

THE PRESS AS A LINK BETWEEN THE LEADERS  
AND THE RANK AND FILE OF AN ETHNIC  
FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION: HANDLING THE  
SITUATION OF SECOND GENERATION MEMBERSHIP  
IN THE KSKJ'S ORGANS

M a j d a K o d r i č

After having developed through mass Slovene immigration from the 1880s to the First World War, since the conflict the Slovene ethnic community in the United States began undergoing considerable structural changes. The war interrupted the migratory movement, and in the following years new legislation which restricted immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe largely reduced the inflow of Slovene immigrants themselves. At the same time, the second generation was growing up and its share within the ethnic community was increasing. From the *United States Federal Census* it can be drawn that, while in 1910 the second generation formed less than a third of the Slovene ethnic community, a decade later already more than a half of it was American-born. The awareness that the future of the ethnic institutions would depend on the interest of the second generation in keeping them alive led their leaders to devote specific care to the nourishment of ethnic identity among the youth.<sup>1</sup>

The adoption of such attitudes can be observed for instance in examining the positions and the activities that the two main Slovene organizations in the United States, both founded on fraternal mutual aid principles, developed at that time. The essay focuses on one of them, the Kranjska Slovenska Katoliška Jednota (up to 1965 Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union of USA, since then American Slovenian Catholic Union), in short KSKJ, which was established in Joliet, IL in 1894 as the first nationwide Slovene fraternal organization. Its Catholic bases reflect the central role of the Church within the Slovene ethnic community in the United States.<sup>2</sup> In examining its further development, the parallel growth of another nationwide Slovene fraternal organization can not be overlooked. The Slovenska Na-

rodna Podporna Jednota (Slovene National Benefit Society), in short SNPJ, was founded in Chicago in 1904 and proposed to meet the needs of those members of the ethnic community who adhered to freethinking ideas and to the socialist view of class struggle.<sup>3</sup> Establishing some comparisons with the KSKJ's positions towards the second generation, as both organizations undertook some parallel basic steps and shared some views in approaching the questions related to it. For the same purpose, same essential differences between their attitudes, deriving from their different ideological standpoints, will be stressed as well.

Besides the appropriateness of such partly comparative approaches, it is worth noting first of all that the sources which provide the basic documentation concerning this subject are the same in both cases. The press of these organizations is essential in this regard. Indeed, their organs, the SNPJ's daily *Prosveta* (The Enlightenment) and the weekly *Glasiło K.S.K.J. Jednote* (The Voice of the K.S.K. Jednota)<sup>4</sup> include numerous articles which express their attitude towards the second generation. While among them many are representative of the positions held by the leaders of these organizations, reports and letters from various settlements which refer to the situation of the second generation are worth considering as well. By extending the research to them, it is possible to examine the mutual receptiveness between the leaders and the membership of various local branches. As a whole, the variety of the subjects approached in the press offers the opportunity to observe several diverse aspects of the needs of the American-born youth and of the responses to them. The essay mainly aims at stressing this complexity within the KSKJ's attitudes, while focusing on a relatively short period and examining only the initial basic steps which its leaders undertook in behalf of the second generation around the end of the First World War and the beginning of the 1920s.

The first crucial decision in this regard concerned the establishment of the KSKJ's juvenile department, which began its activity on June 1st, 1916. Like the juvenile department founded by the SNPJ in 1913, it provided financial benefit to children from 1 to 16 years old, while fostering their involvement in the organization in other regards as well. From 1.313 members at the establishment its membership increased to 5.240 by the end

of 1919, while approximately one decade later, in 1928, it would count 11.712 members. Its growth was sustained by enrollment campaigns, which were promoted also through *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* itself. Not only the pertinent contests among the KSKJ's branches are worth noting, but also the appreciation of individual examples of family enrollments expressed in the newspaper.<sup>5</sup>

Through the spread of the juvenile department among Slovene youth the KSKJ's leaders sought to build the bases for the future of the organization.

*"If our Slovene American youth remains true and steady under this banner, the existence and the best future of the K.S.K. J. will be ensured."*<sup>6</sup>

Already with regard to the 1919 *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* also reported on grown-up members of the juvenile department who passed to the regular membership.<sup>7</sup>

In order to foster the involvement in the KSKJ's activities the education of the youth according to the organization's principles was necessary as well. For this purpose in 1921 a specific organ of children, the monthly *Angelček* (Little Angel) was established. It was published as a separate periodical until 1923 and then as a supplement of *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* from 1924 to 1926. This organ can be compared to the monthly *Mladinski list* (Juvenile), established by the SNPJ in 1922, although the latter largely outlasted the former and has been published up to today with the title *The Voice of Youth*, adopted in 1945.<sup>8</sup> For instance, from the very beginning both periodicals contained English pages besides those printed in Slovene, apparently in order to address also those second generation readers who did not master the Slovene language adequately. This shows that both organizations were pursuing the maintenance of the ethnic language among the youth and aware of its inevitable gradual loss at the same time. The two magazines also shared a similar structure, mostly consisting of literary writings, stories and poems. However, their content largely differed, as it conformed to the ideological standpoints of the two organizations.

Indeed, *Angelček* joined *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* in asserting the KSKJ's aspirations concerning the second generation and aimed at contributing to realize them. Since its first issue, publi-

shed in June 1921, the monthly undertook the task of guiding children along their gradual involvement in the organization and their acquisition of its essential principles: mutual aid, religious faith and ethnic identity.

*"So this is my task: to awaken you to the love of faith and of nationality under the protection of the Kranjsko Slovenska Katoliška Jednota. I want to show you that to every Catholic Slovene in America our glorious Kranjsko Slovenska katoliška Jednota is and must be the most precious treasure, which we must guard like the apple of our eye."*<sup>9</sup>

Even by examining just the first volume of this periodical it is possible to acquire a considerably detailed view of how it pursued such goals. Ethnic identity was nourished essentially through the publication of literary writings by Slovene authors, for instance by Fran Ksaver Meško, and in general by concretely acquainting the readers with the Slovene language in its printed form. Besides, the ethnic language was explicitly stressed as a basic value, like in the poem by Anton Medved "Slovenska govoriča".<sup>10</sup> The principles of mutual aid were promoted by reprinting the clauses of the purpose for which the KSKJ had been founded, by recollecting the main features of its history and by urging readers to contribute writings which would show their own knowledge of the organization. Such and other letters were published regularly in a specific column of the magazine. The constant encouragements themselves to send mail to *Angelček* were motivated explicitly by stressing the need to develop ties among the young KSKJ's members in various settlements in order to build a basic network of renewed unity, necessary for the future of the generation. The children who had enrolled in KSKJ throughout the United States did not know each other yet. Thus, they could not "discuss and become still more enthusiastic about their Juvenile department". *Angelček* proposed to offer "small brothers and sisters, hundreds and hundreds of miles distant from each other", the opportunity to establish close mutual contacts.<sup>11</sup> Children were also urged to contribute by themselves to the increase of subscribers for the magazine, as well as of the membership of the juvenile department.<sup>12</sup>

It is worth stressing that the periodical was also distributed in Slovene parochial schools, as for instance it was mentio-

ned in the correspondence sent by the readers and as the indications of various parochial schools below their signatures tend to confirm.<sup>13</sup> This shows concrete collaboration between the KSKJ and these institutions, which were paid much attention in *Glasiło K.S.K. Jednote* itself, as will be seen in the following paragraphs. Even by considering just the content of *Angelček*, these ties are easily understandable, as Catholic education was its most pervasive element. Confirming to the KSKJ's aim at fostering religious faith, not only the articles on the organization itself, but most writings published in the monthly proposed to spread Catholic moral principles among the youth. On the one hand, such purposes were a common feature of the samples of Slovene literature which appeared in it, thus establishing links between religious and ethnic education. At the same time, mostly its English section reflected the aim at strengthening religious values among the readers according to the teachings of the American Catholic Church as well. Such was the case of articles which propagated the activities of American Boy Scouts or of literary writings by American authors, which are also set in the American environment. It is possible to observe even the publication of appeals by American clergymen which fostered vocations to the priesthood. The aim at linking Catholic faith and American identity is expressed most explicitly in articles on the Catholic Church in the United States and on some prominent members of the American Catholic community.<sup>14</sup>

The weight of Catholic education in *Angelček* and the modes in which it was pursued can be compared to the nourishment of class consciousness as the SNPJ's ideological basis in *Mladinski list*. These teachings as well were largely linked to ethnic education, mainly through the publication of literary writings on the conditions of the working class and by stressing the spread of class consciousness among Slovene immigrants. At the same time, their belonging to the larger American labor movement was praised, so that a comparison between the KSKJ's upbringing of proper followers of the American Catholic Church and the SNPJ's education of equal members of the American working class can also be drawn.<sup>15</sup>

The parallel impact of Catholic principles and of the socialist view of class struggle on the directions along which the KSKJ's and the SNPJ's leaders aimed at educations the youth was a crucial factor in determining their differing and even opposi-

te attitudes towards school education as an essential aspect of the question of the second generation. Indeed, the KSKJ strongly advocated ethnic parochial schools, while the SNPJ opposed them and favored public education, proposing to supply it with additional ethnic classes.<sup>16</sup> By focusing on the several articles which deal with the question of school education in *Glasiło K.S.K. Jednote*, it is possible to gather both considerations concerning the role of Slovene parochial schools and concrete accounts on their activities. Moreover, reports and letters sent to the newspaper from various settlements are essential in complementing positions and observations expressed by the KSKJ's leaders. It is also worth noting the publication of reports on supplementary ethnic classes promoted by Slovene pastors in some parishes which lacked proper Slovene parochial schools. At the beginning of 1918, for instance, from Rock Springs, Wyo. it was reported on a Slovene course which had been established shortly before and was conducted by the pastor within the church itself. The newspaper also published accounts on public performances promoted by the organizers of such courses, like of a Slovene course in Eveleth, Minn. and of Slovene summer schools in New York and Chicago.<sup>17</sup>

As to Slovene parochial schools, fourteen of them were listed in *Glasiło K.S.K. Jednote* in 1918. Two operated in Cleveland, Oh., while the others acted in: Collinwood, Oh., Indianapolis, Ind., Joilet, Ill., Kansas City, Kans., La Salle, Ill., Lorain, Oh., Pittsburgh, Pa., Bridgeville, Pa., Pueblo, Colo., Springfield, Ill., Stelton, Pa. and Waukegan, Ill.<sup>18</sup> Obviously, the majority of them were located in Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, where most Slovene immigrants settled. However, their establishment in some other settlements as well contributes to prove their essential role within the Slovene ethnic community in the United States. The relevance of these schools is also evident in reports from various places which referred for instance to public performances promoted by them, as well as to the number and the successfulness of their pupils.<sup>19</sup>

Ethnic parochial education, a basic task which Slovene parishes began undertaking since 19th century, became an even more crucial stronghold of ethnic identity at that time, when the ethnic community was gradually renewing itself through the growth of the second generation. Accordingly, the KSKJ did not only support Slovene parochial schools, but also urged them to

spread further and advocated a broad debate on this question among the Slovene press in the United States. The opposition of "progressives and freethinkers" to parochial schools was condemned as disloyalty to ethnic values. These institutions were considered indispensable for the maintenance of the Slovene language as the core of ethnic identity. Indeed, *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* stressed as the main goal of ethnic education that "all sons or daughters of American Slovenes should learn their mother (Slovene) tongue above all and first of all and other languages only afterwards".<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, obviously the KSKJ advocated Slovene parochial schools specifically as institutions which provided education based on Catholic values. The acknowledgment of their belonging to the larger system of American Catholic schools is evident in several articles in the KSKJ's organ. Promoting education according to their common principles, however, did not imply only pursuing religious goals, but also fostering American identity. Thus Slovene parochial schools contributed to acculturation as well, as it was stated explicitly in *Glasiló K.S.K. Jednote* itself and as it is concretely evident for instance from the use of English as the teaching language, while Slovene was taught as a specific subject. It is worth noting that in the KSKJ's organ the subject of Catholic education was also approached by translating or referring to articles in English which had appeared in American press, like in *Our Sunday Visitor* or in *The Brooklyn Eagle*. Such references served as supports in advocating higher American Catholic education as well.<sup>21</sup>

Acquiring as much education as possible was considered indispensable for the social and economic improvement of each person, as well as of the Slovene ethnic community as a whole within American society. While this attitude itself is similar to the SNPJ's view of public education, it is striking to find among the positions expressed in the KSKJ's newspaper even explicit references to the American working class and its need of education in order to defend its rights effectively. Thus a correspondent stated in his letter that every worker needed "some more education and to know at least half of the Constitution of the United States, as well as of the laws of individual states of the city where he lived". It was necessary to give the youth the opportunity to pursue higher education so that unlike their parents "they would know how to seek more rights and how to

make use of them".<sup>22</sup> It can be concluded that while the SNPJ obviously stressed the value of school education mainly in this regard also according to its ideological principles, the KSKJ itself could not miss approaching the status of its member - mostly industrial workers as a social problem of American society.

As actually the whole content of this essay shows, the necessity of considering the concrete situation of the Slovene ethnic community in the American environment largely contributed to mold the ideological attitudes of both fraternal organizations in their fulfillment of the complex task of attending the concomitant needs of ethnic identity and of acculturation among their membership. Above all in promoting ethnic social and cultural activities they reached even beyond ideological differences. They necessarily acknowledged and also supported the adoption of some essentially identical American models of social behavior, which attracted ethnic communities as well and were among the means by which they could adjust effectively to the American environment. Obviously the aspirations to follow such examples and the American way of life in general were much stronger among the young members of the Slovene ethnic community who were growing up in the American environment than among their immigrant parents. Actually this difference was the basic factor which determined the specificity of the question of the second generation.

As it is examined more in detail in the previous paragraphs, on the one hand this motivated the leaders of ethnic institutions to enhance the care which they took of ethnic education as a supplement to the American one in order to counteract the assimilation of American models of social behaviour at school and through other social channels. On the other hand, the needs of the youth led them to support for instance the promotion of peculiarly American sports like bowling or baseball and of cultural activities which followed American examples among the second generation in Slovene settlements.

This attitude was basically shared by both organizations considered in this essay. As to the KSKJ's positions, they reflected it already at the beginning of the 1920s. Indeed, the monthly of the juvenile department regularly published articles on such sport activity and *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote* reported on games related to it. Besides, already at that time the KSKJ's organ expressed appreciation of performing activities realized by the

youth as Minstrel Shows. Much space in it was devoted to a Minstrel Show, held in Chicago in February 1920, which explicitly praised for having presented the Slovene ethnic community to the American public and for having provided the opportunity to *"show [its] sympathies for [its] American fellow citizens, as well as that the Slovenes in Chicago progressed in Americanization just like other well-known, bigger nationalities in [the] city"*.<sup>23</sup>

Such evaluation of the acculturation of the second generation as contributing towards the integration of the Slovene ethnic community as a whole within American society even suggests to draw some correlation between the attitudes towards the American-born youth and the contemporary attention paid by both the KSKJ's and the SNPJ's press to the opportunities for immigrants to attend evening classes of English language, which provided assistance for the achievement of American citizenship as well. This urge to undertake naturalization contributes to set the question of the second generation and the attitudes towards it in a larger process of transformation which the relationship of the Slovene ethnic community respectively to the ethnic heritage and to the American environment was undergoing since the First World War.<sup>24</sup>

As a whole, the research accomplished up to now on the content pertinent to the question of the second generation of the KSKJ's press has mainly been helpful in revealing the complex interaction between maintenance of ethnic identity and acculturation both as an inevitable process and as a goal which the Slovene ethnic community pursued through the upbringing of its first American-born generation. Moreover, such observations cast new light on the information already gathered from the press belonging to the SNPJ, as they open the prospect of manifold comparisons between the attitudes of these two organizations. These conclusions, however, will need to be supported and enriched with further evidence by extending the research to a longer period of time.

## NOTES

- 1 Slovene emigration to the United States is examined extensively in Matjaž Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji*, Maribor 1987, pp. 31-72, 286-288 (the latter pages belong to the English

- summary of the book) and in M. Klemenčič, "Slovenci v ameriški statistiki v 19. in v 20. stoletju", *Celovski zvon*, 11/4 (September 1984), pp. 23-31; the observations concerning the second generation are drawn from p. 51 in the former publication; Immigration to the United States from Southern and Eastern Europe was largely restricted by the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924. Such thoughts with regard to the future of Slovene ethnic institutions in the United States are expressed for instance in Frank Zaitz, "Ameriški Slovenci včeraj, danes in jutri", *Ameriški družinski koledar* 1928, pp. 44-45.
- 2 For a broad presentation of the role held by the Church within the Slovene ethnic community in the United States cf. Rudolph M. Susel, "Slovenes", in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephen Thernstrom ed., Cambridge, MA, 1980, p. 938; M. Klemenčič, *Ameriški Slovenci...*, op. cit., pp. 79-81, 288-289 (English); Majda Kodrič, "Religion and Ethnic Identity within the Slovene Community in the United States: the Bases and the Transition to the Second Generation", manuscript, printing in *Studi emigrazione*, Fall 1991.
  - 3 The establishment of both organizations is examined for instance in Toussaint Hočevar, "Češki vpliv pri snovanju slovenskih podpornih 'jednot' v ZDA", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 18?-13:1/2 (1977), pp. 234-240 (provided with an English summary). The development of the SNRJ since the establishment to 1923 is presented in Jože Zavertnik, *Ameriški Slovenci. Pregled splošne zgodovine Združenih držav, slovenskega naseljevanja in naselbin in Slovenske narodne podporne jednote*, Chicago 1925, pp. 553-623. A basic source concerning the development of the KSKJ up to that time is *Jubilejna spominska knjiga* izdana povodom tridesetletnice Kranjsko-slovenske katoliške jednote, 1894-1924. Both organizations are still active today.
  - 4 Both newspapers are presented in detail in Jože Bajec, *Slovensko izseljenško časopisje 1891-1945*, Ljubljana 1980, pp. 34-36 and 48-49. *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote* was published from 1915 to 1945. Previously *Amerikanski Slovenec* was the KSKJ's organ and it resumed this role after the Second World War.
  - 5 "Mladinski oddelek K.S.K. Jednote", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 5:47 (November 26, 1919), p. 5; "Zapisnik seje glavnih odbornikov K.S.K. Jednote vršeče se v Jolietu, Ill., od 19. do 22. januarja 1920", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 6:4 (January 28, 1920), pp. 1-3, 7; "Jugoslovanske podporne organizacije v Zedinjenih državah", priredil Ivan Mladineo, *Ameriški družinski koledar* 1930, pp. 20-23; "Uradno naznanilo", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 4:12 (March 27, 1918), p. 5; "Zlata knjiga K. S.K. Jednote", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 5:4 (January 29, 1919), p. 4; "Zlata knjiga K.S.K. Jednote", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 6:5 (February 4, 1920), p. 4; "Posnemanja vredno", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 4:6 (February 13, 1918), p. 4; "Posnemanja vredno", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 4:11 (March 20, 1918), p. 2; "Sedem bratov pri K.S.K.J.", *Ibidem*.
  - 6 "Banket v počast glavnim odbornikom K.S.K.J.", *Glasilo K. S.K. Jednote*, 4:4 (January 30, 1918), p. 3.
  - 7 "Veselo znamenje. Pozdravljeni naši mladi sobratje in sestre!", *Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote*, 6:2 (January 14, 1920), p. 4; "Zapisnik seje glavnih

- odbornikov K.S.K. Jednote vršeče se v Jolietu, Ill., od 19. do 22. januarja 1920", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:4 (January 28, 1920), pp. 1-3, 7.
- 8 Further information on these periodicals is provided in J. Bajec, op. cit., pp. 66-70.
- 9 "Pozdravi", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), p. 1
- 10 Cf. Ksaver Meško, "Stara priča", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 31-32; K. Meško, "Pravljica o oglarjevi hčerki in zakletem kraljeviču", Ibidem, pp. 35-37; two passages of the book by K. Meško Mladim srcem, Ill. zvezek; "Srečnemu otroku", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:3 (August 1921), p. 55 and "Mamici", Ibidem, p. 59; Anton Medved, "Slovenska govorica", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), p. 25.
- 11 The quotations are drawn from "Dopis", letter, signed Jožef Umek, Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), pp. 10-11 and from the article "Počitnice", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 25-26. The other observations are based on "Our Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 41-42; "Our Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:4 (September 1921), pp. 89-90; Matthias Šavs, "Our Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:5 (October 1921), pp. 114; "Dopisi", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:8 (January 1922), pp. 183-184; "Dopisi", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:9 (February 1922), pp. 205-207.
- 12 Cf. "Pozdravi", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), p. 1; "Počitnice", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 25-26; "Pozor! Pozor! Pozor!", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:5 (October 1921), p. 112.
- 13 "Dopisi", a letter, signed Mary Drobnič, Angelček-Little Angel, 1:7 (December 1921), p. 160.
- 14 With regard to Slovene writings, cf. for instance K. Meško, "Stara priča", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 31-32. Among literary writings by American authors cf. for instance Henriette Eugenia Delamare, "The Little Soloist of St. Elizabeth's", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), pp. 20-22 and 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 43-46. Michael J. Slattery, Chairman, "Scouting Under Catholic Leadership", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), pp. 19-20 and 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 42-43; "Archbishop Mundelein's Warning", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:1 (June 1921), p. 23; Bishop Allen, "Fostering Vocations", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), p. 48; Mihael Čepon, "Catholics in American History", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:3 (August 1921), pp. 67-72; "The late Chief Justice White - a Catholic in heart", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:2 (July 1921), pp. 46-47.
- 15 Majda Kodrič, "Class Consciousness among the Second Generation: Expectations and Responses within the Slovene National Benefit Society in the 1920s", Migracijske teme, 4:1/2 (1988), pp. 113-115, 117, 121-123.
- 16 Ibidem, pp. 114-116, 118; M. Kodrič, "Melting pot: izgubljena bitka Ameriških Slovencev?", Slovenski koledar '87, pp. 165-166; Nives Sulič, Thank God I'm Slovenian, Ljubljana 1983, p. 69.
- 17 "Društvene vesti in dopisi", a letter from Rock Springs, Wyo., signed V...i, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:6 (February 13, 1918), p. 2; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Virginia, Minn., signed Udeležence,

- Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:18 (May 8, 1918), p. 3; "Naznanilo in vabilo", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:38 (September 25, 1918), p. 3; "Lokalne vesti", "Zaključek slovenske farne šole", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:32 (August 13, 1919), p. 2.
- 18 "Več slovenskih šol!", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:10 (March 13, 1918), p. 4.
- 19 "Društvene vesti in dopisi", a letter from Joliet, Ill., signed Josip Zalar, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:13 (April 3, 1918), p. 2; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Joliet, Ill., signed Anton Zugel, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:27 (July 10, 1918), p. 2; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Pueblo, Colo., signed Poročevalec, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:29 (July 23, 1919), p. 2; "Otvoritev farne šole" (on the Slovene parochial school in Springfield, Ill.), Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:34 (August 27, 1919), p. 3; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Kansas City, Kans., signed Peter Majerle, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:51 (December 22, 1919), p. 5.
- 20 "Več slovenskih šol!", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:10 (March 13, 1918), p. 4 (the quotation is taken from this article); "Upoštevanja vredno", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:9 (March 6, 1918), p. 4.
- 21 Rev. Joseph V.S. McClancy, "Katoliške šole so ameriške šole", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:35 (September 4, 1918), p. 4; Rev. John Plaznik, "Več odločnosti", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:33 (August 20, 1919), p. 3; Rev. J. Plaznik, "Nekaj iz drugih listov", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:35 (September 3, 1919), p. 3; N. Sulič, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- 22 "O krščanski izobrazbi, Čast starišev v božjem zastopništvu", translated from English by Avg. F. Florjanc, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:3 (January 21, 1920), p. 3; Rev. J. Plaznik, "Ali vzgoja za prihodnost, ali dolarji sedaj?", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:34 (August 27, 1919), p. 3; the quotations are taken from "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from San Bernardino, Calif., signed Frank K. Sterbentz, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:37 (September 17, 1919), p. 2; cf. also M. Kodrič, "Class Consciousness...", op. cit., pp. 114-116.
- 23 Cf. "Sporting Page", Rev. M.J.B., "The Boys Game", Angelček-Little Angel, 1:8 (January 1922), p. 191 and 1:9 (February 1922), p. 214; "Slovenski kegljački klub", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:49 (December 10, 1919), p. 3; "Naznanilo in vabilo", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 4:38 (September 25, 1918), p. 3; "Lokalne vesti", "Velik Minstrel Show", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:3 (January 21, 1920), p. 2; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Chicago, Ill., signed Math. Turšič, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:5 (February 4, 1920), p. 2; "Sijajen uspeh 'Minstrel Show-a'", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:6 (February 11, 1920), p. 2; M. Kodrič, "Class Consciousness...", op. cit., p. 117.
- 24 "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", "Obiskujte večerno šolo. Poziv rojakom v Virginia, Minn.", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:45 (November 12, 1919), p. 2; "Pozor! Jugoslovani iz Gary in New Dulutha, Minn.", Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 5:47 (November 26, 1919), p. 3; "Društvena naznanila in dopisi", a letter from Rock Springs, Wyo., signed -W.-, Glasilo K.S.K. Jednote, 6:3 (January 21, 1920), p. 2; "Pozor Jugoslovani v Gary in New Duluth, Minn.", Prosveta, 12:290 (December 10, 1919), p. 8; "Večerna šola za inozemce v Chicagu", Prosveta, 12:227 (September 26, 1919), p. 3; "Dopisi", a letter from Willard, Wis., signed Naročnik, Prosveta, 12:263 (November 7, 1919), p. 2.

## POVZETEK

**ČASOPISJE KOT VEZ MED VODSTVOM IN BAZO  
ETNIČNE PODPORNE ORGANIZACIJE: SOOČANJE S  
POLOŽAJEM ČLANSTVA DRUGE GENERACIJE V  
GLASILIH KRANJSKO SLOVENSKE KATOLIŠKE  
JEDNOTE***M a j d a K o d r i č*

*Povezujoč vlogo izseljenskega časopisja znotraj slovenske etnične skupnosti v ZDA s specifično problematiko njene druge generacije, se prispevek osredotoča na soočanje s tem vprašanjem v tisku ene izmed dveh vodilnih slovenskih podpornih organizacij v ZDA, Kranjsko Slovenske Katoliške Jednote (dalje KSKJ). Hkrati so vzpostavljene primerjave s pristopom do tega vprašanja znotraj ideološko različne usmerjene Slovenske Narodne Podporne Jednote (dalje SNPJ). Ugotavljanje sličnosti in razlik med stališči teh dveh sorodnih organizacij namreč pripomore k temeljitejši razčlenitvi problematike in njenega odnosa do nje. Posebej glede KSKJ pa so upoštevane tudi razlike in hkrati medsebojno dopolnjevanje med stališči vodstva in tistimi deli članstva organizacije, kot se odražajo v dopisih glasilu iz posameznih naselbin.*

*Prikazani so prvi temeljni koraki KSKJ v soočanju z vprašanjem druge generacije. Poleg mesečnika za otroke Angelček (Little Angel) je na straneh Glasila K. S. K. Jednote spremljan razvoj mladinskega oddelka organizacije. Podobni pobudi je prevzela SNPJ, obe organizaciji pa sta si s tem ob ohranjanju etnične zavesti med mladino prizadevali utrditi osnove za svojo prihodnost. Z etnično vzgojo, se je v obeh primerih povezovanja ideološka. V duhu katoliških nazorov KSKJ oziroma socialističnih in svobodomiselnih SNPJ. Obenem je ideološka usmerjenost pogojevala odnos obeh organizacij do problema šolske vzgoje, ključnega za drugo generacijo, za katerega je zlasti Glasilo K. S. K. Jednote pokazalo znatno zanimanje. KSKJ je zagovarjala etnične župnijske šole, SNPJ pa jim je nasprotovala in bila naklonjena javnemu šolanju ob dodatnih etničnih tečajih. Vsekakor je bilo v obeh primerih izobraževanje nujno povezano z akulturacijo. Tudi v okviru lastnih dejavnosti sta se obe organizaciji prilagajali uveljavljanju angleščine med mladino ter sprejemali in celo podpirali njeno gledovanje po vzorcih ameriškega družabnega življenja.*