. Juni 1993: "*Neue Brandanschläge -Türken als Opfer und als Täter.*" Wann würde je bei einem Brandanschlag auf EinwanderInnen in dieser verallgemeinernden Form geschrieben: "Deutsche als Täter? Die zunehmende Gewalt der Rechts"extremisten" darf uns nicht blind machen für die Radikalisierung der rechten Mitte.

Rechtssprechung, Gewerkschaftsstrukturen usw. nach wie vor für eine ("ethnisch") homogene deutsche Nation eingerichtet sind.

Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen: Bilinguale Erziehung findet fast gar nicht und wenn, dann nur in sogenannten Übergangsklassen statt. Während man früher der Auffassung war, die Anwesenheit von Gastarbeitern sei nur ein "Übergang", ist man heute der Meinung, ihre Anwesenheit sei wohl nicht mehr zu vermeiden, jedoch sei ihre Andersartigkeit nur eine Frage des "Übergangs": Des Übergangs von einer unmöglichen Dopelexistenz (zwei Sprachen, zwei Kulturen) zu einer Existenz als "Regelfall", in einer (deutschen) Regelklasse.

Auf der politischen Ebene sind EinwanderInnen also nicht nur dadurch ausgeschlossen, daß sie nicht die gleichen Rechte haben wie die eingeborene Bevölkerung. Sie haben schon gar nicht das Recht, ihre spezifischen Bedürfnisse und Interessen durchzusetzen.

Wenn wir also zu unserer Ausgangsfrage zurückkommen, "BürgerIn werden in einem rassistischen Klima", so können wir wohl die These wagen, daß die geringen Einbürgerungsraten in der Bundesrepublik mit der Ablehnung zusammenhängt, die EinwanderInnen in der deutschen Gesellschaft erfahren: durch Gesetzgebung und die offizielle Politik, durch alltägliche Diskriminierungen bis hin zu gewalttätigen Angriffen, durch die Mißachtung und Leugnung ihrer spezifischen Bedürfnisse und ihrer spezifischen Lebensweise. So schreibt Zafer Senocak:

*"Nach wie vor sehen die Deutschen jedweder Gesinnung in uns die Fremden. Selbst wenn man in ihrer Sprache schreibt, bleibt man ein Exot, ein Eindringling, wird teils bewundernd, teils mißtrauisch inspiziert. Ein Türke liest den Koran, geht nicht in die Oper. Rassismus dieser Art braucht keine Keule, keine Nürnberger Gesetze, er wirkt intellektuell, über die Bilder im Kopf durch unsichtbare und deshalb schier unüberwindliche Zäune. Selbst diejenigen »Ausländer«, die in Deutschland geboren sind, werden auf diese Weise niemals in diesem Land ankommen, sie werden ihr Leben lang Zwischenräume ausfüllen, von Beruf Lückenbüßer sein, werden ihr Leben lang Fragen zum Leben zwischen den Kulturen gestellt bekommen."* (1992: 22)

Was kann getan werden, um diese unüberwindlichen Zäune durchlässig zu machen und schließlich einreißen zu können?

### **Mögliche Strategien für eine Einbürgerungspolitik**

Konflikte zwischen "Neuankömmlingen" (oder Gruppen, die als solche definiert werden) und "Alteingesessenen" (oder Gruppen, die als solche definiert werden) sind zu behandeln als *interne* gesellschaftliche Konflikte, für die *interne* Lösungsmechanismen gefunden werden müssen. Die gesellschaftlichen Strukturen und staatlichen Apparate müssen verändert werden, um der Tatsache gerecht zu werden, daß moderne Gesellschaften Einwanderungsgesellschaften sind. Aber diese notwendigen

Umstrukturierungsprozesse dürfen nicht über die Köpfe der Mehrheiten und Minderheiten hinweg stattfinden. Ohne erweiterte demokratische Handlungsmöglichkeiten kann den Konflikten ihre Sprengkraft nicht genommen werden. Gleiche Rechte für Minderheiten sind dazu nur die erste Voraussetzung. Das Ziel kann nicht konfliktlose Harmonie sein, sondern Strukturen, in denen die Fähigkeiten entwickelt werden, Konflikte auszutragen. Was wir brauchen ist ein neuer Begriff und vor allem eine neue Praxis von Zivilgesellschaft, in der auch das Aushandeln von Konflikten, die als ethnisch definiert werden, seinen Platz hat. Ohne ein Vorantreiben von Demokratisierungsprozessen, ohne die Entwicklung demokratischer Alternativen hat "Antirassismus" keine Chance.

Dieses neue Konzept der Zivilgesellschaft schließt auch ein neues Verhältnis zu den politischen Strukturen eines Landes ein, eine neu Definition der "Zugehörigkeit", die sich an der Präsenz in einem Staatsgebiet orientiert und nicht an der Staatsangehörigkeit (angehören zeigt ein Besitzverhältnis an, zugehören, ein gegenseitiges Verhältnis, das auch von dem Willen der Zugehörigen abhängig ist).

Aber diese Perspektive kann nicht unmittelbar verwirklicht werden. Solange EinwanderInnen Ausländer sind, wird dies als Argument benutzt werden können, sie vor die Alternative zu stellen: Assimilation oder "Rückkehr". Minderheiten, die als nationale Minderheiten anerkannt sind, haben in der Bundesrepublik nämlich durchaus besondere Rechte. So hat die dänische Minderheit in Schleswig-Holstein einen Anspruch auf parlamentarische Vertretung (also Ausnahme von der fünf-Prozent-Regelung) und ein Recht auf muttersprachlichen Unterricht. Diese Gesetzgebung spiegelt ebenfalls einen Aspekt einer demokratischen deutschen Tradition wieder, der heute weitgehend verschüttet ist. So hieß es in der Weimarer Verfassung, Artikel 113:

*"Die fremdsprachigen Volksteile des Reichs dürfen durch die Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung nicht in ihrer freien, volkstümlichen Entwicklung, besonders nicht im Gebrauch ihrer Muttersprache beim Unterricht, sowie bei der inneren Verwaltung und Rechtspflege beeinträchtigt werden."*

Die Minderheitenrechte, die die Bundesrepublik heute für deutsche Minderheiten in Polen, Rußland und anderen osteuropäischen Staaten fordert, könnten für die ethnischen Minderheiten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland übernommen werden. Die Regierung weigert sich jedoch, dies auch nur zu erwägen, weil sie diese Minderheiten nicht als legitime Bestandteile der Nation betrachtet.

Das gleiche gilt wohl mit Einschränkungen für die europäische Politik. Da werden von den Regierungen der Gemeinschaft an die Adresse der osteuropäischen Staaten immer wieder Minderheitenrechte als Voraussetzung für die Aufnahme in die EG formuliert. Sie sind aber nicht bereit, diese Rechte den Minderheiten in ihrem eigenem Land zu gewähren. Soweit mir bekannt ist,

gibt es in keinem Land der europäischen Gemeinschaft für die eingewanderte Bevölkerung das Recht auf muttersprachlichen Unterricht und auf Gebrauch der Muttersprache bei Verwaltung und Rechtspflege.

Die Diskussionen in der Bundesrepublik zum Thema Cityenneté sind sehr unterentwickelt. Sie konzentrieren sich zur Zeit auf eine Kampagne für "doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft". (Es ist kein Zufall, daß es im Deutschen einem Begriff wie *citoyenneté* gar nicht erst gibt, sondern das Bürgerrecht von vornherein mit der Zugehörigkeit zum Staat verknüpft ist. Das verweist darauf, daß die deutsche Nation nicht von Bürgern erkämpft, sondern mit "Blut und Eisen" vom (preußischen) Staat "zusammengeschweißt" wurde). Einwandererorganisationen, Ausländerbeauftragte und bekannte Einzelpersonen unterstützen diese Kampagne, die inzwischen über eine Million Unterschriften für die Einführung einer doppelten Staatsbürgerschaft gesammelt hat.

Angesichts der Situation in der Bundesrepublik ist eine solche Forderung natürlich zu begrüßen und es ist nur zu hoffen, daß sie eine Chance hat, verwirklicht zu werden. Es ist jedoch interessant, darüber zu reflektieren, warum gerade diese Forderung und nicht zum Beispiel die nach einem Rechtsanspruch auf die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit bei Geburt in der BRD der kleinste gemeinsame Nenner ist, auf den man sich einigen konnte.

Möchte man doch kontrollieren können, wer "deutsch" sein darf? Wenn es schon nicht mehr nur die Abstammung ist, die darüber bestimmt, so soll doch nicht jede Person "fremder Abstammung" in den Genuß dieses Privilegs kommen dürfen?

Immerhin, würde eine doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft offiziell ermöglicht (es gibt sie in der Realität in bestimmten Fällen ohnehin), so würde dies die Auflockerung des Prinzips bedeuten, daß der Bürger/die Bürgerin einem Staat als ausschließlicher Besitz angehört, die Perspektive einer neuen Form von "Zugehörigkeit" rückte näher. Und gerade das ist es, was die GegnerInnen einer doppelten Staatsbürgerschaft ins Feld führen: "Die Loyalität des Bürgers gegenüber seinem Staat" sei nicht mehr gegeben, wenn ein Bürger zwei Staaten angehören dürfe. Andersherum gelesen heißt das: Die Verfügbarkeit des Bürgers für den Staat ist nicht mehr gegeben. Nicht umsonst wird immer wieder die Beispiele des "kriegerischen Konflikts" und des Wehrdienstes angeführt.

Wie kommt es, daß man sich diese Frage der Loyalität viel seltener stellt, wenn es um die Europäische Gemeinschaft geht, die sich zumindest nominell zur Europäischen Union gemausert hat? Müßte es nicht auch diese Konflikte geben, wenn Menschen die Staatsbürgerschaft eines Landes haben, aber theoretisch in einem anderen Land ihr ganzes Leben verbringen? Verläßt man sich da vielleicht auf eine andere Loyalität, die nicht mehr eine nationale, über den Staat vermittelte ist, sondern eine die bestimmt ist durch das gemeinsame



Interesse an der Bewahrung der westlichen Reichtümer, der westlichen Lebensformen?

Die Furcht, die die Staaten ebenso wie große Teile der indigenen Bevölkerungen in Westeuropa umtreibt, ist nicht einfach die Angst vor den Fremden (Xenophobie), sondern die Furcht, zur Verantwortung gezogen zu werden für ihre Teilhabe an der Ausbeutung der sogenannten Dritten Welt. Es ist die Furcht, beim Wort genommen zu werden, wenn es um die Einlösung der Verheißungen der universellen Menschenrechte geht. Diese Rechte werden von den westlichen Demokratien in aller Welt eingeklagt. Sie sehen sich als diejenigen, die diese Rechte nicht nur erfunden haben, sondern auch zu ihrer Verteidigung berufen sind. Wo bleibt diese Berufung, wenn es um die Minderheiten in den eigenen Ländern geht?

Das sollten wir fragen und einklagen, wenn wir uns für die Bürgerrechte der EinwanderInnen in Europa einsetzen.

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POVZETEK

PRIDOBIVANJE DRŽAVLJANSTVA IN KSENOFOBIA

Nora Rätzhel

Prispevek uvodoma obravnava problem nizkega odstotka naturaliziranih priseljencev v Nemčiji (0,6 - 2,4% v letih 1988-1991) v primerjavi s Švedsko, kjer je odstotek naturaliziranih priseljencev kar petnajskrat večji. Na Švedskem rojeni otroci priseljencev so avtomatično švedski državljani in jih omenjena statistika niti ne zajema. Razloge za takšno stanje v Nemčiji išče avtorica v državni zakonodaji, v kateri vidi elemente fašistične miselnosti. Na splošno se seveda navajajo povsem drugačni razlogi: Turki naj bi odklanjali nemško državljanstvo, ker ne želijo izgubiti pravice dedovanja v Turčiji ipd. Druga oblika zavajanja javnosti so politične reakcije ob izbruhih novega rasizma (napadi na priseljence, požigi njihovih domov, smrtne žrtve...). Jedru problema se nemška politika izogne tako, da problem rasizma preprosto zreducira na problem vzhodnih Nemcev, problem desničarskih mladostnikov ipd. V resnici gre za problem temeljne strukture državnega aparata in družbenih ustanov. Nemčija se ponaša kot dežela zahodne demokracije in torej zaščitnica človekovih pravic, ki pa jih v odnosu do svojih priseljenjskih manjšin sama krši na vsakem koraku. Avtorica ugotavlja, da bi morale družbene strukture skupaj z državnimi aparati sprejeti dejstvo, da je moderna družba pač priseljenjska družba, in se temu dejstvu prilagoditi. Zagotovitev in izvajanje enakih pravic za etnične manjšine bi bil le prvi korak k temu cilju. Cilj pa ne more biti harmonična družba brez konfliktov, temveč družbena struktura, kakršna bi omogočala njihovo reševanje. Strah Zahodne Evrope pred priseljenci ni le ksenofobija v ožjem pomenu besede, torej strah pred tujci, temveč je predvsem zatajevana slaba vest, strah pred soodgovornostjo za izkoriščanje tretjega sveta in strah pred resnico o kršenju univerzalnih človekovih pravic v deželah, ki so "iznašle" ta pojem.

## **AT THE CROSSROADS OF MYTH AND REALITY - SERBS OVERSEAS**

Mirjana Pavlović

The history of the Serbian people is a tale of continuing migration. The most popular destinations for recent migrations which took place in this century were the countries which lay overseas.<sup>1</sup> With their vast unpopulated terrains and thriving industries, these countries offered excellent opportunities for work and a fresh start in life.

The emigration which began in the first decades of the twentieth century still continues today, while there is already a fourth generation of the earliest migrants of our people living in these distant continents. There were various reasons which led people to leave their homeland and to emigrate to other countries in the world (such as economic, political or a desire for adventure), and these reasons changed frequently. Until World War II, poorer farmers were emigrating from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lika and other parts of Croatia and Montenegro largely as a result of economic reasons. Towards the end of this wave of emigration and among the next ones there were larger numbers of emigrants who originated in Serbia. Immediately after World War II, political emigrants, refugees and displaced persons began to settle overseas, while the third wave of emigration was again partially made up of economic emigrants. An especially large number of young, skilled and scientific workers emigrated in the nineties and this phenomenon has become known as the "brain drain".<sup>2</sup>

By using a variety of sources and methods of research it is possible to study the complex problems of adaptation, acculturation, assimilation and the preservation of ethnic characteristics.<sup>3</sup> In this study we will try to establish the

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<sup>1</sup> The data on the way of life of emigrants in the USA are based on my research in Chicago in 1985, which was published in the book: M. Pavlović, *Srbi u Čikagu - problem etničkog identiteta*, Beograd 1990. and in the article: D. Drljača, *Svedenost imigrantske potkulture Srba u SAD*, Prilozi proučavanju etničkog identiteta, Zbornik radova Etnografskog Instituta SANU 20, Beograd 1989, 45-57. For information on Canada and Australia I used the following books: M. Lukić-Krstanović, *Srbi u Kanadi. Život i simboli identiteta*, Beograd 1992. and I. Kažić, *Srbi u Australiji*, Kambera 1990.

<sup>2</sup> In the period between 1990 and 1993 alone, 719 research workers went abroad. V. Grečić, *Ubrzani odliv stručnjaka kao posledica sankcija - uzorci, legitimitet, legalitet i posledice*. Naučni skupovi SANU knj. 76, Odeljenje društvenih nauka knj. 15, Beograd 1994, 137.

<sup>3</sup> For more details about the methods of researching the Serbs in diaspora see M. Pavlović, *Pojmouno-metodološki okvir proučavanja etničkog identiteta Srba u Bataniji*, Glasnik Etnografskog instituta Sanu 40, Beograd 1991, 131-145.

extent of these problems by relying mainly on personal narratives, recollections and the family traditions of emigrants themselves.<sup>4</sup>

Emigrants would preserve, shape and hand down in their recollections the stories of what befell them, their way of life, their expectations and the problems they encountered in the new world. As a consequence of this, they would compose personal and group portraits of Serbian emigrants in diaspora. Although biographies depict emigrants at different levels of education, social and economic status and ideological determination, the same processes of acculturation are emphasized in all of them. At first sight, these recollections depict an idealized and standardized model of emigrant life in general, but they also reveal real social relationships and processes of assimilation as well as the preservation of ethnic characteristics.

Most of the life changes that a person experiences come as the end of everything which is known and familiar, but at the same time this occurs as the beginning of the new and the unknown. Every emigrant leaving their home, country and homeland experiences an extinction of his life in the familiar world in which he was born, and the beginning or rebirth in a new, unknown and different one. Spontaneous narratives about the emigrants' life as conceived by some great dramatists reveal the structure of the rite of passage.<sup>5</sup> The heroes of the emigrants' recollections move from one world to another; from a Serbian, predominantly traditional culture to the countries with a "western"<sup>6</sup> way of life, from one social status to another. By making a decision to search for happiness in another country, emigrants who are integrated into their mother culture as ordinary people pass through a phase of separation, then one of marginalisation as travellers, then a phase of aggregation as strangers in the new country, and lastly as emigrants becoming integrated members of a new society or new stable state. The transition from each phase to the next is noticeably characterised by certain rituals and symbols which come across as key moments of the story. For example, through the packing of belongings and the farewell, the ordinary man becomes a traveller in a crowd of different, unknown people or among a profusion of skyscrapers; the traveller himself becomes a stranger.

### **Original State: an Integrated Member of the Mother Culture**

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<sup>4</sup> Further reading about life stories as sources for studying ethnicity can be found in: M. Lukić-Krstanović, *Značaj izvora u proučavanju etničkog identiteta - Srbi u Butanji*, Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU 40, Beograd 1991, 145-161 and M. Lukić-Krstanović i M. Pavlović, *Iseljenička priča - mit i realnost*, Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU 38, Beograd 1989, 69-83.

<sup>5</sup> E. Lič, *Kultura i komunikacija*, Beograd 1983. 118, 119.

<sup>6</sup> In the recollections of emigrés who have migrated to overseas countries, the term "American culture" is often used beside the term "western model", and both terms signify the way of life favoured by the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) culture, and which has particularly good material and technical conditions.

The introductory parts of the emigrants' life stories describe the problems in the homeland, the lack of money, unemployment and housing problems which are pitted against the preconceived idea of the benefits of life in the new world.

Because migration is familiar phenomenon in our country, the lives of all generations are permeated with the stories of relatives, friends or acquaintances who departed in search of happiness abroad. Their accomplishments in the foreign country are retold back in the homeland, and so stories such as the "uncle from America" or "our dollar millionaire"<sup>7</sup> are gradually constructed. The distant and untouchable world reached the homeland through the stories told by emigrants who returned home at the beginning of this century, and more recently via the mass media.

The basic characteristic of the stories of returning people was one of an idealized depiction of life overseas. Success (usually material) freedom and democracy, as well as happiness were emphasized in the stories, while accounts of the problems that they encountered were often suppressed. As a result of this, those remaining in the homeland tended to believe that There everybody lived in conditions of abundance and freedom, where they had jobs, enough money and no problems, and if there were any problems then they were solved much more easily.

*" Even when I was a kid I listened to stories about Better world, where gold glittered everywhere, and everyone had a job and a house, where everyone did what they wanna do. I dreamed of going There, to get rich."<sup>8</sup>*

In these ways, the countries overseas gradually became seen as an imaginary, improved, paradise world. It was a world about which people dreamed and fantasized, one which they wished and longed for.

In actual fact, there were other sources of information which were also available to future emigrants. But these also presented a standardized and idealized model, this time only in a negative sense. These sources depicted the countries overseas as an "aimless area", an "empire of violence and evil" and a "world where the dollar ruled, changed and subjugated people".

*" Back in my homeland I didn't want to listen to old Mihajlo who was telling me not to go to Canada, because of 'big ices' of that place."<sup>9</sup>*

The mythical characteristics of the distant and, for the majority of compatriots, unreachable world overseas, are also emphasized by the choice of terms which were applied to it. These terms included words such as: There,

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<sup>7</sup> For a description of the way in which the homeland perceives the emigrés see M. Lukić-Krstanović, *Putujoče priče iz daleka - novine i članci o iseljenicima*, Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU 42, Beograd 1993, 129.

<sup>8</sup> Taken from an interview given by M. Pejović, 1899 Rjike Cmojevića, in Chicago from 1980

<sup>9</sup> *Gorka emigracija*, Jedinstvo 27.6.1958, Toronto.

Distance, Over the Big Pond, the Other World, which are, in our traditional culture, frequently used as euphemisms for the world beyond.

Listening to all the pros and cons<sup>10</sup> of going away, our emigrant hero decided to try his luck in the new world. From being an ordinary man he therefore became a traveller.

### **Phase of Separation: the Traveller**

For every man, the moment when he made up his mind to emigrate was a crucial one. Several rituals typified the phase of separation among which were the procedure of receiving a visa for emigration, the farewell taking from close family and friends, the packing of belongings and then the voyage itself.

Applying for and obtaining a visa clearly signifies that the move from one world and way of life to another one has begun. An emigrant, although as yet only in administrative terms, faces a new environment. He must speak a different language, pass tests, interviews, fill in forms and undergo medical examinations. All that he experiences separates him from his usual way of life and from his acquired habits.

These events are followed by the saying of farewells to friends and relatives, which is usually characterised by discrepancies between the emotions and the behaviour of the participants. The departing traveller often behaves in an opposite way to those who are staying behind. Relatives, friends and acquaintances actively participate in his departure. The emigrant pays them last visits, where they talk about plans and say good-bye to one another. They give him pieces of information and advice about getting accustomed to his new surroundings, or messages for those family or friends who are already there. All this is accompanied by hopes and promises; both on the part of the travellers and of those who are staying behind, which express their desire to maintain their relationships and their hope that nothing important will change. However, everyone is aware that everything is changing. The feelings, moods and behaviour of the travellers and of those who are staying are in complete disharmony. Everybody is in an over-pronounced good humour; they laugh and tease each other, although in reality they are trying to hold back their tears. The shedding of tears was often strictly forbidden because they were seen as a sign of bad luck. In some of the rituals of departure, we can even observe some elements which would have been present when a man was seen off to war. For example, the nearest relatives would never see the traveller off from beyond the threshold, believing that because of this they would see him sooner. Money was given to the traveller, even if it was their very last dinar. They would tell him that he needed it more than they, that he would have to

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<sup>10</sup> Potential emigrés are always influenced by a push-pull factor, but the emigration will happen only if there is the belief, albeit unrealistic, that the emigré can solve his problems in a new country.

accustom himself to his new surroundings while they were all together and could manage without it.

Packing is the next important ritual of the separation procedure. The emigrant's rational intention to pack only what is necessary and as few items as possible is rapidly replaced by an irresistible need to take a part of his old life and world with him to the other, as yet unknown one. So it is that photos, records, favourite books and childhood albums all find their way into the suitcase. A million useless little things, but important symbols of the old way of life, of childhood and youth.

The majority of emigrants experience all these preparations as a kind of nightmare. *"Why are they making so much fuss, it's nothing"*. Their decision is being noticeably minimized by themselves, and in their opinion maximized by those who are staying, especially by parents and older people.

The emigrant finally leaves. The majority of older emigrants describe the voyage as a very difficult experience. They conjure up pictures of small, dirty transport ships and melancholic people suffering from a combination of seasickness and fear of the forthcoming challenges.<sup>11</sup>

A few decades later, the journey by plane to distant Australia was much faster and more comfortable, but still long enough to allow the traveller's whole life to pass through his mind.

*"O God, I don't need this, I left all my people, family, friends. Who knows will I manage. Why are you so dejected, you are going to the Better place. Do you want to work whole life for 200 DM as an engineer and subtenant, said some other person in him. OK, there's no reason to be afraid. I was an excellent student, good at my work, I will make new friendship There and see old ones when I return for my summer holiday."*<sup>12</sup>

At the end of their journey, the emigrants see the new world, which has been described to them in magical terms, for the first time. Because they nurture the belief that this is the end of their difficulties, doubts and dilemmas, the old dream was able to resurface in their minds.

*"I ran out on the deck and stood started in front of the magnificent sight. First sunrays were falling on the silhouette of the city, which we could discern in the darkness in front of us. On the dark blue sky in the background, golden crowns of the highest building shined first. That golden shine was slowly spilling down the outline of a giant city, as a lace with enormous dimensions."*<sup>13</sup>

Or

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<sup>11</sup> *Put u Njurok*, Glasnik Srpskog akademskog kluba (SAK) god. 14, br.1, February 1995, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Taken from an interview with Nikola Jovanović in Belgrade 1991.

<sup>13</sup> *Put u Njurok*, op. cit.

*"We were landing. Luxurious houses with spacious gardens were almost within my reach. I hoped that soon one of those will be mine. Excitement was reaching its peak and I could hardly wait to get out of the metal bird which became terribly cramped."*<sup>14</sup>

With thoughts and feelings such as these our hero bravely stepped out into the Other world.

### **Marginal Phase: the Stranger**

Dreams rarely come true. Reality is a different, even more painful plane than that of dreams. By leaving the world of dreams and of the imagination in which mystery exists, and by stepping into the real world, emigrants make the first step in confronting the imagined and the experienced. They expected the new world to change their lives for the better, but in fact what reality offered them was often much worse.

At the beginning of the century, the emigrants arriving in new countries found themselves in a country whose language they could not understand. From rural regions they had come to a city, to an urban environment where they had different rules which were unknown to them. In the homeland they had been the heads of their households, which did not necessarily signify that they were well-off, but they lived in their own houses and among their own families. In the new country, everything was different.

*When we arrived to America, labels were placed on our chests, similar to those that are pasted on baggage to prevent from losing it, we were put in boarding houses with unknown people, assigned to do works they picked for us and were given names which, at the beginning, we couldn't even pronounce."*<sup>15</sup>

While the emigrants were proud of their traditions and knowledge, the people they encountered in the Promised Land were only interested in their physical strength and determination. That is why most of the emigrants felt that their first days were a terrible tragedy; they felt that they were no longer people; from being someone they had become nobody.

Several decades later, in the era of technical and communications progress, experts from the cities were leaving for other countries with the same dreams and experiencing the same uncertainty and insecurity. The culture and the values with which they had been brought up also failed to provide them with enough security. The countries upon which they had founded their aspirations were differently organized societies. They had to accept the new game rules, and accustom themselves to a different mentality, because their goal was not

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<sup>14</sup> Nikola Jovanović, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup> Ž. Ristanović, *Generacija koja odlazi*, Spomenica Srpskog naroda saveza (SNS) 1901-1951, Pittsburgh 1951, 225.



only to survive in the “jungle of the unknown”, but to become equal participants in the way of life on the “new asphalt”. They offered knowledge and expertise, but because of difficulties in understanding and different attitudes and approaches to work, they did not succeed in making good use of it. Unexpressed knowledge is ignorance. They were thus forced to reconcile themselves to a degrading position.

*“I finished university in Yugoslavia and had knowledge and need to talk about everything, to read, to write, to give and look for advice and comments. I was growing up, developing, studying and preparing. With my going away I was reduced to the level of a small kid and for a long time two persons lived in me: adult Milojka, educated woman and immature Millie to whom people were talking slowly and in a raised voice, as though I was hard-of-hearing.”<sup>16</sup>*

Everything that follows this period in the biographies is a description of the stage of adjustment, full of suffering, of constant self-denial and a merciless need to prove all their abilities. Their initial excitement and their desire for a better way of life which characterized the first period of adaptation, was soon replaced by a sense of hopelessness. The wonderful new country became a country of terrible experiences.

This imagined paradise world, when confronted with reality, gradually began to acquire similarities with descriptions of the mythical underworld, with a kind of hell or inferno. In the memories of the first emigrants these mythical characteristics were brought to life by the very real and terrible heat in the steel smelteries where they worked and with the descriptions of starved, sweaty and dirty people in the mines, all of which are familiar scenes from depictions of hell. In subsequent stories, these images of hell became associated with the work which the emigrants carried out in cramped rooms with grey walls; places which were filled with computers but purged of emotions.

*“I look at these new boys and girls that are coming and I am glad they are here, but there is still some water from the Sava in them. They will yet realize that this is a huge market of knowledge, on which there is always a place for the better and brighter ones.”<sup>17</sup>*

In addition to this, the emigrants had to face the prejudices of the new environment which rarely welcomed the newcomers with any sort of grace. The hardened ideas of the dominant population considered a lower social position to be an appropriate rank for foreigners.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Milojka, *U pitanju je jezik*, Glasnik SAK god 14, br.2, April 1985, 14.

<sup>17</sup> B. Seničić, *Drama prvoklasne ergele*, Naša borba 22.6.1995, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Canada, USA and Australia passed through different phases of immigration policies (from planned assimilation, through the notion of the “melting pot”, to multiculturalism and cultural

As reality offered fewer and fewer incarnations of their previous dreams, the problems in the homeland which had caused them to leave were becoming less significant or terrible. The emigrants increasingly reflected on the beautiful sights of homeland life, affectionate parents, caring relatives, the solidarity of their friends or hanging out on the street corner, Joca's best parties, aunt Mica's *slatko od jagoda* (strawberry candy). Nostalgia began to take root in their minds.

However, to give up, to admit defeat and return home was out of the question. The heroes of these stories had to decide to pass through the maelstrom of reidentification in their new surroundings, determined to succeed by the models or rules of that new environment. So from being strangers they became emigrants.

### **Phase of Aggregation: the Emigrant**

Emigrants departed to the new world as individuals with already formed habits, and arrived in a different environment which wanted to change and adjust them completely. Years passed, the newcomers became accustomed to their new surroundings, they found appropriate employment, improved their material position, learned to function as people in the new environment. Some of them succeeded in breaking through the boundaries of the reigning social hierarchy and obtained a satisfactory social status. But they were not completely content.

*"And when you think that you've seen everything, that nothing can no longer surprise you, that you have adapted completely, that you speak language perfectly, that you live well and comfortably almost as you wanted to, you suddenly start to do strange and ridiculous things. Amazed by yourself you ask from relatives for tapes of folk music which you never listened to, more often you search for news about Yugoslavia in newspapers or you take from friends our old newspapers. After very long time you are again reading our books, bothering kids with tails from our history, making Ellie to prepare stuffed sauerkraut leaves and you firmly decide to spend next vacation in the homeland."<sup>19</sup>*

Thus the good and the bad in the emigrants' biographies gradually changed places. While in the homeland and during the journey, the countries of destination represented a symbol of good and prosperity, and the homeland a symbol of poverty, the reality of life in the promised new world became the symbol of what was bad, and their homeland of the good. At that level, an ordinary emigrants' story began the change into the emigrant's myth.

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pluralism), but the rules of those societies always, more or less visibly, favoured values of the Anglo-Saxon population.

<sup>19</sup> *Kaburim*, Glasnik SAK god. 14, br.2, April 1985; *Badnje večje*, Glasnik SAK god. 14, br. 2, April 1985.

In order to avoid these feelings of insecurity and restlessness, emigrants began to associate with their countrymen.<sup>20</sup> An encounter with something familiar or belonging to the homeland symbolically indicated the moment of liberation. *"I've seen our countryman!"*; *"In the city through I heard a Serbian word!"*; *"While I was approaching our estate sounds of a homeland song reached me!"*. The consequence of this was that the narrative of the emigrants gradually acquired the form of the ethnical story.

### The Colony

It is hard to imagine an emigrant biography which does not emphasize the colony; that oasis in which the smells and atmosphere and style of their transplanted inheritance flourishes. On the new continents, the first generations of emigrants built our churches, organized Serbian schools, folklore groups and sports clubs. Traditions led us into a hermetic world which represented togetherness, unity and harmony. They unveiled a rediscovered paradise to us.

As a sort of reconstructed homeland, the emigrants' environment offers recognizable cultural elements. In the colony, in the emigrant families, at informal gatherings and official celebrations, elements of the homeland culture were cherished and emphasized, especially those which were considered to be ethnical symbols, such as the language, the food, beliefs, customs, music, and elements of the material culture.<sup>21</sup>

*"Once in this neighbourhood you could hear only Serbian language; here we didn't forget our customs, we celebrate all our holidays together. There are our barrooms here, too, and my kids like ćevapčići (small grilled meatballs). There is nothing that I like more than meat of the lamb on picnic or kuvana rakija (boiled brandy) on Christmas Eve in a church hall."*

Sights and sounds in the colony carry on highlighting, emphasizing and glorifying everything that is seen or felt to be traditionally Serbian. In this way, the emigrants' memories reveal to us a code by which the colony progressed from the chaos of adaptation, by recreating the security of the homeland, to praising and glorifying the Serbian inheritance. Thus it becomes something more; the "Serbian village" or "Little Serbia" in the foreign land represents the code by which the myth of the emigrants evolves into the ethnic myth.

The emigrants' environment, when it is strengthened by myth, represents not only a resurrection of the homeland, but it also confirms and inspires

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<sup>20</sup> In the multitechnical reality of the countries researched, the majority of emigrants create their own cultural and ethnical oasis-colonies.

<sup>21</sup> Ethnic symbols are the more or less visible characteristics of one group which are believed, from one point of view, to be indicators of the unity of that group, and from the opposite point of view, to be the factors that separate the group from all other ethnic groups.

confidence in the self-identification of the group and the individual. This is largely because the emigrants in their new surroundings were not judged as less worthy simply because of their poor material situation but rather because the environment very often treated them as unusual, strange and different newcomers.

However, the colony is not merely a petrified collection of homeland values; it is also a real life environment. Irrespective of the emigrants' wishes, the inharmonious elements of the dominant culture penetrate this environment and confront the old, sought-for, traditional Serbian elements. At the same time, the emigrants themselves adapt numerous elements of Serbian culture to elements in the new environment which they have accepted, or they simultaneously combine elements of both cultures. In this way, the colony gradually integrates with the new culture.

In the everyday life of the emigrant, many of the cultural elements from the homeland gradually lose their place. English is spoken at home, Serbian meals are rarely on the menu because they are too spicy, salty and heavy. Our music is listened to only at larger gatherings, and even then among other popular music. The emigrant increasingly accepts the way of life and the values of the dominant society, and returns to traditional ones only during holidays.

All these changes in the emigrants' way of life are not accentuated, they are often hushed up in their confessions, but they are not kept secret. The changes are even more apparent in their everyday life. Consequently, emigrants construct their own world; the world of the American Serbs which their children can and want to identify with. This is a transitional phase in the process of accepting America as the homeland and feeling that the new environment is the environment to which they completely belong. Some emigrants experience these feelings themselves, while others find it in their children.

### **The New State**

*"When my youngest grandson pulls my moustache and says: my djed (grandfather) Marc, I think I am Marc. This America I builded, too, in it's skyscrapers is my and my friends' sweat.*

Or

*"Hey Pit, how are you? How are Elle and kids. Fine, see you."*

*"That's it, they call me Pit. I am an American anyway. That's all right, future of my children is here."*

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This essence of emigrants' biographies is mythical. Randomly chosen scenes from the emigrant's life which describe the transition from one status to

another, from one culture to another, tend to revolve around the central oppositions of good/evil, heaven/hell, desired/unwanted, power/helplessness, and homeland/foreign. The concept of the transitional phase is central to the emigrants' narratives, when heroes revive their inheritance, which they want to avoid more and more, to make the transition slower or to alleviate it in the search for a true identity (social and ethnic).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> By the term ethnical identity, we understand the identity of the group which its members create on the basis of a series of symbolic notions about their common ethnic characteristics (language, territory, elements of material culture, beliefs and others) and/or others on the basis of those characteristics which identify them as members of the group.

POVZETEK

NA RAZKRIŽJU MED MITOM IN REALNOSTJO -  
SRBI V ČEZOCEANSKIH DEŽELAH

Mirjana Pavlović

Izseljenci svoje usode, način življenja, pričakovanja in probleme v novem svetu, oblikujejo in prenašajo v svojih spominih tudi tako, da ustvarjajo osebne in skupinske portrete srbskih izseljencev v čezoceanskih deželah. Na prvi pogled spomini predstavljajo idealiziran in tipiziran model izseljenskega življenja nasploh, vendar pa odkrivajo tudi realna družbena razmerja, procese asimilacije, oz. ohranjanja etničnosti.

Srž izseljenskega življenjepisa je mitična. Nasprotja dobro/slabo, raj/peklo, zaželjeno/nezaželjeno, moč/nemoč, svoje/tuje, se kakor okrog jedra nizajo skrbno izbrani prizori iz priseljenskega življenja in opisujejo prehod iz enega statusa v drugega, iz ene kulture v drugo. Drugače kot običajni ljudje, ki so integrirani v domači kulturi, izseljenci skozi fazo separacije - potnik, marginalno fazo - tujec, do faze agregacije - izseljenec, postajajo integrirani člani nove družbe.

Pri iskanju prave identitete (družbene - etnične) postaja mit pomembno sredstvo komunikacije med predniki in potomci, izseljenci in novo sredino. Model izseljenskega življenjepisa skozi labirint mitičnega in realnega, nudi najprej rešitev v glorifikaciji izseljenske skupnosti, v poudarjanju posebnosti in vrednot lastne etnične skupine. Na naslednji ravni pa izseljenska pričevanja odkrivajo, da dileme naše/njihovo ni. Možnost soglasja se odpira v nastajanju posebne kulture ameriških Srbov.

# **FROM EAST TO WEST**

## **JEWISH MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES**

(1881 - 1914)

Karin Schulz

### **Life in Russia and on the run**

The year 1881 marks a turning point in Jewish history, comparable in its consequences only to the destruction of the two temples by the Babylonians and the Romans in Jerusalem, or to the Jewish expulsion from Spain in 1492.

The relatively liberal reign of Alexander II (1855-1881) lasted for a period of 26 years. In March 1881 his assassination, which was said to have been organised by Jewish revolutionaries, changed the lives of Russian Jews within a matter of weeks. A more hardline policy towards all minorities, in particular towards the Jews, was quickly developed. Soon after his accession, Alexander III (1881-1894) proclaimed the enforcement of the following measures:

That one third of Russian Jews should be forced to emigrate, one third should undergo compulsory baptism and the remaining third would be starved to death. Nowhere were they safe from pogroms, persecution or unfair treatment. The reigns of Alexander III and his successor Nicolas II (1894-1917) were characterised by relentless anti-Jewish policies.

Previous decades had seen a continuous stream of emigration to America. Between 1820 and 1870, about 7500<sup>1</sup> Jews left Russia each year and around 40,000 followed every year in the decade from 1870 to 1880. Of the approximately 5 million Jews living in the former USSR in 1880, more than 2 million had emigrated by the start of World War I. The majority of them crossed the German Reich to reach America via the ports on the North Sea. In 1893, for instance, 40,000 Eastern Europeans passed through the German Reich of which 88% were Jews. 90% of these were bound for the United States. Whereas Palestine held a strong attraction in terms of religion, America remained the most rational choice. The popular saying "Next year in Jerusalem" became "Next year in America".

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<sup>1</sup> Themstrom (Ed.): *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, London 1980, p. 571.

The Eastern European Jews' living conditions had never been easy. Since 1791, settlements had been restricted by law to specific areas which became known as the "Settlement Pale".<sup>2</sup> This area covered about 386,000 square miles where 11% of the population was made up of Jews compared to 4% of the total population. Various laws barred them from taking part in agricultural activities and there were entire professions from which they were excluded as well as schools and universities which made entry difficult. They were forced to seek jobs in urban environments but were not permitted to obtain civil service positions. Because business and trade demanded a certain amount of mobility, there was lively inland migration. The continuous growth in population and forced specialisation in certain trades, craft and businesses meant that sources of income and business locations became scarce. More and more Jews became "Luftmenschen" or "dreamers" whose survival depended not on a regular income but on daily jobs, on an increasing dependence on miracles and strange coincidences.

The Russian government in St. Petersburg made a bureaucratic division of the population into natives and foreigners. This measure was supposed to prevent foreigners from randomly moving and settling in the Russian provinces. The Jews were one of the seven official foreign peoples. For no other population group were there so many special laws. As a consequence of this, Jews and Gentiles in Eastern Europe lived in two almost entirely separate worlds connected only by very loose social relations. In May 1882 "Temporary laws" were passed which were initially applicable only in the settlement area but which were gradually applied to an increasingly broad region. They were abolished only during the revolution in 1917. These laws determined among other things a Jew's place of residence and work, but in practical terms they constituted a permanent pogrom. In villages and small towns a residence permit could be obtained only by those who had been in possession of one before May 3, 1882. All others had to move to the towns. However, even there they were subject to further restrictions and harassment. This enforced migration to the towns quickly resulted in overcrowding. In Tchernigov for example, north of Kiev, the population rose from 5,000 to 20,000 within 18 months. It is not hard to imagine what this development meant in terms of living and working conditions. In 1901, a Zionist relief organisation in Minsk which dealt with the effects of the pogroms received the following letter: *"To be beaten and robbed is without doubt very painful, but to live in anticipation of beatings and violence is equally unpleasant. Who knows, maybe the troubles will spread to our areas too?"*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Term for certain administrative units in Russia in which Jews were allowed permanent settlement. The first law was passed in 1791, legal base was the law of June 23, 1794.

<sup>3</sup> Zionistischer Hilfsfond (Ed.): *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 vols., Cologne 1910, p. 72. The Zionistische Hilfsfond had installed a commission to research the pogroms.



With external tensions and the daily struggle for survival, the Jews were nevertheless able to maintain their spiritual orientation through life in the shtetl, which is today often recalled in nostalgic terms.<sup>4</sup> The shtetl was a highly formalized society, whose organization was determined by Jewish rites. A pious Jew, for example, had to observe 613 laws. Bound together by their common religion and rituals, by their shared language and fate and the unspeakable poverty in which they lived, locked into an outmoded economic system, the “Ostjuden”, or the Eastern Jews<sup>5</sup> of the shtetl lived and thought in pre-modern and pre-bourgeois terms. Only very slowly did the worldly Zionist and socialist impulses of the European Enlightenment thinkers, the so-called “Berliners”<sup>6</sup>, find their way into the bigger towns.

Russian law did not recognize emigration as a legal procedure, although at times this policy was modified so as to encourage the exodus of the Jews. Nicholas Pavolovich Ignatiev, Minister of the Interior, proclaimed that the western borders were open to everybody who wanted to leave Russia. Statistically, emigration via Libau and Odessa remained insignificant, although for some years this route was propagated and supported by the government. Due to the high cost of a passport, 90% of Jewish emigrants crossed the border without valid papers. A passport cost 25 roubles; 15 for the passbook, 3 for the visa and 7 for expenses and bribes. It also cost a great deal of time.<sup>7</sup> The application procedure at the local police station took about 2 to 3 months, if no unforeseen complications, such as a birth or death, arose.

### **At the border**

The ports of the Baltic Sea were unsuitable for regular passenger traffic due to frequent ice, little freight traffic with America and the considerably longer distance (Hamburg/Bremen - New York = 3600 nautical miles, Libau - New York = 4400 nautical miles). Therefore, the refugees had to cross the German Reich in order to get to the large ports on the North Sea, which in turn was very convenient for the shipping companies. The so-called “Old Immigration” from Northern, Western and Central Europe was decreasing rapidly and companies urgently needed more passengers to fill the steerage decks. Since 1882, entry into the United States was permitted only to immigrants who passed a health examination and who could present evidence of sufficient funds to support

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<sup>4</sup> Usually, the shtetl was a small town with predominantly Jewish population in the “Pale of settlement”.

<sup>5</sup> The term “Ostjude”, Eastern Jew or Eastern European Jew, was widely used only with the beginning of World War I after direct contacts with the Jews in Eastern Europe.

<sup>6</sup> After Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), famous philosopher, literary critic, bible translator and reformer. He was the first to argue the possibility of a union between Judaism and modern culture.

<sup>7</sup> Around the turn of the century 1 rubel roughly equalled 2 marks; 4 marks brought 1 dollar. 200 marks per person had to be budgeted for travel expenses from Russia to the United States.

themselves. Those who were “sorted out”, who were rejected, had to be returned to their country of origin at the expense of the shipping companies. Despite passport, cash and ticket controls at the port of departure, there were always some people who were rejected. The control system was simply not thorough enough. After a cholera epidemic in Hamburg in 1892 and several occurrences of typhus in some Russian provinces, German shipping companies discontinued immigrant transport. Steerage service, however, did not cease entirely but was continued by foreign companies.

Tough negotiations about the reopening of the border ensued. The “Hamburg-Amerika-Line” and the “North German Lloyd” steamship company reported losses of about 9 million marks and the railroad company lost around 2 million marks. The following agreement was made: the two German shipping companies had to establish control stations on the Prussian border with Russian Poland, in Ruhleben (near Berlin), in the ports, as well as registration stations on the Austrian border. They also had to carry the expenses for maintenance and operation of the stations, for food, lodging, medical care, etc. In addition, the stations had to be fitted with special rooms, and they had to be close to railroad stations. It was impossible for any emigrant to enter Prussia lawfully without passing through one of the control stations, all of which were under direct management of the two German companies interested in American immigration. Any other steamship company desiring to sell passage tickets to the United States was forced not only to obtain a government license, but to agree to have its passengers enter the country via a control station. Only companies belonging to a pool of steamship companies under German control had licenses to sell tickets in Prussia.

By the time of World War I, 14 of these transit stations had been established. Their main purpose was to ensure compliance with US immigration laws and thereby reduce the number of rejections at US customs. A combination of hygiene and commercial enterprises characterized these stations. For the emigrant, however, they were just another obstacle on their troublesome journey to America. And when the immigrants' complaints finally reached the public, representatives of the shipping companies went on an inspection tour in 1906. According to their reports, though, except for the station in Ruhleben, they did not find any evidence that would substantiate the complaints. These stations, the report maintained *“protect Germany by their function as collecting points, which channel the stream of immigrants and by isolating the immigrants to avoid contaminating the German population with the germs of disease. We have already stated this as a reason and pointed out, that in our opinion, it is detrimental to present the stations in such a way that the emigrants want to avoid them by all means. Quite on the contrary, the stations should be designed in such a way that they are sought out by the emigrants and considered a place of shelter. The more successful this strategy, the more we can confine the threat*

to Germany to the ports. Secondly, the stations are protective establishments for the businesses and the emigrants.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1894, Mary Antin and her mother and sisters, all of whom came from Polotzk, a small town in northwest Russia, arrived at the border station Eydtkuhnen. Her description of the station is far from positive: “*There was a terrible confusion in the baggage-room where we were directed to go. Boxes, baskets, bags, valises, and great, shapeless things belonging to no particular class were thrown about by porters and other men, who sorted them and put tickets on all but those containing provisions, while others were opened and examined in haste. At last our turn came, and our things, along with those of all other America-bound travellers, were taken away to be steamed and smoked and other such processes gone through. We were told to wait till notice should be given us of something else to be done.*”<sup>9</sup>

The emigrants from Eastern Europe usually reached the border in a state of physical and mental exhaustion. They had often left their hometowns in a great hurry and had a 20 to 60 hour trip behind them. Then, at the border, they were subjected to these rigorous controls. Problems with the tickets were also frequent; the company would sometimes fail to honor the tickets for which American relatives had paid a deposit - for so-called prepaid tickets. Once across the border, another 24-hour trip to Ruhleben - often in cattle trucks - lay ahead of them. In Ruhleben, further controls. Then another day on the railroad to Hamburg or Bremen. By the time the emigrants boarded the ship 4 weeks had often passed.

### In Berlin

One of the most important stations on the long journey from East to West was Berlin. From the perspective of the Eastern Jews Berlin was half-way to America, it was the bridge between East and West. In about 1880, the railroad network was sufficiently developed to go from Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Kiev, Minsk and Petersburg - to mention only a few towns - to Berlin without problems. Despite the repeated deportation of Polish deserters (1881/82; 1884; 1886; 1906), in 1906 there were about 13,000 Jews from eastern Europe in Berlin, compared to 22,000 foreigners and 140,000 German Jews in Berlin.

Upon their arrival in Berlin, most of the Eastern Jews moved to the Scheunenviertel, the “barn quarter”. The name of the neighborhood recalls the warehouses and barns that had been moved beyond the city limits; the names of the streets pay homage to a nearby garrison. Here the emigrants found a familiar infrastructure, often even family and friends. Some streets, such as

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<sup>8</sup> Report to the Senat (municipal government) of Hamburg and Bremen, dated July 20, 1906, signed Sthamer/Hapag and Tjaden/Lloyd, Staatsarchiv Bremen, 4.21-506.

<sup>9</sup> Antin, Mary: *From Polotzk to Boston*, Boston 1899, p. 35.

Hirten and Grenadirer Street were predominantly Eastern Jewish. But there was no Jewish quarter like those in New York, London, or Paris, which could be called a ghetto. Lack of continual growth through emigration and settlement prevented the development of such a quarter. Instead the frequent deportations of Russian Jews diminished the community and stunted growth. Refusal of citizenship, residence and work permits were conscious attempts made by the government to prevent the permanent settlement of Eastern Jews. In 1910, only 1100 of the 13,000 Eastern Jews in Berlin held Prussian citizenship. If a German Jewish woman for example married an Eastern European Jew, she forfeited her Prussian citizenship.

Of those who did settle in Berlin, despite all the obstacles, most found employment in the garment or in the cigarette industry. Sixty per cent of the Eastern Jewish emigrants worked in the garment industry but this sector was so large that they remained an insignificant minority. The situation in the cigarette industry, however, was quite different: its rise was possible only with the labor of the Russian Jews. During the day, the Jews rolled the “Manoli”, “Garbatti”, and “Muratti” cigarettes; during the night, they sold them, piece by piece, in the cafes. Production costs were minimal and neither starting capital nor special premises were required. The apartment served as a workshop and the entire family collaborated.

In 1898, machines to roll cigarettes were introduced but their output was rolled either too firmly or too loosely. Manual production continued to prevail. Repeated deportations of Russian citizens, however, led to an acute labor shortage. In 1906 for example, 700 Russian Jews who could not prove that they had been living in Berlin prior to 1904, were deported. The government wanted to get rid of all those who had immigrated after the 1905 revolution. To offset the labor shortage, manual cigarette production was moved outside Berlin which in turn gave way to the mechanization of the industry.

In Berlin, as in the other parts of the German Reich, the uncertain political and social status prevented the development of typically Eastern Jewish institutions. Most of the Eastern Jews, once they had found work outside the barn quarter, moved to other neighborhoods where they tried to assimilate as quickly as possible in order not to provoke any “special treatment”.

### **The Emigration-Station in Ruhleben near Berlin**

The presence of these exotic people was particularly conspicuous and therefore a favorite subject of daily gossip in Berlin. After a 24-hour train ride from the border stations, the emigrants would arrive at the eastern terminals of Berlin. From there, they could continue their voyage by local trains to Spandau in the northwestern part of the city. In 1882, the local daily newspaper *Spandauer Anzeiger für das Havelland* ran the following report: *“Daily, between 100 and 120 people arrive here from Berlin. For hours they completely crowd the*

*2nd and 3rd class waiting rooms of the station here. With bedding, bundles and tools of all kinds, they occupy every bit of space and often block the entrance.*"<sup>10</sup>

The make-shift waiting rooms, set up in warehouses, could not hide the fact that normal train traffic was considerably impeded by these unexpected masses of passengers. In early 1891, therefore, parts of the Charlottenburger station, which in fact belonged to the municipal transport system, were turned into a waiting room. During the 6-hour stop-over, members of the "Russian-Jewish relief organization", cared for the passengers, gave out food, clothes, and advice.

Shmarya Levin, a prominent Zionist orator from Minsk, worked for some years as an interpreter for this organization and he described the situation: "A special station was organized by the railroad officials for the use of the emigrants. It was located in Charlottenburg, then one of the finest sections of Berlin. At five o'clock every morning we were there to receive the emigrants - the average number was about eight hundred - with bread and coffee... And certain cases were eminently curious. We came across one woman with six children who had arrived in Berlin literally without a penny. The father was already in America; wife and children had set out to join him...The unhappy woman explained that she had started with means enough - several hundred roubles - but that the money had disappeared piecemeal by the way, chiefly when she had to steal, with her six little ones, across the Russian frontier."<sup>11</sup> The woman produced a passport, properly stamped, but thought she had to cross the border illegally nevertheless.

This provisional situation lasted for about a year. The authorities then decided to construct a station for emigrants outside the city. This station was supposed to alleviate the fear of cholera, smallpox, and typhoid fever as well as to relieve the Berlin railroad from the emigration traffic. On November 11, 1891, the new station was officially inaugurated. It was in Ruhleben, amidst fields and pastures, about one mile from the Spandau train station - and far from any residential neighborhood in Berlin.

Mary Antin had promised her uncle Moses in Polotzk to inform him regularly and in detail about all her adventures between Polotzk and Boston; here is what she reported from Ruhleben:

*"In a great lonely field, opposite a solitary wooden house within a large yard, our train pulled up at last, and a conductor commanded the passengers to make haste and get out. He need not have told us to hurry; we were glad enough to be free again after such a long imprisonment in the uncomfortable car. All rushed to the door. We breathed more freely in the open field, but the conductor did not wait for us to enjoy our freedom. He hurried us into the one large room which*

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<sup>10</sup> Spandauer Anzeiger für das Havelland, October 15, 1882.

<sup>11</sup> Levin, Shmarya: *Youth in Revolt*, New York 1975, p. 254.

*made up the house, and then into the yard. Here a great many men and women dressed in white received us...; ourselves driven into a little room where a great kettle was boiling on a little stove; our clothes taken off, our bodies rubbed with a slippery substance that might be any bad thing; a shower of warm water was let down on us without warning; after which we were driven to another little room where we sat, wrapped in woollen blankets till large, coarse bags were brought in, their contents turned out and we see only a cloud of steam, and hear the women's orders to dress ourselves, quick, quick, or else we'll miss something which we cannot hear. We are forced to pick out our clothes from among all the others, with the steam blinding us; we choke, cough, entreat the women to give us time; they persist. Quick, quick, or you'll miss the train! Oh, so we really won't be murdered! They are only making us ready for the continuing of our journey, cleaning us of all suspicious the dangerous germs. Thank God!"<sup>12</sup>*

The emigrant station at Ruhleben was the first control and registration station to be established in the German Reich by Hapag and Lloyd.

The complex consisted of 5 tin barracks: three halls which could each accommodate 200 people, rooms for ticket windows, lounges for the personnel and the emigration agents. There were also disinfection rooms and showers, a refectory and a quarantine station for 24 people. A building with kitchen facilities was later added by the Jewish relief organization.

The emigrant station inspired newspapers and police reports as well as cartoonists and writers. The exotic people, the men in their long caftans, with side curls and beards, the women in their wigs, the so-called sheitl, the strange language, the unusual gestures and facial expressions - all this fed the imagination. A supplement of the Spandauer Anzeiger, dated September 17, 1902, contained the following description:

*"Whenever a train with emigrants arrives and thousands of people in the most bizarre outfits pour into the tin-roofed halls and barracks, onto the places between them, we are reminded of the classic line: Seize human life, whatever you can grasp, you will find interesting... There is above all elation, the feeling of having escaped a life one wants to leave behind for whatever reason: religious, political, or economical, and that one is heading for a new future, a comfortable existence in freedom, maybe even a brilliant career... When finally the moment of departure has arrived, everybody pushes and shoves in chaotic hurry towards the open compartments of the train... employees and policemen sigh in relief. Ruhleben is all peace and quiet again"<sup>13</sup> true to its name which means 'calm - life'.*

Usually the emigrants stayed in Ruhleben for some hours or one to two days before the journey to the ports continued. In 1909, a harness race track was

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<sup>12</sup> Antin, Mary: *From Plotzk...*, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Spandauer Anzeiger für das Havelland, September 17, 1902.

built right next to the station. Again in fear of epidemics, it was decided to move the station to close-by Wurstermark from 1915. From August 1, 1914, however, emigrant traffic from Hamburg and Bremen ceased and the control stations were no longer needed. During World War I, English civilians and Russian POWs were interned in the abandoned halls. Today only a single barrack, part of the Ruhleben freight station, remains of the old emigrant station.

### In the ports

The regularly scheduled trains between Ruhleben and the ports were often hopelessly overcrowded with the masses of emigrants so that the shipping companies had to lease as many as two extra each day.

Mary Antin connected on her arrival in Hamburg: *"About eight o'clock we reached Hamburg. Again there was a gendarme to ask questions, look over the tickets and give directions. But all the time he kept distance from those passengers who came from Russia, all for fear of cholera... We were marched up to the strangest sort of vehicle one could think of... Through noisy, strange looking streets they took us, where many people walked, ran or rode... At last, at last! Those unwearied horses have stopped. Where? In front of a brick building, the only one on a large, broad street, where only the trees, and, in the distance the passing trains can be seen. Nothing else. The ocean, too, is shut out. All were helped off, the baggage was put on the sidewalk, and then taken up again and carried into the building, where the passengers were ordered to go... As usual, many questions were asked, the new ones being about our tickets. Then each person, children included, had to pay three marks - one for the wagon that brought us over and two for food and lodging till our various ships should take us away... and we were ordered with the rest through many more examinations and ceremonies before we should be established under quarantine, for that it was."*<sup>14</sup>

Since the cholera epidemic in Hamburg of 1892, Eastern European emigrants, particularly those from Russia, had to stay in the barracks on the Amerikaquai in Hamburg. The place was designed in such a way that the emigrants could be taken and boarded there directly without ever having any contact with the city of Hamburg proper. In Bremen, the accommodation was close to the train station so the passengers could be taken to the port of Bremerhaven by train.

In 1901, the Hamburg-American-line opened the "world's largest restaurant", the emigrant halls in Hamburg-Veddel. Always described as exemplary and state of the art, this complex encompassed a church, a synagogue, rooms in which to sleep and eat, kitchens, two hotels, music pavilions, modern sanitary facilities and the ubiquitous health control and disinfection facilities. 4000 to

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<sup>14</sup> Antin, Mary: *From Plotzk...*, p. 45.

5000 emigrants could be accommodated here. In Bremen, the private quarters had reached capacity only in 1906. At that time, the North German Lloyd and the Missler-Agency built the emigrant halls in Findorff, near the central station, which could accommodate up to 3600 people. The Eastern European emigrants were not forced to stay there, but were strongly encouraged to do so. As of 1907, the Hotel Warschau catered exclusively for Jewish emigrants: the kitchen took care of physical needs while Rabbi Dr. Leopold Rosenak occupied himself with the spiritual needs of up to 500 people.

Bearing in mind the living conditions at the turn of the century, the emigrants must have been extremely clean travellers: only after three showers and three rounds of disinfection of clothes and luggage, could the passage to America continue.

### **On the way to New York**

Schalom Asch (1880-1957), the great Yiddish poet, described the adventures of Hannah Lea and her four children on their way from Hamburg to New York: *"A few days later they all found themselves on the big steamer. The ship was still anchored in the port. The steerage passengers had been boarded a day earlier... They were led deep down to the belly of the ship. Hannah Lea took Jossele by her hand and climbed downstairs, leaving herself to the mercy of God... Finally, she was given a straw mattress, one among many mattresses, she sat down with her children, not daring to move. And only now the big fear of the ocean rose up in her."*<sup>15</sup>

The sea journey was considered by the emigrants as the last step in the chain of events before reaching America. Half starved, after two to three weeks in steerage, with nothing but herrings, tea and black bread, most of the passengers were grateful nevertheless to have escaped the danger of Eastern Europe and the inhospitability of the German Reich.

Schalom Asch continues: *"A day of celebration on the ship - they approached the coast of America. They couldn't see it yet, but felt it, expected to make it out in the distance any moment now... The American flag fluttered proudly above the waves. They all had come on deck to greet America, had taken their best clothes from the suitcases, festively. Now they stood there, people from every corner of the world, and gazed with fearful expectation towards the big harbor in the New World."*<sup>16</sup>

Scholem Aleichem left Russia in 1905 and after some travelling arrived in New York in 1906. He remarked: *"Where is America? - I don't know. I only know it's far, terribly far. You've got to travel for such a long time, until you get there. And when you get there, there's a keistle-gartle. There, in the keistle-gartle, they*

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<sup>15</sup> Asch, Schalom: *Amerika*, Berlin 1911, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Asch, Schalom: p. 74.



*strip you naked and look in your eyes. If your eyes are healthy, that's good. If they aren't, then sorry, back you go!"*<sup>17</sup>

### In New York

Between 1870 and 1892 it was in Castle Garden, the "Kessel-Garten" to German Ears, and later on Ellis Island, the "Island of Tears", that the newcomers had to undergo the "fitness - test" for America.

In his immigrant story "Ellis Island", Mark Helprin described the health examination which he underwent:

*"In the gallery above, I was taken from room to room and looked over rather carelessly. After lifting my eyelids with a button hook, a young man with a military bearing saw that I had no trachoma. Someone else made me cough and breathe deeply. I had to take off my clothes and turn around several times. In another room, a big fat man asked if I could bend over. »Why?« I asked in turn, thinking that the only reason he wanted to know was because he himself would never be able to do such a thing. »Is it that everyone who comes to America has to be able to bend over? « »Yes, « he said. »What for? « »Because when we sing our national anthem, we bend over. Now do it or I'll send you back to Serbia.«"*<sup>18</sup>

If accepted, the immigrant received an "admitted card", if detained, his right shoulder was marked with a special chalk letter: B for back, E for eyes etc. - and he had to undergo further examinations or was sent back to Europe.

In addition to these examinations, the amount of cash the immigrants carried was checked from time to time. Sometimes they were asked to carry out literacy and psychological tests. Phillip Cowen, who arranged the publication of Mary Antin's first book, "From Polotzk to Boston" in 1899, worked from 1905 in the Federal Immigration Commission; once he tried some of these tests on his daughters' friends - they almost all failed.<sup>19</sup>

On March 27, 1907, Phillip Cowen reported that 11 ships with a total of 16,050 passengers were waiting to be cleared. That meant that the controls had to be reduced to a minimum since there were only 21 officials to deal with 5000 immigrants each day. There were several local immigrant aid societies, particularly the famous HIAS, that cared for the Jewish newcomers. It was New York, and to a lesser degree Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore that became the social and economic center of the Yiddish-speaking world in the

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<sup>17</sup> Sanders, Ronald: *Shores of Refuge. A hundred Years of Jewish Emigration*, New York 1988, p. 228.

<sup>18</sup> Helprin, Mark: *Ellis Island and other Stories*, New York 1982, p. 133.

<sup>19</sup> cf. Cowen Phillip: *Memories of an American Jew*, New York 1932.

United States. "To have no home is no disaster as long as there are cities. That is why Eastern Jews move to the big towns,"<sup>20</sup> explained Eike Geisel.

First, there was the overcrowded ghetto on New York's Lower East Side that awaited most of the new immigrants. Around the turn of the century, this was the most densely populated place in the world. There was hardly more space than on the steerage deck, but here one could be a Jew in freedom.

Whatever prompted Frank Reiss, a German-Jewish immigrant, years later to go to New York also holds true for many Eastern European immigrants: "I thought that if I have to be a stranger, without a home, then I want to be a stranger in America, because in America everybody is a stranger. That is true even more in New York."<sup>21</sup>

Several organizations, especially the Industrial Removal Office attempted to prevent a concentration of Eastern European Jews along the Atlantic coast - 70% initially settled in New York. Infrastructure was improved, colonies were founded, money was spent to lure the immigrants away from the big cities on the East coast - but to no avail. All these projects, including the direct connection between Bremerhaven and Galveston, Texas, failed to produce significant structural changes. "New Jewish arrivals were naturally attracted to the familiar atmosphere that had developed in these communities, in which one could have no trouble adhering to a more or less traditional way of life and even get through without having to learn much English. This, combined with the fact that these, except of Chicago, were the places where one got off the boat, made them irresistible to the vast majority of newcomers."<sup>22</sup> For most of the Jewish immigrants, even later on, New York remained the "chosen city". And the expectations of millions of people have left their mark on the city as much as the city has left its mark on the people it embraced.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Geisel, Eike: *Im Scheunenviertel*, Berlin 1981, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Reiss, Frank: *Wenn ich schon ein Fremder sein muss*, in: Hempel, Henri Jacob (Ed.): *Wenn ich schon ein Fremder sein muss - Deutsch-Jüdische Emigranten in New York*, Frankfurt/M. 1984, p. 155.

<sup>22</sup> Sanders, Ronald: *Shores of Refuge...*, p. 236.

<sup>23</sup> cf. Hartwig, Thomas and Rocher, Achim (Eds.): *Die verheissene Stadt. Deutsch-Jüdische Emigration in New York*. Gespräche, Eindrücke und Bilder, Berlin 1986.

## POVZETEK

IZ VZHODA NA ZAHOD -  
MIGRACIJE ŽIDOV V ZDRUŽENE DRŽAVE (1881 - 1914)

Karin Schulz

Leto 1881, ko so v Rusiji ubili carja Aleksandra II., predstavlja prelomnico v zgodovini Židov. Kmalu po Aleksandrovi smrti, aprila 1881, se je zgodil prvi pogrom, v istem letu pa so mu sledili pogromi v 160-ih krajih "na zamejenih območjih" (območjih, kjer je bilo dovoljeno stalno naseljevanje Židov). Židov niso le pretepali in ropali, njihovo vsakdanje življenje je potekalo v pričakovanju preganjanja in nasilja. Njihova prihodnost v Rusiji je bila ogrožena.

Razmere so se še poslabšale, ko so bili maja 1882 sprejeti "Majski zakoni", ki so praktično vpeljali nenehni pogrom. Pojavile so se govorice, da je treba eno tretjino ruskih Židov krstiti, ena tretjina naj bi jih emigrirala, preostanek pa naj bi izstradal do smrti. Razne dobrodelne organizacije z vsega sveta so jim ponujale pomoč, a kmalu so spoznale, da lahko le izselitev reši njihove sovornike, in se zato osredotočile na vse, kar je zadevalo te migrante. V Rusiji je bilo izseljevanje protizakonito, toda grof Ignatjev, avtor Majskih zakonov, je razglasil, da so zahodne meje odprte za vse Žide. Zaradi dragih potnih listov ter dolgotrajnega in zapletenega postopka za pridobitev potnega lista je 90 odstotkov židovskih izseljencev prečkalo mejo z Nemčijo ilegalno in tako izgubilo svoje rusko državljanstvo. Zaradi geografske bližine in dostopa do morja je Nemčija postala prehodna država za približno dva milijona vzhodnoevropskih Židov, ki so pred 1. svetovno vojno potovali v Združene države.

Po epidemiji kolere v Hamburgu leta 1892, za kar so krivili ruske izseljence, sta bili obe nemški ladijski družbi (Linija Hamburg-Amerika in Severnonemški Lloyd) prisiljeni vzpostaviti nadzorne postaje na pruski in avstrijski meji, v Ruhlevenu (pri Berlinu) in v obeh pristaniščih (Hamburgu in Bremenu). Do leta 1914 je štirinajst takih prehodnih postaj delovalo pod neposredno upravo teh dveh družb, zagotavljale pa so predvsem to, da so migranti ustrezali priseljenskim zakonom Združenih držav in se tako izognili, da bi jih njihovi uradniki zavrnili. Zavrnjeni prišleki so se morali vrniti v izvorno državo na stroške ladjarske družbe.

Izseljenci niso smeli vstopiti v Prusijo, ne da bi šli skozi eno od nadzornih postaj. Za te postaje je bila značilna kombinacija higienskih in trgovskih služb, toda za emigrante so predstavljale le še eno oviro na njihovi težavni poti v Ameriko. Ko so končno prečkali mejo, jih je čakalo še 24-urno potovanje - pogosto v živinskih vagonih - do Ruhlebena. V Ruhlebenu so doživeli nove preglede in preiskave; nato še en dan z vlakom do Hamburga ali Bremena, ali celo do Rotterdama ali Antwerpna. Pogosto so pretekli štirje tedni, preden so se vkrcali na ladjo. Takrat se je v Nemčiji in Avstriji rodil politični antisemitizem. "Nezaželeni elementi z vzhoda" je postal sinonim za židovske tranzitne potnike. Njihov videz, navade in jezik so naleteli na sovražnost. Mit o neotesanem, neizobraženem, nerazsvetljenem in umazanem vzhodnjaškem Židu se ni ujemal z vrednotami nemškega srednjega razreda - izobrazbo, čistočo in redom. Nemški Židi, negotovi glede svojega položaja, so se bali, da bo priseljevanje Židov z vzhoda ogrozilo njihov status in povečalo antisemitizem. Migracijo so podpirali prek različnih organizacij pomoči, niti najmanj pa jih ni zanimalo stalno naseljevanje migrantov. Nemški Židi so postali "kravatni Židi", medtem ko so bili vzhodnoevropski Židi še vedno "kaftanasti Židi" - a to je bila prej zgodovinska kot geografska razlika.

Ena najpomembnejših točk za vzhodnoevropske Žide na njihovi dolgi poti je bil Berlin: v njihovih očeh je bil most med vzhodom in zahodom ter polovica poti do Amerike. Približno 13.000 izseljencev se je naselilo v Berlinu, mnogi od njih v Scheunenviertlu, revni četrti blizu Alexanderplatza. Tamkajšnje okolje jim je bilo znano, srečali so stare prijatelje in celo sorodnike. Toda pogoste deportacije in huda negostoljubnost so preprečili oblikovanje židovske skupnosti, kakršna je nastala v Lower East Side v New Yorku.

V Hamburgu in Bremenu so morali Židi bivati v posebnih dvoranah za izseljence zunaj mesta, da bi jim tako preprečili vsak stik z nemškim prebivalstvom. Ponavadi so bili njihova edina zveza emigracijski uradniki ali pripadniki različnih židovskih organizacij pomoči.

Potovanje po morju je bil zadnji korak pred prihodom v Ameriko. Po dveh ali treh tednih v podpalubju ob slanikih, čaju in črnem kruhu so bili sestradani potniki večinoma vendarle srečni, da so ušli nevarnostim vzhodne Evrope in negostoljubnosti nemškega cesarstva.

Večina židovskih priseljencev se je naselila v New Yorku. Na prelomu stoletja je bilo to najbolj gosto naseljeno mesto na svetu. Tam je bilo komaj kaj več prostora kot v podpalubju, toda živeli so lahko svobodno.

## **SREČANJE PREKMURSKIH IZSELJENCEV Z NOVIM OKOLJEM MED SVETOVNIMA VOJNAMA**

Mihael Küzmič

(izraženo v "Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium-u" 1922-1944)

Srečanje z novim okoljem v tujini za izseljence iz Prekmurja ni bil skok v prazno, ampak je bil zadnji korak včasih prav dolgotrajnih priprav, ki so bile rojene iz materialne stiske in potrebe, želje nekaj več pridobiti ali se nečemu doma izogniti. Čustvene priprave so bile usmerjene bolj v pričakovanje tistega, o čemer so slišali od svojih sorodnikov ali iz drugih virov, kot pa iz lastnih izkušenj. Tudi praktične priprave so imele dolgo vrsto vztrajnih korakov, preden se je izseljenec srečal z bolj ali manj kruto resničnostjo novega okolja, pa čeprav je to bilo v kateri od evropskih držav ali pa onstran morja v Kanadi, Združenih državah Amerike, Argentini, Urugvaju ali kje drugje.

Vire in gradivo za obravnavano tematiko izseljenstva moramo iskati na tistih mestih, kjer najdemo najbolj osebne in iskrene izpovedi izseljencev z vsemi njihovimi doživetji. To so, poleg osebne korespondence s sorodniki, časopisi, revije in koledarji, v katerih so uredniki znali najti stik s svojimi bralci v tujini, in jih spodbuditi k opisovanju svojega življenja v novem življenjskem okolju. Za pričujočo obravnavo sem izbral "Dober prijatelj koledar", ki je izhajal v letih 1922 - 1944.<sup>1</sup> V njej opisana človeško eksistenčna stran izseljenstva kaže dokaj celovito sliko in jo poznejša primerjava z drugimi prekmurskimi koledarji in drugimi tiski lahko samo razširi in poglobi.

### **Priprave in odhod iz domovine ter prihod v tujo deželo**

Prekmurci so se odločali za odhod v tujino med obema vojnoma predvsem na osnovi vabil svojih sorodnikov in časopisnih vesti. Urednik DPK je bralcem priporočal časopis Amerikanski Slovincov Glas, ki je vsak petek izhajal na 512 East Fourth Street, v Betlehemu, Pa., ZDA,<sup>2</sup> urejal pa ga je Alexander Kardoš.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Naš Slovenski kalendar na navadno leto 1922.* I. letni tečaj. Urednik Kološa Jožef in Talányi Franc. Murska Sobota. Prekmurska tiskarna v Murški Soboti. - 102 str.; 8\*. (Predhodnik Dober pajdas kalendariuma.) *Dober Pajdás kalendárium na navadno leto 1923.* II. letni tekáj. Reditelj i lásztnik: Talányi Franc Murska Sobota. Prekmurska tiskarna v Murški Soboti. 80 str. 8\*.

<sup>2</sup> Kuzmič Mihael. *Amerikanski Slovincov glas.* - Dve domovini - Two Homelands 2-3, Ljubljana (1992), str. 55-66.

Bralcem, kateri so imeli v Ameriki sorodnike, je predlagal, naj jim ga naročijo, "ker iz Amerike prihajajoči časopis nas domače sorodnike duševno poveže z našo rodbino v Ameriki. Če se komu kaj zgodi, vzemo najprej iz teh novin". Nadalje zagotavlja ameriškim rojakom, da lahko pošljejo najlepše darilo svojim sorodnikom, prijateljem in znancem, če jim naročijo ASG. Bolečina družin in sorodnikov, katerih en del živi doma in drugi del v Ameriki, se precej olajša, če preberejo iz Amerike poslane besede. Urednik dalje pravi "da je mene, kot urednika *Dober Pajdaš Kalendariuma* že več sto ljudi, kateri imajo v Ameriki svoje sorodnike, naprosilo, naj v koledarju o tem nekaj napišem. Tako tisti, ki so v Ameriki, ne bodo pozabili svojcev doma."<sup>4</sup> (cit. zadnji del pod črto).

Naslednji koledar prinaša urednikovo sporočilo, da je dobil veliko pisem tako od domačih bralcev, kakor tudi iz Amerike. Zahvaljujejo se mu za to, da jih je spomnil na možnost naročanja ASG in zdaj "v Ameriki živeti sin, brat, oče, itd. jim redno pošilja ta časopis in imajo ravno takšno veselje, kot da bi dobili pismo od tam."<sup>5</sup>

Dobra komunikacija med sorodniki iz Prekmurja in izseljenci po svetu ter precejšnje število časopisov in koledarjev,<sup>6</sup> ki so z veseljem odpirali svoje strani izseljencem in njihovi problematiki, je povzročilo poleg ekonomskih in drugih razlogov zanimanje za odhod v tujino. Odločitev je bila že sama po sebi težka, toda uresničitev je bila še težja. Priprave so zajemale sledeče:

Nabaviti vozno karto za ladjo. Za III. razred je stala 100 do 110 dolarjev, za II. razred 150 do 160 dolarjev. Potni list dobi samo toliko oseb, kolikor je število dovoljenih vselitev v Ameriko. Od 1. julija 1922 do 1. julija 1923 je bilo samo 6405 Jugoslovanom dovoljeno priti v Ameriko.

Za izdajo potnega lista je bilo potrebno prinesiti:

- *Potrnilo iz Amerike, da je tam že kdo od svojcev, ki bo skrbel za priseljenca, dokler se ne zaposli, in dovoljenje, da lahko vstopi v Ameriko;*
- *Krstni list, ki ga izda duhovnik v cerkvi;*
- *Domovnico, ki jo izda pristojna občina;*
- *Občinsko izpričevalo, ki ga izda vas, kjer je kraj bivanja;*

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<sup>3</sup> Kuzmič Mihael. *Aleks Kardoš in njegovo delo med prekmurskimi Slovenci v Ameriki*. - Zbornik Društva slovenskih književnih prevajalcev (PREVAJALCI POMURJA IN PORABIA.), Ljubljana (1988), str. 51-58.

<sup>4</sup> *Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium*, 1928, 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium*, 1929, 68. Urednik DPK Franc Talanyi je s ponosom sporočil, da je njegov koledar pripomogel k razširjanju Amerikanski Slovincov glasa in vzpostavil tesnejše stike med sorodniki v Ameriki in Prekmurju. V DPK 1930, 32 v urednikovem kotičku odgovarja Štefanu Žilavec iz South Betlehema v PA. ZDA in ga prosi, naj pošlje rešitve na uganke.

<sup>6</sup> Kuzmič Franc. *Bibliografija prekmurskih tiskov 1919-1994*. Murska Sobota, 1994. (Tipkopis)

- Zdravstveno izpričevalo okrožnega zdravnika;
- Potrdilo sodišča, da ni bil kaznovan in da ni v sodnem postopku;
- Potrdilo davčnega urada, da je plačal davke;
- Dovoljenje staršev, če je mladoletna oseba.

Ko je imel bodoči izseljenec vse te papirje dobesečno v roki, je šel v Mursko Soboto na okrajno glavarstvo na policijski oddelek. Ta je imel svoje prostore v mestni hiši, nasproti lekarni. Tu je oddal vse papirje, priložil dve sliki in uradnik mu je že natiskani obrazec za prošnjo izpisal. Izpolnili so mu tudi potni list, ki pa so ga sami poslali v Ljubljano na Pokrajinsko upravo. Ko so potni list vrnili policiji v Mursko Soboto, ga je dvignil in imel vse potrebne dokumente za Ameriški konzulat v Zagrebu: potni list, krstni list, domovnico, ameriško dovoljenje za vstop in sliko. Za overovitev potovanja v Ameriko je moral plačati 10 dolarjev; enak postopek pa je bil potreben tudi na konzulatih držav, skozi katere je potoval do morja.

Ko je imel vse dokumente pripravljene, je moral pisati agenciji, ki je izdala vozovnico za ladjo. Ta mu je sporočila datum, kdaj je imel rezervirano mesto na ladji. Cena za pot je vključevala tudi prevoz z železnico do пристanišča. Hrano za potovanje je rabil samo na železnici, na ladji je bila vračunana v ceno. Potovanje iz Prekmurja v Ameriko je trajalo od 10 - 21 dni, v izjemnih primerih 24. Ob prihodu v Ameriko je bilo potrebno plačati 25 dolarjev; veljalo je tudi potrdilo, da je kdo drug položil ta znesek.<sup>7</sup>

Pri imigraciji so Američani postavili po prvi svetovni vojni nekaj ovir. "Vsi, kateri se želijo naseliti v Združenih državah Amerike, morajo biti popolnoma zdravi in morajo znati brati in pisati. Zakon pravi, da v državo ne smejo spustiti naslednjih: norcev, kroničnih alkoholikov, božjastnih oseb in tistih, ki imajo jetiko ali kožne bolezni, med katere spadajo trahom, srab, grinta in spolne bolezni. Kot "moralno nesposobne" zakon izključuje tiste priseljence, ki so bili sodno preganjani, ali so pa sami priznali kakšen zločin ali prestopok zoper nraavnost, poligamijo, prostitutke, nemoralne surhe in anarhisti. Nadalje berači in pretepači. Iz Azije so izključeni ljudje iz Indije, Siama, Indokine, Afganistana, ruskega Turgestana, Brabije, Nove Guineje, Bornea, Sumatre in Jave. Najnovejši zakon dovoljuje samo določeni procent in prednost imajo tisti, katerih najbližji sorodniki so že v Ameriki: zakonski partnerji, otroci k staršem ali starši k otrokom. Drugi pridejo na vrsto za temi."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium, 1923, 35-36 (8) Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium, 1924, 56-57.

<sup>8</sup> Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium, 1924, 56-57.

## I. Južna Amerika

### 1. Urugvaj

Iz Montevidea v Urugvaju je rojak Franc Mikola poslal pesem o svojem rojstnem kraju, kamor se je v mislih in čustvih vračal iz neprijazne realnosti.<sup>9</sup>

*Moj rojstni kraj!*

*Oh ti dragi prekmurski kraj  
Sem te mogo odstaviti,  
I od tebe vu drugi kraj  
Med tühinski svet oditi.*

*Tü v tühinskorn zdaj živem jaz  
Z miseljami oklajeni,  
I z bolečinou v srcej, jaz  
Sem žalostjou obteženi.*

*Srce mi joče za naše  
Lejpe goričke doline.  
I za doma ostavlene,  
Lejpe ravenske ravnine.*

*Gda mo hodo v tistom kraji?  
Oh ti dragi prekmurski kraj,  
Tam gde so mene zibali,  
Moj dragi mili rojstni kraj!*

Mikola Franc, Montevideo (Južna Amerika)

### 2. Argentina

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<sup>9</sup> *Dober Pajdaš Kalendarium*, 1929, 40. V Montevideu v Urugvaju in v Buenos Airesu v Argentini sta bili močni prekmurski naselbini, ki sta ohranili svoje slovensko regijske posebnosti vse v naš čas. V letih 1945-47 (mogoče še naprej, a nimamo primerkov v razvidu) so izdajali v prekmurščini koledar svojega Slovenskega podpornega društva. Uredniki časopisov in koledarjev v Prekmurju so radi objavljali njihove prispevke. Danes so raziskovalcem težko dostopni in zaradi stare prekmurščine in delno še madžarskega črkopisa nevhvaležno področje. Iz tega vzroka v tem delu citiram nekaj pesmi v prekmurščini v celoti in nekaj sestavkov prestavljenih v današnji knjižni jezik.



Izseljenec Franc Novak, doma iz Kukeča št. 44 v Prekmurju, se je oglašal s pesmimi in pismi iz Argentine. Zaradi dokumentarnosti bom najprej njegove prispevke navedel izvirno in kronološko, kakor so bili objavljeni:<sup>10</sup>

*Potüvanje v Ameriko.*

*Z Bogom moja domovina  
Moja rojstna zemla mila.  
Žmetno idem jaz od tebe,  
Srce me boli za tebe.*

*Z Bogom dragi prekmurski kraj  
Jaz morem idti v drügi kraj.  
Z žalostjov jaz z doma idem  
ar med nepoznane pridem.*

*Na Boga zavüпам себе  
Samo On ma skrb na mene.  
Naj te "Lutetija" hajov  
srečno preplava prek z menou.*

*Oukraj morja, sühoj zemli  
Daleč vu toj Argentini,  
Naj mi zdruvje slüži srečno  
Ka vu deli mo meo srečo.*

*Tak za par let, nemo daleč  
Vi od mene, jaz od vas več,  
nego mo pa vsi veseli  
Pa tam doma vküp živeli.*

*Či gli sem zdaj daleč od Vas  
Ne spozabim se jaz na Vas,  
Vsaki večer Boga molim  
i za Vas blagoslov prosim.*

*Z Bogom moja domovina  
Moja rojstna zemla mila,  
Žmetno idem jaz od tebe  
Srdce me boli za tebe.*

Novak Franc, Kukeč št. 44, zdaj v Juž. Ameriki, Argentina

Pesnik izraža globoko bolečino ob odhodu iz "dragega prekmurskega kraja", na pot med "neznane ljudi", kamor ga bo pripeljala "ladja Lutetija". V prepričanju, da samo "za nekaj let" in da bodo po vrnitvi iz "suhe dežele,

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<sup>10</sup> Pesem je objavljena v madžarskem črkopisu v DPK 1930, 42.

*daljnje Argentine” potem “spet vsi veseli skupaj živeli”, za svoje domače “usak večer Boga moli”.*

### *Pismo iz Argentine<sup>11</sup>*

*“Pozdravljava naše jugoslovanske rojake, ki so ostali doma in jim želiva blagoslovljeno novo leto 1930 daleč iz Južne Amerike. Mi, ki smo odšli čez morje daleč med tujce, se moramo v tem neznanem kraju strašno dosti in z velikimi težavami boriti. Preden najdemo takšno delo, s katerim bi si samo usakdanji kruh zaslužili, moramo peš prehoditi dosti velikih pustinj.*

*Opominjamo vse tiste prijatelje, kateri živijo doma in nameravajo potovati sem v Južno Ameriko, da jim bo dosti boljše, če ostanaejo doma. Tu ima srečo samo usak deseti človek. Dosti stotin ljudi potuje, da bi našlo delo. Poleti se še najde delo na poljih, toda pozimi mora biti človek zadovoljen, če dobi delo samo za hrano. Dosti takih ljudi je, ki so že več let tukaj, pa bi radi odpotovali nazaj domov v svoj rojstni kraj. Ne morejo si zaslužiti denarja, da bi pokrili stroške potovanja.*

*V Argentino smo prišli prve dni meseca februarja in že čez nekaj dni smo dobili delo v nekem gozdu. Zaslužili smo komaj za usakdanjo hrano. Po desetdnevnem delu sva šla dalje. Čez nekaj dni sva dobila delo pri nekem italijanskem kmetu, kjer sva ostala mesec dni. Trgali smo koruzo. Ko je bilo delo opravljeno, sva morala dalje, ker ni imel več dela za naju. Po tistem sva dobila delo pri nekem madžarskem kmetu, ki pa je tudi trajalo samo deset dni. Obirali smo bombaž - to je tukaj samo sezonsko delo, kot tam pri nas doma žetev.*

*Za delom smo morali iti dalje. Peš smo prehodili sto kilometrov in opešani prišli do železnice. Denarja smo imeli premalo, nibilo dovolj za vožnjo. Pripeljal je tovorni. t.j. teher vlak. S sprevodnikom smo se zmenili, da nas bo odpeljal za en “peso” in smo mu tudi plačali. Ko se je vlak začel premikati, nas premikač ni pustil nanj. Z uso silo smo skočili gor, čeprav nas je suval stran. Peljali smo se nekaj postaj; prišel je policaj in smo morali dol. Mi smo trdili, da smo plačali, sprevodnik je to zanikal. Ko so videli, da ne bodo mogli z nami ničesar, sta nas policaj in sprevodnik pustila, da smo se lahko dalje peljali.*

*Ko se je vlak ustavil na zadnji postaji, nas je znova prijela policija. Sporazumeli smo se, jim dali nekaj “pesov” in skočili na drug vlak, ki je pripeljal in nadaljevali vožnjo.*

*Ko smo prevozili nekaj postaj, nas je sprevodnik predal policiji, ker nismo njemu ničesar plačali.*

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<sup>11</sup> Pismo je bil objavljeno v DPK 1930, 51-52. Urednik je za naslovom in pred tekstom napisal: “Dobil sem pismo od naših dveh rojakov: Franca Novaka, Kukeč št. 44 in Jožefa Vidonje, Sotina št. 108. Oba sta odšla od doma meseca januarja 1929. Pišeta sledeče.”

Policist nas je zbral in povedal, naj gremo naprej. Delali smo se, da ne razumemo. Nato nam je s prstom pokazal, da gremo jest. Šli smo za njim in prišli na postajo, kjer je usak od nas dobil lopato, motiko in drugo potrebno orodje in, hajd na delo. Dopoldne smo okopavali vrt in nekaj gradili. Za kosilo smo dobili govejo juho in usak velik kos govejega hrbta, ki je bil nazarensko velik, toda mesa na njem ni bilo; če je kaj bilo, pa je bilo tako trdo, da ga nikakor nismo mogli jesti. Popoldne smo nadaljevali z delom. In večerja? Hujša od kosila. Dobili smo samo kosti; po mojem mišljenju so policaji meso že prej sami pojedli s kosti.

Naslednjega dne so nas pustili naprej. Peljali smo se do mesta Santafe. Delo smo iskali po vsem mestu, toda nikjer nič. Šli smo po progi in prišli do dva kilometra dolgega mostu. Stražar nas ni pustil čez. Če bi namreč v tem času pripeljal vlak, bi nas vse razmesaril ali bi pa morali skočiti v več metersko globino. Gremo po drugi progi dalje in pridemo do druge postaje. Tu smo našli delo za dva delavca, nas pa je bilo osem. Posvetovali smo se, katera dva naj ostaneta. Šest jih je bilo z istega kraja in midva sva bila prekmurska Slovenca z drugega kraja stare domovine. Midva sva ostala, drugi so šli dalje.

Zdaj imava takšno plačo, da nama dnevno ostane 50 din. Takšno vandrousko je naše življenje daleč od naše rojstne domovine; tu se moramo z največjo silo boriti za življenje. Pozdravljava vse domače. Prošiva, da nama pošljete Dober Pajdaš dalendar za leto 1930, čim bo izšel.”

### Naše življenje v Argentini<sup>12</sup>

“Pozdravljam naše prekmurske Slovence, kateri ste ostali doma in vam pišem o našem vandrajočem argentinskem življenju, kakor sem ga okusil v zadnjem letu. Prehodil sem velik del argentinske dežele, kjer sem videl dosti stvari, toda dobrega skoraj ničesar. Dosti ljudi preživlja otožne in žalostne dneve tukaj v Argentini, kolikor sem jih sam videl. Koliko več jih pa živi po veliki širni Argentini, katerih nisem imel sreče videti v njihovem težkem življenju. V tem letošnjem letu je namreč tisoče ljudi brez dela. Minula zima je bila zelo suha, zdaj pa je strašna vročina, ki je pomorila ves pridelek. Našemu narodu je odvzela zaslužek. Ko bi človek zaslužil samo za hrano, bi bil zelo vesel. Zdaj bo prišlo obiranje koruze na vrsto in delo bo dobil usak, kdor želi delati. Toda to delo traja samo dva ali tri mesece, v zimi pa zaslužek porabijo za prehrano. Privarčevati pa si človek ne more nič. Tako se ne spleča iti v Argentino; človek je tukaj žalosten in si ne more nič zaslužiti. Veliko je takih, ki so že leto dni brez dela in ga ne morejo dobiti. Zelo žalostno je biti brez dela v tujem kraju. Veliko ljudi je, ko morajo prodati obleko, da bi si lahko kupili kos kruha. Po tej bedni Argentini se potepa ogromno lačnih, žejnih in slabo oblečenih ljudi. Sem naj pride samo tisti človek, kateri želi izgubiti svoje zdravje. Zrak tukaj ni tako zdrav

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<sup>12</sup> Pismo je napisal samo Franc Novak in je objavljeno v DPK 1931,41-42; v slovenskem črkopisu.

*kakor v Evropi; tu je huda vročina, vse je zapuščeno, kraljuje velika nečistoča in ni tako čisto kot doma pri nas. Veliko živine pogine in je ne zakopavajo kot pri nas; smrad se širi po zraku in s tem je pokvarjen zrak po vsej Argentini. Na ta način je zrak nezdrav za človeško življenje. Tisti doma ne verjamejo, da je življenje za naše ljudi tukaj tako žalostno. Tudi jaz doma nisem hotel verjeti, da je tukaj tako slabo, ali zdaj, ko sem sam izkusil, zdaj vidim, da ni dobro; huje je kot da bi bili sužnji v Jugoslaviji. Če kdo kaj slabega naredi in je ureden hude kazni, ga naj pošljejo v Argentino, ker večje kazni ne potrebuje. V Evropi ne morejo nikogar tako kaznovati, kot smo mi kažnjeni tukaj v Argentini. Tu moramo odplačevati grehe teh prekletih Argentinec. Tu smo ravno tako izpostavljeni, kakor smo bili v svetovni vojni. Ravno tako imamo souražnike, kot smo jih imeli v vojni. Če vedo, da ima kdo pri sebi deset pezov denarja in je sam, ga takoj dva ali trije obstopijo in mu jih vzamejo. Če se jim zoperstavlja, mu še življenje vzamejo. Če ne najdejo denarja, ga dobro premlatijo in pustijo. Vsak Argentinec ima pol metra dolg nož in ga vedno nosi s seboj; zaradi denarja so zabodli tudi več naših ljudi. V tem oziru smo vsi vedno v nevarnosti. Tistim, kateri ne razumejo argentinskega jezika, grdo govorijo in jih sramotijo. Delavcu nočejo dati obljubljenega plačila; dajo, kolikor hočejo in mora oditi. Nikjer se ne more pritožiti, nihče ga ne podpre ali zaščiti.*

*Če gremo čakati delo h kakšni tovarni, se zbere tudi tisoč ljudi; enako je pri drugih tovarnah. Policija na konjih razganja ljudi, ki čakajo na delo in jih sramoti. Tudi jaz sem mesec dni hodil čakati delo pred tovarno, pa ga ni bilo. Sramotenja več nisem hotel prenašati, pa sem šel raje delat na deželo. Tam smo morali spati na prostem, kot kakšni zajci v luknjah, vendar me ni nihče preganjal kot v mestu. Pri nas doma še z živalmi boljše postopajo kot tukaj z ljudmi. Evropejcev ne marajo. Najpametneje so storili Madžari, ki so poslali v Argentino samo sto ljudi na preizkušnjo. Prispeli so v takšnem času, ko je bila najhujša zima in je najbolj primanjkovalo dela in so brez dela vandrili po Argentini. Šli so se pritožiti na svoj konzulat, ki se je pritožil in zahteval, naj dajo ljudem delo. Z veliko nejevoljo so jim dali delo. Po tistem so Madžari prekinili izseljevanje in pustijo svoje ljudi v Argentino samo pod pogojem, če jim vlada jamči stalno zaposlitev. Tako bi morala storiti vsaka država in potem bi Argentina bolje skrbela za evropske delavce. Tako pa moramo vsi v veliki žalosti trpeti kot sužnji tukaj v tujini. Kdor ne verjame, kar pišem od našega težkega življenja v Argentini, lahko sam sproba in bo verjel, da je res, kar pišem. So pa tudi takšni falotje, ki domov pišejo, da jim je dobro in veliko zaslužijo, nimajo pa denarja, da bi se enkrat najedli. Samo zato pišejo, da jim je dobro, naj bi še druge privabili sem. Če že sam trpi te nevolje, naj potem še drugi okusijo to težko argentinsko življenje. Več ljudi je tukaj brez dela kot tistih z delom. Zato bo najbolje, da vsak človek ostane doma in se ne bo potepal med tujci. Jaz sam se trudim, da bi lahko šel čimprej domov.*

*Zdaj pa pozdravljam vse prekmurske Slovence od daleč s tuje, žalostne in težke dežele, dokler ne obiščem to lepo malo Prekmurje. Čim bo izdan, mi pošljite Dober Pajdaš kalendarium za leto 1931.*

*Novak Franc Kukeč - zdaj Argentina."*

*Buenos Aires<sup>13</sup>*

*Lejpo je doma, gde sem jaz bio,  
lejpo je tam, gde sem se rodio  
Gde sem zdrav v meri gori raso  
I sem veselo krave paso.*

*Vu Argentini je drügi svejt,  
Vu njem ne cvete dišeči cvejt,  
Z šteroga bi veselje dobo,  
Ar je ne tak, kak doma dobro.*

*Tü stojim med tühinci trdo,  
Za žiuljenje se borim grdo.  
Ar malo gda man stalno delo,  
Štero bi dober zaslüž melo.*

*Či use to mi na pamet pride,  
Pa tüdi to, kak mi zdaj ide.  
Pa, ka, drügi odtec idejo,  
Me tužne skuze pobijejo.  
Novak Franc Kukeč - zdaj Argentina."*

## II. Severna Amerika

### 3. Združene države Amerike

Tovarna v Ameriki<sup>14</sup>

Kolesa se hitro vrtijo in tako ropotajo, da človek še svoje besede ne sliši. V peči gori ogenj in daje dolg plamen, ki se suče po ceveh; segreva vodo v strojih in jo pretvarja v paro, ki s svojo kolosalno močjo spravlja v tek vse stroje.

Človek mora zelo paziti, če dela med vrtečimi se kolesi. Če se preveč približa ali pa v pravem hipu ne odskoči, je z njim konec. Odnesejo ga na leseni postelji. V rumeno hišo, od koder pelje pot samo na pokopališče.

V tej tovarni je delal Kovač Števan. Toda on ne sme priti v to hišo, ker kaj bi potem delala žena s tremi malimi otročički?

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<sup>13</sup> Citirana pesem je objavljena v DPK 1931,43; na str.46 pa je objavljena še ena istega avtorja, "Roditeljevo tpljenje", v kateri opisuje žalost staršev, ko odidejo otroci od njih.

<sup>14</sup> Zgodba je napisana v madžarskem črkopisu, objavljena v DPK 1931,31-32.

V tovarni tuli sirena. Delavci, ki so delali, se vračajo z dela in njihovo delo prevzemajo drugi, spočiti. On več ne bo prišel sem. Šel bo v jeklarno, tam bo več zaslužil. V jeklarni je sicer bolj nevarno, toda plača je takšna, da bo lahko svoji zvesti ženi pošiljal kaj domov.

Pred vrati tovarne stoji veliko delavcev z bledimi lici in čakajo delo. Daleč iz starega kraja so prišli, da bi tukaj zamenjali svojo delavno moč za dolarje in šli potem nazaj domov. Kdo ve, če bo kateri od njih kdaj še doma hodil?

Števan Kovač vtakne prejeto plačo v žep in reče:

*“Več ne pridem delat.”*

Ime Števana Kovača so izbrisali iz knjig.

Naslednjega dne je že drug delavec delal na njegovem mestu.

Ko se je Števan Kovač vrnil domov, je našel na mizi pismo. Odprl ga je. Ko je zagledal, da mu je pisala njegova zvesta žena, so se mu od veselja zasvetile oči. Čim je začel brati pismo, se je njegovo veselje spremenilo v žalost.

*“... Mali Jožko ... ko je pozimi v gozdu nabiral drva, se je prehladil, ker je imel strgane čevlje ... zdaj je zelo bolan ... vročino ima ... Doktor pravi, da bo verjetno samo do jutra ...”*

Tam daleč, v starem kraju, v Prekmurju v neki mali vasici zvonijo zvonovi. Njihov nemili glas prosí, naj spustijo nedolžno dušo v nebesa ...

Oči Števana Kovača so oblike solze. V srcu ga je stisnilo in bridka bolezen ga je premagala. Ta močan človek se je stresel in zgrudil.

*“Ne, ne smem ... moram biti močan..Zslužiti moram denar in ga poslati domov ... morda niso samo bosí, ampak tudi lačni ...”*

Števan Kovač zbere vse svoje moči in čez nekaj časa se zglesi na delo v jeklarni.

Železo se topi v velikih kotlih. Več ton težko železje drsi po tirih nad glavami. Delavci zavpijejo: *“Pazi!”* Števan Kovač tega ni še nikoli videl in ni vedel, kaj je treba storiti. Slišal pa je, da je v jeklarni zelo nevarno in zato jih dobro plačajo. Ni bil pozoren na nevarnost, ampak je mislil na domače težavo. *“Moj siromak, moj mali sin Jožko, verjetno te ne bom več nikdar videl ...”*

Števanu Kovaču se je od velike vročine zavrtelo. Tekoče železo iz kotla ga popari ... zgrudi se ožgan. Drugi delavci so ga hitro odnesli na svež zrak in reševalec ga je odpeljal v bolnišnico.

Drugega dne je Amerikanski Slovencov Glas sporočil:

Števana Kovača, doma iz naše stare domovine, Prekmurja, je v jeklarni poparilo tekoče žareče železo. Čez nekaj ur je v hudih bolečinah za večno zaspal.”

### 4. Kanada

*Dragi moj dom<sup>15</sup>*

*Dragi je dom i veseli,  
Lejpa je rouža v tegleni.  
Lušno je bilou to malo  
Prekmurje, gde sem gor zraso.*

*Tam v tisti bregaj, dolinaj  
i vu Prekmurski ravninaj.  
Veselilo me je lejko  
Ar sem se ne nigdar stepo.*

*Ne kak zdaj od doma daleč  
V tühinskom, tühinski samec,  
Gde neman nindri nikoga  
Ne doma, ne poznanoga.*

Kalman Barbarič, Sebeborci, zdaj Kanada.

## III. Evropa

### 5. Francija

Kaj je doživel rudar Anton (zgodba)<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Pesem je napisana z madžarskim črkopisom in objavljena v DPK 1930,68. Isti pesnik je objavil še dve pesmi in sicer "Moja mati", DPK 1931,43, v kateri opisuje slovo od matere, ko se je s kovčkom v roki odpravljal od doma in ga je mati stisnila k sebi in zašepetala: "Sinek moj mili, z Bogom ostani." Druga je "Tam daleč pri mojem domu", DPK 1931,50, v kateri se iz daljnjih krajev spominja svojega doma, kjer "sem bil vesel, ko sem ptičke peti čul".

<sup>16</sup> Zgodba je napisana v slovenskem črkopisu, objavljena v DPK 1941,44. Pisec je podpisan samo z "Kalman Veren, Francija". Več podatkov o njem nimam.

Rojak Kalman Veren je v zgodbi opisal življenje kolonije na medji med Nemčijo in Francijo tik pred začetkom druge svetovne vojne. V njej je bilo precej slovenskih rojakov, ki so si za silo uredili življenje. Skupaj z družino so živeli v hišicah, kar je kazalo na določen standard. Ko se je približevala vojska, so morali na hitro zapustiti svoja bivališča.

“Poglej, zdaj se je pa zares približala pošast nove vojne. Na drugi strani francoske meje je pripravljenih tisoče letal, da prinesejo v kraje čez francosko mejo grozo in smrt. Padale bodo bombe, treskalo bo, klali se bodo in ognji bodo švigali proti nebu. Rudar Anton še maje z glavo. Ko zvečer sedi z ženo in sinom pri večerji, nekdo potrka na vrata. Ko odpre, zagleda nadzornika zatemnitve in ta se zadere nanj, naj zadela vsako luknjico, da ne bo šla svetloba na ulico.

Noč je mirna. Zjutraj slišijo zapoved:

*“Pripravite se za odhod. S seboj vzemite, kar hočete. Kolonija se mora izprazniti!”*

*“Rudarske družine se pripravljajo. Moj Bog, kako težko je vzeti slovo od usega, kar je tvoje. Rudar Anton stopi k staji za zajce. Gospodinja se ozre za kokošmi. Vse to morajo pustiti v usodo topovom in letalom. Nesreča je zdaj postala njihova resničnost. Prtebivalci hitijo v vagone, ne glede, če so potniški ali živinski. Vsak se stisne v svoj kot. Lokomotiva zažvižga in potegne proti zahodu. Zbogom kolonija poleg meje ...”*

### Sklep

Če primerjamo osebne vtise in doživetja, ki jih je urednik DPK Franc Talanyi vključil v letnike koledarja kot pisma, pesmi, prozo in *“urednikovo klepet”* in so prihajali iz Združenih držav Amerike, Argentine, Urugvaja, Kanade in Francije, lahko ugotovimo nekaj stičišč:

1. Izseljenci so ob prihodu v novo okolje težko našli redno zaposlitev; razlog je bil največkrat neznanje jezika okolice in pomanjkanje usposobljenosti za kvalificirana in zahtevnejša dela. Zadovoljiti so se morali tudi samo z občasnimi, večinoma najtežjimi deli. To je njihova pričakovanja in upanja, da bodo kmalu zaslužili dovolj denarja in se vrnili v svoje rodne kraje, povsem razblinilo. Nekateri so bridko nasprotje iskreno opisali (argentinska suha in prašna pokrajina, pomanjkanje hrane, okužen zrak, pičel zaslužek) in rojake doma posvarili, naj ne hodijo za njimi, ker bodo prišli z dežja pod kap. Bili so pa tudi škodoželjni primeri, ko so svoje srečanje s kruto resničnostjo prikazali popolnoma v napačni luči in vabili rojake za sabo, češ, zakaj bi njemu bilo dobro, ko jaz trpim.



2. Zaslužki so bili povsod majhni. Videti je, da so edino v ZDA in Franciji lahko zaslužili toliko, da so si kolikor toliko normalno uredili existenco, pa čeprav na precej nizkem klinu družbene lestvice. V Južni Ameriki so bili zaslužki te generacije komaj dovolj za golo preživetje.

3. Okolje jih je povsod sprejemalo kot tujce in jim to dalo na prepričljiv način tudi vedeti. Za malenkost boljša je bila situacija v ZDA, kjer je bila že generacija prej pred njimi in je začetne težave prebrodila, kakor zase tako tudi za nove priseljence. Ob tem je treba upoštevati, da je bil režim priseljavanja v ZDA pred prvo svetovno vojno precej liberalnejši in ni bilo cenzusa in posebnih pogojev, ki so jih iz razumljivih razlogov postavili pozneje. V svojih spisih so izseljenci zelo nazorno opisali boleč dotik dveh človeško brutalno in hkrati intimno doživetih strani: novemu okolju so bili tujci; svoje tujčevstvo so doživljali kot poniževanje svojega človeškega dostojanstva.

4. Slovenski rojaki so se med seboj podpirali. Slovenska kolonija v Franciji je tak tipičen primer. Tudi primer iz Argentine, ko sta dva Prekmurca skupaj ostala na delu, kjer so rabili samo dva delavca, bilo pa je osem iskalcev dela, kaže na "*vkup držanje*" (bi rekel znani slovenski psiholog dr. Anton Trstenjak) in hkrati na elementarno solidarnost ljudi v skupnem boju za preživetje.

5. Svoje materialno gospodarsko pomanjkanje in podrejenost so rojaki kompenzirali s kulturno, versko in dobrodelno angažiranostjo, ki se je odražala v veliki meri tudi na literarnem področju. Tu nam je pustila sledove osebnih človeških pretresov, ki so jih doživljali ob hudem trčenju pričakovanjskega mita s kruto resničnostjo.

SUMMARY

PREKMURJE EMIGRANTS ENCOUNTER NEW ENVIRONMENTS BETWEEN  
THE WORLD WARS

Mihael Küzmič

Prekmurje emigrants started to prepare themselves for their new environment while they were still at home, by obtaining travel documents (in Murska Sobota, Ljubljana and Zagreb) and by travelling. They carried with them descriptions of the relatives and friends who had invited them abroad, offering them the chance of a promising future. In the *Good Friends Annual* (Koledar Dober Pajdaš), we find personal impressions and experiences written in letters, stories and poems, in which the writers candidly describe their "hopes and fears". Articles were submitted by emigrants in Uruguay, Argentina, the USA, Canada, and France. To a large extent, their experiences in different continents and different countries were similar, and they encountered the same general difficulties. At first, they had problems finding regular work, so they started with what they could get, which was generally unappealing manual work. Wages were poor, sometimes barely enough to live on. There was no more talk of high earnings and a quick return home, which they had been expecting before their departure. For many, their dreams of returning home, of buying some land, building a house, and improving their standard of living vanished immediately in a puff of smoke. Everywhere they went, they were treated like foreigners, so in solidarity they helped each other, founding support groups. They expressed their spiritual strength through charitable work, religion and literature. These are the consequences of the shock they suffered during the terrible clash between their false expectations and the bitter truth.

## **ENCOUNTERING AND BUILDING CITY: IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA, 1880 - 1920.**

Adam Walaszek

*"Having seen it I urgently desire never to see it again"*

Rudyard Kipling

Complex motivations impelled many inhabitants of Polish land to migrate. They were often discussed in the literature, and repeating them, seems pointless.<sup>1</sup> The question I would like to address here is to which extent the immigrants' encounter with the American city was shocking, unexpected. It was possible that the world immigrants were entering was very different for them, American towns different from what immigrants knew from the Old Country. But is such hypothesis supported with the facts and immigrants' own accounts?

### **Road**

The boarder crossing, often full of colourful adventures and dangers, was not shocking. People knew all traps and were aware of dangers. The real fear and fright started in the harbour, and during the journey across the "Big Water." It was remembered the whole life. *"After this journey someone is like a newborn; many people die on the water."*<sup>2</sup> *"It stormed two days, and nobody ate anything, Day and night, any moment we were expecting death. Two days and two nights we were looking at a horrible grave in depths! Two such days and two nights are a century of tortures."*<sup>3</sup> Even when a ship did not come across any storm, all migrants were sick. And such journey lasted from eight days to two weeks. The air in the third class cabins was stuffy. The food -- abominable. Finally -- *"Unbearable [...] was the way Germans, these thieves, treated us."*<sup>4</sup> No wonder an immigrant women who planned to return to Poland after World War I, changed her plans mainly because *"there were no planes that time, and it was such a long way with this ship, and I was afraid of this ship. I was scared*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. only Ewa Morawska, "Labor Migrations of Poles in the Atlantic World Economy, 1880 - 1914," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(1989, no 3), pp. 237-272.

<sup>2</sup> Witold Kula, Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, Marcin Kula, *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890-1891* (Warszawa, 1973), pp. 53-55.

<sup>3</sup> Danuta Piatkowska, *Korespondencja z Ameryki w prasie polskiej na Śląsku. 1868-1900* (Wrocław, 1980), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Słowo*, 1907, no 173, 16(29), p.1.

*when we were going to this America, these horrible waves, we were thinking we would be all sunk.*"<sup>5</sup>

The travel across the Ocean was a dramatic and spectacular introduction to a new life. Once the land was visible, invariable a whole ship was full of enthusiasm, and excitement. Ignoring captain's warnings people crowded and pushed to bulwarks. They stared at approaching big buildings. Looked for wonders, known to them from relatives' letters. Toilets were crowded. *"Everyone's on the rush, washes, dresses; you see on their faces that everyone would like to make a good appearance on Americans."*<sup>6</sup> *"Sick people return to health, because it is known that sick people are not accepted in America."* Tension raised.<sup>7</sup> The immigrants were passing through the sanitary inspection in the Castle Garden, and later after 1908 on Ellis Island, were answering immigration officers questions.

### America

The real encounter with America came later. Immigrants were entering the country which industrial production enlarged 14 times between 1870 and 1929. Between the years 1870 and 1900 the population of Chicago tripled, becoming the industrial centre with 1,698,575 people. Ten years later its population numbered 2,705,017 people, and in the year 1920 -- 3,376,438. New York in the year 1900 had 3.5 million inhabitants. Population of Buffalo, Milwaukee or Detroit doubled between the years 1880 and 1900. In the year 1900 for the first time in U.S. history more people lived in the cities than in the countryside. It was there, in bigger or smaller towns, in industrial centres, where immigrants settled; there they found work. There there was a chance to achieve their goals, to fulfil their plans. It might seem, that the world migrants entered was different from the known one; that it startled them. This really happened in some cases, particularly in the first moment -- *"...in the evening we take a train (treen), and here the other novelty, the wagon is long as a saloon, padded benches, all people sit, two persons on one bench, and in the middle a lane."* After a moment *"a Black man appears, like a chimney sweeper, or something worse. But he carries a basket full of various fruits, cakes, candies and he passes a pack to every immigrant and goes further, more audacious open them. After a while the man returns and those who has opened a pack give 25 cents, and the unopened he takes back."*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia*, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago (hereafter quoted OHACP), JED 070, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Piątkowska, *Korespondencja*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Slowo*, 1907, no 173, p. 1; Allan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses. The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921*, (Arlington Heights, 1982), pp. 49-51; Jan Polcyn, *Pamiętnik, mss. Pamiętniki wiejskich Działaczy Społecznych*, Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, Szkoła Główna Handlowa, Warszawa, (hereafter quoted "Pamiętniki wiejskich," Vol. 3, pp. 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> Jan Bukowski, *Życiorys tulacza syna Podhala, mss.*, "Pamiętniki wiejskich," Vol. 1, pp. 5-6.

What was also striking was: “*The way they treated the passengers made a very good impression on me [...] American railway cares very much about its passengers and brings them to their destinations, even the youngest, Polish children (I witnessed it myself), who do not understand the language were given an address on the slip of paper hanging on their neck. Then each conductor knew which station children are travelling to.*”<sup>9</sup>

New, and unknown behaviours, customs. Sometimes new landscapes. For people coming from Plock guberniya it was univocally sad. They wrote: “*these are sad regions here [in America], there are no flat fields here, mountains only, and so high.*”<sup>10</sup> Sad and strange country: “*The country is strange, the language unknown, and it is difficult to understand.*”<sup>11</sup>

### City

Finally the city. For most immigrants New York was only the transferring place, a stop before going elsewhere, to their families, friends, countrymen. Once of such places was Chicago, the town where, according to Ludwik Krzywicki in the year 1895: “*Endless streets; dirt beyond any imagination, smoked houses, and the atmosphere of dust, soot, above them, with the bloody sun looking through it. On the unpaved streets, even on the hottest day, traces of mud; back streets, like in some Ciechanów, rows of multi-storey barracks in the middle of the town, further rows of wooden houses, smaller, and finally one-storey; stuffy breath stopping air.*”<sup>12</sup> Krzywicki noted something very interesting. After the first shock and amazement in New York, all immigrants' encounters with American cities did not shock. Migrants always knew some town. In late nineteenth century Poland villages had various contacts with towns. Franciszek Bujak polemizing with Stanisław Hupka's opinion on the almost total isolation of Ropczyce County villages, argued that in the mid nineteenth century peasants had “quite wide” relations with the outside world. “*Right after the enfranchisement they knew distant areas, and ways to them.*” Protoindustry such as existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g. linen, wood products) occasioned some travels. The products (even if their numbers were limited) were sold during the fairs. Onions cultivated in some parts of that county were later marketed in the fairs as far distant as Rzeszów, Debica, Tarnów or even Kraków. Bricklayers from Góra Ropczycka in the summer could be found searching for jobs in small Galician towns and villages. Village craftsmen, e. g. coopers from Czarna, had to go from one place to the another, as well. Peasants then travelled to manorial farms with their grain, and served in the army. From such journeys these people did not profit much

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<sup>9</sup> Polcyn, *Życiorys*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Kula, *Listy*, p. 365, also 85, 78.

<sup>11</sup> William I. Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce*, (Warszawa, 1976), Vol. 2, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> Krzywicki, *Za Atlantykiem. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce* (Warszawa, 1895), pp. 66-67.

economically but they encountered different cultures, topographies. Soldiers returned home from the army thereby attained authority in the villages, and became their leaders during the conflicts with the manor. Migrants coming back to the villages carried not only some money, but also some knowledge on the world.<sup>13</sup> Peasant immigrants from Galicia, Russian Poland, Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary or Sicily knew towns. They knew them as different from villages compact, alive centres; they had an image of towns, and town life.

### **Myth and Disappointment**

In America, in New York, or elsewhere, immigrants could be and were surprised in two ways. First, their myth of America could fail. The failure of the myth was often described in American historiography.<sup>14</sup> Fascinated by political and ideological changes, by the development of national consciousness among Polish immigrants, finally by some migrants' material advancement, for a long time in Polish works forgotten remained great difficulties and problems migrants had to suffer, existential problems they faced, particularly during first years of their stay in America. It is not that easily remembered that the first immigrants' encounter with American towns, with ethnic districts, disappointed the newcomers. The image of shining streets paved with cents, dollars, gold, was confronted with harsh, brutal everyday reality.

Here are some of the accounts given by immigrants themselves: "*I was so disappointed when I saw Chicago. It was dirty, barefoot women were sitting on stairs, each one working [...] I was going with my husband, and these women are sitting on stairs, barefoot.*"<sup>15</sup>

Barefoot! In the town! Where was the legendary American wealth? Where beautiful clothing, hats, dresses, ties, shoes, known from the photographs sent to the villages by their relatives from across the Ocean? And the new astonishment "*When after a twelve-day journey I saw the city of Johnstown: squalid and ugly, with those congested shabby houses, blackened with soot from the factory chimneys - this was the America I saw*" -- a Galician peasant recalled.<sup>16</sup> "*To find myself in such a place [Back of the Yards] was quite a shock.*"<sup>17</sup> "*My mother kept saying 'Oh, my God', she says, 'I thought America was*

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<sup>13</sup> Franciszek Bujak, Review from S. Hupka's book, *Über die Entwicklung der westgalizischen Dorfstände in der zweiten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts* (Teschen, 1912), in *Ekonomista*, 4(1911), pp. 222-223; F. Bujak, *Kilka przyczynków i sprostowań do pracy dra St. Hupki o rozwoju stosunków włościańskich nad górna Wielopolką w Galicji zachodniej (pow. Ropczyce)* (Warszawa, 1913) offprint from *Ekonomista*, pp. 85-89.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Marianne Debouzy, *In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty. Immigrants, Workers and Citizens in the American Republic 1880-1920*, (Saint-Denis, 1988), passim.

<sup>15</sup> OHACP, CIS-049, fold. 5-6, pp. 5-6.

<sup>16</sup> Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter. The Life Worlds of East-Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 113.

<sup>17</sup> Sophie Kosciowlowski, 1971, *Oral and Labor History Collection*, Book 9, Roosevelt

beautiful' I was to go back to Italy". "The sink was completely covered with roaches and it was just horrible, just simple - and you couldn't get rid of them because everybody had them and they didn't have any exterminators there were mice around there. I remember I went to the washroom one day and got so scared. There was a mouse"<sup>18</sup> "... the backyards were very small... and I didn't see any beautiful gardens, no charming orchards, no flowers that I could pick freely from delightful meadows... My dear little old yawn was surrounded with those beautiful things - the meadows were so near that we children could play, run, yell whenever we wanted. In America missed all those lovely things."<sup>19</sup> As late as in 1939 Anna Nowak, who lived in the Back of the Yards district said, that at dawn she was sometimes sitting in the window and watched the old women working in the backyards, she watched working women shuffling their feet; and then she wanted to cry.<sup>20</sup> "Oi Veh! my mother cried in dismay, where is the sunshine in America? She went to her tenement window and looked at the blank wall of the next house [...] Where are the green fields and open spaces in America?" The sunrise remained the metaphor very often used; it described alienation, loneliness, strangeness. And this is also often the way we tend to perceive immigrants' everyday lives.<sup>21</sup> "So, We have crossed half the world for this?" asked bitterly in 1895 Maria Ganz when she had looked around her new apartment.<sup>22</sup>

### "Where Is the City?"

What is less known from the literature, was another common immigrants' surprise, another view which struck them after the arrival to an American town: "I never thought that such a big and already 60-year-old city could have such a strange appearance," a Polish journalist wrote in 1892 about Cleveland, Ohio. "One has the impression of the Far West, where house after house is being built, where everything is only just being delineated and remains unfinished. For it is here that the wild forest or the virgin prairie push in between the streets and houses, and the beautiful buildings filled with modern objects exist side by side with unbridled jungle." A broad street suddenly gives way to a steep wall overgrown with weeds. In order to cross over to the other side one either has to follow a circular route, or else take chances of getting dirty or even hurt. "Similarly, going from one part of the city to another, we have to wade through a knee-deep gorge cutting across the eastern part of the city, while further north there are numerous steel plants." Detroit was so different: "broad streets

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<sup>18</sup> University of Illinois, *Italians in Chicago Oral History Project* (hereafter quoted ICOHP), Rena Domke, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted after Maxine S. Seller, *Immigrant Women*, (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> Anne Banks, ed., *First Person America* (New York, 1980), p. 64.

<sup>21</sup> Anzia Yezierska, *Hungry Hearts*, (New York, 1920), pp. 263-264, quoted after E. Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars. Life and Culture on the Lower East Side 1890-1940*, (New York, 1985), p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> Ewen, *Immigrant Women*, p. 60

*covered with asphalt or paved with timber cubes, clean houses.... a beautiful city!" Cleveland -- only a curiosity.<sup>23</sup> To the Slovene immigrant women arriving in Cleveland in 1926 the city even did not look like a city: "I got a train to come here. When I came downtown, I look where the city is and where the houses are and I ask my husband, 'Where's Cleveland?' And he know how I feel and he says, 'We be in pretty soon.' So I'm quiet and we drove up here on St. Clair to Collinwood and, uh, I look around and I says, 'Gee, where is Cleveland, where is that city, is city around here? And he says, 'pretty soon we'll be home.' Then I was quiet and was wishing I could go back. I looked around and I couldn't believe that that was houses. It looked like 'barake'."<sup>24</sup>*

But for immigrant, industrial America it was Cleveland, not New York, which was typical. An Italian immigrant women remembered the year 1911: "*we saw a lot of ugly wood...wooden houses. We always had stone houses in Italy. You don't see wooden houses over there. My ma says...what kind of a house is that? People live in those houses. Ugly... specially on the road of the train... I'm sorry we came here... My husband called for us to come here. This is worse than... our little town was better. We could see that beautiful Viareggio, the ocean. My ma says...Mama mia, how we gonna live over here? What kind of a place is this?*"<sup>25</sup> In Chicago: "*We had wooden sidewalks a muddy road, which cut in half of where I live. And it was all a...woods. It was very, very primitive. We had to get our water from the pump.*"<sup>26</sup> Finally let us hear some comments of a Hungarian monsignor Peter Vay, who in the year 1905 visited Magyar parish in Chicago: "*On arriving at Chicago I found that the place of my destination was rather difficult to get at, and a good way off, being situated in the southernmost suburb of the town. First I had to travel by rail up to a certain point, then by the overhead railroad, and finally by street car. We were right through the city, past sumptuous palaces and warehouses, through labyrinths of modest streets, until at last I found myself democratically seated in an ordinary street car, which carried me away into what seemed the heart of the country. To right and left stretched endless fields of maize, and with the exception of a few tall chimneys, on the horizon, the scene before me appeared in its primeval verdure, one immense expanse of untilled loneliness. No streets, no houses! - 'But all that will come by and by,' I was told, and on my next visit I should see this rural landscape transformed into blocks of houses and streets, just like all the rest of the town.*

*At a little distance among the marshy pasture land I detected the small wooden structures. From its roof waved the American and Hungarian flags,*

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<sup>23</sup> Emil Habdank Dunikowski, *Wśród Polonii w Ameryce. Druga seria 'Listów z Ameryki'* (Lwów, 1893), pp. 103, 53.

<sup>24</sup> Nada Sabec's interview with a Slovenian immigrant, Cleveland, 1987, Maribor University, Maribor, Slovenia.

<sup>25</sup> ICOHP, Maria Valiani, p. 14-15

<sup>26</sup> ICOHP, Judith Cassai, s. 1.



*stars and stripes and the tricolour (red, white and green) harmoniously blending together. 'That is the church, and the school is underneath,' someone proudly volunteered. A humble edifice truly, but speaking of much sacrifice and labour. These simple folk have built it with their hard earned savings, for the glory of God, and the religious education of their children.'*<sup>27</sup>

### **Building Immigrants' Neighbourhoods: the Case of Cleveland**

During the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the cities were still under construction; and these were the immigrants who were constructing them. The example of Cleveland, the fifth American industrial centre, and a place with a very differentiated industry, might be used. Polish ethnic neighbourhoods, which until the 1920s were principally located along the city's fringes, were isolated. This did not mean they had no contact with other, similar neighbourhoods, or with the outside world. And when these neighbourhoods expanded, their character also changed.

In the 1870s, when the number of Polish immigrants started to grow, Poles were living either next to or mixed with Czechs: on Wilson Avenue, and on Broadway, about a mile from Cleveland Rolling Mill Co., which attracted them to Newburgh (a district south from the city of Cleveland, incorporated to it later). In 1880s they (the 1870 census registered 77 Poles) created their own community on Tod and Fleet Street, separated by canals and ditches from Broadway, city's main avenue. On July 19, 1873 a Mutual Aid Association of St. Vincent a Paulo was created, which laid the foundations for the Roman Catholic parish of St. Stanislaus B. M. The first wooden church structure was erected in 1881. To everyone who purchased a lot for the church the landowner Ashbel Morgan offered another free of charge. Thirteen lots were bought that way. The neighbourhood which was now becoming more and more consolidated was referred to as Warszawa. In the year 1883 200 Polish families were supposed to live there. In 1903 - 850. Between 1879 and 1883 455 children were baptized and 84 weddings conducted.<sup>28</sup>

### **"Warszawa"**

In the year 1890 the Polish neighbourhood in town stretched from Morgana Ravine and Heisley Street in the north and Broadway Avenue in the east, where

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<sup>27</sup> Vay de Vaya, *The Inner Life of the US*, New York 1908, quoted after John T. Ellis, ed., *Documents of American Catholic History*, (Wilmington), Vol. 2: 1866-1966, pp. 556-557. I thank Dr. Nina Gudrun Bimbaum, from Strasbourg, France, for this quotation.

<sup>28</sup> *Church and School Reports, 1878-1903*, St. Stanislaus Parish Papers, Archive Diocese Cleveland; J. B. Galford, *The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in the Great Lakes 1850-1950: A Study of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee*, (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1957), pp. 108-110; John J. Grabowski, *Polish Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1976), p. 151-158; Waclaw Kruska, *Historia polska w Ameryce. Początek, wzrost i rozwój dziejowy osad polskich w Polnocnej Ameryce (w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Kanadzie)* (Milwaukee, 1908), Vol. 12, pp. 36, 45-46.

it joined the Czech settlement, to Gertrude and Fullerton Avenue in the south, where it reached Harvard Grove.

Streets were then being laid out and homes erected on land belonging to old, protestant, New England immigrants -- Morgan, Hickox, Hosmer, Bates, Smith, and Reed. To the north of Harvard Avenue it was the Rev. Antoni Kolaszewski who owned the land. Teodor Dluzynski, one of the 'pioneer' immigrants from Prussian Poland and later one of community leaders and editor of the weekly *Polonia w Ameryce* [Polonia in America] recalled that, around 1890, "[I] bought a lot in Fleet Ave after I got additional money through working. I kept on investing in lots. A man named Hickox had died and his son had come into a lot of property. The son would come to me from time to time saying, 'Buy another lot. I'll sell cheap!' I kept on buying off him until I had ten lots, all in Fleet Ave. The streets at the time was a quagmire. For fifteen years I was unable to sell even one of these lots. But after that I sold all of them within the space of one year."<sup>29</sup>

Warszawa remained the core of Polish settlements in the city. It was from there that settlement plans or at least support for them came. In the years 1885-1889 nine Polish families lived on Kraków Street and Brecksville Road, at the fringe of the city. In 1890 the first church was consecrated here, and the area was known as "Kraków."

### **"Poznan"**

Immigrants from Prussian Poland settled also in a distant rural area, in the vicinity of industrial plants then being constructed along the Lake, near East 79th Street and Superior Avenue. This configuration of settlement was prompted by the presence of German immigrants in the area. The streets here were few and far between and building lots had scarcely been laid out. Rev. Antoni Kolaszewski (since 1883 the vicar of St. Stanislaus parish) had propagated the idea of creating Polish parish here. In the beginning of 1892 the landowner Joseph Hoffman was persuaded by a Polish church committee that "*he would sell many lots for homes to Polish people if the parish were once organized.*" The creation of the neighbourhood known as Poznań was initiated with the sale of lots in the block of Woolsey - Superior - Ansel - Saint Clair Streets.<sup>30</sup>

Jan Urbanowicz, a chairman of the parish committee and the organizer of the sale, advertised: "*Soon a Polish church is going to be erected in the Poznań*

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<sup>29</sup> Dan W. Gallagher, "*Different Nationalities in Cleveland*," *Cleveland News*, 23 December 1927.

<sup>30</sup> *Atlas of the Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland, Ohio* (Chicago, 1892), plate 29; Historical sketch, mss, St. Casimir Parish Papers, 1892- 1908, Archive Diocese Cleveland, Cleveland, np.; Aantoni Kolaszewski to Bishop Richard Gilmour, 4 November 1890; and Kolaszewski to Bishop Gilmour, [1891], St. Stanislaus Parish Papers, fold. 1873-1892, Archive Diocese Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio.

quarter, thus the area will become a very good place for those who buy lots, for the land in this part of town is valuable.... and will be more valuable in two years. Here there are many plants, and if you don't have jobs, you may go there and jobs will be found. The building lots in Poznań are flat, dry, and shaded by beautiful trees."<sup>31</sup>

St. Casimir Parish was created on July 17, 1893. "It is funny how fast everything moves here in America. This Polish colony has only existed for two years and already... the houses go up like mushrooms after the rain, and the Polonia numbers grow almost daily. Things still look pretty primitive; the streets have only just been laid out, and one wades ankle-deep in the alluvial sand or in the mud of the prairie, but no doubt things will soon improve." A prelate Vay de Vaya wrote the same.<sup>32</sup>

### "Kantowo"

The third place Polish immigrants settled was the vicinity of Columbus Street and Fairfield Street, on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River. It was clearly the migrants from Galicia who initially predominated among these Poles. But Tremont -- that was the general name of the area was ethnically mixed. Germans, Irish, and English lived here side by side. New migrants were attracted by the steel plants which developed at the foot of a steep hill where Tremont was situated. Since the middle of the 1870s Russians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Greeks, Syrians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, and Poles had increasingly settled. In 1890, 300 Polish families were reported to be living here. Two years later, in 1897 they were able to create St. John Cantius Parish (which would supply a nickname for the whole neighbourhood - "Kantowo"). "Very close to the big plants in the north-western part of the city there is also a Polonia, but it is somewhat poor, as it lives in tiny wooden houses belonging to the plants. Seemingly, these people don't think about settling there for good," Dunikowski recorded (nota bene not necessary being right).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Kurier Clevelandzki*, 9, 16, 22 July 1891; *Polonia w Ameryce*, 12 May 1892, p. 2; Mary Pogorzelska, "A Historical Study of Religion and Education As Underlying Influence in the Localization of the Poles of Cleveland up to 1915" (M.A., Graduate Division St. John College of Cleveland, 1951), pp. 58-59.

<sup>32</sup> Dunikowski *Wśród Polonii*, p. 104; Ludwik Grzebień S.J. ed., *Burzliwe lata Polonii amerykańskiej. Wspomnienia i listy misjonarzy jezuickich 1864-1913* (Kraków, 1983), p. 139; Interview with S. Radzimirski, mss., *The Immigrant Experience Project*, Greater Cleveland Ethnographic Museum, Cuyahoga County Community College, Cleveland, Ohio, pp.10-11; *Interview with C. Radzimirski*, *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> William J. Galush, "Forming Polonia: A Study of Four Polish American Communities 1890-1940" (Ph.D. diss. University of Minnesota 1975), pp. 84-86, 107-111; Dunikowski, *Wśród Polonii*, p. 108.

**Neighbourhoods, Houses, Apartments**

The majority of Warszawa's little streets were not paved; neither did sidewalks yet exist. Frank Ratajczak "remembered the time in his youth when he would run out and put the ashes, from the coal stoves that were used then, onto the walks after rain to hold the earth together and prevent muddy surfaces." The surfaces of East 65th Street between Lansing and Fleet Avenue were then paved; whereas sidewalks were built only in 1918. Sidewalks came to Morgan Avenue near East 75th Street in 1922. In "Kraków" at the beginning of the century, after spring and fall rains, the inhabitants "could hardly walk for the mud." When building lots were being sold here in 1912, it was specially emphasized that the streets "had been levelled and stone sidewalks had been built." At the corner of Lansing and East 64th Street the first street lamp was lit in 1921. The eastern side of Broadway Avenue obtained electric lights only in 1922. Perhaps that was the reason there were so many street accidents e. g., pedestrians knocked over by carts, trams, and automobiles. Workers often took shortcuts on their way home from work by walking along railway tracks. In the darkness there were many accidents along these tracks. The stench from the sewers and canals flowing into Kinsbury Run was so obnoxious that in 1921 as was assented at a meeting of the City Council: "Conditions [are] detrimental to the health and comfort of those residing in the vicinity of said streams." Belatedly, Councilman F. Orlikowski managed in 1923 to introduce resolutions for a universal sewage system. "Poznań," having paved its streets and sidewalks at the beginning of the twentieth century, presented a better example.<sup>34</sup> For a generation or even longer Polish neighbourhoods reminded one in their appearance villages rather than towns. They had been established on inhabited territories: "I found nothing when I came out to this parish but fields," Rev. Kolaszewski attested, remembering the year 1883. Ducks, hens, chicken, and geese were kept, and vegetable gardens and fruit trees surrounded the houses. By no coincidence was "Kraków" called "Goosetown". Like the landscapes of Polish villages, the lots were separated from the streets by wooden fences, assertedly "propped up" by dissipated and bored youth.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *City Record* (Cleveland), 1922, pp. 609, 664; 1918, p. 686; 1921, p. 1043, 1606; 1922, p. 664; Coroner Files, case 2090, death of P. Bartlasky, 12 April 1893; case 2500, H. Koplanka, 4 April 1894; case 3575, E. Kalinowski, 29 January 1896, Cuyahoga County Archive, Cleveland, Ohio; Kniola Travel Bureau, Cleveland, Records 1894-1950 (hereafter cited Kniola), Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland (hereafter quoted WRHS), Series I, Cont. 1, fold. 8, p. 686; Kraut, *The Huddled*, p. 64, 68; *Monitor Clevelandski*, 31 October 1923; *Polonia w Ameryce*, 8 July 1898; 12 May 1912; S. Radziminski, mss., p. 10; Frank Ratajczak, *Success through hard work*. Biography, 1 May 1945, mss, v.f., Ratajczak, WRHS, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Polonia w Ameryce*, 1 December 1898; *Kurier Clevelandski*, (Cleveland), 9, 16, 22 June, 20 August 1891. Interview with J. Szostek, *The Immigrant Experience Project*, Greater Cleveland Ethnographic Museum, Cuyahoga County Community College, Cleveland, Ohio, p. 5; A. Kolaszewski to Bishop R. Gilmour, 4 November 1890, *St. Stanislaus Parish Papers*, fold. 1873-1892, Archive Diocese Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio.

Everywhere one-storey wooden dwellings prevailed. In "Warszawa" only 3.5% of the houses were built of brick, while 10% were tenements. The inhabitants from other parts of the city who visited these neighbourhoods, as well as contemporary American social workers and scholars reported that, "*Foreign landlords!... low standards and responsibility baffle every effort for improvement,*" and that the tenants inhabiting houses in worker neighbourhoods were "[not able] to meet any of the city requirements regarding property, such as the installation of sanitary plumbing with sewer connection." In 1909 in "Kantowo" 31,2% of all houses were recognized as decisively substandard or barely satisfactory. Considerably more favourable opinions were expressed with regard to "Warszawa," only 7% of all houses were regarded as dirty and neglected. "*Polish houses, which are mostly made of wood, are spacious and clean, and testify to the well-being of their inhabitants. However, one also finds brick houses and real palaces such as for instance the villa of Mr. Orlikowski,*" Dunikowski had reported in 1893. Eight percent of apartments and houses in "Warszawa" had only external water-wells; while in "Kantowo" 37% of Polish homes had to use external water-wells. In 1914 half of the families (52%) in "Warszawa" had no toilets in their apartments; and 21% had to share these facilities with other families. In "Kantowo" only 6.9% had their own toilets. Nevertheless, it was stated by contemporaries that sanitary conditions in the homes inhabited by Polish immigrants were by no means the worst in the city.<sup>36</sup>

The reports of American social workers who visited "Hunkie" neighbourhoods reflected either horror or disgust. In a seemingly disinterested way, quoting endless figures, these researchers gave American readers the same opinion about Poles, as had a certain New York foreman in 1885: "*They're living like pigs.*"<sup>37</sup>

### **Standard of Living in America and in Poland**

However, it would be fruitless to search for comparable, significant critical comments about this life in immigrants' letters or diaries. The apartments and the conditions of life in an American city were more comfortable than in the

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<sup>36</sup> Mildred Chadsey, *An Investigation of Housing Conditions of Cleveland's Workingmen, Cleveland*, Department of Public Welfare of the City of Cleveland, Monograph Series, No 1 (Cleveland, 1914), p. 7-8, 13-22; Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, *Housing Conditions in Cleveland*. 1904, (Cleveland, 1904), p. 19, 40; *Reports of the US Immigration Commission*, (Washington D.C., 1911), Vol. 26, Part 1, 557-565; James B. Whipple, "*Cleveland in Conflict. A Study in Urban Adolescence 1876-1900,*" (Ph. D. Diss., Department of History, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1951), p. 234; Galush, "*Forming Polonia,*" p. 84; Dunikowski, *Wśród Polonii*, p. 104.

<sup>37</sup> Bureau of Statistics of Labor of the State of New York, *Third Annual Report for the Year 1885* (Albany, 1886), p. 511.

Old Country. It was noticed, that Polish worker "lives better, more hygienicly and culturally than many Galician clerks."<sup>38</sup>

The differences between the standard of living in the two worlds is probably best illustrated by those migrants who had spent some time in America and then returned to the Old Country. They wrote: "Here, in the New World we live in much better conditions than our brothers in the Old Country."<sup>39</sup>

Nothing aroused greater dissatisfaction of Protestant researchers as the overcrowded houses. In 1914 in "Warszawa" an average of nine persons lived in a single apartment; in 1909 in "Kantowo" between two and three persons had shared one room. It was boarders and lodgers who to a great extent increased the density of habitation. With little regard as to the size of the apartments, tenants often sublet a part of them. The immigrants had adopted the boarding system (already long known in America) quickly, together with the name "boarder" (Polish, *bortnik*). Thus, if the average family in "Warszawa" numbered seven persons in 1914, the number of persons living in one apartment was probably nine. Boarders and lodgers constituted 14.1% of all inhabitants in "Kantowo." Persons newly arrived in America alone usually stayed with same family (often relatives, but also total strangers). They took their meals there. The boarding system made it easier for the greenhorns to enter the new urban world. For the landlords it was equally, if not more advantageous, and ensured a permanent income. Besides, it was closely connected with the institution of the family. It gave women a possibility to enhance their family budgets and at same time it kept them home.<sup>40</sup>

One-storey wooden houses often had porches and verandas jutting out into the street, also little gardens where people meet, talked, gossiped, and drank beer on Sundays. Empty lots afforded spaces for social meetings, particularly in times of crises and tensions. Public wells and water reservoirs were popular meeting and discussion places for women and youth. The saloon was the magnet for men, a social, political centre, a plebeian club. There one could confide in others, ask for advice, and form opinions about current affairs, while

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<sup>38</sup> M. Janik, "Ludność polska w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej," *Lud*, 11(1905), no 3, pp. 261-263; J. Tuchocki's letter, *Detroit*, 28 January 1904, Ossolineum Library, Wrocław, mss 7192/II, p. 249.

<sup>39</sup> *Pamiętniki emigrantów. Stany Zjednoczone*, (Warszawa, 1977) Vol. 1, p. 253.

<sup>40</sup> Chadsey, *An Investigation*, pp. 22-25; Immigration Commission, *Reports*, pp. 526, 539-552, 587; John Bodnar, "Immigration, Kinship and the Rise of Working Class Realism in Industrial America", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 14(1980), no 1, p. 56; *Rough Census of the St. Stanislaus Parish*, 31 January, 1913, mss., St. Stanislaus Parish Collection, Cont. 2, fold. 6, WRHS; *Chronicle*, 1922, mss, St. Stanislaus Parish Collection, WRHS, Cont. 1, fold. 1, p. 17; *John Gallka Collection*, WRHS, Vol. 1, pp. 26-27; Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards. The Making of Local Democracy* (Chicago-London, 1986), pp. 33-34; Adam Walaszek, "Lokatorzy slumsów. Okolice chicagoskich rzeźni w 1905 roku", *Przegląd Polonijny*, 10(1984, no 2), pp. 5-24; *Pamiętniki emigrantów*, Vol. 2, pp. 54-55; Galush, "Forming," p. 111.

drinking a glass of vodka or beer. It was the tavern that marked the beginnings of social organization. The parish committee had met here to decide what to do to found a church. It was here that strikers and union members met. In 1885 Poles and Czechs "*were observed in front of saloons and on street corners, holding animated conversations.*" Saloon's owner was a banker, who cashed checks; he was an adviser, a leader. So many future businessmen and politicians started their careers as saloon owners.<sup>41</sup>

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Ethnic neighbourhoods, which later transformed into communities, were constructed through years.<sup>42</sup> What is worth remembering however, is, that during first years in America, very often, immigrants simply built, physically constructed their neighbourhoods, houses, streets etc. They lived in the neighbourhoods, which in many ways reminded of European villages.

After some years church silhouette dominated a neighbourhood.

"When I saw this church, this John Cantius I cried, because I saw my church from Poland. I was in Poland, we had a beautiful church, high altars, pillars, all." When a women saw church in Chicago she decided: "Because of these churches I would like to live in Chicago." So she stayed.<sup>43</sup> A youngster, who left Podhale and in 1899 came to Mount Pleasant, Pa. remembered the first evening after his arrival: "And Saturday evening the whole Podhale come to us. My God! We are one big family here. All ask about their families and relatives in the old country."<sup>44</sup> This surprised. "When I arrived to America I asked myself whether I was in Rypin?"<sup>45</sup> "Am I really in America? For two days I hear exclusively Polish. I walked on tens streets. Familiar announcements on signboards, someone produces tombstones, someone has a steamship ticket agency and acts as legal adviser!"<sup>46</sup> "This is not America! It's Tarnów, Stanisławów!" E. Dunikowski exclaimed with great astonishment once in America.<sup>47</sup> The immigrants' encounter with the American city was not accompanied by a cultural shock. The new world was not very different from

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with S. Dykes, The Immigrant Experience Project, Greater Cleveland Ethnographic Museum, Cuyahoga County Community College, Cleveland, Ohio, p. 4; Interview with S. Radzyminski, pp. 11-12; Interview with Szostek, p. 5; Gallka Collection, Vol. 1, p. 19; Plain Dealer 6 July 1885; I. Cizmic, "The Role of Boarding Houses and Saloons in the Life of South Slav Immigrants in the U.S.A. (1880-1920)," Lock Haven International Review, Vol. 1(1987), Spring, pp. 6-14.

<sup>42</sup> Aleksander Posem-Zieliński, *Tradycja a etniczność. Przemiany kultury Polonii amerykańskiej*, (Wrocław-Warszawa, 1982), p. 107; Walaszek, "Lokatorzy," passim.

<sup>43</sup> OHACP, CIS-049 fold. 5-6, p. 6-7.

<sup>44</sup> Bukowski, "Życiorys," p. 6-7.

<sup>45</sup> Kula, *Listy*, p. 68.

<sup>46</sup> Krzywicki, *Za Atlantykiem*, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Dunikowski, *Wśród*, p. 41.

the one they had known from the Old Country. Sometimes it is also the case today. A late Polish writer and poet Miron Bialoszewski wrote: *"I look around, streets and only one-storey houses, cottages. Like in Rembertów, like in Otwock. Little houses, trees and little houses. - All the Buffalo like this? - All. It turned out that there is a downtown, with skyscrapers but it is small and distant. There is a million people in Buffalo, so if all of them are in these houses, it has to be awfully lengthy."*<sup>48</sup>

### POVZETEK

## GRADNJA MEST IN SOOČENJE PRISELJENCA Z MESTNIM OKOLJEM V AMERIKI, 1880 - 1920

Adam Walaszek

Članek skuša preveriti tezo, ki pravi, da so se priseljenci ob prihodu v ameriška mesta soočili z zanje nenavadnimi in nepričakovanimi razmerami. Novi svet naj bi občutili kot nekaj povsem drugačnega, ameriška mesta pa so se v mnogočem razlikovala od tistega, kar so poznali na stari celini.

Prvi vtisi, ki so jih priseljenci zbrali v New Yorku ali Chicagu, naj bi po splošnem prepričanju bili vse prej kot prijetni, vendar to ni povsem res, kajti upoštevati je treba tudi sposobnost prilagajanja ljudi novim razmeram. Poljski kmetje so bili v stalnem stiku s svetom okoli sebe, mesto pa so dojemali kot težavno topografsko strukturo z živahnim središčem. Poljske priseljence je najbolj presenečal nenavaden videz ameriških mest: tu ni bilo pravih središč, pešci pa so morali paziti, da se ne umažejo z blatom po cestah.

Etnične soseske, ki so se kasneje spremenile v skupnosti, so se gradile več let. Treba pa je vedeti, da so priseljenci v prvih letih bivanja v Ameriki samo gradili, fizično ustvarjali svoje soseske, hiše, ulice ipd. Živeli so v soseskah, ki so v mnogočem spominjale na evropske vasi.

Po nekaj letih se je nad sosesko izvila cerkev. "Ko sem jo zagledal, sem zajokal, ker sem videl svojo cerkev na Poljskem. Bil sem spet na Poljskem, imeli smo čudovito cerkev, visoke oltarje, stebre, vse." Ko je neka ženska zagledala cerkev v Chicagu, se je odločila: "Prav zaradi teh cerkva bi rada tu živela." In je ostala. Mladenič, ki je leta 1899 prišel iz Podhal v ameriško mesto Mount Pleasant, se je spominjal prvega večera po prihodu: "In v soboto zvečer so k nam prišle cele Podhale. Moj Bog! Tukaj smo prava družina. Vsi sprašujejo o svojih družinah in sorodnikih iz starega sveta." To ga je presenečalo. "Ko sem

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<sup>48</sup> Miron Bialoszewski, *Obmąpywanie Europy, AAAmeryka* (Warszawa, 1988), pp. 83-84.



prišel v Ameriko, sem se spraševal, ali sem še v Rypinu? Ali sem res v Ameriki? Že dva dni slišim le poljsko. Prehodil sem že na desetine ulic. Na tablah vidim znane napise, nekdo izdeluje nagrobne spomenike, nekdo vodi agencijo za prodajo parniških vozovnic in dela kot pravni svetovalec!" "To ni Amerika! To je Tarnov, Stanislavov!" je nekoč povsem presenečen vzkliknil E. Dunikowski. Priseljenci ob srečanju z Ameriko potemtakem niso občutili nikakršnega kulturnega šoka. Novi svet se ni po mnogočem razlikoval od tistega, kar so poznali na stari celini. Lahko bi rekli, da to na nek način velja tudi danes.



**THE CONFRONTATION OF MYTH OF AMERICA AND  
REALITY AS EXPRESSED IN THE RECOLLECTIONS  
OF SLOVENE IMMIGRANT WOMEN**

Majda Kodrič

The purpose of this essay is to suggest, according to the life stories of Slovene immigrant women in the United States, how their preconceived images of America were confronted with American reality in their individual experiences of migration processes and of integration into their new environment. The accounts which are considered here belong to a collection of twenty-one autobiographical contributions, written mostly by women, which have been assembled in a book entitled *Footsteps through time*, published in 1978.<sup>1</sup> Its editor is Irene M. Planinsek Odorizzi, daughter of Slovene immigrants and, following her mother's example, actively engaged in the Slovenska Ženska Zveza (Slovenian Women's Union, in short SWU), a Catholic oriented women's organization which has been active among Slovene immigrants in the United States since 1926, when it was established in Chicago. By publishing this book Planinsek Odorizzi stresses the importance of the life experiences of immigrant women and of their contribution to the establishment and the development of the Slovene ethnic community in the United States. The book thus stems from her involvement in the SWU, and in general in her participation in the preservation of the Slovene ethnic heritage.

The series of narratives begins with the life story of her mother, Emma Matko Planinsek. Besides describing her life, as well as that of some of the other women who achieved prominent positions in the Slovene ethnic community, the editor has also gathered some more common life stories. By doing so, she aims to present the struggle of every immigrant for a worthwhile life in the new homeland as an invaluable contribution to the progress of the Slovene ethnic community in the United States. At the same time, these recollections offer the reader the opportunity to compare several immigrant experiences, to observe their diversity, as well as their recurrent features. The narratives of Slovene immigrant women collected in this book certainly tell many different life stories. What, on the other hand, most unites their experiences, is that in no case did the reality which they encountered on their arrival in America correspond to their expectations. At least at the beginning all

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<sup>1</sup> *Footsteps through time*, Irene M. Planinsek Odorizzi ed., Arlington, Virginia, 1978.

of them had to adapt to more or less difficult circumstances, within which whatever they proposed to achieve needed to be built up from scratch.

Almost all of the seventeen Slovene immigrant women whose recollections we can follow in this book<sup>2</sup> indicate the year of their emigration to the United States. One emigrated in 1890, most between the beginning of this century and World War I, some in the years immediately after the war. The majority of them emigrated still unmarried. Two were just fifteen years old. Two left for the United States as children, at respectively three and nine years of age, together with their families. About half of them came from Dolenjska (Lower Carniola), others came from elsewhere in the Slovene territory. In the United States they mostly settled in various cities and towns in Illinois, in Cleveland and in Pittsburgh, but also elsewhere in the Midwest. Two lived in more distant western states, one in Colorado and the other in Utah. There Anna and George Stephan lived with their family in the mountain village of Highland Boy near a large open-pit copper mining site which, through its rapid growth in the first half of this century, eventually caused the village to be razed to the ground.<sup>3</sup>

In most narratives we can trace the social origin of their authors. The majority of them had grown up in poor farmers' families or in modest social conditions, while some came from larger farms or from a generally more favorable environment. The diverse social and economic positions of their families, but also the level of their school education and the working experiences that they had already acquired in the homeland, largely influenced the various range of reasons and purposes which accompanied their decision to emigrate.

In some cases it is explicitly stressed that emigration was not an absolute necessity and the emigrant pursued the myth of America as a country of unlimited opportunities for the improvement of his own social position and for the achievement of an easier way of life. For the twenty-two year old Emma Matko, daughter of a miner from Trbovlje who, after attending a cookery school and having acquired her first experiences of work, was employed as a governess by a wealthy family in Zagreb. Living in such an environment "*intensified her desire to work hard, save her money and live a more pleasant life than a person of her humble birth would normally expect*". At the same time, she believed that she would be able to achieve this goal only "*in America, the land of opportunity*."<sup>4</sup> Johanna from Nova Štifta in the Savinja Valley - in general the immigrant women to which this essay will refer will be defined by their name and their place of origin, as they are in the titles given to their

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<sup>2</sup> The book also includes the recollections of Martin Planinsek, Emma's second husband, of Joseph Kompare, the owner of a Slovene saloon in South Chicago, as well as of two Croatian immigrant women.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 133-137.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-13; the quotations are from p. 13.

narratives - was tired of unpaid work on her family's farm, though they lived well on it. Consequently, at the age of fifteen "*she decided to go to the U.S. and earn 'lots' of money quickly, then she could return home, enjoy independence and the better things in life.*"<sup>5</sup> In both cases their wishes were gradually fulfilled, since after having married - for Emma this was the second marriage - both ran a commercial business in Joliet, Ill. and in Sheboygan, Wis., respectively. However, they did not return home, as they had initially intended.<sup>6</sup>

The same intention and failure to realize it are evident in half of the accounts. Emigrants planned to remain in the United States only temporarily, for a few years, to save money and return to the homeland in a better financial condition than when they left. It is significant that this intention is stressed not only in the narratives of women who emigrated unmarried, but also in the cases of already married women, who emigrated together with their husband or just after him. Planning to return home in five years, Julia from Trbovlje and her husband Joe left for the United States immediately after their marriage, as her parents could not afford to provide her with a dowry and he did yet not own a house. However, after five years of hard work and saving "*they were no closer to their goal in life*"<sup>7</sup> than when they had left the homeland, and with time they established their home in America. In two other cases the husband was already a returnee, who strengthened the family's farm with his savings. However, soon the two couples began to aspire to establish their own homes and farms, and a further period of emigration seemed necessary in order to realize this goal. Thus, as Christina from Zuzemberk recalls, it was decided that her husband Edi "*would return to America, earn more money, and then build a home*" upon his return to the homeland. However, a few months after his emigration he wished her to follow him with their son, and ever since then they have remained abroad.<sup>8</sup> As for Rose from Ogulin and her husband Matt, a few years after their emigration she returned to the home village and they succeeded in purchasing a property, but his subsequent promotion to a better job persuaded them to sell it and settle definitively in the United States.<sup>9</sup> It may be concluded that in these and in many similar cases reality prevailed over the American myth, which portrayed America as a country of temporary immigration.

As for the idealized images of an easy life in America, in these narrative these images can be observed mainly in the cases of emigration in search of an improved standard of living. Thus, Emma from Trbovlje was surprised "when she realized that her unfamiliarity with the English language was a barrier to

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-30, 149-150.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-99; the quotation is from p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51; the quotation is from p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-121.

any good position” in the American environment.<sup>10</sup> Certainly emigration was viewed much more realistically by the emigrant Mary from the village of Sleme. Persistent conditions of poverty compelled her to leave with her husband Florjan for the United States after they had already endured the harsh experience of the slave-like working conditions on coffee plantations in Brazil, from where they had hardly managed to return home.<sup>11</sup> Anna from Ribnica must have had a similar realistic view of emigration. At the age of seventeen, after having worked as a farmhand for four years, her father urged her to do the same, although the son that had emigrated earlier advised him not to do so. He warned his parents of the hard working conditions which would confront her on the Iron Range in Minnesota, where she would follow him and two other sisters who had already left home. But the father “*clung to his decision*”, since “*he saw no future for her on the farm.*”<sup>12</sup>

His insistence on his daughter's emigration indicates that this measure was justified by considerable economic need. On the other hand, it reflects his unshakeable belief that America was a land of greater opportunities. This widespread belief is well expressed by Anna herself, as she states: “*Poor families from the Bela Krajina had to send their daughters to America, where their sons had gone, so they would have a future in the land of wealth and opportunity. This was the way it was for numerous families. Our town of Ribnica was unable to provide a good life for all of its sons and daughters.*”<sup>13</sup> From these observations, from Anna's life story and from the narratives it clearly appears that, despite the frequent confrontation with a less favorable reality, the myth of America as an escape from the poverty at home, persisted through the emigration tradition in families, as well as in kinship and broader communities, especially in the Slovene areas where the economic conditions were most unfavorable.

In the constantly recurrent processes of chain migration the women with whom we become acquainted in this book were often links in chains of brothers and sisters. In some cases they joined other relatives. Letters sent to them by friends who were already in the United States also helped to persuade them to emigrate. Marie from Rečica, who had neither relatives nor friends in America, “*accepted the invitation of her neighbors.*”<sup>14</sup> In some narratives we learn of the custom whereby the former relatives who already lived in the United States paid for the voyage across the ocean of the immigrants who joined them.<sup>15</sup> In many cases they offered temporary lodging to the newcomers

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 94, 144, 156.

in their own home when they first arrived. They were helpful in finding the first employment for them.<sup>16</sup> On their arrival in the new country, immigrant women were also aided by those who had lived there longer in becoming familiar with the American customs involved in running a household.<sup>17</sup>

As the only such case in this collection of narratives, which, however, may be representative of several others, the book also includes the life story of Maria from Podsreda, who emigrated to marry his brother's friend, as the two men had arranged for her from America.<sup>18</sup> Certainly being awaited by the future husband was a considerable incentive to emigrate. Besides, the attractiveness of emigration experiences, which in the home villages was still enhanced by returnees from the United States, evidently influenced the decision of Christina from Žužemberk and Rose from Ogulin - as we have already seen - to marry two of them. Remembering how she was charmed by Matt's foreign appearance and behavior, Rose tells us: "*Dressed in a fashionable tailored suit and smart felt hat, his dashing manner excited a number of youthful hearts, and turned many a shy head in his direction.*"<sup>19</sup>

After emigrating with him, she realized that life in America was less charming. However, Matt decided to spare her the hardships involved in running a boarding house,<sup>20</sup> as many immigrant women did, offering board and lodging to single immigrants and at the same time providing their households with additional resources. In the narratives examined in this essay this appears to have been the most common activity among immigrant women. Anna from Ribnica, for example, as her brother had predicted, was first employed as maid in a boarding house, and after getting married she ran one as its landlady.<sup>21</sup> The narrative by Mitzi from Jesenice is wholly devoted to the memories of her work with boarders. As was customary, she took care of twice as many boarders as there were beds in her house, since day and night shift workers took turns to sleep in them. Cooking for them and providing them with a laundry service kept her very busy. Her two daughters helped in this work besides attending school and later on besides being employed in a factory.<sup>22</sup> Albina from Ribnica, who grew up in the United States after having immigrated with her family as a nine year old child, recalls the work that she and her mother shared in running a boarding house: "*It wasn't an easy life and I can remember the many hours mother and I spent over boiling tubs of wash water, scrubbing by hand the heavy work clothing of our boarders. Drying it on lines strung across the kitchen*

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 68, 78, 140, 156.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 118-119.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-132.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-120.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-34.

*was a never-ending ritual. It seemed that cooking and washing took up most of our time.*"<sup>23</sup>

Upon their arrival in the United States, and besides being employed in the boarding houses, the immigrant women whose life stories we can follow in the book also provided help in saloons owned by their relatives, worked in factories or found employment as housemaids for various families.<sup>24</sup> Agnes from Sela felt she had taken a considerable step forward when she managed to secure a job as salesgirl in a department store, "*performing the duties for which she had been trained in Slovenia. This type of employment was far more satisfying than domestic work in a boarding house.*"<sup>25</sup> Like several of the other women, after getting married she herself ran one of them. Besides this, she and her husband were also involved in the running of various other businesses.<sup>26</sup> I have already mentioned similar cases of success earlier in the essay. The most difficult life experiences, on the other hand, must have been those endured by Mary from Slerne, whose emigration to the United States following some time in Brazil brought new hardships, especially after her husband was injured in a work accident at the smelter in Globeville, Colo., so that she had to assume all of the responsibility for the upkeep of the family. For several years the whole family took seasonal work in sugar-beet fields in Colorado, until she found more regular employment. Finally, having lost her pension because she participated in a strike, she was obliged to continue working up until the age of eighty-five.<sup>27</sup>

How much less difficult the emigration experiences must have been for Mary from Studenci near Maribor. After growing up in a serene environment, she left for the United States not out of "*unhappiness or dissatisfaction*", but "*for the sake of curiosity and adventure.*"<sup>28</sup> Following her first temporary employment as a maid for a wealthy Jewish family in New York, she soon moved to South Chicago, where within a few months she was married to the man who first befriended her on her arrival in the city. Throughout their marriage they ran the Calumet Beach Inn.<sup>29</sup>

In no other case was it so easy for the immigrant women in this book to overcome the distance between their aspirations and the opportunities for realizing them in the American environment. An essential means which, however, gradually enabled some of them to achieve their goal was further education in the United States. Josephine from Mali Slatnik recalls: "*Realizing*

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>24</sup> Cf e.g. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 166, 19.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-84.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.87-91.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-142.



## The Confrontation of Myth of America and Reality

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that my lack of English would be a barrier to my success in America, I quickly enrolled in evening school for classes which would teach me to read, write and speak the English language.” Attending the evening school in English certainly helped her to become forelady in the clothing factory where she was employed and to subsequently open her own “Ladies Ready to Wear” store.<sup>30</sup> Josephine from Sentvid, who had immigrated to the United States as a three year old girl, attended a two-year business course after the eight grades at a Slovene parish school. This gave her opportunity to improve her ability to run the store which she took over from her father.<sup>31</sup> Marie from Rečica, (Marie Prisland) who eventually became the founder of the Slovenska Ženska Zveza (Slovenian Women's Union) and a prominent leader within the Slovene ethnic community in the United States, had come to the United States at the age of fifteen with a “childish dream.”<sup>32</sup> As we can read in the autobiographical passage that Planinsek Odorizzi has reprinted from her book *From Slovenia - to America. Collections and Recollections*, she wished to save enough money in America to be able to return home and attend a teacher - training college. She did not manage to reach this goal, though her love for school education led her to attend evening classes and Vocational school for over ten years. However, she has indirectly fulfilled her wish, and thus her myth of America, through her son, who is the descendant of an immigrant mother.<sup>33</sup>

What most surprises the reader in these autobiographic writings is the belief, common to almost all the immigrant women who have contributed them, that, despite all the hardships they had to endure in the course of their emigrant experiences, life in the United States has been much more rewarding for them than it would have been, if they had remained at home. On the one hand it is evident that they evaluate their successfulness through the affirmation of their descendants in the American environment. At the same time, we should not overlook the fact that most of these recollections were written by women in their old age, when one tends especially to judge life and to rightly appreciate every reward with which his efforts in life have been repaid. So these women tend to appreciate as at least a partial fulfillment of their myth of America, whatever positive achievement they managed to accomplish in this country.

However, in their recollections they never fail to stress all the obstacles which they had to overcome in order to achieve these results. Veronica from Gaber, who came to the United States with the misguided image of an “easy

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.157.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101-105.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161-171. Cf. Marie Prisland, *From Slovenia - to America. Collections and Recollections*.

*life in the new country - where she would just knit and crochet,*"<sup>34</sup> experienced the most bitter disillusionment and, endured disappointing work experiences and a first failed marriage, after which she finally managed to set up a farm of her own with her second husband. She explains this "corrected myth" by stating: "*America provided the opportunity for immigrants to secure a reasonable amount of security for their families, but only with perseverance, thrift and hard work.*"<sup>35</sup>

## POVZETEK

### SOOČANJE MED MITOM O AMERIKI IN REALNOSTJO V SPOMINIH SLOVENSКИH IZSELJENK

Majda Kodrič

Prispevek nakazuje, kako se je mit o Ameriki soočal z realnostjo v izseljenskih izkušnjah in pri življenju v novo okolje slovenskih izseljenk v ZDA. V ta namen so obravnavani spomini sedemnajstih slovenskih izseljenk, zbrani v knjigi *Footsteps through Time*, ki jo je uredila Irene M. Planinsek Odorizzi in je izšla l. 1987. Knjiga zajema tako spomine izseljenk, ki so se posebej uveljavile znotraj slovenske etnične skupnosti, kot tudi preprostejše življenjske zgodbe.

Izseljenke, ki so prispevale te spomine, so v glavnem prišle v ZDA v času od začetka tega stoletja do prve svetovne vojne, nekatere pa v prvih povojnih letih. Večina se jih je izselila še neporočenih. Večinoma so odraščale v revnih kmečkih družinah ali v skromnih socialnih razmerah, nekatere pa so prihajale z večjih imetij in nasploh iz ugodnejšega domačega okolja. Njihov različen socialni izvor, pa tudi raven šolske izobrazbe in dotedanje delovne izkušnje so vplivali na raznolike vzroke in namene, ki so pogojevali njihovo izseljensko izbiro. V nobenem primeru pa stvarnost, s katero so se srečale ob prihodu v Ameriko, ni ustrezala njihovim pričakovanjem, tako da so se morale vsaj sprva vse prilagoditi bolj ali manj neugodnim okoliščinam ter začeti iz temeljev graditi, kar so želele doseči v novem okolju.

Za nekatere izmed njih izselitev ni bila nujno potrebna, ampak so se odločile za ta korak v prepričanju, da jim bo v Ameriki lažje doseči višji socialni položaj, ter boljše življenjske razmere. Nekatere so s časom to željo tudi uresničile,

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p.144.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-147; the quotation is from p. 147.

predvsem s poslovnim uspehom ob družinskem vodenju trgovin ali gostinskih obratov v etničnih naselbinah.

V polovici spominov izseljenke izrecno poudarjajo prvotni namen zgoljčasne izselitve in kasnejšega povratka v ugodnejšem finančnem stanju. Vendar so jih stvarne okoliščine za stalno obdržale v novem okolju, tako da je realnost prevladala nad mitom o Ameriki kot deželičasne priselitve.

Predstave o lahkem življenju v Ameriki zasledimo v glavnem v primerih izselitve v stremljenju po višji življenjski ravni. Tudi bolj stvarno poznavanje življenjskih pogojev v izseljenstvu pa bodočih izseljenk ni odvrnilo od sklepa v tem smislu, zlasti ob pomanjkljivih možnostih za preživljanje v domačem okolju. Verižna migracija, pojav, ki je vseskozi prisoten v tej zborniki življenjskih zgodb, kaže na zlasti v revnejših predelih slovenskega ozemlja razmahnjeno izseljensko tradicijo v družinah ter sploh znotraj sorodstvenih in širših skupnosti, pri čemer je Amerika kot dežela širših možnosti predstavljala izhod iz neugodnih življenjskih pogojev v domačih krajih.

Tudi taka pričakovanja pa so trčila ob trde razmere v novem okolju. Iz v knjigi zbranih spominov izhaja, da je bila najpogostejša dejavnost slovenskih izseljenk težavno delo v t.i. "boarding houses". V njih so se sprva zaposlovale kot služkinje, po poroki pa so jih vodile na svojem domu, pri čemer so nudile hrano in stanovanje samskim priseljencem ter tako dopolnjevale družinske dohodke.

Nekatere izmed izseljenk, ki so predstavljene v tej knjigi, so postopoma s poslovnimi uspehi in nasploh s svojim uveljavljanjem v javnem življenju dosegle znaten družbeni položaj znotraj etničnih naselbin. K temu je v veliki meri prispevala njihova zavzetost za vživljanje v ameriško okolje, predvsem preko pridobivanja znanja angleščine ter v nekaterih primerih še nadaljnje izobrazbe.

Vsem izseljenkam, ki so prispevale te spomine, je sicer skupno prepričanje, da jim je kljub težavam, s katerimi so se morale soočati, življenje v ZDA nudilo več zadoščenja, kot če bi ostale v domačem kraju. Pripovedujejo pa nam o "popravljenem mitu", saj poudarjajo vse ovire, ki so jih morale premestiti v svojih prizadevanjih za boljše življenje v Ameriki.



## PO ARGENTINI SEM TER TJA<sup>1</sup>

Rozina Švent

Skrbno prebiranje potopisnih spisov izseljenskega duhovnika msgr. Janeza Hladnika lahko služi tudi kot dragocen zgodovinski vir, predvsem za naselitveno obdobje od 1920-1950. Sam Hladnik je pripotoval v Argentino 1.3.1936 kot pomoč duhovniku Jožetu Kastelicu, ki je takrat bival v Jugoslaviji. Kakšni vzroki so Hladnika pripeljali na misel, da je začel zapisovati svoje popotne vtise in spoznanja? Po vrsti bi jih lahko našteali približno takole:

1. Verski moment - nuditi vsem slovenskim (in občasno tudi jugoslovanskim) izseljencem duhovno oskrbo.
2. Hladnikova "popotniška žilica", saj je že od rane mladosti naprej neprestano potoval in spoznaval nove ljudi, kraje, običaje itd.
3. Vzgojni moment - kot dober opazovalec je Hladnik "zaznal" tudi marsikatero nepravilnost v obnašanju, govorjenju, oblačenju in potem na te napake opozoril svoje bralce.

Prvi Slovenci so se v Argentino začeli naseljevati v drugi polovici 19. stol.; načrtno pa po letu 1878, ko je pripotovalo v Argentino približno 50 slovenskih družin iz okolice Cerovega, Doberdoba, Tolmina in Števarjana. Čeprav so se sprva nameravali naseliti v Formosi, so se mnogi med njimi zaradi indijanske nevarnosti premislili in ostali v Buenos Airesu. Tako je na negotovo pot odšlo le kakih 10 najbolj pogumnih družin - Cijan, Kocjančič, Kristančič, Paulina, Pernarčič, Sinčič, Mosetič, Prinčič. (Opomba: vse te primke je pri svoji analizi "uporabnosti" Hladnikovih podatkov in z upoštevanjem drugih argentinskih virov v veliki meri potrdila v svoji raziskavi tudi Veronika Kremžar - Rožanc).<sup>2</sup> Večinoma so to bili kmetje, ki so se ukvarjali z živinorejo in sadjarstvom.

Približno dve leti za njimi so se Slovenci naselili tudi na področju Parana - to so bile družine Furlan, Benedičič, Podberščik, Srebernič in Prinčič. Po socialnem izvoru so bili kmetje in so se ukvarjali predvsem z živinorejo.

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<sup>1</sup> Kot vir gornjega prispevka so mi služili potopisni zapisi izseljenskega duhovnika msgr. Janeza Hladnika, ki jih je od leta 1936-1947 objavljal v reviji *Duhovno življenje*, ki že od leta 1933 izhaja v Buenos Airesu. Čeprav si je Hladnik sproti delal krajše zapise o teh potovanjih jih je ponavadi objavil z večmesečno zamudo.

<sup>2</sup> V. Kremžar-Rožančeva: *Zapiski k naselitvi Slovencev v Argentini*. Meddobje 1990 št.3/4 str.259-272.

Drugo naselitveno obdobje je v tesni povezavi s fašističnim nasiljem na Primorskem, kar je imelo za posledico množičen beg primorskih Slovencev, bodisi v Jugoslavijo ali v prekomorske države. Hladnik omenja v svojem poročilu "Slovenci ob srebrnih vodah" (Izseljenski zbornik 1938, str.47), da živi v Argentini okoli 20.000 Slovencev. Glede na to, da se jih je v obdobju pred prvo svetovno vojno naselilo le nekaj sto, lahko sklepamo, da se jih je večina naselila po koncu vojne. Poleg primorskih Slovencev, ki so se povečini naseljevali na Paternalu, je bilo tudi precej Prekmurcev, ki pa so se naseljevali največ na področju Avellaneda (oboje je del Buenos Airesa).

Zanimivo je tudi, kako se je msgr. Hladnik odpravljal na svoja potovanja. Govorimo lahko celo o nekem ustaljenem redu. Najprej si je priskrbel "turistične" karte področij, ki jih je nameraval obiskati. Sledilo je preučevanje vozniških redov in ugotavljanje, katera zveza je najugodnejša. Pri tem sta bili pomembni dve stvari - čas in denar. Predvsem si še danes težko predstavljamo, kako mu je uspelo zbrati dovolj denarja za ta potovanja, saj so bili njegovi redni dohodki dokaj nizki (npr. kot kaplan pri sv. Antonu v Floresu je od župnika prejemal ok. 150 pesov mesečno, pot do skrajnega juga Argentine pa je stala glede na različne prevoze od 650-1200 pesov, in vendar si je Hladnik to pot "privoščil" kar dvakrat!). Nato je sledilo zbiranje naslovov tam živečih Slovencev. Za izhodišče mu je bil seznam naročnikov revije Duhovno življenje, katere urednik je bil od 1938 naprej. Številne med njimi je že vnaprej pisno obvestil, kdaj namerava potovati skozi njihove kraje oz. se tam ustaviti za krajši ali daljši čas. Ker pa je upošteval tudi možnost, da pismo ne bi našlo naslovnika, je točen "načrt" svojega potovanja objavil tudi v Duhovnem življenju in v Slovenskem tedniku. Za primer pogledjmo njegovo obvestilo: "Rojakom na severu".

V dneh od 1.-19. febr. grem zopet na pot, da obiščem rojake v Rosariju, Cordobi in dalje. V Rosariju bom imel mašo pri sestrah od 2.-5. febr. ob 8 uri in bo tam prilika za spoved. V nedeljo 6. febr. pa se vrši sveta maša s primerno slovesnostjo in ste povabljeni vsi rojaki, da se vdeležite sv. maše za rajne doma, za blagor domovine in za mir. Kraj in uro pozvedite v Rosariju. Vprašajte na konzulat v San Lorenzo 937.

Cordoba. Od 12. do 16. febr. se bom mudil v Cordobi. Maša bo med 8 in 9 uro v cerkvi La Merced. Tam bo tudi prilika za spoved. Tudi v nedeljo 13. februarja bom v Cordobi. Dogovorite se rojaki, če bi bilo mogoče napraviti mašo s kako slovesnostjo. Prosim, da mi sporočite o tem!

Ob tej priliki boste imeli priliko, da poravnate rojaki naročnino za D.Ž. Kdor bi imel kako naročilo ali nasvet naj mi sporoči na naslov: Janez Hladnik, Pasco 431."<sup>3</sup>

Že v marčni številki je sledilo kratko poročilo s te poti: "Rojakom na severu.

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<sup>3</sup> Duhovno življenje, februar 1944, ovoj spredaj

V Rosariju sem obiskal skoro vse rojake in kakor navadno tako tudi letos povsod našel nadvse ljubeznjiv sprejem. Nekaj posebno lepega je bila sveta maša 6. febr., na kateri se je zbralo kakih 300 rojakov, tako da je bila skoro polna cerkev Segrado Corazon (zavodska kapela). Po končani maši so vsi vdeleženci stopili na dvorišče, kjer je bilo poskrbljeno za malo okrepčilo in prilika za prijazen pomenek.

Vso slovesnost je imel na skrbi naš konzul, vsem znani in dragi Branko Rubeša, kateri je s pomočjo odbora JNO<sup>4</sup> povabil pismeno vse rojake, ki so se tako lepo odzvali vabilu. Posebno se je pri tem trudil naš rojak Rikard Berlot in še nekateri drugi rojaki.

Naša slovesnost je napravila zelo lep utis na vso javnost v Rosariju. Gospodu konzulu in rojakom se prav lepo zahvalim za ves trud, ki so ga imeli s to slovesnostjo.

V Tucuman sem prišel 7. febr. in me je že čakal prijazen sprejem na postaji, kamor je prišel rojak Batič, ki me je nato ves čas spremljal po mojih potih, na katerih sva si ogledala vse zanimivosti tega starodavnega mesta. Naslednji dan pa me je rojak Markuža z autom zapeljal tudi v gore v planinski zrak. Zbrali so se tudi naši rojaki na prijateljski pomenek, tako da sem skoro vse Slovence v Tucumanu videl. Iskrena zahvala za vso prijaznost.

Tudi v La Rioju sem našel nekaj naše krvi, prijazno Slovenko, ki je bila znana v Ljubljani kot Agnolova Justinca.

V Cordobi sem obiskal tudi vse poznane. Nekaj jih je prišlo k maši 13. februarja, več pa sem jih našel v društvu tisto nedeljo popoldne. Tudi v Alti Graciji sem obiskal rojake, ki so me ljubeznivo sprejeli in tudi nekatere bolnike sem obiskal v sanatorijih.

Vsem rojakom naj se za prijaznost lepo zahvalim.

Podrobne podatke pa bom že navedel v spisu v Duhovnem življenju.”

Ta kratka poročila potrebujejo nekaj več pojasnil. Že res, da gre v prvi vrsti za zahvalo za izkazano gostoljubje, je pa v tem zapisu še marsikaj prikritega, pa vendarle na nek način prepoznavnega, če poznamo vse njegove potopisne zapise. To je neke vrste model, kako naj bi tak msgr. Hladnikov obisk potekal. Pričakoval je, da ga bodo rojaki pričakali že na postaji in poskrbeli za njegovo nastanitev in prehrano. Sem in tja se mu je na številnih potovanjih sicer tudi primerilo, da ga ni pričakal nihče in se je moral potem znajti sam. Ponavadi je ogovoril kar prvega človeka na katerega je naletel ali pa se odpravil v najbližjo gostilno in se pozanimal, če tam žive kakšni Slovenci oz. Jugoslovani; če pa je že imel njihov naslov, je vprašal le za pot. Ne le, da mu ni bilo nikoli nerodno

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<sup>4</sup> JNO - Jugoslovanska narodna odbrana

vprašati, tudi vsak možen prevoz mu je prišel prav - od konja, kolesa, avta, tovornjaka, avtobusa itd.

Ko je dobil zvezo s svojimi rojaki in se za silo okrepčal, je svoje gostitelje že postavil pred novo nalogo, da so mu pomagali pri realizaciji njegovih načrtovanih obiskov drugih rojakov (včasih je bila taka razdalja tudi po več deset km). Hladnik je imel vsekakor zelo dober spomin, saj si je točno zapomnil kateri rojaki imajo npr. avtomobil, s katerim ga bodo lahko vozili naokoli. Tudi dan prihoda je ponavadi skrbno izbral, tako da so bili ljudje prosti. Tudi na vremensko napoved ni pozabil, saj je predobro vedel, da se v deževnih dneh argentinske ulice prerade spremenijo v neprehodne blatne luže (takrat so bile v Argentini asfaltirane le najpomembnejše ceste!). Toda pri tem ni šlo le za kratke vljudnostne obiske, šlo je za veliko več. Poleg klobuka in duhovniškega talarja je bil Hladnikov stalni spremljevalec tudi fotografski aparat, s katerim je za vedno ohranil spomin na naše slovenske rojake v Argentini, od katerih so danes mnogi že pokojni. Hladnik pa ni slikal le ljudi, tudi naravne in zgodovinske posebnosti te daljne dežele nam je ohranil na slikah, ki so bile objavljene na straneh Duhovnega življenja.<sup>5</sup> Kot dober opazovalec in predvsem kot neutrujen izpraševalec je v svojih potopisih zbral dragocene podatke o življenju tamkajšnjih Slovencev. Zanimalo ga je prav vse: s katerega konca Slovenije so prišli, kako so prišli v Argentino, kje vse so do tedaj živeli in kakšna dela so opravljali. Tudi rodbinske zveze je hotel spoznati prav do podrobnosti. Ob teh svojih radovednostih pa nikoli ni pozabil na svojo vlogo dušnega pastirja in poskrbel, da so bili otroci krščeni, šli k prvemu svetemu obhajilu, birni in se kasneje tudi cerkveno poročili. Njegova skrb so bili tudi bolniki, katerim je dajal upanje na ozdravitev, tiste neozdravljive pa pripravil na smrt. Prav tako ni nikoli pozabil "obiskati" pokopališč, na katerih so bili pokopani njegovi nekdanji prijatelji, in se pokloniti njihovemu spominu. Čeprav so mu nekateri rojaki in stanovski kolegi občasno oponesli, da sam ni najbolj vzoren dušni pastir, mu danes te "pomanjklivosti" lahko oprostimo zaradi izredno pomembnih podatkov, ki jih ne moremo najti nikjer drugod kot prav v njegovih zapisih. Hladnikova duhovniška halja je bila večkrat umazana in celo raztrgana, saj je v svoji duhovniški vnemi na obleko kar pozabil, zato so imele šolske sestre, ki jih je redno obiskoval z njim kar nekaj dela, da so ga spravile v red; nekateri so mu oponesli, da prerad pogleda v kozarec, kar je sam pred seboj skoraj vedno opravičeval z obilico prahu, ki ga je povzročal veter ali pa avtomobilisti.<sup>6</sup> (Danes

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<sup>5</sup> Zanimivo bi bilo izvedeti koliko originalnih posnetkov se je ohranilo v msgr. Hladnikovih zapuščini, saj v reviji ni bilo nikoli toliko prostora, da bi objavil prav vse posnetke, ki se jih je v 15 letih nenehnih popotovanj moralo nabrati kar precej.

<sup>6</sup> Sam Hladnik piše v svojih spominih "*Od Triglava do Andou*" (Gorica, 1978, str.181), da je v Kasteličevi zapuščini našel "tudi prepis pisma, v katerem me je označil generalnemu vikarju ljubljanske škofije Nadrahu kot "pijanca" in "nemogočega človeka". In to zadnje dni pred odhodom v smrt. Dobil sem tako priložnost, da si dobro izprašam svojo vest in v marsičem mi je njegova obtožba odkrila moje človeške slabosti, katerih se nisem dosti zavedel. Le škoda, da mi tega ni raje povedal prej v prijateljskem tonu iz oči v oči."



se lahko vprašamo, če ni to morda v povezavi z njegovo želodčno boleznijo, saj je bil že davnega leta 1933 v Novem mestu operiran zaradi čira na želodcu in so mu morali odstraniti polovico želodca!

Za Hladnikove potopise lahko rečemo, da so tudi neke vrste nasveti, kako naj se rojaki znajdejo na poti in kako naj premagujejo nastale težave; upoštevati moramo dejstvo, da so takrat v tujino odhajali predvsem preprosti in neizobraženi ljudje, ki niso obvladali španskega jezika. Zato najdemo v tekstih pogosto kakšen španski izraz, saj za nekatere niti Hladnik ni poznal slovenskega. Na ta način je hotel rojake opozoriti na nevarnosti, ki so prežale nanje na vsakem koraku, to je, da lahko nasedejo nepoštenim trgovcem ali agentom, ki so jih vabili z lažnimi obljubami na nova delovna mesta v še nenaseljena področja Argentine, kjer so pogosto postali lahek plen razbojnikov ali pa so jih kako drugače prizadele naravne katastrofe (povodnji, potresi, kobilice in številne bolezni). Večini rojakov je svetoval, naj se raje naseljujejo v področjih, kjer je možno kmetijstvo, sadjarstvo in živinoreja, saj so tega dela vajeni že od doma, po drugi strani pa je tako tudi lažje preživeti kot v mestu.

V potopisih najdemo tudi podatke o delovanju posameznih slovenskih in jugoslovanskih društev, ki so povezovala rojake, o pevskih zborih, ki so jih na eni strani povezovali po drugi pa jim ohranjali narodno zavest.

Potopisi se zaključijo nekako z letom 1947, saj se je moral msgr. Hladnik zaradi obilice dela, ki je bilo povezano s prihodom povojnih političnih beguncev v Argentino odpovedati nadaljnim potovanjem. Uradno je prenehala njegova funkcija izseljenskega duhovnika konec leta 1949, ko je Argentino obiskal škof dr. Gregorij Rožman in ga razrešil te dolžnosti. Dobil pa je novo zadolžitev, da ustanovi novo faro v Pompeu in še naprej skrbi za rojake v Slovenski vasi v Buenos Airesu. Zaupano nalogo je Hladnik že v nekaj letih uresničil. Za svoje velike zasluge pri delu s slovenskimi rojaki ga je papež Janez XXIII. leta 1961 povišal v monsenjorja.

SUMMARY

ACROSS ARGENTINA

Rozina Švent

The author published the travel-accounts of the Slovene priest Msgr. Janez Hladnik which could also serve as a historical source for researching the settlement of the Slovenes in Argentina. The information also acquaints us with the geographical characteristics of this distant southern country, and with details of its original Indian settlers. Hladnik has published three travel accounts in a magazine called *Duhovno življenje* (Spiritual Life) between 1936 and 1947.

## **“LUCKY COUNTRY”: WHERE?**

Breda Čebulj-Sajko

The variety of confrontations is based, among other things, on the variety of situations experienced by an individual, his personal views and reactions, and on his imaginary expectations and notions, which as far as he is aware may or may not exist in reality. That which is concocted, unreal and fantastic, and which is usually summarised in a tale or story, is defined by Verbinc (F., 1979; p. 458) as a myth. Given this definition, it seems highly suitable in the present discourse on the incongruity of the emigrants' imaginary ideas about the “Lucky Country” to use the term “ideal”, which is defined by the same author as the highest degree of perfection (existing or created in one's mind and ideas). (Verbinc F., 1979; p. 278)

The notion of the ideal has also proven to be more acceptable from the point of view of the emigrants themselves, who as authors of their life stories made a contribution to the general knowledge on the experience of the gap between the imagined perfection and the reality of the foreign world. These autobiographical sources, along with the listed expert bibliography represent basic sources for this paper, and as such, they are highly indicative of the clarification of the personal confrontations of individuals with the consequences of emigration from their place of birth. The randomly selected group consists of 43 Slovenes in Australia, who emigrated following the end of the Second World War (up to 1968) because of various, mostly interconnected, reasons (e.g. differing political convictions, adventure, poverty and an unpromising future at home, as well as relatives who emigrated in the past). At the time of the recording of their autobiographies (in Sydney, Wollongong, Canberra and Melbourne between 1981 and 1990),<sup>1</sup> their emigration was already in the distant, although still profoundly remembered, past. Their memories offer a completely subjective picture of a certain time, which allows the study of a certain period “from within”, according to Niedermüller, and represents a valuable addition to historical objectivity or the reality which can be studied “from without” with the help of objective sources (Niedermüller P., 1988; p. 451), unless this is a result of scientific subjectivity.

Various statistical sources (cf. Čebulj-Sajko B., 1992; p. 79) reveal that most Slovenes emigrated to the fifth continent in the late 1950's and the first half of

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<sup>1</sup> The recordings of autobiographical accounts of emigrants are kept at The Institute for Emigration Studies of the Center of Scientific Research of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, where the accuracy of quotations in the paper can be verified.

the 1960's, when Australia needed young unskilled labour for the reconstruction and development of its economy. This was also the period of the most active recruitment of new European immigrants by the Australian government, which with the help of its officials in immigration agencies in European collection centres and special promotion leaflets depicted its continent as the "Lucky Country" for Australians-to-be. Since this type of information reached mostly Slovenes who had illegally crossed the then Yugoslav border (which was opened up only after 1963) and registered in Austrian and Italian refugee camps after their escape, it was mainly among these people that the image of a land of plenty was created, prompting them to emigrate to Australia:

*"I was young then, I did not even know what I wanted, how shall I say, I was more like a tourist and I was interested in how other parts of the world looked. In 'adventures' I would say in our language - no, in the Australian way. So, I thought I would go to Germany from Austria. Rather, this was my intention. But we were given a few lectures about Australia and so I chose Australia."* (Autobiography no. 17)

*"They showed us pictures (in the camp at Ebola near Rome, note by B.Č.S.) of the beautiful flowers there were, the beautiful wheat fields and the thousands of sheep. This is what they showed us. The most beautiful things."* (Autobiography no. 4)

According to results of the research into the lives of emigrants in the period immediately preceding their departure to their new geographical and social environment, the "Lucky Country" was synonymous above all with an ideal society which existed in their minds only until their physical encounter with it. The comparison of descriptions of the arrival experiences of Australian Slovenes and the corresponding experiences of their compatriots in other parts of the world reveals that it is unimportant which new concrete immigrant environment is in question and during which historical period the ideal of the "Lucky Country" was created. What is essential is that it exists without exception among all emigrants as a consequence of a variety of preliminary information about foreign countries acquired before their journey, and their reasons for departure, plus the emotional ties to their families and homes. This is confirmed by other related ethnological studies on Slovene emigrants (such as Slavec I., 1982; Sulič N., 1983; Bogovič A., Canjko B., 1983, etc.).

Apart from the above, subjective factors play a significant role in the creation of the image of the ideal "Lucky Country" (such as the power of the emigrant's desire for a new, different life which was impossible to attain in the conditions at home), which soothe the emigrant's pain caused by his or her separation from the domestic surroundings on his or her spontaneous or forced departure and at the same time increase his or her expectations for a better, happier, free world awaiting the emigrants:

*“Poverty was severe at home in 1957 ... when M. and I left. Yugoslavia was extremely poor ... When we arrived in Fremantle<sup>2</sup> ..., it was so pretty, and clean, the houses were small ... And it occurred to me - I'll be damned if I don't build a shack like this. They looked as if they were made of cardboard. But things did not turn out this way ...”* (Autobiography no. 11)

In the autobiographical sources, which are presented here only in individual segments,<sup>3</sup> the time of departure for and arrival in Australia or the time of finding that their expectations differed from reality, is for the narrators removed several decades into the past. In their stories, the emigrants wish to give this past a new, present-day meaning on the basis of their past experience. (Niedermüller P., 1988; p. 468). In this way, they are attempting to find a justification for their life abroad, although its course was in most cases different from their conceptual ideal of the “Lucky Country”. The overcoming of the disappointment which they experienced decades ago on their arrival in Australia is probably the reason for their lively accounts of this period, which in the reconstruction of their life in the past, from the time of their departure from home to the present day is given a special value. The time after their emigration from the old environment, which for most Slovene immigrants to Australia was followed by a longer or shorter stay in European refugee camps and a journey (by boat and after 1954 also by plane) and settlement on the Australian continent, was a time of searching for their new personal and collective identity and assuming new roles in the social network - which was for them at that time still foreign - of the extremely heterogeneous society in terms of the ethnic structure of post-war Australia. This process of familiarisation with and gradual integration into the new unknown environment is not specific only for Slovene emigrants but also for those of other nationalities and in other countries of immigration (the problem among Lithuanians in the USA, for example, is discussed by the anthropologist Ina Carpenter /1988; pp. 329-344/).

The ability to bridge the gap created by the realization that the reality of the “Lucky Country” greatly differed from the initial expectations of the emigrants, which they were faced with during the first years of their life abroad, and their wish to assert themselves in the new life were of key importance for the future course of their lives in emigration. The emphasis is here laid mainly on the psychological consequences of adjusting to a foreign environment: none of the discussed group of emigrants needed medical help for mental disorders caused by the change in their geographic and social environment. This type of

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<sup>2</sup> Fremantle is a port near Perth in Western Australia, which was the destination chiefly of those immigrants who received employment in the nearby gold mines of Kalgoorlie and Boulder and the colliery of Broken Hill.

<sup>3</sup> Autobiographies of emigrants are published in whole in: Breda Čebulj-Sajko, *Med srečo in svobodo, Avstralski Slovenci o sebi /Between Happiness and Freedom, Australian Slovenes About Themselves/, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 87-231.*

experience is discussed in a study by the Slovene psychiatrist Jurij Zalokar (1994), in which Slovenes, unlike other nationalities of former Yugoslavia, are not specifically stated as patients of psychiatric hospitals in Victoria. Moreover, they are not listed among the ethnic groups who immigrated from the Balkan region which head the list of crime figures and cases of schizophrenia in Australia (Miller R.F., 1988; p. 18) and are therefore not considered assimilated according to the criteria of Australian sociologists. It can be concluded from the above that, parallel to the struggle for survival, a gradual but persistent, subconscious (although unlike the above - mentioned examples less problematic) integration into Australian society or the process of "quiet assimilation", according to Susič and Sedmak (1983), was started relatively early among the Slovenes. But this does not mean that they were less affected by the policy of assimilation which was consistently promoted by the Australian government until the introduction of multiculturalism in the early 1970's, than other non-Anglo-Saxons. In the late 1940's and 1950's, the general attitude towards this part of the population followed the main motto of the then Australian immigration minister, Arthur Calwell, which was that on their very arrival in Australia, foreigners should already speak English, behave and think in the Australian way and abandon their habits from the former homeland as soon as possible. (Jupp J., 1988; p. 30)

Like others who came to the fifth continent as refugees or emigrants after 1945, Slovenes lived in camps or hostels until they found employment:

*"So, everyone from the ship went to Bathurst, the main centre for emigrants. It was located on a plateau near the old town of Bathurst (in New South Wales, note by B.Č.S.). There were some army barracks which were used before the war. There, men were put in one camp and women and children in the other. Some families were lucky to receive small rooms, some also lit fires, for it was very cold. There were enormous quantities of food, but not food which we could eat. There was Australian mutton prepared in the Australian way ... We mostly lived off jam, ..., cheese, bread, milk and porridge. It was so cold that at night, three or four fully dressed people slept together covered with all available blankets."* (Autobiography no. 1)

They were bound under two-year work contracts, which were signed with the representatives of the Australian immigration offices back in European refugee camps by all those able to work, to remain in Australia for two years and pay for the initially free journey from the old continent to the "Lucky Country" with their labour. They were mostly employed in heavy industry, construction, fisheries and on inland sugar cane and tobacco plantations and sheep farms in difficult working conditions. The education of new emigrants was of no significance for employment and the only rule of survival during the first years of life in Australia was resourcefulness:

*"We had to sign a two-year contract. We had to say that we were workers, for Australia did not admit people who were not workers. Australia wanted labour. Then we underwent countless medical examinations. They examined our muscles, for they really wanted strong people."* (Autobiography no. 1)

*"You could obtain work only on the railway, or digging ditches for the post office or 'water-butts' for the water supply and sewage ... I worked on the railway, both my hands were covered with blisters the size of the present five cent coins ..."* (Autobiography no. 6)

*"I was employed as a maid in a hotel on Mount Kosciusko ... There I was the maids' maid. They degraded us so. But I didn't mind, I worked, I can easily adjust."* (Autobiography no. 4)

Since the Slovenes who immigrated to Australia after 1945 were mostly poorly or semi-skilled workers with completed or non-completed vocational school certificates single people (mostly men) or married couples without children, their ignorance of the English language represented an additional obstacle in their adjustment to the new conditions of life. As in the case of other non-Anglo-Saxons, the communication barrier pushed them into the marginal ethnic groups of Australian society and forced them to keep the company of their compatriots. Because of the small number of Slovenes in Australia (according to the latest estimates, there are 25,000 to 30,000 /Prešeren J., 1990; p. 221/), this was possible only in large towns and settlements, while Slovenes in the Australian hinterland were quicker to establish contact with the representatives of other ethnic groups. But working overtime, which was customary during the first two years of the new life for want of higher earnings that would allow them to return to their homeland, caused this type of communication to be only occasional:

*"Well, ... we had already started to gather in Saint Mary's camp (in Sydney, note by B.Č.S.) in the late 1940's, in the following way: I knew many fellow countrymen who arrived on the same ship; they knew other Slovenes who came on a different ship, and so on. We mostly met every Saturday. Ten or twenty of them came to see me and they also spent the night with other Slovenes in the camp or on my floor. These people who started coming to see me, ... were ill, had no insurance and so on. None could help them for they did not speak the language. I did not speak enough language either, but I had met the manager of the camp in Austria. He and his wife helped us a great deal, for we could explain to them in German ... Even if there was an unemployed Slovene in the camp, he found work for him in the nearby factories. In this way we helped one another."* (Autobiography no. 1)

The description of the life of Australian Slovenes during the first years after their arrival in Australia, based on personal accounts, mainly depicts the conditions which they encountered. In addition to this, their inner experiences of this different reality which was often compared with what they left at home

needs to be discussed in order to clarify the problem of facing the “Lucky Country” in greater detail. Both the experience of the new reality and the memories of home were an intimate or at least a well concealed inner emotional part of the immigrants' integration with the new environment, which was mostly revealed in their displeasure with everything that was Australian and therefore for them extremely foreign. The mere encounter with the most visible factors of different Australian reality (such as the landscape, climate, language and eating habits) caused a constant comparison of the new with the old among the immigrants, which along with assimilation pressures, which caused an initial feeling of being threatened, resulted in an intolerance of everything foreign and a strong desire to return home:

*“I do not remember who received us when I arrived in Sydney. I do not remember how the luggage was unloaded, I remember nothing. All I know is that I sat for a whole night on a train and arrived at the Bathurst camp. I don't remember what that was like, either. I only remember eucalyptus tree tops and some birds which shrieked the way children cry, and the stench of suet. I cannot remember the rest. This is where my roots were severed. I could not accept that world. The awareness that I was entering .... a foreign continent killed me completely.”* (Autobiography no. 4)

*“We did not have a home. We could not even imagine how we would find one. I searched through the entire western part of Sydney to find a room or a garage. But they did not as much as look at you if you were an immigrant, even if their entire house was empty. They did not like us, they did not like us ... We sat in the bus and spoke with really low voices. But as soon as they heard us speaking in a different language, they shouted: 'Speak English, you bastard!' That was our daily greeting.”* (Autobiography no. 6)

*“We arrived in a town called Innisfail. It is a very large, well known town in northern Queensland surrounded by nothing but sugar cane. This is where the farmers waited for us. It was so sad that I wished I could be back home again: there they introduced us. There were about thirty of us ... young men. We stood there. And the farmers stood in front of us and selected us the way we buy cattle back home.”* (Autobiography no. 9)

*“I got the impression that this was a very barren land even at the airport ... There was no green colour. Then I remember observing these people at railway stations: everybody immersed in their thoughts. Nobody would have noticed you even if you dropped dead on the spot ... And everybody rushing in different directions and you stand there and watch, you are like a foreigner among them and you truly are a foreigner, but as if you are not human.”* (Autobiography no. 18)

Thus the ideal of a “Lucky Country”, in this case Australia, which from of a yearning for a new life replaced the original environment, began to crumble among the immigrants. The collapse of the ideal did not only bring into



question the existence of the “Lucky Country” as such, but it also represented the beginning of the process of uprooting, which is characteristic of the immigrant way of life. Although the immigrants’ adaptability to the new environment increased with the time spent there, the environment did not become the “Lucky Country”, because of their adherence to their ethnic origins:

*“If you live somewhere abroad and you hear a couple of people who merely whistle a Slovene tune, you go to them. There is something in a man ... for they say: Sloveneness is drunk with the mother's milk.”* (Autobiography no. 1)

The homeland underwent a similar change, for developments there ran their course without them, which in other words meant that the country was remembered by the immigrants as they left it many years ago, until their first visit. Therefore we can speak of the clash between the ideal of the “Lucky Country” with reality not only on the immigrants’ arrival in the immigrant society but also on their (mostly) first visit back to the original environment, which for them again represented in many ways a new and unfamiliar country:

*“I was at home recently ... there is nothing there, nothing which I left behind ... I was disappointed ... But I was expecting the old, what I left behind, which is impossible, of course. I discovered ... later in myself that I expected too much. I do not know where discipline is, respect for old people, where is it? I did not see it anywhere. I was so deeply disappointed ... I would have kissed the soil at home.”* (Autobiography no. 6)

*“But you are already a foreigner at home. The last time I went there with my wife, I did not know any of those young people. Those with whom I had spent time together, my school mates, they regarded me in a completely different way to the people there. They told me I no longer spoke our language, the Prekmurje dialect. Well, it is true. I understand this, for I left my home ... But they think that I returned home only as a guest.”* (Autobiography no. 10)

It can be concluded from the above that considering the distance in time, Australian Slovenes lost the ideal of the “Lucky Country” both with regard to Australia and their homeland. This is true theoretically if we presume that there exist two extreme possibilities for the loss of the “Lucky Country” ideal: either the “Lucky Country” ideal becomes the reality, or their alienation from the existing reality is so great that they no longer see the possibility of turning this ideal into reality. In the case of Australian Slovenes, neither of these possibilities is absolute, for due to the need to add meaning to their past, the ideal of the “Lucky Country” was present among them on two levels: the material (which is Australia) and the emotional (which is fulfilled in their attitude towards their homeland and contacts with their ethnic community in Australia). The analysis of their life stories reveals that the success or failure in bringing about this kind of ideal consistently depended on the individual and his or her ability to face the divide between the subjective and objective in a

certain moment and to find the "Lucky Country" outside temporal and geographical confines, mainly within one's material, social and spiritual capacities. Thus most Australian Slovenes succeeded in finding a solution to their own feeling of uprootedness:

*"The work was difficult and we both worked hard in order to build this home. It is pleasant, nicely arranged. We lack nothing. We became a part of this ... it is difficult to imagine that we would all of a sudden sell all this and move somewhere else. This is the first and only home which we have built, created ... But the homeland always was, still is and will be in our hearts."* (Autobiography no. 15)

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## POVZETEK

### “LUCKY COUNTRY”: KJE?

Breda Čebulj-Sajko

Prispevek osvetljuje probleme povojnih slovenskih izseljencev v Avstraliji pri soočanju njihovih predstav o idealu “srečne dežele” z realnostjo te iste dežele. Temelji na avtobiografskih virih, ki nam sicer podajajo povsem subjektivno podobo časa njihove izselitve in prihoda na peti kontinent, a so ravno zaradi tega nepogrešljivo dopolnilo za razumevanje povojnega obdobja v avstralski zgodovini, v katerem se je, med drugimi etničnimi skupinami, priselilo tudi največ Slovencev. V rekonstrukciji preteklega življenja v emigraciji so izseljenci ravno t.im. prehodnemu obdobju (po izselitvi, po prihodu v Avstralijo) namenili posebno pozornost, saj je to bil pri večini čas razočaranj, boja za preživetje in samopremagovanja želja po vrnitvi v domovino. Prebroditev prvih kriz v soočanju njihovega, v mislih prisotnega, idealiziranega sveta z resničnostjo novega okolja ima zato pri izseljencih med ostalimi dogodki na življenjski poti primarno vlogo. Na ta način so na osnovi preteklih izkušenj potrdili smisel svojega današnjega bivanja v tujini, v katerem si je večina pripovedovalcev v materialnem pogledu uresničila svoj sen po boljšem standardu. V emocionalnem smislu pa so svoj ideal “srečne dežele” tokrat projecirali na domovino in to vse do tedaj, dokler se z njo niso prvič fizično soočili. Pri tem je pri rušenju ideala “srečne dežele” največ doprinesel vsesplošni razvoj, ki je spremenil njihovo podobo domovine iz obdobja, v katerem so jo zapustili. Ponovne izkušnje soočanja pričakovanj in realnosti so izseljence pripeljale do kompromisa v iskanju “srečne dežele”: dojemanje le-te je bilo ves čas individualno, pa vendarle pri večini izseljencev geografsko in časovno določeno, medtem ko je po več desetletij njihovega življenja v tujini postala na ta način manj opredeljiva in bolj prisotna v sferah njihovega vsakdanjega življenja, ki ga nekateri bolj drugi manj živijo v povezavi z izvorno in imigrantsko družbo. Na ta način, na način filozofije: *“The best of two worlds!”*

(Avtobiografija št. 12), so izseljenci vsaj navidezno rešili tudi problem lastne izkoreninjenosti iz starega in novega okolja.

## **“AMERIKA” UND AMERIKA-AUSWANDERUNG IM DEUTSCHEN NORDWESTEN: DIE ÖFFENTLICHE MEINUNG IN DEN 30ER JAHREN DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS**

Antonius Holtmann

(Dieser Text ist ein überarbeiteter Auszug aus der Einleitung der vom Autor herausgegebenen und annotierten Auswandererbriefe: Antonius Holtmann (Hg.), “... ferner tuhe ich euch zu wissen ...” Briefe des Johann Heinrich zur Oeveste aus Amerika, 1834-1876. Bremen: Edition Temmen 1995)

Die USA versprachen Freiheit und Gleichheit. Die Osnabrücker “Neue(n) Beiträge zum Nutzen und Vergnügen” schrieben am 14. April 1832: “Dort - ruft der Auswanderer - reges heiteres Leben, Freiheit in Rede und Schrift, Sicherheit vor Kriegen, Entledigung der Staatsschuld, Geringfügigkeit der Abgaben, Unnötigkeit des Militärs, freundliche Geselligkeit und heitere Aussichten in die Zukunft: - hier Beengung und Schranken; hohe Abgaben und Zölle, Stände-Kasten und Scheidewände, stete Furcht vor dem Kriege und daher große und kostbare Heermassen und trübe Blicke in die Folgezeit” (Hardebeck 27f.).

### **Briefe**

“Der Druck der Zeit” trage “viel zur Beförderung der Auswanderung” bei, aber auch “ein Brief, den der ausgewanderte Buchbinder Stallo aus Damme im Januar d.J. aus Cincinnati geschrieben hat”, ließen die “Oldenburgische(n) Blätter” am 1. Mai 1832 wissen. “Günstige Nachrichten machen die Neigung zur Auswanderung allgemeiner”, berichtete der Magistrat der Stadt Quakenbrück am 6. März 1834 (Staatsarchiv Osnabrück = StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 12). Es “hängt alles von Nachrichten der bereits Ausgewanderten ab”, schrieb das Amt Osnabrück am 13. Januar 1835 für das Berichtsjahr 1834 (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 167); und von deren “schriftliche Lockungen ... und Aufreizungen zur Unzufriedenheit”, hatte das Amt Bersenbrück schon am 25. März 1834 festgestellt (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 58). Das Amt Vörden, zuständig auch für Rieste, hatte am 24. März 1834 über die Jahre 1832/33 nach Osnabrück berichtet, “die Auswanderungssucht (habe) besonders im Laufe dieses Frühjahrs auf eine ... beunruhigende Weise dergestalt zugenommen, daß von solchen Art Leuten jetzt fast über nichts weiter als nach Nordamerika, hauptsächlich nach Baltimore auszuwandern, gesprochen wird und die Heimath darüber ganz vergessen zu seyn scheint. Fast von allen

Ausgewanderten laufen fortwährend die günstigsten Nachrichten und dringende Anforderungen an ihre dahier zurückgebliebenen Angehörigen ein ihnen doch so bald als möglich in ihr eingebildetes Paradies zu folgen". Viele seien "durch solche verführerische Aufforderungen aufs höchste angereizt", so daß "dem Vernehmen nach ... in diesem Jahr aus dem Kirchspiel Bramsche allein noch 150 bis 200 Menschen auswandern!"

Schon gut 8 Monate später, am 4. Dezember 1834, war man in der Amtsstube in Vörden erleichtert: "In diesem Augenblick scheint die Auswanderungslust ziemlich nachgelassen zu haben und wenn im künftigen Frühjahr nicht günstigere, wie die letzten Nachrichten ... eingehen, so mögte sie im hiesigen Amte bald ganz verschwinden" (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 119). Das Amt Bersenbrück war am 16. Dezember 1834 vorsichtiger: "Die Auswanderungs-Sucht scheint jetzt nicht mehr im Zunehmen zu seyn, und wird sich hoffentlich vermindern, wenn erst die bösen (Nachrichten) so viel Glauben finden als die guten" (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 126) Das Amt Fürstenau berichtete am 10. Januar 1835, "die Auswanderungslust (sei), der ungünstigen Nachrichten aus Amerika wegen, sehr im Abnehmen" (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 114), und im Amt Iburg wußte man am 31. Dezember 1834, daß von Auswanderung "wenig mehr geredet" werde, die "Fieberhitze dieser Stimmung verschwunden" sei und "alle eingehenden Nachrichten eines Eldorado nicht blindlings geglaubt, sondern mit Kalter Überlegung geprüft" würden (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 135). Ein Jahr später berichtete das Amt Osnabrück am 7. Januar 1836: Bedeutenden Einfluß auf diese Abnahme (von 348 im Jahre 1834 auf 189 im Jahre 1835) "scheinen die kürzlich eingegangenen Nachrichten über Todesfälle von gesunden und rüstigen Leuten gehabt zu haben", die mit den schönsten Hoffnungen auf ein besseres ihr altes Vaterland verließen (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 214; Kiel 166). Das Amt Lingen machte am 19. Januar 1836 die Abnahme an dem "Bauernsohn Winkelmann aus Altenlünne" fest: "Seine Schilderungen haben alle Fieberkranke, denen der Sinn nach dem gelobten Amerikanischen Paradiese stand, der gestalt geheilt, daß auch keiner mehr an Auswanderung denkt" (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 248-250).

Ein Jahr später war die Stimmung abermals umgeschlagen: "Gerüchte über den Wohlstand, der sich in Amerika in kurzer Zeit erwerben ließe, (seien) neuerdings wieder viele in Umlauf gekommen", schrieb das Amt Haselünne am 24. Januar 1837 (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 290), und es "sollen einige frühere Ausgewanderte große Lobes-Erfahrungen von ihrem Glücke in Amerika gemacht und dadurch den Reitz zur Auswanderung aus dieser Gegend veranlaßt haben", stand im Bericht des Amtes Lingen vom 7. Januar 1837 (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 275). Die Nachrichten aus den USA seien "mehr günstig", so daß eine "Abnahme nicht zu erwarten" sei, schrieb das Amt Vörden am 14. Januar 1837 (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 283). Keineswegs war also die "Auswanderungslust ... im hiesigen Amte ... ganz verschwunden": auf 96 Auswanderer waren die Zahlen im Jahre 1835 zurückgegangen (1832/33: 132; 1834: 142), 1836 aber wieder auf 130 angestiegen. Im Jahre 1837 zählte man im

Amt Vörden 177 Auswanderer, 1838 nur noch 39 und 1839 dann 67, bevor zu Beginn der 40er Jahre wieder die Zahlen von 1834 und 1837 erreicht waren. In Briefen wurde von der großen Wirtschaftskrise in den USA (1837-1843) berichtet. J. H. zur Oeveste schrieb am 7. Mai 1837 seinen Eltern und Geschwistern: “übrigens hört man heute, daß es für einen Arbeiter hier erst wohl nicht besser sondern etwas Schlechter wird. den es sind hier schon einige Fabriken gestopt oder eingehalten ... große Kaufleute haben Bankerod gemacht”; und am 21. Februar 1840: “die Zeiten sind hier ietzt ganz Schlecht so wie mans hier noch nicht belebt hat ... der Verdienst ist hier ietzt ganz wenig ... Es sind hier ietzt Hunderte von Menschen in der Stadt die keine Arbeit haben ... wer hier gar keinen Verdienst hat der muß ietzt fast Hunger leiden” (Familie Schütte, Rieste).

### **Zeitungen**

Briefe der Auswanderer berichteten von individuellen Erfolgen und Niederlagen - nicht immer ehrlich in bezug auf sich selbst, schon eher in bezug auf andere -; sie gaben zu bedenken, sie ermunterten und warnten, sie rieten ab und holten Verwandte und Bekannte nach (Kettenwanderung). Die Briefe wurden gemeinsam gelesen, gingen von Hand zu Hand und gelangten manchmal auch in die Zeitung.

Zum Beispiel in die “Oldenburgische(n) Blätter”. Zwei Briefe von 1824/25 druckte die Wochenzeitung am 26. März 1833 ab, um Briefen, “die zum Auswandern nach Amerika lockend einladen (und) von Hand zu Hand gehen”, andere entgegenzustellen, “die das Loos der Eingewanderten nicht so reizend schildern”. Da wird von “rohen eingebildeten Schotten, dem Auswurf Edinburgs” berichtet, von einer “Landwirthschaft ... auf der niedrigsten Stufe”, von einem Land, in dem nur der “ungebildete Mensch, der nichts verlangt als zu essen und zu trinken, ... seine Rechnung finden” werde. Amerika sei ein “freyes Land aber leider erstreckt diese Freyheit sich auf alle mögliche Laster”. Auszüge aus Briefen aus Baltimore vom 10. Oktober 1831 und 2. Oktober 1832 unterstrichen in derselben Nummer diese Urteile: die Reisekosten seien zu hoch (60 Taler), der Boden zu schlecht, eine Farm einzurichten zu kostspielig (“ein Capital von Tausenden” Pistolen sei erforderlich), für Handwerker der “Maschinen und Fabriken” wegen kein Platz, das Einkommen (2/3 Taler am Tag und nur im Sommer) zu gering, das Klima zu schädlich: “viele gehen betteln; viele gerathen ... in Verzweiflung und machen ihrem Leben gewaltsamer Weise ein Ende ... Manche Auswanderer, welche die Mittel zur Rückkehr nach Deutschland nicht haben, sind boshaft genug, lügenhafte Briefe ins verlassene Vaterland zu schreiben, um andere zu verlocken und ins Unglück zu stürzen ... Für Alle, welche Menschen zur Auswanderung reizen, und falsche Nachrichten über America verbreiten, ist der Galgen noch zu gut.” Ein letzter Brief vom 12. November 1832 stimmte die Leser versöhnlich: Wer einiges Kapital habe, für sich und seine Familie gute Arbeit finde, dort “Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche” lerne, könne “nach einigen Jahren ... mit

großem Vortheil ein Landeigenthum kaufen" und "unabhängig und wohlhabend seyn". Am 9. April 1833 unterstrich ein Brief die Risiken der Auswanderung: "Wer den wichtigen Schritt thun will, mag ihn wohl überlegen, denn er geht einer unsichern, sorgenvollen Zukunft entgegen, vielleicht der Dürftigkeit und Armuth, vielleicht dem größten Elende seiner Familie; ... berücksichtige Alles wohl, denn Reue kommt zu spät".

Am 25. Juni 1833 druckten die "Oldenburgische(n) Blätter" die Erfolgsmeldung eines Auswanderers (3. Januar 1833). Er habe sich in Missouri "212 Acres (85,648 ha) des besten Hügellandes" gekauft, davon bereits "16 Acres (6,464 ha) geclairt", darauf "eine Hütte von 16 Fuß Qu. (4,88 qm) in einigen Tagen vollendet ... Ein größeres Haus aus behauenen Holzstämmen" werde er "im Frühjahr ... daran bauen, und sie (werde) dann einstweilen als Küche dienen". Noch wohne er bei Nachbarn, eine halbe Stunde entfernt. Nur eine Meile (1,609 km) sei es bis zum "Städtchen Marthasville", das aus "2 Kaufladen, einer Schmiede, und einigen wenigen anderen Gebäuden" bestehe. Das Grundstück habe 550 Dollar gekostet, und er sei "sicher, daß sich das angelegte Capital gut verzinsen ... und diese Farm bey einiger Arbeitsamkeit eine sorgenfreye Existenz sichern" werde. Die Nachbarn seien "alle Americaner, sehr gute Leute und äußerst freundschaftlich". Deutsche und Amerikaner treffe man im Hause eines Auswanderers, der ein "Fortepiano" besitze. Dort werde "gespielt, gesungen und getanzt", und den jungen Amerikanern liege daran, "die pretty German Ladys zu sehen". Er lerne jetzt Englisch bei einer "redselligen Frau von 60 Jahren", die ihn als "gelehrigen Zögling" schätze. Sie glaube, daß er "bald ein guter Americaner sein werde". Der Auswanderer resümierte: "So habe ich denn das Ziel meiner Wünsche erreicht; ich bin Eigenthümer eines Grundstücks. ... Der erhebende Gedanke, selbständig zu wirken, und in einer Wildniß urbares, die Arbeit lohnendes Land zu schaffen, läßt mich manche Beschwerden wenig fühlen."

In eben dieser Nummer begann eine dreiteilige Serie "Ueber die Abnahme der physischen und geistigen Kräfte in Amerika" (25. Juni, 2., 16. Juli 1833). Die Zeitung stellte das "Urtheil" eines Mannes "von Bildung und Kenntnissen" vor, das "eine nähere Beachtung wohl verdiente, ... obgleich der Verfasser in einer trüben hypochondrischen Stimmung seine Schilderungen wohl zu schwarz gemahlt" habe.

Der "Natur Amerikas" fehle es an "Kraft" und "Gediegenheit", stand im Brief aus "Pittsburg". Das "Holz der Bäume" habe "keinen Kern, keine Kraft, keinen Brennstoff". Es gebe "keinen Wein, ... keine Nachtigall ... so wie überhaupt keine Singvögel". Die Hunde seien "träge, rauhe, häßliche Geschöpfe, bellen weniger als die unsrigen, ... alle Amerikanische(n) Thiere, Bären, Hirsche etc. (seien) kleiner, ... die Pferde schlaff, ohne Feuer und Leben; jede hergebrachte Race (nehme) bald dieselbe Natur an." Mit den Menschen sei es nicht anders: "Der Amerikaner ist von Temperament phlegmatisch, ... er ist vollkommen apathisch, seine intellectuellen Kräfte sind beschränkt ... moralischer Werth



(nicht) vorhanden“. Zur Leidenschaft nicht fähig, fielen “seine Laster nicht so sehr ins Auge“. Es gebe also auch “keine weibliche Tugend“, nur “die glänzende, elegante Außenseite“. Dieses Volk habe “keinen Sinn für Kunst, ... keine Dichtkunst, ... kein Gefühl für Musik“. In der Wissenschaft gebe es “überall die größte Oberflächlichkeit“, man befinde “sich hier nicht besser als bey den Hottentotten“. Die Medizin sei “am allergräßlichsten“ und “der Zustand der Religion und des Unterrichts beklagenswerth“. Vor Gericht gehe “alles nach Geld und Einfluß“, die Verfassung sei “ein Nonsens: es giebt hier keine Freyheit“. Der Amerikaner sei nur “groß in der Technik“, alle “Cultur“ habe man “von Europa herübergebracht“. Amerika sei “nicht fähig, sie zu nähren, zu erhalten; es (habe) bloß Raum, sie zu Grabe zu tragen“. Es sei eine “anerkannte Tatsache, daß wenn jemand zwey Jahre in diesem Lande gelebt“ habe, dieser “die Gesundheit der Seele, die Gemüthlichkeit, den Lebenssinn, die Heiterkeit, jede moralische und körperliche Kraft“ opfere. Nach Amerika auszuwandern sei “die Sünde der Väter, fortgepflanzt auf fernere Generationen.“

Am 29. Oktober 1833 druckte die Zeitung abermals ein “Schreiben vom Missouri“, datiert vom 17. Juli 1833. Er hat lesen können, daß “Beschwerlichkeiten und Unannehmlichkeiten ... nicht gar zu schlimm, aber auch nicht zu gering“ seien. Der Boden nahe am Missouri sei “vorzüglich“, das “Clima ... im Ganzen sehr gesund“, die “Abgaben sehr gering“, und man könne sich über seine “näheren Americanischen Nachbarn durchaus nicht beklagen“. Mehr und mehr Deutsche kämen hinzu, “wodurch der Aufenthalt hierselbst viel angenehmer“ und “Absatz und Verwerthung der Früchte“ leichter werde. “Kurzum: Das hiesige Leben bietet soviel Angenehmes dar, daß es das Unangenehme bey weitem überwiegt.“

Redaktionelles über Amerika stand in dieser Zeitung seit 1817 erstmals am 26. Mai 1829. “Americanische Schweine“ gebe es im Kirchspiel Lutten, “sehr kurzbeinig ... und leicht zu ernähren, klein und daher besonders für kleinere Haushaltungen zu empfehlen“. Erst am 17. Januar 1832 wurde Amerika wieder behandelt. 1823 habe es dort schon “zehntausend Buchdrucker“ gegeben, “unzählige Wasserstraßen“ und “unendlich vervielfältigte Kunststraßen“, davon “16 000 Meilen Poststraßen“ und “unzählige Dampfschiffe ... 30-40 allein auf dem Mississippi und dessen Nebenflüssen“. Und “in den großen Städten“ gebe es “Bibliotheken, Athenäen, gelehrte Societäten, Vereine für bildende Künste etc. in großer Zahl“. Das Schulwesen werde vorbildlich finanziert: “3000 Dollars“ koste die Verwaltung der Stadt Boston, das Schulwesen aber “10 000 Dollars jährlich“. Von Reisegruppen wurde berichtet, vor allem vom erfolgreichen Georg Rapp (1770-1847), einem “Württembergischen Geistlichen“, der 1804 mit 90 Familien ausgewandert sei, “weil die Regierung glaubte, daß eine von ihm seit dem J. 1785 errichtete besondere Kirchen-Gemeinde nicht länger dürfe geduldet werden“. Er habe die Stadt “Harmonie“ in Pennsylvania gegründet, die “Gegend ein Paradies an Naturgaben und Cultur, der Einwohner nur 900 bis 1000, aber alle froh und zufrieden“. In nur

sechs Jahren habe sich deren Kapital um das zehnfache von nur 20 000 auf 200 000 Taler erhöht. 1814 sei man in den Südwesten des Staates Indiana gezogen. Dort "am Wabash-Flusse" befinde sich "eine neue Harmonie" (New Harmony), "welche sehr viel schöner und größer war als die erste, viele Maschinenwerke zu ihren Fabriken erhielt, vortreffliche Weine bauete, 6000 Scheffel Weizen erndtete, u.s.w."

Am 6. März 1832 gab es die ersten kritischen Töne: "Das Auswanderungsfieber scheint bedeutende Fortschritte zu machen und uns mehr Menschen rauben zu wollen, als die Cholera, und zwar nicht, wie diese, vorzugsweise die entbehrlichsten, sondern die fleißigsten. ... Alles spricht nur von Nordamerika. Die Heuerleute sind die ersten, auf welche die Auswanderungslust wirkt". Am 7. August 1832 verwies die Zeitung auf die Kosten, von denen "der Auswanderer auch in Europa bequem leben" könne, und am 18. September 1832 auf die "verzüglichen Erfolge eines Neubaus im hiesigen Lande - zur Beherzigung bey den Auswanderern nach Amerika".

Pastor Hansemann aus Jacobidrebber bei Diepholz hatte im Spätsommer 1832 vor der "zunehmenden Neigung zum Auswandern" gewarnt, vor dem Entschluß, "die so natürliche und so allgemein verbreitete Anhänglichkeit an das Land seiner Geburt" zu "schwächen" und "erlöschen" zu lassen. Das "Hannoversche(s) Magazin" druckte auf 37 Seiten in 5 Heften vom 29. August bis zum 12. September 1832 seine Darstellung der historischen Erscheinungsformen und der jetzigen Ursachen und Auswirkungen der Auswanderung auf die Auswandernden und die Zurückbleibenden. Er nannte Vorteile und unterstrich die Nachteile. Er machte Vorschläge zur Stärkung der "Anhänglichkeit an das Land seiner Geburt". Hier habe "Verminderung der Unzufriedenheit", aber auch "Belehrung durch vernünftige Vorstellungen" noch gute Chancen, weil "der Grund zur Unzufriedenheit der Menschen gemeiniglich größtentheils in den Menschen selbst" liege. In Amerika fehle "strenge Aufsicht und Zucht. ... Es (werde) nicht lange dauern, so (seien) die europäischen Einwanderer und ihre Kinder eben so faul, selbstsüchtig und anmaßend als die Mehrzahl der eingeborenen Amerikaner in den niederen Volksklassen".

### **Ein "Hauskalender oder Hausfreund"**

Eher als diese Zeitung dürfte wohl "Der Oldenburgische Hauskalender oder Hausfreund auf das Jahr 1833", der schon im September 1832 gekauft werden konnte gewirkt haben er enthielt, neben vielem anderen, "die Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse ..., Anfang und Ende der Gerichtsferien, ... die Fest- und Catechisationstage ..., den Schluß der Thore in Oldenburg ..., ein Verzeichniß der hiesigen, Ostfriesischen und sonstigen auswärtigen Jahrmärkte ..., eine Sammlung Räthsel", dazu Hinweise auf "Mittel, Stiefeln wasserdicht zu machen ..., eiserne Oefen zu kitteln ..., Fliegen vom Fleische abzuhalten ..., Hasen zu füttern um sie leicht schießen und fangen zu können ..., den Aepfeln einen angenehmen Geschmack gleich dem der Muskatellertraube zu geben", aber

auch “Etwas über Auswanderungen nach Nordamerika, insonderheit den vereinigten Staaten. Wegen der jetzigen großen Auswanderungslust wird dieser Aufsatz gewiß großes Interesse haben und Viele, deren Gedanken dahin gerichtet sind, über manches belehren.” (Anzeige in den Oldenburgische(n) Anzeigen, 5. September 1832) Er wollte nicht verurteilen, sondern “blos zeigen, daß, so wie jede Sache in der Welt ihre gute und ihre schlimme Seite hat, so auch diese,” nämlich “die süßgewohnte Heimath mit Allem, was einem darin theuer und lieb geworden ist, zu verlassen.” Er informierte mit “wenigen Zeilen” über “das beste Alter”, über vorteilhafte “körperliche Beschaffenheit”, über das hinreichende “Vermögen”, über betrügerische “Mäkler”, die schon hier wertloses Land oder gar “nackte Namen, die nur in der Phantasie existiren”, anböten, über “die gewöhnliche Art der Ansiedlung” in den amerikanischen Wäldern, über Blockhaus-Bau und erste Aussaat, über mögliche Erfolge: “Am Ende von 4 bis 5 Jahren” könne man “schon seine ganze Schuld für den Ankauf mit dem Gewinne von seinem Boden abtragen, und ist dann ein behaglicher Landmann”. Es sei “anzurathen, nicht alleine auszuwandern, sondern sich mit Mehreren zu vereinigen” und sich dort anzusiedeln, “wo schon eine oder mehrere deutsche Colonien vorhanden” seien, “z.B. ... am Wabash-Flusse im Staate Indiana”, wo es “noch besser” sei als in “Pennsylvanien”.

### **“Ein 49 Vers starkes Gedicht”**

Ein mit “Franz Lahmeyer” gezeichneter Text, gedruckt am 25. Januar 1833 in Baltimore, sei “von Bremen aus in die hiesigen Lande versandt” worden, hieß es am 1. Juli 1833 in einer Mitteilung der Landdrostei Hannover. Die “Schmähschrift” sei daraufhin zu überprüfen, “ob ... Aufregung dadurch entstehn könnte”. Franz Lahmeyer, ein “concessioniert gewesener Zahn-Auszieher” und “im schlechten Ruf stehender Drechsler-Geselle, der auch schon Schauspieler gewesen” und als “überspannter Mensch bekannt”, sei im August 1832 ausgewandert. Er stamme aus Ostercappeln, 15 km nordöstlich von Osnabrück, 5 km von Bohmte entfernt. Schon am 18. März 1833 berichtete der Wachtmeister Wiege aus Bohmte dem Kommandeur der königlichen Dragoner in Osnabrück, ein “Druckwerk, das sich hauptsächlich zur Aufwiegelung eignen kann”, kursiere unter den Leuten, niemand wolle es besitzen, er habe aber doch ein Exemplar aufgetrieben. Es sei “eine Aufmunterung, das Vaterland zu verlassen, weil der jetzige Zeitgeist für so etwas besonders empfänglich ist”. Es handle sich um “ein 49 Vers starkes Gedicht, welches die großen Vortheile Americas gegen die deutsche Verfassung schildert”, berichtete ein anderer 5 Tage später. Es “sollen viele Einwohner von Auswanderung sprechen und dazu Anstalten treffen”, berichtete die Landdrostei am 2. April dem Innenministerium: das Gedicht werde “von der ausschweifenden Classe mit Begierde gelesen”. Hannover verzichtete auf “Maßnahmen”, empfahl den “Landdragonern” aber doch, “hin und wieder vorfindende Exemplare an sich zu nehmen, wobei (sie) zugleich Gelegenheit

finden werden, die Besitzer der gedachten Verse über deren Unwerth und schlechte Tendenz aufzuklären”.

- (1) *“Heil dir Columbus, sey gepriesen,  
Sey hoch geehrt in Ewigkeit,  
Du hast uns einen Weg gewiesen  
Der uns aus harter Dienstbarkeit  
Erretten kann, wenn man es wagt,  
Und seinem Vaterland entsagt.*
- (2) *Entledigt euch der Sklavenketten,  
Die euch und eure Kinder drückt  
Und wählet euch der Blumenbetten  
Womit sich unser Boden schmückt.  
Ja er verschafft uns Fröhlichkeit  
Nach unsrer harten Dienstbarkeit.*
- (48) *Ich will euch Brüder nicht verleiten  
Zum Aufruhr, nein, bey Leibe nicht!  
Könnt ihr die Kosten nur bestreiten,  
So kommt zu mir, und säumet nicht.  
Daß man bey Rebeljon verliert,  
Das hat auch Hessenland gespürt.*
- (49) *Drum meide Jeden, der den Stempel  
Der losen Sitten sicher glaubt,  
Damit ihr nicht durch den Exempel  
Euch eure Freyheit selbst beraubt  
Und hiermit end' ich mein Gedicht.  
Nun kommet her, und säumet nicht.”*

Die 49 Strophen kursierten als “Sinnreiche Einfälle in Stunden froher Laune über mein Vaterland Europa verglichen mit den vereinten Staaten, gewidmet für meine europäischen Freunde im Königreich Hannover, verfaßt von Franz Lahmeyer, M.D. (= Medicinae Doctor = Dr. med.), Baltimore, gedruckt auf Kosten des Verfassers, den 25sten Januar, 1833”. (Rattermann; Staatsarchiv Hannover: 74, 2057; StOs: Rep 335, 4242, 155-177)

### **Gottfried Duden**

Ein anderes “Druckwerk”, eines der ersten Amerika-Bücher für Auswanderer, hat auch auf viele als “Aufmunterung” gewirkt, “das Vaterland zu verlassen”. Es entsprach dem “Zeitgeist”, wurde aber wohl weniger “von der ausschweifenden Classe” gelesen. In den “Oldenburgische(n) Anzeigen” vom 3. Oktober 1832 warb ein Buchhändler: “Oldenburg. (Für Auswanderer.) Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord Amerikas, und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri, in den Jahren 1824. bis 1827. von Gottfried Duden. Elberfeld 1829. geh. 1 1/2 Rthlr. ist wieder vorräthig bey Friedrich Voigt (Duden).” Im “Schreiben vom Missouri” (Oldenburgische

Blätter, 29. Oktober 1833) wurde Duden vorgehalten, “nicht immer bey der Wahrheit geblieben” zu sein. Der Autor des “Schreiben(s) aus Pittsburg” (Oldenburgische Blätter, 16. Juli 1833) glaubte gar, Duden habe “durch Vorspiegelung eines Paradieses das Interesse für Auswanderung erwecken wollen, um dadurch den Absatz seines Buches zu fördern, und um die Auswanderung nach Missouri hinzuleiten, wo er Ländereyen angekauft (habe), die durch Ausbreitung der Cultur einen größern Werth erhalten” dürften.

### **“Öffentliche Anzeigen”**

Wer nach Amerika gehen wollte, mußte den Weg dorthin finden. Der “obrigkeitlich angestellte und beeidigte Schiffsmäkler J. D. Lüdering” aus Bremen hatte erstmals am 27. Februar 1833 in den “Osnabrückische(n) Öffentliche(n) Anzeigen” im nichtamtlichen Teil geworben und “zur öffentlichen Kunde” gebracht, daß er, “um Entfernteren die kostspielige Reise hieher zur Abschließung eines Contracts zu ersparen ... den Kaufmann J. R. Möllmann in Bramsche bevollmächtigt” habe, “solche Contracte für ganze Gesellschaften sowohl, wie für einzelne Personen zu den auf Billigkeit gegründeten und festen Passagepreisen für die durch mich nach Nordamerika zu expedirenden Schiffe abzuschließen”. “Bei Fr. Rackhorst” in Osnabrück war zur gleichen Zeit “zu haben Weiland, Charte von den Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten. 8 Ggr.” (0,33 Taler), dazu “Der kleine Reisegefährte, oder kurzes Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch mit Aussprache, zunächst für Auswanderer, von Chr. Plessner. Stralsund, geheftet 9 Ggr.” (0,33 Taler) und die “Reise nach dem Staate Ohio in Nordamerika, gemacht in Begleitung einer Anzahl Auswanderer und beschrieben von Nikolaus Jaß, gewesener Schullehrer in Oberthal, Canton Bern. 2. Aufl. Bern, 1832, 6 Ggr” (0,24 Taler). (Osnabrückische Öffentliche Anzeigen: 30. Januar 1833; 20. Februar 1833; 27. Februar 1833)

Seit Februar 1833 arbeiteten der Agent “Chr. Bröermann” in Damme und der “Krämer Ludwig Uetrecht” in Osnabrück für den Makler Lüdering, der “Gastwirth Rudolph Mönster” in Osnabrück für den Makler Carl Traub und seit April 1833 der “Sattlermeister Pirtring” in Ostercappeln für die Makler Westhoff und Meyer (Osnabrückische Öffentliche Anzeigen: 6. Februar 1833; 27. Februar 1833; 6. März 1833; 24. April 1833).

### **Öffentliche Meinungen**

Die “Oldenburgische(n) Blätter” haben am 15. Oktober 1833 einen anonymen Poeten sein Urteil fällen lassen;

*“An die Auswanderer.*

- (1) *Wie preis't euch Deutschen man so sehr  
Ein Paradies dort über'n Meer?  
Was drängt, der Zukunft unbewußt,  
Euch von der Heimath Mutterbrust?*

- (2) *Es mag der träge Bürger ziehn!  
Dem Fleiß kann hier auch Segen blühh;  
Hier, wo es nicht an Land gebricht,  
Giebt es auch Uebervölkung nicht.*
- (10) *Im Vaterland der eigne Heerd  
Der bleibt dem Deutschen lieb und werth,  
Und was er drinnen wirkt und schafft,  
Bewährt des Deutschen innre Kraft.*
- (11) *Und durch ein unauflöslich Band  
Geknüpft an Fürst und Vaterland,  
Steht er mit alter Deutscher Treu  
In allen Stürmen kräftig bey,*
- (12) *Und weicht nicht von Treu und Pflicht,  
Und weicht vom Vaterlande nicht,  
Weil er, bey trüber Gegenwart,  
Auf bessre Zukunft ruhig harrt.*
- (13) *Auf seiner Fürsten Biedersinn  
Blickt stets sein Fleiß vertrauend hin;  
Er spricht, baut er sein täglich Brod:  
Den guten Fürsten segne Gott!*
- (14) *So denket fest und gut und wahr  
Ein ächter Deutscher immerdar;  
Wer nicht zu diesen sich gesellt,  
Mag ziehen in die neue Welt!"*

Pastor Hansemann aus Jacobidrebber hatte denen, die "zum Auswandern" neigten, im Spätsommer 1832 gehörig und herabsetzend ins Gewissen geredet: "Wollt ihr nur erwerben und genießen, wohlan, so zieht nach Amerika; ... liegt Euch aber das wahre bleibende Wohl Eurer Nachkommenschaft am Herzen, so bleibt." Hier werde "Geist und Herz" der Kinder "gehörig gebildet", dort seien "Prediger und Lehrer ... von einer ungebildeten urtheilsunfähigen Menge abhängige Lohnknechte"; hier werde "Gerechtigkeit ... durch möglichst unabhängige Männer verwaltet", dort seien "Bestechungen, niedrige Ränke und leidenschaftliche Übereilungen bei den Gerichten" gang und gäbe. "Dieser Staat (sei) der Hauptabzugscanal des Auswurfs anderer Länder, ... der vielen Faullenzer, Säufer, Betrüger, Diebe, politischen und religiösen Schwärmer und unruhigen Köpfe." (Hannoversches Magazin, 12. September 1832)

In den Ämtern war man unsicher, wie die von der "Auswanderer-Sucht" Befallenen zu beurteilen seien. Das Amt Vörden meinte am 7. Februar 1834, von den 132 Auswanderern der Jahre 1832/33 habe "der größere Teil ... nicht in

dem besten bürgerlichen Ruf“ gestanden. “Militairpflichtige” seien darunter gewesen, auch “ein paar beurlaubte Soldaten”, die sich “bey Nacht und Nebel heimlich” entfernt hätten. 10 Monate später (4. Dezember 1834) urteilte dasselbe Amt vorsichtiger über seine 142 Auswanderer des Jahres 1834: “Mit Ausnahme zweyer Familien ... genossen die übrigen Ausgewanderten sämmtlich eines guten Rufs: jedoch befinden sich unter den ledigen Mannspersonen verschiedene ausgetretene Militairpflichtige aus den Geburts-Jahren 1813 und 1814” (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 119-121). Von 17 Auswanderern der Jahre 1832/33 hielt der Magistrat der Stadt Quakenbrück neun für “gut”, zwei für “fleißig”, vier für “leichtsinnig”, einen für “sehr leichtsinnig” und einen für “nicht haushälterisch, dadurch unbemittelt” (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 12-18: 6. März 1834). Das Amt Osnabrück fand “nur wenige” unter den Ausgewanderten des Jahres 1834, “deren Verlust nicht zu beklagen” sei (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 I, 165-167: 13. Januar 1835), während die Stadt Osnabrück für 1836 von 44 Ausgewanderten nur den “Verlust des Drechsler Menge zu bedauern” fand, aber doch der vorgesetzten Behörde gegenüber vermerkte, ihn habe wohl “ein gewisser Dünkel und Freiheitsschwindel getrieben, das sichere Fortkommen in seiner Vaterstadt mit dem ungewissen in einem anderen Welttheile zu vertauschen”. Einige “fleißige Arbeiter” seien dabei gewesen, aber auch einige “unnütze Subjecte” und “liederliche Personen”, die man “auf öffentliche Kosten dahin gesandt” habe. (StOs: Rep 335, 4247 II, 294-300: 11. Februar 1837) Schon am 6. Februar 1832 hatte das Amt Vörden die “Königlich Großbritannisch-Hannoversche Landdrostey in Osnabrück” gebeten, für einen “vormaligen Feldwebel” aus Rieste und dessen Frau “den Auswanderungs-Consens hochgeneigtest gratis ausfertigen zu laßen”. Das Paar besitze “nicht das geringste Vermögen”. Er sei “ein streitsüchtiger Mensch und Egoist im höchsten Grade, ohne besondere Fähigkeiten ... , wodurch er in hiesigem Königreich sein Fortkommen sichern könnte: ... zum Arbeiten hat er keine Lust.” Vier Tage später lag ein positiver Bescheid vor: “Ob paupertatem gratis!” (Der Armut wegen gratis!). (StOs: Rep 335, 770, 48-51)

### **Antiamerikanismus**

Europäer neigen immer noch dazu, US-Amerikaner in den Kategorien schwacher Objekt-Beziehungen zu sehen; sie geben diesen Beziehungen eine negative Bedeutung.

Sie neigen immer noch dazu, sich selbst in den Kategorien starker Objekt-Beziehungen zu sehen; sie geben diesen Beziehungen eine positive Bedeutung.

US-amerikanische Kultur neigt zu schwachen Objekt-Beziehungen, europäische Kultur zu starken Objekt-Beziehungen. Europäer, die auswanderten und Amerikaner wurden, hatten mehr schwache als starke Objekt-Beziehungen. Europäer, die blieben, hatten viele Probleme mit “ihren” Auswanderern; manchmal haben sie diese gering geachtet. Gert Raeithel hat

diese Argumentation plausibel vorgetragen und an Kategorien schwacher Objekt-Beziehungen konkretisiert, denen hier eine positive Bedeutung zugeordnet wird:

<u>negative Bedeutung</u>	<u>positive Bedeutung</u>
- treulose Emigranten	- unternehmungslustige Immigranten
- leichtfertige Pioniere	- wagemutige Pioniere
- dilettantische Handwerker	- vielseitige Handwerker
- bindungslose Farmer	- bewegliche Farmer
- skrupellose Profiteure	- geschäftstüchtige Unternehmer
- gefühlkalte Frauen	- elegante, liebenswürdige Frauen
- oberflächliche Amerikaner	- freundliche Amerikaner
- die unfertige Gesellschaft	- die fortschrittliche Gesellschaft
- der maßlose Kontinent	- der offene Kontinent
- der unberechenbare Partner	- der einfallsreiche Partner
- die geschichtslose Kultur	- die experimentierende Kultur
- Land ohne Nachtigall	- Land mit Roten Kardinälen, farbenfrohen Kolibris, jubelnden Spottdrosseln, ...

Antiamerikanischer Spott in Europa macht die Vorteile auch bei Intellektuellen salonfähig:

Europäer: Ich denke, also bin ich.  
Amerikaner: Ich kaue, also bin ich.

oder

Sartre: To be is to do.  
Camus: To do is to be.  
Sinatra: dobedobedo.

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## POVZETEK

### "AMERIKA" IN AMERIKA - IZSELJEVANJE IN JAVNO MNENJE NA NEMŠKEM SEVEROZAHODU V 30. LETIH 19. STOLETJA ?

Antonius Holtmann

Ko se je na začetku leta 1830 začelo množično izseljevanje, so bili upravne službe in tisk - kakor tudi mnogi, ki so se nameravali izseliti - do neke mere zbegani. Prihajala so nasprotujoča si poročila o uspehih in neuspehih izseljencev, zopet se je uveljavila negativna podoba Amerike iz časov Buffona (1707-1788) in se strnila v stereotip: "Dežela brez slavčkov" (N. Lenau). Navdušenju za Ameriko je torej močno nasprotovalo široko razširjeno omalovaževanje izselitve. Med protiameriškimi stališči je prevladovalo pozivanje k domoljubju, brez katerega naj bi bili izseljenci. "Pravi" Nmec

*"... ne pozabi zvestobe in dolžnosti,  
svojo domovino vselej v srcu nosi ...*

*Take so njegove misli, trdne v njegovem duhu,  
kajti to je pravi Nmec po posluhu.  
Izbira je torej tvoja: bodisi ohrani vez  
ali kot potepin pojdi v Novi svet."*

Verjetna je domneva Gerta Raethela, da je protiamerikanizem povezan z določeno vrsto odnosa do predmetov. Raethel meni, da se močan odnos do

predmetov pri morebitni večini Evropejcev kaže v njihovi navezanosti na običajne načine življenja. Po drugi strani se zdi, da šibek odnos do predmetov vodi k večji odprtosti do neobičajnega, novega, kar je bolj tipično tako za emigrante kot za Američane.

## **LITERARY IMMIGRANTS IN A NEW ENVIRONMENT: PARTICIPATION OR ISOLATION IN THE U.S.A.**

Igor Maver

The monolithic concept of the 'Americanness' of American literature is a theme of the past. This somewhat provocative statement indicates the current revisionist stance in reconstructing American literary history. To be sure, a new re-definition is required if the reductionist definition of a national (American) literary canon based on a monocentric national tradition is to be superseded: one way of doing it is to take into account the element of ethnicity, i.e. ethnic/emigrant literature produced in the US.<sup>1</sup>

In the United States of America the ethnic factor has since the mid-sixties onwards become significant in the reconstruction of American literary history. In the re-examination of the American canon from the point of view of ethnicity, the new, so-called "transethnic procedures", aimed at "ethnicity at large", ought to increase the understanding of the various cultural interplays and contacts among contemporary American writers of different ethnic backgrounds. The concept of ethnicity has from a purely sociological or ideological perspective also been turned into a literary-critical concept, which is why it should not be divorced from the parallel examination of the surrounding non-ethnic literary context. The so-called "ethnic literature" is in America, according to most critical views, currently one of the most interesting and artistically productive literary areas, where "ethnic" in a larger sense stands not only for immigrant literature, written by immigrants of European origin and the "new immigrants" from Asia and the Caribbean, but also for black, American-Indian and Chicano literature.

Looking at this issue historically, it can be said that in the United States the early twentieth-century term "immigrant literature", which was even in the sixties still dismissed as "regional writing",<sup>2</sup> has gradually given way to a more

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<sup>1</sup> As for example in Sacvan Bercovitch (ed.), *Reconstructing American Literary History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986. The book makes a virtue of dissension in all its current varieties: from deconstruction, semiotics and feminism to ethnicity. The new generational diversity of views and interests is thus brought into play, such as, for example, race, class, gender and ethnicity. For a detailed historical survey study of ethnicity issues connected with language and partly literature see Philip Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> "It is like all the sub-literature which we customarily call 'regional', writing intended to represent the values and interests of a group which fees itself penalized, even threatened, by

appropriate term "ethnic literature" and, more recently, to the term "multicultural representation". In the rise of ethnic awareness in America the "new ethnicity" movement, modelled on the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, was of crucial importance: it began to reclaim individual ethnic literary history and traditions of a particular ethnic group. The Society for the Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States has, since its foundation in 1973, created a forum for examining the literary traditions of black Americans, native Americans, Hispanics (Chicanos), immigrant groups from all parts of Europe, and, what is particularly interesting, of the "new immigrants", who comprise peoples from Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East.

The present changing patterns of immigration into the United States are indeed a fact and immigrant literary history and especially the official language policy must respond to these changes accordingly: so far this has not always been the case. While discrimination based upon ethnicity is forbidden by law, most subtler forms of discrimination based on language are not. According to certain more radical views, especially in the case of the new immigrants from Asia and Latin America, linguistic discrimination, which of course relates also to the literary sphere, has recently become a legally acceptable form of ethnic discrimination and thus ethnicity has come to be popularly viewed as a major social problem in the U.S. English language learning is seen as fundamentally ideological and as much a barrier to the education of these immigrants as it is a tool for their social advancement.<sup>3</sup>

It has recently been pointed out that the critics who were influenced by the new ethnicity movement in the seventies relied too much on sociological positivism, which insisted on the inherent value of each individual ethnic group and its struggle against discrimination vis-a-vis the literature of the mainstream.<sup>4</sup> Although the critics who maintain this in their studies that have been published well into the eighties did not only see ethnic literature as something completely beneficent and artistic per se, they nevertheless point out that an important aspect is thus neglected, which is to study or even acknowledge the literariness and the artistic value of the texts studied, in

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the disregard of the larger community." Leslie Fiedler, *Waiting for the End*. New York: Stein and Day, 1964, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for example James W. Tollefson, *Power and Inequality in Language Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas J. Ferraro, *Ethnic Passages: Literary Immigrants in Twentieth-Century America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 4-5. Although admitting to their indispensable contributions to ethnic/ immigrant bibliography, biography and republishing, Ferraro argues that the "new ethnicity" literary critics, most of whom produced their books in the early eighties, were still too keen on emphasizing bicultural citizenship, often at the cost of dismissing the aesthetic and the creative value of writings. For a detailed discussion of ethnic writing as a major form of (postmodern) cultural discourse that has emerged since the 1960's see William Boelhower, *Through a Glass Darkly, Ethnic Semiosis in American Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

relation to the mainstream. The hyphenated terms used in the works of the "new-ethnicity-movement" critics in fact emphasized the separation of two spheres, two worlds (e.g. Italian-Americans). According to some views, ethnic writers segregated themselves in artistic ethnic ghettos apart from mainstream writings, remaining both uninfluenced by them and without influence themselves and emphasizing bicultural citizenship and cultural adherence.<sup>5</sup> Considering all the pros and cons, it seems reasonable to maintain that the hyphenated adjectives can still perhaps be used for the sake of brevity as well as tradition, while nouns consisting of hyphenated compound nouns (e.g. Irish-American, Slovene-American) should best be avoided.

In the second half of the eighties a group of critics set out to examine their own immigrant descent against the non-immigrant minorities as "representations of 'America'". The book written by Werner Sollors *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* and the book of essays he edited entitled *The Invention of Ethnicity*<sup>6</sup> are of central importance here. Sollors and his group, in trying to avoid the ghettoization and the romanticization of ethnic literature, stress the intrinsic 'Americanness' of ethnic creativity and self-representation. They insist on the fact that literature written in English (this, of course, is a *conditio sine qua non* or else ethnic literature remains closed within an individual non-English language cultural sphere) by the various ethnic groups is more central (mainstream) than the sometimes too isolationist approaches of an individual group make it appear. They suggest that ethnic literature has all too often been subject to academic ghettoization, which only reflects the existing power relations in society, and that ethnic literature is, and always has been (even going back to the early Puritan 'immigrant' tradition), part of the mainstream and by no means marginal, though marginalized.

Furthermore, literary ethnicity should not be over-romanticized nor undervalued, for its artistic value must be critically investigated. The 'Beyond Ethnicity' critics understand 'ethnic writing' as one ultimately leading to Americanization. They are perhaps not susceptible enough to the specific dilemmas and initial efforts of a certain ethnic group, its culture in transition, which is, at least at the beginning, in conflict with the mainstream (Anglo-Saxon) one. When speaking about immigrant writers, her own displacement, adaptation and Americanization, the American Indian-born writer Bharati Mukherjee, for example, distinguishes between "the aloofness of expatriation"

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<sup>5</sup> The concept of a "hyphenate" ethnic author and the recent process of de-hyphenation is still very much debated in critical literature. The crux of the question does not seem to be in the term itself, but rather in what it actually represents. See for example Daniel Aaron, "The Hyphenate Writer in American Letters", *Alumnae Quarterly*, July 1964, p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986; W. Sollors (ed.), *The Invention of Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

and the “exuberance of immigration”; in the former, the newcomer resists adaptation and assimilation into the ethos of the host culture, thus maintaining his own ethnicity, whereas in the latter the immigrant prefers to be adopted and influenced by his host country, with a corresponding dichotomy operating on the aesthetic level. In the essay *“Immigrant Writing: Give Us Your Maximalists!”* she writes that the exiled or expatriate writer's position can lead to isolation, for “lacking a country, avoiding all the messiness of rebirth as an immigrant eventually harms the finest sensibility.”<sup>7</sup>

In trying to answer the title question of this paper, participation or isolation in the U.S.A., participation is certainly the obvious answer, which, however, requires additional explanations. Looking more closely at the earlier “new-ethnicity-movement” literary critics and the recent Sollors “beyond ethnicity” group, it can be seen that the two approaches are really not that far apart: they both acknowledge the importance and centrality of the American ethnic/immigrant experience, which is, clearly, both purely ethnic and genuinely American. It is, so it seems, best to combine the two, thus avoiding the over-isolationist stance of the former and the over-simplifying concept of the “invention of ethnicity” concept of the latter view.

There are certain unavoidable stages in ethnic research, depending on the individual generation and its closeness to an ethnic culture, and, certainly, one cannot exist without the other. The seventies thus produced the necessary, more positivistic literary-historical and literary-critical approach, while the eighties, with the ethnic group already being historically “contextualized”, i.e. its literary authors researched and described, moved beyond the ethnic imposed (most often) and/or self-imposed (less often) ghettoization of ethnic literature. Clearly, at first the (historical) contextualization of various immigrant writers and their ethnic groups within social history should be carried out and only then their writings should be examined in relation to the mainstream literature of which they have always been a part. Armed with an immaculate knowledge of English, immigrant writers of each new generation can and should therefore fight not only the mono-cultural monopoly of the mainstream, but also the cultural hermeticism of an ethnic group. Many immigrants of European and non-European origin are doing it with success and examples are plentiful.

The general tendency today is that immigrants see themselves and are portrayed by ethnic or non-ethnic (mainstream) writers as ‘normal’ Americans, which is somehow in contrast to the resurging ethnic spirit of the seventies (pertaining to the first and partly the second generation of immigrants).

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<sup>7</sup> Bharati Mukherjee, *“Immigrant Writing: Give Us Your Maximalists!”*, New York Times Book Review, 28 August, 1988: 1, pp. 28-9. In the essay she expresses admiration for the richness of the immigrant world in the United States and pleads for a fictive (non-isolationist) tradition of these immigrant literary voices.

Increasingly, the descendants of immigrants (the third and the fourth generation) no longer lead their lives within the limited sphere of their individual ethnic groups, but aim to conform to 'American' standards and codes of behaviour. It is extremely interesting that in the American literary production of the past decade the characters which used to be described and referred to as 'ethnic' have now become American, 'international' or 'ethnic at large': immigrants are seen as Americans, no longer as ethnics, foreign nationals or people of dual (hyphenated) nationality. The question of literary immigrants is, of course, very much connected with the on-going process of the canon of American literature, which has gone through several phases and which is constantly in the making. The recent project (Reconstructing American Literature, 1986 and 1990) has been aimed at embracing the diversity of expression in American literature by looking at it from broader cultural points of view: Afro-American, Aboriginal or native American, ethnic, and many more.

### POVZETEK

#### PRISELJENSKI KNJIŽEVNIKI V NOVEM OKOLJU: VKLJUČITEV ALI OSAMITEV V ZDA

Igor Maver

Članek s splošnega, literarno-zgodovinskega stališča raziskuje položaj 'literarnih izseljencev' v ZDA oz. njihovo sodelovanje ali izolacijo v ZDA. V okviru zgodovinskega pregleda razvoja kanona ameriške književnosti in prisotnosti etničnega elementa v njem se avtor najprej ustavi pri gibanju 'nova etničnost', ki se je pojavilo v sedemdesetih letih in je pomembno prispevalo k uveljavitvi in procesu kanoniziranja etnične literarne ustvarjalnosti. Nato članek opiše najnovejša prizadevanja vplivne skupine literarnih kritikov v poznih osemdesetih letih, ki opozarjajo na dejstvo, da je bila t.i. 'etnična' književnost že vseskozi del kanona, da je kanon in da je pogosto 'etnični' pisatelj sam, še bolj pa literarna kritika in zgodovina kriva za izolacijo in svojevrstno 'ghettoizacijo' etničnega pisanja glede na ameriški literarni 'mainstream', ki jo je potrebno preseči.





## **“IN AMERICA THE WORK IS HARD, BUT THE PAY IS GOOD”**

Marjan Drnovšek

The emigration of Slovenes<sup>1</sup> at the turn of the twentieth century was a constituent part of the migratory movements to all parts of Europe and across the Atlantic Ocean to both American continents.<sup>2</sup> The mass emigration of Slovenes took place in the period after 1880, their destination being mainly the USA, and to a lesser extent Germany (Westphalia and the Rhineland Palatinate) as well as to other parts of the world (e.g. South America, Canada and Egypt).<sup>3</sup> Numerically it was the largest emigration in Slovene history. Every third Slovene left home to emigrate either temporarily or permanently. According to demographic analyses, 23 per cent of the population emigrated from the Slovene provinces prior to World War I. For Slovenes, however, it was disastrous because of their small numbers and the fact that they lost the most creative members of their society. The Slovenes formed a significant part of the Slav, Jewish and Mediterranean (particularly Italian) migration wave, the last major wave of emigration to the USA before the imposition of restrictions on migration into that country after World War I.<sup>4</sup> By introducing the quota system, the American authorities closed the “golden gate” into their country which,

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<sup>1</sup> Before World War I all Slovenes lived within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in the south of the Austrian half of the empire. According to the 1910 census, 491,000 Slovenes inhabited the province of Carniola, 410,000 the province of Styria, 267,000 the Austro-Illyrian Littoral, and 82,000 the province of Carinthia. The small nation had economic and political ambitions - the idea of 'Zedinjena Slovenija' (United Slovenia) goes back to 1848 - and its own literary language, literature and culture (theatre, libraries, cultural societies), education, and the like. See: Janko Prunk, *Slovenia. Historical Background of the Republic of Slovenia (A Brief History of Slovenia)*, Mihelač, Ljubljana 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Marjan Drnovšek, *Slowenische Auswanderung vor 1914 über Hamburg, Bremen/Bremerhaven und Le Havre nach Ellis Island.- Hoffnung Amerika. Europäische Auswanderung in die Neu Welt.* Herausgegeben und zusammengestellt von Karin Schulz, NWD-Verlag Bremerhaven 1994, s. 103-118.

<sup>3</sup> Marjan Drnovšek, *Pot slovenskih izseljencev na tuje. Od Ljubljane do Ellis Islanda-Otoka solza v New Yorku 1880-1924*, Založba Mladika, Ljubljana 1991 (Summary: *Slovene Emigration to America. From Ljubljana to Ellis Island-The Island of Tears in New York 1880-1924*, pp. 205-208).

<sup>4</sup> Slovenes emigrated in large numbers to the United States According to the 1910 American census, Slovene was reported as a mother tongue by 123,631 first-generation immigrants and by 59,800 members of the second generation; in total, there were 183,800 Slovenes in America according to this census. Ten years later the figure increased to 208,552.

since the end of the 18th century had attracted Europeans and people from other continents.<sup>5</sup>

The departure from their homelands and the arrival in a new land represented a kind of shock or turning point in the way of life of the emigrants, regardless of the fact that almost all Slovene migrants considered their stay in foreign countries to be of a temporary nature. What the majority had in mind was to leave the homeland for a couple of years, earn some money and return home, but the new country held many of them back, and only a minority returned to their homes for good. All the emigrants had their own image of the country for which they were bound. Many of their expectations were fulfilled, but many were disappointed. However, in the period of mass emigration to the USA, the Slovene image of this destination was more realistic than in the middle of the 19th century, although it never - up to this day - lost its attraction.<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the period under examination, I think that the Slovene people had a good knowledge of America in general and of the prevailing conditions in that country.<sup>7</sup> This was thanks to letters from emigrants, and particularly to Slovene newspapers published both in the homeland and the USA.<sup>8</sup> The newspapers published numerous reports on the economic, political, military and other conditions on either side of the Atlantic, providing sufficiently accurate information. These newspapers circulated between the old homeland and the USA. The information was also supplemented by stories told by those who returned home. However, these stories, like letters from emigrants, were sometimes very subjective and misleading, since there were few people willing to remember the bad aspects of their stay in America which might destroy their image in the eyes of their compatriots. Although it had the intention of trying to stop people from emigrating, the information published by the Slovene Raphael society, which was a society for protecting travelling emigrants, the information it gave on the situation in the USA was very realistic. The same goes for the monumental book *Amerika in Amerikanci* (America and Americans) published in 1912 and written by Jurij Trunk, a Slovene priest. The book was intended to inform Slovenes about America and about the Slovene emigrants living in this country. The author paid several visits to America, and although he did not hide his excitement over America, his information was not misleading.

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<sup>5</sup> Hans Chmelar, *Höhepunkte der österreichischen Auswanderung. Die Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern in den Jahren 1905-1914. Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*. Band XIV. Vienna 1974.

<sup>6</sup> So on one of the façades in Ljubljana we can still read the following contemporary graffito: 'All is well in America'.

<sup>7</sup> They learnt about it at school.

<sup>8</sup> See: *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*. Razprave o izseljenstvu/Migration Studies, 2-3, ZRC SAZU/Center of Scientific Research of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts-The Institute for Slovene Emigration Research, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 424.

In the nineteenth century the Slovene provinces were economically underdeveloped.<sup>9</sup> They were predominantly agrarian, but their agriculture was inefficient because farms were small and technologically backward, and capital investment was scarce. When serfdom was abolished (1848), farmers became owners of land and were heavily taxed. Until World War I, the position of the peasant class remained unchanged. High taxes, usury, uncompetitiveness of produce, and natural disasters all confronted the farmers. As a consequence, there was a movement away from the land to the towns, to the few industrial centres, but mainly to foreign countries.<sup>10</sup>

The majority of the Slovene emigrants were rural workers who could not find jobs in the old country, or were paid less for their work. A significant portion consisted of skilled people with a good knowledge of specific crafts (tailors, joiners, carpenters, cooks etc.). Almost all of them knew at least how to read and they had a basic knowledge of how to write. Many of them understood and also communicated in German. However, apart from hardworking hands and the desire for a better life, they had no money or property. Most of them expected to save some money abroad in order to improve their standard of living in their homeland, in order to repair their houses, buy cultivable land, open their own craft workshops, repay their debts, etc. These were the reasons why they kept emigrating to America, where they found jobs working in mines, factories, as workers in forests and on farms, and where women straw hat makers from the surroundings of Domžale near Ljubljana went to work in large hat factories in New York and other cities. Slovene immigrants, unlike the Jews of eastern Slavonic origin, did not plan to settle permanently in America, so they lived with a foot in either homeland. However, as I already mentioned, this new homeland became a permanent residence for the majority of Slovene immigrants, and in particular for their children and for their children's children.

There were already many contemporary public discussions about what it was that drove the Slovene people to emigrate. Was it just poverty or was there something else as well? This theme is much too broad for today's way of thinking. However, we should note that even in those times a thinking existed that there were many people who did not necessarily have to leave their homeland, but the drive for a better life and higher income was too strong.<sup>11</sup> It is also the natural right of every individual to seek a living environment that best suits his or her needs. The USA was in need of hardworking people, and

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<sup>9</sup> Janko Pleterški, *Probleme der Existenz*. - Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Band III: Die Völker des Reiches. 2. Teilband. Vienna 1980, s. 811-817.

<sup>10</sup> Apart from these economic reasons, there were also other factors such as the evasion of military service, the escape from prosecution for criminal offences, the evasion of family commitments (for example, obligation to get married because of an unwanted pregnancy), and the urge for adventure. The psychological causes of emigration are yet to be studied.

<sup>11</sup> At the turn of the century, there was an agrarian manpower shortage in some provinces.

the then Austria did nothing to hinder emigration. The Slovene provinces of Austria were economically less developed, with agriculture as the primary activity, although technologically this was underdeveloped. Right at the turn of the 20th century the standard of living started to improve, but this could not halt the mass emigration. It increased from year to year and was only stopped by World War I.

The idea expressed in the title of this article was recorded many times in letters written by emigrants, as well as in various reports and newspapers. Those who decided to work abroad had to take any job and accept the severe rules of capitalism. This applied not only to the USA, but also to other industrial countries such as Germany. Hard work, economic recessions accompanied by a high level of unemployment, an increasing number of strikes, labour surpluses etc. were phenomena that affected Slovene immigrants in the USA. Add to this the provisional nature of their residence, for example in boarding houses, and their status of emigrants from Eastern or South-Eastern Europe, it is easy for us to understand that many of them were desperate when their goals began to fall apart. There were therefore many cases of immigrants who returned home, where they waited for the situation to clear up, and then went back to the USA.

Jurij Trunk, whom we have already mentioned, considered the difference in wages to be the main factor of emigration. He carried out an analysis comparing the wages of an agricultural worker in Carniola with the wages paid in the USA. His analysis showed that a worker in America was paid five times more than a worker in the old country for the same type of work, and he also stressed the reasonable cost of good food in America. Many immigrants' letters were focused mainly on earnings and prices in the USA, comparing them with those in Carniola. For example, a certain correspondent signed only as "J.P.", wrote that the wages in Chicago were good, quoting that he could earn 1 US dollar here for work which would earn him 1 Austrian crown at home (1 dollar had the value of 5 crowns). However, at the same time he emphasised that the prices of everyday goods and services were in principle high; everyone could be paid well and everyone could charge good money for work done.

The savings of the emigrants mainly depended on the good or bad economic situation on one hand, and individuals' attitudes towards their earnings on the other. Many immigrants spent their earnings in the saloons of America, while many sent part of them home. However, the issue of how much money immigrants used to save and how much of their savings they spent remains unknown in Slovene historiography. The sources tell us only that immigrants' savings contributed to the improved life of many families in old country.

It is true that work was well paid in America, but at the time of the Slovene mass emigration to the USA the labour situation was quite uncertain. However,

America was strongly attractive to the Slovenes, the situation in homeland being worse than that in America. This was crucial for the mass emigration of both the Slovenes and many other Europeans to the USA before World War I

## POVZETEK

"V AMERIKI SE TRDO DELA - VENDAR TUDI DOBRO PLAČUJE!"

Marjan Drnovšek

Izseljevanje Slovencev na prelomu v dvajseto stoletje je bilo sestavni del migracijskih gibanj po Evropi in prek Atlantika na oba ameriška kontinenta. Njihovo množično izseljevanje postavljamo v čas po letu 1880 in je bilo usmerjeno zlasti v ZDA, v manjšem obsegu pa tudi v Nemčijo (Vestfalijo) in druge dele sveta, npr. v Egipt, države južne Amerike, Kanado itd. Po obsegu je bilo najbolj številno v vsej slovenski zgodovini. Odhod z doma in prihod v novo okolje sta za vsakega izseljenca pomenila šok oziroma prelom v načinu življenja, neglede na to, da so skoraj vsi slovenski izseljenci odhajali z mislijo o začasnosti svojega bivanja na tujem. Oditri za nekaj let, zaslužiti denar in se vrniti domov, je bilo v mislih večine odhajajočih, vendar je novo okolje mnoge zadržalo in le manjšina se je za stalno vrnila domov.

Za obravnavani čas je bilo poznavanje Amerike in tamkajšnjih razmer pri Slovencih zelo dobro. K temu so pripomogla izseljenska pisma, zlasti pa slovensko časopisje, ki je izhajalo tako doma kot v ZDA. V njih so izhajala številna poročila o gospodarskih, političnih, vojnih in drugih razmerah na obeh straneh Atlantika, ki so dajala dovolj realnih informacij.

Že sodobniki so javno razpravljali o vprašanju, kaj je izseljence gnalo od doma? Res samo revščina ali še kaj drugega? Naravna pravica vsakega človeka je, da si poišče življenjsko okolje tam, kjer si to želi in more. Mnogim ni bilo treba zapustiti domovine, vendar je bila želja po boljšem življenju in večjem zaslužku premočna. Jurij Trunk (Amerika in Amerikanci, Celovec 1912) je v boljše plačanem delu v Ameriki (ZDA) videl glavnega spodbujevalca izseljevanja v času množičnega odhajanja od 80. let devetnajstega stoletja do izbruha prve svetovne vojne. Večino izseljencev so sestavljali podeželski delavci, ki doma niso našli dela ali pa je bilo manj plačano. Ne tako malo je bilo priučenih ljudi,

ki so obvladali določeno rokodelsko spretnost (krojači, mizarji, tesarji, kuharice ipd.). Vendar razen delovnih rok in želje po boljšem življenju niso imeli premoženja oziroma denarja. Zato so se odločili za tujino.

Res je, da je bilo delo v Ameriki dobro plačano, vendar je bilo tudi vedno bolj negotovo v času, ko so Slovenci prihajali v ZDA. Kljub temu je bila privlačna sila te prekooceanske države le premočna in hkrati razmere doma slabše kot v Ameriki. In to je bilo odločujoče za množično priseljevanje Slovencev in drugih Evropejcev v ZDA pred prvo svetovno vojno.

## **THE DREAM THAT NEVER CAME TRUE: IVAN MOLEK'S PERSONAL MYTH - UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AS LITERATURE**

Jerneja Petrič

John Steinbeck once said that if a writer likes to write, he will find satisfaction in endless experiments with his medium. He will constantly investigate and try combinations new to him...<sup>1</sup> A senior Slovene-American author Ivan (John) Molek may not have known the above quotation but he certainly acted according to it. Not only did he try his hand at writing poetry, short prose, novels, drama, essays, literary and non-literary translation as well as non-fiction but he liked to experiment with literary genres as well.

Molek was an immigrant who grew up in an environment that had little use for arts - both in his native land and in the new country where an abundance of slow stammering beginnings only gradually crystallized into Slovene-American literary life. For Molek as well as his compatriots there existed a psychological frontier; their nostalgic memories excepted, they had but little use for their past and had to write their way out into the unspoken and unwritten territories of new, immigrant American experience.

Ivan Molek, an immigrant, a self-educated worker-intellectual turned out his first short stories as early as 1904 when two of them were published in the Calumet Glasnik "Zmotila se je" (She Was Mistaken) and "Moj prijatelj" (My Friend). In 1905 and 1906 he published more of his short narrative prose in Glasnik as well as in the Chicago papers Glas svobode (The Voice of Freedom) and Proletarec (The Proletarian). These earliest literary products revealed Molek as one who not only appeared to be on good terms with proletarianism but one who was willing to act as its spokesman as well. Indeed, Molek was a convinced but rather right-wing socialist who believed the workers' goals could be realized step by step through piecemeal changes. In other words, he believed in the evolutionary reforms of the government, whereas he, the writer, should do his best to educate the workers to socialism. In his unpublished manuscript he explained his ideas as follows:

*"Moderate Socialists declared that a bloody revolution in a country like America is unnecessary. America has all the conditions for victory through election. And a socialist election victory would be the greatest of all revolutions*

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<sup>1</sup> "Critics, Critics Burning Bright", The Saturday Review of Literature, November 11, 1950.

'per se'. For it would be a constructive, democratic revolution. (...) For me, 'revolution had academic significance. Countless times I had used the word 'revolution' in my articles, epigrams, and also in verse (he also used it in prose, - J.P.) - which I liked to forge in those days - but always the word for me meant only constructive and positive progress in a process of peaceful development."<sup>2</sup>

Molek's main goal as a socialist writer was no more and no less than a appeal for the humanization of life. His romantic, utopian impulse infused all of his writing, literary as well as non-literary, and eventually turned into a personal mythology. In his literary contributions to the so-called progressive papers and magazines like *Prosveta* (The Enlightenment), *Mladinski list* (Juvenile), *Ameriški družinski koledar* (The American Family Almanac), he subjected America to a ferment of social criticism that effectively exposed the injustices of capitalism and the power of the business class. He preached the necessity of a strong, unified working class but he never made it to the extreme left front and after World War II, when he became convinced that democratic freedom and one-party dictatorship were incompatible, he ended up isolated and embittered, deeply feeling the loss of innocence and good hope.

Molek's most ambitious literary project, his working-class trilogy of the 1930's, exposes an author attempting to translate his personal experience into the experience of an immigrant worker turned newspaper editor, of a right-wing socialist disappointed by the way things turned out. His narratives, so aptly called "povesti" in Slovene rather than "romani" (novels)<sup>3</sup> further reveal Molek as an author who possessed an innate tendency to see things in large masses but since he was unable to render them as such, he did it separately instead on a small scale. His writings either show a tendency toward fragmentation - the final result being short short and short stories - or he attempts to match his vision with a more generalized, superficial long prose narrative that is impatient of any depth and detail of description. Of the latter the above mentioned trilogy is the best example: *Dva svetova* (Two Worlds, 1923)<sup>4</sup>, *Veliko mravljišče* (Great Anthill, 1934), and *Sesuti stolp* (The Collapsed Tower, 1935) all have one and the same protagonist, a Slovene immigrant Tone Plesec, the son of a poor widow, who comes to America as a young man, believing it would only be for two years. At first he earns his living as a poorly paid laborer performing dangerous jobs, he experiences his first strike, loses his job, tramps for a while, then he tries his luck as a farm laborer and in his spare time begins his "socialist education". His first love affair ends in disaster but then he finds work in a small store in Calumet, Michigan, and marries the daughter of a Slovene miner only to realize - after five years of marriage - that

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<sup>2</sup> Ivan Molek in his manuscript "*Religija, socializem, demokracija*" (Religion, Socialism, Democracy). Translated by Mary Molek. The above excerpt appeared in Ivan Molek's *Slovene Immigrant History 1900-1950*, Dover, Delaware, published by Mary Molek, 1979, p.xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Molek in Appendix B of the above mentioned book refers to the three works as novels.

<sup>4</sup> Translated into English by Mary Molek: *Two Worlds*. Dover, Delaware, 1979.



he should not have married her. His marriage breaks up and so does the strike which he helped organize. Plesec finally evolves into a professional socialist agitator but finds himself unable to cope with diminishing membership in the Socialist Party and so decides to leave the place and start anew in Chicago.

In *The Great Anthill* the reader follows Tone Plesec along his way through Chicago: he becomes a member of the Slovene Laborer's Benefit Society as well as a Socialist, and he attends meetings and conventions, picnics and political gatherings. He acquires new friends and new enemies and makes friends with the daughter of a Slovene baker, who is a devout socialist, and marries her. This marriage is just as short-lived as his first one was. The couple get divorced at the beginning of World War I because his antimilitarist views disagree with her enthusiasm for the war. Plesec again loses his job but then ends up as the editor of the official organ of the benefit society he belongs to. At the end of the war he is as disillusioned as everyone else and he once again appears to be where he was at the beginning of the narrative: starting all over again.

The *Collapsed Tower* is richer in action than the previous two books. It takes place during the depression years. Plesec has been in America for twenty-nine years, he is still an editor and still firm in his beliefs. Just before the outbreak of the crisis he picks a fight with a high ranking bank employee of Slovene origin whose name is symbolically German with derogatory connotations: Spitznagel ('sharp nail'). The man apparently speculates with the money of his fellow countrymen. Plesec has a new girlfriend called Lina and a new socialist friend called Louis Majerle. After the big crash "Spitznagel's" bank goes bankrupt and people lose all their savings. Police investigation confirms Plesec's forebodings: Spitznagel is an embezzler and faces long-term imprisonment. Lina loses her job and turns down Plesec's proposal of marriage. The crisis forces Louis Majerle to move to 'Hooverville' where he meets Spitznagel's son, an M.D. fresh from University without a job. Majerle converts him to socialism and the young doctor soon finds a job in a hospital, remembers his old friend Louis and finally gets happily married. Lina and Plesec decide not to follow his example, claiming that revolutionaries traditionally make bad spouses.

The Slovene author, Mile Klopčič, who knew Ivan Molek personally wrote in his introduction to *Two Worlds* that the book is partly autobiographical. Molek indeed started out as if he were writing his autobiography: Tone Plesec's childhood and the years prior to his emigration are in fact identical to Molek's. So are his first years in America. Then, for some reason, Molek decided to proceed in the tradition of proletarian writing, such as was demanded by the Socialist Party as well as propagated by Louis Adamic. The latter claimed that by intent, all proletarian literature is propaganda, the author's aim being to popularize the proletariat, its battle with the capitalist system as well as to directly and indirectly point towards a solution in revolution. Adamic also said

that some proletarian authors are of proletarian origin, some are workers themselves and some used to be before becoming writers.<sup>5</sup>

Molek's trilogy eventually crystallized into socialist proletarian propaganda. But he nevertheless managed to "hide" many an autobiographical detail in his three narratives. His intense antipathy to war which actually brought Molek to America (having escaped compulsory military service like so many of his fellow-countrymen) is shared by his protagonist as well. So is his belief in moderate socialism. So is his search for an ideal woman, one that would understand and support him as a socialist...

In his trilogy Molek is not interested in the characters as individuals but rather treats them as representatives of a certain class or advocates of ideas. His protagonist Plesec thus turns out to be a pale one-dimensional "paper" hero, a kind of an ideal 'homo politicus' who all but forgets that there is life outside the political battlefield as well. He strikes us as being a super-rational man, a thinking man, who has no use for the trivialities of life such as falling in love, enjoying a beautiful spring day or even a good meal. Black-and-white character portrayal gradually increases and reaches its climax in *The Collapsed Tower* when Plesec finally obtains a decent antagonist in the notorious Spitznagel. The book's title symbolizes the 'tower of dollars' that collapsed during the economic crisis, burying millions of innocent victims beneath it.

As a work of art, Molek's trilogy has many defects, both linguistic and structural. His language is the main problem and one cannot help wondering why this should be so. All three books went to print in Slovenia but were obviously not read before. Molek's orthography was a sore point and he was especially careless in terms of punctuation. Noun declension was also a sore spot, as was his all too frequent use of Americanisms of every possible kind - from common deformations ('kara' instead of 'car', 'salun' instead of 'saloon', etc.) to more sophisticated forms such as the use of English words with Slovene endings, especially nouns and verbs, or half-translated English words (departmentne prodajalne - department stores, elevatna železnica- elevated railway, etc). Occasionally, when at a loss for a Slovene expression, Molek simply invented one (hodnik for pavement, vložka for sandwich, etc.). Basically, however, Molek's language is as old-fashioned as one would expect it to be.

The trilogy is more or less a realistic narrative. Now and then the language acquires a touch of naturalism as the author strives to expose the rottenness of capitalism and is carried away by his emotions. What gradually becomes very obvious is Molek's inability to reproduce his characters' emotions. When he

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<sup>5</sup> Louis Adamic, "What the Proletariat Reads", The Saturday Review of Literature, December 1, 1934, No.20, p.321-322.

cannot avoid it, though, the result is something that is as lifeless and unrealistic as could be:

*"Tone was filled with exquisite satisfaction when he found himself in the circle of that family, so familiar and so understanding."* (GA,44)

In *The Collapsed Tower* Molek's style becomes pointedly ironic. His all-embracing irony is aimed at everyone: the workers' ignorance, their limited horizon and inertia, the socialists' consumerism, the rotten system that dares to believe in the willingness of the workers to be exploited forever... To underline his irony Molek's language often turns vulgar.

The trilogy abounds in simple symbolism - which begins with the titles: two worlds meaning not the usual polarization into "old" and "new" worlds but the separation of people into those who don't work and are rich and the ones who must work hard for a living and have virtually nothing. The great anthill is Molek's metaphor of Chicago, a teeming place as observed by the hero from the top of the highest building in town. And there is more of this kind as we read on:

*"In those days a wide road led from the old country towards America; day after day and year after year multitudes of immigrants moved along it."* (TW,27)

*"A thousand mile wide ice crust of crisis still lay across America."* (CT,151)

As already stated, Molek conceived the idea of the future development of American society towards socialism as a step-by-step process whereby step No.1 was to persuade the working class that they were being exploited and that they should react. Molek's trilogy was meant to be an eye opener and, judging by proletarian standards, it did its job well. Step No.2, which would include a transplantation of Molek's evolutionary ideas into fiction, was more difficult: if his books were to reach mass audiences, the way he desired, he had to stick to a popular, non-academic level of narration, avoiding lengthy theoretical discussions that might bore the readers. In this way, however, only the pacifist (anti-war, anti-strike) idea got through and he never got beyond that point.

Ivan Molek was undoubtedly among those writers whose work was noticeably quickened and invigorated by believing in proletarian ideals. He thought that the cause of proletarian literature was best served by a policy of strict commitment to socialism. On one hand, literature written by authors like Molek was primarily not meant to be understood as works of art but rather as educational literature - but then, the term proletarian was in itself used as a standard of judgement.

*"Socialism, underdeveloped and primitive, fostered among immigrants an exaggerated idea of proletarianism. A proletarian was made into an ideal*

*simply for being a proletarian.*"<sup>6</sup> With these vindictive words Andrew Kobal, Molek's contemporary and fellow-immigrant, settled accounts with an ideology which, during his first years in America, he actively supported. The above statement conveniently applies to Molek's literature, although the term 'primitive' should be replaced with 'naïve'. For that is what Molek's ideology was: unmilitant and naïve. Tone Plesec, the ideological alter ego of Ivan Molek cannot therefore achieve his goal. His burning passion for pacifist socialism has not brought him far: in fact, he is caught in a vicious circle. At the end of each of the three books he starts all over again and his struggle seems to have no end in sight. He can take pride in remaining true to his principles but is the world any better than it used to be?

With his immigrant-proletarian propaganda trilogy, Molek transferred working-class experience into a literary subject. Nevertheless, Molek's books may not be said to be empty of content. Yet they remain a black-and-white portraiture of class struggle, hoping for readers and the author to eventually meet on the same terms - the premises explicitly established by the author. This understanding in terms of formal ideology was one of the writer's ultimate goals; the second, socialism come true must have been a vague and distant dream. There was still a long way to go. Tone Plesec says at the end of *The Collapsed Tower* that revolutionaries make bad spouses. Perhaps he should have said evolutionaries.

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<sup>6</sup> Andrej Kobal, *Svetovni popotnik pripoveduje* I, Gorica: Mohorjeva družba 1975, p.116. In the book Kobal speaks about his membership of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance.

POVZETEK

NIKOLI IZPOLNJENE SANJE: OSEBNI MIT IVANA MOLKA - UTOPIČNI  
SOCIALIZEM KOT KNJIŽEVNOST

Jerneja Petrič

Ivan Molek je bil prepričan socialist posebne vrste, saj je verjel, da delavstvo lahko doseže svoje cilje postopno, po mirni poti, z vladnimi reformami. Svoje tovrstne ideje je razglašal tako v neleposlovnih kot leposlovnih delih. Njegov najambicioznejši poskus prenesti omenjene teoretične predpostavke in nekatere osebne izkušnje v književnost je njegova delavska trilogija *Dva svetova* (1932), *Veliko mravljišče* (1934) in *Sesuti stolp* (1935). Pisatelj jo je zastavil kot romane, a se mu je slednjič sprevrgla v čisto delavsko propagando. Avtorica v prispevku podrobneje analizira nekatere jezikovne in slogovne posebnosti omenjenih del in posebej izpostavi ironijo in satiro. Molkova trilogija je želela delavstvu odpreti oči, mu dokazati, da je v resnici izkoriščeno. V tem je pisatelj uspel. Spodletelo pa mu je pri poskusu prenosa evolucijske teorije v romansirano obliko, saj se je izkazalo, da so pisateljeve ideje naivne in neuresničljive.



## E-MIGRACIJA IN KULTURNI ŠOK V BIBLIČNIH, GRŠKIH IN SODOBNIH "OJDIPSKIH" MITIH

Marija Jurič-Pahor

**"Eno je gotovo" Človek se nikoli ne vrača nazaj, gre vedno le naprej!"**

Tako zaključujeta Leon Grinberg in Rebeca Grinberg (1984: 267) svojo s številnimi primeri podkrepljeno in poglobljeno knjigo, ki nosi naslov "Psihoanaliza migracije in eksila." Zaključek nadomešča spremno besedo; spodbujal naj bi v nadaljnje razmišljanje.

Nemudoma mi je priklical začetke naše zahodne kulture, točneje, besede iz Genezisa, s katerimi Gospod nagovarja Abrahama: "Pojdi iz svoje dežele in od svoje rodbine ... v deželo, ki ti jo pokažem." (1 Mojz 12,1). Znano je, da se je Abraham temu klicu odzval, da je zapustil mesto svojih prednikov - *Ur*. Kot tujec se je premikal s svojimi čredami, pokoren in zvest samo klicu Gospoda, ki ga (še) ni poznalo nobeno ljudstvo v deželah, koder je hodil. Na poti v to obljubljeni deželo, ga je Gospod postavljaj pred težke in najtežje preizkušnje: Čakati je moral na rojstvo sina-dediča do pozne starosti, in ko ga je dobil, je Gospod zahteval od njega, da mu otroka zakolje na žgalnem oltarju. Šele ko se je prepričal, da je Abraham pripravljen celo v to, mu je preko posrednika (angela) dejal: "...nič mu ne stori! Kajti zdaj vem, da se Boga bojiš in mi nisi odrekel (sebe in) svojega edinega sina." (1 Mojz 22, 12).

Opravka imamo z modelom e-migracijske izkušnje, ki implicira brezpogojno identifikacijo z likom Gospoda(rja)<sup>1</sup>, radikalno pretrganje izvornih vezi, človeka, ki je že vnaprej pripravljen v "askezo", v samo-žrtvovanje, v iskanje poti, ki bi morala biti onkraj matičnega, ženskega, telesnega. Gospod Abrahamu namesto tega obeta suverenost, oblast: "Kajti za očeta mnogim narodom te postavim"; "silno, silno te bom pomnožil, napravil bom iz tebe narode in kralji bodo izšli iz tebe." (1 Mojz 17,5-6). V isto usodo pri-sili Abrahamovo ženo. "Potem je rekel Bog Abrahamu: 'Svoje žene Saraje ne imenuj več Saraja, ampak Sara bodi njeno ime! Blagoslovil jo bom in ti dal *sina* tudi od nje; blagoslovil jo bom in izšli bodo iz nje narodi, kralji narodov bodo izšli iz nje" (1 Mojz 17, 15).

Medtem ko je v Genezisu (njegova vsebina opredeljuje čas med 1200 in 500 pr. Kr.) ženska kot roditeljica še upoštevana, bo Aristotel (384-222), utemeljitelj "prve znanstvene psihologije Evrope" (Aristotel 1993; ovitek), porojevalno vlogo

<sup>1</sup> V poteku patriarhalne (očetne) zgodovine se je izenačil naziv "Gospodar" z abstraktnimi pojmi Gospod Bog, Bog-Oče, Oče, Eros, falos, logos, razum, um, gibanje duše, ...

matere-ženske odločno zanikal. Izpostavljal bo, da *seme* ni v nikakršni zvezi s plodom, ki ga nosi ženska v sebi. Razvil bo pojem *gennetikè psychè*, ki opredeljuje dušo, ki se oplaja "sama iz sebe". Ženska naj bi bila tej duši vrojena, takorekoč njen plod, ergo: nemogoče je, da bi *ona* "porodila kako bitje". (Ibid.; Lerner 1995: 256). Dikcije se bo oprijel - kot bomo še videli - Freud, še poprej pa (helenistični) pisec Janezovega evangelija<sup>2</sup>. Dušo, ki se oplaja "sama iz sebe" je preusmeril v ideologijo želje po združenju z Očetom in njegovim Sinom v *Duhu*. In to v slogu, ki ga je pred njim izoblikoval Pavel oz. njegova cerkev.

"Zatorej pomnite, da ste bili nekdam vi, ki ste po rodu pogani<sup>3</sup> in vas ti, ki se imenujejo 'obreza', storjena z roko na telesu, imenujejo neobrezane - da ste bili v tistem času na svetu brez Kristusa, izključeni iz izraelskega občestva in tuji zavezam obljube, brez upanja in brez Boga. Zdaj pa ste v Kristusu Jezusu vi, ki ste bili nekdam daleč, blizu prišli po krvi Kristusovi. Zakaj on je naš mir, ki je oba dela združil v eno in je ločilno steno med njima, sovraštvo, podrl, [...] da bi tako oba v sebi preustvaril v enega novega človeka ter posredoval mir. [...] kajti v njem imamo oboji v enem Duhu dostop k Očetu. Zatorej niste več tujci in priseljenci, marveč sodržavljeni svetih in domačini božji" (Ef 2, 11-19; izp. M.J.P.). "Če pa ste vi Kristusovi, ste torej Abrahamovo seme, po obljubi dediči" (Gal 3,29).

Gre za navidezno spravno načelo, ki pa je bilo speljano ad absurdum, če pomislimo, na antisemitsko nastrojene tone te cerkve, ki jih je spravil na višek prav Janez. Sežig jeruzalemskega templja (na njegovih ruševinah so zgradili svetišče Zevsa in Jupitra) in diasporo<sup>4</sup> je imel za "kazen Boga", pri tradiciji vztrajajoče Jude pa za Antikriste in tiste, "ki so čutni, ki nimajo Duha", skratka, imel jih je za ljudi s pogansko (matično) psiho. Sam se je izenačil z Bogom, Jahvejem" "Bil je človek, ki ga je poslal Bog; ime mu je bilo Janez." (Jan 1,3). On, Mojzes, "je namreč pisal o meni." (Jan 5,46).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Janezov evangelij je nastal okr. 95 po Kr.

<sup>3</sup> Pogani oz. poganske družbe so bile zlasti v času, ko je nastajala biblija, pa tudi še kasneje *ginaikokratično*, tj. *mat(em)ično* usmerjene. Pozneje se je zanje uveljavil pojem "matriarhat". Opredeljuje jih "matilinearnost" (izvor v materini liniji) ter "matrifokalnost" (ženska si izbere partnerja, ki potegne v njen rod). Sorodstvo so opredeljevale po telesnem (matemičnem) izvoru, ne po Duhu. Dejstvo, ki ga je slikovito opredelil Pindar: "Iz enega edinega rodu so ljudje in bogovi. Eni kot drugi iz materinega drobovja dihamo zrak." (v: Goljevšček 1982: 46). Ženske so imele/imajo v teh družbah centralno, ne pa oblastniško vlogo. Integracijski simbol za matično zavest je "Boginja s *sinom* v naročju". (Göttner-Abendroth 1980: 8).

<sup>4</sup> V diaspori se niso znašli le bojeviti judovski meščani, ampak tudi kristjani, ki se niso hoteli pridružiti preganjanju Judov.

<sup>5</sup> Gre za "introjekcijo" Jahveja. Zgovorna v tem sklopu je ugotovitev Sigmunda Freuda (1939: 495), ki, navezujoč na nekatere druge avtorje, opozarja na to, da je ime Janez (*Johanun*) sozvočno z bogom Jahve. Pa tudi z bogom Ju-piter (Jovis). Tudi Gotthold in Hannibal navezujejo nanj. Poleg tega je *Johanun* postal v obliki Johann, John, Jean, Juan najbolj priljubljeno ime evropskega krščanstva. Dejstvo o priljubljenosti *Johanana* potrjuje tudi



*Père-verzni* imaginarij vsekakor,<sup>6</sup> katerega pogoj je bila Mojzesova zaveza (gr. *homoioi*; fr. *fraternité*, sl. *bratstvo*), ki bo od časa francoske revolucije naprej - prikrito sicer, a vendar dokaj odločno - zaznamovala *usak* "code de la nationalité": "obrezan naj bo pri vas vsak maški. [...] Neobrezan moški pa [...] naj se iztrebi iz svojega ljudstva" (1 Mojz 17, 10-14).<sup>7</sup> V tej luči je treba videti tudi izgon Adama in Eve iz edenskega vrta: "da ne bi več verjela 'kači' in jedla iz 'drevesa spoznanja'"<sup>8</sup> in seveda Ojdipov mit, ki ohranja in potrjuje to zavezo vse do danes. In to "vzdolž simbolne enačbe - s penis na otroka" (Freud 1924: 10). Enačbe vsekakor, ki za(s)tira organski in libidinalni pomen klitoris ter

podatek, ki se nanaša na Francijo, tó klasično nacionalno državo. V vseh izdajah Furetiéra od leta 1690 do leta 1732, v prvih petih izdajah Trévouxovega slovarja med letoma 1704 in 1752 in v prvih dveh izdajah Akademijskega slovarja zaobsega sveta Družina "našega Gospoda, Devico, sv. Jožefa in sv. Janeza". Navzočnost Janeza stopi nato malo bolj v ozadje, vse dokler polagoma ne izgine. (Flandrin 1984: 13).

<sup>6</sup> *Père* (fr.) = oče! pojem *père-verzija* je od Lacana.

<sup>7</sup> Izhodiščna izpoved, ki opredeljuje zavezo, tiči nedvomno v besedi Gospod[arja] Abrahamu, tedaj še *Abramu* "Tvojemu *semenu* dam to deželo." (1 Mojz 15, 18). Kar večkrat sklene Jahve zavezo z izraelskim narodom: enega z Noetom (1 Mojs 9: 8-17' dva z Abramom (1 Mojz 15, 7-18 in 17, 1-13) in enega z Mojzesom (Mojz 3' 6, 2-9, 21-23).

Zaveza bo našla svoj dodelani izraz v gr. *homoioi* ("možje, ki so si slični" ali "možje, ki so si enaki") nanj ga bo navezovala t.im. *fraternité* oz. *bratstvo*. Gre za pojav, ki predpostavlja "narodni prepoved": "bratstvo ali smrt". Dikcijo je dokončno uveljavil Jean-Jaques Rousseau, ki velja, četudi ne-utemeljeno, za "teoretičnega očeta naroda". (Robbespierre denimo je bil njegov vdani učenec.) Vse mlade državljane je *ne glede na spol* pozival, da "združijo *use* svoje strasti v ljubezni do domovine in *use* svoje volje v *obči* volji" (v: Rizman 1980: 81; prim. tudi Jurič-Pahor 1994). Posamičnik bi moral delovati zgolj še kot kolešček v kolesju Očetnjave (Vater-Land = "očetnjava"; Mutter-Land = "matica"). Nastradali so seveda moški, še bolj morda ženske. Znana je Rousseaujeva pedagoška maksima "Ženska spada v hišo kot nuna v kloster!". "Narodu in ženski" se bo usklajal z njim Karl Marx, "nikdar ne oprostimo ure, ko nista stala na straži!" (v: Kardelj 1938: 317).

Odtod tudi vsakokratno odklanjanje *izvorne* tradicije ("Ajmo naprej, poteptajmo *use*, kar je za nami!") ter kontinuirano čaščenje "herojev"-mladeničev, "sinov", ki (naj) se "žrtvujejo za narod". In to po slej ko prej veljavnem, četudi za(s)trtem in vsakokratni situaciji prikrojenem vzorcu kot: "Bodi močan in hraber! ..., jaz bom s teboj!" (5 Mojz, 31, 23); "Ni namreč njih 'skala' kakor naša Skala..." (32, 31) "Tvoj 'tumin' in tvoj 'urim' gre možu tvoje naklonjenosti, ..." (33, 8); *Blagoslavljen, ki razprostita Gada!* " (33, 20)

Upoštevanja vredna so v tem sklopu opažanja Sandorja Ferenczija in Joan Riviere, ki sta zaznala, da homoseksualni moški pretirano poudarjajo svojo heteroseksualnost kot "obrambo" proti homoseksualnosti". (Butler 1990: 86)

<sup>8</sup> Drevo spoznanja, prvotno tudi "drevo življenja", njegovi sadeži ter kača so simboli Boginje, ki so jo častili, pod različnimi imeni, v vseh območjih Orienta in Sredozemlja. Odtod tudi (sanskrtski) koren *mati-h*, ki stoji za Mater-Boginjo, a hkrati za *Ur* (*Pra*; *Pra*-mater; *Ur* - Mutter). Kača *ščiti* ("krona") glavo egipčanskih bogov. V jeruzalemskem templju so Kačo-Boginjo praznovali vse do njegovega padca ter odhoda višjih slojev Judov v babilonsko sužnost. (Weiler 1991: 234).

"Drevo spoznanja", po katerem se vije "kača", ter njegovi sadeži se povezujejo tudi z ljubezensko telesno naslado (erotiko). Tovrstno večšino so gojile modre ženske ("matice") v okviru plodnostnih kultov.

mater(nice)e,<sup>9</sup> češ, prinaša smrt, le poenotenje z Bogom-Očetom (Erosom) pa, da jo lahko prepreči.

Freudu zavezani in na Slovenskem že dokaj zasidrani Jaques Lacan (1973: 51)<sup>10</sup> to enačbo strnil v pojem "*Je Eden*." "Ta *Je Eden* ni preprost - to je treba reči. V psihoanalizi, natančneje v Freudovem diskurzu, prevzame ta Eden obliko Erosa, definiranega kot spojitev, ki naredi iz dvojega eno, Erosa, za katerega se domneva, da hoče iz neznanske množice postopoma narediti zgolj eno. Ker pa je jasno [...], da to ni možno [...], je moral Freud vpeljati neki drugi dejavnik, ki naj deluje kot ovira temu univerzalnemu Erosu, in sicer v obliki Thanatosa, zvajanja na prah."

In dejansko. Vélík del biblije (izrazito humana in dokaj izstopajoča izjema: Sálomonova Visoka pesem, ki je, kot kaže, navdihovala Franceta Prešerna<sup>11</sup>),

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<sup>9</sup> Gre za dejstvo, ki se izraža v Freudovih enačbah klitoris=majhni penis; penis = otrok, ki jih je Freud mdr. dobesedno izrekel v razpravi "Einige psychische Folgen des anatomischen Geschlechtsunterschieds" (1925: 12-22). Že v prvi izdaji "Drei Abhandlungen" (1905) je ugotovil, da je pri majhni deklici osrednje seksualno področje klitoris, da ima temu ustrezno "seksualnost majhne deklice ... vseskozi moški značaj" in da le "prek novega vala potlačitev" v puberteti preide vloga klitorisa na vagino, moškost pa v ženskost. (v: ur. op. k 1925: 13). Majhna deklica naj bi bila "zgrožena ob primerjavi z dečkom" in postala "nezadovoljna s svojim klitorisom, ..." (Freud; 1931: 27). "Enkrat pač ... odkrije svojo organsko manjvrednost, seveda prej in lažje, če ima brate ..." (Ibid.: 29). Skratka: odrekla naj bi se sami sebi, kajti "psihoanaliza nas uči, da lahko shajamo z enim samim libidom." (Ibid.: 36). Sreča majhne deklice pa, da je popolna le tedaj, ko bo rodila "otroka, ki prinese s seboj zaželjeni penis"; poskrbel bo za to, da postane očetno *seme* nesmrtno.

Zarodne celice ženske, vlogo, ki jo igrajo njeni spolni organi pri nastanku otroka, v Freudovi konceptiji niso upoštevani. Vagina funkcionira kot anus, rectum, črevesje. "**Mi govorimo ... o analnem značaju**, ..." (Freud 1915-1917:101; izp. F.) Ergo: "Ugovori feministov, ki nam želijo vsiliti popolnoma enak položaj in vrednost spolov, nas ne morejo odvrniti od naših zaključkov, pač pa rade volje priznamo, da tudi večina moških daleč zaostaja za idealom moškosti ..." (1925: 21).

<sup>10</sup> Lacan velja za utemeljitelja "druge psihoanalitične revolucije", ki se je uveljavila po drugi svetovni vojni. Zavezana je motu "Nazaj k Freudu", več, Freuda želi "freudizirati" tam, kjer menda še ni bil "povsem Freudijanec". (prim. Widmer 1990: 9) Na Slovenskem se Društvo za teoretsko psihoanalizo in v okviru nje šola Sigmunda Freuda (predsednik: Slavoj Žižek) prizadeva za razširitev Lacanove (Freudove) misli.

<sup>11</sup> Naj omenim le njegove "Gazele" ("...ve že svetla zarja, dneva porodnica, da jo ljubim..." ter pesmi, balade, romance "Strunam", "Nezakonski materi", "Zapuščeni", "Judovskem dekletu", "Hčeram sveta". In seveda njegovo/našo himno ("Spet trte so rodile"). Pa še "Krst pri Savici", ki pogojuje "Prešemovo vero": "...al beg ni Bog, ki vodi vekomaj v ne-bo...". V centru Salomonove Visoke pesmi stoji Sulamita, ki so jo *sinovi matere* prisilili v izgnanstvo. Zatočišče najde pri svojem Ženinu (Salomonu?), ki ga spodbuja v erotično ljubezen, na katerega se On empatično in upoštevajoč kulturo, iz katere ona izhaja, odziva: "Smokva poganja svoje sadove,/ cvetje vinske trte je zadišalo./vstani, prijateljica moja, moja lepa, in pridi!/**Moja golobica v skalnih duplinah, v zaklonu pečine,** /pokaži mi svoje obličje, /daj mi slišati svoj glas." "Hčeram jeruzalemskim" (v pesmi imajo vlogo zbora) Sulamita samozavestno svetuje "Ne budite in ne dramite ljubezni, dokler ji ugaja!". Prav tako Ženinu, in z njim vred tovariše, "ki ga poslušajo" od vojne: "Beži moj ljubi, bodi podoben gazeli ..."

grška mitologija kot tudi Freudovo veliko kulturnokritično delo "Nelagodje v kulturi" (Das Unbehagen in der Kultur) ne vsebujejo nič drugega kot opis kulturnega razvoja kot nenehno borbo med moško konotiranim Bogom-Očetom (Erosom, življenjskim nagonom) in žensko konotiranim Thanatosom (Materjo-Boginjo, smrtnim nagonom), ki si deli z Bogom-Očetom oblast nad svetom. Freud (1930: 249) bo celo predpostavljala, da je "ta boj najbistvenejša vsebina življenja nasploh". Že v svoji "Traumdeutung" (1900: 487) piše presenetljivo odkrito: "Intimni prijatelj in osovraženi nasprotnik (gehaßter Feind) sta bila zame vedno nujni potrebi mojega čustvenega življenja; vedno spet sem si ju znal priskrbeti, in neredko se je vzpostavil moj otroški ideal do te mere, da sta se prijatelj in sovražnik izenačila v eno in isto osebo". S tem pa je hkrati potrdil in utrdil centralno antinomijo, ki opredeljuje *očetni* diskurz od vsega začetka: borba za "oblast" med moškim in ženskim načelom, ali - gledano z *očetne* perspektive - borba proti (ponovni) ojačitvi htonskih matičnih sil, ki smo jih zajeli v metafori "kače". In Freud, če ostanemo težiščno pri njem, v teh silah nikakor ni (ni hotel?) prepoznati "Salomonove golobice". Obratno. Kot nosilko življenja jo zavrne, pri sebi, pri drugih. Naj to ilustriram s primerom ki se nanaša na njegovo interpretacijo sanj, ki jih je imel neki Delboeuf (Freud 1900: 28/29)

V sanjah je videl Delboeuf (Freud njegovega rojstnega imena ne omeni!) *dve* kačni bitji, kuščarici, ki sta, na pol zmrznjeni, ležali pod snegom. Delboeuf ju ogreje in odnese nazaj v "majhno duplino v zidovju". Vanjo doda še nekaj listov "majhnega praprota, ki je rasel na zidu in ki sta ga, kot je on vedel, zelo ljubili". "V sanjah je poznal ime rastline: *Asplenium ruta muralis*. - Sanje so šle potem naprej." "Na Delboeufovo začudenje [?] se prikažeta še dve živalci, spravljajoči se nad ostanke praproti." "Potem je obrnil pogled na širo polje, in videl je peto in šesto kuščarico", ki si utira pot proti zidu, sledila jima je cela "procesija kuščaric, ki so vse potovale v isto smer itd." (podčrtala M.J.P.). Kako so se sanje nadaljevale, ne izvemo; z itd. se namreč Freudova pripoved konča. Namesto, da bi Freud Delboeufu - in s tem seveda nam - dal vedeti, da sanje naznanjajo željo po povrnitvi stanja "in utero", prične Freud visoko strokovni ekskurz k rastlini z imenom *Asplenium ruta muralis*. Skratka, Deboeufa preusmeri proč od možnega podoživljanja tega, kar se v strokovni literaturi

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**Kralj Salomon** je bil Davidov sin in naslednik. V državi Izrael je bil zelo priljubljen. Po Mojzesovi smrti so ljudje želeli biti spet "kakor vsi narodi" (Kralj 8,7). Kralj Salomon je tej želji ustregel. Zidal je poganska svetišča, sam vanje rad zahajal. Omogočil pa je tudi že omenjeni jeruzalemski tempelj. Imeli so ga za šlm, šalema, človeka, ki ga je rodila *Boginja sonca*, in Jeru-Salem naj bi bil njegovo sveto mesto. (Weiler 1991: 95).

Vojne in medsebojne bitke so izterjale, da je država po Salomonovi smrti (okr. 926 pr. n.š.) razpadla na dva dela: na severno državo Izrael, na južno državo Juda. Izterjale pa so tudi "babilonsko sužnost" (diasporo) in seveda "klasične preroke", ki so Salomonovi misli vehementno nasprotovali, še zlasti "**zlo mešanih zakonov**". (Salomon je bil poročen s faraonovo hčerko!). Prizadevali so si za vrnitev Mojzesove doktrine, saj je bil nenazadnje tisti, ki je dosegel zmago nad Egiptom ter nad multikult(ur)no vero, ki jo je ljudstvo tam še poznalo, pa tudi gojilo. Zgleda uspešno.

obravnavava tudi pod gesli "prvobitna ljubezen" oz. "oceanski občutki" (Balint 1965).

In dejansko. Deboef se spomni "izsušenih rož", ki jih je zbiral, ko je bil še majhen, jih dajal skrbno v album in - po navodilih botanika [Freuda?] - opremil z latinskimi imeni. Kot da bi ga Freud hotel potisniti "od sebe". V Ojdipa. Tja, kjer se za življenje prepotrebna hrana suši? Kjer menda kača kačo pobija, da bi le prišla do zaželjenega zelenega ("penisa"?). Ali kar do Boga-Očeta samega? Mojzesa, ki kači grozi: "Po trebuhu se boš plazila in prst jedla vse dni svojega življenja." (1 Mojz 3,14)? - Kar pa, izgleda, ne uspe. Oče Freud se hujuje, daje na znanje: Deboeufovo znanje je "v budnem stanju zaobsegalo le malo latinskih rastlinskih imen.", a se je "moral [!] prepričati, da praprot tega imena dejansko obstoja." (Ibid.: 29). Toda ne dosti. Freud "omogoči" Delboefu še lekcije iz geografije. Zaustavi se pri besedi *Mussidan*, ki se je vsiljevala Deboefu "podnevi". (Dan - podnevi?). Freud: "vedel je, da je to ime francoskega [!] mesta, to pa je tudi vse". In naprej: "Geografski leksikon [Freud?] pa ga je podučil, da gre za središče obkrožja (Kreisstadt) v *Département de la Dordogne*" (Ibid. 30)

Mene osebno je besedica *Kreisstadt* (nedvomno tudi zaradi odpora, ki ga gojim do nacionalizma, ki se je dokončno izlevil prav v Franciji) nemudoma napotila k besedi *Kreis* (= porodna soba). V sobo potemtakem, kjer *krožijo* in se *urtijo* (= *kreisen*) babice, ki spravljajo v novo življenje. Vsekakor ni slučaj, da je *Kreis* (krog) *tá* pra-simbol za vse porojevajoče se življenje. Opredeljuje dediščino, ki navezuje na Orient, na naše *indo*(evropske) korenine.. Starobabilonski boginji Ištar, v Siriji Atargartis, v sv. pismu Astarta ali Ašera, niso slučajno prinašali v dar odslikave vulv in drugih simbolov plodnosti. (Lerner 1995: 183-185). Najbrž prihaja tudi beseda *Mussidan* iz Jutranjske. Imena mnogih indijskih božanstev npr. se v svojem besednem pomenu povsem ujemajo z ustreznimi slovenskimi izrazi, npr. Jama (jama), Leto (leto), Agni (ogenj), Krišna (Kresnik) z ženo Rado (Zemljo), Indra (jedro) (prim. Šavli 1990: 19). Tudi boginja Živa, ki jo vidi Damjan J. Ovsec (1991: 154) v povezavi z besedami žito-živeti-življenje, izvira odtod. Neločljivo je spojena z barvo *sivo* (Ibid. 155), ki opredeljuje *tantrično* božanskost. V knjigi Ch. Rohde Dacher (1991: 159) sem našla sliko templja Shive, v Ramgarhu (Rajastan), ki prikazuje žensko v porodni drži, otrok je že vidno "na poti".

Priznam. Ob Freudovih asociacijah k temi sanje Delboefa sem imela še nekaj urin-arnih (ordinarnih?) asociacij, že zato, ker Freud svojo pripoved nadaljuje takole: "Jessen pripoveduje sanje *iz starih časov*, ki so podobnega značaja [od tistih Delboeufa]: "Sem sodijo mdr. sanje *starejšega Scaligerja*, ..." (Ibid. 30: izp. M.J.P.). Vsilila se mi je seveda tudi njegova dokaj znana in

(s)poznana metafora "*darc continent-a*,"<sup>12</sup> ki mi je približala spet besede Sulamite: "*Črna sem, ali lepa, hčere jeruzalemske ...*" - Mnogo je diskusij, ki osporavajo prav ta biblijski stavek in z njim vred vse, kar nam je kralj Salomon zapustil kot dediščino. Kdo ne pozna stigmatizirajočega izreka "to je salomonska rešitev", ki bi ga lahko z drugimi besedami opredelili takole: "to ni ne t'č, ne m'š", kar pomeni nič drugega kot to: "fronte morajo biti jasne". Zgovoren je tudi obrambni znak "Sálononovo slovo" (imenovan tudi "morska taca", "sračja noga", "morina taca"), ki so ga vsesplošno uporabljali proti "trotamori". (Zablatnik 1982: 13). Znak, praviloma pentagram ali peterokraka zvezda, vžgana na prednjo in/ali zadnjo stran zibelke, je treba videti v tesni zvezi z Boginjo *Móiro* [Usoda], ki je niti Freud (1927: 142) ni spregledal. Prvotno je bila *Móira* Bogorodnico. V Stari gori (Benečija) najdemo v notranjosti močno obiskane romarske cerkve še danes svetišče, ki prikazuje *temnopolto* "Lepo *Marijo*" v živahno-erotični drži; Jezušček ji zamaknjeno gleda v oči in se dotika njene bradavice na dojki, ki štrli iz namensko prirojene reže njene razkošne, valovite obleke. Kot sojenice-rojenice so *moire* "marsikje [...] postale zavetnice rodovitnosti." (Goljevšček 1988: 48). In to daleč v naš čas.<sup>13</sup>

A vendar Bogorodnice so se morale umakniti, dobesedno umreti. Bog'nja Sivo-Živo izpričujejo viri v 14. in 15. stol. zgolj še kot *Moreno*, *Marzano* [sic!], "ki se je ohranila kot lutka v obredu pokopa" (1990: 156). Marija je zgolj še Devica, "blažena Mati", skratka bitje brez spolnosti. In seveda je vse prej kot naključje, če nastaja pri Srbih *Mora*, "podobno kot *vešča*, iz otroka ženskega spola, ki se je rodil v krvavi placenti" (Ibid.: 446). Mislim, da se ne motim, če trdim, da nemška beseda *Mord* (umor) izhaja prav iz te *trans* formacije. "**Besede z osnovo *mor* pomenijo 'smrt'**" (Ovsec 1991: 155). V Velikem nemško-slovenskem slovarju beremo: *Mor* danschlag: atentat; *Mörder* biene: *mor* ilska čebela: *Mor* dfliege: bradasta grabežnica; *Mor* dgier: krvoločnost. Pa še: *Mohr* in: *zamor* ka; *Mohr* enkaiman: močvirski kajman; *Mor* äne: *mor* ena, groblja: *Mor* es lehren: trdo prijati; *ustrahovati*: *Mor* eske: *mor* eska: *arabeska*: *Mor* genfrühe; zora, jutro: *Mor* genland; *Jutrovo*, *Orient*; *mor* genländisch: *orientalski*; *Mor* genluft wittern: slutiti boljše čase ...<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "O spolnem življenju majhne deklice vemo manj kot o dečkovem. Toda te razlike se nam ni potrebno sramovati! saj je tudi spolno življenje ženske kot *darc continent* za psihologijo." (1925: 12/13; ur. prip.)

<sup>13</sup> Tako imajo npr. kresne kolednice v Beli krajini refren: "Daj, Bog, Marija, daj dobro leto!" (Kumer 198: 13). Pa tudi sicer velja, da Slovenci zelo radi častimo Njo, Mater-Boginjo. Na to nas ne opozarja le bog'nja Živa, ampak tudi Cankarjeva sintagma "Mati-Domovina-Bog".

<sup>14</sup> Besedne povezave zrealijo prevladujočo evropsko podobo odnosa do žensk, ki so ga začeli krščanski oblastniki in njim zavezani znanstveniki (filozofi) navezujoč se na grško in rimsko tradicijo projicirali tudi v Jude in naposled še v islam. Evropa je bil namreč vsaj do 12. stol. deloma podvržena gospodarski in politično-militarni premoči islamskega sveta. Od 14. stol. naprej se je povezovalo "islamsko grožnjo" bolj ali manj z otomanskimi Turki. Najkasneje od trenutka naprej, ko so evropski oblastniki dobili prevlado, je obveljal islam za "svet proti Evropi, tj. za svet, kjer kraljujejo *mračnjaške* sile, bolj ali manj poražene sicer, a vendar še

Na Slovenskem denimo je ubral "freudovsko" razlagalno pot Boštjan M. Zupančič (1992: 22/23). V "skrbi" za bodočnost naše družbe - "civilizacija propada" - nam ponuja sledeči, trenutno spet vse bolj v ospredje drveči, simptomatični stavek:

**"Na koncu se bodo nad družbo spravili psihopatski mrhovinarji, ki se dvigajo z dna družbe in obenem z vrha piramide ..."**

Zdi se mi potrebno, da si ga ogledamo поблиže, že zato, ker mi je nemudoma priklical apokaliptično vizijo o *Endlösung*: "Preminilo je vse meso, ki se je gibalo na zemlji: ptice, živina in vsa laznina, ki lazi po zemlji ..." (1 Mojz 7,21). "Kačo" in vse kar se povezuje z njo (ljubezen, erotika, multikult(ur)nost, "MA-GIJA-MA-triarhalna ener-GIJA" [Gerda Weiler]) naj bi bilo izbrisano, potlačeno v nezavedno. V Genezis preživetje ni bilo slučajno omogočeno zgolj Noetu in njegovim *sinovom* (med njimi bo kasnejši Abraham), ki jim je Bog dejal: "vse je izročeno vaši oblasti. Vse, kar se giblje, kar živi, naj vam bo za živež, ..." (1 Mojz 9,2-3: izp. M.J.P.).

Freud (1900: 359) se bo te dikcije držal in "kačo" spre-obrnil v "najbolj pomembni simbol moškega uda": njo samo pa potisnil v *Ono*, v bio-logijo, v stanje med psiho in somo. Razlagal nam bo: "Majhne živali, mrčes, so zastopniki majnih otrok<sup>15</sup> ...: *biti oprijet z mrčesom* pomeni čestokrat isto kot gravidnost [nosečnost]" (Ibid. 359: izp. M.J.P.). Jean-Paul-Sartre bo govoril o *lepljivem*: "substanci med dvema stanjema", "neke vrste požensčeni aktivnosti vsrkavanja, [...] videni v *móri*" (v: Raulff 1982: 243). Julia Kristeva (1983) bo to *lepljivo* strnila v teorijo k temi *abject*, tudi *Mati-"Abject"*, ki da ni "ne subjekt, ne objekt", ampak "kraj gnusa in diferenciacije, nekaj nalezljivega, infekciозnega" Claude Lévi Strauss bo antropološko raziskavo, ki razlikuje med *mikofilnimi* in *mikofobnimi* narodi takole citiral: "Slovane in največji del sredozemske *kotline*" prišteva raziskava k prvim (nezgodovinskim? mrhovinarskim?), "germanske ali keltske *narode*" k drugim ("zgodovinskim", "rajskim?") (V: Raulff 1982: 245; izp. M.J.P.). Melville bo Ahabu, ki zazna, da ga vodi Thanatos ("skriti gospod in mojster!"), odgovoril: "Vsi ljudje so *zaverženi* v konopce za kite. Vsi so rojeni z vrvico okrog vratu!" Camille Paglia (1990: 715) bo v identifikaciji z njim nadaljevala: "Ta popkovina, ta harpunska vrvica, ki bo strangulirala Ahaba [...] je [...] *femme fatale narave*, ki jo simbolizira *vijajajoča se vélika hobotnica*".

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žive; žive a vendar nedopustne, kar vse preveč strastne in menda kar polimorfno perverzne. Gre za mehanizem "projektivne identifikacije", ki temelji na samoprevari: 'moja' podoba (projekcija, s katero se identificiramo) je edino pravilna: "Islam oz. narod Muslimanov je - analogno narodu žensk- nevaren hudoben in poln skritih moči." Mislim, da se Besim Spahić ne moti, ko pravi: "meni se zdi, naj to zveni še tako paradokсно, da je [trenutna] tragedija Bosne in Hercegovine tudi tragedija ljubezni. Velike ljubezni, ki je zmogla preskočiti verske, nacionalne, socialne in druge meje in prepovedi." (v Primorski dnevnik 3.9.1994).

<sup>15</sup> Spomnimo se enačbe: *kłitoris* = majhni penis = otrok

Kot nalašč mi je priklicala Janezovo Razodetje, v katerem se mu Bog oglašaja: "Vode, ki si jih videl, kjer sedi hotnica, so ljudstva in množice in narodi in jeziki. In desetero rogov, ki si jih videl, kjer sedi hotnica, in zver, ti bodo hotnico sovražili ter jo osamili in slekli; in jedli bod njeno meso ter njo samo v ognju sežgali. Kajti Bog je dal v njih srca, da izvrše njegov namen ...". (Raz 17,15).

"Noli tangere matrem!" bo nanj navezoval Lacan (1963: 32; prim. Jan 20,17) in ga z de Sadom potrdil: "Po...jena<sup>16</sup> in zašita, mati ostaja prepovedana. Naša presoja o Sadovi podreditvi Zakonu je potrjena."

"Judje so torej govorili: Se bo mar usmrtil, ker pravi: 'Kamor grem jaz vi ne morete priti.?' In jim je rekel: 'Vi ste od tu doli, jaz sem od zgoraj; vi ste od tega sveta, jaz nisem od tega sveta. Zato sem vam rekel, da boste umrli v svojih grehah.'" (Jan 8,23-25).

"Jaz nisem kot vi! Jaz nisem (več) človek. Jaz sem titan, Bog, ustvarjen iz samega sebe!" Jaz sem Janez. (Ojdp? Freud? Lacan? Zupančič?...) Genealogija izvora je pretrgana. Šele v povrnitvi k Bogu-Očetu se bo Janez občutil "pri sebi" (Jan 8,23). Je potemtakem izšel iz Njega samega, tj. "iz sebe"? Tako kot to predvideva stara, dosledno pa šele nova in seveda helenistična *zaveza*? Je potemtakem usmrtil Njo in Njej slične? Da bi bil z Njim "v duhu"?

"Tudi Orest je usmrtil svojo mater, ker je to zahtevala nadvlada Boga-Očeta in njegova prisvojitve arhaičnih potenc Matere-Zemlje" piše Luce Irigaray (1980: 100) Freud jo potrjuje. V "Traumdeutung" (1900: 398) opozarja na sanje "Julija Cezarja, ko je občeval s svojo materjo; njegov razlagalec sanj jih je vrednotil pozitivno in kot ugodni predznak za osvojitve Matere-Zemlje." "Prav tako" naj bi bil "znan orakel, da bo pripadala vladavina Rima tistemu, ki najprej poljubi mater (osculum matri tulerit), [...]"<sup>17</sup> 6.10.1910 je (svarilno?) pisal Ferencziju: "Tudi jaz sem tisti tzv. nadčlovek, ki sva ga konstruirala" (v: Haynal 1987: 59) Nemara naključje da je *prav* v razpravi "Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion" (1939) govoril o "zasuku od matere k očetu" v poteku zgodovine človeštva kot odločilni "zmagi umskosti nad čutnostjo"; dogajanje samo pa označil kot "eno najvažnejših etap na poti učlovečenja !!" (1939: 559/560)?

Vsekakor. Freud je bistveno soprispeval k temu, da nam ostaja patriarhalna mitologija in teologija ter "babilonska vlačuga" - *ta* večna šifra diaspore, eksila,

<sup>16</sup> V opombi k besedi "po...jena" (Ibid.: 32) berem sledeči komentar, ki sicer ni Lacanov, ampak najbrž prevajalčev. Tako piše: "Na koncu *Filozofije v budoarju* je Evgenijina mati, gospa de Mistival, posiljena in zašita, zaradi česar je najbolj samoumeven prevod Lacanove pomanjkljive besede V...ée "po...jena" (violée). Žal ![] v slovenščini tako izgubimo začetnico V, ki napotuje tako na voljo (volonté) kot na vel iz Lacanovega grafa in violée, "zastrita"."

<sup>17</sup> Tudi Artemidor, ta veliki grški razlagalec sanj, je - kar se zdi Foucaultu (1984: 23) "najbolj osupljivo" - pozitivno vrednotil sanje o incestuoznem razmerju z materjo. In kje drugje kot pri Grkih so se zgledovali Rimljani?

zoperstavitve multikult(ur)nosti ter stigmatiziranja ljudi, ki se čutijo v tej ali drugi obliki povezane z matico, ohranjena. In z njo vred kvazi avtomatizirani vzorci kot tile: "Ubila (požrla?)" me bo (Freud 1931: 25), "napravila [me bo] za ljubimca in moža" (Zupančič 1992: 35). - "Ženska se da zapisati le s prečrtanim Ž" (Lacan 1973: 57). - "Kako postrani drži glavico!" (Zupančič, ibid." 85)<sup>18</sup> - "Je "kreatura brez penisa" (Freud 1931: 19), "Hor-la, Hor-spol" (Lacan 1973: 68), "še zmeraj tisto, kar izziva moški svet. Izziva ga, zato hočejo prodreti globlje in globlje. ..." (Skrbiš 1989: 69).

Kake fatalne posledice so imeli in imajo tovrstni programi na psiho ljudi nam izpričujejo ohranjeni medicinski teksti, ki se nanašajo na menda "najbolj nadarjen narod antike" (Freud 1927: 142; Zupančič 1992: 647-70)<sup>19</sup>: na helenistične Grke. Žal se pri tem kaj rado pozabi, da so v prid "procvita" svoje Države dokaj nasilno uveljavljali vojščaško moč in naposled - kot prvi - utemeljili monopolizirano uporabo sile.<sup>20</sup> Sprožili so simptome kot na primer:

a) *satiriza*: "To je bolezen, ki moški ud spravi v erekcijo ... To obolenje je nenasitna želja po spolni združitvi, ki je niti potešitev strasti ne zmanjša; kajti ud ostane nabrekel tudi po brezštevilnih nasladah; gre za krč vseh živcev in napetost kit, dimelj in presredka; spolni organi so vneti in boleči." To stalno stanje trgajo krize: tedaj bolniki ne poznajo "niti sramu niti zadržkov v govoru in dejanjih; ... bruhamo, na ustih imajo peno, kot goneči se kozli, tudi vonj imajo podoben; njihov duh pade v norost in se spet povrne v normalo, ko je hud napad boleznin enkrat končan ..." (Galen, v: Foucault: 1984: 79)

b) *priapizem*: "povečanje celotnega uda, tako v dolžino kot glede na obseg" (Galen, v: Ibid.: 80).

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<sup>18</sup> Mišljen je Slovenec, ki ga menda tare "kastracijski kompleks" z izrazito "mazohistično komponento".

<sup>19</sup> V svoji knjigi "Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion" (1939: 561) je to predpostavko potrdil: "Harmonija v izoblikovanju umskih in telesnih dejavnosti, kakor jih je dosegel grški narod, je ostal Judom zabranjen. V dvomu pa so se saj odločili za večvredno [!]. V predpostavko se vklaplja B.M. Zupančič (1992: 68/69), ko povzdiguje Grke, zlasti Sokrata in Platona, stigmatizira "pravoverne Jude", ki "se v pasu pregibujejo pred zidom objokovanja v Jeruzalemu, ob vnožju Templja."

<sup>20</sup> Penis (označeni organ) so spreobrnil v *phallos* ("falos"), v nedotakljivi "pomenski lijak", ki pri Matjažu N. Bergerju (1989: 121) v smislu Lacana po shakespeareovski pulzira: "...ali ubiti - ali ne-[ubiti ...]". Vsak, ki je - "kot Jud" - praktical "obrezovanje", je obveljal za "kastiranega": "odrttega", "obrezanega", "impotentnega", za nekoga, ki ga tare "materinski kompleks". Moški, ki se ni oponašal z militantno potenco je obveljal za *gynnis* ("poženščeni"), prav tako tisti, ki je praktical cunnilingus. (Borneman 1981: 226/227) Zgovorni so tudi glagoli, ki se nanašajo na *zavestno* gojeno analno občevanje. Vsak potencialni vojščak, prvotno je sodil med naj-višje sloje, bi moral to občevanje prakticalirati *v oficialno predvideni* navidezno stoični ("moški", "trd(n)i") drži. V slučaju, da tega ni hotel, je kaj lahko postal tisti, ki se "*maje*", "upogiba navzdol", "klecne", "ponuja kot ženska" (*gonypetein, hypokynein, hypokyptein, gynaikizein, gynaikopathein, gynaikothenai, gynaikusthai* ...). (Borneman, Ibid.: 242; Winterling 1990).



c) *gonorrhoea* (gr.) oz. *seminis effusio* (lat.): "nehoteno izločenje sperme" ali jasneje rečeno, pogosto izločanje sperme, ki se ga ne zavedamo in pri katerem ne pride do nabreklosti uda." (Galen) "Pri mladeničih, ki jih je zadela ta bolezen, se v vsem telesnem videzu pokažejo znaki oslabelosti in starosti; postanejo ohlapni, brez moči, brez poguma, togi, odreveneli, upehani, upognjeni, nesposobni za karkoli, blede, pomehkuženi, brez teka, brez toplote, s težkimi rokami, s trdimi nogami, izjemno šibki, z eno besedo, skoraj povsem hromi. Ta bolezen pri mnogih vodi celo v paralizo ..." (Aretej) (Aretej, v: Ibid: 81)

d) *histerija* (*gynaiques hysterikai*: "ženske, bolne na maternici") Po podatkih zdravnikov so ležale pacientke tedne ali mesece z minimalnim pulzom nezavedno ali apatično okrog. Nekatere so bile pri zavesti in so se mogle gibati, toda komaj so dihale. Herakleides Pontikos navaja primer pacientke, ki se je od smrtnice razlikovala le po tem, da je njen srednji telesni del bil še nekoliko topel. Plutarh piše: "Milezinske device je nekoč zgrabila grozovito in čudno zlo, ne da bi za to utegnili najti vzroka. [...] Pri vseh se je namreč hipoma pokazalo poželenje umreti in nesmiselno (!) nagnjenje, *se obesiti*. (!) Mnogi so se dejansko tudi obesili. ..." (Borneman 1975: 225).

c) *raz-dvojenost, z-mešanost uma*: Sem moški? Sem ženska? Sem oboje? Sem žival? Sem vse skupaj? Pošast?

Julia Kristeva (1988: 18) je ta simptom strnila v vprašanja: "...toda to nisem 'jaz' - 'jaz' je kje drugje, 'jaz' ne pripada nikamor, 'jaz' 'mi' ne pripada, ....., 'jaz' -obstoja?" Sartre je v svojem "Gnusu" zapisal: "Čutim neke vrste omotico, vleče me vase. Jaz na tem lepljivem ne morem drseti. Oprijema se me kot pijavka. Hkrati sem *jaz* to lepljivo. ... kot da bi bilo obrnjeno proti meni. Se lepljivega dotakniti, pomeni nevarnost, se v tem lepljivem razkrojiti." (v: Raulff 1982: 243).

Nadvse zgovoren je tudi tekst Mircea Eliade (1978: 266), ki se nanaša na grške heroje, bolje na njih podoživljanje, kakor se odraža v mitih:

"Oni (heroji) se izkazujejo po moči in lepoti, pa tudi po *monstruoznih potezah*; so *velikanske rasti* - Heraklej, Ahil, Orest, Pelops - ali *nadpovprečno majhni*, nastopajo *v obliki živali* (npr. "volk" Lijakon) ali pa *se spremenijo v živali*. So *androgini* (Kekrops), *menjajo svoj spol* (Tejrejziji) ali se *spremenijo v ženske* (Heraklej). Poleg tega zaznamujejo heroje *anomalije* (*azefalija* ali *polizefalija*; Heraklej ima *tri vrste zob*); pogostoma so *šepavi, grbasti ali slepi*. Čestokrat *zblaznijo* (Orest, Belerofon, celo Heraklej, ko je pomoril *sinove*, ki mu jih je rodila Megara. Kar se tiče njihovega *spolnega zadržanja*, je *ekscezivno ali deviantno*: Heraklej *oplodi v eni sami noči petdeset hčera* *Tespiosa*, Tezevz je razvpit zaradi svojih *neštetih posilstev* (Helena, Ariadne itd.) Ahil *ukrade Stratoniko*. Heroji se *spuščajo v incest s svojimi hčerami ali materami* in povzročajo iz zavisti, jeze ali brez kakršnega koli vzroka *krvoprelitje*: *umorijo celo svoje očete in matere in siceršnje sorodnike.*" (izp. M.E.)

*Symbola božjasti alias "kulturni šok"*

Opravka imamo s simptomi, ki nosijo, kot je posrečeno dejal Aretej, "symbola božjasti" (v: Foucault 1984: 79). Njega, ki pravi: Kakor je mene poslal živi Oče in jaz živim po Očetu, tako bo tudi tisti, ki uživa mene, živel po meni." (Jan 6,57). Eros-Thanatos, ki spravlja v blaznost, v smrt. V "kulturni šok", ki sta ga Delia Frigessi Castelnovo in Michele Risso (1986: 142) posrečeno opredelila kot "nevarnost", ki preti človeku, ko občuti, da ne more več "obstojati ne v eni ne v drugi kulturi". Gre za pretnjo, ki evocira prav to, kar je Alfred Schütz (1944: 1621)<sup>21</sup> v svojem dokaj poznanem in ničkolikokrat citiranem eseju "The Stranger" (Tujec) opredelil takole: človek zazna, da je njegovo dozdajšnje vedenje "(1) nekoherentno, (2) le deloma jasno in (3) sploh ne brez protislovij." Človek se potemtکم nahaja nekje "vmes", med matičnim in očetnim.

"Tako gre vse vseppek, kri, slina, solze, seme, kdo hoče reči, kaj je ta pravo, važno?" spraševalno ugotavlja Gottfried Benn, eden najbolj branih in kritiziranih avtorjev v povojni Nemčiji. (v: Anselm 1990: 169). Analogno prerokom stare in nove zaveze ter psiho-logom, ki so se povrnili k Mojzesu, vidi rešitev iz tega "notranjega eksila" v povzdigovanju apokaliptičnega vzdušja, češ "je prilika za očiščenje in ponovno vstajenje. Ergo moška zaveza in njej imanentna zahteva: "Odrecite se htonskim matičnim silam, odrecite se kači!". In kajpak "ojdipski" stavek: "Eno je gotovo: Človek se nikoli ne vrača nazaj, gre vedno le naprej!"

Boštjan M. Zupančič se ne bo slučajno opiral na Izaijo, ki velja za téga vélikega klasičnega preroka stare zaveze in ga citiral: "Ljudstvo, ki hodi v temi, gleda veliko luč; nad prebivalci v deželi smrtne sence zasije luč." (Iz 9,2). Izaija (deloval je v 8. stol. pr. Kr.) uzre v tej deželi Babilonijo, več, Njo - "babilonsko vlačugo". Kot srditi vojščak-bojovnik in "očak" se sprašuje: "Ali bi jaz odprl maternico, a ne dal poroditi?" "Ali bi jaz, ki dam roditi, nazadnje porod zadržal" (Iz 66, 9). Še poprej Ji zažuga:

"Stopi dol in sedi v prah, devica, hči babilonska! Brez prestola sedi na zemljo, hči kaldejska! Zakaj ne boš se več imenovala nežna in razvajena. Vzemi ročni mlin<sup>22</sup> in melji moko, odgrni svojo tančico, vzdigni vlečko, razgali

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<sup>21</sup> Je utemeljitelj fenomenološke sociologije. Po priključitvi Avstrije k Nemčiji je bil prisiljen emigrirati v ZDA.

<sup>22</sup> Ženske v pred-bibličnih časih niso bile le dobrodošel "seksualni plen" oblastniških moških, ampak tudi sužnje, ki so imele težko delo z ročnim mlinom (prim. 2 Mojz 11,5). Mojzes se tu konkretno nanaša na sužnje v egiptovski deželi. Ko govori Izaja o "devici", ki naj stopi "dol" s prestola, misli po vsej verjetnosti na hčerke kraljev in vladarjev, ki so bile svečenice, enakovredne vélikim moškim svečnikom, praviloma neporočene. Vsako leto so se udeleževale "Švete poroke" in pri tem reprezentirale ali personificirale plodnostno Boginjo. V te namene so nosile kapo s *previhnjjenimi robovi*, *nagubano* obleko, dragulje, *železno palico*; skratka preobleko in insignije, ki so jih nosili tudi vladarji. (Lerner 1986: 161-181). Mislim, da ni slučaj, da nastopi prerok Izaja v Sv. pismu tik po Salomonovi Visoki pesmi. Sulamita v njej namreč nespregledno navezuje na omenjeno Sveto poroko. Na kult, ki

stegno, prebredi reke! Naj se odkrije tvoja nagota, naj se vidi tvoja sramota! Maščeval se bom, ne bom odnehal od tega..." (Iz 47,1-3) Ljudstvo motivira v to svojo po-silno nakano: "Baziliskova jajca valé in pajčevino tko. Kdor je njih jajca, umre, ako se stro, zleze iz njih gad. Njihove niti niso za obleko, in z njihovo pletenino se ni mogoče pokrivati..." (Iz 59, 5).

In kajpak je nanj navezoval Janez: "in glas mlina se v tebi ne bo več slišal in luč svetilke v tebi ne bo več svetila in glas ženinov se ne bo več slišal v tebi... po tvoji čarovniji so zabredli vsi narodi" (Raz 19,23). Janez je trdno odločen, uničiti vse, kar je pogansko (žensko), preiti v *extasis*, biti pod pretvezo Rimljana apolinični Zevs: "In videl sem nebo odprto: in glej, bel konj in jezdec na njem, ki se imenuje Zvesti in Resnični [...] njegovo ime se imenuje Beseda božja. In spremljajo ga nebeške vojske na belih konjih, oblečene v belo čisto tančico. [...] In pasel jih bo z železno palico. In sam tlači tlačilnico vina [...] In na plašču in na svojem stegnu ima zapisano: 'Kralj kraljev in Gospod gospodov.'" (Raz 19, 11-16) "In odnesel me je v duhu na veliko in visoko goro ter mi pokazal mesto Jeruzalem, ki je prihajalo z neba od Boga [govori: Mojzesa]..." (Raz 21: 10).

Julia Kristeva (1982: 251) ni "od danes na jutri" dejala: *falogos* (božja beseda) je "vedno smisel, komunikacija ali struktura, medtem ko je ženska-in-mati prej neka čudežna *guba*, ki deformira kulturo v naturo, govorjenje v biologijo." Več, oboževala ga bo, v ženski-in-materi uzrla, še zlasti, če je noseča, "*gubno* bitje", več, "katastrofo bivanja", ki se je ne da subsumirati pod dialektiko [moške] troedinosti" (Ibid.). Nenehno bo to "katastrofo" povezovala s pojmom *mati-abstract*. V *Les nouvelles maladies de l'âme* (Kristeva 1993: 138) se bo pri tem opirala na Mojzesovo tretjo knjigo (Leviticus): "Leviticus me nagovarja, s tem, da me najde tam, kjer zgubljam svoje 'lastno'." (Ibid.).<sup>23</sup> Gre nedvomno za identifikacijo z imenom Očeta, ki jo podkrepuje z Izaijo: "Zakaj vaše [poganske] roke so oskrunjene s krvjo in s krivdo vaši prsti." (Ibid. 139), in seveda z Janezom: "*Duh je, ki ožvlja, meso nič ne koristi*. Besede, ki sem vam jih govoril, so duh in življenje" (Ibid.: 151; izp. M.J.P.). Ne brez kančka po-hote bo temu dodala: "Kristologija Janeza je dejansko zelo *vzvišena*" (izp. K.).<sup>24</sup> Mati, kot vidimo, tudi pri Kristevi, tej domnevni zagovornici žensk, ne vstopi v jezik. Ostaja neke vrste "gmota", tostran tista, ki daje meso in kri, in onstran tista, iz katere se tke "matrica": tančica, ki obdaja, zavaja, o-čara; spravlja na višek: v *fin*.

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predpostavlja "spojitev" z moškimi kot pogoj, da se lahko prične krogotok življenja: rojstvo, akt stvaritve. Odtod tudi pojem "mešani zakon". Vse do danes se ga povezuje z "žensko-kot-hotnico".

<sup>23</sup> Julia Kristeva, jezikovna filozofinja, literarna teoretičarka, psihoanalitičarka, je ena izmed najbolj pomembnih zastopnic/zastopnikov francoskega postrukturalizma. Izhaja iz Lacanove šole. Je emigrantka, prvotno doma v Bolgariji.

<sup>24</sup> Pojem *vzvišen* se da figurativno (apolinično) opredeliti tudi z *izbočen*, *reliefen*, *plastično dvignjen*; biti *vzvišen nud* ...

In vse prej kot naključje je, da Sartre v svojih "Muhah" Orestov umor matere opredeljuje kot uporniški in osvobodilni akt. Predpostavlja, da ni bil umorjen Tiran, ampak Usoda (asociacija na *Moïro* se mi vsiljuje!), ki spravlja v svoje niti vsakega posamičnika, ga smrtno "za-grabi", uniči.<sup>25</sup> Zato pa, da je potrebno, da se niti, ki vodijo do Nje - v tem primeru jo pooseblja Klitajmnestra<sup>26</sup> - raz-režejo, pre-trgajo, se-sekljajo.

Obrazec se ujema s tistim, ki ga ponuja Lacan: "*poguliti do zadnje nitke*, s čimer se označuje obrabo tkanine. Ko se pokaže nit, tkanina<sup>27</sup> ni več pod krinko tega, čemur rečemo blago."<sup>28</sup> (1975: 74; izp. L.). Usklaja se pa tudi z njegovo teorijo o "razkosanem telescu", ki navezuje na "zrcalni štadij". (Lacan 1966: 67 f.). Metaforika, ki ji je imanentna, mi je nemudoma vsilila prisposodbo "obglavljene ženske" ("Ženske brez Ž"): in nenazadnje samo-stalnik *dia merismos* ("razdelitev" ali "razkosanje"), ki so ga Grki uporabili, ko so opisovali nasilno razkrečenje ženskih stegen, skratka posilstvo (Borneman 1981: 224).

Prikličimo si še Lévi Straussa (1963: 117, ki se je prizadeval za raz-kritje pojava pred-zgodovinske "iracionalnosti" (mitov). Svojo tozadevni pristop asociira s hojbojtnico, konkretno s sipo, ki razprostira lovke v najrazličnejše smeri: metoda ga "spominja na formacijo kristalov v neki zasičeni tekočini. Iz ene veje poganjajo pravokotne veje, pravokotno k tem poganjajo spet veje, vse dokler se v najrazličnejše smeri tvori neke vrste drevo." Lévi Strauss zaključuje: "Ko je vse otrpnelo, imamo občutek, da smo prišli na višek mogočega."

Nemudoma mi je prikical Freudovo *Ono* ("izsušene rože"), pa še Camille Paglio (1990). Analogno Freudu za helenistično za-misljijo ne utegne videti oblastniške vojščake, ampak zgolj "angelčke" (sebe?), ki so nam znali *dokončno utreti* pot iz "Mater Noči." (str. 33). Posebne pohvale je pri tem - kajpak - deležen Apolon: "S tem, da je v Delfih, na popku sveta, premagal

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<sup>25</sup> Prikličimo si še B.M. Zupančiča (1992: 85), ki pravi: "Koronarke postanejo kot kremplji in te drže za edino mišico, ki vedno dela - namesto da bi jo hranile"

<sup>26</sup> Klitajmnestra ni/noče biti "kot Atena", ljubljenska Zevsa ("iz *njegovega* čela sem skočila, sem *moška* mladenka!") Ljubi Agamemnona, a ga usmrti. Zakaj? - Žrtovoval je svojo in Klitajmnestrino hčerko Ifigenijo; šel na bojni pohod, nenazadnje zato, da bi "si pridobil nazaj lepo Heleno!". Ko pride domov, zmagovit, s Kasandro, prej trojansko princezo, zdaj konkubino in sužnjo, ena izmed njegovih tolikih, ga Klitajmnestra usmrti. Drži seveda, da je spravila v težek položaj svojega ljubimca, ki si ga je - kot se temu reče - "vzela" zato, ker ni hotela živeti osamljena, tako rekoč kot vdova. (Mož se ji namreč dolgo časa ni javil in ga je smatrala za mrtvega.) - A vendar: na procesu zmaga Orest, več, Apolon ga reši še iz blaznosti, v katero je zapadel zaradi storjenega zločina. Ne bo pa rešil Elektre, Orestove sestre, ki sta jo zločina prav tako pretresla; ostala bo psihotična. Za Apolona, narcističnega ljubimca moških teles in moške govorice, namreč ženska "ne šteje". In kajpak bo Apolon v Orestejih utišal tudi Erihije, jih "spremenil" v Evmenide. Nekateri znanstveniki vidijo v njih "znak zadnje obrambe moči Mater-Boginji" (Lerner 1986: 254).

<sup>27</sup> Besedna igra: *la corde* [nit] in *l'accord* [sonitje oz. soglasje, skladnost itd.]

<sup>28</sup> *L'etoff;* tudi snov, *mater* ial; etimološko se povezuje s terminom "mati"

pitona, je aretiral časovni tok, večno valovanje ženske opolzkosti, zvijajočo se kačo, ki jo nosimo v našem trebuhu." (str. 151).

Z dikcijo se nenazadnje usklaja Schütz. V svojem "Tujcu" (The Stranger; 1944) je razvil raziskovalni postopek, ki naj bi spodbujal v tisto skupino, "ki se zdi človeku sprva tuja in neznana". Schütz jo ima *á priori* za tisto, ki omogoča "zavetje in varnost" - za "in-group". "Out-group" potemtakem za *izvorno, matično*. Dejstvo se očitno "izcimi" v "Povratniku" (The Homecomer; 1944), ki ga je spisal 6 mesecev po "Tujcu". Predstavi se nam namreč kot človek, ki je bil in znal ostati "mož". Schütz ga opredeljuje z oznakami: "otrok brez matere", "morebitni branilec domovine", potencialni "vojak". Naj še preseneča, če ima Schütz za prototipično "in-group" vojsko, za prototipičnega "homecomerja" pa moškega, ki se bori zoper "out-group - tj. sovražnika" (str. 1635)? To, da pričinja svojega "Homecomerja" z Odisejem, dojenčkom, ki so ga, slično Ojdipu, v najranejši mladosti izobčili: "Ojoj, kje na svetu pa sem? Kje se nahajam?"

Se potemtakem še hujevati nad Lacanom (1973: 70), če se gosposko zabava<sup>29</sup>?

"Freud je veselo ime - *Kraft durch Freud*<sup>30</sup>, to je cel program! To je najbolj vesel skok svete farse zgodovine. Medtem ko tisto traja to sukanje, ...".

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<sup>29</sup> Gosposko zabavati se = nem. einen *Mord* spaß haben ("imeti mošiški užitek").

<sup>30</sup> Kraft=moč; die Freude = veselje, radost.

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**SUMMARY****E-MIGRATION AND CULTURAL SHOCK IN BIBLICAL, GREEK AND MODERN "OEDIPAN" MYTHS**

Marija Jurič-Pahor

In the book of Genesis the Lord says unto Abraham "Get thee out of thy country.... unto a land that I will shew thee" (1 Moses 12,1). And Abraham went as the Lord had ordered. He left the land of his predecessors, obedient and faithful only to the call of the Lord, who had promised him sovereignty, and power: "And I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee." (1 Moses 17,6). The condition for this was the covenant ("Every man child among you shall be circumcised", and those not circumcised "shall be cut off from his people" (Moses 17, 10-14), which will, first in a manifested and then in a latent form, determine every "code de la nationalite". The Greeks named this homoioi ("men who are similar", "men who are equal"); The French fraternité, and the Slovenians know it under the term brotherhood (bratstvo). Jacques Lacan compressed it into the term "It is One". In the fatherly discourse and finally in Freud's, and especially in Lacan's, this One will adopt the form of Eros, "for which it is supposed that he gradually wants to make only one from an infinite mass." (Lacan). This is testified to in the invention of the psychological mechanism "which is to operate as a barrier to this universal Eros, in the form of Thanatos, reduction to dust" (Lacan).

And truly. The images from biblical, classic Greek and modern "Oedipan" myths (only Solomon's Song of Songs is the outstanding exception) signalise a dramatic battle between male connoted Eros and female connoted Thanatos. God defines the historical transition "from myth to enlightenment", from the "mother-land to the fatherland". In our Western culture this began with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and the inimical suppression of the "serpent" into She: "upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (1 Moses 3,14).

We must not overlook that the She, the great mother, more precisely, the Snake-Godess, was worshiped in the Jerusalem temple until its fall and the departure of the Jewish middle classes into slavery in Babylon. There it shed its skin and became the "whore of Babylon" - this eternal code of the diaspora, exile, the antagonism of multicult(ur)ality and the stigmatisation of the people who remained in one or another form in contact with Her internally and externally of themselves. The Hellenic writer of the Gospel According to St John and the Revelation did not only legitimise anti-paganism with the metaphor of the "whore of Babylon" but also and in particular anti-semitism

and, with this, the approval of the massacres of “disagreeable people”. And up to today quasi automated sexist-racist thinking patterns are still valid, such as “how she holds her little head sideways!” (Zupančič), woman-and-mother is a “creation without a penis” (Freud), the “Horla-Horspol” (Lacan), She, who “baits the male world: she baits men, which is why they want to penetrate deeper and deeper.” (Skrbiš).

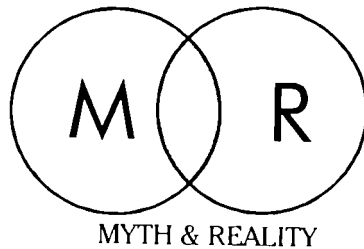
In this paper I focus my attention on the creation and consequences of such thinking. I presuppose that, on one hand, it assisted in validating, preserving and affirming the monopolised militarist power and, on the other hand, it engendered symptoms of illness, which carried the “symbol of epilepsy”: split-personality, derangement of the mind (am I a man? a woman? both? am I still human? Suicidal? “disgusting” to myself and others?). From here also stems the neologism e-migration; it signifies a breaking point which an individual especially feels or perceives when for one reason or another he must get by outside his environment or area of origin in which he was/felt at home. This breaking point - be it conscious or not - appears as an “internal migration”. In scientific literature it is dealt with also under the motto of “cultural shock”. Delia Frigessi Castelnuovo and Michele Riso happily defined it as a “danger” which preys on man when he feels that he “cannot exist in one or the other culture” any more. Alfred Schutz defined this danger in his well known and frequently cited essay “The Stranger”, as follows: a man perceives that his behaviour to date has been “(1) incoherent”, (2) only partly clear and (3) not at all without contradictions.

## **THE INTERTWINING OF MYTH AND REALITY**

Marina Lukšič-Hacin

Myth and reality, their intertwining and confrontation. The title “The Intertwining of Myth and Reality” and, at the same time, the title of the forthcoming scientific conference “The Confrontation of Myth and Reality.” force us to ask ourselves some basic questions. What is myth and what is reality? Are the terms myth and reality complementary and opposing, and separated by a clear dividing line or do they overlap and intertwine? Is it possible to detect glimpses of reality in myths, a reflection of the real world? Does reality become mythological at a certain point or might we say that it is the result or outcome of mythological operations?

In mathematics we could express the intertwining we are seeking to define in the intersection of two mathematical sets. The myth undoubtedly possesses dimensions which are particular to it, dimensions which cannot be found in reality, and reality contains processes which are carried out in the absence of any mythological elements. But we must not overlook the common elements which strongly link and place the two in a co-dependent relationship. As we have said, this relationship could be expressed mathematically in the intersection of two sets:



In various research methods concerned with the above problem we still frequently encounter efforts to entirely separate the two main categories referred to in this essay. The desire to define and divide two basic analytical terms, such as myth and reality, is not new. The roots of this basic tendency are deeply entrenched in the history of science and are connected to the question regarding our ability to recognise truth as well as the definition of the term truth itself; above all the so-called “objective truth” which dwells on the general level, out of reach of the individual or more precisely out of range of the subjective. The greatest endeavours to find the objective truth were made by

representatives of the positive sciences. These endeavours in the field of social sciences and humanistic disciplines discover new dimensions and, in many situations, turn out to be methodologically completely unsound from their very foundations. The subject of investigations and analyses in the social sciences and humanities requires a completely new approach which, in the end, proves that "objective truth" cannot be spoken of within society nor outside the subjective. Therefore the social (realistic) cannot be reduced to something that is completely separate from the individual and the factors which combine to form the individual's identity. And is it not true to say certain myths are important factors in the establishment of group identity, which is one of the main constituents of the identity of the individual?

Let me again stress that the terms myth and reality are analytical categories which have their own specific history (their meanings have changed through time), but that we shall avoid this aspect and devote ourselves above all to the relationship existing between the two on the general level.

The basic question in this debate is what is meant by myth and reality, and what the reciprocal link is between the two. Let us first look at how the two terms are defined in the Slovene language dictionaries which, as the starting point for our approach, we will use with the presupposition that they reflect the generally accepted perception and understanding of these two terms in the Slovenian environment. In the Dictionary of Foreign Words (*Slovar Tujk*) we find that a myth is a made-up story based on natural phenomena (like gods and heroes), it is a fairy tale. Mythical means fictitious or legendary; that which is fabricated. (*Slovar Tujk*, 1981:285). This is similar to the definition in the Dictionary of the Slovenian Literary Language (*Slovar Slovenskega Knjižnega Jezika - SSKJ*), where a myth is defined as oral tradition, a narration of the creation of the world, of unusual natural phenomena, of gods and other mythological beings. Myths supposedly reflect the ancient experiences of peoples. The mythical refers to the myth, mythical people, the invention of mythical fabrications using historical sources (*SSKJ*, 1975:794).

In opposition to the myth, the real is defined as that which exists, the actual, the true, the realisable; realism is an awareness of reality (*Slovar Tujk*, 1981:364). In the *SSKJ* this term is defined as that which in truth exists or in truth happens, the real, the existing (*SSKJ*, 1975:439); which is to say that the realistic is that which is TRUE.

From the above we can conclude that in the general definitions within Slovenia, the myth is linked to that which is fabricated or concocted, while reality (the real) is linked to truth and the existing.

The explanation for these perceptions of the two terms can be found in some more recent analyses of mythology. In a paper written by M. Velikonja we come across the claim that contemporary societies pushed mythology out from their midst or that they deliberately situated it in the pre-literate past. And

it is just these efforts that can be understood as indicators of society's mythological orientation, mythologism and its inability to define the living in purely rational terms. The mythological can be a part of intellectual discourse and social practice. The promotion of eternal substantiation, which is a basic characteristic of the mythological, has a completely practical, palpable dimension. It consolidates power. And the greatest myth of the modern, positive era is that a myth on a state without myths has been promoted. "Mythology in its possessive evil is capable of showing the world as an exclusively hateful, conniving and brutal place. The starting-point always implies a precisely defined continuation. All mythological systems; present, political or national ones are no exception, they are beyond rational assertion. It stands discretely before it and acts emotively on its audience in all their decision-making. This of course does not mean that people have discarded the rational structure, foundation or consistency during their enthusiasm for demystification. Quite the opposite: they appear altogether irrational from the outside, while internally they have a completely rational explanation based, of course, on a foundation of values, emotions and beliefs about the existing." (Velikonja, 1994:154)

In history, and above all during the last two centuries, when rationalism stampeded through western civilisations, we encounter strong desires to demythologise the existing, to destroy old myths. But at the same time that the old myths are being destroyed, new modern myths appear in the background and are consolidated politically. We could mention a number of such myths in contexts like religion and class affiliation but we are mainly interested in the myth linked to the nation or the country and its people, which is the myth about national identity. This myth is strongly linked to the migrations which have taken place in the last two centuries. It can be said that in conjunction with other factors, migration processes were combined with the emigration situation (in the country of migration) to determine the position of the individual; the emigrant and his fate.

Viewed from the point of view of the individual (emigrant), it was the emigrant's own national identity, ascribed by others to him or her but which he/she had also internalised, which determined the emigrant's own status. His ascribed social status and the potential for mobility within the social structure are, in the time of the national state, linked to the hierarchy among different nationalities or to an ethnically stratified society. The basic sub-meaning of this stratification is the myth of the nation, national identity, which in a situation where there is contact between cultures causes hierarchisation into superior and inferior races or into the more and less developed nationality or race.

Anthony D. Smith (1988) was greatly concerned with the myth of the modern nation phenomenon and, in relation to this, stresses that the myth is far from being what we usually imagine it to be:

- the myth is not complete or whole without actual or real foundations and its characteristics include exaggeration, dramatisation and the re-interpretation of facts in the light of present concerns

- the myth frequently forms a link between existing needs and future hopes by appealing to the past

- the myth can serve as the legitimisation of an individual regime, and it can also support the desire for radical changes to an existing situation.

However, it is characteristic of all myths that they refer to a past state of things, which are frequently situated in the distant past, the primal and golden age, used by the creators of myths as a model for the new divisions which they attempted to enthrone. Therefore, the myth is not an illusion nor at the same time is it the complete legitimisation of the existing. We can look upon it as a substitute which is given credence by many people.

And it is exactly this faith which is the point from which the myth may return to the real; when the “believers” act in accordance with their faith and the absolute Truth.

Therefore the myth is effective. “Let us first take the simple fact that the myth works. It has an effect. Where does its power of conviction lie, from where does it derive its ability to captivate its audience, to alter their views of the world and their actions in so drastic a way? Above all it lies in the mechanism of replacing the general with the personal. This general, which by definition functions as a forcibly uniform selection, acquires different names in political mythology; for example in national, social, class, religious and ideological contexts. In mythological discourse this becomes the only valid (and permitted) personal identification. Separation and division between the “private” and “public” disappears in man: the individual “exteriorises”, his microcosm is mastered by “larger themes”. The birth of the political myth comes at a moment when social trauma, emergency situations, crises or shortages for example, is transferred into the mental arena. The social, political, class and national contexts become personal. They adopt the ruling mythical explanation for the world, drowning the human need for rationalisation, since the world suffers no one besides itself.” (Velikonja, 1994:155)

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POVZETEK

PREPLETANJE MITA IN REALNOSTI

Marina Lukšič-Hacin

Osnovno vprašanje pričujočega razmišljanja je, kaj je mit in kaj realnost, kako ti dve analitični kategoriji opredeljujemo, predvsem pa v kakšnem medsebojnem odnosu sta. Ali sta si povsem nasprotni in med njima obstaja jasna ločnica ali pa se morda medsebojno prepletata, sta komplementarni in soodvisni? Avtorica zagovarja slednje, saj se prispevek izteče v ugotovitev, da mit deluje. V družbeni stvarnosti najdemo številna področja, kjer ima mit konstitutivno vlogo, od religije, razreda vse do nacionalne države in njenega pomembnega dejavnika, ki homogenizira državljane, to je nacionalne identitete. V prispevku je prav nacionalna identiteta izpostavljena kot ključna mitološka forma, ki je v migracijskih situacijah odločujoča, še posebno če upoštevamo etnično stratificirano realnost, v katero se migranti priseljujejo. Leto jim na nek način v naprej določi družbeni status, ki ga bodo priseljenci imeli v novi sredini in odločujoče vpliva na njihove možnosti po vertikalni mobilnosti.

Za vse mite je značilno, da se nanašajo na preteklo stanje stvari, pogosto na prvotno in zlato dobo, katere slika je odraz hotenj tvorcev nove delitve, ki jo

skušajo ustoličiti. Mit ni iluzija, a hkrati ni popolna legitimacija obstoječega. Je njegov nadomestek, v katerega številni verjamejo. Prav ta vera pa je točka, v kateri mit prehaja v realno, saj 'verujoči' delujejo v skladu s svojo vero in Resnico.



AVTORJI / CONTRIBUTORS

Michal BABIAK, mag., Filozofická fakulta UK, Katedra estetiky, Gondova 2,  
81801 Bratislava, Slovakia.

Branimir BANOVIĆ, dr., Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Stjepana Radića 3,  
41000 Zagreb, Hrvatska

Breda ČEBULJ-SAJKO, dr., Inštitut za izseljenstvo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni  
center SAZU, Novi trg 4, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Lev DETELA, dr., Donaustadtstrasse 30/16/16, A- 1220 Wien, Austria

Marjan DRNOVŠEK, dr., Inštitut za izseljenstvo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center  
SAZU, Novi trg 4, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Irena GANTAR GODINA, dr., Inštitut za izseljenstvo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni  
center SAZU, Novi trg 4, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Antonius HOLTSMANN, dr., Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, Postfach  
25 03, D-2611 Oldenburg, Deutschland

Marko JENŠTERLE, Ministrstvo za kulturo, Republika Slovenija, Cankarjeva 5,  
1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Marija JURIČ-PAHOR, Via del Falchi 2, 34137 Trieste, Italia

## **AVTORJI/CONTRIBUTORS**

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Majda KODRIČ, mag., Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Oddelek za zgodovino,  
Via Petronio 4, 34138 Trieste, Italia

Mihael KÜZMIČ, Milčinskega 73, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Ante LAUŠIĆ, dr., Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Stjepana Radića 3, 41000  
Zagreb, Hrvatska

Miroslava LUKIĆ-KRSTANOVIĆ, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti,  
Etnografski institut, Knez Mihailova 35/III, 11000 Beograd, ZR Jugoslavija

Marina LUKŠIČ-HACIN, mag., Inštitut za izseljenstvo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni  
center SAZU, Novi trg 4, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Igor MAVER, doc. dr., Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Oddelek za  
germanistiko, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Mirjana PAVLOVIĆ, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Etnografski institut,  
Knez Mihailova 35/III, 11000 Beograd, ZR Jugoslavija

Jerneja PETRIČ, dr., Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Oddelek za  
germanistiko, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Nora RÄTHZEL, dr., Rotschbahn 38, Hamburg, D-20146, Deutschland

Karin SCHULZ, Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum e.V., Inselstrasse  
6, 2850 Bremerhaven, Deutschland

Zlatko SKRBIŠ, dr., Queensland University of Technology, School for Social  
Science, Carseldine Campus, Beams Rd., 4034 Queensland, Australia

Rozina ŠVENT, mag., Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Turjaška 1, 1000  
Ljubljana, Slovenija

Peter VENCELJ, dr., Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve, Urad za Slovence po svetu,  
Gregorčičeva 25, 1000 Ljubljana

Adam WALASZEK, dr., Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Instytut Polonijny, Ul. Jodlova  
13, 30-252 Krakow-Przegorzały, Polska





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