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The Rise and Fall of Slovenian Lodges:
The Case of Chicago

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Abstract

Prosperity during the early 20th century in the United States of America enticed millions of European immigrants to leave their native lands for its shores. Arriving as sojourners and settlers, these new immigrants of various social classes and nationalities found commonality in their belief that America could change their lives for the better. Due to the chaotic nature of immigration, these new immigrant groups found solace and support among members of their own ethnicity. As a consequence, ethnic communities emerged throughout America's cities and countryside. These communities functioned and survived by providing cultural familiarity in a new land, as well as, economic and social services to immigrants in return for their member support. For most, the prevalence of these communities determined their initial migration within the United States. As these communities grew so too did their services and with it the emergence of cultural organizations. This paper's focus is on the Slovenian immigrant community residing in the Chicago area and the development of their cultural organizations. By comparing these organizations it will highlight the complex nature of cultural integration on a specific ethnic minority community and the effects they have on a group's cultural identity and mentality. In this period, with the influx of Eastern and Southern Europeans to America, a strong anti-immigration movement appeared to prevent the growth and influence of Eastern and Southern Europeans ethnic communities. Ultimately, the effectiveness of these attitudes appeared to hasten the process of Americanization within the community, where cultural values, traditions, and principles were replaced by that of mainstream America's.

Author's Note

Undertaking a research paper about a particular immigrant ethnic community, like that of the Slovenes in Chicago, holds many exceptional challenges. For one, most of the early primary documentation is either in Slovenian (which I cannot read), is in private family collections, or has been lost. Fortunately, the University of Chicago produced and compiled English translations to several prominent Slovenian newspaper publications in Chicago ranging from 1906-1935. Among these publications the most abundant were from the *Amerikanski Slovenec* and *Proletarec* magazines. Accordingly, this collection has been the main source for my paper. Through in-depth examinations and analyses of both European immigration to the Midwest and particularly the histories of the three dominant Slovenian organizations, I was able to produce a description of the settlement and development of the Slovenian community in Chicago. As well as indicating the cultural challenges, changes, and continuities of its residents, which directly affected their internal perceptions of America.

As a third generation Slovenian-American, I have a rich background in my own family oral history and accordingly the way my family views our ethnic identity. In my attempts to uncover the story of Slovenian immigration, I understand that my own personal ties to the Slovene community could affect my historical research and analysis. I have considered this to be the only major flaw to the credibility of my research and have intentionally avoided it in all ways and forms. By examining the Slovenian ethnic community in the Chicago area, I hope to shed new light on the complexities of immigration and contribute to the historical narrative of the development of Chicago and its surrounding area.

Consequences of the Second Industrial Revolution

“Our beautiful America was built by a nation of strangers. From a hundred different places or more they have poured forth into an empty land, joining and blending in one mighty and irresistible tide. The land flourished because it was fed from so many sources—because it was nourished by so many cultures and traditions and peoples.”

-President Lyndon B. Johnson

Sir Henry Bessemer’s discovery of a cheap industrial process for the mass-production of steel in 1856 set the stage for the Second Industrial Revolution and with it a new wave of unskilled laborers to the United States. Ranging from the latter half of the 19th century to WWI, the aggregation of technological progressions lead to the mass production of goods and with it the emergence of a dominate American culture. This period, characterized by the widespread development of railroads, large scale iron and steel productions, integration of machinery in the manufacturing process, and the proliferation of energy resources like that of steam, electricity, and oil. These technological advances hastened American settlement in its western frontier and became essential for its progression as a dominate international power. The economic stimulus, however, brought on new challenges that would test the young Republic’s ability to persevere in the face of adversity. Growing division between America’s agrarian South and industrialized North thrust the nation into a state of social upheaval. Pro-industrial political policies caused dissension within Southern political ranks leading for the South to secede from the Union in 1861. The American Civil War, lasting from 1861-1865, had detrimental consequences in regards to the nation’s future. Throughout the war, internal economic, political, and social stagnation plummeted the nation into a state of disarray.

The North's victory over the South became pivotal in galvanizing Americans into a coherent people under the rule of one nation. The war's aftermath segued the nation into a period of reconstruction. The accumulation of infrastructural damages in the American South, produced economic growth for both the industrialized North and the newly claimed West. The resurgence of American expansionism towards its Western territories led the process of mass industrialization to take form in its major cities. Appropriately, these new technologies increased America's demand for unskilled labor provoking the mass migration of millions of Europeans to settle in the United States. Poverty, unemployment, famine, and overpopulation, especially in Eastern and Southern Europe propelled young immigrants to find a better life in the United States of America.¹ Revered for its economic opportunities, as well as, its religious and political freedoms, the country was regarded as the land of opportunity for these young sojourners and settlers. Eventually these new immigrants would fuel America's textile mills, steel plants, and mines which speckled its diverse landscape and with it bringing their own cultural attitudes and traditions.

The arrival of new immigrant groups primarily hailing from Eastern and Southern Europe would dramatically alter the cultural landscape of the United States.² Their conflicting religious, linguistic, and cultural views affected their ability to fully assimilate into American society. In order to shield themselves from the stresses produced from immigration and the rigors of American life they created ethnic communities and enclaves as a system of social and economic

¹John Bodnar, "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (Autumn 1976), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3786420.html> (accessed January 3, 2015).

²In comprehensive immigration studies, Slovenes are most often categorized as Slavic peoples, along with Russians, Croatians, Ukrainians, Polish, Serbians, Slovakians, and Bulgarians. This diverse group made up about one fourth of the "new immigration."

support. Once established, members of these ethnic communities urged relatives and friends to join them in the United States.³

³ Bodnar 1976, under ("Slavic Peasants in Industrial America.")

Background and History of the Slovenes

“America was indebted to immigration for her settlement and prosperity. That part of America which had encouraged them most had advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture and the arts.”

-James Madison

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European Settlement of Illinois

It would be impossible to portray an accurate picture of the Slovenians who settled in the Chicago area without situating their account to the larger story of Illinois history and immigration.⁴ The first Europeans to explore the region of Illinois were French missionary Jacques Marquette and famed French explorer Louis Jolliet in 1673. Their accounts of the land and its vast wilderness would lead the French Empire to construct Fort St. Louis in 1682. Throughout the next 80 years the French Empire would build numerous religious, civil, commercial, and militaristic works solidifying their colonial claim to the region. French settlements developed around the lucrative fur trade and most of their settlers were fur trappers and traders. The French and Indian War (1755-1763) brought an end to French rule and with it all of their colonial possessions east of the Mississippi River were acquired by the British Empire. However, Great Britain's presence in the region was short lived. Their defeat following the American Revolution in 1783 led the region to be controlled by the newly established American Republic.

⁴ Slovene and Slovenian are correctly used both as nouns and adjectives and will be used interchangeably throughout this paper.

In 1779 under U.S. rule, Jean Baptiste Pont du Sable built the first permanent settlement in the region that would become Chicago. The Illinois Territory was created by an act of Congress on February 3, 1809 and included portions of the present states of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota.⁵ That same year, Ninian Edwards became the first Governor of the Illinois Territory ruling over a population of 12,262.⁶ Illinois was granted statehood in 1818 which provided for the organization of a state government, official borders, and the establishment of a permanent school fund. By 1820 the state boasted a population of 55,211, more than four times larger than 10 years prior.⁷ Municipalities, both large and small, were founded by these settlers, and with hard work, the wilderness was turned into productive farmland. Much of the Midwest has rich agricultural land that offered a majority of these settlers the opportunity to own land and become farmers. During this time, many Midwest residents continued the ethnic traditions learned from their foreign born parents. By the end of the nineteenth century, immigration slowed and the ethnicity of the new settlers changed from Western Europeans to that of Eastern and Southern.

Historical and Cultural Background of Slovenes

Slovenia borders Italy to the west, the Alps and Austria to the north, Hungary to the east and Croatia and the Adriatic Sea to the south. Due to its location in south central Europe, and its small size, the Slovenia region was a land route to Turkey. It was regularly controlled and influenced by the major empires of the time. Celtic tribes established the first state in this area in the 3rd century BC. This was followed by the Romans who developed cities and roads in the

⁵ Office of the Secretary of State, "Chronology of Illinois History," Secretary of State, www.cyberdriveillinois.com/publications/illinois_bluebook/chronology.pdf (accessed May 10, 2015).

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

2nd century BC. In the 6th century Slavs migrated from the Carpathian mountains and settled the region, establishing an independent state in the 7th century. This state did not last long as the Franks soon became lords of the territory.

Significant to the cultural development of Slovenes, was the conversion to Christianity, in the 9th century, when present day Slovenia was a part of the Frankish Empire. In the 10th century, the Freising Manuscripts were the first documented writing in Slovene.⁸ Beginning in the 11th century, monasteries became important centers of religious life. Several towns were also established during this time where artisans worked and trade occurred. The Hapsburg's grew in power in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Turks invaded in the 15th and 16th centuries bringing new taxes and serfdom. The population formed armed camps and had several peasant uprisings that continued until the 18th century. In 1550, the Bible was translated into Slovene which provided entrée in cultural circles with other European nations. Under the 18th century Hapsburg rule, general schooling and teaching in Slovene was established.⁹ This law served to promote the Slovenian language, education, national consciousness and pride. The two major cultural components that early Slovenian immigrants shared and bonded over, were their language and Catholicism.¹⁰

⁸ SPIRIT Slovenia, "History of Slovenia-Slovenia-Official Travel Guide-," Slovenian Tourist Board, http://www.slovenia.info/en/zgodovina-slovenije.htm?zgodovina_slovenije=0&lng=2.html [accessed May 17, 2015].

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Slovenia was a part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire until 1918, when it fell under the rule of a monarchy, and then communist (after 1945) Yugoslavia. It declared its independence in 1991.

Industrial Chicago and its Immigrant Communities

*“... gigantic, wilful, young,
Chicago sitteth at the northwest gates,
With restless violent hands and casual tongue
Moulding her mighty fates...”*

-William Vaughn Moody

Prior to 1871, Chicago had become the unquestioned powerhouse of western commerce through its trade in grains, lumber, and meatpacking.¹¹ The city’s strategic position, as a terminal point on Lake Michigan, played a pivotal role in the transportation of raw materials from the interior to the coasts. The extensive development of Chicago’s railroad infrastructure certified it’s growth far into the 20th century and brought the city to an unrivaled position. In 1871 the city further proved it’s dominance, when the devastation of the Great Chicago Fire did not cause it to crumble, but instead rebound and resurge. The fecund years of the late 19th century accelerated the development of manufacturing industries in the Chicago area and by 1890 it was the second largest manufacturing point in the country.¹² Within this 20 year span, Chicago’s population increased by a phenomenal 268 percent, a direct result of mass European migration. The alarming rise of population produced rapid urbanization within the city allowing it to attain over one million citizens and claim the rank of America’s second largest city.¹³

¹¹ Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago: Volume III The Rise of A Modern City* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 64.

¹² *Ibid*, 64.

¹³ *Ibid*, 20.

Although native born residents generally held positions of influence and esteem, the increase of first generation European-American residents augmented the economic and social structure of Chicago. Lead by the allure of economic and political advancement, the majority of these prominent immigrants derived from the well established German and Irish ethnic communities whose presence within the city occurred during the 1850's. However, by the 1880's large numbers of Scandinavians, Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs¹⁴, and Italians contributed to the city's ever changing demographic. By 1890 a staggering 77.9 percent of Chicagoans claimed foreign born parents.¹⁵ Due to the chaotic nature of immigration, new immigrant groups found solace and support among members of their own ethnicity leading to the rise of ethnic communities in and around the Chicago area. These ethnic communities functioned and survived by providing economic and social services to new immigrants in return for their member support.

Accordingly, the city's shift from a relatively homogeneous society to one consisting of a diverse range of ethnic peoples did not go unnoticed, especially among its native born residents. Unlike their German and Irish counterparts, who upheld the same western progressive and materialistic cultural values of America, new immigrants found themselves facing issues brought on by ethnic segregation. Their traditional agrarian culture and values clashed with that of industrialized America's whose progressive nature fostered a division between members of the new and old world.¹⁶ The increasing rate of uneducated peasant workers among these newly established ethnic communities further promoted the negative stigmas associated with their presence. Consequently, it was America's hostility towards these ethnic peoples and their

¹⁴ The term Yugoslav literally translates to "south slav" and has been used to describe the south slavic peoples since the late 18th century.

¹⁵ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 22.

¹⁶ Bodnar 1976, under ("Slavic Peasants in Industrial America")

communities that promoted them to grow. Tendency of immigrants to clump together was encouraged further by the rejection of the native born. Ultimately, their existence within America retarded the process of Americanization because they providing essential services that were denied to its members in American society.

By the 1890's almost every ethnic group residing in the Chicago area formed a type of voluntary organization that acted as an outlet from the rigors of American life. The most prevalent among these organizations were fraternal benefit societies. These non-profit membership organizations incorporated a representative form of government and were "organized through a lodge system to carry out social, intellectual, educational, charitable, benevolent, moral, fraternal, patriotic or religious services."¹⁷ Nonetheless, the most important feature that fraternal's provided was in their insurance and financial protection plans. The high numbers of immigrants working in the dangerous fields of industrial labor only accelerated the demand for fraternal societies in the Chicago area. These communities continued to flourish well into the 20th century and with it their influence over the ethnic group. Their predominance in Chicago can be linked to the city's failure to appropriately adapt their public services towards improving the lives of its immigrant population. This became especially apparent during the city's turbulent years of mass urbanization where infrastructural needs were drastically under represented. Although ethnic fraternal societies were originally created to help members of the local ethnic community prosper, their rising authority within them transformed their intended function as a cultural outlet. Eventually these organizations assumed the role as the community's political and religious representatives.

¹⁷ Wikipedia, s.v. "Fraternal Benefit Societies," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fraternal_benefit_society (accessed April 1, 2015).

The Rise of Chicago's Ethnic Newspapers

“If you don't read the newspaper, you're uninformed. If you read the newspaper, you're mis-informed.”

-Mark Twain

Fraternal organizations were promoted through the publication of ethnic newspapers funded by members of the local community. Suitably, the more affluent the ethnic community was, the more resources were allocated to the organization's well-being. The oldest and most prestigious ethnic group residing in the Chicago area was German. Following the Revolutions of 1848 in the German States, Germans were forced out of their country on religious and political grounds rather than economical ones. This made them unlike other immigrant groups who arrived during the latter half of the 19th century in the fact that they arrived as political refugees.¹⁸ German migrants appeared in positions associated with middle class status like skilled tradesmen (e.g. brewers, carpenters) and educated thinkers (e.g. journalists, and politicians.), they devoted their time discussing German literature, philosophy, and science.¹⁹ This high percentage of educated western thinking immigrants allowed for a myriad of social advantages and is most represented by the conception of *The Chicago Turn Gemeinde* newspaper. Published in 1853, it was the first ethnic newspaper in the Chicago area.²⁰ In 1854,

¹⁸ Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976, 45.

¹⁹ Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*. 46.

²⁰ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 23.

only one year later, *Die Deutsche Gesellschaft* was created, preceded by the *Germania Mannerchor* in 1869. Between these years, The Order of Harugari, a fraternal society, was founded in 1863, formed on the principles of preserving the German culture and spreading the German language.²¹ Appropriately, amateur artists soon performed plays about Germans in German, holding parades that highlighted their contributions to American society and the retention of their heritage. Numerous societies appeared like that of The German Mutual Benefit Society and the German Society for the Protection of Immigrants and the Friendless, both “designed to shield unsuspecting newcomers from Chicago sharpers...” in subsequent years.²² Festivals and commemorative exercises followed the nationalistic patterns set by the early German migrants well into the 20th century. Arguably, it was the German community in Chicago that set the nationalistic standard for future immigrant groups arriving in droves by the 1890’s. Their conception and design were specifically catered to the glorification and preservation of the culture they left behind.

Although there was a mass proliferation of ethnic organizations and newspapers in the Chicago area, their influence and conception varied due to influence that their respected ethnic group held.

Unlike the Germans who held considerable influence in the Chicago area, ethnic groups arriving during the 1870-1890’s urged for the education of the English language over their own.²³ These immigrants understood that their relatively small ethnic size impaired their ability to resist the Americanization process, so instead they adapted to it. This understanding did not imply that their affection for their homeland was less than that of the Germans, “for the

²¹ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 23.

²² Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 23.

²³ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 29.

preservation of native traditions was openly and assiduously encouraged.”²⁴ Accordingly, each group had its own publications and organizations that were designed to keep their national traditions and identity alive. Swedish-Americans published the *Svenska Tribunen*, *Hemlandet*, and *Svenska Amerikanaren* newspapers. Norwegian-Americans the *Skandinaven*, and Danish-Americans *Norden* and *Hejmdal*, each group favoring both secular and religious themes as well as providing a link to their homeland.²⁵

Newly established Slavic immigrants followed a path similar to that of the Scandinavians, which promoted aspects that were culturally shared by creating specialized events and services through ethnic collaboration. Nonetheless, each group produced independent newspapers and organizations specific to their native regions and peoples. By 1892, the relatively small Czech community had three newspaper publications in circulation; *Svornost*, *Chicagske Listy*, and *Denni Hlastel*.²⁶ The Polish community, the largest of the Slavic peoples in Chicago, distributed *The Gazeta Polska* which started as a weekly paper in 1873.²⁷ During the seventies, a nationalistic fervor swept the Polish community culminating to the publication of several newspapers and magazines religious in tone which highlighted the needs and aspirations of the community. “*Dziennik Chicagoski*, issued first in 1890, a daily, and *Wira i Ojczyzna*, founded in 1887, a weekly, served a considerable public, although the number of illiterates among the newcomers even as late as 1892 was high.”²⁸

Even though ethnic groups were formed under the same circumstances and shared in a common plight, cultural tensions continued to ensue between the new and old immigrant groups.

²⁴ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 29.

²⁵ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 29.

²⁶ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 38.

²⁷ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 37.

²⁸ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 37.

In spite of sharing the same faith, Catholicism, Polish immigrants were unfriendly to their Irish counterparts, due to their reliance on Irish priests. The attempt to remedy this situation by establishing their own seminaries failed however in their efforts to isolate the Irish members of the same faith on the grounds of ethnic nationality.²⁹ The insistence of the papacy that all Catholics in America be one people operated in favor of the eventual process of Americanization.³⁰

In the case of the Yugoslavians division between the various ethnic groups occurred almost simultaneously following their migration to the United States. Without the presence of the Austrian Hungarian Empire to unify them, interethnic cooperation between the Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs stagnated. Negative sentiments brought on by each groups unique historical and religious backgrounds proliferated in Chicago's fierce nationalistic environment. Members of the older and more westernized Slovenian and Croatian cultures, who shared the same Roman Catholicism faith, found it difficult to remain on good relations with their Eastern Orthodox Serbian counterparts.³¹ In addition to their religious differences, linguistic division among the groups only amplified their discontent. Although the Serbian and Croatian languages are nearly identical, differing primarily in their alphabet systems, the older and more developed Croatian ethnic group looked down on members of the Serbian community. These negative feelings were enough to fragment the Yugoslav ethnic group consequently diminishing their size and overall strength as an ethnic people.

²⁹ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 37.

³⁰ Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 38.

³¹ Roucek, *The Yugoslav Immigrants in America*, 603.

Slovenian Development in the Chicago Area

“Kdor ne dela, je brez jela.”

“He that shall not work, shall not eat.”

-Slovenian Proverb

Beginning in 1873, Slovenian migrants settled in the city of Joliet, Illinois, located 40 miles South-West of Chicago. They arrived as common laborers and workers, and shared the belief that through hard work and perseverance they could accomplish the American Dream.³² Fueled by desire and enthralled by the wonders that could be, they soon developed into the largest ethnic group in the Joliet community. Within two decades, these ambitious laborers turned the city into the most prominent Slovene community in the state. Renewed prosperity and growth occurred by the turn of the century and with it, an overwhelming amount of Slovene influence in the area. Unbeknownst to these initial Slovenian pioneers their decision to settle in Illinois would be the catalyst for further Slovenian migration to the Midwest region. Playing a pivotal role in the progression of their development as an ethnic community. By the 1890's, the city of Joliet set the stage for the mass migration of Slovenian immigrants to Chicago and its surrounding area.

³² Roucek, *The Yugoslav Immigrants in America*, 603.

Like most new immigrants, the majority of these arrivals found employment in the dangerous fields of heavy industry, located either in or around the Chicago area.³³ Unfortunately for these Slovenian migrants, whose backgrounds were in agriculture, industrial work proved perilous due to their inexperience in the field. Not only did the hazardous environment of industrial life tax these immigrant workers, but many faced discrimination in and out of the workplace due to their immigrant status.³⁴ American insurance companies neglected to provide their services to newly established immigrants leading for detrimental consequences among new immigrant groups.

Well into the 1890's, Slovenian industrial workers had an overwhelming need for economic protection that only insurance companies could provide. Thus, the fundamental services that were being denied to immigrants by insurance companies eventually culminated into the creation of the first Slovenian benevolent organization in the state of Illinois. The well-established Slovenian community residing in Joliet answered the call and in 1894 they founded the *Kranjsko Slovenska Katoliska Jednota*, ("Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union").³⁵ The organization's "Carniolan" name derives from the state of Carniola, which was founded under the Holy Roman Empire and subsequently inherited by the Slovenians living in the region.³⁶ Geographically the region is located in present day Slovenia, but during the year of 1894, it was under the control of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, hence the name.³⁷ Slovenian culture heavily incorporated benevolent fraternal organizations within their region of Carniola, so the

³³ Roucek, *The Yugoslav Immigrants in America*, 603.

³⁴ KSKJ Life! American Slovenian Catholic Union, "KSKJ Life History," www.ksklife.net/index.php/general-info/kskj-history (accessed February 5, 2015).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Carniolan was the name given to Slovenians, but not by choice.

³⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Carniola," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/96351/Carniola> (accessed April, 6, 2015).

establishment of an organization that combined the functions of insurance and provided unemployment and disability assistance for workers came naturally to these Slovenian-Americans.³⁸

Similar to the numerous ethnic fraternal organizations of the time, KSKJ was “created to protect the families of Slovenian immigrants who predominately worked in the dangerous steel mills” by offering life insurance, as well as sick and disability benefits.³⁹ Its services were not limited to the city of Joliet, catering to the needs of all Catholic Slovenes in the Chicago area who were in desperate need for economic and social support. The Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union was not the first Slovene organization in America, but it was the first in the state of Illinois. The same year that the fraternal society was conceived it bought the first Slovenian newspaper titled the *Amerikanski Slovenec* (The American Slovene).⁴⁰ This purchase would become their calling card for decades to come.

³⁸ Roucek, *The Yugoslav Immigrants in America*, 607.

³⁹ KSKJ Life!, website.

⁴⁰ Both the *Amerikanski Slovenec* and *Proletarec* newspapers were translated by the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey under the Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project of the Works of Progress Administration of Illinois. The purpose of the project was to translate and classify news articles that appeared in the foreign language press from 1855-1938. The proper citation for this is listed in the annotated bibliography section of this paper.

The Amerikanski Slovenec and its Competition

“He who is without a newspaper is cut off from his species.”

-P. T. Barnum

In the 35th Anniversary edition of *Amerikanski Slovenec* it states that the paper’s conception “was the strong cement that united our divided opinion, our ideal of native unity.”⁴¹ The paper’s main goal was to encourage the Slovenian people that in America, there was hope for all “to become solid in our ideas, economically powerful and highly organized and respected nationality.”⁴² Established September 3, 1891, by Anton Murnik, the first issue was printed on Racine Avenue in Chicago and during its first six months it produced meager volumes consisting of two page articles. Although the paper’s intentions were for the betterment of the Slovenian people through the creation of a united goal, lack of funding lead to their eviction. This forced the newspaper’s printing shop to move to the North Side of Chicago where it was yet again riddled with financial problems. Unable to afford itself through subscription orders, the *Amerikanski Slovenec* eventually brokered a deal with Father Buh, an ex-priest and Slovene from Tower, Minnesota who paid \$600 for full ownership.

⁴¹ “35th Anniversary of the First Slovenian Newspaper in America,” *The Amerikanski Slovenec*, Vol. XXXV, No. 17, January 27, 1925.

⁴² Ibid.

Under Father Buh's management, the paper prospered; however, it was not from subscribers, but philanthropic efforts by members of the Slovene community. Eventually, the paper relocated to Tower, Minnesota, where Father Buh held a position as pastor in St. Martin's Church. Tower, located north of Minnesota's Iron Range prospered due to its proximity to the Sudan Mine, where Slovenian laborers held positions as miners. The newspaper soon distributed to a subscription base of 600 members and of these 200 were delivered at no cost to the subscriber. Notably, the newspaper's Slovenian writers were from small towns and lacked the editorial skills of their city counterparts. Thus, articles published from Tower consisted of poor translation quality and limited relevance to Slovenes outside of rural Minnesota. Frequent complaints among subscribers coupled with financial difficulties forced Father Buh to sell the newspaper and it returned back to the state of Illinois. The new owner, Tiskovna Druzba, hailed from Joliet, Illinois and put the publication on a paying basis. However, shortly after this transaction its existence was threatened yet again by the transfer of its chief stockholder, a Reverend Susterrich, who was of German descent. A turn of events lead Reverend Susterrich to leave the United States and with it the newspaper reverted back to the hands of Triskovna Druzba Edinost. In 1894, the same year that the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union was established, it claimed full ownership of the newspaper.

For a decade the *Amerikanski Slovenec* was unhindered by rival newspaper competitors and continued to prosper under the support of the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union. However, its religious leanings and close ties to the Catholic Church, forced many Slovenes in the Chicago area to question the validity of the organization. And in 1904, a delegation of 9 independent Slovene fraternal organizations merged together to form the *Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota* (Slovene National Benefit Society) headquartered in Chicago. Founded on the

principles of “free-thought” instead of religious zeal, the society resembled more of the Czech and Bohemian societies in Chicago than any Yugoslav.⁴³ Offering life insurance as well as sick and disability benefits similar to the services of the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union, the Slovene National Benefit Society created a unique centralized sick benefit and death claim system which was a leading factor in its rapid development. The organization’s prosperity can be linked to several factors; its location in the heart of Chicago, their more advanced insurance services, and their lack of religious discrimination. The Slovene National Benefit Society knew that in order to compete with the well-established Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union it would need to publish its own newspaper, thus the *Prosveta* newspaper was formed. Similar in design to that of the *Amerikanski Slovenec*, *Prosveta* promoted a unified voice for its fraternal organization. These acts prompted the Slovene National Benefit Society to become the main competitor of the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union.

⁴³ Slovene National Benefit Society, “History of SNPJ,” Slovenska Narodna Podprona Jednota, <http://www.snpj.org/about-us/history-of-snpj>. (accessed February 19, 2015).

The Worker's Voice

“Molk je znak priznanja”

“Silence gives consent.”

-Slovenian Proverb

America's increasing industrial configuration nearing the 20th century inevitably intensified the young nation's need for cheap immigrant labor. As a result, an unprecedented population boom occurred within its major industrial cities. The alarming rise of immigration to Chicago, not only strained the city's underdeveloped infrastructural systems, but accentuated its inadequacies. The most problematic issue stemmed from the city's inability to properly house its overwhelmingly large and ever growing immigrant demographic. The lack of safety and health regulations worsened the situation and many members of its poor industrial working class found themselves residing in overcrowded apartments that lacked proper living standards. Underrepresented and limited in voice, these shortcomings lead many of its industrial workers to hold begrudging attitudes towards the American capitalistic system which explicitly favored the

rich. Frequently targeted by American big business and limited in their protection from the government, numerous immigrant groups directed their angst towards the system itself. Strikes were common place for workers in the field of heavy industry and the formation of Unions only worsened worker employer relations. Slovenian workers in the Chicago area were not exempt from the atrocities that big business produced, primarily due to their sheer reliance on them for economic sustenance. Unhappy with the ideals that the various fraternal organizations in their community represented and too small to form their own benevolent society, these Slovenian laborers found approval and encouragement among their Yugoslavian counterparts. Despite their inauspicious beginnings, Southern Slavic workers shed their negative predispositions to create a united front for a better future.

As early as the 1900's, Yugoslav workers established a myriad of organizations that were socialist leaning and represented issues regarding education, socioeconomic class, and philosophy all revolving around the plight of the South Slavic immigrant.⁴⁴ Most notable among these organizations were the Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota, the South Slavic Cooperative Movement, and the Yugoslav Republican Alliance. Although representing different ideological views, these organizations found common ground due to their opposition towards industrial capitalism, beliefs that organized religion had negative impacts economically and politically, and the importance that ethnic awareness had on inter-ethnic cooperation between migrant workers.⁴⁵

By 1905, cooperation among these organizations lead to the creation of a solidified party suitably named the Yugoslav Socialist Federation, headquartered in Chicago. This newly developed Federation became the primary political organization among South Slav socialist

⁴⁴ The Yugoslav Socialist Federation (Jugoslovanska Socialisticna Zveza) Records, SSL Collection, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, <http://ihrc.umn.edu/research/vitrage/all/y/ihrc1149.html> (accessed February 25, 2015).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

groups, dedicating its efforts in advancing socialist principles and enriching the cultural life of its members. By 1906, the Federation published two newspapers for its multi-ethnic members, the *Proletarec* for its Slovenian compatriots and the *Radnicka Straza* for its Serbo-Croatian ones.⁴⁶

The Federation's conception holds considerable significance in regards to how both the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union and the Slovene National Benefit Society developed. Their emergence represents an era of hybridization among ethnic organizations, not only in their composition, which was of a multi-ethnic membership group (Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian), but in their open support of a national political agenda.⁴⁷ For the first time Slovenian ethnic fraternal societies residing in the Chicago area were competing with that of a multi-ethnic organization.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Proletarec Conception

“The party that leans upon workers but serves the bourgeoisie, in the period of the greatest sharpening of the class struggle, cannot but sense the smells wafted from the waiting grave.”

-Leon Trotsky

The first issue of the *Proletarec* newspaper was published on January 6, 1906, it was an editorial piece that lauded its subscribers for their diligence in forming a unified voice for working class Slovenes. The issue openly expressed the views of the Federation and stated the *Proletarec*'s primary purpose was to educate its members about current affairs. “We hope that workers will understand that this publication is the only powerful and sincere means of gaining knowledge of our social, economic, and religious statue, as well as to learn the whole truth that the capitalists are the most dangerous enemies of the working class.”⁴⁸ Subscription dues started at 50 cents a year and promised to offer a rich selection of reading material, consisting of

⁴⁸ “Editors Notice,” *The Proletarec*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 1906.

excerpts from “American newspapers, magazine, etc; humorous stories; economic and social references; and the strict policy of defending working class interests. As well as discussing international and local events [sic].”⁴⁹

The most crucial years in regards to the *Proletarec*'s future came directly after its genesis. Marketing itself as a paper that would tackle unpopular issues, it did so with its outspoken and blatant attacks on members of the local community. However, the Federation's attacks were carefully selected and never confronted the powerful KSKJ and SNPJ organizations. This ploy enabled them to strengthen their claims regarding their intent to defend and represent the views of the working man. Their hardcore stances towards controversial issues seemed to instill a crucial aspect of camaraderie for its fledging association. However, the Federation knew that their very survival depended on the growth of its membership rather than just its maintenance. As a small fraternal organization it was unable to compete with the services offered by both the KSKJ and SNPJ organizations, to overcome this factor it promoted the events of other smaller socialist associations located around the Chicago area. In turn, these small organizations reciprocated their services by promoting Federation held events. Whether intentional or not, the Federation's unorthodox method of inter-communal cooperation benefitted their societies growth by functioning as an intricate network of public relations among small organizations.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

America's Changing Political Configuration

“It is only through labor and painful effort, by grim energy and resolute courage, that we move on to better things.”

-Theodore Roosevelt

Steady economic growth following the recession of 1893 led to the expansion of America's manufacturing, construction, and industrial sectors; fields dominated by its immigrant class. Between 1900 and 1910, nearly 9 million immigrants entered the United States, the largest number for any single decade in the nation's history before or since.⁵⁰ This population explosion cannot be directly attributed to America's burgeoning economic status, but to the change of its political and social atmosphere induced from the inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt in 1901. Unlike his predecessor, who feared the economic and social repercussions that strict government

⁵⁰Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* / Alan M. Kraut, 2nd ed. American History Series (Arlington Heights, Ill.), Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2001. pg.

regulation would have on American monopolies, Roosevelt's utter disdain towards their unethical business practices motivated him to act. Influenced by the ideals of progressivism, he implemented a series of domestic reforms that sought to dismantle the inequitable power held by America's rising plutocratic class in favor of a strong middle class. His decision to grant labor unions legal representation proved vital in the progression of workers' rights and enabled unions to properly negotiate with big business. His actions allowed for a political environment to emerge that favored members of the working immigrant class.

Unfortunately, dethroning the might of big business through political transactions alone was not enough for a strong American middle class to transpire. Roosevelt realized that in order for his vision to fully materialize fundamental changes needed to take place within American society. Believing that the various problems the nation faced (violence, poverty, class warfare, and greed) were byproducts of unregulated capitalism, he urged all levels of government to intervene through the implementation of social service programs. On the Federal level, Roosevelt promoted programs that aimed to provide citizens with proper education, adequate living conditions, and safe work environments. Primarily located in America's major cities, these social service programs sought to counter the problems that rapid industrialization and overpopulation produced. His efforts, however, were too ambitious for the time and troubles appeared instantly for these government programs.

Conceptualized during the progressive movement these services were developed around theories and principles that did not fully comprehend the complex social environments present in urban America. As a result they resided in areas that directly competed with the services provided by the preexisting philanthropic, religious, and ethnic organizations. Their very presence within a city not only threatened the livelihood of these organizations, but strained a

city's fragile social ecosystem. Riddled with problems associated with lack of funding and miscommunication between the different government levels they became notorious among members of the working and immigrant class for their inefficiencies.⁵¹ Mistrust soon manifested amongst members of the immigrant class who favored the services provided to them by their ethnic communities. Consequently the government's inability to comprehend the social repercussions brought on by their programs would plague them for generations. Not only were they overambitious in their attempts to reverse urban problems, but their services were vastly inferior to the other organizations in the community. This proved to immigrants that there was a need for their ethnic community. In turn immigrants held a new appreciation for their communities resulting in the increase of economic and social contributions from members which strengthened their presence within American society.

⁵¹ Elizabeth A. Hughes, "The History and Development of the Chicago Social Service Exchange up to 1921," *Social Service Review* Vol. 3, no.1 (March, 1929), http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uwec.edu/stable/30009288?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed February 6, 2015), 59-61.

The Growth and Decline of Lodge Systems

“Everything that has a beginning comes to an end.”

-Quintilian

Aided by America’s rising economy and the persistent flow of Slovenian immigrants, the KSKJ, SNPJ, and Federation organizations soon found themselves competing over a finite Slovene population living in and around the Chicago area. This competition prompted the KSKJ and SNPJ benevolent societies to expand their services outside of the state of Illinois. Inevitably positioning themselves to become the two dominant representative powers of the Slovenian people in the Midwest. Their expansion allowed them to solidify the respective stances that each organization held regarding the future for Slovenians in the United States. These contrasting ideals of free-thought and catholic traditionalism prompted each organization to favor a different style of marketing in the accrument of future members.

Adamant about maintaining their control over the substantial Slovenian population residing in and around the Chicago area, the older and more prosperous KSKJ invested heavily into their lodge systems and the services they provided in the region. Platforming themselves around preserving the old way, they targeted new Slovenian immigrants who longed for social familiarity and support. Furthering their position as the superior benevolent society in Chicago, they funded events that glorified Slovenia’s unique catholic culture, language, and traditions. Investing in the construction of local Catholic schools and churches they tried to promote institutions that supported their cause. Understanding that they could not compete with the KSKJ society, at least in the Chicago area, the SNPJ radically shifted their tactic of member acquirement. Although maintaing their headquarters in Chicago, the society focused its efforts

on Slovenes residing outside of the Chicago area. Not only did the SNPJ change their target audience geographically, they placed greater emphasis towards the needs of second-generation Slovene-Americans rather than that of first generation. The SNPJ realized that their future prosperity could occur from their member's children, in turn they adapted their services to the needs of second generation Slovenians. The different tactics produced by the KSKJ and SNPJ would dramatically impact their future progression as fraternal benevolent societies.

By 1905, the SNPJ organization grew from its founding 500 members to 1,500 and with it the organization built an impressive 27 fraternal benevolent lodges located throughout the Midwest region.⁵² Continued expansion within the next two years resulted in a 4,300 member base and the development of 60 fraternal lodges. Although these numbers are meager compared to the older KSKJ society their astounding increase by percentage becomes key when comparing the organization's eventual dominance over the KSKJ. Their tactic of soliciting their services to areas outside of KSKJ's influence further stimulated their organizations growth.

By 1909 the KSKJ had grown from its 333 original members to over 10,000.⁵³ Causing for the organization to establish its first official headquarters in downtown Joliet. The KSKJ limited themselves due to their primary focus on providing their services to Slovenes located in the Chicago area rather than the Midwest. Lodges although prevalent in the Chicago area were not promoted as heavily outside the community like that of the SNPJ.

From 1905-1912, the Federation's tactic of diplomatic networking allowed it to grow from a relatively small South Slavic Socialist organization to the primary organization for South Slavs in the Chicago area. The Federation found its big break when it became affiliated with the

⁵² Alvin J. Schmidt, *Fraternal Organizations*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

⁵³ KSKJ Website.

Socialist Party of America in 1912.⁵⁴ National recognition induced their member growth and ultimately cemented their position as the dominant Yugoslavic Socialist party in Chicago. Consequently, this event increased their overall revenue prompting them to expand their services towards the community, a development tactic similar to both that of the KSKJ and SNPJ organizations during the time. Their initial investments were specifically directed around public works and publicized through lodge meetings and newspaper articles. However, the Federation still relied heavily on their external network of connections in order for these works to be completed. Justly, they advocated the strength of these relationships through the *Proletarec* newspaper. In the November 15, 1912 article, it highlighted that the Federations cooperation with the Slovenian Socialist Club No 1 allowed them to establish the first Slovenian Library of Chicago.⁵⁵ The library was free for any Slovenian American and offered a wide variety of works in both the Slovene and English languages. This tremendous event highlighted the organizations attempt to strengthen the political presence of Slovenians in Chicago by promoting the English language. The Federation believed that a significant amount of prejudice against Slavic immigrants was based on their inability to communicate through the English language.

⁵⁴ The Yugoslav Socialist Federation.

⁵⁵ "Slovenian Library in Chicago," *The Proletarec*, Vol. 7, No. 269, November 5, 1912.

WWI and its Impact on Chicago's Slovenian Organizations

“After WWI the resentment of the working class against all that it had to suffer was directed more against Morgan, Wall Street, and private capital than the government.”

- C. L. R. James

On June 28, 1914 the Western world was forever changed with the assassination of Austria Hungary's heir Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand. This action would be the catalyst for a series of political, societal, and militaristic events that would hurl Europe into a state of chaos for the next 4 years. As the Central Powers of the German, Austrian-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires went to war with the Allied Powers of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, the major dynasties of the industrialized world competed for their very survival. Although the war affected all of the Slovenian organizations residing in the Chicago area it did so in very different ways. The Federation's socialist stance and heavily idealistic approach to civil issues lead them to criticize the United States passive aggressive stance and limited involvement during the early years of the war. This sparked the organization to publish multiple articles in their *Proletarec* newspaper critiquing the failures of the U.S. government.⁵⁶

As the war pressed on, European immigration to the United States significantly slowed, detrimentally affecting the marketing tactics employed by the KSKJ organization. As the fraternal benefit society tried to recuperate from this devastating event, the SNPJ's tactic of targeting American born Slovenes allowed them to surpass their former competitors. By 1917, the SNPJ boasted a 16,700 membership population and an extensive network of 360 fraternal

⁵⁶ “Where is \$60,000,” *The Proletarec*, Vol. 10, No. 409, July 13, 1915.

lodges located all across the United States becoming the largest Slovenian fraternal society in the United States.⁵⁷

That same year, civil war erupted within the Russian Empire and caused the allied power to withdraw from the war entirely. Months of fighting within the nation resulted in the overthrow of Russia's czarist aristocracy by that of a communist regime. Accordingly, the ideals of socialism swept through the various socialist clubs residing in America. Disheartened by America's stance on the war and the nation's capitalistic philosophies, the Federation openly encouraged their members to attend the Yugoslav Socialist Club's No. 1 educational lecture titled "Socialism" through their *Proletarec* newspaper.⁵⁸ Unfortunately for the Federation, their hardcore stances towards U.S. involvement in the war effort and their pro-communistic approach to socialism caused them to lose their affiliation with the Socialist Party of America. Following their expulsion, most of the Federation's Serbian and Croatian members joined the Communist movement where its Slovenian members remained independent, but sympathetic to the Bolshevik Revolution.

The United States entered the war shortly after Russia's withdrawal allying themselves with Great Britain, France, and Italy. The war concluded November 11, 1918 with the Allied victory over the Central Powers. Their defeat caused the Ottoman and Austrian Hungarian Empires to collapse with major loss of their land and the creation of new nations. One new nation was the united Yugoslavic Republic which emerged from the ashes of defeat and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The aftermath of WWI saw a resurgence of Eastern, Central, and Southern to flee towards the United States. The sheer numbers of uneducated

⁵⁷ SNPJ website

⁵⁸ "Lecture on Socialism," *The Proletarec*, January 2, 1917.

immigrants from these areas caused the United States to employ restrictions through language proficiency tests.

The Federation's realization that the KSKJ was weakened from the war stimulated them to attack the institutions of religion through the *Proletarec*, a feat they could not have done 10 years earlier.⁵⁹ However, by 1919, the weakened KSKJ's was able to regain their footing with the increase of Slovenes to the Chicago area. America's status as an untouched industrial power brought on a period of economic stimulus through their rebuilding of war torn Europe segueing to a period known as the roaring 20's.

⁵⁹ "Picus Claduulism," *The Proletarec*, December 11, 1916.

The Roaring 20's and the Great Depression

“Kaj si zgraditi enostavno bo hitro padel”

“What you build easily will fall quickly”

-Slovenian Proverb

From 1919-1923 the United States experienced an explosion of Eastern European immigrants including Slovenes.⁶⁰ The heightened presence of the immigrants within American society became a major cause of concern for both the government and its citizens. As these migrants left for the established ethnic communities within the country they promoted their prevalence and influence. Aided by America's rapid economic growth, member investment towards communal growth permitted them to ward off the process Americanization. American fears towards the lack of assimilation in its growing immigrant class lead the United States government to enact the Immigrant Act of 1924. Specifically targeting migrants from Eastern Europe, the Act significantly limited the amount of immigrants arriving to the United States. The crippled KSKJ rebounded from its membership slump preceding the war until the Act's inauguration. The anti-immigration laws set forth by the United States interfered with the KSKJ's entire business philosophy bringing the once powerful society to its knees. These laws forced them to adapt similar policies of SNPJ. Their efforts were too little too late. By catering to the needs of second-generations Slovenians rather than newly arriving Slovenes they succumbed to the process of Americanization.

⁶⁰ Jessica Verschay, “A Trail of Carnations: The Slovenian Immigrant Community of Clark County, Wisconsin, 1905-1935,” (bachelor's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2004), 8.

In 1921, the SNPJ merged with the Slovene Workmen's Benefit Society.⁶¹ This merger gave the SNPJ over 36,000 members in 374 lodges. Influenced by the harsh social climate of anti-immigration the SNPJ founded their first English speaking lodge in 1925. Located in downtown Chicago the lodge was named Pioneer Lodge 559.⁶² In 1922, the Federation became re-affiliated with the Socialist Party and remained so until 1940. From 1940 until it ceased to exist in 1952, it functioned as an independent socialist and cultural organization, mostly comprised of Slovenians. The Great Depression crippled all the organizations which relied solely on member support for their economic status.

⁶¹ The Slovene Workmen's Benefit Society previously absorbed the St. Barbara Lodge and the Slovene Labor Benefit and Pension Union.

⁶² SNPJ website.

Conclusion to the Rise and Fall of Slovenian Lodges

“However great his outward conformity, the immigrant is not Americanized unless his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here. And we properly demand of the immigrant even more than this. He must be brought into complete harmony with our ideals and aspirations and cooperate with us for their attainment.”

-Louis D. Brandeis

Inequality and discrimination were prevalent for new immigrants, who arrived in droves during the 1890's aspiring to accomplish the American Dream. In order to survive the hardships of industrial life and receiving little to no government support, ethnic benevolent societies emerged to help members of local ethnic communities prosper. By the 1890's, established ethnic societies flourished in urban areas due to the high influx of migrant workers and with it their influence over the community and region grew. The emergence of multiple ethnic societies within the Slovenian ethnic group, by the turn of the 20th century, led to the competition for member support. These divisions eventually weakened the overall influence that these societies held over their ethnic group and even fragmented their overall voice in American politics. Accordingly, each society invested in themselves in order to both maintain and promote membership. They did this by providing lodges (community centers), building schools and churches, publishing newspapers, creating libraries, and even catering their services for first generation American members. By the 1920's these organizations were well developed in their respective communities, however, their successes were directly correlated to their member base/and America's current economic state, which was surging due to the aftermath of WWI.

However, the factors of American anti-immigration legislation, increasing economic stagnation, shifting generational perspectives, and the rising influence of government programs during the later half of the 1920's lead to the eventual downfall of these societies. No longer viewed as a necessity for survival by members of the community, the influence that these organizations held over their ethnic group diminished. By the 1930's, these societies were steadily losing membership and in their attempts to counteract this dilemma they shifted their organization's philosophy towards youth enrollment and maintenance. This business philosophy is observed in the promotion of the English language in both private schools and ethnic lodges. These lodges centralized their member activities around social events and sports (i.g. mushball, basketball, swimming parties, socials, and picnics). This was different from earlier activities which were those spoken in Slovenian which promoted intellectual discussions regarding religion and politics. Opposite of their organization's intent, the strategy of obtaining younger members of the community by marketing American popular culture not only hastened the process of Americanization for members of their community, but lead to the organization's rapid downfall. Arguably, the roles that ethnic societies provided from 1890-1930 were replaced by that of the American government. Their inability to properly and effectively adjust to immigration sanctions not only affected their progression throughout the 1920's, but it foreshadowed their eventual loss of power during the Great Depression. However it was the rise of government influence brought on by the New Deal which were ethnic society's coup de grace. Forced to rely on government programs, first generation English speaking Americans worked side by side with members of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Unlike their parents, first generation Americans were educated in English and as American citizens. Arguably, it was during this trying time that the final process of Americanization took place solidifying their views into that of a national

consciousness. These feelings were only intensified with America's involvement in WWII and the draft.

Annotated Bibliography

Bodnar, John. "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America." *Journal of Social History* Vol. 10, no. 1 (Autumn 1976). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3786420.html> (accessed January 3, 2015).

Bodnar's case study about Slavic peasants in industrial America highlights the struggles between new and old world immigrants especially in regards to cultural dynamics. His journal portrays the plight of the common slav as well as breaking down the differences between their beliefs, family structure, and challenges associated with assimilation. His work was one of the most influential sources I used my capstone paper because it described the social situations presented to poorer slavs. His work also brought up the inter-ethnic struggles amongst America's Yugoslavs.

Conzen Neils Kathleen. *Immigrant Milwaukee. 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City*. Cambridge. Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Conzen starts her work by presenting the first sign of German influence in the Milwaukee area and then transitions her topic to the influx of German immigrants to the area in the 1840's and 1850's. She compares the other ethnic groups that resided in the area and the dominance that the German community held over them. She highlights the accomplishments of the German born residents of the community and compares them to the other ethnic groups residing in the region to create not only a collective narrative of Milwaukee's social atmosphere, but also an individual German narrative. Her writing style is less academic and more personal, stating her curiosities on subjects/issues and the development of her thought process. She draws her research from various fields of social sciences and applies such theories to her literature. She draws her research from "expectations of the host society, be it in language, religion, sex roles, etc.... She goes in great detail about theories applied to cultural assimilation and adaptation. Her work greatly influenced my capstone paper and was a resource that I was introduced to prior to this paper.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. s.v. "Carniola."
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/96351/Carniola> (accessed April 6, 2015).

This source was used to define where the Carniola name originated after I discovered the Carniolan Slovene Catholic Union.

Hughes, Elizabeth A. "The History and Development of the Chicago Social Service Exchange up to 1921." *Social Service Review* Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1929). http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uwec.edu/stable/30009288?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed February 6, 2015).

Hughes work describes the social setting in Chicago from the mid 1880's up until 1921. Her works describes the evolution of Chicago's social service programs as well as the social situations such organizations dealt with. She also produces a plethora of primary sources that enforce her claims. Although I used her work sparingly, she influenced my perception of Chicago for its poor and immigrant classes.

Kraut, Alan M. *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921/ Alan M. Kraut*. 2nd ed. American History Series (Arlington Heights, Ill.). Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2001.

Kraut's work describes American Society for Immigrants the various struggles they faced during the assimilation process. His work was more of a reference than anything, it aided my perception of the time period which I was very limited on.

KSKJ Life! American Slovenian Catholic Union. "KSKJ Life History." www.kskjlife.net/index.php/general-info/kskj-history (accessed February 5, 2015).

KSKJ life is the current website for the American Slovenian Catholic Union. It offered a limited history of the KSKJ and its development over the years. Aided with other sources it help me produce a full narrative for its development.

Office of the Secretary of State. "Chronology of Illinois History." Secretary of State. www.cyberdriveillinois.com/publications/illinois_bluebook/chronology.pdf (accessed May 10, 2015).

This source provided key information about the development of Illinois and its progression as a state. Although it was formatted as a timeline, it was allowed me to understand the evolution of the state on rudimentary level.

The Newberry Library. "Foreign Language Press Survey."
<http://flps.newberry.org/#filters/source/amerikanski-slovenec/keyword/slovenian%20?page=1> (accessed May 20, 2015).

The Newberry Library was founded in 1887. By 1942, the Library received funding from the Chicago Public Library in order to translate 22 different foreign language newspapers present in the Chicago area. Spanning from 1855 to 1938, they translated and classified its newspaper. Their work allowed me to produce a narrative about the Slovenian immigrants residing in the Chicago area. Specifically displaying the views of the various organizations present in the area and their competing mentalities.

Pierce Louise, Bessie. *A History of Chicago: Volume III The Rise of A Modern City*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.

Pierce's book, *A History of Chicago*, was one of the most influential pieces of literature used in this capstone paper. Her work describes the social, economical, and political progression of Chicago from the 1870's to 1930's. It was very informative, especially in regards to Chicago's immigrant population. Although the book did not discuss Slovenes, it provided a background for me to build off of.

Schmidt, Alvin J. *Fraternal Organizations*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Schmidt's work gave an in depth analysis of the two competing Slovenian organizations in Chicago. Styled as an encyclopedia, his work offered statistics and a brief history of the organizations.

Slovene National Benefit Society. "History of SNPJ." Slovenska Narodna Podprona Jednota. <http://www.snpj.org/about-us/history-of-snpj>. (accessed February 19, 2015).

The Slovene National Benefit Society was able to produce a narrative to their origins just like that of KSKJ website. Surprisingly, neither organization gave recognition to one another and only through cross referencing was I able to create a full story about the development of both organizations.

SPIRIT Slovenia. "History of Slovenia-Slovenia-Official Travel Guide-." Slovenian Tourist Board. http://www.slovenia.info/en/zgodovina-slovenije.htm?zgodovina_slovenije=0&lng=2.html (accessed May 17, 2015).

The website SPIRIT Slovenia is funded by the nation of Slovenia and is co-partnered with the European Union. The website provided an in-depth look at the development of the Slovene people and nation state. I used this information specifically in my section describing the Slovenian people.

The Newberry Library. "Foreign Language Press Survey."
<http://flps.newberry.org/#filters/source/amerikanski-slovenec/keyword/slovenian%20?page=1> (accessed May 20, 2015).

The Newberry Library was founded in 1887. By 1942, the Library received funding from the Chicago Public Library in order to translate 22 different foreign language newspapers present in the Chicago area. Spanning from 1855 to 1938, they translated and classified its newspaper. Their work allowed me to produce a narrative about the Slovenian immigrants residing in the Chicago area. Specifically displaying the views of the various organizations present in the area and their competing mentalities.

The Yugoslav Socialist Federation (Jugoslovanska Socialisticna Zveza) Records. SSL Collection. Immigration History Research Center. University of Minnesota.
<http://ihrc.umn.edu/research/vitrage/all/y/ihrc1149.html> (accessed February 25, 2015).

Due to the fact that the Yugoslav Socialist Federation does not exist anymore, the University of Minnesota compiled their history and various newspaper publication in one coherent source. Minnesota's large presence of Slovenians was most likely why they collected the data. The information provided by the University was pivotal in describing the Federation's stance on social, political, and economic views from its very beginning to its end.

Verschay, Jessica. "A Trail of Carnations: The Slovenian Immigrant Community of Clark County, Wisconsin, 1905-1935." Bachelor's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2004.

Jessica Verschay's capstone paper focuses on Clark County's Slovenian immigrant population and the development of the area by these settlers. In her work, she discusses how the area of Clark county came to be as well as capturing the story of Slovenian immigration to that of Wisconsin and the Midwest. She uses oral interviews from the descendants of these settlers, census data, magazine articles and other works to display not only the economic growth of the community, but the social and political aspects of the largest Slovenian farming community in the United States. Her work was used

heavily in my own research because it focused on the exact topics I discussed, but in a different setting.

Wikipedia. s.v. "Fraternal Benefit Societies."

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fraternal_benefit_society (accessed April 1, 2015).

I used Wikipedia more as a reference to shift through the various claims made by the other sources that I used and reviewed in my capstone paper. Traditionally, I would not have considered citing this as my source, however, their description of Fraternal Benefit Societies was surprisingly good and I felt that paraphrasing their definition would not give it justice. The source was used as an encyclopedic source.