

**CROATIAN DIASPORA ALMANACS: A HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL
ANALYSIS**

by

Marija Dalbello-Lovrić

**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy
Faculty of Information Studies
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Croatian Diaspora Almanacs: A Historical and Cultural Analysis. Ph.D. 1999.

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The connection of genre to social processes is considered through the lens of printed almanacs issued in North America in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the diaspora Croats. The role of genre in sustaining cultural interactions in that community through communication of memories and meanings of identity is interpreted through multidimensional nature of almanac literacy. The almanacs were analyzed as verbal forms, objects that circulate texts, and texts that produce meaning. This analysis has shown how culture is mediated through the almanac genre's structural elements and the symbolic associations derived from its historical roles. Because genres are not only texts but sets of social, political, and economic interactions among the individuals and groups with which they are associated, the ways in which the almanac trade was organized reflects patterns of socialization of communities and individuals, and their ability to mobilize economic, social, and cultural resources in their production. The corpus of 425 almanacs is analyzed using the methods of textual criticism, book history, and cultural analysis, showing how texts can become an informal writing space in which communities outside the dominant culture could interact, and a written arena for oral production. Diaspora almanacs convey a sense of the marginal spaces in which they were produced, distributed, and used. This is noted in particular in the ambiguous position that the printed almanac held in relation to genres of oral communication. Reliance on visual interfaces in structuring information (pictograms, layout, typography, and the use of image) made these materials accessible to individuals at different levels of reading competence. The analysis has shown that such rhetorical simulation of orality is not functional, but serves to forge identity according to the rules of oral memory adapted for the visual interfaces of print medium. Listing and ordering to lay out information schematically, exemplifies how descriptive styles in presenting information are converted into evaluative narratives which convey ideological arguments. Apart from identifying the characteristics of ordering and transmission of social

memory in print medium. this study also points to the connection of literacy and power in shaping the culture of the diaspora Croatsians.

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- 1.1. The Sources: Croatian Diaspora Almanacs, 1893-1992.

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with printed ephemera, specifically, almanacs published for diaspora Croats in North America from the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century. Although these almanacs reflect a wide range of religious and political discourses, they share a recognizable "literate" style. My initial interest in these publications originated from my reaction to that style, which seemed to be lacking basic aesthetics expected of written communication. Because the tension of this encounter was obviously created by two opposed concepts of literacy--the literary perception of literacy of the researcher and the literacy of the almanac, which operates within a different framework of literacy--this study attempts to explain what constitutes almanac literacy and its communicational role for the Croatian diaspora community over a century. The corpus of fifty-six distinct runs published by religious institutions, political bodies, and commercial firms, issued from 1893 to date, provided a basis for the reconstruction of the almanac trade in diaspora and the interpretation of almanac literacy.

Almanacs provided a textual environment in which groups constituting the Croatian diaspora could communicate their cultural concerns without immediate contact and living speech. Because these annual editions are popularly written and widely disseminated, almanacs are considered to be the people's encyclopedia. Croatian diaspora almanacs fit into this general tradition of the almanac, adapted to express the concerns of a diaspora community. Although less ephemeral than spoken genres of communication, and easier to produce and maintain than the newspaper, these annuals conveyed to the community of their readers an idea of "steady, solid simultaneity through time" (Anderson 1991, 63). The almanac maintains a close link with spoken tradition and lived experience, which is partly due to the association of this genre with a tradition of literacy that has medieval roots. But to find these publications flourishing in the 1950s, at a time when the almanac all but disappears in Croatia, clearly indicates that they were accomplishing a unique communicational purpose for the diaspora Croatian community. In that

role, the almanacs reflected the culture of the diaspora and its communication networks. They also provided a link between lived experience and written history.

When the oldest among the diaspora almanacs uncovered in this study (Narodni američanski koledar ... za godinu 1893, a modest octavo volume issued by Zdravko Mužina in Chicago), appears at the end of the nineteenth century together with other Croatian diaspora almanacs, the almanac is already an established print form in Croatia, with readers from all social classes. The "Golden Era" of the popular almanac in Croatia falls between 1922 and 1935, when the number of new almanac titles was highest, a trend which is also reflected in diaspora almanac publishing. Unlike the almanac trade in Croatia, which experiences a decline from the early 1940s, the number of titles published in the diaspora surges between 1940 and 1955 and remains steady until the mid-1960s. Almanac publishing in Croatia from the 1960s is limited to specialized almanacs such as regional and religious titles. Preceding this overall decline of the almanac is a period during which it flourishes in the diaspora for a full thirty years after becoming obsolescent in Croatia. The diaspora almanac declines in the 1970s; by the early 1990s, only three titles of diaspora almanacs remain. They include a government-sponsored almanac for émigrés, Matičin iseljenički kalendar, a title issued by the Croatian Franciscans, Hrvatski kalendar, and Zbornik Hrvatske seljačke stranke, issued by the Croatian Peasant Party.

Although this study deals with a genre that is historically rooted and tied to a specific social group, it has implications which are much greater than that. Literacy is text-bound, but it exists in a broad social space in a complex network of meanings that the text is able to invoke. This ability is tied to the ability of genres of texts to change, and, as they emerge, to satisfy a special communicational need, and then disappear after that function has been accomplished.

1

The Conceptual Framework, the Research Objectives, and the Methods

1.1. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Explaining the phenomenon of almanac literacy and how it is used to reinforce culture in communities of the Croatian diaspora requires a variety of theoretical approaches and traditions of research. That eclectic conceptual framework includes cultural theory, theories of orality and literacy, genre theory, and the historical study of printed objects. These are introduced at different points when the social and textual aspects of almanac literacy are interpreted. The return to the object of inquiry from different angles provided by these approaches determined a choice of methodologies that yielded multiple sources of data. A combination of qualitative/interpretive, and quantitative approaches is applied. However, at all levels of analysis and uses of evidence, the underlying framework is structuralist, assuming that the empirical phenomena are derived from the structures of material social conditions (Turner and Fuchs 1991, 500-501).

The text (almanac of the diaspora) is interpreted as a material manifestation and as a cultural code. Both levels of interpretation are linked through a broad theory of cultural production which provides the basis for an interpretation of material and literary aspects of almanac literacy. The theory of the dynamics of moral order and cultural change (Wuthnow 1984, 1987, 1989, 1992) is used as a guiding theory in interpreting trends in the almanac trade over time, the characteristics of the genre and content of the almanacs, and the way in which almanacs function in the creation and transmission of cultural and social knowledge within the Croatian diaspora community. The principles of cultural dynamics identified by Wuthnow are operationalized using the methodology of serial history, which allows one to transform a series of bibliographic data into quantifiable trends. Focusing on the patterns of production, institutionalization, and survival of cultural forms (represented by the almanac trade in diaspora) meant that the processes by which almanac titles were produced and maintained could be interpreted as functions of the social system of the diaspora communities and the social

context in which they operated. The social context that determines cultural dynamics, as reflected in the patterns of the almanac trade, depends on material resources, communication networks, organizational contexts, the existing political authority, and the symbolic resources of the diaspora society. Patterns in cultural production (almanac trade) reflected the rhythm of cultural change in the diaspora community. Periods marked by intense cultural communication aimed at the transformation of existing cultural forms are reflected in the production of almanacs as tangible forms of these communicational acts. These communicational acts provided the empirical evidence for the study of culture, and the bibliographical series that emanate from the patterns of their production enabled the evidence to be read in the form of structured data. This structuralist framework combines the longitudinal and lateral approach in studying the history of printed objects and the role of print in society.

In order for cultural forms to be socially relevant, and written forms to fulfill their purpose, it is necessary to establish another theoretical connection between the text and the reader based on reader-response literary criticism. In reader-response studies, the realization of the text is a process of communication between the reader and the text. In order for a text to be perceived as coherent, it needs to be realized in forms recognizable to the reader so that communication is enabled by reference to the same system of signification for the text and the reader. The effect on the implied readers of these texts is encoded in the genre. Therefore, texts are produced with certain characteristics that allow readers to derive meanings from them. The communication of such ideal text with its ideal reader operates within the conventions of textual forms or genres. Therefore, genres are recognizable text prototypes that are capable of eliciting specific meanings; for that reason, the genre controls the communicational effect of the text. Specifically, the meanings of diaspora almanacs for the interpretive communities constituting their readership are built on the systems of signification which are established through the historical tradition of that genre. The meaning of texts is "constructed from textual materials by a reader who operates not alone and subjectively but according to assumptions and strategies

that he or she has adopted by virtue of prior participation in a specific interpretive community" (Radway 1984, 243). While some of the genre characteristics have historical precedents, others developed in response to specific communication purposes in diaspora community. This thesis looks at both the tradition and the innovation of genre, because competence in the genre does not exclude change and adaptation. The innovative uses of the almanac genre for the communication purposes of the diaspora community is a point of departure for this thesis. The genre is not only prescriptive and historically based, but transformational. Genres are not universal, but always rooted in the literacy practices of particular times or communities. Because this thesis focuses on the historical transformation of the genre, the historical component is important, yet it must be supplemented with an answer on how innovation transforms tradition.

As already mentioned, an important component in understanding a genre is the historical tradition from which it emerges. The features without which an almanac would not be recognized as an almanac include the calendar, as well as certain literary features of texts. As noted in the introduction, my approach starts from a recognition that the almanac texts of the diaspora do not fit into the dominant paradigm of contemporary literacy at the center of which is what Illich calls the "bookish text" (1993, 115). Illich refers to the fact that our notions of literacy are historically constructed and collapse when confronted with the alternative paradigms of literacy in which texts may be connected to aurality. These connections of literacy and orality may be maintained through actual literacy practices (of reading texts aloud) or structuring texts (in non-hierarchical fashion, for example). Although Illich considers the evidence of medieval literacy, theorists of electronic texts (Landow 1997; Bolter 1991) have also recognized that written text need not conform to a single paradigm of literacy. For example, almanacs are a liminal¹ form of written text with regard to "bookish" literacy; their

¹This concept originates from Arnold Van Gennep's analysis of ritual. Liminality involves "namelessness, absence of property" (*Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory* 1996, 578) and is a state of transition or marginal states; liminality is also used in literary theory to identify liminal states in literatures or literary

structural features are explained in terms of the theories of orality and literacy (Ong 1982; Goody and Watt 1968). Ong's notion that "residual orality" (1982, 117) may be found in written and printed texts is a point of departure for considering the textuality of the almanac. The generative rules, or deep structures of Chomsky's transformational linguistics, can be used to recognize the fundamental principles that produce the surface structures that typify an almanac (and the diaspora almanac in particular). The description of distinctive literary features in the diaspora almanacs and the typical features of these almanacs are tied to both the material and literary characteristics of the almanacs. The "ability to read the semiotics of the concrete forms that embody, shape and condition the meanings of texts" (Moylan and Stiles 1996, 2) derives from the fact that they are print artefacts. Therefore, competence in almanac literacy is tied to the features of typography, cover art, and layout; these are all components of the reader's physical interaction with the almanacs.

The level of communication of an ideal almanac with an ideal community of readers is determined by reference to historical forms of the almanac and to the distinctive features of diaspora almanacs. The actual manifestation of the process of communication between almanacs and their readers is inscribed in the patterns of the almanac trade. Stanley Fish's notion about the relationship between texts and readers, according to which "any literary artefact 'means' as an event rather than an object" (1970; quoted in Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory 1993, 171) shows almanac literacy to be an object that can be manipulated in social interactions. The almanac is a communication tool for a community's symbolic interactions. In response to the shifting of knowledge and experience of that community, the genre needs to be articulated, reinforced, and reconstructed in response to

periods (ibid., 579). Therefore, literary works can have liminal figures (children, orphans, jesters, pilgrims), or liminality can be built into the structure of the narrative (through liminars such as dreams, error, madness). The liminality of genres, the material conditions of literary production, which are identified by the sense of marginal spaces in which they were performed (e.g., Elizabethan theatre). Applied to literacy, anti-liminality of the literary "bookish" text is paralleled by the liminality of popular genres, and reflects the liminality of the material conditions of their production (outside mainstream book trades, by a diaspora group which is itself transitional).

changes in the environment. The shifting purposes of the almanac in response to the communicational needs of the diaspora are accomplished within existing frameworks and symbolic associations. Therefore, the final link in the analysis of almanac literacy is the interpretation of the almanac as a text which articulates relevant experiences of the community and inscribes them as knowledge. The nature of the inscribed knowledge is determined by the symbolic associations and the conventional features of the almanac, but its content is real. This view of the genre is post-modern and neo-historical in character, because it shows a process by which texts are transformed to convey new meanings. The traditionalism and innovation of the almanac address the concerns of contemporary genre theory, and deny the essentialist categorization of genre, because they show almanac literacy as a historical and social process and also consider the relationship of literacy and power. Representative studies of the almanac focus on the almanac trade in particular historical periods and environments (Bollème 1969; Capp 1979; Stowell 1977; 1979; Sagendorph 1970; Kelly 1991; Perkins 1996), or on individual titles or reprinted specimens (Petter 1946; 1974). These studies focus primarily on the almanac as evidence of historical processes, and on the kinds of knowledge disseminated by the almanac. The popular nature of the almanac is due to its wide fan-out in large editions and its low cost of production. Its accessibility to audiences at various levels of literacy made the almanac a commonly used medium for the dissemination of political discourses. The almanac is also recognized as a resource rich in cultural information about a region. Although this study builds on all of these aspects of the almanac, it focuses on the genre itself, and its historical transformations in a specific context of use.

1.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Based on the conceptual framework briefly outlined in the preceding section, the primary and the secondary research objectives of this study are identified in the next section, followed by an outline of the thesis.

1.2.1. Primary Research Objective.

This study aims to interpret the communication role of almanacs published by or for diaspora Croats from the end of the nineteenth century, examining the forms and structures that determine the "literariness" of these texts and the role of almanac literacy in constructing group identity.

1.2.2. Subsidiary Objectives.

In accomplishing the overall objective, the following processes are applied to the data successively.

1. Because communicability of a genre depends on how it relates to a literary text prototype, identify the prototypes that provide a frame of reference for the almanacs of the diaspora.
 - a) Identify the historical prototypes of the almanac as a form of print in Croatia and the European almanac-producing traditions and literacy practices associated with the transmission of almanacs in a historical perspective.
 - b) Using these historical prototypes, evaluate comparatively the trends in the almanac trade in Croatia and among diaspora Croats.
2. To determine how the diaspora almanac as a distinct literary type is able to communicate meanings and convey a certain sense of literariness, identify the features of almanac literacy.
 - a) Identify the features of diaspora almanacs as literary artefacts.

b) Identify the textual procedures that determine the internal organization of textual and visual discourses in almanacs of the diaspora.

3. Because the influences shaping the production and dissemination of culture through the printed form of the almanac are related to the cultural dynamics of community.

a) Identify trends in the production, distribution, and reception of almanacs in diaspora as the processes of cultural production and selection that depend on material resources, types of communication networks, organizational footing, degree of legitimacy, and leadership. How are these features related to the likelihood of institutionalization and survival of specific titles?

b) Identify the periods of greater mobilization of resources for cultural production, as they are reflected in greater intensity in the almanac trade.

c) Interpret the significance of fluctuations in the almanac trade in the context of historical and sociocultural realities that shaped the cultural experiences of Croatian diaspora.

4. In order to retain relevance, a genre needs to refashion itself. These generic transformations are determined by a need to address current concerns of a group. Select a case that will demonstrate such dynamics. Using the case study.

a) Assess how the almanac reflects the social memory of diaspora. How is the discourse of identity reflected in the commemoration of events and figures and the structuring of knowledge, and what are the preferred types of narratives used in conveying these meaning?

- b) Assess the role of cultural mediators in articulating the memories of the community from a particular perspective and their use of genre in this process.

1.2.3. Overview of the Thesis.

The primary and secondary objectives identified in the previous section are addressed in different chapters of the thesis. The sequence of chapters, which corresponds to the order in which the established objectives are addressed, is given here. Because cultural productions reflect changes in the social environment, and because cultural changes are considered in a historical perspective, an important component of this thesis is the historical and political environment in which Croatians migrated. These groups responded to changes in the environment by creating new cultural forms, through association and publishing. These cultural forms are shaped by the economic, and the political environment in the home and the host countries. Chapter 2 provides the historical context in which Croatian diaspora culture was shaped, and provides the demographic characteristics of the diaspora community that are relevant for understanding the reception of the almanac. It includes an overview of major political parties and ideologies and the history of Croatian migrations overseas.

Genres arise as a continuation of textual traditions that are adapted for current communicational purposes: they are not only texts but sets of complex social, political, and economic interactions among the individuals and groups with which they are associated. They involve an audience's expectations as to the conventions of style, narrative, presentation, and physical interactions with the genre. These expectations are built through patterns of production and reception that are established through the historical tradition of a genre. The genres of texts and literacy practices associated with them are tied to the different social spaces in which the genres are used, or have been used, or with which they bear "symbolic" associations (Besnier 1995, 8-9). The symbolic associations of texts with the past contexts of their use are atavistic: indeed, a

historical component is always embedded in contemporary use and provides a frame of reference for innovation in the genre. Accordingly, the fact that almanacs are rooted in the medieval writing tradition and in genres "of memorized and declaimed word," as artificial devices to aid the "arts of memory" (Chaunu 1993, xiv), is crucial to identifying the distinct roles that the almanacs of the Croatian diaspora played, when compared to other genres of communication, and is crucial to developing the analysis of almanac literacy. A full chapter is devoted to the history of the almanac as a genre. Chapter 3 focuses on the literary antecedents of the diaspora almanac, exploring the interaction of the almanac and the dissemination of calendar literacy, and giving a brief overview of the successive historical periods in the almanac trade in Croatia, with special emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This provides a direct context in which the diaspora almanac can be interpreted as a specialized form of print. The historical forms explain the repertoire of genres found in a typical almanac, and the "symbolic associations" that the historical tradition conveyed to the diaspora almanac. Upon establishing the historical prototypes of texts typically found in almanacs (e.g., chronology, directories, calendar), the analysis proceeds toward a description of the literary forms and literary procedures that constitute a typical diaspora almanac.

Chapter 4 identifies the literary properties of the almanac, focusing on the conventions of style, narrative, and presentation. Their artefactual nature and the "deep structures" that convey a distinctive literariness of the almanac are both identified--the "inner" and the "outer" forms that constitute almanac literacy, and how they shape the interactions among the individuals and groups with which the diaspora almanac is associated. The corpus is interpreted using the theories of orality and literacy, showing the liminal nature of print literacy which is manifested in the almanac. The liminality of almanac literacy, as shown in this chapter, has a distinct purpose in socializing the intended readers in a particular set of social relations.

Upon identifying the textual conventions within which the diaspora almanacs operate, it was necessary to present the context in which they were produced, distributed, and read, as well as the social, political, and economic interactions from which this genre arose. Chapter 5 analyzes the diaspora almanac trade between 1893 and 1991 in the context of the communication networks of these communities. These networks arise around religious organizations and political groups that reflect the dynamics of the community. Although the descriptive component is very strong in that chapter, it is also necessary. The chapter focuses on the business models employed by publishers of the almanacs, and overall patterns in the almanac trade. Consideration of the production and diffusion of the almanacs, together with reconstruction of the social practices of reading is framed by a periodization of the almanac trade. The periods in which the almanac flourished and those in which it declined are identified, and these fluctuations are interpreted in terms of the sociocultural dynamics of the diaspora community. It was critical to identify the periods in which the overall output of almanacs was strongest, and the periods in which the production of new titles was highest, in order to target periods in which to observe what roles the diaspora almanac genre has taken in creating diaspora culture.

The genre of the almanac, through its specific literary features and symbolic associations, reflects the process of cultural innovation which is reconstructed in Chapter 6. Using a case study approach, the analysis focuses on a single issue published in 1955, at a time when the almanac disappears in Croatia, but thrives in diaspora for another ten years. The role of the almanac as a genre of memory is explored, considering what is commemorated, how these memories were structured, by whom, and to what effect. Published during a time of intense emigration from Croatia to North America with the settlement of a new cohort of immigrants in the aftermath of World War II, in an atmosphere of crisis provoked by the Cold War, this title provides a good example of the almanac meeting a specific communicational purpose: transforming the lived experience of the past into narratives that focus on group identity.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

Cultural theory determined the design of this study and the uses made of the corpus of almanacs. In order to reconstruct the almanac trade and draw conclusions about the nature of almanac literacy, it was necessary to rely on empirically observable phenomena derived from the corpus. The multi-dimensional nature of the almanac as a text--as a historical, social, and literary fact and as a cultural code--presented practical problems of what evidence to use. Naturally, the unit of analysis shifted depending on the perspective. The almanacs of diaspora are analyzed at three levels: abstracting of diaspora almanacs to a literary type,² in terms of bibliographical patterning in the corpus,³ and a case-study approach to the analysis of an individual run or title.⁴ With each of these approaches to the almanac (as generic construct, as a body of texts, and as individual text), patterns were established using data series. Consecutively assuming such perspectives was necessary for a complete interpretation of that genre in a historical perspective. Consequently, different vantage points for interpretation determined the choice of methodologies, which are a combination of bibliographical, historical, and cultural analysis.

The characteristics of almanacs published by Croatians in diaspora were reconstructed through field investigation of library, archival, and private collections in North America and Croatia. This investigation resulted in a database of 425 issues of almanacs, representing 56 distinct runs published between 1893 and 1991. Their distribution over time is given in Figure 1.1 ("Croatian Diaspora Almanacs Issued Between 1893 and 1991"), with the English translation⁵

²For example, in Chapter 4.

³For example, in Chapter 5.

⁴For example, in Chapter 6.

⁵Some of the almanacs have both Croatian and English titles, either on the title page as a parallel title, or as an additional title on preliminaries and/or spine. None of the runs is published entirely in English; and, the degree to which English is present in the runs varies. The titles published in early 1940s include English advertisements; English is found sporadically in shorter forms or conventional features (such as the regularly

of Croatian titles in Table 1.1. The collections and printed bibliographies in which these titles were retrieved are listed in Table 1.2 and a listing of the titles used as sources in this study is given in Appendix 1.1.⁶ This corpus of Croatian diaspora almanacs was a basis for generalizations about the diaspora almanac genre. The steps involved, and checks of validity and reliability in the process of compilation, are described in the next section.

1.3.1. Identification of the Corpus.

This study proceeds from the identification of a meaningful corpus which allows for generalizability of findings to the overall context of almanac publishing in diaspora. The corpus provides a basis for identifying patterns of production, geographic distribution of almanacs and their genre characteristics, and case studies for in-depth analysis. The corpus also links the almanacs of diaspora to the social and cultural dynamics of the community, based on the theory of cultural dynamics (Wuthnow 1987, 66-96, 247-258; discussed in Turner and Fuchs 1991, 500-518). Inference from the corpus to the social dynamics of the community requires that internal and external validity and reliability checks be applied throughout the process of compilation. This was accomplished by carefully selecting the sites in which the research was conducted, and observing the pattern of retrieval of titles to determine a reasonable cut-off point at which a representative corpus (presenting a broad range of cases) had been identified. Reliability was built into the methodology of compilation by relying on physical inspection (de visu) of the corpus and by consistently coding results in a bibliographic database. This technique of prestructuring the study was necessary to apply a consistent conceptual framework in addressing certain features of the almanac phenomenon.

featured text of the "Star Spangled Banner" in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.). The English translations of Croatian originals were provided when necessary.

⁶This appendix is arranged alphabetically by the almanac titles. To retrieve a title issued in a any time-period, use Figure 1.1 to find the name of the run, then locate it in Appendix 1.1. Tables 5.10 to 5.18 present different aspects of the overall production of almanac titles between 1893 and 1991, by giving listing of titles in years of high and low activity in the almanac trade, the average length of publication and other features relating to the dynamics of the diaspora almanac trade.

1.3.1.1. Sources of Evidence. Diaspora almanacs are a publishing tradition of the margin. In North America, where most of these almanacs were published, they were not collected at all before the mid-1970s.⁷ They were similarly neglected in Croatia, in part because of censorship that excluded these and other émigré publications from public circulation. This study was initiated at a time when both the isolation of the Croatian diaspora community and the systematic exclusion of their cultural productions from circulation in Croatia ceased.

Almanacs not only belonged to the group of publications that was banned from circulation in Croatia, but they represent an ephemeral type of publication which is particularly vulnerable to physical disappearance, partly because of the patterns of their use and partly because of the perishable nature of the materials from which they are made. Almanacs were meant to be discarded at the end of the year for which they were issued and were therefore not likely to have been preserved at all. Based on the pattern of use and conditions in the political environment, the almanacs from the Croatian diaspora that have been retrieved in various repositories in North America and Croatia may have been preserved either accidentally or because they were valued as symbolic goods. Establishing provenance for a sample of titles has confirmed that a large number of almanacs was saved through the systematic effort of individual collectors.⁸ It is significant that these popular texts of often dubious literary merit (but of historical importance) could be considered valuable enough to be preserved in private collections even though they had been a type of material intended to be "literally read to pieces"⁹ or discarded at the end of the year. A search for provenance also led to involuntary protectors. For example, almanacs produced in North America were found in the archives of

⁷The resurgence of interest in this type of material is related to the "ethnic revival" of the mid-1970s.

⁸Inventories and provenance records were available for the titles found in the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia. In some cases, particular titles and groups of titles could be traced to individual donors.

⁹The phrase, originally used by Davidson (1989, 8), graphically describes the intensity with which popular works were often consumed by their readers.

the former Yugoslav secret police,¹⁰ because they had been intercepted en route from foreign destinations to cultural institutions in Croatia. In spite of this limited interest in almanacs by private collectors and the secret police, the number of repositories in which almanacs from the Croatian diaspora are preserved is low, resulting in a very low level of bibliographic control. This situation began to change in 1991, when many of these private collections were consolidated in the special collections of the National and University Library in Zagreb. The Collection of Émigré Press (*Zbirka iseljeničkog tiska*), a process which was not completed until the mid-1990s.

These global considerations influenced the strategy for the selection of sources from which data were collected. They include not only repositories in North America, but also in Croatia, including private, ethnic organizations, research collections, and reliable printed sources. These different sources are shown in Table 1.2. Three quarters of the items¹¹ identified in the sources were examined *de visu*, which means that a detailed bibliographical description was noted, along with a physical description, content features, and copy-specific information (presence of advertisements, inscriptions, preservation state, variant binding practices). Traces of the history of use (such as inscriptions) are often found in the copies themselves. The sources for analysis of the almanac trade necessarily involve not only the texts themselves, but the condition of their deposition, and who collected them and why (given their ephemeral nature and liability to censorship). Inventory lists were used to identify ownership patterns and distribution of diaspora almanacs. This is crucial for understanding who creates culture and who maintains it.

¹⁰The document enumerating the publications held by the SDB (*Služba državne bezbednosti*, the former Yugoslav secret police, also known as UDBa, or *Ured državne bezbednosti*), dated July 30, 1992, accompanied the transfer of materials from the ministry of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia (or *Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*) to the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia. It lists 773 monographs (including a small number of almanacs) and over 8,000 newspapers and periodicals.

¹¹Or 314 issues out of 425. Among the issues not examined *de visu* are those for which detailed information could be supplied either through reliable information obtained from the libraries themselves or in printed sources of high bibliographic reliability such as *Grada za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju knjiga, 1835-1940*, which is a union list of Croatian imprints. This printed source accounts for almost half of the entries that were not examined *de visu* (or 46 out of 111 issues of almanacs). The collections not examined at the time of compilation were the Immigration History Research Center (St. Paul, Minn.), and the University of Pittsburgh Libraries.

even when this is done by preserving copies of almanacs as the culture's symbolic markers. Bibliographical investigation of the conditions in which the almanacs were deposited relied on inventory lists, inscriptions indicating provenance, and unstructured interviews with collectors or curators.

There were several problems related to the sources of evidence, but the major issues concerned the completeness of the corpus and the cut-off point for retrieval. The principle of examination de visu not only provided contextual clues for reconstruction of the almanac trade and the communicational role of the almanac, but it also excluded some evidence that could not be confirmed. Although the existence of additional titles issued in this period is confirmed in secondary sources or in advertisements found in almanacs and other publications, or is reported as having been seen or used by those whom I contacted during my fieldwork, only those that I could examine de visu or that were confirmed in reliable¹² printed sources are included in the source database.¹³ The cut-off for retrieval depended on observing the patterns of duplication, which is discussed in the next segment.

1.3.1.2. Reliability and Validity Checks. Several techniques were applied to ensure that the retrieval process reflects typical configurations of what has been preserved from the almanac trade in diaspora. The first check of reliability was based on drawing an independent sample through a backward chaining of references cited in the secondary literature on diaspora

¹²The criterion of reliability was met by national retrospective and current bibliographies, such as Grada za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju knjiga, 1835-1940.

¹³For example, three examined issues of almanacs carry an advertisement for Severov hrvatski koledar for 1919 and 1921, issued and distributed in drugstores and upon request from the publisher, a pharmacy, W.F. Sever Co. of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. It appears in Hrvatski sokolski koledar : za godinu 1919 (record #1330), Kalendar Narodnog lista, 1919 (record #1874) and in Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : za prostu godinu 1921 (record # 1880). Kalendar Sion (Pittsburgh, Pa.) is registered in the inventory books of the National and University Library (inv. 2071/1969) and classified as 417.151 (224-4), together with other titles donated by Milivoj Čatipović from San Francisco but, because I could not locate it in the library collection, I omitted it from the listing. Other than an issue for 1923 of Zajednički kalendar, the almanac of the Croatian Fraternal Union (Pittsburgh, Pa.) that was issued for over 20 years, according to Michael Vezilich (oral communication, May 1992), who saw issues of these publications in the collection of the Croatian Fraternal Union, other copies have not been found in the collections examined and were not included. Those that were missing from the collections even when registered in the catalog were also excluded.

almanacs and comparing it with the sample of almanacs retrieved in actual repositories on specified variables.¹⁴ This ensured that the corpus retrieved in the the collections corresponds to what is known about the almanac trade. Discrepancies between the two sets of almanac titles reveals their biases.

In the first phase, the corpus identified through secondary sources¹⁵ was compared to the corpus of almanacs identified in actual repositories.¹⁶ The results of comparing the overlap in the two types of sources are shown in Table 1.3. The ratio of titles that were identified both in the repositories and through secondary sources is sixty percent. The remaining forty percent of titles is identified either in the repositories or secondary sources. This significant discrepancy indicated a need for expanding the search to a broader range of collections. Knowledge of the almanac trade derived from citation patterns in secondary sources is biased by citing the author's point of view, and depends on how authors have assessed the historical significance of materials.¹⁷ Bibliographies, the purpose of which is to provide comprehensive bibliographical control, are more rigorous and therefore a more reliable retrieval tool. The resulting image of the almanac trade from secondary sources and bibliographies is incomplete, but nevertheless informative when compared to the configurations in repositories. Collection practice in libraries and other repositories are also influenced by attitudes toward a particular genre of print. As an example of cultural trends in collecting, the rising interest in American foreign-language print in the 1970s resulted in a more consistent approach to collecting ethnic materials. For reasons discussed earlier, the almanac is an elusive print form--an ephemeral, neglected, and sometimes forbidden publication.

¹⁴Two variables were considered in comparing the two sources: overall publishing activity and ratio of single issue almanacs over time. These variables are used for inference from the dynamics of the corpus to the social dynamics of the community and identification of points of increased cultural production (as an indication of intensified cultural change), as analyzed in Chapter 5.

¹⁵A checklist of titles was compiled from secondary printed sources including bibliographies, reference lists, histories, and encyclopedic entries dealing with Croatian almanacs. These sources did not refer to specific repositories in which almanacs were to be found.

¹⁶At this point, the collections in which almanacs were expected to be found were contacted for listings of their holdings. None of the almanacs was physically inspected at this point.

¹⁷The availability of materials to researchers is another consideration.

The second phase of the trial study involved a comparison of publication patterns with respect to two variables: overall publishing activity and production of new titles. Although the corpus of almanacs retrieved in secondary sources and bibliographies and identified in repositories varies, the fluctuations in the almanac trade expressed in terms of these variables show a striking resemblance. The pilot study shows that, based on the course of retrieval, the map of the territory to be investigated changes, but the pattern of publication remains consistent. In order to clearly identify the dynamics of cultural production, it was necessary to expand the search to construct a picture of the almanac trade which fairly represents actual production. A selection of varied types of repositories, and speculation on their distinctive biases in preserving certain types of almanacs, was needed. Therefore, the second step of retrieval called for the remaining titles and issues to be identified through searches in repositories (listed in Table 1.2) representing national, academic, and special libraries in the public domain, and repositories in ethnic organizations and private collections. The assumption for this was that the collection practices of different collectors arise from different philosophies and that, therefore, a variety of repository types was more likely to be representative. The final number of titles retrieved in this way shows that eighty percent of all titles and issues were identified in the pilot study. The remaining twenty percent were identified by searching the more extensive sample of repositories.

Duplication was substantial for some titles in a single collection and across collections, while others are preserved sporadically. The continuity of runs in a single collection also varied; establishing bibliographic identity of runs was another problem inherent in researching almanac series. Ensuring the validity of the retrieved corpus relied on a simple strategy of expanding a search and observing the pattern of repetition. The cut-off point was determined by observing the ratio of retrieval of new and duplicate titles. If eighty percent of the titles are retrieved in twenty percent of all viable sources, the increase in the ratio of duplicates to prototype issues

will indicate a reasonable cut-off point for identification of new titles. This check ensured that the actual retrieval corresponds to the variety and type of titles in these sources, and aided the formulation of search strategies in actual collections. The overlap of titles identified in bibliographic sources and in a pilot search is presented in Table 1.3. The total number of issues retrieved at the cut-off point was 425 (56 runs).

1.3.2. Tools for Analysis.

The almanacs were used as primary evidence. Information obtained during visits to the private collection of Jerome Jareb (Loretto, Pa.), and conversations with him about individual titles,¹⁸ and a visit to the collection of the Croatian Ethnic Institute (Chicago, Ill.)¹⁹ helped to identify and establish a history of publication for many of the titles. For more information on the dates of these visits, cf. Table 1.2. Specific references are also given in the text of the thesis. The tool for data analysis was a bibliographic database with field notes taken during these visits. Compiling the bibliographic data and notes in a database format enabled outputs of indexes of trends and patterns, which were presented in the form of lists, tables, and other reports substantiating the analysis, and illustrating and supporting the generalizations. The validity of these generalizations depended on preservation pattern for the almanacs. Although absolute completeness has not been achieved, what has been preserved reflects conscious attempts to preserve community memory. The preserved corpus is a record of the history of the community. Evidence about the use of almanacs is also embedded in the patterns of their preservation, confirming that they were objects of cultural interaction not only at the time of their publication, but over an extended period of time.

¹⁸I visited and interviewed Professor Jerome Jareb (Loretto, Pa.), a political historian and avid collector of the Croatian ethnic press, on several occasions between 1992 and 1995. He provided valuable insights into the almanac trade in diaspora and resolved many issues of publishing history for individual titles.

¹⁹In May 1995. In addition to the field visit, I obtained crucial information about the collection from Father Dionizije Lasić, the curator of the collection, by phone and letters.

The ways in which the database was used in analysis are addressed in subsequent chapters, but its methodological implication is that it allowed the identification of series and patterns in the data. The flexibility of a database format made it easy to generate reports, to identify data with common attributes, and to quantify those trends. Free-text searching enabled the reconstruction of cycles of production, distribution, and use.

1.4. CONCLUSION

Almanacs document the cultural life of diaspora Croatians. As a blueprint for social action presented by the political groups that drew on ideologies brought from the country of origin, these almanacs are unique documents of cultural change in a society that has been researched primarily within the paradigms of political history. In reconstructing the historical processes in that community, the focus is on the role of genre in the process of cultural communication.

This study belongs to the cultural history of the book which takes a multidisciplinary view of the uses of print and print culture, combining cultural history and bibliography. Books reflect the writing and reading practices of societies; the approach to research of these practices focuses on a "collection of discourses which at a given moment find expression in book form" (Chartier and Roche, 1985, 198), identifies a homogenous corpus, and applies a quantitative analysis to this corpus (*idem*). These approaches to the history of the book are rooted in the paradigm of the *Annales* history in method and the comprehensive view of books as objects of social interactions. By interpreting diaspora almanacs within the framework of historical sociology, this thesis also draws on research paradigms of political history, ethnic studies, and the print trades, but focuses on genre, in the spirit of the new history of the book in methods and intended objectives. Genre is conceived as a symbolic space, a historical and political construct; it is also a means of socialization of communities and individuals. The problem of formation and transformation of genre is tied to these historical and political processes, which

is the broader context for this study. The study of Croatian diaspora almanacs is not only a study of a print genre, but also of the cultural interactions in the community in which it was sustained. This study also interprets the role of genre in communicating memories and creating identities for textual communities. In doing this, it contributes to an understanding of the complex nature of literacy.

2

The Context: Society and Ideology

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the process of migration and adaptation in a new environment, individuals experience disruption in the established social structure.²⁰ Ethnic communities resulting from migration²¹ are social groups that provide the structure of identity for individuals, compensating for the disruption in the social system which occurred in the process of migration; they provide a framework for the continuation of social stability of the group when the material and cultural resources that maintained a state of stability in the old moral order have disappeared or become obsolete. As a result, a new set of identities and roles that correspond to lived reality need to be produced and communicated in the group. In fact, ethnic communities are a form of communication²² that provides the social context in which the production and maintenance of identity occurs. Verbal expressions of the process of identity-building are the various genres in which this is articulated.

The process of identity-building is determined by the nature of the almanac texts, the properties of the genre and the ways in which readers are assimilated in the texts, and the actual social, material, and economic interactions that are involved in the production, distribution and use of these texts. The texts also circulate recognizable cultural codes, which are built into the structural properties of the genre; these cultural codes order the boundaries of social space and time. The popular sentiments which the almanacs of the diaspora addressed rely on an existing cultural repertoire that consists of events, and the memories of these events shaped by the authors of the almanacs in their

²⁰The stability of social systems is maintained through the family unit, an established system of social interactions, institutional contexts and cultural productions, communicated through rituals and embedded in institutions. When material and cultural resources for the maintenance of moral obligations are diminished or collapse, there is a tendency to re-establish the state of stability, provided that the group has sufficient resources to do so. This gives rise to the cultural production, ritual enactment and activation of institutional organization. An ethnic community may assume the role of recreating a moral order through resources at its disposal. The proliferation of ethnic organizations and particularly the ethnic press is a sign that such process is under way.

²¹The following discussion refers to national communities and not those which are differentiated by race or religion as the primary criterion.

²²This is not the functionalist view, now generally rejected, in which ethnicity is an ideological shield against social discrimination or exclusion and a rallying force of class struggle by the underprivileged classes (Marxian perspective). Such a view is discredited by the persistence of ethnicity in groups which are in no way underprivileged or excluded from participation in the society (Dredger 1989).

roles of traditional intellectuals (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 106). These intellectuals are not unlike the intelligentsia and the middle classes, who manage the memories of historical events in creating national culture (ibid., 127). But, the peculiarity of these texts is in their derived nature which means that the discourses they present are created from cultural debris--of events, figures, and established interpretations. These fragments are reassembled, and reinterpreted by the traditional intellectuals who shape diaspora identity, in addressing the current concerns of the community. Lévi-Strauss refers to this process as "intellectual bricolage characteristic of mythical thought that expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited" (ibid., 17). The popular nature of the almanac is conducive to such textual improvisations from an existing cultural repertoire, due to literary features that are discussed in Chapter 4. The set of elements used by an intellectual bricoleur, according to Lévi-Strauss, is finite: it is also heterogeneous and specialized. The elements also represent a set of operators but can be used for any operations of the same type (ibid., 18). The narratives of identities consist of such tools and materials, a "treasury of ideas" (ibid., 18) that are reused and recycled in the diaspora almanacs.

As noted earlier, the notion of genre allows verbal forms to be grounded in their sociocultural purposes. This chapter provides the background to consider such purposes of the diaspora almanac, focusing on two aspects that determined the predispositions of the migrating cohorts with which the diaspora almanacs are associated. The history of Croatian migrations to North America, including the economic, social, and political aspects of the migrations from the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century--identifying when, and why these migrations occurred, and the demographic characteristics of the migrating cohorts--is considered first. The second part surveys the social and political ideological systems that provided a frame of reference for shaping the culture of the diaspora, and the communication networks of the Croatian diaspora community. By addressing the historical formation of the diaspora community of Croatians in North America, this chapter provides the basis for the discussion of the almanac trade in Chapter 5, and aids in

understanding the ideological components of the almanac as a tool for identity-building and the analysis of cultural memory in Chapter 6.

2.2. THE FORMATION OF THE CROATIAN DIASPORA COMMUNITY

Rather than a simple notion of a group with ties of common origin, the term diaspora refers to a complex cultural process of identity-building in a social group. The traditional approach to theorizing on diaspora is based on "localizing strategies ... by bounded community, by organic culture, by center and periphery" (Clifford 1994, 303). A broader semantic scope of diaspora includes "immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community" (Tölölian 1991, 4-5; quoted *ibid.*, 303) as groups unified through a common discursive field and common experience. This concept focuses on a "shared, ongoing history of displacement ... adaptation, or resistance" (Tölölian 1991, 4-5; quoted *ibid.*, 303). The Croatian diaspora community consists of economic migrants, political refugees, and assimilated communities of immigrant background which, although historically distinct, share a common discursive field and common experiences. The common experiences of diasporas, as shown here, are communicated in the printed almanac. The selection of a particular genre to articulate experiences depends on the preferred communication style in a community and its cultural concerns. The problem is that one is not dealing with a unified community, or set of experiences. Therefore, to understand how genres are related to immigrant cohorts, it is necessary to map out who constituted that community in any particular period.

2.2.1. The Chronology of Migrations

Ambiguity in defining the scope of the Croatian diaspora arises when one tries to determine who the participants of diaspora are in particular historical periods. The history of migrations from Croatia is a complex one, and the scope of the Croatian diaspora is usually identified as a group

originating from the same geo-political unit,²³ sharing a common religion,²⁴ language,²⁵ and national identity.²⁶ These criteria may be applied to define the scope of the Croatian diaspora, although they do not clearly mark its boundaries. These criteria are fluid, and may be true in some periods but invalid in others. It is more natural to identify different waves of migrations that share common experiences as "symbolic ethnics" (Rasporich 1987, 101), but stratify them historically.

In his study of Croatian immigrants in Canada, Rasporich (1987) applies the Hartzian theory of fragments²⁷ to Croatian migrations to North America. According to this theory, "Old World societies export their representative or dissenting ideological fragments to a new colonial context, which in turn are universalized as national fragments fixed in time and space" (Hartz 1964: quoted in Rasporich 1987, 101). This means that the Croatian diaspora is a universalized notion that consists of such ideological fragments of the political ideologies they brought with them. That explains the persistence of old ideologies and allegiances in the community overlapping with the

²³The Croatian diaspora consists of those individuals who have migrated from the territories encompassed within the current boundaries of Croatia. These migrations occurred from several geo-political and administrative units: Italy and Austria-Hungary (before 1918) and Yugoslavia (1918-1991).

²⁴Catholicism is central to Croatian ethnicity. Nevertheless, if applied rigorously, this definition leaves out non-religious segments of the population and Jews, Muslim, and Greek-Catholics (such as the Greek-Catholics from the province of Žumberak near Zagreb) whose religious identity has taken a route of national differentiation such as the Greek Orthodox population of the Croatian Serbs.

²⁵The criterion of language can be applied to distinguish cultural productions of the Croatian diaspora when other criteria cannot be applied. This concerns two types of cases: those which are not directly identified in terms of Croatian ethnos and those which profess Yugoslav or Slavic identity. An area of ambiguity related to this parameter concerns terminological variants used in reference to Croatian language: namely, the term "Serbo-Croatian" is used to refer to spoken and literary dialects of both Croatian and Serbian. In this work, the Croatian language is understood as a cultural and linguistic phenomenon which encompasses linguistic productions which fall within the scope of the Štokavian, káikavian, and čakavian dialects of the Croatian language.

²⁶Ambiguities related to this parameter result from the historical discontinuity in which populations sharing Croatian ethnic identity have existed over time. There is ample evidence in the corpus of cultural productions that confirms that Croatians have expressed their ethnic identity in a number of ways: in terms of their citizenship, pan- and-South-Slavic, or regional identity and nationality. The national awakening of the early nineteenth century Illyrianist Movement is limited to the Croatian political elite and liberal bourgeoisie, trickling down to peasant populations in a process of national differentiation. Because of the undeveloped sense of national identity in some segments of the population and some periods, and because Croatians have lived in a number of administrative-political entities, some segments have professed their identity as Austrian, Italian, or Yugoslav, i.e., they defined themselves by their country of citizenship. This was sometimes a conscious political choice by individuals. National awareness also depended on the political climate in the country of origin. Another problem arises when regional identity is superimposed on national identity, most striking among Croatians from Dalmatia who migrated in the nineteenth century, before the national differentiation. This is a good illustration of Hartzian fragment theory.

²⁷This theory explores cultural and ideological dynamics of fragments of European societies transplanted to the New World.

new waves of migration and new ideological fragments, but also the dynamics of diaspora culture as revealed in the communication networks that are built from such cultural clusters. Rasporich (1987) identifies the following generational-ideological parent fragments in Croatian-Canadian immigration: Kolumbusari and frontiersmen (1900-1914), the interwar migrants (1919-1939), and the fragmented political community of postwar migration. This division provides a model for the stratification of the Croatian diaspora into distinct immigration cohorts with identifiable cultural and social predispositions. Accordingly, a common denominator for the immigrants from Croatia to North America between 1869 and 1948, is that they come from rural areas, due to the process of rural depopulation caused by industrialization (Nejašmić 1991). The generational-ideological parent fragment from the 1950s to the 1980s is a combination of economic and political émigrés. The Hartzian theory of fragments allows to identify four generational-ideological parent fragments in Croatian migrations to North America which include, in addition to the three waves identified by Rasporich, the pre-industrial migrations of Croatians to North America.

2.2.1.1. The Pioneers. The first settlements related to this wave of migration belong to American pioneer history. They fall between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century. The first person known to come to America (Southern California) from continental Croatia in 1680 as a missionary was Father Ivan Ratkaj. Father Ferdinand Konščak arrived in California in 1733 as an explorer and frontiersman. He is credited with drawing the first map of California (Prpić 1971, 39-42). The earliest record of a systematic pattern of settlement was in the sixteenth century, when many left Croatia in the aftermath of the Peasant Revolt (Seljačka buna) of 1573 (ibid., 43) (cf. Table 2.1). Many Croatians came as sailors on the eighteenth century ships from Dubrovnik (ibid., 43), settling in Louisiana and in the American South, where they became prominent in oyster- and orange-farming. They introduced new growing techniques and gained recognition and affluence. These enclaves were sporadic and small. Anecdotes and even legends connected to the early migrations, ranging from spurious etymological speculations on the origin of the Indian tribal name Croatan to anecdotes regarding a fictional humorous character, Joe Magarac (Joe the Donkey in

English), bear witness to these interactions. Adam Eterovich, an amateur historian, specializes in the genealogy of the early migrations. He published a series of biographical sketches of Croatian immigrants in the nineteenth century in the American West and South (including some of Croatian Confederate soldiers) (Eterovich 1971). He has also identified thousands of Croatian pioneers through city and business directories, censuses, newspapers, and shipping lists (Eterovich 1979). The official immigration records for this early period are not available, and the total volume of immigrants to the United States in that period is not known (Bogue 1985, 3-47). We know that most of the pioneer migrations were unorganized groups, of sailors and adventurers, many of whom came from the coastal regions of Dalmatia as seamen and took up oyster-farming in Louisiana, worked in the British Columbia salmon fisheries or other parts of the West Coast fishing industry, or operated orchards and vineyards. The Croatian communities in California are the result of these earliest recorded migration waves from Croatia. At least some of these communities issued almanacs, but these publications have not been preserved; as a result, little is known about these publications.

2.2.1.2. The "New" Immigrants (1880-1920). The role of steamship agents was crucial in recruiting prospective immigrant workers between 1900 and 1920 for steel, aluminum, and electrical machine industry centers and the coal basins in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana (the areas of the American East and Midwest with the highest industrial development at the time), or for the Canadian Pacific Railway and the mining frontier of the far West. The demand for labor in America combined with the economic crisis in Austria-Hungary to increase migration overseas. The erosion of traditional agriculture brought about by skyrocketing tax increases on Croatian farmers at the end of the nineteenth century and the dissolution of the *zadruga* (communal family), an old type of agricultural and communal organization, created a massive increase in the number of landless peasants (Rasporich 1982, 31), but mobility also increased as the transportation system was improved. The Croatian community in the Province of Magallanes, Chile (the city of Punta Arenas), was settled in the second half of the nineteenth

century as a result of these factors (Nock 1987, 57). The first arrivals from ships sailing through the Straits of Magellan are followed in 1890 by those attracted to the Gold Rush. A later wave arrived at the turn of the century, when phylloxera decimates vineyards in Dalmatia. Among them were migrants escaping economic crisis, political oppression in the Habsburg Empire, and especially military conscription on the eve of and during World War I.²⁸ The majority settled in the metropolitan areas of the Midwest, in Pittsburgh,²⁹ Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. The first permanent settlements of the Croatian diaspora communities were formed in this period.³⁰ From the point of view of United States migration history, these immigrants are those of the "intermediate" migration from Southern and Eastern Europe between 1885 and 1940 which reaches a peak at the turn of the century and in the first twenty years of the twentieth century (Bogue 1985, 347). However, this time of migration is largely unrecorded.

The historical record is patched together from oral histories, folk memory, occasional entries in local newspapers, police records, and family history (Rasporich 1982, 53). As already noted, migrations from Croatia to North America related to industrialization began in the nineteenth century and reached mass proportions between 1900 and 1914.³¹ Macan (1992, 321) states that it was highest in 1903 and 1907, when up to 50,000 individuals left Croatia. By 1913, half a million had left, both from the south and the northwest of Croatia. Relative to the total population of Croatia in 1910 (of 3,720,992) this number is considerable. A reverse trend of re-immigration to Croatia between 1919 and 1921 peaked in 1920. It was tied to high hopes invested in the newly formed state of the South Slavs after dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, and was reinforced by economic crisis in the countries of immigration. The repatriation trend was again reversed in 1921, when a large number of Croatians emigrated for the second time. In addition, many who were

²⁸The flow continues in chain migrations between the wars, mostly of adolescents and children in the 1950s.

²⁹Presently, it is the seat of the Croatian Fraternal Union and approximately 120,000 Croatians.

³⁰Another important Croatian settlement in the United States is San Pedro, in California.

³¹The most intensive flow of immigrants to Canada, between 1903 and 1914, is paralleled by a similar trend for the United States (Telišman 1978, 134-135). In all, Macan (1992, 321) estimates that 600,000 Croatians settled in the United States, fewer than 400,000 in Canada, 250,000 in South America, 120,000 in Australia and New Zealand, and 10,000 in Africa.

already settled abroad brought their families to join them, a fact that is confirmed by the large number of women and children comprising this emigration wave, which continued until 1924.³² The process of repatriation and second emigration within a short number of years after World War I is well documented (Godler 1981, 199; Čizmić 1982, 131). Some authors attribute the second emigration to disillusionment with the economic and political conditions in the newly formed state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Godler 1981, 199).

The first known diaspora almanacs were by-product of emigration industry. They were issued by banks, shipping companies and other agencies that handled the stream of "new" immigrants at the turn of the century but these publications had an occasional and commercial character. The almanacs issued by professional journalists who were part of that wave (e.g., Zdravko Mužina, Ivan Krešić) reflect more closely the community's dynamics. At the end of this period, the shift from fragmented to settled diaspora communities in the major urban centers of the Midwest is reflected in an increased activity in association, and cultural production (including the almanacs).

2.2.1.3. Between the Wars (1920-1945). The Red Scare of the 1920s in the United States brought about growing suspicion of immigrant organizations active in workers' and socialist movements, resulting in the introduction of quota systems to stop the flow of immigration from the southern and eastern parts of Europe. The Quota Act of 1921 marked the beginning of an era of such immigration policies that persisted for almost four decades (Prpić 1971, 251-257). Nevertheless, by that time, many of the old immigrant communities had matured and established ethnic institutions and networks, adapting to and integrating with American society. Fraternalist (mutual help) organizations had an important role in improving life for the Croatian diaspora in the North American context. Pittsburgh emerged as the center of Croatian fraternalism. Chicago developed as another cultural, social, and political center for Croatians (Čizmić 1982, 419). Settlement of diaspora communities in the 1920s (through repatriation process discussed earlier) is accompanied

³²Immigration by quota was introduced in 1921 and revised in 1924 (Bogue 1985, 355).

by the establishment of the ethnic press and cultural networks, and the flourishing of mutual benefit and fraternalist organizations, but also organizations tied to workers' movements. The Great Depression following the stock market crash in 1929, and tighter immigration laws after 1928, closed the doors to prospective immigrants. Radical socialist movements continued to thrive throughout the depression years of the 1930s, especially among itinerant migrants, such as the marginal men at Canada's northern frontier. These migrants were radical and militant, and their culture differed from the culture of the settled communities in British Columbia and Alberta, which were upwardly mobile and assimilated into Canadian life in a way similar to communities in the American Midwest. The radical socialist-communist ideology as a response to the current economic crisis and labor disputes, ideas exported from the Soviet Union, and the impact of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939),³³ are well documented in the Croatian ethnic press. A moderate line in politics is associated with adherents of the Croatian Peasant Party, which was popular and influential in the homeland and abroad. Conservative and clericalist orientation was also integral to the life of the diaspora.³⁴ As already noted, the almanacs issued in this period represent these social and political movements of the host society, but also those imported from the old country. In the period following the flourishing of the almanacs tied to workers' movements, religious, and fraternalist societies, those issued in the post-War period (especially between 1945 and 1960) reflect a major demographic shift in the diaspora community, as shown in the next segment. During this period, the diaspora almanac becomes a specialized genre, which reflects the changes in the diaspora community but also those in the country of origin.

While the almanacs of the "new" immigrant wave are the by-product of the emigration industry, or result from the activity of Croatian-born journalists who participated in that process, the almanac publishing of the inter-war period closely reflects the concerns and internal stratification of the

³³The conflict between republicans and nationalists (led by General Franco) attracted many idealist outsiders who fought on the side of the republican Popular Front.

³⁴Rasporich gives examples from the Canadian setting, such as the "enthusiastic response to the Royal Visit of 1939, and ... deep attachment to their Roman Catholic faith," which "were symbols of security and stability in a world gone mad" for a considerable segment of the Croatian community (1982, 161).

diaspora community. Consequently, the almanacs published between 1920 and 1945 represent a broad range of concerns in the Croatian diaspora community, most notably those of the workers' movements, religious, and fraternalist societies. As shown in Chapter 5, the period of high and stable levels of production of almanac titles are concentrated in a span of thirty-five years, between 1922 and 1955, which might be considered the period in which the almanac genre flourished in the diaspora. Nevertheless, the almanacs from the 1920s and the 1950s reflect distinct concerns. Consequently, they feature a different look, content, and the communicational purpose.

2.2.1.4. Post-World War II Through 1970, and 1970s to the Present. While the early immigrants of the previous cohort constituted communities predominantly created by rural depopulation,³⁵ those trickling in during the aftermath of World War II were less socially homogeneous because they were not motivated primarily by economics. However, there is evidence that these immigrants were much better educated and included a higher number of professionals (Rasporich 1982, 183). World War II is considered to be the end of the "peasant era" in Croatia, when the values of the industrial society prevail not only in urban but also in rural settings (Nejašmić 1991, 146). With the end of World War II begins the influx of refugees and exiles which continues throughout the 1950s. Displaced by war, many of them spent years in camps scattered throughout Europe before they were able to settle in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. They immigrated under the provisions of the United States Refugee Relief Act passed (1953) which was specifically intended to meet the needs of people displaced from Communist regimes.³⁶ By 1956, their number was 8,000 (Čizmić 1982, 133). Since then, immigration from Yugoslavia has averaged about two

³⁵Cultural histories of these uprooted peasant masses of Europe that become the urban villagers of American ghettos are written by Oscar Handlin (1951), Herbert J. Gans (1962), Emily Balch (1969), and William Foote Whyte (1981). Research conducted by the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s, complemented by sources published in Croatia (Karaman 1991; Nejašmić 1991; Gross and Szabo 1992), allows reconstruction of the sociocultural characteristics of this immigrant cohort.

³⁶In the post-World War II period, several measures were passed by which the rigidity of the quota system established in the United States by the Immigration Act of 1924 was relaxed. This was also the result of U.S. government response to the Cold War. The first measure was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 that allowed some 400,000 refugees of war to come to America. The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was intended for those fleeing their homeland after Communist regimes took hold. (Historical Overview of U.S. Immigration Policy: The Period of Restriction, 1921-1964. [<http://www.cms.ccsd.k12.co.us/SONY/Immbeta2/21-1963.htm#post1>]. November 18, 1996.)

thousand a year, the majority of which was to the Cleveland area and Chicago (Allen 1988, 95). Croats immigrated in record numbers to the United States between 1948 and 1955 under the Displaced Persons Act (Bogue 1985, 356). The movement of refugees to Canada becomes substantial in the late 1940s and 1950s (Rasporich 1982, 182). War refugees of the 1940s were joined by émigrés from the newly formed Communist Yugoslavia, who were leaving the country illegally in significant numbers in the early 1950s (Čizmić 1982, 132; Rasporich 1982, 182-183). This period created polarization between the old and the new immigrants. Left-wing Yugoslavs were particularly annoyed at the influx of thousands of refugees; Rasporich documents these tensions between Croatian refugees and other Yugoslavs in Canada (1982, 182). This period is also the most intense in the number and variety of almanacs published. This reflected the polarization of the community, as shown in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 takes one of the titles that reflects the concerns of the post-war immigrants for in-depth analysis.

A movement for liberalization in Yugoslavia known as the Croatian Spring (suppressed in December of 1971), prompted an immediate emigration of a number of intellectuals, cultural workers, students, and political dissidents, followed by migrations from all segments of society. The wave of émigrés in the early 1970s was the result of a political and economic crisis in the country of origin. Forced exile for these individuals has homogenized this group into the post-war émigré cohort. The activities of the Yugoslav Secret Police abroad added to that atmosphere of fear. The isolation of the diaspora community throughout the post-World War II period from contact with the homeland is reflected in the themes and preoccupations in the immigrant press of this period. An ongoing polarization of the Croatian diaspora into those of nationalist and pro-Communist orientation is another significant marker of diaspora culture of the period.

Throughout the 1980s, émigrés settled predominantly in urban areas. Comparative statistics of emigration from Croatia in 1971, 1981, and 1991 indicate that Croats constituted, by far, the largest group of émigrés from the former Yugoslavia in all three periods, accounting for eighty-six,

seventy-six, and eighty-one percent of all emigrating Yugoslavs in each of these years.³⁷ respectively (Nejašmić 1995, 116). Another interesting feature of the social structure of emigrating persons in the three periods is a considerable increase in their educational status (from 1971 to 1991). Those with elementary education or less comprised more than seventy percent of Croatian migrants in 1971 and sixty-four percent in 1981 (*ibid.*, 15), and forty-four percent by 1991. The greatest increase is in the category of highly educated migrants, which quadrupled from two percent in 1971 to ten percent in 1991, while the category of unskilled workers stagnated throughout the period (*ibid.*, 15) as a result of the filtering procedures applied by the countries of immigration. The almanacs issued in that period are specialized, represented by the political and religious almanac. Many of the almanacs are continued from the post-war period into the 1960s and beyond, due to a higher education level of the immigrants of that period. This had an impact on the variety and the number of almanacs produced and in the ability to sustain these publications.

2.2.1.5. Immigration Statistics. The reconstruction of Croatian immigration figures and settlement patterns remains elusive in spite of many attempts at analysis (Čizmić 1982; Godler 1981; Prpić 1971 and 1978; Rasporich 1982) because the primary statistical sources do not provide a reliable overall estimate of migration statistics.³⁸ Although Nejašmić (1991 and 1995) specifically addresses the statistics figures and sources, his studies cover limited time periods. An attempt to give some sense of migration patterns in terms of numbers is necessarily limited and uneven. Estimates of the numerical strength of the Croatian diaspora around the world are contradictory. They range from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000. Including the emigrating individuals and their descendants, Bogue (1985, 347) considers the number of Croatians in diaspora to be as high as

³⁷Or, 195,353 out of 224,722 persons in 1971, 115,993 out of 151,619 in 1981, and 141,111 out of 175,338 in 1991 (Nejašmić 1995, 116). Most emigrated at their most productive time of life, between 25 and 54 years of age. While sixty-two percent of all migrants were in that age group in 1981, and in 1991, forty-nine percent (*ibid.*, 15).

³⁸The official statistics are inconsistent in how they reported Croatian migrations; secondary literature provides data that is not comparable. The reason for this inconsistency is that until 1920 Croatian immigrants are reported with others from the Habsburg realm. They are found under Yugoslavia or Central Europe in statistical sources (e.g., Bogue 1985, 349-350, T. 7.14. "Immigrants, by Country: 1820-1970"; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989 (109th edition) 1989, 10, T. 8. "Immigrants Admitted as Permanent Residents Under Refugee Acts, by Country of Birth: 1961 to 1987").

6,000,000 in 1985, which is more than the population of Croatia. Around half a million Croats emigrated on the eve of World War I. The Emigration Commission in Zagreb provides data for the period between the wars, estimating that the number of émigrés is 108,000. After World War II and through the 1950s, Croats were among 200,000 individuals immigrating to the United States and other countries. Čizmić notes that 43,000 Croats emigrated to the United States between 1945 and 1970 (1982, 417-442). According to the Annual Report of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for 1976 (quoted in Čizmić 1982, 133), 49,171 persons immigrated to the United States (from Yugoslavia) between 1969 and 1976. Rasporich (1982, 183) gives data for Canada for the period after World War II, according to which 18,000 persons of Yugoslav origin immigrated to Canada between 1955 and 1960, and 16,000 between 1960 and 1965. In a 1971 census, 23,380 Canadian residents declared themselves as Croatian (ibid., 192-193). According to the 1970 United States census, the number of Americans who were entirely or partly of Croatian descent is between 500,000 and 700,000 (cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989 (109th edition) 1989, 10, T. 8). According to a twenty percent sample database, Canada's mid-decade census of 1986 enumerates 35,115 Canadians of Croatian ethnic origin. Repatriation to Croatia has been considerable in some periods but even more difficult to determine statistically. As already stated, the wave of repatriation after dissolution of the Habsburg Empire was considerable, but so was the subsequent reimmigration to North America. According to Prpić (1971, 251), approximately thirty percent of pre-World War I Croats returned to their homeland after the war. He also claims that those from Dalmatia tended to stay in America, while those from the Croatian hinterlands and Slavonia were more likely to return. Although bare immigration figures give little information about the reading community in which the diaspora almanacs were circulated, they do provide a sense of the demographic mass and fluctuations in the community in which the diaspora almanacs were produced and read.

2.2.2. Community Profile.

In ethnic group history, the history of migration is a key to understanding the type of settlement and the process of institutional organization of the group. The following segment focuses on aspects of the formation of the Croatian diaspora community related to its demographics, organizational networks, levels of literacy, and reading habits. These features provide a link between the almanacs and the social groups engaged in their production, distribution, and use.

2.2.2.1. Communication Networks. In addition to press and broadcasting, organizations constitute the backbone of ethnic communication networks. Their numerical strength, goals, and objectives are the major indicators of life in a community (Wynar 1975, ix). Apart from establishing in-group communication, they are the means of its interaction and integration with the host society. The Croatian diaspora follows general patterns in this respect, with religious, political, financial, fraternal, and social organizations being formed early on. The first organizations are mutual aid and benefit societies, social clubs, musical groups, and volunteer fire-fighting companies; the ethnic press develops within the structure of these networks. The first mutual aid society, the Slavonian Mutual and Benevolent Society, was formed in 1857 in San Francisco, followed by those founded in New Orleans, Louisiana; New York, New York; Hoboken, New Jersey; and Calumet, Michigan (Govorchin 1961). The development of the Croatian Fraternal Union in Pittsburgh, founded by Zdravko Mužina in 1894, reflects the development of these organizations under an umbrella fraternal organization. The first Croatian bank was founded in Chicago in 1895, (Prva hrvatska banka i Parodbrodska poslovnic). Govorchin (1961), Prpić (1971 and 1978) and Bartulica (1943) give the historical overview of diaspora Croatian organizations, so it will not be repeated here. Stipanovich (1978) provides an overview of the indigenous socialist movements and analyzes the role of immigrant socialists in the formation of immigrant communities between 1900 and 1918. A good source for the history of organizations of the Croatian Peasant Party, is Spomenica na dvadeset godina Hrvatskih seljačkih organizacija u

Kanadi (1952). Overviews and bibliographies by Kesterčanek (1953), Hranilović (1978 and 1981), Prpić and Adams (1987), Jareb (1994), and Hanž (1992 and 1993) are the main sources for the history of the Croatian diaspora press.

The level of assimilation of the group in society is directly related to the maintenance of communication networks that indicate the level of homogeneity of the group. The organizations' membership, number, type, linguistic patterns, and circulation of ethnic periodicals and broadcasting services are the relevant indicators. The distribution of Croatian communities in the United States, the individual character they have developed over time, and the level of assimilation achieved depends on the time of immigration. The majority of Croatian settlements today are found in urban industrialized areas of the American Midwest, originating from the "new" immigrant waves at the turn of the century. The original pattern of settlement of Croatian-American communities in the United States is concealed by internal migrations following initial migration. The main ethnic organizations, such as Hrvatska bratska zajednica (the Croatian Fraternal Union), are the outcome of the organizing patterns of steel-workers who settled in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Chicago. These Croatian diaspora communities, now of the third and fourth generations, are completely assimilated, yet preserve the fraternalist spirit of this and other voluntary organizations. The "old" immigrants, who came in smaller numbers, pre-dating the industrial migrations of the turn of the century, settled in rural, non-industrialized areas, or on the West Coast. Apart from churches, there are no notable organizational networks related to this immigrant cohort, although it does have a sense of common origin. This is also a reflection of the time of their settlement, in the nineteenth century and prior to national differentiation. However, the process of shifting from regional to national identity is evident from early on, from the names of organizations and their subsequent variation to reflect political trends in Croatia.³⁹ This shows a

³⁹For example, Slovinsko-ilirsko pomoćno dobrotvorno društvo (or, Slav-Illyrianist Mutual Aid Society) was founded in 1857 in San Francisco. It changes its name to Slavensko uzajamno i potporno društvo (Slav Mutual and Support Society) in 1923, while Croatians from Dalmatia founded Austrijsko-amerikansko dobrotvorno društvo (Austrian-American Charitable Society) in 1873. A Slavensko-amerikansko dobrotvorno društvo (Slav-American Charitable Society) was founded in 1894 and Croatian steelworkers in Pittsburgh founded Jugoslavenski politički klub (Yugoslav Political Club) in 1903. These names clearly indicate the popularity of national unity and

constant shifting of group boundaries in response to current historical changes, but is significant because of its persistence in groups that may otherwise be well assimilated into the host society.

2.2.2.2. Literacy and Reading. Literacy figures for the emigrating populations may be derived from censuses in the country of origin and from the records of the immigration services, which, for the most part, do not give special figures for Croats but list groups which included immigrating Croats. It is more important to establish these data for the early migration waves from the nineteenth and early twentieth century before universal literacy was achieved through elementary education. Literacy figures are not relevant to describe the reading habits of post-World War II immigrants, among whom literacy is universal. Therefore, for the later immigration waves, it is more informative to present the findings of reading preferences and reading habits.

The Croatian censuses of 1869 and 1880 list literacy levels (Gross and Szabo 1992, 44), which are useful in projecting the figures on the immigrant communities, which we know consisted primarily of rural Croats. These figures are presented in Table 2.2. The table shows that differences between different Croatian regions (Civil Croatia and Slavonia as one administrative unit; Military Border and Dalmatia as separately administered units) are significant. Even more pronounced are the differences in literacy levels between urban and rural areas, and even between different towns. The third component is the difference in literacy levels between men and women. According to the census of 1869, literacy levels in the general population in the mid-nineteenth century are very low (from ten to forty-five percent in Croatian towns) and the levels in Vojna Krajina (Military Border) and Dalmatia are even lower. The urban and rural split is more pronounced in the mid-nineteenth century than at the end of the century. Croatian urban literacy is comparable to overall European literacy, whereas rural figures are below the European average. Cipolla states that, as late as 1850, about half of the adult population in Europe could neither read nor write (1969, 55, 114). His data

Yugoslavianist ideology in the diaspora on the eve of the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and reflect the politics of national unity (Mužić 1969, 48f).

clearly show pockets across Europe with a wide range of literacy levels.⁴⁰ With the educational reforms of the mid-nineteenth century in many European countries, the situation changed. Overall, educational progress had an essentially urban character at the time, which accounts for "two cultures developing side by side—an urban culture that was essentially literate, and a rural culture essentially illiterate" (ibid., 114), which is clearly the case in Croatia. According to his findings, illiteracy was also more widespread among women. Analysis of the figures of the 1869 census shows that, in Slavonian towns, literacy is higher than in the general population of Croatia. Literacy levels in Slavonia overall are significantly lower, but higher than the overall Croatian average. In the port of Rijeka (then under separate administration by Hungary), the percentage of literate population is somewhat lower than urban literacy in the Croatian interior. Evidently, the major difference in literacy is between town and village. Even with fragmentary figures, high overall illiteracy explains the absence of the ethnic press (and the almanac) before the end of the nineteenth century. Almanacs were popular publications and would be accessible even to those whose literacy was restricted (who could read but not write).

The census of 1880 (Gross and Szabo 1992, 64-65) indicates a significant change in literacy patterns. The literacy census encompasses the population of five years of age and above in the towns of Zagreb, Varaždin, Karlovac, Koprivnica, Križevci, Sisak, Senj, Bakar, and Bjelovar in Civil Croatia. Among women in those towns, the average reading and writing ability is lower than that of men, but not significantly (ten percent). Among those who could read but not write, the percentage for women is higher, as a reflection of distinct education patterns. The difference in women's literacy in different towns, for example between women in Zagreb and Karlovac, can be over twenty-five percent (the range is given in Table 2.2, or between 32.1 and 58.2 percent). What this tells us is that systematic schooling for women is not as uniform as for men. The overall

⁴⁰Among those where literacy is between fifty and seventy percent we find the Austrian Empire, Belgium, England and Wales, France, Ireland, and those where adult literacy is less than fifty percent include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Gibraltar, Malta, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Montenegro, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, and Spain, and the Russian Empire. In the Scandinavian countries, as well as Germany, Holland, Scotland, and Switzerland, we find low adult illiteracy of less than 30 percent (Cipolla 1969, 113-114).

percentage of illiterate men, is a significant thirty percent. The readers in Croatia in the nineteenth century would have been mostly from the urban middle class. The differential between rural and urban culture remains significant at the end of the nineteenth century, when emigration in great numbers ensues. The difference between male and female literacy, however, is not significant at the end of the nineteenth century.

These figures give an idea about literacy levels among the immigrants in North America at the end of the nineteenth century. Because the nineteenth century diaspora consists mostly of rural inhabitants from the south of Croatia (Dalmatia and Lika), where the levels of literacy are lower than in other parts of Croatia, the literacy levels among the immigrants is lower than in Croatia. Cipolla quotes seventy-three percent rate of illiteracy in Dalmatia (1969, 81), which is much higher than the average level of illiteracy in Croatia (thirty percent among men and forty-five percent among men and women combined). The literacy level among these immigrants is lower than that of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary entering the United States between 1895 and 1898.⁴¹ We know that the immigrants in that period were mostly males between 20 and 40 years of age. Based on the immigration statistics kept in the United States for Slovenian and Croatian immigrants to the United States between 1900 and 1914, a third were illiterate (Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1895, 1897, and 1898 and Talbot 1916; both quoted in Cipolla 1969, 97). In Bosnia and Herzegovina on the eve of World War I, Croats were predominantly peasants and with the highest level of literacy of the three communities.⁴²

The reading ability of the emigrating populations in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century was very low, and it is not surprising that the ethnic press (and the almanac trade) was not much developed in the nineteenth century, although at that time the popular almanac in

⁴¹ According to Cipolla (1969, 96-97), illiterates constitute between twenty-five and thirty-seven percent, which corresponds to the average in Croatia (with the exception of Dalmatia). Cipolla also gives an average illiteracy rate of twenty-five percent for Austro-Hungarian males of recruitment age (21 to 30 years) (*ibid.*, 94).

⁴² Macan (1992, 319) gives a figure of twenty-two percent, which is higher than the general average of twelve percent in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia experienced great popularity. In the 1920s, reading patterns among the immigrants were influenced by the educational efforts of cultural organizations and socialist movements. The bare data of literacy figures available for the nineteenth century can be complemented by findings about immigrant reading preferences in the 1930s, giving a context for the analysis of reading and ownership patterns for almanacs of the diaspora in Chapter 5.

The findings of the Reading Project undertaken in 1933 and 1934 (directed by Douglas Waples) provides data regarding the reading habits of ethnic communities in two small urban areas in Chicago, i.e., in the steel-producing community in the south side of Chicago. These data are analyzed by Miller (1936). This project targeted two segments of the immigrant population, the newer and the aging immigrant groups. One of the targeted neighborhoods was composed of persons of Polish descent and almost exclusively Catholic, with seventy-six percent foreign-born or native-born of foreign-born parents (*ibid.*, 742) consisting largely of unskilled labor (35 percent). The other neighborhood was almost exclusively American-born, of mixed ethnic and religious composition. English was their dominant language, and the predominant occupational profile included the skilled trades, professionals, and shopkeepers. Comparison of the characteristics of readers, materials read, and sources of supply in these two neighborhoods indicates, in the language of the time in which this study was conducted, a preference for "less reputable fiction," magazines "untrue to life, exaggerated, poorly written, highly emotional, and sometimes sensational ... especially those that specialized in adventure, detective, confessional and love topics" in the Slavic ethnic neighborhood (*ibid.*, 748-751) compared to fiction, magazines and newspapers in the assimilated ethnic neighborhood.⁴³ Sources of reading material are the home library. The public library is also significant for the Slavic ethnic neighborhood, as is sharing of reading material among friends. The findings indicate a correlation between unskilled labor, foreign parentage, and low elementary schooling, on the one hand, and low levels of total reading and limitation in "quality" of material read, on the other (*ibid.*, 756). This limited-quality material,

⁴³The latter category corresponds to the taste represented by the popular almanac of the period.

supposedly excluded fiction, magazines, and newspapers of higher educational value. By implication, these findings reflect patterns among the Croatian readers who also represent immigrants from the 1920s organized in ethnic communities that rose around the steel industry in the Midwest.

A later study of immigrant reading patterns by Muller (1942) confirms the connection between the selection of reading material and the social characteristics of readers. He claims that the choice of reading material is conditioned by "age, sex, education, income, occupation, religion, race, and group-membership of readers" (ibid., 7). These traits facilitate or impede the "influences upon the receptivity of an individual to environmental stimuli appearing in the form of printed materials" while less stable traits such as "attitudes, interests, aptitudes, motives, and emotional states" (ibid., 7) are less able to influence reading patterns. In the conditions of universal literacy, the less stable traits (as identified by Muller 1942, 7) become more prominent. In such situations, demographic traits are not meaningful variables that determine the choice of material. The choice of material is more likely to reflect ideological attitudes, interests, emotional states, etc. Therefore, literacy figures are largely irrelevant in the study of reading from the 1920s on, but they are crucial in understanding the dynamics of ethnic publishing and the differences between publishing patterns in the nineteenth century and the turn of the century, from those of the 1920s. In the 1950s, the ideological differentiation of the ethnic press is significant, and reading preferences as reflection of choice and attitudes more pronounced. The reading habits of the post-World War II émigrés have little to do with the ability of different groups in skills of reading. This distinction has strong implications for the methodology of studying the literacy and reading of diaspora Croatians, or rather a move from focusing on literacy as an ability to read to reading as a form of social expression. The meanings of texts, and the choices made by readers, depend on the readers' ideological frameworks and the nature of texts. These frameworks, as noted earlier, largely depended on the political ideologies brought from the homeland.

2.3. CROATIAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

The political movements, ideologies, and ideologues most influential in shaping political life in Croatia and its diaspora communities originate from national ideological movements of the nineteenth century. Josip Juraj Strossmayer's Yugoslavianism and Ante Starčević's Pravaštvo are the most influential structured ideological systems that affected twentieth century movements in Croatia and the Croatian diaspora. The most influential political movements derived from them in the twentieth century are the Croat Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljačka stranka) and its leader Stjepan Radić, the Croat Party of Right (Hrvatska stranka prava) and the workers', syndicalist, and socialist parties.⁴⁴ The activities of various clerical organizations, liberal bourgeois political blocs and coalitions were equally important in the political life of Croatia. They are similar to the programs of liberal bourgeois parties, which are concerned with questions of a purely political nature. Although these forms of political activity in Croatia are ideological, they do not necessarily emerge from a structured ideological system.

2.3.1. Political Groupings and Processes in Croatia

The central idea of Croatian politics until the end of the nineteenth century revolves around the issues of rights and agreements,⁴⁵ which reflect the tension between the forces of autonomous government and the power of the monarchy. Such a dynamic was possible because the Habsburg realm was a political formation created by contractual and legal association and not by conquest (Horvat 1990, II, 19). A legalistic approach to politics gradually became synonymous with the Croatian way of conducting political affairs. According to Horvat, political culture in Croatia is formed in, and reflects, a Baroque sensibility in the idea of the political self, the emphasis on the decorative aspects of political life, and the moral basis of the political process (ibid., 19). The

⁴⁴Josip Broz Tito was more of a politician than the ideologue of the communist movement.

⁴⁵The Croatian Rights ("hrvatske pravice" in Croatian) refer to the municipal and state rights defended by the Diet, which are tied to charters and agreements.

Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy (1669-1670) (cf. Table 2.1) is such a formative event of Croatian political culture, symbolizing a defensive character of Croatian politics in the Habsburg Monarchy and the mentality of the Croatian masses with which he explains the phenomenal success of the Croat Peasant Party with its defensive and pacifist ideology in the 1920s (ibid., 19).

While Habsburg absolutism was challenged by the Estate Diets in the eighteenth century, after 1848 it is challenged by national movements. Nineteenth century parties reflect the interests of the feudal aristocracy, landed gentry, established church, imperial bureaucracy, and liberal bourgeoisie. They are class parties and they reflect the interests of particular cliques, groups, clubs, and narrowly-based constituencies. The petty bourgeoisie, peasants, and workers do not enter political life before the end of the nineteenth century and, even then, do not participate fully. The parties that are broad-based in terms of constituency and membership are contemporary with the birth of the modern electoral system initiated at the end of the nineteenth century and more firmly established in the beginning of the twentieth century. This democratization of the political process is reflected in the diaspora almanacs, which reflect the interests of the mass-based movements. However, these movements are the outcome of political processes initiated in the nineteenth century.

2.3.1.1. The Nineteenth Century. In the nineteenth century, the two major governing bodies in Croatia are the Croatian Diet (Sabor in Croatian) and BANSKO VIJEĆE (or BANSKA KONFERENCIJA).⁴⁶ Until 1848, the Diet is an estates diet, reflecting the feudal characteristics of Croatian society. During the revolutions of 1848-1849, the emerging industrial economy strengthens the bond between landed aristocracy and the mercantilist classes (Karaman 1991, 6-7). The sharing of power between liberal bourgeoisie and aristocracy is a peculiarity of the political process in the Austrian state. This alliance results in a common interest in the demand for unification of the Croatian provinces divided into three administrative units (Civil Croatia and Slavonia, Military Croatia, and

⁴⁶This governing body is established by Ban Josip Jelačić in 1848.

Dalmatia).⁴⁷ National ideology, from the point of view of these two classes, is a reflection of the interests of nascent industrial capitalism and emanates from the desire to be involved in the regulation of trade, industry, and transportation. The centralized control exercised by the Monarchy during the time of absolutism and neo-absolutism in the first half of the century, however, prevented this aspiration. After the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868 (cf. Table 2.1) it clashes with the Hungarian interests in the Dual Monarchy. The reform of the Monarchy and the political struggle between the forces of centralization and federalism dominate the first part of the century; the second part is dominated by confrontations surrounding the Compromise of 1868 focused on control of trade, transportation and language policies.⁴⁸

Croatian political parties develop in the nineteenth century, beginning with the establishment of Ilirska stranka (The Illyrianist Party) in 1832.⁴⁹ a year that is considered the dividing line between "feudal and democratic Croatia" (Horvat 1990, II, 42). Its program is the political outgrowth of the Illyrianist Movement, with national emancipation as the central idea in cultural and political terms. Conservative elements in the Croatian Diet, especially the bloc of landed aristocracy from the region of Turopolje (Turopoljski plemići) and Horvatsko-ugarska stranka (Croatian-Hungarian Party) constitute an opposition group to Illyrianism (ibid., 60). They are known as Madaroni (Hungarophiles) because they promote Hungarian interests in the Croatian Diet. Hrvatska narodna stranka, the Illyrianist party of Southern Croatia, founded in 1859, demands that Dalmatia be united with the rest of Croatia (ibid., 157). They are in constant struggle with Autonomaši, an Italianophile party that wants autonomy for Dalmatia. In 1861, the Croatian Diet is for the first time divided into parties, polarized over the union with Hungary (ibid., 172). Unlike Narodna stranka, which is the opponent of the union, Samostalna stranka (the Independent Party) led by Ivan

⁴⁷They exist within a single political-administrative realm of the Monarchy yet will remain divided until World War I.

⁴⁸Pan-Slavism is the ideological basis of the struggle of the Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Monarchy; the centrality of language in these struggles should be understood in light of the Herdeman notion of nation.

⁴⁹It changes its name to Narodna stranka (The National Party) in 1843, after the Illyrianist name is outlawed by royal decree.

Mažuranić is active between 1862 and 1871. While Samostalna stranka takes account of political reality as a proponent of pro-Habsburg centralism, thus effectively curtailing the territorial pretensions of Italian, German, and Hungarian nationalism. Narodna stranka lingers on issues of historical rights and legalistic issues (*ibid.*, 182). Stranka prava (The Party of Right) becomes another important actor in political life in the 1870s and 1880s (*ibid.*, 168-170). As a staunch opponent of the unionists, Mađaroni and the ideology of South Slavic unity presented by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, this is the first party with broad appeal among the lower middle classes.

2.3.1.2. The Twentieth Century. The democratization of the parties toward the mass-based model does not occur before the twentieth century, when both representation and membership become broad-based.⁵⁰ Broadening of the electoral base by extension of the election law is one such process. From 1888, when only two percent of the population had the right to vote, to 1910, the voting population increases to 190,000. Political emancipation is tied to literacy, income (property), and is limited to males. The illiterate men, women, and those of poor social status are excluded from decisions on political and state issues (Horvat 1990, II, 47). The demand for elections based on general, equal, and immediate secret vote is on the Diet's agenda in 1918 (*ibid.*, 90). New election law of 1920 (*ibid.*, 192-193) for election of the Parliament (Ustavotvorna skupština) of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes gives all male citizens the right to vote, once they turn twenty-one.⁵¹ This election law is followed by agitation among the illiterate masses⁵² and the rise to power of the first mass-based political parties. Women are still excluded from universal franchise in 1920.

⁵⁰In some cases membership is confined to the commercial bourgeoisie while the constituencies may be broad-based but not truly representative in membership. Involvement of the masses in the political process is not necessarily democratic and this certainly seems to be the case in parties representing the liberal bourgeoisie.

⁵¹Because both this and the 1922 election law are based on the census of 1910 in order to boost the number of seats for the territory of the former Serbian Kingdom due to Serbia's alleged war loss in World War I, this election law was doomed to produce skewed election results. The difference is equivalent to 600,000 Serbian war casualties (Horvat 1990, II, 192-193, 237-247).

⁵²The new election law passed in 1922 is similar to the one brought two years before.

The dominant player in Croatian political life on the eve of the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire is the Croatian-Serbian Coalition, led by Svetozar Pribičević, which represents the interests of the liberal bourgeoisie. The Croatian Peasant Party under the leadership of Stjepan Radić is another important player. After dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy and creation of the new state, tension between centralist and anticentralist concepts emerges as the dominant formula of political life. The anticentralist, republican positions are in conflict with centralist, hegemonist, and monarchist tendencies in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Political restructuring results in the creation of new political parties and alliances and the merging of the three nations, or the three "tribes" of the South Slavs.

In this context, *Privremeno narodno predstavništvo*, a body entrusted with preparing the first elections in the new state in 1920, consists of three major political groups: Radikalna stranka led by Nikola Pašić, Demokratska stranka led by Ljuba Davidović⁵³ and the bloc consisting of Slovenska ljudska stranka led by Korošec, Jugoslavenska muslimanska organizacija and Narodni klub with representatives of Croatian parties. The two Serbian blocs and the representatives of the Slovenian-Muslim-Croatian bloc are opposed on the issues of centralism. In the elections of 1920, the major surprise is a new Croat Peasant Party which comes in third in the country and first in Croatia (Horvat 1990, I, 390-393; II, 196-197) among twenty-two other parties. The first-place finisher is Demokratska stranka, which runs on a platform of Yugoslavianism (one sovereignty); it attracts the youth intelligentsia in Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia. Radikalna stranka comes in second, offering a traditional Serbian program and gaining support from voters in Bosnia-Herzegovina and petty bourgeois and peasant masses in Serbia. Communists attract the protest vote, gaining as many as 200,000. ⁵⁴ In analyzing the results of this election, Horvat (1990, II, 197-198) concludes that

⁵³Both of them are Serbian traditional parties.

⁵⁴The communist votes were annulled in accordance with the law banning the Communist Party, known as *Obznana*, and announced on 29 December 1920. This law is followed by the Law of the Protection of State (*Zakon o zaštiti države*) in 1921, banning all communist activities.

the popularity of anticentralist parties⁵⁵ indicates the course which the new state should have taken if it were to be responsive to public opinion.

In the second elections held in 1923 (*ibid.*, 247-249), the Croat Peasant Party becomes leader of the federalist bloc and leader of the oppositional political parties. The winner of the elections is the centralist bloc led by Radikalna stranka, but the federalist opposition has grown strong, with the Croatian Peasant Party, Slovenska ljudska stranka (led by Korošec) and Jugoslavenska muslimanska organizacija (led by Spaho) presenting the strongest group in the Parliament (*ibid.*, 249). The elections of 1925 do not change this balance. Parliamentary obstructions and intimidation by the government lead to the formation of Seljačko-demokratska koalicija, or the "union for democracy" ("unija demokracije") between the Croatian and Serbian parties led by Svetozar Pribičević, Ljuba Bogdanović, and Stjepan Radić. The assassination of Radić and other leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party in the Parliament in Belgrade by Serbian radical Puniša Račić introduces a new era in political life. The dictatorship is announced in 1929, followed by persecution of the political parties, especially the communists. The end of "građanska politika" (civil-parliamentary politics) preceding World War II is followed by single-party rule of the Communist Party in socialist Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1990.⁵⁶ During this time, the government is administered by the party bureaucracy. The socialist regime effectively brought about the homogenization of the political sphere in the country of origin, relegating religion to a minor role in public life. A corresponding diversification of the political life and organized political activity in the diaspora (in which many recent immigrants played important roles) is a natural outcome of this situation. Therefore, the time of greatest political activity in diaspora is the time of the least ideological differentiation of the public life in the country of origin. The diaspora almanacs of that period reflect strong polarization in the diaspora on the issues of identity (national identity), and

⁵⁵They lose by a margin of 536,000 votes as opposed to 600,000 votes for the centralist bloc, in spite of the pressures and intimidation that accompanied the elections.

⁵⁶Free elections were held in Croatia in 1990, which indicates the switch from the single-party system to a multi-party post-Communist system.

experiences of the past (primarily of the World War II). Chapter 5 identifies the major players in that diverse political landscape and their place in the diaspora community as a whole. Since religion has been closely tied to the political history of Croatia, and to the almanac genre in particular, Chapter 6 focuses on the uses of the almanac genre in articulating identity through the narratives of the past, and clarifies how these narratives are involved in the political process, by integrating the religious and the political sphere. The polarization on the national question among the diaspora Croatians is rooted in the distinctive approaches of Yugoslavianism (Josip Juraj Strossmayer), Ante Starčević's *Pravaštvo*, Stjepan Radić's Croatian Peasant Party, and the parties of the political left, which are discussed in the following segment. The record of these ideological views has survived in the almanacs of the diaspora Croatians, discussed in Chapters 5 and particularly in Chapter 6.

2.3.2. The National Ideologies.

Croatian politics in the twentieth century has largely, if not exclusively, been focused on national issues. In his study of the national question in Yugoslavia, Ivo Banac attributes irreconcilable national ideologies, especially those defining the relations between the Serbs and the Croats, to the tensions and conflicts of inter-war, wartime, and post-war Yugoslavia and says that these conflicts contain "all the seeds of future disorders" (1984, 13). The conflictual nature of those relations is in "mutually exclusive ideologies" and not the inequity of resources, "contrasts in the material culture," or even the "choleric temperament" of these nations, as is sometimes maintained (*ibid.*, 105).⁵⁷ The three most influential concepts of Croatian sovereignty and nationhood are those

⁵⁷He states the basic difference among them as follows:

The comparison of Serb and Croat national ideologies suggests that the Serb national idea went through two distinct stages. Early on, when Orthodoxy and Serbdom were synonymous in Serb national thought, the Serb national concepts were understandably static. Moreover, where the Croat preoccupations with the reciprocity of the Slavic world occasionally led to Croatocentric ideologies (Vitezović), the solidly Serbocentric condition of Serb national concepts was impregnable to the intrusion of Slavophilic ideas. The Serbs felt a communality with the Orthodox Slavs, the Russians in particular, but the enthusiasm for things Slavic never overwhelmed them, as often happened among the Croats and some other Slavic peoples (Slovenes, Czechs). In the second stage of Serb

envisioned by Starčević, Strossmayer, and Radić. The first two are contemporaries and opponents in the second half of the nineteenth century. While Starčević advocates the Croatian state right tradition ("pravo"), Strossmayer is a proponent of unity for the South Slavs. Many subsequent political groups, parties, and movements follow a Starčevićist or Strossmayerite line. Pravaštvo or Jugoslavenstvo. However, the political offspring of these two ideologues may only be a distant reflection of their original vision.

2.3.2.1. Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Yugoslavianism. A direct outgrowth of the Illyrianist idea of South Slavic reciprocity is the liberal Yugoslavist (Strossmayerite)⁵⁸ vision of South Slavic unity. Croats' inability to resist the interests of surrounding forces, i.e., the Hungarian and Germanic influences in the Habsburg Empire, calls for combining forces with other South Slavs, primarily Serbs and Slovenes, in order to assure cultural and political sovereignty (Gross and Hudelist 1991, 45). The Strossmayerites represent a liberal bourgeois political elite opposed to Starčevićianist radical nationalism, which had a more popular appeal.

Strossmayer's Yugoslavianism represented a resistance to the national policies in the Habsburg Empire: in this respect, it is an outgrowth of the Illyrianist movement. Strossmayer's liberal Yugoslavianism, based on South Slav reciprocity, should be clearly distinguished from the Yugoslav unitarism enforced in the political reality after 1918. The latter constitutes the attempts to denationalize its constituent nations: it is reflected in the attempts to forge a Yugoslav nation in addition to a state. "The crucial element of unitarist mentality was the belief that separate linguistic and literary media, state traditions, confessional allegiances, and so on, could be fused into a new

national ideology, the religious definition of Serbdom was significantly weakened. Nevertheless, the new secular ideas of Serb nationhood were not predominantly - nor even significantly - historical. Instead, the Serb national movement increasingly based itself on the natural right of nationality, defined largely in linguistic terms. This emphasis undermined the state right tradition of Croat national ideology but did not at the same time weaken the emerging Serbian statehood, achieved in the Serbian Revolution, beginning in 1804. (Banac 1984, 105)

⁵⁸Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the ideologue of Yugoslavianism, was a bishop of Đakovo diocese in Slavonia, a cosmopolite and universalist, the founder of the Croatian academy in 1866 (originally called Yugoslav Academy). He is considered to be the greatest philanthropist in Croatian history.

quality" (Banac 1984, 102). Language policies are one example of this approach to culture. The differences between the Serbs and Croats were viewed by unitarists as "nonorganic, that is, nonnational" and blamed "on the effects of history and hence [one] could not help viewing them as accidental-and therefore reversible" (ibid., 102). In the unitarist view, Croatian cultural tradition belonging to the Western European cultural cycle is seen as less vital than Serbian culture in the South Slavic melting pot, considered to be weakened by foreign influences throughout history, meek in its "legalist scruples," and liable to manipulation by the West through Catholicism as the dominant religion of the Croats (ibid., 102). Opposition of the tradition of Croat state right and Yugoslav unitarism as two mutually exclusive ideas comes into the open after the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Serbian unitarists promoted Serb superiority while paying lip-service to the idea of Yugoslavianism.⁵⁹

2.3.2.2. Ante Starčević and Pravaštvo. Ante Starčević (1823-1896) was the leader of a group in the Croatian Diet (of which another prominent member is Eugen Kvaternik) which was opposed to the opportunistic policies of the liberal bourgeois politicians and monarchist bureaucrats. He was a proponent of Croatian sovereignty outside the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy (Gross and Hudelist 1991, 42), which made him the most radical politician of his time.⁶⁰ Together with Eugen Kvaternik, he was the creator of Croatian national ideology, which rejects Illyrianism because of its loyalty to the Habsburgs which failed to protect Croatian rights in the face of Hungarian nationalism. Moreover, he saw Habsburg absolutism as an encroachment upon Croatian historical state right.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Croatian Yugoslavism as expressed among the liberal Nationalist Youth early in the twentieth century takes over some of these ideals. Among the idealistic Yugoslav Serbophiles is the Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović who, in the early days of his career, becomes a "leading practitioner of the much propagated 'racial art.' ... his sculptures of Prince Marko and of the fallen heroes associated with the loss of Serbian statehood at the Battle of Kosovo (1389), the central event in the Ottoman conquest of the Nemanjić state" (Banac 1984, 103).

⁶⁰ He is known for his searing humor and confrontational manner.

⁶¹ In Banac's words:

The ideology of Starčević and Kvaternik rested on their affirmation of state right that by supposition belonged to the Croat "political people" as far back as their migration to the Adriatic basin. The conquest of the new homeland in the sixth and seventh centuries, the "primary acquisition", established the eternal and natural Croat right to the ownership of the land. To be sure, the idea of a political people was already outmoded in much of

Starčević is the father of Croatian national radicalism. His definition of Croats as the "political people" is "genetic" (Gross and Hudelist 1991). He applies an assimilationist perspective on the other peoples, seen to inhabit the territory of a Greater Croatia which stretches from the Alps to the Drina river in the east, and from Albania in the south to the Danube river and the Bulgarian border in the northwest. According to Kvaternik's interpretation of Porphyrogenitus (Banac 1984, 86), the only other South Slavic nation that Starčević recognizes as legitimate and out of the scope of Croatian assimilationism is Bulgaria.⁶² Starčević's negation of the Serbs went as far as the claim that the "ruling family of Doclea [the historical Serbian kingdom under Nemanjić] was the most ancient and most illustrious Croat family--the Nemanjić" (ibid., 87-88). This historicist theory makes Starčević a Croatian counterpart to Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin, the creators of the political idea of Greater Serbia.

The negation of other peoples is a logical consequence of the "genetic" national theory, because the same definition one applied to oneself could apply to others as "political people," with an implication that their existence would require a natural political expression in a separate political territory (ibid., 88). The only logical resolution of this problem is the assimilation of differences, that is, Croatianization. The historical myth of Bosnian Muslims takes its assimilationist form in them being considered genetic Croats converted to the Muslim religion at the time of the Turkish conquests. It was expressed by a slogan propagated by the puppet government of Ante Pavelić

Europe. The populus of medieval Croatia was the nobility, and its nationhood extended as far as the state frontiers. Starčević and Kvaternik believed that beginning in the eighteenth century, when the exclusive noble responsibility to defend the homeland was transferred to the popularly based standing armies, the nobility had lost all its exclusive rights in favor of the people. Thus the lower classes became the political people, a concept that still carried a great deal of weight in the legitimist Habsburg Monarchy. But, as had been true in medieval times, there could be only one political people in a given state, and the Croats, as the bearers of the indivisible Croat state right, were the sole political people on the territory of Starčević's Great Croatia (1984, 85-86).

⁶²Accordingly, "Slovenes were 'Highland Croats,' or the 'Croats of Noricum,' after the ancient Roman province. As for the Serbs, the term could be applied only to an 'unclean race' of various origins, dating to ancient times, which was bound together only by its servile nature; Aristotle had noticed this makeshift people in Thrace. The name derived from the Latin servus (servant) and was resurrected by Russian and Orthodox propaganda to divide the Croats by religion at the time of Peter the Great's first efforts to penetrate the Balkans" (Banac 1984, 86).

during World War II which referred to Muslims as "the flower of Croatianness" (*cvijeće hrvatstva*). This, in fact, is an ideological derivation from the "genetic" theory used by Ustashe to give an ideological framework to common Croatian and Bosnian Muslim interests in Bosnia, in light of Croatian military expansion. The assimilationist theory, in this case, was not imposed but reflected an existing predisposition.

Starčević comes from Lika, where the Catholic and Orthodox population is mixed: he himself was a child from a marriage in which his mother was a converted Orthodox. Starčević includes the Croatian Orthodox Serbs in his assimilationist appellation of "Orthodox Croats," but he detests "political Serbs," which he regarded "as unfortunate successes of anti-Croat propaganda inspired by Vienna and St. Petersburg" (*ibid.*, 88). Nevertheless, *Hrvatska stranka prava* (or The Party of [Croatian State] Right), led by Eugen Kvaternik and Ante Starčević, has a number of followers among the Orthodox population in Croatia.⁶³ The positive role of The Party of Right, however, was its leadership in opposition to the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise (*Nagodba*) in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The political offspring of Starčevićianism, or *Pravaštvo*,⁶⁴ ranges from liberal, to Catholic clericalist, to radical nationalist groups. Among those who were inspired by the ideas of Ante Starčević were liberal politicians and creators of the politics of the New Course, Nikola Trumbić and Frano Supilo. After 1918, there are a number of factions that claim descendancy from the Party of Right, but the ideas of Starčević are becoming more diffuse. His concepts of political self become historical myths and prejudices that had an effect on the Croatian masses. In the opinion of Starčević expert Mirjana Gross (*Gross and Hudelist 1991, 42-43*), there is no direct link between

⁶³This explains why Eugen Kvaternik attempted a coup against the Habsburgs in 1871 known as "Rakovačka buna" in predominantly Orthodox area of Lika, counting on the patriotism of Orthodox Military Frontiersmen (*Banac 1984, 88*), a calculation that was misguided. The circumstances surrounding this event have made it one of more mysterious moments in Croatian history that is often revisited as a historical myth in Croatian diaspora almanacs of "pravaški" orientation.

⁶⁴The ideology of *Pravaštvo* after Starčević's death, survives in two factions: *Milinovci* (led by Mile Starčević) and *Starčevićanci* (led by Ante Pavelić, no relation to the leader of Ustashe) (*Gross 1973*).

the ideology of Ante Starčević and Ante Pavelić's Ustashe, a paramilitary group of radical nationalists that emerges in 1929. She considers that the Ustasha movement develops under the influence of European fascism and the specific circumstances of monarchist Yugoslavia, while the ideological similarities with Starčević are purely typological. The association of Pravaštvo and Ustaštvo, however, is prominent.

Starčević's concept of sovereign Croatia at the time when this was unthinkable for the liberal Yugoslavist ideologues is significant for its extremism, as is his inclusion of the people in the political process as the Croatian political people, in his advocacy of the universal franchise. His extreme nationalist orientation and his theories of the nation are by no means unique for his time: they are typical of the romantic national integrationist ideology (Gross 1973). She rightly calls the Pravaški movement a cult rather than a political party, and Starčević himself grows larger than life even during his lifetime. Because so many factions claimed descendancy from his political thought even immediately after his death, it is difficult to assess the true nature of his contribution in his own time.

2.3.2.3. Stjepan Radić and the Croatian Peasant Party. The two opposing ideologies of the Croatianness of the Croat State Right Party and liberal Yugoslavianism become a basic political formula for other Croatian political ideologies. A strong attraction of the former is due to a combination of factors. First, the ideology of Strossmayerite Yugoslavianism has always been abstract and involved principles that were beyond the immediate concerns of the Croatian public. From the Illyrianist Movement to 1918, Yugoslavianism had been exclusively the ideology of the liberal bourgeois politicians, intelligentsia, and part of the clergy. Gross considers that, in order to be able to accept the idea of Yugoslavianism, it would have been necessary for the Croatian public to be exposed to basic information about South Slav issues, the complexity of which exceeded the potential of the primary educational system (Gross and Hudelist 1991, 44). She considers that only immediately before World War II, did the Croatian public achieve some understanding of

Yugoslavianist ideology under the combined influence of social democracy, Stjepan Radić, and the progressives, although this has not translated in wide popular appeal.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the popular appeal of Pravaštvo, especially among the lower and middle class reflected the process of national differentiation in which local and regional identity is transformed to national identity, taking the direction of Croatian and not Yugoslav national identity (ibid., 45).

Stjepan Radić was the first Croatian politician who managed to reach all classes. This earned him the appellation *Gospodar masa* (Master of the Masses) (Horvat 1990, II, 118) because of his ability to articulate concerns close to the life experiences of the Croatian peasantry. The speeches he gave are distinct from those of liberal bourgeois politicians; they are delivered in language close to those for whom they are intended, using proverbs and common sense; he was direct in addressing issues relevant to the lives of the people. He was not a demagogue but an interpreter of popular sentiments. Together with his brother Antun Radić, he founded *Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka* (or the Croat People's Peasant Party) in 1904. In his national ideology, he integrates the Starčevićianist and Strossmayerite vision.⁶⁶ His solution of the Croatian question is federalist and non-radical, both in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy and, later on, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Horvat 1991, 4). In the new state,⁶⁷ Radić is submitted to constant pressure of censorship and was imprisoned several times. His hold on the masses is strong while he keeps a

⁶⁵As witnessed in the voting patterns in the censuses in Socialist Yugoslavia.

⁶⁶According to Banac,

He was simultaneously a consistent partisan of Croat state right and of South Slavic narodno jedinstvo, but he was also convinced that the perpetuation of the Habsburg Monarchy, in a democratized and federalized version, represented a solid guarantee for the progress of the small Central European peoples increasingly threatened by Germany's *Drang nach Osten*. He therefore became an advocate of a belated Austro-Slavic formula that called for the establishment of the Czech, Galician, Hungarian, Alpine, and Croat federal states, united in the person of a monarch from the Habsburg family. ... The Kingdom of Croatia would be a federal unit in which the Monarchy's Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes would organize their own affairs on the basis of their narodno jedinstvo. As for the non-Habsburg Serbs and Bulgars, he suggested that they work for the creation of a separate Yugoslav or Balkan federation. Radić was therefore not a partisan of a Yugoslav state that would include all the South Slavs... In short, his Yugoslavism ended on the borders of Austria-Hungary (1984, 104-105).

⁶⁷In order to express its republican orientation, his party is renamed *Hrvatska republikanska seljačka stranka* (or Croatian Republican Peasant Party) in 1918.

low profile in order to be able to continue his political activity. The Croat Peasant Party under leadership of Stjepan Radić emerges in the elections of 1923; in the elections of 1925 it captured twenty-four percent of all votes (Macan 1992, 394). The strength of its social rather than national appeal is reflected in the support of not only the Croatian peasantry and the middle classes, but of voters in Bosnia-Herzegovina and even from the Serbian peasants in Serbia. He consciously targeted non-Croatian areas for the elections of 1927. As a political organization, the party grows as a grassroots peasant movement, without newspapers, without assemblies, without financial support, bribery, and political corruption (Horvat 1990, II, 327). This must have contributed to its popularity, in addition to the fact that its social programs address agrarian issues. Radić's program after 1918 was inspired by Wilsonism (ibid., 13-29) and influenced by the Russian Revolution. He is a proponent of the creation of the "peasant state" (seljačka država) (ibid., 160) and active in the "peasant International" (ibid., 274). Radić advocates political struggle by peaceful means and pacifism as the official policy of the Croatian Peasant Party.

2.3.2.4. The Parties of the Political Left (Trade Unionism, Socialism, Workers' Movements, The Communist Party). The process of industrialization in the towns of Northern Croatia starts with 1848 and intensifies in the 1860s. The rise of syndicalism in the Habsburg Empire is dated at around 1860 and this is the time when the antecedents of the socialist party in Croatia emerge as a combined result of industrialization and the formation of the working class. At first, the working class consisted of skilled workers, master workers (kalfe), and apprentices (šegrti). Their first attempt to form an association in order to improve working and living conditions, as well as the education of workers, dates from 1869 (Karaman 1991, 277). In the economic crisis of 1873, the structure of the working class, previously consisting of skilled labor, changes dramatically, adding a proletarian class of industrial workers recruited by rural migration, who lived in appalling conditions. The structure of the working class at the turn of the century consists of skilled workers,

self-employed artisans, and unskilled industrial proletariat,⁶⁸ as two different classes of workers. The center of industrial activity, Zagreb, is joined by provincial centers at that time. The establishment of the workers' movements is weakest in Dalmatia and Istria, where the social structure as well as the political situation is different from the Croatian north.

Obrtničko-radničko društvo is formed in 1873 as the first workers' association, with a membership of 500, most of whom are skilled workers. Typographer Dragutin Kale, a member of that association, becomes the editor of the first (bilingual, Croatian and German) workers' newspaper with a socialist orientation (Karaman 1991, 276-277). Groups engaged in socialist and syndicalist activities are not well-organized before the turn of the century. The stronger institutionalized presence of the socialist movement in Croatia⁶⁹ continues with a rapid growth of the workers' movement between 1903 and 1906. At this time, the number of organized workers is high; it increases again in 1910 (Šidak, et al. 1968, 308). After 1907, the activity of trade unions is legalized⁷⁰ during the coalition government in which the socialists align themselves with the liberal bourgeois parties—they are included in the Croatian-Serbian Coalition.⁷¹ Due to the specific circumstances in which they act, Croatian socialists differ from Austro-socialists, because they align with the liberal bourgeoisie on the national issue, thus putting the national program reflected in the resistance to dualism in front of their class interest. They are also distinct because they favored non-aggressive means of opposition. The structure of the organized workers' movement,⁷² in which the backbone and leadership is from the ranks of skilled workers⁷³ and not the industrial

⁶⁸In this group, the seasonal workers in wood industry cannot be clearly identified as working class. They are semi-peasant.

⁶⁹For example, the founding of the Socijal-demokratska stranka za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju in 1894.

⁷⁰The reorganization of syndicates that takes place after they are officially legalized does not result in dissolving the invisible networks that enable underground activities in organizing strikes and protests.

⁷¹The political presence of socialists in public life is minor. The representative elected in the Croatian Diet from 1908 to 1910, is Vitomir Korać. In 1912, the activity of the socialist organizations is prohibited under the absolutist regime of Ban Cuvaj, thus effectively thwarting the growth of the socialist movement (Šidak et al. 1968, 308, 311, 312).

⁷²Industrial workers are in the minority if compared to skilled artisans between 1890 and 1900. The decline of industrial workers after 1907 is tied to the recession in the wood industry which employed most of them (Šidak et al. 1968, 309), this conditioned the structure of the workers' movement.

⁷³Or, tradesmen and artisans but the self-employed workers suffering the prospect of proletarianization.

proletariat, accounts for this absence of radicalism.⁷⁴ They lead politics from a middle-class point of view and efficiently control the radicalism of the industrial workers⁷⁵ and their aggressive outbursts. The ideological basis of the socialist movement is not Marxist nor is their means of struggle revolutionary. Prior to World War I, clericalist and Christian-socialist associations were organized expressly with the intent to absorb the socialist movements (ibid., 311).

Croatian socialists differ from the positions of the Austro-Marxism of the Second International because they do not accept the solution of the national questions in the Habsburg Monarchy in terms of cultural autonomy.⁷⁶ They see this as yet another way of asserting Austrian hegemony over non-German nationalities. The avoidance of important issues of a political and economic nature that were crucial in resolving the Croatian question within the Monarchy (ibid., 313-314) also alienates them. In the aftermath of the Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875, the Croats, together with Slovenians and socialists from Bosnia-Herzegovina, put forward a solution for the reform of the Habsburg Monarchy in the meeting of the Yugoslav Socialist Conference in Ljubljana in 1907. They suggest the constitution of one Yugoslav nation. As a precondition, they consider forging a common literary language and orthography for all South Slavs (Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, and Bulgarians).⁷⁷ The Yugoslav nation, according to

⁷⁴Their ideology is based on the experience of an agrarian class.

⁷⁵Unskilled workers organize their own trade union *Opći radnički savez* in 1909 (Šidak et al. 1968, 311). This is their first successful attempt at organization.

⁷⁶Defined as the exclusive right to decide on language, education and cultural issues.

⁷⁷The implications of these cultural policies are summarized by Banac as follows:

The Social Democrats were not Marxists and therefore did not link their unitarism to a developed historicist scheme, whereby class confrontation fueled the progression of socioeconomic formations. According to this indiscriminate idea, the defense of South Slavic national individualities was no more than an expression of moribund medieval particularism, waged by the "tribal and confessional separatists" against the forces of progress. The Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were one nation, spoke one language, and constituted one economic-geographical whole, and it was practically impossible and utopian to divide them by "tribe". Though all the Social Democratic groups expressed variants of these ideas, their attitude toward the national question was actually quite a complicated one, reflecting the histories of, depending on the count, six or more Social Democratic organizations that operated on the territory of Yugoslavia [prior to unification] before 1914. The most important of these old parties were the Social Democratic parties of Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia, essentially reformist parties in the Austro-Marxist tradition, which were mostly concerned with trade union problems and had almost no intellectual leadership, and the parties of Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina,

socialists, is not a political but a cultural one, directed to the reform and not the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy. Disagreement between the social democrats from the Monarchy and those of other South Slavs becomes clear during the Balkan Socialist Conference convened in Belgrade in 1910. The program of Yugoslav Socialists from the Monarchy and Serbian and Bulgarian Socialists (Šidak, et al. 1968, 315-316) differs with regard to the notion of the Yugoslav nation, with the Yugoslav socialists from the Monarchy (Croats) holding positions close to the cultural Yugoslavianism of Bishop Strossmayer.

After unification in 1918, social democracy undergoes a crisis in which a split occurs over the issue of the Russian Revolution and the Communist movement and the issue of the unification of Yugoslavia (Banac 1984, 196). The Communist Party emerges at that time from the left wing of the socialist factions.⁷⁸ During the 1920s, socialist and communist factions disagree over the issues of unitarism, centralism, the Bolshevik revolution, and the national question. The Socialist Party of Yugoslavia is founded in 1921. The Unification Congress of Komunistička partija Jugoslavije (Communist Party of Yugoslavia),⁷⁹ marked the end of the first phase in the consolidation of the Comintern's South Slavic section (ibid., 329). The character of the party is conspiratorial, its activities curtailed by Obznana (or the Proclamation), a government decree of 1920 prohibiting the activity of the Communist party and resulting in imprisonment and persecutions.

Concerning the national question, the party is divided into those that recognize it and those that consider it irrelevant (Macan 1992, 396). The underground wing of the Communist Party of

both more doctrinaire, with the Serbian party, especially, largely dominated by intellectuals and preoccupied with the purity of doctrine and class independence of the socialist movement. But whereas the parties of Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia broke away from the Austro-Marxists strictures against reducing the national question to the struggle for "cultural-national autonomy", and eventually came to espouse unitarist Yugoslavism, the Serbian socialists steadfastly shunned preoccupations with nationality as activities that properly belonged to the sphere of purely bourgeois concern (1984, 196).

⁷⁸The right-wing Socialists, led by Vitomir Korać, are present in the elections of the 1920s; their positions are close to the government and the positions of the ruling parties.

⁷⁹Or Socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije (Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia), as the party was called until June 1920.

Yugoslavia is against monarchist Yugoslavia⁸⁰ and unitarism, considered to be a pretext for Greater Serbian imperialism. They demand the proletarian revolution that will enable oppressed peoples to liberate themselves and form independent republics (Soviet Croatia, for example). Their solution for the national question is a Balkan federation and not agreements between bourgeois parties (ibid., 397). Such a position is articulated by the Zagreb unit of the Communist Party led by Josip Broz Tito, the strongest in the country, and supported by the Comintern. Banac recognizes the problem of factionalism in the Communist Party to be a result of the "uneasy combination of independent leftists, many of them, at least in the former Austro-Hungarian territories, from the ranks of the Nationalist Youth, and of Social Democratic groups" (1984, 329), with various stands on the national question. The failure of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to recognize the importance of national and peasant movements caused them to lose control of a large part of the electorate in Croatia in the elections in the 1920s. Their radical opposition both to the centralist government and the opposition parties isolated them politically (ibid., 331-332). Unity is achieved in the Communist party in 1928, with Josip Broz Tito as the political secretary of the party. The stand on the national question fluctuates after the unification of Yugoslavia until its dissolution, between 1919 and 1941. The tone of the Communist Party is unitarist—favoring a "single national state with self-governed regions, districts and communes" based on the idea of "nacionalno jedinstvo" (national unity) (ibid., 332-333). The Serbian and Croatian Communists have different ideas of national unity. The former consider it a "temporary expediency," while it is more firmly ideological for the latter (ibid., 335). The national issue, it should be emphasized, is not central to the communist ideology, but rather tied to the resolution of social problems and class revolution. National unity in Communist terms was, "a variant of nationalism: specifically, the prototype of South Slavic supranationalism" (ibid., 337-338). In Marxist derivation, internationalist humanity would shed "all the elements of the alienation characteristic of class societies, including nationality" (ibid., 338). The issue of national unity from 1945 to 1990 in Socialist Yugoslavia is translated into

⁸⁰The origin of the phrase "tamnica naroda" (or the "prison of the people" in Croatian).

practical politics focusing on the balance of federalism or centralism in post-World War II Yugoslavia.

2.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter addressed the social and political conditions that determined the context in which diaspora almanacs were circulated and produced. The number and type of immigrant populations, their literacy level and cultural preferences, were the major determinants of literacy practices and genre formation at any particular time, but also the political convictions of distinct diaspora cohorts. Therefore, in providing the background for this study, it was necessary to present the elements that determined these literacy practices. The focus on context is crucial in the study of the diaspora almanac genre because the genre is a social form that arises from interactions in the community. The historical context of the migrations and a survey of political ideologies is a backdrop to the development of institutions and communication networks in the diaspora. The framework for the analysis of the production, reception, and use of the almanacs is a reflection of the ideological landscape of the diaspora. This pertains in particular to religious publishers (especially the Franciscans), and political groups as publishers of almanacs (including socialist organizations, the Croatian Peasant Party, and Hrvatski Domobran). This chapter is the basis for analysis of the fluctuations in the almanac trade, and the distinct role of these groups in the almanac trade, which is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 as well as providing the basis for the interpretation of fluctuations in the almanac trade in the context of the sociocultural dynamics of the diaspora community. The cultural material from which the texts of the diaspora almanac were shaped also draw on the shared assumptions of the diaspora community (the figures of Strossmayer, Radić, and Starčević, are among most commonly reproduced in these almanacs, as emblems for the political discourses with which they have become associated). The changing roles of the diaspora almanac and its transformations to address these communicational purposes are tied to demographic and cultural changes in the community. Two generational segments dominate the diaspora culture and almanac

literacy. The economic migrants typically from rural areas dominate the diaspora culture between 1869 and 1948 and a mix of political and economic migrants from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Ideologies determined the political dynamics of the diaspora--how groups and individuals channelled resources; they also form a basis for cultural production, "whereby objects, signs, or practices are appropriated into different meaning systems and cultural settings" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 33). As described in the introduction to this chapter, those cultures that exist outside of the dominant cultural systems engage in transformations of existing discourse to articulate new relevant knowledge. The diasporic culture is one such derivative subculture which uses discourses of Croatian national culture, diminishing them to a limited repertoire of historical myths that are the focus for competing ideologies and groups for which the diaspora almanacs serve as an outlet. As shown in Chapter 6, the derivative nature of that process does not mean that it is devoid of originality. Although the goal of this thesis is to interpret the process of knowledge-formation and its relationship to a genre of print, rather than to the ideologies themselves, the figures, events, and dynamics of Croatian politics needed to be addressed here because they provide the basis for knowledge-systems patched together in the diaspora almanac. In addition to political content, religion and the association with Roman Catholic religious orders is another strong component in many of the almanacs. The explanation for this connection is not found in Croatian ecclesiastical history but rather in the history of the almanac genre and the successive contexts of their transmission, which were closely related to religious orders and their influence in shaping discourses and genres of lay literacy. The association of the almanac with the contexts of textual transmission and literacy originating from the efforts of the Catholic Church in popularizing the Gregorian calendar, and the enlightenment efforts of the Franciscans in the eighteenth century (especially in Slavonia) is presented in the following chapter. The history of the almanac genre in Croatia, as presented in the following chapter, serves to explain this strong clerical component in the diaspora almanacs.

3

History of the Almanac in Croatia

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Because the notion of genre arises from the "reception of a succession of related texts," an important aspect of understanding genres is to grasp them "historically in the changing horizon of [these] successive manifestations" (Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory 1993, 83). Paradoxically, the continuity of a genre is preserved through change initiated in response to specific conditions in the communication environment. As the communication roles of genres change, so do their forms and uses, reflecting the totality of social, political, and economic-material conditions that bring about these changes. Transformations of the genre are reflected in the changes of texts, artefacts that present these texts, the content conveyed, and the manner in which the texts are produced, distributed, and used.

From its medieval roots, the almanac is a distinct tradition of literacy which lingers on the margins of oral and literate culture, shifting in form, content, and structure, as well as in the contexts of transmission. The annual almanac remains the prototype of the modern almanac and is related to the popularization⁸¹ of the calendar. Therefore, in addition to an ambiguous position with regard to the cultures of literacy and orality, the calendar is one of the features that conveys a sense of continuity to the almanac genre. Transmission of the calendar in various texts and formats is found in the context of oral, scribal and printed communication, as calendrical verse, wooden calendars, or the medieval calendar found in manuscript and printed prayer-books, missals, and breviaries. Book-length compilations of useful knowledge such as the popular fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Kalendrier des bergers,⁸² and the broadside

⁸¹Popular is understood in opposition to élite, or as a contrast between the minority and the majority.

⁸²Kalendrier des bergers, or, the Shepherd's Calendar, is the first French popular almanac of the perdurable type found in numerous manuscript and print editions, adaptations, and translations from the original fifteenth century text attributed to Nicolas le Rouge of Troyes. Among its first printed versions is Guy Marchand's 1491 Paris edition of Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers (revised in 1493). Also known are Geneva editions (of 1480? and Jean Belot's 1497 edition). Subsequent editions appear throughout this and the next century in Troyes (1510, 1529, and 1541), Lyons (1551), Paris (1499, 1589), etc. The first English edition was issued by Richard Pynson in 1506, followed by 1508 (Wynkin de Worde), 1518 (Julian Notary), and 1580 (Ihon Wally) editions. Not only its broad radius of dissemination but also its sustained popularity is confirmed by compilations prepared throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Guy Marchand's 1493 edition is representative of this type of work which

calendar as its popular equivalent, are precursors of the annual almanac, but many of these earlier forms continued after the advent of the annual, book-like almanac in the seventeenth century. The annual almanac incorporates all of the communicational purposes of these early forms of the genre, and is a revolutionary landmark in the development of the genre.

Association of the almanac with a popular encyclopedia, an everyday Bible, or the people's book, is tied to the role of the almanac as a tool for popular dissemination of calendar literacy, in the context of a secular structuring of one's life. The almanac is now synonymous with a book-sized, serialized annual comprising the calendar for the coming year accompanied by narrative portions dealing with popular medicine, farming, news items, and various texts of a purely entertaining nature. Specialization of the almanac in response to an increasingly segmented audience throughout the nineteenth and especially in the twentieth century resulted in the separate development of the farmer's almanac, and annual compendia of data and statistics of a given year (Katz 1987, 222), general in coverage or limited to a particular subject. These forms of almanac literacy continue the functions of the early almanacs, adapted to the communicative needs of the twentieth century.

Bollème's (1971, 63) broad definition of the almanac as a "book that groups the essential, all that is considered useful in the organization of life, presented in a condensed form and as completely as possible, highly readable and enabling reading at different levels"⁸³ focuses on

bridges a gap between Latin, clerical literacy, and popular literacy in the vernacular. Its preface, "Prologue de lecteur qui a mis le compost et kalendrier des bergiers en forme de livre comme il est," indicates a strong connection with oral tradition. Marchand is a representative of scholastic literacy but, in this text, he assumes a mediating role, writing down in the form of a book the texts of oral knowledge. *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* is, by explicit association, a text handed down in a cycle of transmission of popular, non-literate knowledge of the calendar, medicine, physiognomy, phlebotomy, astrology, and anatomy of the "shepherds," written in the languages in which they themselves communicate--French and Latin. By his own admission, Marchand transforms in written form the knowledge circulated in oral tradition in the idiom of those non-literate segments of the population. But why does he employ this elaborate convention to introduce a text that has little to do with the imaginary shepherds whose authorship he invokes? The complexity of calendar calculations, theological doctrines, and theories of Christian morality belong to the well-known medieval repertoire.

⁸³Original text reads: En marge de la Bibliothèque Bleue, en même temps qu'elle, est née l'idée d'un livre qui grouperait l'essentiel, la substance de ce savoir utile au gouvernement de la vie, sous la forme la plus condensée et la

generic features of the almanac rather than specific format or content; it also emphasizes the context of use and the centrality of the calendar as defining qualities. Instead of focusing on the diverse morphology of sources tied to calendar literacy, the definition identifies the almanac as a book-like miscellany, accessible at different levels of literacy. Whether it is the astrology that informed daily practice as a feature of seventeenth century almanacs, or the statistical information needed for the conduct of life that pervades twentieth century almanacs, the almanac reflects the historical transformation in the notion of what is useful in governing one's life. The accessibility of the almanac as a form of literacy relies on visually oriented reception as reflected in an integration of graphic and narrative semantics. For example, there is a continuity of focus on visual reception evident in the preponderance of symbols and signs in the astrological almanacs of the seventeenth century, and their reliance on visual diagrams, and in the integration of images into text in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs. Twentieth century almanacs, incidentally, reflect a pervasive use of photo-illustration, as well as techniques of fragmentation by which discourse is broken up into short-span narratives without infringing on its ability to produce a unified effect.

Almanacs were widely circulated in contexts of restricted literacy and traditionally oriented to intensive rather than extensive reading. Through their artefactual and rhetorical properties, and the ideological arguments they convey, the texts impart a sense of cultural membership on their readers (Scholes 1989, 121, 131). The experiences of texts are mediated and controlled through genre conventions⁸⁴ and reading is a process of cultural reinforcement which depends on the communicability of meanings through texts. This broad notion of reading focuses on the notion of genre as not only texts but sets of complex social, political, and economic interactions among individuals and groups. These interactions are tied to markets, distribution networks, business

plus complète possible, la plus lisible aussi, dont la lecture pourrait se faire à différents niveaux; ce livre c'est l'Almanach.

⁸⁴Texts are organized according to the "matrices of power and pleasure" (Scholes 1989, 120-121). An obvious example of such an effect is for a "poem, advertising, propaganda" to be found together (ibid., 110).

models of publishers, and the effects of these practices on reading and ownership. The analysis of textual traditions through textual artefacts (genres) needs to focus on all of these aspects of such traditions. This chapter links diaspora almanacs to the immediate textual tradition from which they arise, establishing a historical context for almanac publishing in diaspora by focusing on the almanac trade in Croatia. Some of the findings in this chapter are used as leads to discuss diaspora almanac production in terms of historical precedent and what happens in the almanac trade at the time when the diaspora almanac begins to flourish.

3.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALMANAC IN CROATIA

A common denominator that brings together a body of distinct types of texts built into the history of the diaspora almanac is their connection with another text--the calendar. The presence of the calendar, as noted earlier, was used as a selection criterion by which almanacs of the diaspora were distinguished from other book-like annuals. In Croatian, the term "kalendar"⁸⁵ is commonly used to denote an almanac,⁸⁶ making such distinction explicit. "Kalendar" denotes

⁸⁵Latin "calendarium" is not used in contemporary meaning until the eighteenth century (Dukat 1923, 15). It first appears in Germany between 1440 and 1450, designating the duties of a well-managed household in the course of twelve months (idem). In Ivan Belostenec's *Gazophyllacium* (1740), a Latin-Croatian dictionary, the term "calendarium" is translated in čakavian, karkavian and štokavian dialects in the meaning of a "register." The term "almanak" is used in approximately the same sense as today, denoting a "book or learning determining the order of days and years." In Andrija Jambrešić's school dictionary of 1742, the calendar ("kalendar") is used in the sense of the annual almanac, a "book of all months of the year with listing of all days." Older Croatian names for the almanac are "kalendarium," "koledar," "kolendar," "meszecsNIK," "zoroast," "svetodanik," and "hižna knjižica." to name a few. Older names for the almanac are German "Lasszettel" and "Practica" in addition to "Almanach" (emphasizing its as a source of useful knowledge); in Italian, we find "lunario" (or a book of lunations) in addition to "almanacco." The term "ephemerides," indicating a specialized astronomical almanac from an early time, is confirmed in many European traditions.

⁸⁶The etymology of the term almanac ("al-manakh") is of medieval Arabic origin. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1987 ed., s.v. "almanac," gives a precise history of the term in medieval Arabic. According to its interpretation, the term originally indicated "the place where camels kneel; it later came to mean a campsite or settlement and, finally, the weather at the specific site." The often quoted etymology of the word as "book of the weather" (Andries 1989, 203) is spurious because this meaning is a later derivation. Almanac is "the only word for weather" in modern Arabic. The term was introduced in the fourteenth century through Spain and used in Western Europe in the fifteenth century to denote calendars with astronomical tables. Before it assumed its present meaning, however, the term experienced several semantic shifts in Arabic. That is why there is some confusion as to its actual meaning. Different sources derive the etymology of the term almanac both from the medieval and the present meaning of the term in Arabic, even though the latter presents an anachronism and therefore, is not correct. The true significance of the Arabic cultural influence is less related to etymology than to the fact that the almanac became associated with weather prognostication and astronomical phenomena through Arabic methods of weather prognostication. In the climate of Sub-Saharan Africa, the weather could be determined from the position of the stars. While transferring

an annual accompanied by a calendar, as distinct from a yearbook, a gazetteer, a city directory, or a literary collection that gives an overview of the annual production of a literary movement. The term "almanah" is almost exclusively used in a narrow sense to denote the types of works listed above.⁸⁷ "Almanah" or "almanak" was once exchangeable with the "kalendar," to indicate an almanac with the addition of a calendar. Therefore, even in Croatian, the semantic distinction between "kalendar" and "almanah" is not clear-cut.⁸⁸

The calendar is regularly featured in manuscripts after the eleventh century and in typographical works after the invention of printing.⁸⁹ Although it appears as an integral part of liturgical works intended for the use of religious communities, it is also found in books of hours and prayer books intended for personal use. Specifically, popularization of the calendar is tied to the Catholic Reformation and that movement's attempts to spread the Gregorian calendar.⁹⁰

Almanacs designated for truly popular use do not appear in Croatia before the mid-seventeenth century, although they are found as part of service books and various miscellanies from the eleventh century on. The popular almanac flourishes in the nineteenth century, when these almanacs function as a surrogate of the daily press and mass-information media, aimed at the

this method to a climate in which this method is invalid and therefore has no practical application, its borrowing brought about an important association of astrology and the calendar. Namely, through borrowing Arabic achievements in astronomy, weather prognostication by position of the stars is also absorbed into medieval Europe.
⁸⁷Many other variants are noted as well in historical usage. "Kalendar" has emerged as a standard designation of the almanac.

⁸⁸The evidence of more recent standard encyclopedias shows that it is used to denote a literary miscellany while in an earlier standard encyclopedia the terms are interchangeable. For evidence, cf. subsequent Croatian editions of *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*: 1st ed. (1955, 1962), s.v. "almanasi" and "kalendar"; 2nd ed. (1980, 1990), s.v. "almanasi" and "kalendar" and *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 1941 ed., s.v. "almanah." Because this edition is incomplete (only five volumes, concluding with E, have been published, out of twenty-five originally planned), the entry under "kalendar" could not be inspected.

⁸⁹The calendar in the first Croatian incunabula, a Glagolitic Missal from 1483, is analyzed by Pantelić (1971). There are a number of works dealing with the early Croatian Glagolitic calendars, mainly concerned with their philological and liturgical aspects (Gregov 1952; Štefanić 1951).

⁹⁰Calendar reform was officially introduced through a papal bull, "Inter gravissimas," by Gregory XIII in 1582. Its adoption varied according to the cultural-religious domain, with the Catholic states of Germany (including Croatia), France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain adopting it immediately. In the Protestant realm, on the other hand, it was not introduced before the eighteenth century (Denmark adopted it in 1700, England in 1752, and Sweden in 1753). Among the peoples practicing the Orthodox faith, the Julian calendar is still used for liturgical purposes. It was increasingly employed for secular purposes after its adoption by the Russian Republic in 1918. Popular resistance and the enforcement of the Gregorian calendar in the countries where it had been officially used was often tied to the religious controversies of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.

common reader. In the twentieth century, the almanac undergoes a process of specialization, becoming targeted to a specific audience of readers. Almanacs of the diaspora are identifiable as part of this latter tradition. As living evidence of the survival of popular didacticism in the twentieth century, they promote a conservative world-view reflected in distinctive almanac archaicism and a tendency to be populist and ideological; this makes them an appropriate vehicle for political and religious discourses. In her study of Croatian almanacs, Zečević (1982, 113) notes that diaspora almanacs published in the latter half of the twentieth century use textual forms traceable to early nineteenth century almanacs published in Croatia (ibid., 113-115). The use of such forms in modern almanacs reflects the process of continuity of the genre and is an intentional stylistic regression discussed in the chapters that follow.

The almanac trade developed under the specific conditions of the Habsburg Monarchy, a society that had grown apart from the rest of Europe⁹¹ since the sixteenth century, and was characterized by its own distinct cultural, social, and economic ecology. In terms of popular printing, this market depended on systems of production and dissemination based on royal privilege, even after privilege was abolished in other parts of Europe. The Croatian tradition of almanac publishing evolved in the context of the book trade in the Habsburg Monarchy, but it is also part of a broader European context in almanac fashions of particular periods. The peculiarities of the almanac as a communications medium are tied to specific political, demographic, and social stratifications in Croatia, and to the Croatian literary tradition, which developed in several languages. In addition to literacy in Latin, there were the literary vernacular dialects (e.g., Croatian *kaikavian*, *čakavian*, and *štokavian* dialects), and German.⁹²

⁹¹From the end of the Middle Ages, the Habsburg Monarchy does not develop along the same lines as the urban-oriented societies of the Low Countries, the Italian Peninsula, and France. A specific strategic situation created by the proximity of the Ottoman Empire and continuous wars resulted in the need to strengthen nobility, which brought about the preservation of the feudal society in the Habsburg Monarchy until the nineteenth century.

⁹²German has very different connotations during this period, as does literacy in Latin. German assumes three different roles as a literary language in Croatia. It is a *lingua franca* during Josephinian reforms, the language of urban migrants in the second half of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, and the language of administration and symbol of upward mobility in the nineteenth century. Latin is a neutral administrative language in the beginning and throughout the eighteenth century, gradually diminishing in importance in the mid-nineteenth century. The literary vernacular based on *štokavian* becomes official in 1848. From that time, it is under the

with their distinctive functionality as a combination of demographic and political components. The division between urban and peasant cultures and their communication patterns is pronounced; this division is the outcome of a long-standing isolation of the towns from the countryside and remains a crucial determinant of literacy dynamics between the country and the city until the end of World War II. As presented in the previous chapter, the high rate of illiteracy among the peasant population in Croatia stands in contrast to the towns, where literacy levels are comparable to general European patterns. Naturally, generalizations about the audiences of the various almanacs are not valid without an explanation of the context for each of these distinct niches of literacy, at least not before the mid-nineteenth century, when the rise of the common reader erases these distinctions. The titles of almanacs retain the words "pučki" (popular) and "narodni" (people's), which reflect the role that the almanacs play in levelling out these distinctions. Therefore, popular almanac publishing in Croatia develops in the political and economic context of the Habsburg realm, it flourishes in different languages, and is aimed at different audiences or functions that change over time. In broad strokes, this tradition is presented in the following segment, which identifies four phases roughly corresponding to the four centuries of popular almanac publishing in Croatia:

- 1) the annual almanacs in the seventeenth century,
- 2) the beginning of systematic publishing in the eighteenth century,
- 3) the golden age of the popular almanac in the nineteenth century, and
- 4) the period of decline of the almanac in the twentieth century.

Persistent traits of form and types of interactions associated with these publications and distinct nature of almanac literacy, provide links of these historical almanacs to twentieth-century

constant pressures of forced Magyarization. Language and literacy are complementary, but the former is far narrower than the latter, and reducing one to the other is a mistake that overlooks the actual behavior of historical readers. The political struggle of the nineteenth century in Croatia was focused on language, but looking at this period from the current perspective while locked into the same Herderian notion of the identity of language and nation, which was a moving force for the protagonists of these political struggles over language on all sides, would prevent one from seeing the issue of literacy in its totality.

diaspora almanacs. The connection to secondary orality of the almanacs of the diaspora is rooted in these historical prototypes. Similarly, their close connection to the genres of oral communication (as shown in the analysis of the diaspora almanacs in Chapter 4) can be traced to the eighteenth century Franciscan almanacs used in de-Ottomanization of Slavonia, and the popular kaikavian "šoštari" that circulated news, gossip, and local-interest information. The connection with orality, and the uses of the almanac as didactic and propagandist tool by the secular reformers and the religious orders (and particularly the Franciscans) is a feature of almanac literacy also established with the eighteenth century Croatian almanacs. These connections survived in the symbolic associations of the diaspora religious almanacs, taking secular forms in those issued by cultural groups and political movements (especially socialist almanacs). These almanacs are tendentious--either propagandist in attempting to form public opinion on certain cultural issues (such as the Franciscan Hrvatski kalendar throughout its half-century existence) or aimed at enlightening and educating the reader (particularly in the 1920s as shown by the example of Novi svijet). The fact that almanac literacy has a long-standing connection to the contexts of textual transmission, in which the status of orality and literacy is not distinct and the boundary between reading and hearing the text not clearly marked, influenced how information is presented in these publications. Structuring of narrative to accommodate oral genres and allow for recycling of texts into the genres of oral communication, reliance on visual displays, of lists, matrices, and registers, in addition to the generous use of images are features that make these almanacs accessible to individuals at different levels of reading competence. Survival of these techniques in the diaspora almanacs as discussed in Chapter 4, but their roots are in the historical uses of the almanac discussed here.

The history of the Glagolitic calendar, and the calendar found as part of service books and miscellanies, is excluded from this discussion, which starts with the seventeenth century. The broadside, the expanded calendar found in service books, and the perdurable and perpetual calendars, are excluded from this discussion, which focuses on the almanac as we know it

today, a book-like annual aimed at popular consumption. The earlier traditions are mentioned when they are considered relevant for understanding the almanac trade in a particular period. Evidence for reconstruction of the almanac trade was taken from authoritative secondary sources, primary research of relevant collections, and compilation of a database for the third and the fourth period in the almanac trade. Therefore, while the first two segments discuss individual titles and publishers, the focus in the last two is on patterns and trends in the almanac trade rather than individual cases, in order to make these findings comparable to the methodology used to discuss the diaspora almanac trade in subsequent chapters. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are discussed together because the nature of the evidence does not lend itself to a case study approach given the large number of titles issued and because the trends and patterns observable in the almanac trade are more meaningful when interpreted over a longer period, which was possible in this case because of the manipulation of evidence using a database as a tool.

3.2.1. The Seventeenth Century.

The evidence of preserved copies of Croatian baroque almanacs does not suggest systematic production and a full-fledged almanac trade, but points overwhelmingly to the fact that the almanacs produced in Croatia were in all respects typical of their time and the broader European almanac tradition in their outward appearance, content, function, and patterns of use. Although the calendar remains part of service books, and is circulated in the oral tradition at this time, calendar literacy is circulated in the annual almanacs, of which the first preserved are the Kaikavian Almanac for 1653 and Vitezović's Zoroast. Dukat (1923, 25) mentions another title, Zagrebečki Kalendarium issued from at least 1650 by Nikola Krajačević (according to this Krajačević's own statement),⁹³ but this is not confirmed otherwise. This suggests that the

⁹³Krajačević is the compiler of Sveti Evangelijom (Graz 1651), also intended for karkavian audiences. This work has a calendar but it is the type of perpetual calendar added to service and prayer-books. The reference to Zagreb,

Kaikavian Almanac for 1653 may have been a later issue of an already-established run rather than the first of its kind. A chance finding of a wall calendar for 1697⁹⁴ as printer's waste used in a binding for one of Vitezović's manuscript works (Despot 1972, 28) indicates that these types of calendars were part of the seventeenth-century almanac trade in Croatia.

3.2.1.1. Kaikavian Almanac for 1653⁹⁵ was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century (Seger 1898; Laszowski 1904)⁹⁶ and presents a unique historical document not only as an exemplar of the astrological almanac, but because of the inscriptions on blank, interleaved leaves in the extant copy.⁹⁷ This Croatian astrological almanac is identical in structure to those published elsewhere in Europe. The major distinction from other examined calendars of that period⁹⁸ is a table with interpretation of symbols and abbreviations preceding the calendar, which may be due to the novelty that its author felt it represented for its readers. The calendar register for each month features a vignette with labors of the month on the top of each page.

Kalendarum is found in Krajačević's calendar, next to April 4th; Ambreus Doctor is also found in Kaikavian Almanac for 1653.

⁹⁴This item is in the Archive of HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts).

⁹⁵Original title reads: Novi kalendarum od Chrissysevoja Poroda Rachunaussi na leto 1653. A od pocheti(?) szueta letu 1602. Od potopa 3965. Od pochetia Rimszkoga varosya 2405. Potlamye Ponoulien Rimszki Kalendarum 71. Od szadasznye linie Czesarszke Austrianszke 215. Od izebrania na Czesarsztuo, sza dosnyega nassega szuetloga Czesara Ferdinanda tretoga 17. Potlamie Vugerszky kraly 27. Cheskem krallyem 26. Med bosicnem Fassankom bude poldenet taredan letosnia Nedelnia literae E. In typical baroque manner, it is presented as New Kalendarum from the beginning of Christ's Birth Calculating for the Year 1653. And from the Beginning of the World 1602. From the Deluge 3965. From the Beginning of the Roman City [Urbis Romae] 2405. After that the Repetition of the Roman Kalendarum 71 [?] From the Contemporary Austrian dynasty 215. From the Selection of Ferdinand III, our Current Luminous Emperor, as King. Who is the 27th Hungarian King, 26th Czech King. ...

⁹⁶The copy is laminated due to extreme deterioration of the original, which literally survived in pieces. This copy is now in the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library in Zagreb (RII D-16 -85). It is printed on 24 leaves (16 x 10 cm).

⁹⁷The manuscript notes in this almanac deserve further attention, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The leaves are filled out with manuscript notes in contemporary cursive, in flowing handwriting, and probably all written by one hand. The dialect of the inscriptions is not only kaikavian, the dialect of the almanac itself, but seems to be a mixture of kaikavian-ekavian and štokavian-ikavian. The inscriptions are lists of things (to buy?) like salt, bread, etc., various calculations, and a diary on lending and borrowing or leasing (equipment, money?) with the names of those involved, as well as notes that look like veterinary advice. Reference to the names of months in the inscription are in Latin (Aprilis, Junij), while the calendar uses the popular form in the vernacular (Veliki travanj) and Latin together. Most inscriptions are dated and indicate the pattern of use in the year for which the almanac is published. The place of its publication is not known because the title page is missing. It consists of the calendar portion for each month in a standardized format.

⁹⁸E.g., a collection of seventeenth century English almanacs, in the Palmer Collection are in Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (University of Toronto Libraries).

and information on the number of days in the month. For each day in the month, we find information on the dominical letter, the name of the saint it is devoted to, and whether it is a holiday (rubricated), a horoscope sign, weather prognostication, and symbols for what medical procedure might be auspicious on that day (*praktika* in Croatian).⁹⁹ Scriptural proverbs in the last column are the last feature. Summary *praktika*, with instructions on blood-letting and diet,¹⁰⁰ are added for each month. In addition to the calendar portion, there is astrological information and a zodiac, and a prognostication titled, "Diskursus za ovo novo letto 1653" (Discourse for this New Year), followed by "Zemlia hodie szvoi szád ovako roditi y dati" on leaf 22 (The Earth will Yield and Give the Following), in which the voice of the almanac's compiler addresses the reader most personally. Aside from agricultural notes, there are no political pronouncements, neither is the style particularly subjective or directed specifically to the Croatian reader. A reference to crops yielding "good harvest in Croatian and Slavonian lands this year with the exception of wheat whose enemies Mercury and Venus may have a negative effect"¹⁰¹ indicates the intended scope of its distribution. The narrative segment of the almanac includes a section on lunar eclipses (very much like the contemporary calendar-almanacs added to prayer-books)¹⁰² and instructions for phlebotomy,¹⁰³ which the reader is directed to use with the calendar portion. This issue was one of a series, if one may judge from a confident typographical layout, and an assumption that the implied reader is familiar with how to use an almanac. The actual use of it is reflected in the type and look of the inscriptions added

⁹⁹Determining times to perform such actions as letting blood and cutting hair and nails according to the auspicious or inauspicious potential of a particular day of the year. The variables include the type of action, the character of the person on which the action is performed (melancholic, sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic), and the movement of the planets that determine general conditions. Connection of *praktika* with popular beliefs of medieval origin is obvious and uniformly present in many European traditions.

¹⁰⁰E.g., "nije dobro krv puštati, treba taj mjesec papreno jesti i dobro vino piti" (It is not good to let blood, instead eat very hot food and drink good wine).

¹⁰¹Original text reads: ...otkuda pokedoh u nassem horvackom v szlovenszkom orszagu, naibolyu lettinu dersimo ... Psenicza pokedoh da ima nepryatele Merkuruša y Venuša, letosz hodie vechkuara bitu u nyoy, nego u sztalch szetvah ...

¹⁰²Cf. Zrinska *Putni tovaruš* (1661) and Bandulavić *Pištote i evandelja* (1613).

¹⁰³Or letting of blood for diagnostic purposes.

on interleaved portions of this title,¹⁰⁴ which indicate a confident reader familiar with and accustomed to the use of an almanac.

3.2.1.2. Vitezović's Zoroast¹⁰⁵ appears toward the end of the century, showing that curiously little has changed in the contents of the annual almanac in almost half a century. The preserved copies of Zoroast show that it was issued regularly at least between 1692 and 1705.¹⁰⁶ Calculations in this almanac are for the meridian of Zagreb.¹⁰⁷ In many ways, it resembles the earlier kaikavian almanac, although it also reflects the distinct style of Vitezović, an innovator in orthography and language. In the spirit of his period, Vitezović dedicates each volume to a contemporary figure whose patronage he hoped to win. Baroque sensibility is noted in the style of expression, with an excess of wordy titles, verbose headings for the months,¹⁰⁸ and convoluted arguments in the texts of the almanac. It is very difficult to hypothesize on or appreciate the practical use that this volume may have had for its contemporaries. It is dedicated to weather prognostication and advice based on arbitrary astrological explanation. The issue for 1692 features the editorial that is retained in later issues (titled "Kratk razgovor"). Advice is given as to good and bad days for bleeding; personal hygiene (cutting hair and nails, bathing); auspicious days for marriage or for the beginning of any task, such as moving to a new home, traveling, weaning a baby; as well as "farming rules" on

¹⁰⁴When compared to the manuscript notes in contemporary English almanacs in the Palmer Collection, an identical pattern of use (in how manuscript notes are related to the printed text) is noted. These almanacs are distant geographically but not in genre features.

¹⁰⁵Alternative titles of this run are: Zoroast hervacki: za leto 1692, Kalendarium illu Miszechnik horvatzki: za leto 1695, Zoroast hervacki alitu meszecschnik i dnevnik goszpodszi i goszpodarszki, na vse godische, kojese pisze od porojenja goszpodna nassega 1698, and Miszecschnik hervacki goszpodi, goszpodarom, i vsake verszu lyudem obojega szlana i szpolla, za vsako vreme pnliku i shetu kruto hasnovit, i potriban Za leto goszpodna nassega MDCCV.

¹⁰⁶In the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library in Zagreb, as RII D-8 -200 (copies for 1692, 1698, 1699, and 1705). The copy for 1695 is probably in HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Their format is slightly larger than the earlier one (22 x 17 cm), with 12 to 22 pages. The issue for 1692 has been bound with another work, with pagination added by hand. Gatherings are marked in each issue. 1692 is not the first issue of this run, as indicated in the prologue issued regularly at the time.

¹⁰⁷It is called "Kazilacz: za poznati pravu dugochu dneva i nochi, izhoda i zahoda szunchnega u kotaru Zagrebceskomu" (1692, 192) and refers to the meridian of Zagreb of 46 degrees, "K' poludanyu Okicskomu ztub 46 pomnuivo zracsunan" (1698, l.p.).

¹⁰⁸The wording of the heading for each month of the calendar lists not one or two but a number of known forms of the name of each month. The heading for December reads: *proszinecz, szueshnyi, velikobosichnyak, decembr*; for January, it reads: *szicsan ledeny, mali boshichnyak, januarus*.

sowing and planting "and other things that the master of the house needs to know" (1692, 210-211). Some of the information thus conveyed is spuriously attributed to Venerable Bede ("Pise Beda postuvani" or, "as honorable Beda wrote"). The content of this almanac does not reflect the cultural context in which it is created, and it contains very little factual information, except in the brief informative sections dealing with the calendar and astronomical phenomena (lunar eclipses, the four seasons, the twelve months). This section is similar in structure to the calendars added to contemporary prayer-books in Croatia (e.g., Putni tovaruš), or contemporary almanacs in general, and is very similar to the Kaikavian Almanac for 1653. The distinction is the addition of Vitezović's literary compositions: a versified, octosyllabic rhymed couplet with a thought for the day for each day of the month (or sometimes extending over a couple of days) is added to the register of the issue for 1698. This column is titled "Priricsnik"¹⁰⁹ (literally, an "addition," but also "handbook" in later usage). "Priricsnik" is reissued separately in 1703, as a collection of sayings without the calendar.¹¹⁰ In the issue for 1699, Vitezović also begins a genealogy of the Croatian kings titled, "Red i verszta Kraljev hervatezkih pocamsi od Osztrivoja" (Order and Kinds of Croatian Kings Starting With Ostrivoj). Evidently, he planned to continue it in future issues of the almanac. This issue is an important instance of the function of the almanac being extended beyond the transmission of calendar literacy. This text is not subordinate to calendar chronology or praktika but is expressly aimed at instruction, although it is also structured as a chronology. The last preserved issue of Zoroast is the issue for 1705. The format is changed and a section on the interpretation of symbols is introduced. This is also probably the last issue before Vitezović leaves Zagreb a year later when his printing office is destroyed in a fire (Vodnik 1913, 294).

An interesting feature of Vitezović's almanacs are their formulaic endings: each of the almanacs concludes with a versified note and an explicit statement of ending: "S tim csinimo dospitak:

¹⁰⁹E.g., for the first two days of January, it reads "Blagosslovi nam Bog trude / Da za ludo ki ne bude."

¹¹⁰In the Rare Books Collection in the National and University Library, as RII D-16 -12. Priricsnik aliti razliko mudroszti cvitje spravleno po Pav. Vitezovichu, Zlat. Vitezu, Ces. i Kral. Szvitlost Vichnik (Zagreb 1703). The rhymed verses are in a style similar to his Lado horvatzki illiti Sibilla, a social game or divination book ("knjiga gatalica").

BOGU HVALA" (Vitezović 1699) (With this we reach the ending: God bless [literally, "dospitak" means "arrival" or "reaching the goal") or simply, "BOGU HVALA" (Thank God) (1692, 1705), or "AMEN" (1698). The statement of ending with all-caps typographic emphasis is often combined with a vignette or verse dedicated to the reader. This is not new or limited to almanacs, but is in fact an emphatic device which marks a rhetorical closure of the text, as a rudiment of practices in which texts were read (aloud) to listeners. Formulaic ending (or beginning) belongs to oral traditions, but have also been retained in literate forms which are liminal. This is a trait of residual orality, which originates from practices of reading texts aloud, such as letters and accounts which were audited rather than read silently (still surviving in modern notarial practice of reading a will) (Burke 1985, 102). Such texts would end with the word "valete" (goodbye) (ibid., 102). This device or its equivalents, have survived in oral forms such as a prayer, which ends formulaically with Amen. Clearly, such devices enforcing the closure of the text as a unit, as a protocol of reading for this type of almanac, are archaic and originate from an oral interaction with the text. Although the indication of ending disappears completely in the twentieth century, it is found in early cinematography, resolving the same problem of the boundaries of the text (the visual text of the film, and the narrative of the intertitles).¹¹¹ The statements of ending in the baroque almanac in Croatia also make the whole issue look as if it is written in one breath, as something with a beginning and an end, enforcing the linearity of literacy. The texts of almanacs from this period enforce linearity through such protocols, paralleling the daily progression of the calendar and underlined by the interleaving of calendars with manuscript diaries. In other words, the reading process reflects a pattern of use that is linear but punctuated by the pages of the diary, which suggests a chronological progression. Reading in which such linearity is not important, such as the modern magazine or twentieth-century almanac, is different from those recognizable in seventeenth-century almanacs. This is partly due to the typographic organization introduced by the nineteenth

¹¹¹The statement of ending is found in another medium, the film, and especially the silent film, which combines the text of the intertitle and the moving image, in which the linearity is the overarching structure.

century newspaper, which uses various devices in order to enable fast reading and absorption of text (Tschichold 1998, 212).

3.2.2. The Eighteenth Century (The Age of Reason and the Enlightenment)

As a counter-swing from the unsettling spirituality of the baroque, the eighteenth century is characterized by rationalism and secularism. The decline of scholastic education and erosion of the social system based on privilege are among the major effects of that change. The course of social and cultural change in the Habsburg realm during the Aufklärung is reflected in the strengthening of the monarchy through the reformative efforts of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Some of these systematic reforms were in the field of education. They were initiated by Maria Theresa in the 1760s, and continued by Joseph II. The reform was finalized with the Austrian Education Statute of 1777, which regulated the position and education of teachers, finishing the process that began with the secularization of the school system in the mid-eighteenth century. At that time, the "schools in Croatia began to breathe more freely and philosophy, until then almost exclusively scholastic" becomes more or less independent of the church (Katičić and Novak 1989, 113).

Many Croatian almanacs of that time reflect the reformative mood of the century. The reformist almanac is typically didactic, and aimed to suit the needs, tastes, and levels of literacy found in society. Both the Franciscans and secular reformists in Slavonia recognized the potential of the almanac for reaching broad audiences. The efforts of secular reformers and institutions of the monarchy during the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II are paralleled by the activities of the Franciscans. The Enlightenment efforts of the Franciscan Order are tied to the need to fill the cultural vacuum created by the Ottoman withdrawal from Slavonia after a century-long occupation and to "de-Ottomanize" Slavonia and the Croatian communities in what is now Hungary. Their almanacs, published concurrently with the reforms, helped significantly to

form popular opinion in that period, because they were directed to the masses using forms that could easily be recycled into orality. Another group of almanacs arises from the secular reformists. Yet another distinct group, known as "šoštari" are primarily entertaining publications of popular appeal.¹¹² "Šoštar" is a corrupt form of German Schuster or (shoemaker).¹¹³ The origin of this term and its association with the almanac reflects an association with fairs held in marketplace towns and in the royal cities. Hrvatski Šoštarski Sbor, for example, is such an ancient fair, held by shoemakers' guilds in Varaždin (Valdec 1913). Fairs were places where circulation of goods, news, and chapbooks occurred, where trade connections were established, and news and goods brought back to towns and villages.¹¹⁴ While "šoštari" (in the kaikavian dialect of the Croatian northwest) addresses primarily a burgher of Northern Croatian towns, the Franciscan almanac in štokavian dialect (specifically, ikavian, spoken in Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia) is aimed at a broader audience in the countryside, especially in Slavonia and Hungary. The Latin almanac also published at that time is limited to the educated classes. Eighteenth century almanac publishing occurs in what is identified as the third period in the history of Croatian literacy (Brozović 1978, 21).¹¹⁵

¹¹²These publications were not preserved, or researched, but a closer pursuit of "šoštari" would reveal the patterns of the chapbook trade in Croatia.

¹¹³This term continues to be used in almanac titles in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

¹¹⁴From an economic point of view, it was very important for any marketplace town or one with a status of a free royal city to keep and renew their privileges to hold fairs. Added to this is a less tangible benefit, namely that fairs were also information marketplaces where goods and information circulated together.

¹¹⁵It is the final stage of the process in which the focus of literary activity moves from the coastal regions of Dalmatia and Istria with the islands and the littoral to the provinces of northwestern Croatia and Slavonia. In a corresponding development, regional literatures have been gaining ground in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, with štokavian and kaikavian emerging as literary languages based on spoken languages in these areas, while Latin continues as a literary and administrative language throughout this century. The fourth period, in the second half of the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth century, is marked by the process of standardization of kaikavian literary language and its orthographic stabilization, by ikavian and ijekavian štokavian variants prevailing in the southeast, as well as the predominance of Roman script and the disappearance of Western Cyrillic or "bosančica" (Brozović 1978, 22). Another development concerns the rise of German - both through Josephinian reforms and, toward the end of the century, through mass settlement of foreigners in Croatian towns. Zagreb is a good example of a change that happened at the time. Deželić (1901) and Andrić (1900) estimate that Germanization of Zagreb is completed by 1770, but Hergešić (1936) argues that it does not happen before the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is true that publishing in German is well developed in the second half of the eighteenth century (Živković 1989). Reading and literary production, theatrical life, and other cultural forms in German flourish: bookstores with mostly German stock are found in many Croatian towns (Barac 1954, 22).

These distinct types of eighteenth century almanacs have much in common even if their primary audiences and communicational purposes are different. They are surrogate newspapers. The reformist almanacs, "šoštari," and Latin almanacs respond to high demand for news on current affairs, filling a niche in the absence of the newspaper, which serves this function later in the century. The annual rhythm and easy-to-produce pamphlet form of the almanac combine features of a broadside (*r lation*) or newspaper such as immediate release of the former or regularity of issue of the latter genre,¹¹⁶ with more ephemeral genres of communication realized in the context of fairs. Burke notes the importance of fairs for communication outside and between local communities, for eighteenth-century villagers from France to Sweden. Fairs were places where the circulation of messages, performances, and artifacts intertwined, "where one could buy an almanac as well as a grandfather's clock" (1981, 218). Broadside reporting on particular current events were also disseminated at fairs.¹¹⁷ The almanac genre has retained its connection with fairs in textual forms (discussed in the next chapter) which feature news from afar, of distant lands and places, and including the collections of odd, unusual, and fascinating facts which are similar to travellers' stories. These features were transformed into the entertainment sections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs (including diaspora almanacs), which carried news from exotic lands and unusual peoples and reports on curiosities from far-away lands. These texts reflect elaboration of symbolic boundaries, conveying a sense of community and recognizable vestiges of local orientation typical of European peasant communities. Lists of fairs are a regular feature of

¹¹⁶Almanac researchers note the connection between the newspaper and the almanac in the context where the newspaper is not yet an established medium of communication. *Kraljski Dalmatin=Il Regio Dalmata* is the first newspaper in Croatian. It is actually bilingual, issued between 1806 and 1810 as a regime newspaper aimed at promoting the liberal values of the French Revolution during the time of Napoleonic rule in Dalmatia. With circulation of 600--which is a standard circulation of contemporary French newspapers (Sgard 1987, 97)--it still does not have any popular impact beyond a limited class of people (Horvat 1962, 64-67). The Croatian text is a very crude and literal translation from the Italian and that is why it has a very ambiguous place in the syntheses of Croatian literary history. The first newspaper in Croatia is known to be issued by Antun Jandera in Latin, *Ephemendes Zagrabenses* in 1771, but none of the issues are preserved (ibid., 46); it is followed by German newspapers.

¹¹⁷They were specifically printed for particular fairs, appearing between 1583 and 1597 and their name, *Messrelationen* or "fair reports" establishes the connection with a fair (Horvat 1962, 39).

Croatian almanacs in the eighteenth century¹¹⁸ which is continued in the nineteenth- and even the twentieth-century almanacs.¹¹⁹

The Latin almanac and popular almanacs issued in Slavonia continue in the tradition of war reporting that has been established in Croatia ever since it became a frontier-land at the end of the fifteenth century.¹²⁰ Telling news in print, and printing something to be spoken, recycled back in the oral genres of communication, is a characteristic of the almanac that has been preserved to the present day. Similarly, the almanac operates in a gray area between oral and written communication, and the implications of this communicational purpose are revealed by how almanac texts are structured, as a close examination of diaspora almanacs will show. In eighteenth-century almanacs, this anomalous position with regard to oral and written tradition is reflected in the style in which these publications address their readers. It determines patterns of reading that are unique to the almanac. The gossipy tone of *šoštari*, or the instructional tone of the reformist almanac, operates within the same common context of reception, at the crossing of oral and literate modes of textual transmission. Almanacs as a form of communication should be considered to represent a form of intertextuality. This corresponds to what Fiske has noted to be a general characteristic in the processes of popular culture in which genre boundaries are fluid (1989a and 1989b).

3.2.2.1. Reformist Slavonian Almanacs--Popular News-Magazine and Book for the House.

The two extremes of the Enlightenment are acted out in debates between secular and Franciscan reformers.¹²¹ The Franciscans represent traditionalism, issuing catechisms for popular schools and publications describing lives of the saints. Although they value universal literacy and

¹¹⁸For example, Kotsche's, Landerer's, and Jandera's Latin almanac.

¹¹⁹The contemporary Catholic almanac *Danica* still features this section in the late 1980s. Today, the fairs are strictly local, village festivities and community rituals gathering the local village community. They are focused on patron saint's day, attracting an occasional curious tourist or folklorist.

¹²⁰The technologies of information collection and attack-alert centers as well as circulation of broadsides with the latest news from the battlefield are discussed by Horvat (1962, 43-45).

¹²¹Exemplifying this split are the polemics of Juraj Rapić and the Older Reljković (Vodnik 1913, 349).

economic reforms, they seem to have primarily a didactic-religious function, which informs their publishing activities. Other reformers in Slavonia rally in opposition to the clergy and what they consider a danger of religious narrow-mindedness. While the Franciscans are promoting the popular decasyllabic verse productions of Kačić and others, which are based on an autochthonous popular poetic form, Antun Reljković's Satir, iliti divji čovik¹²² (1762) (literally, Satir, or a Wild Man) embodies all the ideals of secular Enlightenment. Also written in decasyllabic verse, Satir attacks astrology and uses satire and humor to address the issues of its time, becoming the most popular book in Slavonia. Secular priests writing at this time, such as Antun Kanižlić, also offer a vision different from the Franciscans.

Astrology disappears from the reformist Slavonian almanacs after being attacked by both Franciscan and secular reformers as superstitious gibberish not only detrimental to the individual but also having harmful social effects. Often mentioned in a negative context by both groups, are many practices of communal village life, the same ones that will be glorified during the national awakening a century later. It is evident that reformative strategies are aimed at changing not only the individual but social customs and that reformists are involved in the articulation of social change. Significantly, these reformers use the forms of oral tradition to present a new vision of history, as a model of cultural engineering of the recent past by literate elites. In doing so, they associate anything that presents an obstacle to such efforts with the backwardness and degeneration brought about by the century-long Turkish rule that they seek to overcome.

Representations of the Turks as a Christian alter-ego has been an undercurrent in European thought since the fifteenth century.¹²³ Nevertheless, a very significant role in this period of

¹²²"Satir" or satyr, a wild-man, is a Slavonian in the aftermath of Turkish occupation.

¹²³The Turks have been present in the European imagination from their arrival on the scene in the fifteenth century, but the differences in how the stereotyping has evolved among different cultural groups have been enormous. In Croatian tradition, this myth is not a central myth which determines boundaries of a group and guides the process of national differentiation as it is, for example, for the Serbs and their central myth of the Battle of Kosovo.

"de-Ottomanization" is played by successful revisionist strategies conveyed in almanacs. The propagatorial function of almanacs, far from implementing ideology from above, articulates the process from within. By using popular print to convey and articulate their messages, the reformers create representational systems and cultural myths in a manner comparable to similar processes of modelling collective experience in diaspora which will be discussed in Chapter 6 in the case study of a Franciscan almanac from the mid-1950s. The almanacs present evidence of that process of refinement, stylization, and structuring of the collective experience of the past, with a focus on the Turkish occupation. The "Turk" is cast in the role of the universal Other at a time when the immediate experience of the Ottoman rule has disappeared. This idealized Other becomes a fossilized representation that ultimately joins the repertoire of Croatian national myths and shared cultural themes often recycled in Croatian myths of identity. The degree to which these themes contrived with express political and ideological agendas were successful is clear when considering the popularity of Kačić's Razgovor ugodni naroda slovenskoga (1756) which exemplifies such processes of cultural engineering. "Kačić" is not only the single most popular book of the eighteenth century¹²⁴ but an all-time Croatian steady-seller.

Conventional interpretations in existing literature agree that this type of work catered to a high demand for material and the popularity of subjects dealing with the Turkish wars. Popular interest in contemporary war campaigns resulted in a number of works employing decasyllabic verse published throughout the century. They are not restricted to Turkish campaigns but deal with current military events of interest.¹²⁵ Popular decasyllabic verse is aimed at the specific information requirements of a particular type of historical reader, but it also exemplifies a

¹²⁴It went through at least fifty-one Croatian editions and many editions in other languages. Junšić (1983, 33-57) lists all known printed editions of this work but mentions the existence of manuscript copies both in the original and in translation. Mauć (1954) researches the history of its editions as well, listing an American version, the editor of which is Ivan Meštrović, a famous Croatian-American sculptor.

¹²⁵For example, the war of Bavarian succession in 1778 and 1779 appears as a popular epic only a year after the actual event. Cf. Josip Pavišević's Polazjenje na vojsku prusku-bavarsku (Osijek, 1799), quoted in Vodnik (1913, 342).

method of information transfer that combines the techniques of literate and oral transmission. Namely, text read in the book uses the popular technique of epic composition in order to enter the oral cycle of transmission. Franciscan and secular reformers exploited the potential for instruction and popular education which almanacs with such texts offered by virtue of their dissemination and use patterns. Thus, almanacs combine the roles of education, reform, and newspaper-substitute. Although the model for reception of the Franciscan almanacs and reformist decasyllabic verse is Kačić's Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga, the earliest of these almanacs predate his work. Nevertheless, this connection is evident because the almanacs carry excerpts from his work (as an example of a contemporary tie-in) and enter the same cycle of transmission. The significance of Kačić is that his work was not only popular in different social groups, but in regions that were not štokavian, initiating a communication micro-shift in which patterns of purely oral transmission are transformed in order to be subordinated to and initiated by a printed text. This process is comparable to Ong's "secondary orality"¹²⁶ of the electronic age (1982, 136). The dissemination of decasyllabic verse in popular printed works (including almanacs) is a new communication technology serving the purpose of propagating the ideas of Franciscan reformers. Nevertheless, it is a step away from primary orality because it employs print to enter the cycle of transmission of secondary orality.

Many works issued in the beginning to mid-eighteenth century¹²⁷ written by Franciscan reformers in Slavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmati, use the popular medium of decasyllabic verse

¹²⁶He notes that such new orality has "striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas ... but it is essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print (Ong 1982, 136)

¹²⁷The type of archaic epic poetry used to comment on contemporary events of the Turkish-Austrian war from the end of the eighteenth century were written by Antun Ivanošić, in rhymed decasyllabic verse to be performed with tambura (string instrument), using the epic formula (Bošković-Stulli and Zečević 1978, 226-227); Dalmatian and Bosnian Franciscans, such as Tomo Babić, Lovro Šitović, are typical of the tradition (ibid., 222-223). Apart from the texts of Franciscan writers, the secular reformers also relate to the popular oral tradition in a similar fashion (ibid., 225). Matija Antun Relković, a Slavonian reformer, also assumes the style of oral tradition in ikavian štokavian dialect and decasyllabic verse, relying on proverb and formulaic verse (ibid., 225).

originating from the technique of oral composition that is well established in this region.¹²⁸ The primary technique of composition in oral epic is rhapsodizing (literally, "stitching"), used in connection with the techniques of oral composition, as formulaic expressions are stitched together by means of rhythmical structures at the moment in which they are performed orally by bards. The structure of these epic compositions is not stable, but the clichés from which they are composed are relatively stable. The technique of "bricolage" in structuralist theory (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 17) refers to the intellectual rather than structural combination of such elements. Bricolage refers to the associative, impressionistic nature of cultural myths that are built from cultural fragments, a process discussed in the previous chapter. The formulaic texts rely on familiar themes presented in a familiar fashion, which does not exclude creativity and innovation. The Franciscans used the technique of traditional epic composition, offering texts of high relevance to popular audiences. Unlike the epics which were spoken (or, more precisely, sung, with the accompaniment of gusle, a traditional stringed instrument used by the performing bards), these printed editions standardized the texts¹²⁹ of the oral tradition. Many studies have shown that these printed works have become the source for new oral performances, especially Kačič's Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga (literally, A Pleasurable Conversation of the Slavonic People), which becomes a "book that speaks and is spoken" (Frangéš 1987, 120). This creates a creativity loop in which orality and literacy are merged through such textual traditions. Unlike the tradition of primary orality, which is local in character, the reach of "Kačič"¹³⁰ is increased and its effect standardized through dissemination of identical versions.

¹²⁸Milman Parry (1971) and Albert B. Lord (1960) rely on these as models for the explanation of the Homeric paradox. Researchers of oral culture now widely accept these theories in the explanation of traditionalism and creativity, of the individual and community contribution in oral traditions.

¹²⁹As distinguished by the absence of textual canon and textual authority in the context of oral transmission and on the Internet (Fowler 1994).

¹³⁰In popular usage, this work is referred to as "Kačič." Thereby, the book/text is literally anthropomorphized, becoming a printed equivalent of the quintessential bard.

3.2.2.1.1. The Slavonian Franciscan Almanacs. In 1743, the Franciscans start issuing annual almanacs aimed at the Catholic population in Slavonia and Hungary, first in Budim and later in Osijek. In these almanacs, the textual educational-entertainment section is expanded at the expense of the calendar. According to extant copies, these almanacs predate "šoštari" (the kaikavian almanacs). Dukat (1923) notes that they are issued beginning in 1743 and so does Kukuljević (1860, 140), listing titles for 1743 and 1744 of Kalendar ilirski, issued in Budim by Juraj Rapić. The preservation rate for these almanacs is low. One typical Franciscan almanac is found in the National and University Library,¹³¹ titled Kalendar ili Uregieno prikazanje nediljah i svetkovinah, kakono i pripovidka s pismama od viteza Gjuro Kastriotića iliti Skanderbega, s godišnjima događaji i vašarih na razgovor Illyrah za godište 1766 upisan.¹³² It contains a cycle of verses dealing with the exploits of Jure Kastriotić, or, Skenderbeg, who is the central figure of the first period of Turkish wars prior to 1453. This text is the most popular excerpt from Kačić's Razgovor ugodni, and is a bestseller in its own right, being published separately on many occasions. The compiler of the almanac promises the continuation in the almanac for the following year. Other features of this thin, narrow octavo volume, which fits perfectly into a pocket, are information on popular remedies for preserving eyesight or getting rid of hiccups or earaches, recipes for preparing home medicine,¹³³ and a listing of fairs in Slavonia and Hungary. Although a natural expression of eighteenth-century spirit, Slavonian almanacs remain popular well into the nineteenth century. Among their later editors are Antun Nagy, whose Novi y stari Illyricski kalendar¹³⁴ continues in the same tradition. An issue for 1817 includes some astrology, notes on the customs of Slavonians "and their ancient heathen religion," curiosities from around the world such as a note on "Bengal

¹³¹NSB RII E-8⁰-194.

¹³²Issued in Budim by L.F. Landerer (16 x 7 cm). The translation of the title reads: "Kalendar' or ordered presentation of Sundays and feasts, and a story in song about Knight Gjuro Kastriotić or Skenderbeg, with annual events and fairs for the year and for the conversation of Illyrians written for the year 1766."

¹³³"Slide nika majstorie, i likane ... za uzderžati vazda dobar vid, za izbaviti se stucavice ..."

¹³⁴Also issued under the title Novi y stari kalendar horvatzki: za potrebu i zabavu naroda. There are eleven known issues of this title, from 1813 to 1923. Some of them are known from bibliographies, and two are found in the National and University Library (NSB RII E-8⁰-191; NSB RII D-16⁰-93; NSB 24.905). They were published in Budim and Pešta (Buda and Pest) by M. Trattner, Ucsena Peshtanska Skupina slovih (Vugerska Mudra Vuchne Kupcina szlovih), and A. Landerer. The sizes of these publications change: octavo or sextemo are both noted.

and Brahmans," and a listing of fairs in Slavonia and Srijem, as well as stories and songs. The volume for 1818 also features a Schematismus (list of bishops). They maintain the same physical form: miniature editions that fit into a palm or a pocket. Another title in this tradition is Novouredjeni ilirski kalendar iliti Svetodanik,¹³⁵ edited by Ignjat Alojzije Brić and Adam Filipović Heldentalski.

3.2.2.1.2. The Slavonian Reformists' Book for the House. Reljković, the Younger, is connected with reformist almanacs. His Kučnik belongs to this tradition, representing didactic work of a secular nature emanating from the tradition of works focusing on reform of the rural economy. Kučnik (1796)¹³⁶ is a rhymed house encyclopedia intended for a prosperous farmer. In its title, it addresses this "gazda" (master of the house), providing guidance on what to do in every month of the year --in the field, in the mountain, in the garden, with cattle and poultry, around the house and in the house, and how to preserve health. Reljković's Kučnik is organized around the annual cycle, but does not contain a calendar for a single year. Kučnik went through two editions, in two different years--1796 and 1799 (Vodnik 1913, 346), which bears witness to its popularity. Reljković states, with the title of kućnik, that his sources were old "kućnici" (plural of kućnik), which were used as a basis for this compilation.¹³⁷ This reference is probably related to another type of work that has only recently been recognized as a type of popular almanac--the "hižna knjižica."

"Hižna knjižica" (book for the house)¹³⁸ is a non-serialized, perdurable¹³⁹ almanac. This type of work reflects an orientation to the household economy and self-improvement. It prescribes both

¹³⁵Issued from 1792 to 1857. The preserved issues, for 1839, 1842, and 1848, are found in the National and University Library (NSB RII E-8⁰-76, and NSB RII D-8⁰-130). They were issued jointly by I. Gyunan and M. Bago (in Osijek and Budapest).

¹³⁶This volume was issued in Osijek by Divald, a publisher-printer who issued other works dealing with agricultural reforms.

¹³⁷"... 12 starih kućnikah povadih ..."

¹³⁸"Hiža" in karkavian means house. "Knjižica" is often used in the sense of a manual at that time. Therefore, we find "molitvena knjižica" (prayer-book), "knjižica od baratanja s finki," etc. "Knjižica" is a diminutive of "knjiga" (book).

¹³⁹This term is used in the title of John Jones' almanac published in London in 1852: The Perdurable Almanack Available for Twenty Years. It indicates an almanac covering one or more Metonic cycles of 19 years (i.e., running

rules of behavior and farming rules, and provides guidance on how to manage a household both in practical and moral terms. Linguistically, it belongs to the kaikavian dialect (spoken not in Slavonia but around Zagreb). Puškadija-Ribkin (1991) writes about a 1743 edition of this type of work. Kukuljević (1860, 51) mentions one from 1756, and two more were identified in the collection of the National and University Library, issued in 1783 and 1797 from the same printing office.¹⁴⁰ which explains their identical appearance. The preface and content are the same, while the calendar is for the current year.¹⁴¹ They are intended for the master of the house as a compendium of advice including practical and moral prescriptions, divided into sixteen chapters, each of which focuses on a single theme. One of them includes a catechism listing questions and answers which one could use to examine one's own and others' correct understanding of the Catholic faith¹⁴² ("Kratka izpitavanja, y odgovarjanya jedine prave vere katolichanzke"). Another focuses on how a master of the house should behave toward his lawful wife ("Gozpodar hise kaksze mora proti szvoje zakonzke sene ponassati") and his children, and yet another discusses how to entertain the family with various games, proverbs, puzzles, and riddles ("Hisni razveselitley, kade vszi turobni gozpodari hisni razbatrivetisce, mogu z-nekulikemi zagankami napervi donessemi"). Some are devoted to popular magic; others present litanies and prayers appropriate for a particular patron

(from 19 to 78 years). Such cycles were represented in many calendars issued with service and devotional works. It was considered justifiable to introduce this term as a precise designation of this type of calendar and in order to distinguish it from the perpetual calendar. The first popular almanacs are issued for more than one year, belonging either to the perdurable or the perpetual type, much like those added to liturgical works or the popular Shepherds' Calendar.

¹⁴⁰E. g., Hisna knisicza, vu koje vszakojaka vrach- tva tuliko duhovna, kuliko szvetzka domacha Kalendar czirkveni, poleg razluchenia rimzkoga martyrologiuma, 246 p. 1783. Vu Zagrebu: Stampana po Ivanu Thomasu Pl. od Trattnerov, c. kr. ap. sz. stampar, 1783. (National and University Library holdings, NSB RII D-16⁰-53) and Hisna knisicza, vu koje vszakojaka vrach- tva tuliko duhovna, kuliko szvetzka domacha zadersavajusze oszebuino, kak jeden hisni gozpodar proti Bogu, y szamomu: ykak tulikajsse vu szvo-jeh poszluvanyeh morasze ponassati Na hvala Bòsu, y na haszen vszeh hisneh gozpodarov verno zku pa zpravlyena... Z dopuschenyem vissejsseh Kalendar czirkveni, poleg razluchenia rimzkoga martyrologiuma. Zagreb: Novoszel, 1797. 14 x 10 cm. (National and University Library holdings, NSB RII D-16⁰-38).

¹⁴¹In the first edition, the calendar runs from 1783 to 1800; in the second, between 1797 and 1819. The calendar portion includes a perpetual calendar for those years and month-by-month martyrologium for the year.

¹⁴²It is difficult not to associate this with a form currently found in popular magazines, especially women's magazines, namely texts which explore dimensions of one's personality. This self-examination using the basis of psychology uncovers truths about oneself, and one's relationship with the world and other people. These questionnaires are not focused on the doctrines of the Church, but they are self-directed, which does not preclude a genre transformation.

saint. All of this content is presented on some 250 pages of a sextodecimo. The tradition of a book for the house, a compendium of useful knowledge, is continued by "stoljetni kalendar"¹⁴³ (literally, hundred-years calendar) in the nineteenth century.

3.2.2.2. Šoštari. These almanacs epitomize the popular kaikavian almanacs published in the eighteenth century. A reference to these almanacs is found in a bibliographic annotation signed by Ljudevit Gaj (L.G.)¹⁴⁴ which appears in the bibliography compiled by Kukuljević

¹⁴³The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin compendia combining the perpetual calendar with practical information on popular medicine and home and rural economics, such as Calendarum oeconomicum & perpetuum by Johannes Colerus or Mauritius Knauer's Latin perpetual calendar of 1652, are absorbed in the Croatian tradition of stoljetni kalendar via German almanacs. The path of transmission confirms this direction of borrowing. For example, Moritz Knauer's calendar is quoted as a source for the 1860 edition by Josip Vitanović (Stoljetni koledar, planetar, ratarska pravila, kakovo će biti vrijeme, gospodarstveni koledar, zdravstveni koledar, obračunavanje kamata. Po Mavri Knaueru složio prof. Josip Vitanović, 1860-1960. (Zagreb: Hartman, 1860)) and as a source of another edition published in 1857. Anton Rožić, compiler of the first "stoljetni kalendar" (Horvatzki stoletni kalendar od leta 1818 do 1919 by Anton Rožić (Zagreb: Novoszel, 1818)) advertises the fact that it is based on the "best German almanacs" ("iz najbolšeh Nemskeh ztoletneh kalendarov skupzlosen" (Horvatzki stoletni kalendar od leta 1818 do 1919, by Anton Rožić (Zagreb: Novoszel, 1818)). Dukat (1925) also considers that Knauer's almanac is not only the model for Rožić but also an edition that appears about the same time - issued by a well-known kaikavian author Tomaš Mikloušić (Ztoletni kalendar ili Dnevnik Ztoletni Horvatski do leta 1901 kasuchi. Po Thom Miklousichu, plebanushu vu Zienyevezu ispiszan, y na szvetlo van dan (Vu Zagrebu, nalosen, y pruzkan vu Novoszelskoj Szlovárnizi, 1819)). Tropsch (1901) identifies Knauer as a source of an eighteenth-century work, Reljković's Kučnik, thus confirming the long-standing popularity and familiarity of this source among Croatian almanac compilers. Some nineteenth-century German "hundertjähriger Kalender" also used Knauer's almanac as prototype. Two titles, one published in 1850 and the other in 1856, state this explicitly. Published around the same time are Baron von Ehrenkreutz's Neuer hundertjähriger Jagd-und Forstkalender (Ulm 1859), M. Katzenellebogen's Hundertjähriger Kalender vom Jahr der Erschaffung der Welt 5532-5632 in Vergleich mit der deutschen Zeitrechnung (Frankfurt 1856) as well as the Neu bearbeiteter 100jähriger Hauskalender vom Jahre 1851-1950 (Vienna 1857), all of which could have been used for cut and paste operations of Croatian almanac compilers. There are altogether eleven Croatian editions of "stoljetni kalendar," all but four of which are published in the nineteenth century. Two of them are issued in the beginning of the nineteenth century and five in the mid-nineteenth century, when they seem to be at the peak of their popularity. All except Vitanović's 1860 edition are written in kaikavian literary dialect and all but two editions are attributed to Tomaš Mikloušić. An English-language title from the nineteenth century is The 100 Years Anglo-Chinese Calendar, 1st Jan. 1776 to 25th Jan. 1876... Together with an Appendix Containing Several ... Tables and Extracts (By P. Loureiro (Shanghai, 1872)), a colonial almanac aimed at the English community in Shanghai. This title is not representative of a trend in English-language almanac publishing, but it appears about the same time as its German and Croatian counterparts and loosely fits into the same definition. One striking difference is that this "calendar" counts the hundred years, but in reverse (retrospectively). It runs from 1776 to 1876 and would have become obsolete four years after its publication. Most importantly, such inversion shows the connection of the calendar and the chronology.

¹⁴⁴Original annotation reads: Šoštar kalendar. Sbirka ovih kalendarčićah, koja se velikim brojem u knjižnici Gajevoj nalazi, dokazuje, da se s ovimi dnevnic, o kojih se sveti i vremena hieroglifičkim znakovi bilže, prostu puk naš već oko sto godinah zabavlja; prijatelju pako književnosti domaće pruža njihov sadržaj, navlastito pjesmice i pripovédke dosta znatnih podatakah sveudilj pokvarena ukusa u knjižestvu hervatskom podnaréčja bezačkoga, koje se je u novije vreme bez kritičnoga razloga počelo nazivati "kajkavskim," dočim i nehervatski Slovenci govore i pišu "kaj." To o šoštarih. L.G.

(1860).¹⁴⁵ In this comment, Gaj refers to his own, presumably sizable, collection¹⁴⁶ of these popular almanacs as containers of "songs and stories and various other pieces of information satisfying corrupt taste" (L.G.; in Kukuljević 1860, 228). Because these almanacs were written in the spoken regional dialect of Zagreb and environs, this judgment is not surprising, coming from one of the most prominent nineteenth-century language reformers in Croatia, who worked on the introduction of a non-regional standard language for Croatia. This annotation is also informative because it refers so matter-of-factly to the long-standing popularity of *šoštari*: "with these diaries that register holidays and weather in hieroglyphic symbols, our common people have been entertaining themselves for a hundred years already" (ibid., 228).

Several almanacs are identified that correspond in their features to *šoštari*. Josef Kotsche's Novi kalendar,¹⁴⁷ was published in Zagreb from 1769 to 1806, although the preserved copies run from 1786 (Despot 1972, 29-31). Another run of *kaikavian* almanacs started under the same name by Trattner around the turn of the century.¹⁴⁸ Kotsche's and Trattner's almanacs have often been mistaken for a single run (e.g., by Dukat 1923), probably because they catered to the same reading public and therefore used similar techniques of marketing and presentation.¹⁴⁹ In Kotsche's almanac, the calendar is subordinated to textual entertainment sections. Dukat (1923) attributes this to the influence of German almanacs. The editors of Kotsche's Novi kalendar Juraj Maljevac (Pater

¹⁴⁵This bibliography is considered the first attempt at compiling a national bibliography in Croatia.

¹⁴⁶Gaj's annotation with entries for the runs he allegedly owned at the time (i.e., in the 1830s) (e.g., Varaždinski, Zagrebački, and Karlovački šoštari) is misleading because none of the extant copies was found in the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library that owns Gaj's personal library, nor were they mentioned in the published inventory of the collection (Gaj 1875).

¹⁴⁷The editors and compilers of Novi kalendar were Juraj Maljevac and Toma Miklošić. It was printed in Zagreb by Josip Karlo Kotsche. Dukat (1923, 37) and Despot (1973, 24-31) have written about this publication.

J. Maljevac is the first editor of this almanac. A later editor was Thomas Miklošić. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1786, 1789, 1803-1804, and 1806).

¹⁴⁸Its other titles were Horvatzki kalendar (after 1821) and Zagrebečki kalendar. It was printed in Zagreb by Novoszelska tiskara (until 1826), Jos. Rossy (from 1827), and Franya Suppan. Despot (1973, 24-31) gives a history of that title. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1801, 1803-1806, 1808-1816, 1818-1821, 1823-1836, 1839, 1840, 1843-1845, and 1847-1848).

¹⁴⁹Trattner's almanac switches to *štokavian* dialect when it is officially introduced in schools.

Gregur Kapucin)¹⁵⁰ and Tomaš Mikloušić are kaikavian popular writers and versifiers. The didacticism that is so pronounced in the Franciscan Slavonian almanac is not absent from the kaikavian, where current events are also presented in popular verse.

3.2.2.3. The Latin Almanac. At the same time as those various almanacs and titles are published in a more or less systematic fashion, we find a Latin almanac as another form of popular almanac. It is restricted to the Latin-speaking intelligentsia. Dukat (1923, 31-36) gives a comprehensive account of a complicated printing history for two Latin almanacs issued continuously between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The Latin almanac is already issued regularly at the time of the appearance of popular "šoštari" and reformist almanacs in the 1740s. Two Latin almanacs, Ivan Weitz's (later Antun Jandera's) Zagrabiense Calendarium,¹⁵¹ published in Zagreb between 1745 and 1808, and Trattner's Varasdinense Calendarium, later Zagrabiense Calendarium,¹⁵² published in Varaždin and later in Zagreb between 1774 and 1847. The two titles are in competition from 1776, when Trattner moves his operation to Zagreb, until the expiration of Weitz-Jandera's almanac in 1808. The Latin almanac survived well into the nineteenth century when it clearly represented an anachronism. In its latest form, it was no more than a directory (schematismus), since the world in which Latin dominated as the language of communication for administrative purposes had disappeared. The Latin almanacs are similar to the European tradition of a periodical annual review containing a schematismus, a genealogy of rulers, and a compilation of facts. The prototype for this tradition is the extremely popular Almanach royal issued from 1734 to 1791 and Almanach de Gotha: annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique, which began with the issue for 1764 and continued at least until 1869 (cf. entries in NUC pre 1956, s.v.).¹⁵³ Saffroy (1959) traces these

¹⁵⁰Cf. Dukat (1915).

¹⁵¹Narodni koledar. Zagreb: Nakl. knjižare Franje Župana (Albrecht i Fiedler), knjigotiskarna Dragutina Albrehta. (22 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for 1868).

¹⁵²Zagrabiense Calendarium (Other title: Varasdinense Calendarium). Varaždin, Zagreb: Toma Trattner: Antun Novoszel; Franciska Novosel; Josip Rossy; Franja Suppan. Ref.: Dukat (1923, 31-36); Gaj (1875, 60-61).

¹⁵³In the nineteenth century, they are followed by almanac-directories of towns, societies, regions, and even various "interest groups" (gastronomists, caricaturists, etc.) and predate the current almanac-fact book, yearbook, directory--the contemporary types of almanac defined by Katz (1987, 224-228).

administrative, ecclesiastic, and military annuals with genealogies of nobility, which flourished during the Ancien régime, to the fifteenth century. Croatian almanacs in Latin are reduced to this type of annual in the last period of their publishing history. In the early period they are popular publications. They fulfill the function of a surrogate for newspapers because they first introduce the news, summarizing a year in retrospect in the form of a chronology. In that sense, they follow the European trend in the rise of periodical press at the end of the eighteenth century.

3.2.3. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

It is not possible to claim that the almanac had made it easier for an audience to receive the first newspapers in Croatia for the simple reason that literacy, even in the nineteenth century, was not widespread among all social classes in Croatia. Even so, almanacs seem to be among the most accessible and widely read publications at the time. Vereš (1962, 176 1a) considers that they represent the only reading to reach the peasant masses for a long time to come. Although some almanacs may have become the surrogate of the newspaper in the countryside, the values projected in almanacs published in the first part of the nineteenth century are those of small-town and urban readers and not the peasants these publications explicitly address (Zečević 1982). This finding does not mean that they would not be read by peasants, but it certainly reflects a low correlation between literacy and the values held by peasant readers. Almanacs published as part of organized attempts to bring agricultural improvements to the village (e.g., by *Gospodarsko društvo* or Agricultural Society), however, specifically target the peasant.

It is also interesting that the almanac genre was not associated with the most significant cultural force in the nineteenth century, the Illyrianist Movement. Similar to social movements elsewhere in Europe, the Illyrianist Movement addressed issues of universal education and literacy. Although this movement romanticized the peasant and the village as cultural symbols, it did not target peasants for its programs but rather the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the tools of the Illyrianist Movement were the

newspaper, the Illyrianist reading room, and other forms of political, social, and cultural interaction, but not the almanac. In fact, the notable publishers of nineteenth-century almanacs were all opponents of Illyrianism and Gaj's linguistic reforms (e.g., Mikloušić, Kristijanović, and Rakovac). Evidently, almanacs were not seen as vehicles of the new and reformationist ideas of the nineteenth century. They were informative tools aimed at entertainment rather than the business of politics, representing traditionalist values rather than the high political aspirations of the century. Almanacs remained on the sidelines of the revolutionary political struggles of the nineteenth century. Instead, almanac publishing reflects the concerns of everyday life and grassroots culture.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the almanac loses its function as a surrogate mass medium that has level of literacy more accessible than the newspaper. This role is taken over by the newspaper, and the almanac increasingly becomes restricted to special groups and specialized content. Almanacs aimed at a particular group of specialized readers emerge at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the nineteenth-century almanac, almanacs published in the first half of the twentieth century demonstrate a strong link with diverse political movements and the clericalist press. The diaspora almanac, therefore, is a logical evolutionary step in the overall development of the almanac genre in Croatia, continuing these established functions even after the almanac in Croatia becomes an obsolete form, resurfacing in the 1960s in the form of the regional almanac. Croatian diaspora almanacs appear at the end of the nineteenth century, when the almanac is an established print form in Croatia, with readers from all social classes.

A different strategy of presenting material has been adopted for the section which follows, due to the complexity of the almanac trade during this period. Instead of cases, the focus will be on patterns and trends in the almanac trade. Publishing patterns were identified by means of a database¹⁵⁴ consisting

¹⁵⁴The flexibility of a database for searching on a particular variable is used to support generalizations. This approach has its limitations. Because the data is collected in bibliographies and based on the holdings of collections, it also reflects the gaps in these collections. The Royal Academy Library (National and University Library), for example, received the right to legal deposit in 1816, but its enforcement becomes systematic only in the 1840s (Verona 1987, 217-236). This could skew the data with regard to the first four decades of the century.

of 650 titles compiled from authoritative bibliographic sources. Information about the nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs was combined in the database. Although the nineteenth century is considered the Golden Age of the Croatian almanac, in terms of numbers, there are more titles published in the twentieth century. The ratio is shown in Table 3.1, indicating that three quarters of all the titles are twentieth-century almanacs.¹⁵⁵ Based on this database, the following sections interpret the dynamics of the almanac trade in Croatia, its ebbs and flows, geographic distribution of publishers, and other features of their content and intended audience.

3.2.3.1. Production Dynamics. Findings about the dynamics of production depend on observing overall activity in the almanac trade and periods in which first issues of a run were published. Based on the average of new titles produced in a particular period, it was possible to identify nine distinct stages in the almanac trade. They show that the growth of almanac publishing at the turn of the century is preceded by a steady increase throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. A surge in the production of almanacs between 1922 and 1935 is followed by a gradual decline which accelerates after 1960. Table 3.2 shows the time-frame and the length of each period, with the number of new titles issued in each. The average number of new titles per year is shown in Figure 3.1. The years of last issues of almanacs¹⁵⁶ were also isolated to ascertain some regularities in the data without tying them to a particular year or short-term period. The comparison of new titles and expiring titles in various periods is presented in Figure 3.2. The average new titles established in the nineteenth century is over two titles per year while the average for titles that cease publication during the same period is one per year. This pattern is more or less uniform, without major fluctuations until the second half of the century, when the titles that expire each year increases to two. Actually, the

Still, the hope is that this database is as complete as the institutional memory it depends upon. In any case, it represents a historical sample of what has been preserved.

¹⁵⁵The problem of missing evidence is encountered in connection with ephemera research, where the ratio of preserved to lost copies is always uncertain. The database is based on standard bibliographies, both retrospective and current, with coverage throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Among them, the retrospective bibliography Grada za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju knjiga 1835-1940 is the most exhaustive and could have influenced the sample. The validity of the bibliographies used in the compilation of this database was complemented by the use of secondary sources in interpreting the almanac trade.

¹⁵⁶This variable is prone to misinterpretation because it reflects a bias based on source and state of preservation.

typical number of titles published each year, beginning in 1850, is three. A special case is presented by the period between 1867 and 1869, when twelve titles cease publication (over half of these are single issue runs that are initiated and expire in the same year).¹⁵⁷ In spite of this, an overall trend in nineteenth-century almanac production is one of stable production in which the number of new titles is greater than those that cease publication. The trend is one of growth, without major fluctuations.¹⁵⁸ In the twentieth century, new titles are established in large numbers, but large numbers of titles also expired.¹⁵⁹ Throughout the period, the almanac trade is vigorous but not very stable. As shown in Table 3.3, almost half of the titles did not survive beyond the first issue. According to the same frequency, fifty percent of the titles are in their second or later issue, which means that even more titles would have been published for only a few years, which confirms the trend of a short-lived almanac.

The dynamics of the almanac trade are vividly displayed in Figure 3.2, which shows the ratio of new titles to expiring titles in a particular period. High activity in the production of new titles at the beginning of the century is reversed in the 1930s, when mortality rates for titles reach the levels of production of new titles, overtaking them in the 1950s. An overall diminishing of the almanac trade in the 1950s (as shown in both Figure 3.1 and 3.2) is another variable to consider. In the aftermath of World War II, this change is significant. That the end of the war marked the end of the era of the popular almanac in Croatia does not contradict historical sources and demographic studies that indicate this period as the end of the "peasant era" (Nejašmić 1991). In this period, intense migrations overseas also precede the period of intense almanac production in diaspora between 1950 and 1955, which is discussed in Chapter 5. Evidently, the popular almanac as an accessible and widely read

¹⁵⁷ Among them are five titles in Croatian. This period is one of an increase in native-language almanac production beginning in the 1860s. Accordingly, the language ratio changes in favor of native-language almanacs.

¹⁵⁸ This may be also due to the small numbers analyzed in this sample.

¹⁵⁹ For example, twenty titles cease publication in 1911. A third of them are single-issue almanacs that were published and expired in the same year. Between 1930 and 1938, over one hundred titles cease to be published. Forty-seven among these disappear between 1933 and 1935. A little less than half of those (fifty-three) are almanacs that were published and expired in the same year. When compared to the eighty-five that ceased publication in the five years between 1940 and 1944, the period just before and during World War II, it is clear that the latter period indicates a downward trend. Among them, a third were titles issued for a single year, i.e., thirty-one titles. Eighty-one percent (sixty-nine titles) ended between 1940 and 1942.

book for peasants and small-town populations¹⁶⁰ suddenly becomes obsolete in the post-World War II era. In the period that follows the end of World War II, almanacs are still produced but their character changes. They are aimed at specialized niches of the reading public, with regional and religious almanacs prevailing in Croatia and diaspora almanacs among the Croats abroad. The phenomenon of the regional almanac is tied to the last stage in linguistic standardization. Namely, these almanacs are written in dialectal variants, when the dialects are no longer written. According to Brozović, consolidation of the standard on the basis of new štokavian as a single Croatian literary language in the twentieth century, has also resulted in the emergence of new-čakavian and new-kaikavian literary belletristics (1978, 22), for which these regional almanacs represent an outlet. The evolution of the regional almanac with written dialects reflects the last developmental stage of the almanac and its specialization.

3.2.3.2. The Centers of Production. Prior to the nineteenth century, almanacs are produced in Osijek, Zagreb, and Varaždin. They are also produced in Budim (Budapest), which is the center of activity for the Franciscan order and, consequently, the production center for their almanacs. Other centers of production of the almanac outside Croatia include Graz, Venice, and Rome. A strong local almanac trade is characteristic of the nineteenth-century. Even at that time numerous almanacs are produced in Austria and Hungary, intended for Croatian populations there, as well as in Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kotor in what is today Montenegro,¹⁶¹ Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Sombor and Zemun in Voivodina.¹⁶² A number of almanacs are issued jointly or change their place of publication, as shown in Table 3.4. A distribution by place of publication, presented in Table 3.5, indicates that Zagreb is the leading center of production, with over fifty percent of the almanacs published there, followed by other major Croatian towns: Osijek, Split, and Zadar. Bjelovar, Virovitica, and

¹⁶⁰A cursory examination shows a notable disappearance of small-town almanac publishers catering to local audiences. There are many reasons for this, including the reorganization of publishing in the era of socialist modes of production and an impact of the state ideology on popular culture forms, of which the almanac is a notable example.

¹⁶¹The Bay of Boka Kotorska was annexed to Montenegro after 1945.

¹⁶²Voivodina was added to Serbia after the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Koprivnica represent the small-town almanac traditions, where printers of popular materials such as Z. Čuković, Vinko Vošicki, and I. Horvat are located.¹⁶³ The almanacs issued by these printers are small, local-market almanacs; they typify mass production of the popular almanac during the peak of its popularity in the first half of the twentieth century. They are not long-term operations, like the centers of localized almanac trade in such towns as Čakovec, Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Križevci, Slavonska Požega, Rijeka, Sisak, and Varaždin. Towns in which one to five titles are published are market centers¹⁶⁴ and account for the fewest titles. Geographic distribution of publishers reflects Croatia's urban network, with major towns, regional centers, and smaller towns hierarchically ordered in terms of their participation in the overall almanac trade. The majority of the trade is concentrated in the cultural centers of Zagreb, Osijek, Split, and Zadar, but the trade is evenly distributed elsewhere, at least during the first half of the twentieth century. Of course, this distribution does not reflect changes over time or finer distinctions in output by region. The almanac trade in Croatia is made up mostly of almanacs of local significance. Adjectival derivations from names of towns in the wording of their titles also confirms this. Given the already smaller contribution of local centers and towns in comparison to Zagreb, Osijek, Split, and Zadar, as noted in distribution, it is predictable that migrations from the countryside after World War II would cause a disproportionate disappearance of small-town publishing centers.¹⁶⁵

Almanacs have been issued as occasional publications by different societies and firms, and as annual supplements to periodicals, as shown in Table 3.6. Citizens' associations and political parties have also published almanacs, particularly in the inter-war period. Among those issued by political parties

¹⁶³Z. Čuković and I. Horvat worked in Virovitica in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and Vinko Vošicki in Koprivnica in the 1920s and 1930s.

¹⁶⁴E.g., Crikvenica, Daruvar, Đakovo, Grubišno Polje, Kraljevica, Kutina, Legrad, Nova Gradiška, Pazin, Petrinja, Poreč, Pula, Samobor, Senj, Sinj, Slavonski Brod, Šibenik, Vinkovci, Vukovar, and Županja.

¹⁶⁵This phenomenon should be studied further, using the secondary sources dealing with the book trade and applying an in-depth analysis of the sample of 650 titles used in this thesis. This was, however, beyond the scope of this study. Comparing fluctuations in production in each of the locations and integrating them with the map of printers and publishers in each location would uncover the dynamics of the almanac book trade in greater detail. The patterns could be interpreted in terms of social and cultural dynamics of the society at large. The model of cultural dynamics used to interpret the production of diaspora almanacs would also be applicable to the almanac trade in Croatia.

are workers' and socialist almanacs as well as those tied to the activities of the Croatian Peasant Party, The Party of Rights, the Croatian Christian Socialists, and the Communist Party. The earliest political party almanacs are the Illyrianist almanacs published beginning in 1823¹⁶⁶ and Hrvatski kalendar,¹⁶⁷ issued in 1858 by Ante Starčević. The paramilitary organizations Ustashe and the Liberation Army both published their own almanacs during World War II.

3.2.3.3. Distribution. This segment considers some of the patterns regarding an aspect of the almanac trade which affected the reception of the almanac. Although case studies of the nineteenth century almanac trade point to some patterns, the picture is rather sketchy.¹⁶⁸ Distribution methods and edition sizes depend on infrastructure such as the postal system, the outlets through which reading material was available, and other constraints of the environment in the nineteenth century, not least of which are the effects of literacy levels discussed earlier. The special characteristics of Croatian literacy, which depended on German and Latin as the languages of administration and bureaucracy, also influenced the almanac trade, which is associated with small-town, countryside, and vernacular literacy.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, books were sold in designated bookstores where subscribers could pick up their copy of a publication, often prompted by a printed announcement

¹⁶⁶Almanach ilirski. Compiled by: Matić, Jure. Karlovac: J.N. Prattner; Svetodanik iliti: Kalendar ilirski (Other titles: Novouredjeni ilirski kalendar iliti Svetodanik, Novouredjeni naški kalendar iliti svetodanik, Novouredjeni horvatsko-slavonski kalendar iliti svetodanik, Novi i stari kalendar slavonski). Osijek Budim, Pešta: M.A. Divald; Ivan Gyurian-Martin Bagó. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1836-1854; 1856-1857), Narodni koledar novi i stari. Compiled by: J. Sundečić; Antun Šimonić; Stjepan Buzolić; Kažimir Lubić; Mate Nekić; Nikola Šimić. Zadar: Izdan o strošku Društva Matice dalmatinske, uskom Demarchi-Rougierovim; Brzotuskom "Narodnoga lista." (18 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1/1863-8/1870; 10/1872-18/1885; 20/1882-36/1898).

¹⁶⁷Hrvatski kalendar. Compiled by: Starčević, Ante. Zagreb: Karlo Albrecht. (22 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for year 1858).

¹⁶⁸Zečević (1978, 1988, 1982) gives an invaluable insight into the almanacs preceding and during the Illyrian Revival and the studies of individual publishers of nineteenth century almanacs. Adam Filipović Heldentalški and his Slavonian almanac issued from 1822 on are discussed by Ilesić (1916a and 1916b) and Dukat (1914). Discussion of the two popular nineteenth century almanacs, Koledar za puk (Compiled by Dragutin Rakovac. Zagreb: Društvo gospodarsko horvatsko-slavonsko; Ljudevit Gaj. (13 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1/1847-4/1850)) and Hrvatski koledar (issued by Mijo Krešić), is found in Despot (1975 and 1974).

poster or advertisement in the newspaper indicating which bookstore carried the publication in a particular area. In the nineteenth century, almanacs, books, and newspapers were distributed primarily by subscription.¹⁶⁹ Subscriptions could be placed in bookstores and post-offices (Horvat 1962, 104), but they could also be handled by locally appointed distributors, usually local teachers or lawyers. Franjo Župan's (or Fr. Suppan's) bookstore was the outlet for a number of house-printed almanacs. It was among the best supplied bookstores in the 1830s. This bookstore, together with Milan Hiršfeld's in Zagreb, Brothers Battara's in Zadar, and others, are mentioned as bookstores which also carried almanacs. Although it was possible to order almanacs by mail,¹⁷⁰ to be delivered by prepaid service or stage coach, it seems that this means of distribution was less secure than using a bookstore, according to the announcements which reiterated that bookstores were the safest means of obtaining printed materials. They were also the cheaper choice, because postal regulations and rates for distribution of printed materials varied from region to region in the Habsburg Monarchy. The prices for obtaining an almanac with and without a stamp could differ by a factor of two or more.¹⁷¹ Illyrianist Reading Rooms were another outlet for book distribution and promotion of new editions, including almanacs (Barac 1954, 276).

The Stamp Tax (štempl in Croatian) and censorship influenced the almanac trade in the nineteenth century. A first-hand account of the problems of censorship and distribution by subscription which faced an almanac publisher at that time is found in Dragutin Rakovac's diary (1922), where he mentions the edition size for his almanac. While the edition of Dragutin Rakovac's Koledar za puk in 1847 is over 6,000 copies (Filipović 1867, 27-28) which is phenomenal for that period, he also

¹⁶⁹The Illyrianist newspaper Danica ilirska regularly publishes calls for subscription and includes the price and method of acquisition for the publications it announces in its regular supplement "književni poziv" (literary call) or "književne vijesti" (literary news).

¹⁷⁰The postal service in Croatia was well organized from the second half of the sixteenth century on due to the proximity of the Austrian-Ottoman frontier and the need for efficient transfer of news and communications. Distribution of letters with newspapers is noted beginning in the seventeenth century, and broadsides with news from the frontier were circulate beginning in the sixteenth century (Horvat 1962, 44). Whether this network was used for the distribution of early almanacs is not known.

¹⁷¹For example, an advertisement for Česka pčela for 1838 in Danica ilirska (1837, T. 3, N. 50, 50) indicates that, in those bookstores where it could be delivered without "štempl," it sold for 4 crowns, compared to 10 crowns when the stamp was included.

issued a catechism in 1,000 copies (Barac 1954, 200), a standard size for editions of popular works. According to Šurmin (1913, quoted in Barac 1954), edition sizes in 1830 show large discrepancies, notably between Croatian and foreign-language materials. While editions in the first category (mostly literature) are very small, ranging from 250 to 400 copies, the usual run for publications in Latin and German is 1,000.¹⁷² Other data about edition sizes for almanacs show more typical editions, such as Antun Nagy's Novi i stari kalendar horvatski for 1818, which is issued in 700 copies, of which he succeeds in selling only half (Barac 1954, 9). Obviously, publishing is not a secure business, and an audience for the almanac in the Croatian vernacular has yet to be established. Nevertheless, it is also significant that both the catechism and the almanac represent a noteworthy exception in this general state of the book trade in Croatian, preserving links with the tradition of vernacular literacy. The traditionalist nature of the almanac, and the values of the Croatian countryside, small-town dweller, and peasant that it later came to symbolize, reflect a continuum from the almanac and the construction of its "symbolic associations" (Besnier 1995, 8-9) to the nineteenth-century reality of the book trade in the Croatian vernacular. The role of the almanac as a medium used by the church, and the connection with didacticism and ideological discourse, also stem from these conditions, and are nineteenth-century literary mannerisms. Edition sizes are difficult to reconstruct systematically, and the preceding discussion has only cursorily addressed the almanac trade in Croatia in the broader context of almanac distribution. Somewhat more systematic figures on the circulation of almanacs are available through current bibliographies for the period after 1948, although the "typical" edition size for the almanac varies not only from title to title, but also year by year.¹⁷³

¹⁷²Compared to popular catechisms and almanacs, the editions of Gaj's Illyrianist paper fluctuate in size but are smaller overall. They run from 464 to 255 between 1836 and 1842. Kolo, another Illyrianist literary periodical, reached circulation of 700 in 1842, dropping to 300 a year later (Barac 1954, 141-142, 62).

¹⁷³The typical editions of the regional almanacs are from 2,000 to 4,000 copies. For example, Lički kalendar, Slavonski narodni kalendar, and Varaždinski kalendar are typically published in 2,000 copies and Banjski kalendar, Žumberački kalendar, Narodni koledar za Istru, Junna i Franina, and Slavonski godišnjak are issued in somewhat larger editions of 3,000. Istarski zbornik and Veliki međimurski kalendar are more successful with a common edition size of 4,000. An exception is the 1972 edition of Kajkavski kalendar, which is issued in 12,000 copies, the cultural spillover of the Croatian Spring in 1971.

3.2.3.4. Reception. More than edition sizes, the record of reading practices in the nineteenth century gives an insight into how almanac literacy is constructed historically. For example, a contemporary record of the reception of Obći zagrebački koledar¹⁷⁴ is found in the Illyrianist paper Danica ilirska (23/1846, 91), which refers to the phenomenal popularity of the almanac among the middle and lower classes. The great popularity of this title is due to the addition of civil lists (Schematismus), but also to texts that are an extension of those typically transmitted in oral culture. Although not read by the largely illiterate peasants (Zečević 1982, 71-72), the almanac builds a special bridge between literacy in the vernacular and the orality of the countryside. Namely, the editors of this almanac title explicitly recommend reading the calendar aloud as the best method of transmitting it among illiterate peasants (cf. Danica ilirska 42/1846, 168; quoted in Zečević 1982, 72). That this practice is common, not only for almanac reading but reading of newspapers throughout the century, is also demonstrated in an editorial in a 1891 issue of Pučki list, in which the same technique of reading is recommended (Danica ilirska 42/1846, 168; quoted in Zečević 1982, 72). Reading aloud, or oral performance of literary texts, enriched by gesture, tone, and probably improvisation, has a significant impact on how the "symbolic associations" (Besnier 1995, 8-9) and literacy practices associated with particular genres are built into the genre features even when these practices become obsolete.¹⁷⁵ In subsequent chapters, these features of residual orality are discussed in connection with the interplay of orality and literacy in diaspora almanacs, and the performative features of these almanacs.

The connection of almanacs to a particular class of readers or reading practices may be ascertained from their linguistic features, affiliation, format, and subject matter. Because de visu inspection of the actual titles was not possible, bibliographic descriptive information and annotations were used when

¹⁷⁴Obći Zagrebački koledar (other title: Obći zagrebački koledar). Compiled by: Slavoljub Verbančić; Vladislav Vežić; Marko Radojčić and Andrija Torkvat Berlić. Zagreb: Lavoslav Župan (Franjo Suppan). (24 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1846-1851, pt. 1,2; 1852-1853).

¹⁷⁵The practice of reading aloud as a form of group entertainment is not uncommon. Bible reading, for example, or reading in church in general, continues such practices of textual transmission. As if to underline this point, the title page of Steinbrener's popular almanac (Šareni svjetski koledar) depicts a group of people sitting around the table--men and women engaged in conversation--as if pausing for a moment to refer to the calendar in relation to something they have just discussed. The practice of reading aloud to Cuban tobacco workers while they assembled cigars was discussed on SHARP-L (electronic discussion group of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing) in February 1996.

available, as was the wording of the title, which explicitly connects the titles to their intended readership.¹⁷⁶

3.2.3.4.1. Linguistic Patterns as Indicators of Intended Audiences. Groups of almanacs sharing common linguistic patterns are indicative of the parallel traditions of literacy existing in Croatia and the multicultural character of readership. Although the majority of these almanacs is written in Croatian,¹⁷⁷ the almanac trade in Croatia is multilingual (cf. breakdown by languages shown in Table 3.7). Almanacs in languages other than Croatian are issued either by ethnic minorities or for a specific class of readers, reflecting the bilingual and multilingual nature of Croatian literacy in Latin, German, and Italian. Bilingual and polyglot almanacs are only natural in such a linguistic environment. Using language as a focus, the features of the almanac trade in Croatia may be seen as a reflection of the changing political circumstances, which are irrevocably tied to the nineteenth-century process of national differentiation.

Although almanacs in Italian are more numerous than those issued in German,¹⁷⁸ their impact is limited to the towns of the Croatian coast, and to a time period between 1837 and 1868. They are most numerous in the 1860s. Although five titles in Italian are published continuously throughout the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century,¹⁷⁹ Italian almanacs were in general short-lived.¹⁸⁰ Even without examining their contents, it is possible to hypothesize that their popularity reflects the division in Dalmatia in the nineteenth century between the pro-Italian *Autonomaši* and the Illyrianists.

¹⁷⁶Without examination of primary sources, the intended readership and its correspondence to an actual readership is disputable.

¹⁷⁷This includes the čakavian, karkavian, and štokavian dialects of Croatian.

¹⁷⁸One should distinguish between the Italian (or German) almanacs issued for the Italian (or German) minority in Croatia and almanacs issued in Italian (or German) which is a language of Croatian literacy (an extension of multilingual patterns of communication in the society). In the first category is Jahrbuch der Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien (other title: Jahrbuch der Deutschen im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien) (Compiled by: Andreas Nikolaus Stötzer and Andreas Kuhn- Osijek:Hrsg. Die Volksgruppenführung der Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien, Deutscher Verlag und Druckerei; Druckerei und Verlag der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Kroatien). There are only almanacs issued after 1945 for the Italian minority.

¹⁷⁹Three of them expire between 1913 and 1915 and one in 1941, while one expires in 1888.

¹⁸⁰Most of them (twenty-nine out of thirty-seven titles) less than five years. Regardless of how preservation patterns may have impacted what is found today, the pattern seems too strong to be ignored.

The wording of titles suggest their intended scope. They commonly include "cattolico-ebraico," "cattolico e greco," "cattolico, greco ed ebraico," etc. in their titles, in reference to the Catholic, Jewish, and Greek Orthodox calendars included in the almanacs. Their regional character (limited to the coastal parts of Croatia, the Dalmatian Coast) is emphasized by the inclusion of "dalmatino" (or "dalmato," etc.) in the title. In some cases, local coverage is emphasized in the adjectival derivations "zaratino," "spalatino,"¹⁸¹ "fiumano," and "di Sebenico," found in the titles of these publications, referring to Zadar, Split, Rijeka, and Šibenik, respectively.

Almanacs in German correspond to the administrative network of the Habsburg Monarchy and are not regional in character. More than half of these titles did not survive five years,¹⁸² but at least ten titles lasted for decades. Almanacs in German were issued from 1827 on, and more systematically beginning in 1837. Not surprisingly, they all but disappear in 1915, although some are still published until 1925.¹⁸³ Many of these almanacs are diaries, planners, or pocket calendars ("Taschen-," "Schreib-," etc.). In addition to the calendar instructions, their regular features are civil lists and administrative directories (Schematismus) with names of individuals in public office. They are aimed at the diverse religious population of the Habsburg Monarchy. In many titles, this is explicitly indicated with a listing of "Katholiken, Protestanten, Griechen, Juden und Türken" (even Hindus, if a statement included in one of them has any authenticity: "Kalender-Angaben für Katholiken, Griechen, Russe, Inden und Türken"). Phrases such as "für alle Stände" (for all classes), "für Stadt- und Landleute" (for city and country folk), "Volks-Kalender" (people's calendar), "Haus Kalender" (calendar for the home), "für Christlicher Haus" (calendar for a Christian home), etc. are also commonly found. A number of German almanacs are associated with a specific town, similar to their counterparts in Italian. Strikingly, nearly half of all titles have an adjectival designation that refers to

¹⁸¹Found in eight and nine titles, respectively.

¹⁸²Or fourteen out of twenty-four.

¹⁸³Only two titles (in addition to an ethnic title) are issued after this date (Cf. Jahrbuch. Seinen Lesern gewidmet vom "Morgenblatt" (Other title: Morgenblatt. Jahrbuch). Zagreb: Jugoslavenska štampa; Christlicher Volks-Kalender. Osijek: Hrsg. von der Verwaltung der "Christlichen Volkszeitung," druck der Ersten kroatischen Aktiendruckerei.

an urban area, in most cases Zagreb and other towns in the Croatian northeast such as Varaždin, Osijek, and Bjelovar, which might be indicated by the adjectival phrases "Warasdiner," "Agramer," "Esseger," and "Bjelovar Bote," respectively. Military almanacs are a distinct group among German-language almanacs, presumably issued for officers in Vojna krajina (the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier) and for the Navy in Dalmatia. Almanacs in German, such as the almanac issued by the Zagreb Society for Human Rights,¹⁸⁴ indicate the official character of German as the language of administration and bureaucracy. Almanacs in German as a group have the character of an administrative, official instrument and informative tool. They are successors of the Latin almanac discussed earlier, reflecting Germanization in the Croatian North. Of the two eighteenth-century almanacs in Latin, one ceases in the first decade of the nineteenth century, while the other continues as an anachronism until the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to these, Latin is the language of five calendars for ecclesiastical use.

The fifth distinct linguistic group of almanacs are those of ethnic groups, such as those in Church Slavic and Serbian (issued in 1851 and 1852), which are issued by different Serbian societies (national, sports, charitable, and women's groups). A number of these almanacs are popular, religious, and humorous publications. Their production becomes systematic after 1900, although half of all titles in this group are published after 1918. The almanacs in Ukrainian, Czech, and Slovak are aimed at these sizable ethnic groups. They are published after the 1930s, joining ranks with other ethnic almanacs aimed at the Italian and German minorities, and continue after World War II. In spite of the intense Magyarization in the nineteenth century, none of the titles in this corpus are in Hungarian, except one bilingual almanac in Croatian and Hungarian issued for silkworm breeders at the turn of the century in Legrad, a bilingual region of Medimurje. An almanac for ethnic Hungarians was published in 1925.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Kalender des Agramer Humanitäts-Vereines. Zagreb: Druck und Verlag von J. Huhn. A parallel edition in Croatian is published in the same year.

Parallel editions in Roman and Cyrillic are issued by the same publisher in some cases,¹⁸⁵ and a number of almanacs that are either partially or entirely bilingual, such as those in Croatian and German, Hebrew, or Hungarian, demonstrate other notable patterns related to language. Although it is impossible to give more precise linguistic analysis of the corpus without inspecting the runs, the openness to bilingualism/polyglossia and bigraphism as a feature is evident in these almanacs, and also continued in the almanacs of the diaspora. Combination of languages and scripts found in some diaspora almanacs associated with the Socialist movement is an ideological device, promulgating South Slav unity by focusing on the linguistic similarity of the South Slavs. Their counterparts are Croatian nationalist almanacs that also employ dialect and orthography as identity markers, using ikavian dialect and etymological orthography.¹⁸⁶ In contrast, the use of dialect in regional almanacs is not as clearly politicized.

3.2.3.4.2. Textual Communities. Almanacs published in Croatia are often explicitly directed to a particular social group. These groups range from ethnic to religious to occupational. An examination of the ratios in audience category in Table 3.8 demonstrates that almanacs aimed at an occupational group are by far the single best-represented category. Most numerous among them are agricultural almanacs for improving farming. Many of them are issued at the end of the nineteenth century by Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo (Croatian-Slavonian Agricultural Society) and later by Gospodarska sloga and other peasant associations in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of them specialize in the farming of silkworms, wine-growing, bee-keeping, dairy- or chicken-farming. Others deal with organizational issues and improvement of farming methods. First appearing in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, they flourish in the 1920s and practically disappear after 1950.

¹⁸⁵Cf. parallel editions in Cyrillic of Sretna 1911 godina!: Kalendar Prvog bjelovarskog trgovačko dioničarskog društva (Bjelovar: Štampanija M. Mladjana u Novoj Gradiški) and Sremski kalendar for 1867 (Vukovar: Izd. Aleksandar Vagner, knjižar, Tiskom Ognjoslava Merdešickog, 20 cm). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for year 1/1867).

¹⁸⁶Although it is also spoken in Slavonia and in Dalmatia, ikavian dialect is used as an identifying feature of Croats in Bosnia to assert national ideology based on historical right and etymological orthography, also reflecting the discussions of language and orthography that go back to the fiery and controversial polemics initiated by Gaj's linguistic and orthographic reforms in the first half of the nineteenth century (Banac 1991, 62-63).

Other occupational almanacs are those aimed at the trades, merchants, landlords, hunters, gamekeepers, foresters, innkeepers, restaurant owners, firefighters, pensioners, mountaineers, bakers, tobacconists, apprentices, and the professions (lawyers, public service employees, doctors and veterinarians, engineers, typographers, psychologists, priests, and teachers). Some are aimed at those involved in specific sectors (e.g., police, post and telecommunications, railway workers). Most numerous after agricultural almanacs are military almanacs, followed by those for teachers and priests, maritime workers, firefighters, and clerical staff almanacs. Military almanacs were aimed at officers in the Austrian army and professional soldiers, war veterans, and war invalids. The military almanac has a long tradition which dates from the early nineteenth century. In the 1830s, two titles were published, one of them continuing until the end of the nineteenth century. Military almanacs are found in all periods, with a large number of titles concentrated during World War I, doubtlessly intended to popularize conscription, which was one of the reasons for high emigration from Croatia. A number of these almanacs are illustrated, a feature adding to their marketability. Like magazines with war-reportage, they relate war news and analysis in a glorified and sensationalized fashion;¹⁸⁷ others are entertaining.¹⁸⁸

Almanacs aimed at peasants and workers represent a special category, although they may be considered to belong to an occupational group. In fact, they are class-directed and more general than the specialized occupational almanacs. Peasant almanacs appear in the mid-nineteenth century and continue into the twentieth century. Most of the peasant ("seljački") almanacs are concentrated in the 1920s and 1930s, at a time of great popularity of the Croatian Peasant Party and its cultural organization, *Seljačka sloga*. This type of almanac disappears after 1957. Workers' almanacs are issued beginning at the turn of the century and reflect the transformation of the socialist and workers'

¹⁸⁷Veliki ratni kalendar. Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. knjižare L. Hartmana (St. Kugli). 22 cm. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1/1917); Veliki ilustrirani kalendar Svjetskog rata. Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. Umjetničko-nakladnog zavoda "Merkur." 23 cm. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for year 1917).

¹⁸⁸Jurek s Bajganetom. Voinički šaljivi kalendar. Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. Umjetničko-nakladnog zavoda "Merkur."

movement throughout this period. They are particularly strongly represented from the first decade of the century until the end of World War I. Censorship measures had a strong impact on this category of almanac in the inter-war period.

Ethnic almanacs include those issued by Croats in Voivodina, Hungary, and Austria,¹⁸⁹ those published for the refugees from Julijska krajina in 1930s, and those issued by ethnic minorities--Serbian, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Italian, and German. Almanacs aimed at specific religious groups such as Catholics, Greek-Catholics (Uniate), Jewish, Muslim, and Orthodox are also noted as a distinct and sizable group of almanacs, a specialization which is not surprising, given the close tie of the almanac to the calendar. Regional almanacs include local publications aimed at the readers in these regions. They are therefore local in distribution and scope, but they also serve as representative compilations of cultural distinctions of these regions, a showcase of what Vansina calls "second hand traditions" (1961, 33) or ethnographic descriptions of customs, festivals, and popular beliefs and practices which maintain a connection with the oral tradition. There is a strong folkloric element in many such late twentieth-century almanacs. Regional almanacs from Slavonia and Dalmatia are most prominent in this group. However, especially in the period of dialectal renaissance in the 1960s, the folkloric element was prominent in almanacs from Međimurje, Istria, Lika, Posavina, Žumberak, Zagorje, and Banija. Some of these almanacs are identified by local dialect such as the "kaikavian" almanac Kaj, which is a literary magazine aimed at a literate audience. Other types of regional almanac in the twentieth century are identified by town or micro-region (Varaždinski, Osječki, Požeški, Ivanečki, Krčki, etc.). There are several reasons for the prominence of the regional almanac and strong regionalism in the historical provinces of Croatia (especially Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria). Regionalism precedes the process of national differentiation in the nineteenth century. The regional scope of the almanacs of the late twentieth century is related to the maintenance of group identity and the archaicism of the almanac as a genre. In the political climate of Socialist Yugoslavia,

¹⁸⁹The appellation Šokci, Bunjevci, Gradišćanski Hrvati are found in titles of these publications, to denote these Croatian enclaves in Voivodina, and Austria, respectively.

the expression of national sentiment in public life was not only discouraged but persecuted. Regional identities, on the other hand, were a legitimate way of expressing cultural distinction and historical continuity.

While some almanacs explicitly define their audience by limiting it to an occupational, religious, or ethnic group, others were intentionally inclusive. For example, those which indicate in their titles that they are aimed at all social groups ("za sve staleže") or that they are the people's ("pučki" or "narodni"; "Volks-kalender in German) almanacs are aimed at a homogenized audience. The emphasis on the fact that the almanac is a popular text for the common reader, accessible in form and content, is at the root of such efforts. The first such almanac appears in 1847 (Koledar za puk)¹⁹⁰ (for its history, cf. Despot 1975) but many others are issued throughout the nineteenth century. The term "narodni" prevails in the twentieth century to refer to the same grassroots appeal.

The almanac as a genre of print is primarily an entertaining and popular text. Specialized content is introduced as well, determined by the need to communicate to the group for which a distinct title is intended. The generalist, encyclopedic character is the norm for an almanac, although special content almanacs and occasional publications are also found throughout the period considered here. It is not possible to develop a typology by subject without examining the publications themselves. However, based on information from the titles, several categories of special almanacs are noted. They are given in Table 3.9 and include general entertaining almanacs, or specialized humor or satire, sports, statistics, literature, music, theatre, and cinema. They are the opposite of the occupational almanac because they do not reflect interests of particular social groups but of textual communities that emerge around them. The popularity of the illustrated almanac, although its distinction is one of format rather than content, lasts from the turn of the century to the late 1930s. The ratio of these almanacs in relation to the overall almanac trade (almost six percent of all almanacs published) is shown in Table 3.10. Their popularity is due to the use of lithography, photogravure, and collotype, by which

¹⁹⁰For the history of this title, cf. Despot (1975).

photographic images were duplicated. The fascination of these almanacs is in their visual content, which accomplishes a unique documentary function by providing precise images. The annual rhythm of the almanac made it possible to do this with fewer resources than the contemporary newspaper. The economy of scale inherent in such production (e.g., by the Steinbrener collotype house that provided a business model for such an operation, as discussed in Chapter 5) was inherent to the almanac, which is aimed at a general audience, and thus has a broader fan-out than a newspaper. The illustrated almanac becomes an outlet for the documentary-historical image.

The connection of the almanac with the calendar continues to be prominent in nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs. For example, throughout the nineteenth century, terms, such as "upisnik," "Schreib-Kalender," and "bilježnica" (all terms indicating a notebook), "ročišnik" (meeting planner), or "adresar" (address book) in the title indicate the prominence of that function, in which the almanac is integrated into the daily (and annual) rhythm. In the astrological almanacs of the seventeenth century, these diaries are integrated with the almanac for their owners to use in maintaining financial records and memorializing the daily rhythm of the household in a given year. The nineteenth- and especially the twentieth-century almanac separate those functions of almanac and calendar. In the twentieth-century almanacs, ruled blank spaces for notes are retained near the calendar register, but these spaces are rarely filled. A distinct ephemeral form develops to serve the function of an independent daily diary—the ubiquitous planner or engagement calendar ("rokovnik" in Croatian). Truly ephemeral, these genres of written communication (combining manuscript and print) are distributed in large editions by firms and businesses in Croatia.

3.3. CONCLUSION

The history of the almanac in Croatia reveals important facts about the genre and its changing roles, establishing the context in which the diaspora almanac emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Specifically, this context concerns the "symbolic associations" that came to

identify the specific character of almanac literacy in the Croatian almanac tradition. The association of the almanac with the calendar is one such component of almanac literacy. Calendars are added to service and devotional works beginning in the eleventh century, but the popular diffusion of calendar literacy during the Catholic Reformation's attempts to spread the Gregorian calendar brings about the rise of the annual almanac.

Seventeenth-century astrological almanacs are the first known annual almanacs in Croatia. They establish an annual pattern of publishing and use, the association of the almanac with a popular book for the house, and the interactive use of the almanac as a diary, where blank interleaved spaces are reserved for readers to insert manuscript notes. Early association of the almanac with literacy in the vernacular is also significant in the Croatian context. The eighteenth-century almanac establishes, in many respects, a connection with the newspaper as a medium for transmission of news. These almanacs may be understood to serve as the precursor to an established newspaper trade. The format in which the news is transmitted follows the patterns of an existing oral tradition. The news is not only information, but is used to consolidate public opinion in Croatia at the time of the Ottoman withdrawal from the Croatia. This period in the history of the Croatian almanac has a strong impact on defining the generic traits of the almanac, including diaspora almanac.

In the eighteenth century, the almanac becomes a medium which secular and ecclesiastical intellectual elites use to consolidate public opinion. A reliance on established genres of oral communication to shape the memory of recent events in the process of identity-building is discussed in Chapter 6, but this method is tied to the tradition of the genre as noted in eighteenth-century practices. The spreading of didactic and ideological material associated with the Franciscan almanacs of the eighteenth century is a link that survives between the almanac and its uses by the church to inform and indoctrinate. In addition to the association of the almanac with genres of oral communication (such as the epic and decasyllabic verse) through

the Franciscan almanac of the eighteenth century, it is also associated with informal genres of everyday communication such as gossip. This link is preserved through the popular almanacs in kaikavian dialect known as "šoštari," which also maintain the link of the almanac with fairs where news is exchanged, and the flourishing of the chapbook trade.

The popular, grassroots character of the almanac, aimed at rural and urban audiences, reflecting small-town, conservative values prevailing in the countryside, is maintained in nineteenth-century almanacs. An association with localized and regional cultural context is noted in the nineteenth century almanac trade. Although the majority of the almanac trade is concentrated in Zagreb, it also has a strongly provincial element. The nineteenth century is the century of growth of the almanac, especially after 1850, when a number of new roles emerge for the genre. The almanac retains its popular character, aimed at a common reader, but it also becomes a medium of communicating specialized content to a limited audience. When diaspora almanacs appear at the end of the nineteenth century, the almanac trade in Croatia is flourishing. It remains very active until World War II. During the war, the almanac trade all but disappears and does not recover in the post-war period. This demise of the popular almanac in Croatia is part of a broader social and political change in which marginalization of the countryside and small towns is matched by the growth of industrial centers as a result of internal migrations. This period also coincides with the period of intense emigration overseas, especially between 1948 and 1953 (Nejašmić 1991, 147). In the last stage of its development in Croatia after 1960, the almanac gradually atrophies, until it eventually became marginalized, retaining the character of a specialized publication in the form of regional, religious, and diaspora almanacs.

4

The Grammar of the Genre: The Diaspora Almanac as a Communicative Form

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Almanacs of the diaspora share many features with the almanacs read in Croatia, yet they represent a specialized print genre, the communicational purpose of which is tied to Croatian migrations overseas. The previous chapter provides connections between a genre and its historical basis. The historical context is crucial in understanding some of the generic properties of almanacs, or types of texts found in the almanacs, and their specific uses in the almanacs of the diaspora. There are features in the almanacs that are of medieval origin and, consequently, arise from a world of literacy which retains a living connection with oral tradition. Explaining the formation of the genre, however, does not clarify the uses to which the genres are put subsequently. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the peculiar communicational purpose of the almanacs of the diaspora in the context of the time in which they appear. This can be done by focusing on specific features of the materiality and textuality of these publications. Accordingly, this chapter attempts to define not only what makes the almanac, but also what makes it meaningful as a communication medium.

A genre of print is characterized by an idiosyncratic presentation, look, purpose, or appearance at a particular time (Brisebois 1997). The typical content of diaspora almanacs is relatively similar to other Croatian almanacs. Like all almanacs, they contain a calendar. Other regularly featured texts are directories, civil lists, and conversion tables for weights and measures, which are conventional yet adapted for the uses of the diaspora communities. Short forms (proverbial sayings, jokes, anecdotes, trivia), as well as poetry, verse, and serialized plays and novels constitute the entertainment portion. Among the edifying readings are popular science and popular medical texts, while narratives of a political, historical-political, or polemical nature constitute the explicitly ideological portions. Reportage, community news, travelogues, and pieces about the land and the people are other types of informative texts commonly found in the almanacs of the diaspora. Many of them include advertisements and announcements placed by

readers and sponsoring businesses, which link the publications with a living community. Although the content of these publications addresses the specific needs of the diaspora community, such explanation tells little of the impact of the diaspora almanac as a type of text. This impact is conveyed through their features as printed artefacts, as forms of literary expression, and as collections of texts compiled using the almanac formula.

Generalizations about the materiality and textuality of diaspora almanacs are based on a representative population of almanacs issued in the diaspora from 1893 to 1991. The first section focuses on features of almanacs as material objects, followed by an analysis of the almanac as a literate form and of the structural features that determine the internal organization of almanac discourse. The final section of this chapter examines how textual forms elicit social readings in the targeted groups of readers.

4.2. MATERIALITY OF THE ALMANAC AS A DETERMINING FEATURE OF ALMANAC LITERACY

In the traditional paradigm of book history, the use of print artefacts depends not only on textual but also on material competence with texts, "an ability to read the semiotics of the concrete forms that embody, shape and condition the meanings of texts" (Moylan and Stiles 1996: 2). This, in fact, is the nature of the first contact with any publication. This section considers the material presence of the diaspora almanacs, considering patterns of similarities and differences. Physical interaction with the text is determined by size, ease of handling, features of binding, cover art, typography, layout, and illustration. The response to literate features of the genre is framed within the response to its physical features: as textual technology and interface. Apart from being an integral aspect of the genre, the physical features and visual appearance of printed works are functions of economics, preservation, and the technology of production. The degree of uniformity in presentation is proportionate to the

stability of production of a title, with continuing titles likely to retain the same size, shape, extent and uniformity of layout.¹⁹¹

4.2.1. Structure and Format.

The almanacs of the diaspora are representative of what McKerrow calls "very cheap books" (1927, 71) produced in the machine-press period--machine-printed, -folded and -bound, "generally printed on 'double quad paper' [size] which gives 128 pages to the sheet and ... sewn in 32-page gatherings or even in 64's" (idem).¹⁹² They are commonly between two and three hundred pages, but may range from under a hundred to four hundred pages. In the copies examined, the paper is of varying quality and in varying conditions of preservation. Some of the almanacs produced in the 1940s are more brittle and fragile than those produced in the 1920s and 1950s, which were printed on paper of better quality.

Diaspora almanacs are squarish-shaped books, between twenty-two and twenty-six centimeters in height (cf. Table 4.1). Anomalous sizes are represented by a smaller number of pocket-size¹⁹³ almanacs (nine to fourteen centimeters in height) and four titles over twenty-seven centimeters (but none over thirty). The pocket almanacs are interesting because they appear at the height of the post-World War II emigration wave, from the mid-1940s to the early 1950s. They were produced in improvised conditions in refugee camps across Europe. Such pocket-size compendia best exemplify the character of the diaspora almanac as an émigré encyclopedia. Another group of small-format almanacs dates from the late 1960s and early 1970s. They were

¹⁹¹This pertains to a single run, but uniformity of runs issued by affiliate or related organizations is also interesting. For example, *Koledar Hrvatskog sokola* (St. Louis, Mo.) for 1918 has illustrated wrappers from drawing by J. Benković that are identical to wrappers of *Koledar Hrvatskog sokola* published in Chicago. Both are affiliates of the sports-political organization, the Croatian Falcon.

¹⁹²For example, *Hrvatski kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1946 is sewn in gatherings of 32 pages, *Narodni kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1967, in gatherings of 16 pages.

¹⁹³The wording of the titles in these copies emphasizes their size. They are called "mali" (or "small" in English), "džepni" (or "pocket" in English), and "vodič" (or "guide" in English).

produced in fairly large editions for economic migrants. There must have been many more editions of pocket almanacs for the diaspora that are not preserved.

4.2.2. Binding.

Although there are several examples of hardbound titles with illustrated boards, boards with colored illustrations pasted on, or cloth bindings, which are intended for prolonged or reference use,¹⁹⁴ a majority of titles are bound in colored, illustrated paper wrappers.¹⁹⁵ Because publishers' bindings define the intended pattern of ownership and use, wrapped bindings define ephemeral ownership limited to the year for which the title is intended, while hardbound copies imply continuous and prolonged use and ownership (which, of course, is only the intended pattern, while actual behavior may reflect different patterns of use). Among the examined copies, hardbound and soft-cover alternatives were provided by J. Steinbrener. Immigrant almanacs are typically bound in hard-cover, which may be due to their value as a reference tool.

Divergencies in publishers' bindings are not widely documented -- it is unlikely that this practice was widespread. This is understandable, since the almanacs of the diaspora for the most part represent grassroots efforts rather than commercial publishing, which is more likely to use different variants of binding for marketing purposes. This appears to be the case with a

¹⁹⁴The firm of J. Steinbrener regularly advertised hardbound and soft-cover versions of most of their major lines of almanacs (cf. advertisement in Šarenj svjetski koledar for 1916, on back cover). Other examples of almanacs in boards include: JeKa for 1910, bound in gray cloth stamped in blind and gilt; two pocket almanacs, Mali hrvatski kalendar for 1950 and Mali kalendar "Hrvatska" for 1951; Iseljenik for 1930; and Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar for 1913 (bound with Hr. Veliki Marijin kalendar and Hr. vojnički koledar for the same year).

¹⁹⁵Over half of the copies retrieved are wrapped (236 out of 425). The number probably would have been much higher, had not a number of copies been stripped of their original binding when they were acquired by the libraries (over 15 percent of issues among the retrieved titles are bound in library bindings). The paper stock of the wrappers ranges from paper to lightweight cardboard, and some titles include a cloth spine.

copy of Veliki zabavni koledar for 1913, bound with Veliki Marijin koledar and Davor.¹⁹⁶ which are also issued separately. Further study of the binding practices of the J. Steinbrener firm, a commercial publisher, may reveal a systematic pattern of marketing different versions of the same product. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) was also distributed under separate cover as Zbornik "Croatia" (without the calendar portion) (oral communication, Vinko Lasić, June 13, 1991).

4.2.3. Cover Art.

Photographic illustration on wrappers appears sporadically beginning in the 1950s and becomes regular later, perhaps because it was found to be the cheapest and most flexible means of image reproduction.¹⁹⁷ Cover art on the wrappers of the diaspora almanacs often varies from issue to issue while retaining a general uniformity in appearance¹⁹⁸ over a number of years, which is a common practice for serials. The same image may be recycled from issue to issue (with minor changes in color or tinting);¹⁹⁹ variation may take the form of serialized iconographic cycles²⁰⁰ which are a reflection of changes in production as well as the changing ideological focus of the run. A comparative study of cover art in conjunction with other features of the text and the content would make it possible to establish general patterns in iconography. The predominant element of the iconographic repertoire is folkloristic motifs-- individuals wearing folk costumes or engaged in some "traditional" or idealized activity of the folkloric past, panoramic views from the country of origin and the country of settlement, as

¹⁹⁶All the titles are issued by J. Steinbrener. While Veliki zabavni koledar is a general-purpose entertaining almanac, Veliki Marijin koledar and Davor are specialized-content almanacs, i.e., a religious and military almanac respectively. The copy with all three issues bound together is in the collection of the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago.

¹⁹⁷Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1958, 1961, 1963, 1966-1969, 1981 to date (except 1992-1993).

¹⁹⁸Matica iseljenički kalendar.

¹⁹⁹For example, Ave Marija Almanac and Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.) always feature the same image on the cover.

²⁰⁰Examples of this are represented in the cover art series of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), Narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), and Kalendar Hrvatski glas.

well as motifs reflecting the ideological orientation of the run, such as conventional religious art, national symbols, political logos, visual allegories, etc.

The variation of pattern in the cover art of the almanacs of the diaspora may be interpreted in terms of the changing social and political context and the history of migration. Based on the changes in cover art of a clericalist almanac, Hrvatski kalendar from 1944 to date, the following periodization may be established. The iconography of the cover in the issues between 1944 and 1946 is limited to standard religious themes of the Sacred Heart, Jesus Pantocrator and St. Francis as protector of the Croatian Franciscan Fathers. From 1951 to 1953, there is an integration of religious iconography with national motifs (a three-strand interlace of "troplet," a red and white checkered coat of arms and the red, white, and blue of the Croatian tricolor). This corresponds to the time of the largest immigration cohort which changed the nature of the Croatian diaspora communities and called for an ideological shift. From 1954 to 1965, the Croatian content becomes very explicit and the religious content blurs into secularization. Sentimentalized and often anachronistic depictions of idealized Croatian figures, stock characters depicting the Croatian mother, a Croatian peasant girl, etc.,²⁰¹ Croatian ecclesiastical figures, and saints²⁰² are combined with explicitly nationalistic allegorical images.²⁰³ The realism of Renaissance religious art on some of the covers is used to convey a double meaning of images. In these secular religious images, Madonnas with Child double as nursing mothers, angelic putti as idealized images of children. From 1966 to 1980, the Croatian content takes over as the exclusive cover iconography in the form of folkloristic motifs,²⁰⁴ visual allegories,²⁰⁵ and sights from Bosnia and Croatia.²⁰⁶ From 1981 to date, the iconography is

²⁰¹For example, the image titled "Croatian Mother Prays" in the issue for 1955, or a girl dressed in the folk costume from a village in the vicinity of Zagreb, posing in front of the Zagreb Cathedral in the issue for 1963.

²⁰²Cardinal Stepinac is featured on the covers of the issues for 1958, 1961, and 1965, and St. Nikola Tavalić on the cover of the issue for 1971.

²⁰³For example, the map of "Greater Croatia" on the back cover of the issues for 1954 and 1955.

²⁰⁴In the issues for 1966, 1968, 1970, 1976, 1978, 1991, 1994-1995.

²⁰⁵In the issues for 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980, etc.

²⁰⁶In the issues for 1967, 1968, 1969, 1972, etc.

limited to views from Croatia and Bosnia. These examples point to changes that reflect the dynamics of the Croatian diaspora community. The arrival of political refugees in the 1950s changed the orientation of this religious almanac--resulting in its secularization, which is clearly recognizable beginning in 1954. Its nationalist orientation is intensified between 1973 and 1980. In the aftermath of the Croatian Spring in the 1980s, and throughout the 1960s, a balance of the Croatian and religious content is established.²⁰⁷

In comparison, the almanac associated with the Croatian Peasant Party, Hrvatski glas, which is published in Canada, focuses on Canadian views and sights in the 1950s, including images that document the life of the Croatian community in Canada. In the 1960s, the iconography of the cover pages includes stylized national symbolism and allegorical depictions, with explicit references to the leading figure of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić. The visual effect of these covers is similar to those of Hrvatski kalendar in the 1950s, only without the religious component. In the 1970s, the Croatian content prevails, with folkloric motifs found on the covers of a majority of issues in this period, which does not preclude a general rise in nationalist sentiment, which is much more explicit in Hrvatski kalendar. In a workers' almanac, Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), folkloristic motifs (folk costumes from across Croatia) are found from 1958 through the 1960s. These examples show similarities in almanacs of different orientation, yet in each case the particular style of cover art reflects the specific orientation of the run and the timing of the cover design. These are also related to the political orientation and the dynamics of textual communities associated with each of the almanac titles, the levels of assimilation with the host country, etc. The transformation of the iconography of cover art is not sufficient evidence of changes in diaspora culture, but a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the runs which are known to hold disparate ideological positions would be an interesting pointer of ideological shifts, because of the importance of the cover for eliciting a response from a reader.

²⁰⁷For example, it features views of Croatian and Bosnian churches in the 1980s.

4.2.4. Layout and Typography.

The rhythmic structure of the text is defined by layout (Parkes 1992, 97), which also determines the "protocols of reading" (Scholes 1989, 78) for these publications. Using various elements of visual fragmentation, such as headlines, typographical ornaments above the text, type-ornaments to identify textual units, division of the text by subtitles, and initial letters interrupting the solidity of blocks of printed text on the page, all cause almanacs of the diaspora to be browsed rather than read in a linear fashion. Protocols defined by the layout and visual fragmentation of the page in diaspora almanacs stand in contrast to the linear reading enforced by the explicit statements of ending that are found in Croatian almanacs of the seventeenth century (cf. Chapter 3), for example. The arrangement of graphic elements on the page and overall presentation of the text in diaspora almanacs reflect the influence of nineteenth century illustrated papers and magazines and do not differ substantially from contemporary almanacs issued in Croatia. A high level of fragmentation of the text on the page, with short forms intercepting longer narratives, aids "readability," thus making the almanacs accessible for various levels of literacy. This influence is directly reflected in the layout of almanacs of the diaspora until the 1920s. Later almanacs, and especially those issued after World War II, lose their magazine-like appearance and their pages correspond more closely to the even-surfaced appearance of printed books.

The printing of the text in two columns, found in a number of almanacs, aids readability by limiting the length of each line. Two-column arrangement of text and fragmentation of textual units on the page using various visual devices are more common in earlier almanacs than in later ones, although there is no cutoff point at which these features disappear. In the earlier period, they are also more common in the almanacs produced with higher editorial standards and generally higher sophistication of production. These features were defined by the visual

fashion set by the the illustrated popular press. Variation in type size and face on the same page, often within a single textual unit,²⁰⁸ accompanied by ornaments, print symbols, frames and ruling of the page, bold printed headlines, and illustrative material are used to create variety in the almanacs issued before 1920. In those issued after that time, the use of type corresponds to units of sense and the graphic content becomes controlled.

Advertisements or messages extraneous to the content of an almanac are for the most part printed in separate sections. In almanacs issued at the turn of the century, advertisements are attached at the end and laid out as they might be in a store catalog, often printed on a different quality of paper. In later almanacs, they are also found at the end, but in isolated instances half of the volume is taken up by advertisements, which are printed on verso numbered pages throughout.²⁰⁹ In such cases, the degree of fragmentation created by the integration of advertising with the main text of the almanac infringes on textual coherence, an effect comparable to television programming interrupted by commercials.

Typographical execution of almanacs exemplifies modern magazine printing with a high integration of pictorial and textual material, sophisticated execution of calendar registers, vignettes, and the inclusion of photographic plates. The typefaces and photoreproduction processes vary; they are generally more sophisticated in the almanacs of the earlier period (e.g., those of the J. Steinbrener firm), when the image itself becomes an important aspect of reception and marketing. These almanacs appeal to the nineteenth century sense of aesthetics; in contrast, almanacs of the later period abandon typographical variation.

An example of the use of typography for eliciting an emotional attitude on the part of the reader is found in some issues of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.)²¹⁰ in which type imitating cursive

²⁰⁸Cf. advertisements in Steinbrener's almanacs.

²⁰⁹Cf. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1945 and 1946.

²¹⁰For example, the issue for 1969, p. 140.

is used for headlines, playing on the dichotomy of experience mediated through the printed and handwritten cultures of transmission. The reproduction of handwritten cursive not only adds variety but also conveys intimacy, suggesting that the story is being told in person, invokes the spontaneity of creation, and retains a close link with personal authority. Handwritten text is perceived as more authoritative due to its closer connection with this personal experience. Reader preference for handwritten communication over printed text is documented and often exploited commercially,²¹¹ as Bell notes in connection with Scottish immigrant industry printing (1997). Another example of typography as an expressive feature in a diaspora almanac is Krčki kalendar. In the issue for 1952, typescript leaves are bound with printed plates containing advertisements, exemplifying the off-hand quality of the publication, which arises from the conditions of its production, in contrast to the calculated editorial effect in the case of Hrvatski kalendar.

Printing a text in Croatian also involved dealing with diacritics and combining Roman and Cyrillic alphabets (especially in the calendar, but sometimes even in the main text of the almanac).²¹² There is no information available on the actual arrangements and printing establishments that were used to commission the production of these almanacs in North America, but the typographical errors in some of the almanacs are probably due to difficulties of dealing with printing offices in which the typesetters could not read Croatian.²¹³

²¹¹Bell (1997) also gives an example that confirms the preference for witness accounts exemplified by the popularity of published letters home from Scottish immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century. Although this is not related to the effect of type only, the role of autobiographical narrative in diaspora almanacs would support this argument.

²¹²The Glagolitic alphabet was restricted to decorative elements.

²¹³An editorial note in a 1940s issue of an almanac bears witness to such anxieties of the publishers. In Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1945, p. 252, the editor prints an apology for involuntary mistakes due to the fact "that in our printing office no one speaks 'our' language, and when you correct a mistake in one line, another appears"

4.2.5. Illustration.

Due to changes in the printing industry related to developments in technology for transposing photographic images into print, and an increasing use of photographic illustration from the turn of the century onward, the visual aesthetics of early diaspora almanacs and those produced after 1930, and especially after 1950, are radically different. Thanks to the ease of reproducing photographic images with collotype technology,²¹⁴ the picture press had already reached a popular market by 1880, but did not become firmly established before the 1920s. Offset lithography²¹⁵ started to dominate the lower end of the printing market beginning in the 1930s and became a dominant photoreproduction process from the 1950s on (Reardon and Kirby 1991, 10).

Illustrations in diaspora almanacs is monochromatic. The main text in the almanacs is also monochromatic, except in those produced by J. Steinbrener, which have portions of the title pages, preliminaries, and register printed in red. Color illustration is limited to wrappers, often not exceeding three colors²¹⁶ except in cases in which the covers are reproduced from color photographs. Half-tone and sepia are found in a number of runs, both in cover illustrations and

²¹⁴The first stage of the development of collotype technology was completed by 1880 (Reardon and Kirby 1991, 9). This technology became associated with cheap and shoddy printing, but also gained popularity because of the ease of production of large runs and the control of the appearance of the printed image with regard to tone and coloring, which made it superior to other printing processes. It was used for specialized printing, with almanacs and movie posters in the lower level of the printing market as well as art reproduction, travel books, scientific works and photographic monographs at its higher end (ibid., 10-11). Although it was much faster and more practical because "200 collotypes could be printed in a day from a single plate," it did not print type well and thus required great skill on the part of the printer (ibid., 9). Collotypes were printed from glass plates on flatbed presses (ibid., 10). Later on, aluminum plates were used with rotary presses. The production of plates was also cheaper than making gravure plates. In spite of its tremendous impact on the printing industry from the 1880s through the 1930s, the work of houses specializing in collotype and photolithography is little known, partly because their daily operations were shrouded in secrecy (ibid., 5).

²¹⁵It was much faster, produced longer runs, and was suitable for commercial purposes.

²¹⁶The variant combinations of red, white, and blue are most common. They are used for convenience, but also because they were reminiscent of Croatian national symbols: the red and white checkered coat of arms and tricolor, as well as the ornamental braid ("troplet").

inserted plates.²¹⁷ A quarter of the issues²¹⁸ include plates with photographic illustrations or other visual texts, printed on paper of different quality. For the most part, they are monochromatic, but half-tone or color plates²¹⁹ are also found. Some of these plates, especially in almanacs issued by J. Steinbrener in the beginning of the twentieth century, are foldouts²²⁰ intended to be cut out and used as posters.²²¹ This feature is related to the genre of the Catholic wall calendar and links the almanac to an old tradition of dissemination of religious images. Hrvatska, kulturno-politički zbornik and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobranā (issued in the early 1950s) also include wall calendars printed on a folded leaf, with perforation for easy removal.²²² In (later) almanacs issued by political parties or religious orders, we find an "honorific portrait," usually on an inserted plate facing the title page or in the preliminaries possibly also meant to serve the double purpose of a broadside. Depending on the type of almanac, this could be a full-page portrait of a current sovereign,²²³ Pope,²²⁴ or political leader.²²⁵

The types of illustration are varied and reflect the development of printing processes. The almanacs produced by J. Steinbrener exemplify the early age of photomechanical production in which photography started to play an increasing role, while older graphic processes are also

²¹⁷For example, the issue of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1957 and Hrvatski list i Danica Hrvatska for 1924 and 1925. The iconography of these images is analyzed in a subsequent section. Hrvatski glas. Kalendar includes photographic images in the 1950s, and the 1970s.

²¹⁸Or 108 out of 425. The number is probably higher, because not all the copies listed in the database were examined de visu.

²¹⁹Or in 58 out of 108.

²²⁰Such broadside plates are found in all issues of Davor and Mali Marijin kalendar za katolički puk. Other Steinbrener titles with foldout plates are Veliki Marijin kalendar za katolički puk, Veliki ilustrirani zabavni koledar, Šareni svjetski koledar, Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar and Novi katolički koledar.

²²¹Further research into the production and marketing practices of the firm J. Steinbrener is needed to confirm whether these plates were also distributed as broadsides.

²²²In many of the examined copies, this leaf is missing (this is mentioned in the bibliographic description in Appendix 4.1).

²²³Cf. Hrvatski glas. Kalendar, issued in Canada, with portraits of Queen Elizabeth II, the royal couple, and, in the issue for 1955, Winston Churchill. In some of the later issues, there is a portrait of the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić.

²²⁴Cf. issues of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.).

²²⁵Cf. Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobranā for 1942, with portrait of Ante Pavelić.

strongly represented.²²⁶ J. Steinbrener's Šareni svjetski koledar employs a method of coloring engraved or lithographed plates. As the processes of photomechanical production become less expensive, photographic images in the almanacs of the diaspora come to dominate their pictorial content. Line drawings are limited to vignettes, ruled borders, and the calendar. Reproduction of artwork is common, including a number of works by major Croatian artists (such as reproductions of works by the sculptor Ivan Meštrović, and line drawings by Jerolim Miše and Ivan Lacković Croata), paintings with motifs of Renaissance religious art, and works of American-born artists like Kristian Kreković who contributed art to some of these almanacs.

Because of the descriptive power of the photograph, it was used for documentary impact. Moreover, because the concrete presence of a photographic illustration reinforces the abstract, ideological message of the text (either the caption or the associated textual context), it became a powerful medium for conveying ideological meaning. Documentary photography is used to commemorate and document the everyday life of Croatian communities in the country of settlement and the country of origin. Examples include: group and individual portraits,²²⁷ reportage and community news,²²⁸ and landscape, cityscape, and panoramic views.²²⁹ Other types of photographic illustration are motifs that could be categorized as photographic fiction²³⁰ and reproductions of picture postcards with panoramic views from home.²³¹ The

²²⁶A variety of techniques for photomechanical reproduction, including a combination of collotype, gravure, and photolithography, are represented in those runs that concentrated on reportage (Šareni svjetski koledar, a run that specialized in popular news from around the world) and depiction of detail (Davor, a military almanac, with its technical illustration of war equipment, war illustration, and analyses of military strategies).

²²⁷It is very common to find the portrait of the author at the beginning of the article.

²²⁸Its special use in news reports is found in Davor, a military almanac issued by J. Steinbrener firm which focuses on war and military topics, and war reportage.

²²⁹For example, the covers of Hrvatski glas, Kalendar in the 1950s document Canadian landscapes and motifs including a number of images, unmistakably Canadian: Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers in ceremonial gear.

²³⁰This group is represented by pictorial covers of some of the issues of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) that feature portraits of individuals posing in national costumes or engaged in activities that can be recognized as folklorism (issues for 1963, 1966, 1968, 1986, 1991, 1995, 1994). Such representations are contrived and fictionalized, representing a generic individual or practice rather than documenting an actual or authentic practice.

²³¹The fantasy photograph and picture postcard as types of visual text are discussed in the next section.

purpose of integrating two genres of print in one (as in the example of the wall calendar incorporated in the almanac), is to impart an informal, personal scrapbook character to the almanac in a calculated editorial effort which adds to the impromptu quality of the diaspora almanac. This strategy also reflects the world communicated by these publications, emphasizing the duality that underlies immigrant identity, the transitional and liminal character of the almanac, situated between life and the artfulness of the literate text. The postcard ties the almanac to modern mass image production and the expanding pictorial world of popular audiences addressed in Anderson's study of the history of the image in print (1991, 189). Its use in almanacs of the diaspora is documented from 1913 through 1952, but most postcards are found in the almanacs of the earlier period.²³² The use of the picture postcard as illustration also brings out the connection with the production techniques of popular illustrated print following the introduction of photographic processes in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century (Ivins 1953, 143), but it is more directly related to a boom in picture postcard production²³³ at the turn of the century (Reardon and Kirby 1991, 9).

4.2.6. Conclusion.

The physical characteristics are not the only evidence of the changing nature of textual communities in the diaspora, but they provide some clues to how these publications were meant to be read, owned, and experienced as artefacts. Reading patterns are determined by layout; and interactions with the text are further determined by format and binding-style. The prosodic features of the text and emphasis are conveyed through typography and balancing of image and

²³²They are found in Amerikanac for 1913, Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar for 1924, Naša nada for 1926, Krčki kalendar for 1952, and Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar for 1952.

²³³They were printed in monochrome, duotone, and color. At first, they were hand-colored and later produced with separated color. Reardon and Kirby note that picture postcard production "became a lifeblood of many collotype shops" and "every city of any size in the western world had at least one firm turning them out. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that every major building, work of art, natural phenomenon, or major disaster between 1890 and 1900 was depicted on a postcard" (1991, 9).

text on the page. These physical features, however, are standard for almanac production and not unique to diaspora almanacs.

Overall, physical aspects of printed genres are conservative, and this is evident in the almanacs of the diaspora. Nevertheless, over the span of a century, there were some changes in the appearance of the diaspora almanac that reflect the progress of technology and, to a lesser degree, the social and political dynamics of the diaspora community. Based on contemporary trends in the production of printed materials, two physical prototypes of the almanac of the diaspora may be distinguished. The first type is modelled on the nineteenth century illustrated paper and magazine which dominates almanacs published until the early 1920s, and is more prominent among those issued for the emigrating populations in the country of origin (immigrant almanacs) than among those produced by the established communities in North America (ethnic almanacs). In that period, the latter already feature a modern look. The second type is characteristic of almanacs issued from the 1930s in which the use of photographic illustration is extensive, adding to limited variation in typography within the same issue, and a book-like appearance²³⁴ which is already noted in the almanacs issued in the 1920s.

The production quality of North American almanacs is lower than that of the almanacs produced in Croatia. They have numerous typographical errors, improvised features, and a generally shoddier appearance. Because they represent a culture of publishing outside of the mainstream—for a niche market of the diaspora communities—they are produced with limited resources. The quality of the almanacs issued prior to World War II, when almanac publishing in the diaspora is dominated by professional journalists, is generally higher than that of the later ones.

²³⁴Two-column presentation of text, for example, is an archaic feature that is less frequent in these later type of almanacs.

4.3. THE "INNER FORMS" THAT DETERMINE ALMANAC LITERACY

Although physical characteristics determine the first impact of the almanac, its unique and specific generic identification depends on the internal organization of texts. While the previous segment focused on the outer form, this segment focuses on the inner form of the almanac. The underlying principles of almanac discourse are identified as a balance of the principles of oral and literate modalities. It is argued here that the unique social function of this strategy is to recreate the intimacy of face-to-face communication. This is how the almanac distinguishes itself from other media available to diaspora communities for the communication of culture.

The generative rules, or the deep structure out of which arise the genre's specific manifestations, constitute the "inner form" of the almanac. The term was coined by René Wellek and Austin Warren, who distinguish "inner form" (attitude, tone, and purpose) from "outer form" (the specific meter or structure) (1962; quoted in Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory 1993, 81). The assumption underlying this approach to genre is that generic identification depends both on interactions with the physical manifestations of the text and the presence of "a single coherent way of organizing material ... constant across a body of texts" (Palmer 1991, 123). Identification of the fundamental principles that dominate the internal organization of the diaspora almanac as a type of text complements the focus on particular structures of the presentation of text discussed in the previous segment.

It is assumed that heterogeneous and dissimilar forms found in diaspora almanacs are the product of a small number of underlying structures brought to the surface by a small number of generative principles. In other words, the principles revealed in the forms that constitute the text of an almanac correspond to transformations in the "deep structure" within the "surface structure" which take place through a set of transformational rules (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 319). If the surface forms are generated from a small number of simple formulae, then identifying

these unifying principles and underlying structures, the "basic and general features of organization" (ibid., 77) of the deep structures, is a logical way to characterize the genre. This is an attempt to determine the generic morphology of the almanac of the diaspora. However, the "unifying common procedures" (Palmer 1991, 123) in the diaspora almanac should be considered from a vantage point that links "the immanent nature of the texts and some feature of the social organization" or audience expectations (ibid., 113).

In reader-response criticism, concretization denotes a process in which the formal nature of the text has a definite effect on contemporary readers. According to Felix Vodička, it is "the reflection of a work in the consciousness of those for whom it is an esthetic object controlled both by the properties of the work itself and by the period's literary requirements." (quoted in Mayer 1990, 532). This section focuses on the "concretization" of the almanac of the diaspora: what are its characteristics as an "aesthetic object" that determine the "definite effect" that it has on its readers. As is now widely accepted in genre theory, the formal nature of a text is defined by the history of its reception (ibid., 529). Accordingly, the textuality of the diaspora almanac consists of the formal characteristics of the text and the social characteristics of its audience. The introduction of the reader's response to the text need not only reflect the preferences of audiences for which a text is intended as it is written, but it also documents the historical preferences that brought about the existence of the particular formal characteristics of that text. Therefore, the social aspects of the reception of the text are historically constructed (Jauss; quoted ibid., 529) and they are also social. Almanacs of the diaspora should be considered as a type of printed text tied to a specific culture of literacy in which orality is strongly residual, as a feature of writing and early print culture (Ong 1982, 117). The use of the almanac to convey meanings is not neutral, but it is a communicational choice with social implications. Therefore, the genre is a complex social phenomenon that cannot be reduced to material structures, or textual-narrative structures, or the social characteristics of readers, or the meanings conveyed, in isolation. The analysis of genre and its communication in the medium of print needs to

address all of these elements. This analysis is accomplished here in several steps. While this chapter has addressed the manifestations of the genre as artefact in the previous section, and continues to identify the generative rules in this section, the social characteristics of actual readers are addressed in Chapter 5. An analysis of almanac discourse with regard to historical signifieds (the events, figures, and responses to specific historical circumstances), is addressed in Chapter 6.

The readers' expectations that determine the formal characteristics of diaspora almanacs emerge from the liminal or "threshold" (Van Gennep 1960, 21) character of that printed medium with regard to the textual technologies of orality and literacy. The historical genre of the popular almanac originally bridged a gap between the cultures of orality and literacy. This distinctive feature of the popular almanac is retained in the almanac of the diaspora, which is an anachronistic form in the twentieth century. The absorption of oral forms into the culture of literacy and the inclusion of forms that are meant to be recycled back to orality, the mnemonic character of writings found in diaspora almanacs, and the visual articulation of the printed text that undermines the linearity of reception, all exemplify this mediating and ambiguous role played by the almanac in bridging the gap between different modalities of textual transmission. The tension between orality and literacy in the diaspora almanac has social and ideological roots. This form is associated with a traditional, oral-based peasant society either directly or through historicizing of this tradition. The textual transmission associated with the peasant society is one of orality and restricted literacy.

In the previous section, some of the features of visual design and typographical variation were discussed as they reflected the movement toward a greater articulation of the text as sequential and linear by comparing early twentieth century almanacs to later almanacs. The transformation of the visual space in these almanacs corresponds to the weakening of "hearing-dominance" as association with "sight-dominance" increases (Ong 1982, 121). More specifically, it clearly

shows the triumph of the linear and sequential order of reading that is characteristic of internalized literacy, reflecting the social context in which almanacs were produced, according to orality and literacy theorists such as Ong, Goody and other representatives of the evolutionist-historicist approach that ties technologies to cognitive development of individuals and social forms.

Linearity of text presentation, narrative sequences, and other cues of linear ordering of elements in discourse, as well as "correspondence between the linear order of elements in discourse and referential order, the chronological order in the world to which the discourse refers" are the characteristics of written discourse (Ong 1982, 147). "Such parallelism becomes a major objective only when the mind interiorizes literacy" (ibid., 147). In contrast, oral narratives are not greatly concerned with "exact sequential parallelism between the sequence in the narrative and the sequence in extra-narrative referents" (ibid., 147). Ong's observations on the manner in which the oral and literary traditions structure narrative and define its relation toward actual reality have implications for the structuring of discourse in almanacs. It is not possible to make generalizations about the sequential parallelism between the narrative in almanac texts and its referents, but the focus on historical fiction, autobiographical prose, and other oral and folkloric forms point to "orally based thought and expression [reflecting] its additive and aggregative character, conservatism, redundancy or copia and participatory economy" (Ong 1982, 146-147). The tendency toward linear and sequential ordering of elements into lists and chronological sequences is also present in the structuring of almanac discourses. Clearly, a coexistence of the modalities points to a specific form of almanac literacy, rather than an evolutionary form. Nevertheless, the analytical categories introduced by Ong can be used to sort out the generative principles of almanac discourse.

The almanac as a type of print exemplifies a polarity of expression in which the internal organization of the elements of discourse conforms to the rules of literacy while also emulating

orally-based thought in its reference to reality, operating in a grey zone of residual orality and not quite internalized literacy and establishing a symbolic association of the almanac with the peasant world. The following discussion focuses on these two aspects that determine the internal organization of the almanac, arguing that they constitute the basis for the generic identification of the almanacs of the diaspora. Intertextuality with oral cultural and communicational patterns overlaps with internal organization of discourse according to the communicational patterns of literacy.

4.3.1. The Communicational Patterns of Literacy—Listing and Ordering.

The structural principles that reflect the linear sequential ordering of literacy and at the same time represent the ways of writing closest to oral communication are represented in the typical forms of the almanac. These principles are best exemplified in the numerous lists that typify the communicational economy of the diaspora almanac. The purpose of structuring information as a list is mnemonic. Also, this ties lists to oral communication because listing represents both the simplest way of transforming oral communication into writing and a way of writing that is easily recycled back into oral communication. Lists permit effective retrieval of information according to the order they create.²³⁵ Some examples of lists found in the almanacs of the diaspora are presented in the following section, after a discussion of the principles exemplified by the list as a type of discourse. It is important to distinguish lists from narratives (such as historical, political-historical, and other narratives that are common in the almanacs of the diaspora). While narratives reveal "temporal and evaluative structures," the "information structures" created by lists are "descriptive" (Schiffnin 1994, 377). Because they "display our identification and organization of a set of items that are clearly the same in some ways ... but

²³⁵Historically, they were mnemonic devices because they were memorized and recycled back into the oral tradition by recitation, reading aloud.

different in others" (*ibid.*, 377-378), lists reveal the organization of knowledge as categorical, schematic, etc. (Mandler 1984; quoted *ibid.*, 378).

Lists are present at all levels of discourse as inventories of events, objects, notions, and the establishment of chronological or iconographic sequences according to a single principle. The elements of listing strategy--ordering, juxtaposition, selection, association, and omission (Robinson Waldman 1981, 786)--are notable in different types of lists in the almanacs of the diaspora: directories, lists of dates in the calendar, events in chronologies, lists of visual objects, and lists that inventorize and itemize (weights and measures, rulers, fairs, states and statesmen, currencies, trivia, etc.). The titles of the almanacs, which label the almanacs as textual entities, frame the sequences of texts and relate them to a broader framework (the identity of the run). The titles of a run could be seen as lists in which the entries are identical, giving coherence and single purpose to a run. The iconographic cycles in cover art, and the succession of these series of iconographic cycles, emphasize that effect.

In conveying the information from the oral context of transmission in the form of a list, the nature of information changes: it is abstracted from the natural context and processed ideologically (moralized). In contrast to oral communication, listing involves detachment and abstraction of information from the natural context--itemizing it into facts or bits (Goody 1977; quoted in Ong 1982, 123). Their organization depends on visual presentation that is only possible in writing.

The list relies on discontinuity rather than continuity; it depends on physical placement, on location; it can be read in different directions, both sideways and downwards, up and down, as well as left and right; it has a clear-cut beginning and a precise end, that is, a boundary, an edge, like a piece of cloth. Most importantly it encourages the ordering of the items, by number, by initial sound, by category, etc. And the existence of boundaries, external and internal, brings greater visibility to categories, at the same time as making them more abstract. In all these ways lists differ from the products of oral communication ... they stand opposed to the continuity, the flux, the

connectedness of the usual speech forms, that is, conversation, oratory, etc., and substitute an arrangement in which concepts, verbal items, are separated not only from the wider context in which speech always, or almost always, takes place, but separated too from one another. ... lists are very different from speech forms, treating verbal items in a disconnected and abstract way. Yet it is precisely this type that occurs so frequently when speech is (as we say) reduced to writing. (Goody 1977, 81-82, emphasis Marija Dalbello-Lovrić)

Accordingly, lists are the simplest way of organizing speech as written discourse. Although tables and lists structure discourse according to the laws of literacy (Ong 1982, 98-99), they are associated to spoken discourse as ways of presenting information common "when speech is reduced to writing" (Goody 1977, 82). Therefore, lists and tables are closely related to speech although they rely on a visual interface with a writing surface, which makes them pre-eminently tied to literacy. Also, because of a "discontinuity" of lists that enables their mnemonic organization, they are also easily recycled back into the spoken discourse. The paradox of listing and ordering as a liminal form of literacy may be developed further, considering this close link of listing and ordering to oral communication.

Although lists serve to fragment and itemize reality, they also convey coherence and unity to these fragments. They are "structural sequences" that convert "paradigmatic associations" into "syntagmatic chains" (ibid., 26) through addition and aggregation. The messages conveyed by lists are similar in structure to mythical stories, which are linear in form and present events that occur in sequence although "the elements in the summary 'additive' story are abstract" (ibid., 26). The analysis needs to address not only the elements that correspond to episodic events in mythical narratives but also look at lists as referential texts. What messages do they convey as "summary 'additive' stories" (Leach 1977, 26)? Some examples of genres determined by listing and ordering are the calendar, chronology, directories, statistics and tables, facts on file, and visual structures that serve as concept maps—all genres found in almanacs of the diaspora.

4.3.1.1. The Calendar. The fundamental semantic of the calendar is the ordering of time and events in the lives of the users in the year for which the almanac is intended. Presenting time in tabular form exemplifies "literate procedures" of "abstraction, generalization, and formalization" (Goody 1977, 53). The model of time structured by the calendar is abstract, but it also provides empty space for notes to be entered by the readers of the almanac. Even ephemeral, unrecorded events, provide as much structure as the matrix of the calendar register alone. The events are signifiers of which the calendar is the signified; they are the outcomes, the evidence of an underlying principle that gives them coherence and unity of purpose.

The calendar of the diaspora almanac exemplifies what Hayden White, in his analysis of annals, calls discourse that "arises out of a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life" (1987, 24). The basic arrangement in the calendar is one of dates, to which we find attached various categories of social content such as lists of saints' days and holidays, popular names, calendrical verse, proverbial sayings, ideological imagery, trivia, and advertising. The calendar provides control of reality, it organizes events into structures and moralizes them in that process. Thus, the lived life (of an implied reader) is moralized through ideological imagery, through lists of prescribed holidays that are integrated with the almanac.²³⁶

4.3.1.2. Chronology. While the calendar structures the present, the lived history represented by the events of the users' lives in the year of currency of the almanac, the chronology presents "the past" in a succession of events. These representations of historical events are selected for remembrance according to specific principles (White 1987, 6-7), which are determined by the ideological position of the almanac. Examples of chronologies are found in many almanacs of the diaspora. They offer a precept of history that is memorable. It is also more simplified than

²³⁶More traditional features of the calendar discussed in Chapter 3, such as signs of the zodiac, weather prognostication, and "praktika," are not found in the almanacs of the diaspora, except in those issued by Steinbrener, which belong to the nineteenth century almanac tradition.

the historical essay or political-historical essay. Chronologies are a discursive form but, at the same time, less open to dispute. As mentioned earlier, lists are "descriptive" while narratives reveal "temporal and evaluative structures" (Schiffrin 1994, 377). Most often, these chronologies list formative events of Croatian history, objectifying "Croatian history" as a category.²³⁷ Historical events thus become an information object which has a clear-cut beginning and end, as well as a distinctive boundary, and which is dissociated from the flux and connectedness that typifies oral communication or historical narrative. Thus presented, the history-object is an abstraction that reflects the specific focus of an almanac and its affiliation; it is also easily recycled back into the orality of the lived experience of the reader's everyday life. The selection of events that are memorable asserts their actual historical significance in tune with the ideological focus of the almanac. This results in ambiguity²³⁸ and an episodic view of history.²³⁹ The focus is on minor incidents that are easily integrated with current political preoccupations that show history in terms of the survival of a specific group (especially in the almanacs of nationalist orientation). Chronological listings of events are also used as representational forms for other bounded historical events or periods. Examples include the chronologies of World War II²⁴⁰ and the history of Christianity.²⁴¹ The chronology is common in the almanacs of the 1940s through the 1960s.

4.3.1.3. Directories, Statistics and Tables, Facts on File. The organization of social reality in terms of the "itemized" world of literacy (Ong 1982, 98) takes various forms: civil lists in early almanacs;²⁴² directories of Catholic institutions, Croatian parishes, and other elements of social

²³⁷They are featured regularly in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944-1947, 1953, 1959, 1963-1969. They are also found in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941.

²³⁸In Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, p. 47, the last entry of the chronology, for 1941 reads: "And then, there is complete change ..." ("1941.--Nastaje posvemašnja promjena ...").

²³⁹For example, Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941 has a hiatus between 1868 and 1918 and focuses on some of the party-specific historical events. In Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, p. 47, there is a hiatus between 1671 and 1835.

²⁴⁰Cf. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1946, pp. 46-53.

²⁴¹Cf. "Important Events from Christian Life" in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1945, pp. 44-45 and for 1944, pp. 45-46.

²⁴²Cf. titles issued by J. Steinbrener.

infrastructure related to diaspora communities; leadership structure of political groups; and membership lists.²⁴³ The diagrams presented in Figures 4.2 ("The Leadership of Hrvatski Domobran in North America") and 4.3 ("Émigré Croatia in the Ranks of the Croatian Liberation Movement") demonstrate the use of the image to convey information about the organizational structure, without resorting to narrative.

Other forms that reflect the principle of "itemization" of reality are various forms of quantification. Most pragmatic among them are conversion tables of weights and measures, currencies, etc., that are regularly found in the almanacs of the diaspora, as are statistics on the Croatian diaspora, statistics on emigration, and facts and figures on the country of immigration. These texts are similar to those that quantify reality in non-scientific terms such as inventories of the highest, tallest, smallest, or most numerous items in a given category that are presented in lists (or sometimes in narrative form).²⁴⁴ These almanac superlatives are examples of numerical organization of different aspects of reality that are integral to the encyclopedic purpose of the almanac, but are also adapted to its entertaining and educational role. Listings of trivia reflect control of an irrational component of reality by reducing it to numbers. The type of text that typically contains only odd, unusual, and fascinating facts is commonly found.²⁴⁵ Ong (1982, 69) provides an explanation of the function of invoking the bizarre as a rudimentary feature of oral noetic processes; that is, because odd is memorable. Similar to the monumental, and memorable characters of oral poetry, these texts about the heroic and the marvelous aspects of reality serve a specific function in organizing knowledge and control of information (Ong 1982, 70). They enforce a particular knowledge system and messages of identity. These dry

²⁴³In most of the almanacs of the diaspora aimed at specific textual communities, we also find overviews of the history of the organization which are not presented as lists and overviews of the local histories of different communities of the Croatian diaspora in North America and elsewhere. For example, the text in Hrvatski sokolski koledar for 1919, "Hrvatsko Sokolstvo u Sjever. Americi," ("Croatian Sokol Movement in North America") pp. 73-80 is typical of this type of historical overview.

²⁴⁴A text titled "6,760 Languages in the World" in Hrvatski list and Danica Hrvatska. Koledar for 1935, p. 160, and "What Happens in an Hour" in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1945, p. 107, are typical.

²⁴⁵For their occurrence in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), cf. Dalbello-Lovné 1991, s.v. Appendix 7.

collections of facts and quantified relationships often imply representations of the "generalized other" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 213-215). This is conveyed in news from around the world which purports to be truthful but tends to be incredible, sensationalist, and often purposefully entertaining, or even politically charged.²⁴⁶ Numerous examples of such marvelous news from far-away lands arranged in a series are found in the calendar portion of Šareni svjetski koledar. One of them exemplifies how the "New World" is presented as "generalized other" in Figure 4.4 ("How Dangerous Criminals are Handled in Canada"). Moralizing about the world and affirmation of group boundary (discussed in Chapter 6) are strong components of many of these types of texts. Itemization of moral precepts and principles of conduct is exemplified by a text on how to achieve personal happiness, in nine points (in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1958, 139).

4.3.1.4. Visualising the Numbers and the Narrative. A special type of list comprises visual lists and visual explanations of numerical data and narratives. Many such types of educational plates and entertaining diagrams are found in the almanacs produced by J. Steinbrener. One of these pictograms, a representation of emigration statistics, is presented in Figure 4.5 ("Where Most People are Moving To and From").²⁴⁷ Illustrating statistics by visual means is known as the Viennese method and was developed by Otto Neurath, who designed simple but succinct graphic symbols for pictograms in 1929 (Broos and Hefting 1997, 122-125). The principles of serialization of visuals are implicit in the iconographic cycles of cover art discussed in the previous section. Other examples of serialized visuals accompany the calendar. They tend to be ideological (e.g., "Croatian rulers" series in the calendar portion of Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana from 1938 to 1942 and Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1951,

²⁴⁶Cf. text "Communist 'Yugoslavia' in figures" (in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1956, p. 79, in which exploitation (of Croatian national resources by "Yugoslavs" or "Serbocommunists," as they are called in the text) and oppression are itemized and quantified.

²⁴⁷This diagram accompanies the text on p. 8 of Šareni svjetski koledar for 1905. Examples of sophisticated graphics bordering on cartoons that were commonly used at the turn of the century are given in Tufte (1983, 69, 73).

1952) and group-affirming. The principle of the visual list as a mnemonic and didactic tool, and, at the same time, a reinforcer of national identity is exemplified by the visual series in the issue for 1953. One of them is presented in Figure 4.6 ("Croatian Native Rulers"); the others are listings of "Croatian Sanctuaries," "Those Chosen by God from Croatia," "Great Croatian Bishops," "Croatian Reformers," and "Croatian Scientists." A specialized use of a visual list is a "photo story" or series of images visualizing the verses of the Croatian anthem, "Our Beautiful Homeland."²⁴⁸ The logic by which these images are connected is addition, aggregation, and repetitive reinforcement, which results in an intensified perception of reality.²⁴⁹ This exemplifies the conversion of "paradigmatic associations" into "syntagmatic chains" (Leach 1977, 26) mentioned earlier, which is a qualitative transformation in which bits representing particularities are converted into abstract, generalized, and mythical stories.

4.3.2. Intertextuality with Oral Cultural and Communicational Patterns.

The almanacs of the diaspora keep the dichotomy of oral and literate world views alive in a type of text that is actually used to convey a specialized discourse, a grapholect that reflects a world of peripheral literacy in which we find readers as part of a subculture that operates in an oral framework. This framework is performance-oriented rather than information-oriented (Ong 1982, 171), or it is both information- and performance-oriented, in the case of the almanac. Almanac literacy is optimal in the economy of communication of such a subgroup because this form incorporates both ends of the orality and literacy continuum in an "informal" discourse aimed to unite a textual community.

The almanacs of the diaspora exist in an intertextual space governed by relation to texts of the oral tradition and the culture of literacy. The absorption of oral forms into the culture of literacy

²⁴⁸Cf. *Hrvatski kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1963, pp. 104-107, and 1964, pp. 84-91.

²⁴⁹An editorial statement on p. 50 of *Hrvatski kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.), shows that the use of series of images was calculated for an emotional impact.

and the inclusion of forms that are meant to be recycled back to orality is well documented. For example, the incorporation of calendrical verse in the calendar portion, an old almanac tradition, is also found in the almanacs of the diaspora as a conventional feature until the 1950s. Less commonly, it appears in later ones when the calendar portion becomes reduced to a matrix of dates and lists of names.

The almanac serves not only as a site of folkloric memories, but also as an active mediator of them. The analysis of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) (Dalbello-Lovrić 1991, Appendix 7) shows that all categories of oral traditions are represented in diaspora almanacs, including ballads, fables, allegories and parables, legends, beliefs, stories, anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, jokes and jests, and verse-narratives.²⁵⁰ Ethnographic description of customs, festivals, and miracles, and descriptions of popular and/or religious beliefs and practices also establish the connection with the oral tradition in terms of what Vansina calls "second-hand traditions" of "reported narratives" (1961, 33).

Regularly featured in these almanacs are verse compositions based on oral tradition and anonymous authorship. Diaspora almanacs served as an outlet for folk poets in diaspora, who composed decasyllabic verse to commemorate and comment on contemporary events.²⁵¹ These forms of occasional poetry are written in a rhymed decasyllabic form known as "deseterac," an

²⁵⁰Examples of verse-narratives are found in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1946, pp. 77-87; 1972, pp. 103-113; and 1982, pp. 118-120. This term denotes longer narrative poems treating themes of historical, religious, national, and legendary significance, with determinable or explicitly stated authorship. They are related to epic poetry.

²⁵¹Cf. Hrvatski sokolski koledar for 1919, pp. 66-67, with a poem dedicated to Woodrow Wilson (composed on October 19, 1918 by Ilija Despot-Viterski and a biographical sketch of the author; Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar for 1924, pp. 254-255, in which a decasyllabic verse titled "Pozdrav Danici Hrvatskoj" (or "A Greeting to the Croatian Morning Star") by Tomo Alfirević from Quealy, Wyo. and Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar for 1935, p. 30, decasyllabic verse signed by I.K. from New York (Ivan Krešić?). Other examples of this form are found in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, p. 44; 1945, pp. 111-113; 1946, p. 241; 1955, pp. 64-65; 1969, pp. 60-62; 1972, pp. 178-179, 189. The Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952, p. 143, has a poem titled "A Request of the Croatian Peasant to the Pope," written by Zvonimir Kutleša in a refugee camp in Austria in 1949.

ancient epic verse form peculiar to the Southern Slav folk traditions.²⁵² Because this skill became rare in the twentieth century, particularly with the end of the "peasant era" after World War II, the publication of these texts in an almanac is significant. They exemplify how oral tradition, marked by the fluidity of versions and performative aspects, becomes fixed in print. Paradoxically, these bards are connected to a textual community without face-to-face communication, through the mediation of print.

Other forms tied to orality, or those in which the performative aspect is strong, include addresses and encyclical letters, catechisms, oral histories, addresses, speeches and sermons, prayers, etc. (cf. index in Dalbello-Lovrić 1991, Appendix 7, for specific examples). Historical fiction, autobiographical prose, and other genres of memory or "group commemorations of the past" (Fentress and Wickham 1991, 139), as well as reminiscences, diaries (including travel diaries), memoirs, and autobiographies as examples of "life histories" are documented as well (cf. Dalbello-Lovrić 1991, s.v. Appendix 7).

The oral tradition, in the strict sense of the term, is anonymous. Anonymous authorship is common in the categories of texts listed above because they are related to oral traditions. An equally strong prominence of pseudonymous authorship in the almanacs indicates a link with oral tradition. In a number of instances, pseudonyms may in fact emphasize the collective nature of composition, or its anonymity. Although the authorship is anonymous, the performer is not. For example, a text on the persecution of Bosnian Muslims in World War II is signed by "Musliman" (or "A Muslim").²⁵³ Folksy or "heavy" or "flat" characters that derive from primary oral narratives (Ong 1982, 151-154) are also found signed as authors of texts, or as their protagonists. We find as authors, "Mujo od Doboja" (or "Mujo from Doboj" a

²⁵²Decasyllabic verse involved performance with the accompaniment of a string instrument ("gusle"). It is directly related to the Homeric bardic tradition and had been researched widely (cf. Albert Bates Lord's, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960) and *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs* collected by Milman Parry, Albert B. Lord, and David E. Bynum (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953)).

²⁵³Cf. *Hrvatski kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1948, pp. 168-170.

quintessential Bosnian Muslim),²⁵⁴ "Guslar Tade" (or "Tade, *Gusle*- player") as a prototype bard, and "Dopisnik" (or "Correspondent") as a bard's contemporary equivalent. The "iconographic figures" (Ong 1982, 130) corresponding to heavy or type characters of oral discourse are exemplified by photographic images with captions that turn the image into a stereotype. These stereotypical images depict "Hrvatica"²⁵⁵ ("Croatian woman"), "Bosanac" ("A Bosnian"), and "Peasant Woman." The concretization of the signified is accomplished in a photograph; the subtitle makes the concrete specific. Thus, the representational content of photography is manipulated by text in order to intensify the effect of the text. In this instance, instead of merely making the abstract concrete, it goes further by transforming the concrete into a cliché, a stereotype, or an allegory of peasant life as shown in the two examples given in Figure 4.1. Direct borrowing from epic forms is found in references to Serbian folk hero Kraljević Marko ("Prince Marko") and "hajduk mentality"²⁵⁶ as keys to understanding the Serbian national character. Stereotyping and portraying negative images of threatening outsiders is group-affirming and rooted in oral modes of thinking. Oral elements serve to imprint these representations on a deeper emotional level by connecting them to these residual strata of oral culture which are associated with the folk traditions.

The "celebration of physical behavior" (the other side of which may be the "portrayal of gross physical violence") instead of depiction of internalized crises is central to the oral epic (Ong 1982, 44). This feature of orality is found in many interpretations of the events of World War II in the almanac issued by Bosnian Franciscans, Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.). The explanation of life in highly "agonistic" terms of good and evil also belongs to the expression and thought of oral culture (Ong 1982, 44-45). The violence in diaspora almanacs is described

²⁵⁴Cf. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1966, p. 166.

²⁵⁵Cf. Jugoslav Herald Almanac for 1941, p. 71.

²⁵⁶Cf. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1978, pp. 116-131. "Hajduks" are popular characters in epic poetry that could be interpreted in a semantic range from robber/bandit and outlaw, on the one end, to popular folk hero fighting the Turkish oppression, on the other.

verbally, transforming traumatic memory into text. A special case is a list²⁵⁷ with names of victims (priests), sorted by diocese, with brief standardized entries that contain the name, place of service, and dates of birth and death, often adding how (and occasionally by whom) they were killed, all in rhetorical form reminiscent of story-telling, with its additive and cumulative structure aptly presented by a list. The information is presented as a string of facts, in stark contrast to its distressing content, which reflects the agonistically toned view of the world.

Titling practices in the texts also reinforce the connection with oral transmission. Common subtitles "priča iz života" ("real life story") or "istinit događaj" ("a true event") show the quality of the text to be empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced (Ong 1982, 45-46). The same effect is achieved with titles that are formulated as rhetorical questions: "What is a 'Novel'?",²⁵⁸ "What is the New Century Going to Bring to Mankind?",²⁵⁹ "Where is Money Coming From and Going To?--Import and Export from the Major Countries in the World"²⁶⁰ and "For Whom are the Wars Waged?"²⁶¹ These titles engage the reader, and introduce a didactic component. In other examples, the reader is engaged with the text through commonplaces. Proverbial sayings as titles are a mnemonic device that enables easy recall. The verses of the Croatian anthem (meant to be sung) are used as titles for a series of thematic essays written by Tomo Marković²⁶² and published in several consecutive issues. These are similarly systematic and memorable.

The residually oral culture of the almanac is reflected in texts that are condensed and symbolic in the same way as myths. They are meant to imprint themselves on the reader and to

²⁵⁷Cf. Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1955 (pp. 36-52), "Popis hrvatskih katoličkih svećenika ubijenih u razdoblju 1941-1954."

²⁵⁸Or, "Što je to 'roman'?" in Croatian (from: Hrvatski glas, Kalendar for 1965, pp. 61-62).

²⁵⁹Or, "Što će novi vjek doneti čovječanstvu?" in Croatian (from: Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1900, frontispiece).

²⁶⁰Or, "Odakle dolazi novac i kamo ide?--Uvoz i izvoz iz najznatnijih država na svijetu" in Croatian (from: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1904, plate facing p. [2]).

²⁶¹"Za koga se vode ratovi?" in Croatian (from: Kalendar Novi svijet for 1927, p. 77)

²⁶²They were published in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) from 1958 to 1961.

systematize reality. This has two implications for the structuring of the almanac texts: redundancy and a tendency to use formulaic expressions. Because repetition aids the readability of texts as does the familiar repertoire of cultural themes, images, texts, and visual symbols, the clichés are functional in helping to communicate ideological formulae. In addition to the mnemonic organization of texts and presence of oral forms mentioned above, there are a number of excerpts and reprints that represent texts known to the readers from other sources.²⁶³ Plagiarism, legitimate forms of resource sharing and cooperation with other publishers, and the reuse of images, typographical devices, and ornamentation in different issues of the same run²⁶⁴ are practices related not only to the economics of production but also to the economics of reception. Resource sharing is discussed in the following chapter, with case studies of publishers.

4.3.3. Conclusion.

The "concretization" of the almanac as a genre is in its association with the transmission context associated with small-scale societies, and peasant knowledge. Rhetorical simulation of features of face-to-face communication associated with such communities is expressed through the features of residual orality preserved in the rhetorical form and world view and their integration with forms of literate communication. Although almanacs of the diaspora do not belong to "functionally oral cultures" (Ong 1982, 98), their association with contexts in which the status of orality and literacy is not clearly distinguished is an ideological attempt to invoke such a concept of community through the almanac genre. This is especially noted in the period after World War II, which is the time known as the end of the peasant era, as discussed in Chapter 2.

²⁶³The practical constraints on manufacturing have resulted in recycling of materials from run to run.

²⁶⁴A reproduction of a painting by Joso Bužan, "Croatian Mother in Prayer and Sorrow" (title assigned by editors on title page verso of the issue for 1955) is found on the inside front cover of *Hrvatski kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1952 and on the front cover of the issue for 1955 (in half-tone blue and lilac base, respectively). Vignettes with motifs from drawings by naive artist Ivan Lacković Croata are featured regularly in issues of the 1970s.

The selection of an innovative or traditionalist genre to communicate knowledge in a group is not accidental. It both determines and is determined by the nature of the public sphere of the case in question; some genres are "selected for" particular interpretation of events" at the expense of others (Wuthnow 1989, 335). In the 1950s, the almanac represents an anachronistic form of print. To publish or read the almanac at that time has ideological implications. Assimilative, group-oriented values are conveyed in print through techniques emulating somatic communication and face-to-face interaction. These projected values are group-affirming because they construct an identity, present a surrogate to actual interaction, and mark boundaries associated with geographical areas, political or religious viewpoints, and linguistic and cultural traditions.

4.4. GENRE AND IDENTITIES

Almanacs of the diaspora create "symbolic communities" (Cohen 1985) that both shape new identities and reflect the existing identities of the sociological groups at which they are aimed. This section examines the strategy of targeting specific communities of readers by invoking social characteristics of these group(s) and integrating their identities, and social experiences into the language idiosyncracies and paratextual features of the diaspora almanacs.²⁶⁵ These are observable facts integrated into the titling practices, selection of orthography and script, nomenclature for months, and types of registers found in the calendar.

4.4.1. Titling Practices.

Some aspects of the nature of the "symbolic communities" defined by diaspora almanacs are revealed in titling practices. Titles are markers of beginning and they "generate contractual relationships with readers, authors, and publishers" and "illuminate ... marketing trends.

²⁶⁵Genette's notion of paratext (1997) is useful for referring to the such conventional features of the almanacs.

reading processes, authorial composition, publishing practices, and generic transformations" (Shevlin 1997, 4). They are "explanatory labels affixed to the book by the publisher" -- presenting evidence of the publisher's plan, advertisement, and intention (Baine 1972, 186; quoted in Shevlin 1997, 4). Titles therefore represent an important source of basic information about the genre and the intended readership.

The terminological and semantic variations of titles²⁶⁶ of the almanacs of the Croatian diaspora reveal not only grammatical patterns but the nature of the contractual relationship with the reading communities they address. The semantic structure of the titles (with English translations) is presented in Figure 4.7 ("Wording Patterns in Titles of the Almanacs of the Diaspora"). The titles regularly include the term "kalendar,"²⁶⁷ which is variously qualified to indicate a specific focus, affiliation, or intended audience. The qualifying information precedes the substantive.²⁶⁸ It suggests diversification through affiliation with a social group--ethno-political, geographic,²⁶⁹ class, religious, and occupational.²⁷⁰ Some of the titles contain phrases which refer to the formative experience of migration²⁷¹ and a small number are metaphorical.²⁷² Table 4.2 shows that over half of the titles invoke an ethno-cultural or political boundary. A high incidence of the term "Croatian" in the wording of titles²⁷³ reflects a pattern

²⁶⁶The titles taken into consideration are not all the forms that appeared on these publications but only the "uniform" titles, i.e., the titles that were used to represent the entire run and reflect the most commonly used form.

²⁶⁷Or any of the synonymous terms, "almanak," "godišnjak" (annual) "zbornik" (collection) or "koledar," a more archaic version of the term--which are found in the title or the subtitle.

²⁶⁸In comparison to the titles of almanacs published in Croatia, especially those prior to World War II, many of these runs do not have elaborate attributes and theme-qualifiers that follow the main term. An exception to this are almanacs produced by the firm of J. Steinbrener which meticulously list the professions and groups for which the almanacs are intended.

²⁶⁹For example, "hrvatski" ("Croatian") or "Jugoslavija," "Jugoslavenski" ("Yugoslavia" or "Yugoslav").

²⁷⁰For example, "radnički" ("workers"), "iseljenički" ("pertaining to emigrants"), "narodni" and "pučki" ("people's/popular"), "Krčki" ("pertaining to the island of Krk"), "sokolski" ("of Sokol ethnic organization").

²⁷¹For example, "putnik" ("traveller"), "Amerikanac" ("the American"), "novi Hrvat" ("the new Croatian"), "narodni amerikanski" ("people's American"), etc.

²⁷²"Crveni" ("red") to denote a Communist almanac, "naš" ("ours") to denote comradeship.

²⁷³Some variation of "hrvat-" appears in twenty-one out of fifty-six titles.

by which a textual community²⁷⁴ is conceived as a combination of national and political identity.²⁷⁵ In addition to invoking a community in terms of origin, titles also invoke a community of readers established through the experience of migration.²⁷⁶ In comparison, the almanacs of the mainstream tradition demonstrate a correlation between titles and (symbolic) textual communities defined by a town, occupational group, or regional origin.

4.4.2. Linguistic Features.

The linguistic features of the almanacs of the diaspora are either tied to their communicational role or they reflect the transitional nature of diasporic communities in the process of assimilation. Some are a calculated editorial strategy and others are the effect of linguistic assimilation. In the following section, examples of linguistic assimilation are addressed first. They are followed by examples in which the linguistic features are used to manipulate ideological meanings.

The almanacs of the diaspora are typically written in Croatian. Bilingual almanacs (in Croatian and English, and sometimes Spanish or German) and those in which bilingual features are limited to some portions of the almanac are not uncommon. These features best reflect the process of assimilation by the community and also reflect the audience at a particular time, which changes depending on the dynamics of immigration. Therefore, the almanacs issued in the 1940s and earlier show a higher degree of assimilation of an established community in North America. For example, the issues of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) in the 1940s show a much higher degree of assimilation than those issued in the 1950s. This is reflected in the

²⁷⁴The term does not indicate a stable sociological category. It is used to refer to writing and reading community that emerges around a particular text (or run of almanac, in this case). It is derived from Brian Stock's use of the term (1996, 140-158).

²⁷⁵Other word-stems refer to the experience of migration, political comradeship, and other ethno-political identities.

²⁷⁶Some of these titles focus on an individual (e.g., Iseljenuk or "the émigré," Amerikanac or "the American," Novi Hrvat or "the new Croat").

casual use of English in the advertisements, political messages, calendar, the front cover, and even the main text of the almanac.²⁷⁷ High levels of assimilation are notable in the early to mid-1950s (Croatian Catholic Almanac, Hrvatski glas. Kalendar), before the cohort of new immigrants influenced cultural production.

The influx of English is noted in standardized sections of the almanac (for example, the title page, front cover, and calendar, which includes translated names of the months), in the entertaining portions and light reading, jokes, and short forms,²⁷⁸ in the content that is North American (the "Star Spangled Banner"²⁷⁹ and the announcements of political candidates which are often integrated into the advertising section, placed next to commercial advertising and paid announcements posted by readers), and in the texts which reflect the highest levels of integration with, and assimilation into mainstream society (such as advertisements, but also a political poster from the McCarthy era reproduced in Figure 4.8). In all of these examples, the switching of the linguistic register (between English and Croatian) is arbitrary. It is a matter of convenience, assumed to reflect the language patterns of immigrant communities in the process of assimilation. A direct link with readers and a mature ethnic community (the migration wave at the beginning of the twentieth century and throughout the 1920s) is provided by 144 letters published under the heading, "Pohvale čitatelja" ("The Praise of Readers") on pp. 187-196 of The Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952. The language of these letters, the majority of which are from women, is English and Croatian.

An earlier stage of linguistic assimilation is represented by the language of the advertisements in the almanacs of Ivan Krešić. They are examples of "compromise" forms in which the

²⁷⁷For example, the issue for 1945, p. 183.

²⁷⁸Cf. translation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Prayer" by Hilda Prpić.

²⁷⁹Cf. Jugoslavija. Narodni kalendar for 1921 (non-numbered p. facing the calendar page for January), Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1959 to 1976 (i.e., p. [22] in the issues for 1959 to 1962, p. [29] in the issues for 1963 and 1964, and 1970, p. [30] in the issue for 1965, p. [31] in the issues for 1966 to 1969, p. [28] in the issues for 1971 to 1975, and p. [41] in the issue for 1976) and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941 (p. [1]).

English word is grammatically manipulated to reflect Croatian-language endings, especially common for the lexical repertoire from the most immediate surroundings or among the uneducated speakers that represented the majority of the immigrants in that migration wave. An advertisement in the issue of Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar for 1924 by Knickerbocker Mines, Hooversville, Pa. (signed by J.L. Smith), is worded in Croatian pidgin English. It reads: "Dobri stalni hrvatski majnari mogu naći dobru i stalnu zaradu u naših moderno uredjenim majnama [emphasis Marija Dalbello-Lovrić] koje se nalaze kod slikovitog grada Hooversville, Pa. ..." ("Good, stable Croatian miners can find good and steady income in our modern mines, which are situated near the picturesque town of Hooversville, Pa."). Note the corrupt²⁸⁰ use of English in "majnari" (from the English "miners") and "majnama" (from the English "in the mines") in the Croatian text instead of the Croatian words "rudari" and "rudnicima." The occasional use of English words in Croatian texts is found in the Jugoslav Herald Almanac for 1941; Kalendar "Narodnog lista" for 1921, p. 112; Socijalistički radnički kalendar for 1923, p. 34; etc. A detailed analysis of the occurrence and type of this material would be needed to further qualify the nature of the assimilatory processes which are underway.

The texts and announcements aimed at a wider audience are often written in English. For example, Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni kalendar for 1936 and Narodni kalendar for 1921 feature texts in English, the nature of which is informative and often political. Such texts also carry a force of manifesto, an official proclamation, or simply support the argument with independent evidence from objective sources. For example, a quote with text from a Chicago Tribune article, titled "Croatians Seek Freedom," included in the text of an article in Croatian in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941, pp. 76-77, not only shows the ease of language switching which is a feature of assimilation, but also verification of political arguments by reference to the mainstream society. In some instances, the text in English is associated with

²⁸⁰The "compromise replica," in linguistic terminology, indicates such transformations in loan-words.

formulaic parts of the almanac similar to the "honorific portraits" discussed earlier. An example of this is the inclusion of the "Star Spangled Banner" in a designated position on preliminary pages which are reserved for formulaic content--in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) from 1959 to 1976 and in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941. Other bilingual features are the occasional editorials--for example, in English and Spanish in Iseljentički kalendar for 1924--which was distributed to the immigrants to North and South America. In immigrant almanacs, bilingual features are not the result of assimilation but meant to help the prospective immigrant settle in the host country (such as vocabulary lists and other informational content). A typical immigrant almanac, Amerikanac. Kalendar for 1930, sponsored by a shipping company, features advertisements for "Hamburg Amerika Linie" and texts about this company in Croatian and German. The title of an informative article on p. 29 about the conditions of immigration to Canada is in English ("Canada" instead of the Croatian "Kanada"), while the text is in Croatian. These features primarily reflect the conditions of compilation of these texts, but they also point to audience characteristics.

Apart from reflecting the social processes of natural linguistic assimilation, bilingual and polyglot features in the almanacs of the diaspora are an attempt at cultural engineering. This use is ideological and is tied to the titles that promote the concept of South Slav unity as part of the Socialist movement or more specifically aimed at Yugoslavism²⁸¹ and reflection of the concept of "Brotherhood and Unity" as Party policy in Socialist Yugoslavia (discussed in Chapter 2). The blurring of differences between the peoples in the Socialist federation of Yugoslavia underlies the policy of "Brotherhood and Unity." "South Slav Unity" implies the peaceful coexistence and pluralism of South Slav Unity. It is not possible to examine in-depth the variants associated with this idea, but it still remains important to emphasize their link with the almanacs of the diaspora arising from the ideologies underlying the socialist and workers' movements. The political tensions within the workers' press on national issues and the nature

²⁸¹A literal translation of Yugoslav is South Slav.

of Yugoslavianism or Internationalism are at the root of internal conflicts on the broadest scale and cannot be dealt with in-depth here. Nevertheless, attempts to bridge national differences are associated with a number of diaspora almanacs. The desired assimilation and socialist fraternalism are addressed through *bigrafia* (Roman and Cyrillic script used interchangeably) and polyglossia (use of Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian). These features are meant to gloss over the differences between the South Slavs and promote Slav unity in general. Crveni kalendar for 1931, 1933, and 1934 includes texts (in advertisements) in Croatian, Czech, Slovak, and English, that may indicate rootedness of this idea in the almanac's actual audiences. Most programmatic linguistically is Socijalistički radnički kalendar, which consistently uses a mix of Cyrillic and Roman script and formulaic language that is construed to eliminate the linguistic differences (cf. issue for 1923, p. 28). In some instances, the article is in Cyrillic, while the title is in Roman, a feature that may be due to typographical limitations (the unavailability of larger Cyrillic fonts). The "language question" is explicitly addressed in the following statement:

In order to spread among the Yugoslav workers of this country ... the teachings of the Socialist Workers' Party, we need: language branches, language print and literature, and linguistic oral agitation. Because, even if they speak one language, Yugoslav workers use several dialects. Aside from Slovenian--which we will not address at this point--we have two other main dialects, so-called 'Southern' and 'Eastern.' These two dialects are so close to each other that without much effort they may be read and understood by the workers of the Croatian and the Serbian tribe. That means that it would not only be damaging in moral terms, but also very uneconomical, to publish the same books and newspapers and make the same speeches twice: once in the Southern and once in the Eastern dialect. ... Our paper has many times been written in one and the other language interchangeably, and also the books. When we write, we use the dialect that is easiest for the editor, writer, or translator (ibid., 21-22, tr. from Croatian).

A closer look at the texts in this run shows that the majority are in the "Eastern dialect" and a very small number in the "Southern." Other examples of mixing the Croatian and Serbian are found in the Jugoslav Herald Almanac for 1941 and Jugoslavija, Narodni kalendar for 1921.

both of which also use English. The latter publication also features texts intentionally written so as to diminish the differences between the Serbian and the Croatian.

The symbolic use of language to define group boundaries is evident in the treatment of dialectal features, which define the boundaries of orality and literacy. The almanac, due to its popular nature and special position with regard to orality, is associated with the use of regional dialect (e.g., Krčki kalendar). An occasional feature of these almanacs is the use of "folksy" language and decasyllabic verse that depart from the Croatian standard. The boundary between the standard and the dialect reinforces the communicational purpose of the almanac in recreating face-to-face interaction. Populist or colloquial use of language is different from a special case in which dialect is used as a means of reinforcing symbolic boundaries. Such is the occasional use of etymological orthography in a series of articles by Pero Bilić Tutavac. They are written in ikavian dialect, and appear in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) from 1982 to 1985. This use of language is artificial because it does not reflect contemporary usage. But it is referential: it asserts Bosnian-Croatian identity, the primacy of the Croatian presence in Bosnia, and is related to the ethnogenesis of Bosnian Muslims according to the "pravaški" ideology (discussed in Chapter 2). In this case, language is used as marker of identity, which is also an elliptic form of a historical myth integral to Croatian nationalist ideology.

4.4.3. The Almanac Forms—The Calendar, Historical Table, Text/Image.

The ways in which ideology is introduced in the conventional genres to convey identities may be expressed in terms of a paradigmatic-syntagmatic relationship. The conventional features of the almanac are paradigmatic. Combined with other elements that are introduced to create other preferred meanings targeting social groups or even conveying political meanings, they become syntagmatic. This is evident in particular in those elements of the almanac that are not variable but reflect the almanac formula, such as a calendar, lists and directories, and integrated text and

images. The calendar is a paradigm of the almanac, but meaning is given to it by inclusion or omission of the Roman Catholic, Greek or Eastern Orthodox, Muslim, or Jewish calendars, and lists of popular names. These inclusions or omissions are syntagmatic and are determined by the ideological orientation of the run. They target the communities of readers determined by social characteristics at all levels of discourse. The inclusion of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox calendars is paradigmatic, regardless of the ideological variants -- this combination is found in a wide range of almanacs, regardless of their ideological orientation. The absence of the Greek Orthodox calendar from some of the runs is also syntagmatic because it is a departure from a norm.²⁸² Inclusion of the Muslim or Jewish calendar is syntagmatic because it is not conventional--it is found in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) and therefore assumes ideological significance. The changes of how the calendar is presented in different issues of Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana, associated with a radical nationalist group Hrvatski Domobran, are indicative of the importance of these features in conveying ideological content. A noted absence of content that reflects the assimilation with the host country in the conventional structures of this almanac (e.g., the calendar, honorific portrait), is also significant. With the exception of the names of the months in English, Croatian, and Spanish, the calendar is Roman Catholic in issues preceding the one for 1940. In the issue for 1942, Theodore Roosevelt is featured in the "honorific portrait" position, and the Greek-Catholic calendar appears in the 1940 issue. These changes can be explained by external influences (i.e., the censorship of the United States wartime period) in the first case, and the internal ideological shifts in the organization Hrvatski Domobran in the second (probably a reflection of the assimilationist policy of the Serbs in Croatia through the idea of the Croatian Orthodox

²⁸²For example, Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana (for 1936), includes only the Catholic calendar. This title and the organization publishing it, will be analyzed in the next chapter, but the fact that this almanac omits the picture of the ruling monarch or president (in the "honorific portrait" position), and the feasts in the host country, is also indicative of an insular nature of the ideological position of this group, but is also the reflection of a dispersed nature of the textual community to which it was directed. The presence of advertisements, however, anchor this publication geographically, between Argentina, the American Midwest (Chicago, Detroit, Akron, Ohio, Indiana Harbor, Indian, Waterloo, Iowa), and New York, and Buenos Aires and Dock Sud. The names of the months in English, Croatian, and Spanish, are also an indicator of the nature of the actual community.

Church).²⁸³ What is important to note here, however, is the nature of changes that are often reflected in the rhetorical apparatus of the almanac, or, the features that are neutral and stable and therefore serve as an anchor against which the readers could interpret the changes, or which the producers of the almanacs can use to imbue them with ideological meanings.

The terminological repertoire (i.e., names for months) in the almanacs and the choice to use some Cyrillic script instead of all Roman (which is standard Croatian usage) in a register also induce preferred readings. The choice of the names of the months, "Januar, Februar, Marč,²⁸⁴ April, Maj, Juni, Juli, August, Septembar, Oktobar, Novembar, Decembar" in addition to, or in preference to (as indicated by the visual layout of the register) the conventional Croatian names for the months, "siječanj, veljača, ožujak, travanj, svibanj, lipanj, srpanj, kolovoz, rujan, listopad, studeni, prosinac," is syntagmatic.²⁸⁵ These variations may reflect popular or colloquial usage, or assimilation into an ideological system. The preference for "internationalist" (or, Russified version of the names of the months) rather than national names, is found in almanacs of socialist provenance.

The content of a historical table is another indicator of the paradigmatic-syntagmatic content of the almanacs of the diaspora in which ideology is introduced in the conventional genres. Even more, the absence of certain elements is an indicator of the presence of ideological meaning. The historical importance of events listed in a chronology is determined ideologically. In this case, the presentation in a list reassures the reader that the ideology conforms with tradition.

Syntagmatic variations are determined by the cultural repertoire at the disposal of the creators of the almanac. They are not inexhaustible, but the possibilities they offer to the creators of the

²⁸³This assertion needs to be substantiated by a research of the shifts in the ideology of Hrvatski Domobran in the pre-World War II period.

²⁸⁴This is a Russified version of "mart," which is also confirmed in Croatian usage.

²⁸⁵It is found in *Narodni kalendar* (Chicago, Ill.) for 1967.

almanacs are unlimited. Illustrative material is particularly adaptable to such variation. At the same time, the repertoire of pictorial material conventionally used in the almanacs of the diaspora is most limited, due to production limitations, but also due to limitations in what is recognizable as a visual element qualifying as a symbolic marker of identity. A quantitative analysis involving sampling of images would be needed to identify the elements of that visual repertoire. Nevertheless, some visual themes and motifs that are recurrent in almanacs of different orientation point to such limitations. Using the same pictorial material to convey different meanings is achieved by anchoring images with captions (Barthes 1977, 38-41). This is an extremely efficient technique of eliciting preferred readings. For example, reproductions of postcards with Croatian motifs, or reproductions of works by Ivan Meštrović in a number of almanacs are particularly common. Meštrović's works are used in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) and in Novi svijet at two different times (in the 1920s and the 1950s, respectively), showing the persistence of this cultural motif. Meštrović's work is also a unifying cultural symbol. Almanacs of different political orientations use captions to these images, which massage the meanings according to the purpose or the content of the almanac. The variation in captions of set image repertoires, the selection of events in historical tables, and the transformation of the structural feature of "honorific portrait" through the selection of the image to be used in that position, are comparable transformations of set structural features suitable to accomplish ideological purposes.

This section examined briefly how identities and social experiences are expressed using the almanac formula. By means of terminological variation in the calendar register, visual display of elements and inclusion of parallel calendars, in addition to paradigmatic features, the reader could effectively be absorbed into the ideological content and the ideological argument, or reject it, if it clashed with the reader's cultural biases. This process exemplifies the creation of syntagmatic chains from paradigmatic associations. The almanac is conventionally determined in regard to what structural elements it should contain, but also shows great flexibility. Through

the introduction of ideological argument in the conventional features of the almanac a reader is assimilated into the symbolic worlds invoked by the almanac. These features determine how the almanac is read, and guide the perception of text.

4.5. CONCLUSION

The almanacs of the diaspora are concrete representations of consciousness that underlie the material and social activities of their production. These almanacs show that they have many of the rudimentary features associated with oral thought and communication patterns. This liminal quality of the almanac reflects its communicational purpose which is to recreate in print a textual community with some characteristics of face-to-face communication, or commemoration of such forms of social interactions that are only possible in bounded, peasant communities, or small-town environments from which many of the early immigrants originated. The "outer" (material) and the "inner" forms of the almanac, or their appearance, and underlying generative principles, are identified and analyzed. Both of these features are structural, constituting the grammar of the genre, or the conventions of genre. They are found in all the almanacs of the diaspora, regardless of their ideological orientation. Through these elements, the diaspora almanac reinforces cultural messages about the social order and presents ideological propositions by groups that issue these almanacs, in a form that replicates group interaction. However, these features are integrated with specific content-features in conveying a full message of a particular almanac. The analysis of the features of content and the knowledge communicated by the almanacs, using case study approach, is continued in Chapter 6. The chapter that follows addresses the patterns of the diaspora almanac trade: the patterns of production, distribution, and reception. These patterns are interpreted in the context of the sociocultural dynamics of the Croatian diaspora community.

5

The Diaspora Almanac Trade in the Context of Sociocultural and Political Realities

5.1. INTRODUCTION

More than the newspaper or the weekly magazine, the almanac of the diaspora is an information resource "that groups the essential, all that is considered useful in the organization of life, presented in a condensed form" (Bollème 1971, 63). Both immigrant almanacs and the almanacs established in the new homeland, while serving different purposes (preparing prospective émigrés for transition and settlement, and being actively engaged in community building, respectively), articulate diasporic experience and shape the identities of communities in transition. The almanac is an agent, rather than a mere tool, of communication, because of its active role in shaping and articulating culture in transition.

As a form of print, the almanac arises from communicational networks by mobilizing resources in the social context. These networks and resources shape the context of production, distribution, and use; they determine what is selected in and out of the cultural mainstream. This chapter provides a historical overview of trends in the almanac trade. This history includes a strong descriptive component, presenting a detailed study of diaspora almanac publishers and the trends in publication, distribution, and use of the almanacs of diaspora. In order to provide a link between the genre and its concrete foundation in the cultural and social resources of the community, the almanac trade is anchored to successive historical contexts and the concrete conditions of the resources that shaped it.

The model for analysis comes from the Annales school of historiography (known as *l'histoire du livre* approach). This approach determines the aspects to be analyzed, the type of evidence collected, and the approaches to interpretation. The theory of cultural dynamics (Wuthnow 1987) provides a broad context for interpreting these findings about the almanac trade. The first segment is a historical overview that identifies who was involved in almanac publishing, presents representative publishing enterprises, and identifies how the almanacs were circulated,

who read them, and to what effect. The second segment identifies trends and patterns in the almanac trade seen as a dynamic field of production, selection, and institutionalization of cultural forms that reflect the dynamics of the diaspora community. It was argued in the previous chapter that the almanac provides a distinct experience of literacy, which arises from its ability to maintain a soft boundary between the worlds of orality and literacy. Shifting the focus from almanac texts, this chapter looks at interactions and communicational networks, or the context in which almanac literacy was sustained. Therefore, the social framework in which particular forms are circulated reaches back to the distinct communicational role of almanac literacy, but from a different perspective. While the previous chapter moves from the conventional features of the almanac as a historical prototype to the literate procedures that determine the structuring of diaspora almanacs, this chapter moves from the analysis of literate qualities of the genre to the analysis of the changing social environment that produced the almanacs. This is a necessary link for an interpretation of the communicational roles of almanac literacy and the uses of the almanac in specific historical instances. This will lead to the next level of analysis--using a case study approach--of the interrelationship of literacy and the meanings that it permits to be circulated as cultural texts.

Although all almanacs contain cultural material and most of them are to an extent political, categorizing almanacs in terms of subject coverage or specialized content is impossible because almanacs are miscellanies. Therefore, a distinction between general, religious, and political almanacs is meaningless. They typically include material of both a specialized and general nature, structured according to the almanac formula discussed in the previous chapter. The history of the almanac as a tool of communication could focus on immigrant,²⁸⁶ ethnic,²⁸⁷ and

²⁸⁶The immigrant almanacs appear earliest. They flourish in peak periods of emigration and especially at the end of the nineteenth and in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The content of immigrant almanacs is informational and they are often issued by individuals tied to the immigration industry (shipping agents, banks, etc.), though later ones are produced by the immigrant organizations in the country of origin. Educational and informative functions are crucial to these publications, but so are the commercial interests that stand behind them. These almanacs are an immigrant's "survival kit," with the calendar, an encyclopedia of relevant facts addressing the specific needs of immigrants to the New World, and entertainment, all in a single volume. They are aimed at the economic migrants who plan to save some money and eventually repatriate. For

political émigré almanacs²⁸⁸ as distinct categories.²⁸⁹ This typology is based on their communicational role and content features. Although this typology could be used to organize a discussion of the almanac trade in diaspora, this approach would conceal overall trends in which these communicational types overlap. Both of these approaches would also be limiting because they would aim at the analysis of individual titles rather than looking at them through the model of cultural dynamics which focuses on cultural production as an overall phenomenon. The patterns of communication that emerge around the almanac as a type of print between 1893 and 1991 should be considered in totality, considering the macro-level (the overall pattern of production, distribution, and use), and the micro-level (individual cases which

example, *Iscljenički kalendar* for 1924, published by Antun Grado, is organized as an encyclopedia, itemizing information under the headings: "what everyone has to know," (p. 4), "what the émigré and the repatriate in particular have to know" (p. 42) "... at home ... while on the road ... in the world, etc." (on pp. 42, 56, and 61). The technicalities of mailing money home appear together with advice on how to manage finances in the host country, how to comply with immigration laws and laws of the country of immigration, how to find a good boarding house, and how to avoid crime, alcohol abuse, and other dangers of immigrant life. Information on popular medicine is also common, as are advertisements for cures. Advertisements are a prominent feature in these early almanacs and almanacs themselves may be considered a kind of advertisement. Translations of laws on labor compensation and injury, mother's pension laws, regulations on child labor, and immigration laws are common, with itemized lists of travel and immigration documents needed for emigration to the Americas and Australia, and the means to obtain these documents in the country of origin. Statistical overviews of the diaspora communities, gazetteer-type information about the countries of destination, and brief sketches from immigrant life are found in this and other types of almanacs of the diaspora. The images of the "New World" reveal the social conditions of the migration process in the country of origin and the host country.

²⁸⁷ Ethnic almanacs are by far the strongest category represented in the corpus. These are almanacs produced in/for relatively stable ethnic communities which have already developed institutions and networks in the country of destination or are published with the aim of establishing such networks. They are a source of cultural and historical information about the colonies of Croatian communities in North America.

²⁸⁸ Political émigré almanacs are produced by political organizations and/or individuals forced into exile and represent a special subgroup of ethnic almanacs. Like ethnic almanacs, they depend on resources in the community, but are more directly tied to a political orientation. Their preoccupation is political, focusing on an interpretation of their experiences as a community and affairs in the homeland. This type of almanac is a medium for communication of political programs. They are maintained by a tightly-knit political brotherhood of supporters and disseminated globally, reflecting the communication network of the political party. The institutional context for this type of almanac is different from the institutional context for an ethnic almanac. While ethnic almanacs address the concerns of the community and the ethnic organizations with which they are affiliated (sports, religious, and other special groups), the political émigré almanacs are practically free of local coverage.

²⁸⁹ Wynar summarizes these problems in a different context, but his discussion is fully applicable to the almanac corpus: "The terms 'ethnic press' or 'ethnic publications' are often used interchangeably with 'immigrant press,' 'foreign language press,' 'foreign publications,' and 'nationality press.' The acceptance and usage of these terms has led to various misconceptions, with the ethnic press being viewed as constituting a 'foreign' body within a host society. Although numerous ethnic serials were initially published by immigrants and basically served to fulfill immigrants' needs, other publications do not have their roots in immigrant beginnings. Thus, the term 'immigrant' press is too narrow and cannot be applied to many ethnic titles being published in present-day America. The terms 'foreign press,' 'foreign language press,' and 'nationality press' also fail to correctly describe the American ethnic press. Since the ethnic press is sponsored by American ethnics, either native-born or naturalized, the term 'foreign' cannot be used for its definition" (1982, 40).

reflect these processes). The order of presentation follows the model proposed by Robert Darnton (1990, 112; modified by Adams and Barker 1993).

Using a communications circuit to guide the discussion in terms of production, distribution, and use of almanacs, together with elements related to these functions, provides unity to the analysis of trends and cases, or macro- and micro-level analysis of the diaspora almanac trade. The use of evidence depends on the level of analysis: bibliographical-historical methodology, including archival data and unstructured interview, was used in constructing the cases. Identification of representative patterns in the body of evidence relied on bibliographical patterns, including quantification of features, distributions, and other structured series of data. Types of evidence that allowed for mapping of distributions in each of these categories ranged from information in the imprint and other bibliographical data, to advertisements, editorials, and almanac content. This strategy follows the traditional approach of book history research. Because the cycle of transmission is integral to communication networks in the diaspora community, these networks are noted in the affiliation of issuing bodies, institutional sponsorship, and individuals active in the publishing and manufacture of almanacs, all of which are discussed here. Geographic dispersion of the centers of production at any particular time and distribution strategies used by different publishers are another part of that communication process. The reception stage of the circuit links almanacs to communities of readers. The last section of this chapter analyzes the processes of production, institutionalization, and selection of almanacs as ideological variants (Wuthnow 1987), thereby bringing together the different elements of the communications circuit. Periods of intensified cultural change are reflected in publishing patterns in the almanac trade. The calendar of migration (presented in Chapter 2) allows for the matching of specific features of diaspora almanac publishing to each of the immigrant cohorts, thus providing a view of the diaspora almanac trade as a long-term process.

5.2. THE DIASPORA ALMANAC TRADE, 1893-1991

Reconstructing the almanac trade of the diaspora between 1893 and 1991 requires examination of publishing, manufacture, distribution, and reception as discrete processes in the communications circuit of print. In the following section, the publishing history of almanacs is organized around the functions of production (publishing and manufacture), distribution, and use. Whenever possible, these processes were tied to the totality of the "socio-economic conjuncture" (Adams and Barker 1993, 14). The interpretation of the communications networks in the diaspora is based on evidence that emerges in the process of textual transmission of the almanac. The production stage is related to human and economic resources --the authors, publishers, and others involved in the intellectual and physical production of texts. Production is also determined by the intended use of the texts. Distribution is an intermediary process which connects the production and use of printed works. The transmission of a text does not exist in a vacuum but in the totality determined by social structure, political and economic conjunctures, intellectual influences and publicity, and political and legal sanctions (Darnton 1990, 112). Adams and Barker pair specific environmental factors with specific stages in the circulation of a "bibliographical document" (1993, 14). The stages of production and manufacture depend on the socioeconomic conditions of political, legal, and religious influences; manufacture and distribution are tied to commercial pressures; and reception is influenced by social behavior and taste. Notably, survival and publication are subject to intellectual influences. The itemization of processes in the cycle of book transmission proposed by Adams and Barker (1993) is more useful than Darnton's (1990) because the survival component figures in shaping the impact of a type of print.²⁹⁰ It is also well suited for this discussion of the diaspora almanac because it allows greater clarity in connecting various components of the cycle to sociocultural context.

²⁹⁰Survival (preservation and cultural selection) of almanacs, as ephemeral serials, is crucial in determining their cultural impact at the time they are issued, but also from a diachronic perspective.

5.2.1. Production

Wynar (1986, 11) notes that "the diversity of titles sponsored by various organizations serves as a major indicator of the degree of social complexity, organizational structure, and level of activity within individual ethnic communities." The almanac trade in the Croatian diaspora could be seen as an indicator of such diversity. The involvement of institutional and individual players, the presence of contiguous and competitive ideologies, and rivalry or cooperation between the organizations and individuals involved, are focal points in understanding the communication patterns of the Croatian diaspora culture. The act of publishing produces culture in the form of a physical artefact. Not only are the "relationships between the roles of patron, printer, stationer and bookseller" (Adams and Barker 1993, 12) complex, but the focus on cultural production calls for examination of the intellectual affiliation and institutional sponsorship of issuing bodies and authors when dealing with publication and manufacture.

According to Carter, the act of publication is the "issuing or offering to the public" of a printed object and also "the work of producing and issuing copies of such work" (1991, 162) for public sale. Accordingly, the publisher is the body that organizes the sale and distribution of a finished product to the public. This definition is too narrow when applied to the publishing and manufacture of diaspora almanacs, which are much less structured. Because they are produced with limited resources, one individual or a small group combines many of the functions identified as part of the publishing process, and the roles of "author, patron (or financier), manufacturer and distributor" often overlap (Adams and Barker 1993, 16). Manufacturing is merged with publishing as a matter of "technology and economics" (ibid., 18). In the discussion that follows, the evidence of type design and typographical layout is used to tie the process of manufacture to the communication networks of the community. In addition to design

and aesthetics, these features provide evidence of resources and financing, and of manufacturing strategies peculiar to almanac production.

Table 5.1 shows forty-four different establishments identified as publishers in the imprints of various almanacs. Some of these publishers were evidently incorporated for the sole purpose of issuing a single almanac,²⁹¹ which points to the provisional and ephemeral nature of such firms.²⁹² The stability of other firms is evidence of a stable resource base. The number of titles issued by a publisher, whether consecutively or simultaneously, is an indicator of the strength and stability of such production enterprises. The uniformity of the physical and intellectual aspects of a publication depends on fluctuations in such aspects of production as publisher's location and printing facilities. Production is related to use through distribution efficiency and the ability of the publisher to optimize the available resources and match them to audience needs. The publishers that are active over a long period of time demonstrate their vitality in all stages of the transmission cycle.

The type of affiliation of these publishers determines the content and ideological orientation of an almanac, the resources available for its production, and their distribution networks. As a link to the institutional context in which these almanacs were established and sustained, the individual almanac titles reflect specific communicational networks. Wynar (1986, 10) distinguishes general- and special-interest or specific-purpose ethnic publications, identifying sixteen types²⁹³ in the latter category. According to him, specific-purpose publications are affiliated with some type of sponsoring agency. Wynar mentions ethnic political organizations

²⁹¹For example, Amerika Almanac Publishing Company (Brooklyn, N.Y.) as publisher of Almanac Amerika for 1923.

²⁹²The wording of the title and publisher's name may change from issue to issue as may the place of publication. For example, Croatian Franciscan Press (Chicago, Ill.) also appears in the imprint as "Croatia" Hrv. izdavački zavod, Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika, Hrvatski franjevci u Američkim Udruženim Državama, Uprava Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice and Uprava izdanja Hrvatskih Franjevaca. Hrvatski Domobran changes its place of publication several times, as does the Croatian Catholic Union.

²⁹³His typology of special-purpose ethnic publications is based on the results of a survey of the Slavic and East European ethnic press conducted between 1982 and 1985.

or parties, religious orders or churches, ethnic religious organizations, government agencies, regional organizations preserving the traditions of a particular locality, and fraternal and sports organizations. It is these very enterprises which are involved in publishing almanacs in diaspora. In many cases, the almanac is a secondary publication, subsidiary to a newspaper or a magazine which is the official organ of an ethnic, religious, and political organization. They are published by bookstores and firms involved in the emigration industry (shipping companies, banks), by pharmacies and by government-sponsored emigrant agencies²⁹⁴ in the country of origin. Many almanacs of the Croatian diaspora are issued by religious orders or political parties originating in Croatia but active in diaspora. Six among forty-four publishers are the religious orders (Franciscans), church administrative bodies or clerical associations.²⁹⁵

Some types of organizational contexts dominate the almanac trade at particular times; this determines the changing trends of production methods and distribution networks. Accordingly, four different periods are distinguished in the almanac trade of the Croatian diaspora:

1) 1893 until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918, represented by J. Steinbrener and Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc., both in New York;

2) the golden age of the socialist press between the mid-teens and the early 1930s,²⁹⁶ represented by the Radnička borba bookstore (Cleveland, Ohio) and Jugoslavenska radnička knjižara (Chicago, Ill.);

²⁹⁴The emigrant organizations were either government-sponsored or church-sponsored information agencies -- distinct from ethnic organizations proper because they do not represent the initiative of a community in diaspora.

²⁹⁵They are (in order in which they appear in Table 5.1): Stanley Borčić, Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske župe Tomislav, Vijeće Biskupske konferencije za hrvatsku migraciju, Croatian Catholic Union of the USA (HKZ), Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci (Croatian Minoritan Franciscan Brothers), Croatian Franciscan Press. Together they are responsible for issuing nine titles (of fifty-six). In addition to these titles, religious-content almanacs were issued by J. Steinbrener publishing firm, i.e., Mali Marijin koledar, Novi katolički kalendar and Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk. Twelve out of fifty-six titles are religious almanacs, which are a single most significant bloc in the corpus of the diaspora almanacs.

²⁹⁶The Socialist movement in America was entrenched in the labor movement. After 1912, when the Socialists reached a high point in their electoral appeal and popular base, the movement was in the stage of consolidation.

3) the period after the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, from the 1930s through the early 1950s, represented by Hrvatski Domobran (Pittsburgh, Pa. and Argentina), the Radnička borba bookstore (Cleveland, Ohio), Croatian Voice, Inc. (Winnipeg, Manitoba), the Croatian Catholic Union (active in various locations in the Midwest), the Croatian Franciscans (McKeesport, Pa.), and the Croatian Franciscan Press (Chicago, Ill.);

4) the period after the settlement of the post-World War II immigrant cohort, from 1952 to date, in which some of the publishers continued (e.g., Croatian Voice, Inc., Croatian Catholic Union, Croatian Franciscans (McKeesport, Pa.), Croatian Franciscan Press (Chicago, Ill.), Radnička borba), while others disappeared (e.g., Hrvatski Domobran) and a number of new ones became active, either short-term (e.g., the publisher of Krčki kalendar), or long-term. (e.g., Matica iseljenika (Zagreb)).

As the patterns of intellectual and physical production and organizational contexts changed, so did trends in financing, patronage, and geographic distribution of the almanacs. These aspects of the almanac trade in the diaspora are considered separately, using a case study approach which presents significant publisher business models that dominated the almanac trade in these periods and shows the patterns of production in these organizational settings. The description of changing patterns of financing and geographic distribution in the remaining two sections depicts trends rather than focusing on individual cases. The almanacs were used as primary evidence, combined with information obtained during a visit to the collection of the Croatian Ethnic Institute (Chicago, Ill.) and visits to the private collection of Professor Jerome Jareb (Loretto, Pa.), as well as conversations with him about individual titles. The tool for data analysis was a searchable bibliographic database including field notes taken during these visits.

During World War I, it took a stand against the war, suffering wartime persecution, imprisonment, "vigilante action and the barring of Socialist literature from the mails" (Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed. (1976), s.v. "Socialist Party of America").

Tables generated from reports from the database illustrate and support generalizations made in the text. Naturally, these depended on the preservation pattern of the corpus, which limits what we know about the patterns of publishing (as discussed in the section on methodology).

5.2.1.1. Authorship, Publishing, Manufacture, and Organizational Contexts. Reconstructing communication networks and activities of the ethnic publishers in the absence of publishers' records relied on sketchy and fragmented evidence derived from other sources. Because the problem of missing evidence (Floud 1973, 5) is common with historical data and generalizations, the case study approach was considered to be optimal, representing significant aspects of the almanac trade in diaspora. As already mentioned, the structural-typographical and bibliographical features of almanacs were used as a primary source in examining the activities of those publishers selected for the case studies. Archival and library research yielded additional evidence. Interviews with editors of almanacs²⁹⁷ and other informed individuals and a field visit to a publisher's facilities were the third type of evidence used in reconstructing the publishing patterns and specifics of the almanac trade.²⁹⁸

Publisher types that were stable in their production, indicated by the fact that they flourished for twenty years or longer, were selected for closer analysis. Socialist and workers' movement publishers, Catholic clericalist presses, the political brotherhoods as publishers, governmental organizations, publishing firms run by individuals, and commercial enterprises specializing in popular print, are considered in separate sections. These types represent the successful and representative models of ethnic (and almanac) publishing.

²⁹⁷Father Vinko Dionizije Lasić, the long-time editor of Hrvatski kalendar, published by the Croatian Franciscan Press (Chicago, Ill.), has been a source of information for this press and its operations. I conducted a telephone interview with him in 1992 and an unstructured interview during my visit to the Archives of the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago in May 1995.

²⁹⁸Variation in the types of data thus obtained, and data missing in the case of some publishers, presented a problem.

The publishers constituting the Croatian almanac trade are shown in Table 5.1. The publishers that were active longest are those associated with workers' movements and Catholic organizations.²⁹⁹ The workers' and Catholic press dominate in two consecutive periods of the history of Croatians in diaspora. While the socialist movement flourishes in the diaspora communities until the mid-1930s, the post-World War II period is dominated by the Catholic almanac. These two groups of publishers are analyzed first, representing the most influential ideological movements in the political culture of the diaspora. Although there is a number of each of these categories of publishers, the Croatian Franciscan Press³⁰⁰ (active from 1944 to date) represents the Croatian clericalist press. Ideological brotherhood is identified as another distinct type of publisher. Represented by organization Hrvatski Domobran³⁰¹ (active between 1932 and 1955), it constitutes the third significant model of publishing of the diaspora almanac. These publishers stand for distinct political blocs in the diaspora; what they have in common is the affiliation to an institutional context (the political party, religious order, or a semi-clandestine organization, respectively). The publishing enterprises run by individuals are identified as a fourth type. The two cases of enterprises run by individuals are the Croatian Voice, Inc. (active between the 1930s and 1976 in Winnipeg, Man.) and the Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc. (active between 1906 and 1945 in New York)—run by Petar Stanković and Ivan Krešić, respectively. The fifth group of cases includes a commercial publishing empire protected by royal privilege and a government-sponsored emigrant organization acting as a publisher of almanacs. The former, J. Steinbrener, was active between 1898 and 1916 and the latter, *Matica iseljenika*, from 1955 to date. All the publisher types identified for case analysis were active for two decades or longer.³⁰²

²⁹⁹Although these are not categories in Table 5.1, the publishers that belong in these categories are listed in the text that follows.

³⁰⁰Publisher of *Hrvatski kalendar*.

³⁰¹Publisher of *Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana*.

³⁰²Steinbrener published almanacs for at least 19 years, according to the almanacs retrieved in this study.

In contrast to the cases of publishers that sustained their almanac runs for twenty years or more, the publishers associated with the immigration industry issued almanacs that have the character of occasional publications. Many of these are represented with a single, first issue.³⁰³ Evidently, almanacs for the immigrant were primarily reference sources, or travel companions, and not intended to be serialized. They are shown in Table 5.1, where another group of short-lived almanacs is noted--almanacs issued by ethnic cultural organizations for up to five consecutive years. Some of the publishers in this category include Jugoslavenski Prosvjetni Savez u Americi,³⁰⁴ Jugoslavenski Sokol,³⁰⁵ Mlada Narodna Hrvatska Zajednica, Prosvjetni odbor Narodne Hrvatske Zajednice, Starješinstvo Hrvatskog sokola, and Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske župe Tomislav. These publishers are common in the late teens and in the 1920s. The almanacs reflect fraternalist and socialist ideals, and contain information and educational material reflecting the activities of those groups. Evidently, the cohesive force of some cultural societies was not sufficient for a sustained publishing effort or these almanac did not address the communication needs of these groups.

The studies of publishers in the following section demonstrate strategies and contexts in which sustained publication of almanacs was maintained.

5.2.1.1.1. Trade Unionist, Labor, Socialist, and Communist Presses. This segment briefly outlines significant trends in the almanacs issued by the trade unionist, workers', and socialist movements, and by the Communist Party. The almanac trade of the political left, from 1914 through the 1960s falls into three distinct periods. The publishers that flourished in the 1920s reflect American socialist currents, while the publishers that emerge in the 1940s reflect the

³⁰³The preservation patterns may have biased the sample, but the prevalence of titles with designation of seriality indicating that they were the first issue probably confirms that they were the only ones published.

³⁰⁴The educational character of this organization is reflected in the slogan, "Znanjem k slobodi!" ("Through Knowledge to Freedom!").

³⁰⁵"Sokol" organizations mirrored the popularity of Sokol organizations in the country of origin. These sports-cultural organizations flourished between 1917 and 1932.

socialist wave "imported" from the country of origin and tied to the establishment of Socialist Yugoslavia. The political polarization in diaspora is directly related to changes in the political life in Croatia, which is most noted during and after World War II, when the political debate in the diaspora became radicalized and polarized between the Left and the Right. A virtual isolation of all diaspora groups from the political life in Croatia (except those that were supportive of Tito's Socialist regime) is another feature that affected ethnic publishing in this period.

The bookstore *Radnička borba* (Workers' Struggle) in Cleveland, Ohio, reflects three consecutive trends in the publishing of the Left. This publisher was active between 1922 and 1925 and again between 1946 and 1964; the hiatus of almost twenty years in which there is no record of the publication of Socijalistički radnički kalendar by this bookstore cannot be explained without further research into the history of this almanac run. The first period of activity comes at a time of "rapid growth of the party's foreign-language federations" (Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed. (1976), s.v. "Socialist Party of America," 326). The bookstores *Radnička borba* and *Jugoslavenska radnička knjižara* (Yugoslav Workers' Bookstore) are the major socialist publishers in the diaspora. They reflect the history of the Socialist Party of America and its radical wing, the Communist Party, which splintered from it in 1919 (Wynar 1969, 232, 264). *Jugoslavenska radnička knjižara* in Cleveland and Chicago was the official bookstore of the Yugoslav Communist Alliance (*Jugoslavenski komunistički savez*). It was active continuously for twenty years, issuing Crveni kalendar from 1914 to 1933.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ This title appears without indication of the publisher in 1921, when the Communist factions went underground in response to the launching of extensive antsubversive programs in 1919 and 1920 by the U.S. Department of Labor and the attorney general of the United States "in which thousands of radical aliens were rounded up and deported" (Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed. (1976), s.v. "Communist Party, United States of America," 143); the last issue of the almanac which was found is for 1934, appearing on the eve of the party's greatest vogue known as the Popular Front, between 1935 and 1939.

Other long-standing publishers of socialist orientation are the Chicago-based Radnička knjižara (Workers' Bookstore), issuing Radnički kalendar in the 1930s, and Hrvatska narodna knjižara (Croatian People's Bookstore) in Pittsburgh, Pa. (active between 1938 and 1945).³⁰⁷ The publisher "Narodni glasnik" (People's Messenger) is active between 1946 and 1966 in Chicago and Pittsburgh. Savez kanadskih Hrvata (Association of Croatian Canadians) and "Novosti" (The News) reflecting enthusiasm for the new Communist state of Socialist Yugoslavia, are active in the mid-1940s and again in 1964.³⁰⁸ "Slobodna misao" (The Free Thought) in Toronto is active between 1937 and 1946. The resurgence of social democratic movements in the United States in the 1960s, and the rise of the New Left do not leave traces on the publishing of diaspora almanacs. The activity in Toronto of Yugoslav-Canadian Publishers and Savez jugoslavenskih Kanađana and "Jedinstvo" (The Alliance of Yugoslav Canadians and "Unity") as publishers of almanacs between 1954 and 1969, is due to the settlement of new waves of Croatian immigrants which brought their political views from the home country rather than a resurgence of the New Left.

5.2.1.1.2. Catholic Clericalist Presses, and Religious Orders as Publishers. The context of publishing in which resources depend on the sponsorship of a religious order is represented by the Croatian Franciscan Press in Chicago, affiliated with a religious order of the Croatian Franciscans. The other publisher associated with the diaspora almanacs are the Minoritan Franciscan Brothers in McKeesport, Pa. The Croatian Franciscan Press and Minoritan Franciscan Brothers Press have a relatively secure existence within the church since almanac publishing is integral to Franciscans' pastoral work. These groups are different in their approach. The almanac that the Croatian Franciscan Press in Chicago published for more than

³⁰⁷The Socialist Party of America "experienced some revival during the 1930s but it never regained its popular base or the electoral appeal of earlier years." Without the Left wing, the Socialist party became an essentially reformist movement, with appeal largely to the urban middle class; it ceased its political activity and viewed itself as an educational force after 1956 (Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed. (1976), s.v. "Socialist Party of America," 327).

³⁰⁸They issued Hrvatski narodni kalendar from 1945 to 1947 and Hrvatski godišnjak in 1964.

fifty years is a combination of Catholic clericalist and nationalist ideology, a political offspring of Starčevićianism discussed in Chapter 2. In contrast, the Minoritan Franciscans' almanacs were religious almanacs in the traditional sense. Because the Croatian Franciscan Press is not limited to religious matters, and integrates religious and political content in its publications, it has become an important player in the political debates that dominate the post-World War II cultural discourses in the diaspora. An in-depth analysis of strategies they employed is the focus of Chapter 6.

The publishers of Catholic clericalist orientation dominate the almanac publishing trade beginning in the 1930s. First among them is a religious ethnic organization, the Croatian Catholic Union (*Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica*), active from 1925 to 1957 in Cleveland and other towns of the American Midwest.³⁰⁹ The Franciscan orders appear with several publications from 1935 on. *Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci* (the Minoritan Franciscan Brothers) were the first, issuing their two almanacs, *Ave Maria* and *Hrvatski godišnjak*³¹⁰ for twenty-eight continuous years between 1935 and 1962. The Croatian Franciscan Press in Chicago, Ill. appears as publisher of the almanac *Hrvatski kalendar* beginning in 1944.³¹¹ This publication reflects the ideology of a political bloc opposed to the socialist and communist segments of the diaspora, but it also stands apart from the liberal nationalism of the Croatian Peasant Party represented by the Croatian Voice, Inc. (Winnipeg, Man.). *Hrvatski kalendar* issued by the Croatian Franciscan Press represents the clearest articulation of anti-communist sentiment in large segments of the diaspora for whom the Church is the focus of cultural identity. The

³⁰⁹It was active as an almanac publisher for thirty-three years. The preservation of titles for the 1930s is sketchy, but the designation of seriality indicates that the Croatian Catholic Union was active as a publisher of almanacs at least between 1927 and 1957. This organization was founded in 1921 in Gary, Ind., by Croatian priests in North America, many of whom were from the Society of Jesus. The character of this organization remained Catholic, but its membership consisted of laymen. It had 11,000 members in 1953 ("Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica: njezin osnutak i 30-godišnji rad," *Hrvatski kalendar* for 1953, 167).

³¹⁰These publications were issued "with Ecclesiastical approbation." *Hrvatski kalendar*, issued by the Croatian Franciscan Press was published "Cum permissu Superiorum" from 1944 to 1958 (according to the statements on the preliminaries and the title pages).

³¹¹They bought the right to publish the title from Ivan Krešić, who had issued a number of influential ethnic publications from the beginning of the century until the 1940s.

centers of activity for these Catholic presses remain in the Midwest, with the Minoritan Brothers based in McKeesport, Pa. (Pittsburgh area) and the Bosnian Croatian Franciscans who run the Croatian Franciscan Press based in Chicago.

Because the Croatian Franciscan Press is still active, I had an opportunity to visit their facilities, examine their printing office,³¹² and interview Father Dionizije Vinko Lasić, who was then editor and curator of their ethnic press collection in May 1995. From the late 1940s on,³¹³ the almanacs of the Croatian Franciscan Press were produced completely in-house, from text authoring to printing. The special expertise and subject interests of the resident brothers resulted in the specific tone and content of this almanac. For example, Father Vasilj Kvirin, a mathematician and philosopher, contributed meditative narratives throughout the publication of Hrvatski kalendar, while Father Dionizije Lasić contributed works of historical and autobiographical-literary character. He was also responsible for editing and compiling the calendar portion for issues between 1986 and the present.³¹⁴ Father Gracijan Raspudić contributed literary texts; Silvije Grubišić contributed pieces on Church history, history of the Croatian community in diaspora, etymology, etc. This Franciscan brotherhood, with many of the brothers now in their eighties and nineties, has been solely responsible for the publication of this almanac from 1944 to date. The editorial responsibility was passed from one Franciscan priest to the next. As shown in Table 5.2, each of the editors held this position for an average of several years (not necessarily consecutive). Notably, the editor and the manager of

³¹²This printing office is an impressive enterprise, housed in a separate building in the complex at 4851 Drexel Blvd., and operated by at least three people: a typesetter, a person in charge of photo-illustration, and a volunteer editorial assistant.

³¹³The earlier issues were printed by Worman Printery, Inc. of Teutopolis, Ill. (from advertisements in the issues for 1945, p. 18 and for 1946, p. 26, which evidently presented a problem because the typographers were not native speakers (cf. editorial note in the issue for 1944, p. 252, in which they apologize to the readers for omissions and mistakes).

³¹⁴The calendar was often compiled by specialists (cf. editorial note on p. 252 of the issue for 1944, in which the Roman and the Greek Catholic calendars were compiled separately). The editor of the Greek Catholic calendar, Monsignor Tomislav Firsi, also edited the calendar for The Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952.

publishing were not always the same individual.³¹⁵ The printing office had jobbing contracts for external clients, but also issued a number of monographs, some scholarly, on an array of topics dealing with Croatian history, culture, and literature, specifically what has been produced in diaspora.³¹⁶ Contributors to Hrvatski kalendar are affiliated primarily with the religious orders.³¹⁷ Although some of the authors are from outside North America,³¹⁸ the authorship base is limited. An editorial tactic for introducing variety is the prolific use of abbreviations and pseudonyms (discussed in detail in Chapter 6). The same author would sign his name in full, use a pseudonym, and use different abbreviations of his name as well. Vinko Dionizije Lasić assumes a number of pen-names³¹⁹ which represent his different identities as a writer.

How different publishers handle original and recycled material in the almanacs is crucial in understanding the production process of the almanacs in diaspora communities. This is tied to a commonly used strategy of the editors of the almanacs to reprint works from other sources. This practice prevails in the almanacs affiliated with the political Left discussed earlier, as a logical consequence of their internationalist orientation, reliance on the canonical texts of the party, and their interrelationship with the rest of the socialist movement. With the almanacs produced strictly with the resources of an ethnic community in diaspora, reliance on texts produced within the group is larger, and so is their variety. Excerpts and reprints in Hrvatski kalendar constitute a large proportion of texts overall, but also a dominant single category of

³¹⁵The issue for 1944 was edited and managed by Silvije Grubišić, by David Zrno in 1945 and 1946, by Theodor Benković in 1951 and 1952, and by Tugomir Soldo in 1953. After this year, the manager function is not stated.

³¹⁶Ragusan Press in San Francisco is another prolific publisher of Croatian material in the diaspora, but not of almanacs.

³¹⁷The examination of the author index of this title indicates that many authors have designations added to their names to indicate affiliation with a particular order (Dominican, Society of Jesus).

³¹⁸For example, Tomo Marković, S.J., sends his folkloristic and ethnographic contributions from Venezuela.

³¹⁹For example, he uses La-Vin-Di or La Vin Di and Čonki for verse contributions, Dr. V.D. for articles on the calendar, and D.V.L., V.L. and other versions of his full and abbreviated name for prose and historical articles, and those with religious content. Other pseudonyms used by different authors were "Catholic Woman" (obviously a fictitious character, featured in the issue for 1945), Čika Tuna (a folksy character, a story-teller of a fable in the issue for 1985), Dr. Alpha (for a political article on the independent Croatia in the issue for 1946), Domogoj[sic] and Dubravko (personal names used as pseudonyms), Dopisnik, --esg. (for a piece of medical news in the issue for 1957), Sig, etc. For a detailed list of authors and pseudonyms, cf. Author-Title Index in unpublished Master's thesis (Dalbello-Lovnić 1991).

texts.³²⁰ Nevertheless, texts originating within the textual community itself, such as biographies, directories, historical essays, memorials, various types of nonfictional prose, original short stories and verse, are also numerous, giving this publication a very distinct flavor all its own.

5.2.1.1.3. Ideological Brotherhood as Publisher. Hrvatski Domobran, a self-organized political group with ties to the paramilitary group Ustashe,³²¹ also represents a context of publishing which demonstrated resilience and continuity. In comparison to the publishers that operated within an organizational context (i.e., the socialist and the clericalist almanacs analyzed in the previous sections), the publication of Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana, the voice of the members of Hrvatski Domobran, is affected by a lack of stability. This is due to problems of legitimacy, dispersed member base across Europe and North and South America, and the internal dynamics of this group. As already mentioned, the influence of the political context is a significant environmental factor in which the publishers operate. Censorship and splintering are most significant factors affecting the activity of Hrvatski Domobran. In physical features, the almanac issued by this group (Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana) varies from one issue to the next, especially when compared to uniform size, length, and visual layout of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), Kalendar Hrvatski glas,³²² and other runs with a long publishing history with stable reader base. In spite of precarious financial support of its

³²⁰This assessment is based on the analysis of genre types found in Hrvatski kalendar (Dalbello-Lovrić 1991, Genre Descriptors Index).

³²¹Hrvatski Domobran was often under official scrutiny in the United States because of its affiliation with Ustashe, a paramilitary group led by Ante Pavelić. An overview of that political group and its role in the political life of Croatia is provided in Chapter 2 (cf. table 2.1, April 10, 1941). This is a radical nationalist movement, claiming political descentance from the Party of Right whose ideologue was Ante Starčević discussed in Chapter 2. Ustashe developed under the influence of Italian fascism and in response to the specific circumstances in monarchist Yugoslavia in the period of dictatorship beginning in 1929. They were organized as a paramilitary group by Ante Pavelić in 1929 and were stationed in Italy until their return to Croatia during World War II, which determined their ideology and organization as a paramilitary group.

³²²At least until 1976, when Kalendar Hrvatski glas changed its editor and place of publication (from Winnipeg, Man., to Acton, Ontario) as a result of splintering.

member base,³²³ and infighting, to which were added external pressures of censorship from the United States government. Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana persists twenty-four years, recording the activity of Hrvatski Domobran from 1932 to 1955.³²⁴

A brief history of this title shows how environmental factors affected the publishing history of this almanac. The first year of almanacs issued by this organization is for 1933.³²⁵ The issue for 1935 was not published because of the assassination of King Alexander Karadorđević in Marseilles, in which the Ustasha movement was implicated. In 1936, two issues came out, one printed in Argentina and the other in the United States (Pittsburgh, Pa.).³²⁶ Another double edition of this almanac is recorded for 1942, one issued in Argentina, and the other in Pittsburgh, Pa. The organization was investigated in the United States at that time, because of United States wartime politics. A declaration of solidarity with the United States, published in the issue for 1940 (in Pittsburgh, Pa.), is an attempt by the publishers of this almanac to counteract the pressures of censorship.³²⁷ The issue for 1942 appears in two copies but is the last one issued in the United States.³²⁸

³²³Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1942 published a call for new members on p. 145, for a monthly membership fee of one dollar and an additional dollar for the application. In the editorial from an issue in 1953, the editors thank readers who responded to the call for contributions.

³²⁴This organization also issued Hrvatski Domobran and Nezavisna Država Hrvatska.

³²⁵Although the advertisements indicate that the almanac has been distributed exclusively in South American context, this is the first of a series of internationally available almanacs of organization Hrvatski Domobran. The content is mainly political, with some features of the almanac. Although there is no indication of the place of publication in the imprint or the publication itself, according to Jerome Jareb (oral communication, October 9-10, 1993) this issue was published in Buenos Aires.

³²⁶The examination of its two copies of this almanac for 1936 in the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago (in May 1995) shows that the imprint varies, listing Buenos Aires as first and Pittsburgh as the second location in one of them, reversed in the other. The printing note on the back cover of the first issue (Argentinian?) indicates that the issue is printed in Argentina. The other one was published "by International Printing Company, 628-630 Grant Street ... the official printing office of Hrvatski Domobran" (from p. [2] of cover). There are minor typographical variations in the two issues (on p. 87, 98, 113, 115, and 125), and the size of the advertisements. The content of the two copies is identical.

³²⁷It is interesting that Jugoslav Herald Kalendar for 1941, p. 76, an almanac presenting the political idea of South Slav unity, also alludes to censorship concerning the activities of the Croatian community (and probably other ethnic communities as well) at the time.

³²⁸In May 1942, organization Hrvatski Domobran was disbanded in the United States, and all rights of publication were sold for a nominal sum (of one dollar) to Luka Grbić, who continued to issue its official weekly Nezavisna Država Hrvatska in the United States (Jerome Jareb, oral communication, October 9-10, 1993).

Producing texts for an ethno-cultural community involves an organizational effort for which different publishers relied on different strategies. The examination of how publishers engaged in sharing resources reveals that communication networks cross the visible boundaries of politics and ideology. This may have involved the passing down of equipment or typographical items, by sale, loan, or other means of circulation. A series of medallion portraits of the "Croatian Rulers and Noted Men" ("Hrvatski velikani," originally produced from drawings by Kristian Kreković³²⁹ according to Jerome Jareb (oral communication, October 9-10, 1993)), appear in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana from 1938 to 1942 and in Hrvatski kalendar for 1951 and 1952, running the top of the calendar page. In the issue for 1953, they are presented as a "visual list" (discussed in the previous chapter and shown in Figure 4.6) under the heading "Hrvatski kraljevi narodne krvi" ("Croatian Native Rulers"). The printing of Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1940 was done by the International Printing Co. of Pittsburgh, Pa. For 1941, stereotype plates were made by the Union Engraving Co., 1003 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. (from advertisement on p. [51]). These plates had been passed down to the Croatian Franciscan Press and used in its new publication, the almanac it issued beginning in 1944. Jerome Jareb (oral communication, October 9-10, 1993) mentioned that they were also used in its official publication, Danica. Recycling of visual text is common in the portions of the almanac produced according to the almanac formula, such as the calendar or other features that invoked familiarity in its readers.³³⁰ The compilation of the calendar is another example in which resources are shared. The editor of Greek Catholic portions of the calendar, both in the Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1954 issued by Stanley Borić, and in Hrvatski kalendar for 1944, is Tomislav Firis. Interestingly, the issue of Stanley Borić's

³²⁹His works are used for illustrations in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1967 (p. 39, titled "Hrvatske izbjeglice" (Croatian Refugees), p. [55], titled "D.P.' (Displaced Persons)," and for 1976 (p. 151, titled "Bosanac" (A Bosnian)).

³³⁰For example, the page regularly featured in a number of issues of Hrvatski kalendar, featuring the American anthem, "Star Spangled Banner," and the chronology of the Croatian people, "Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda," are also reprinted from Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana.

almanac for 1954 is printed in the printing office of the Croatian Franciscan Press, with an identically formatted calendar portion. This kind of physical evidence repeatedly indicates the integrated nature of ethnic networks and publishing activities, but it also points to how publishers overcame the scarcity of resources in producing these publications.³³¹

Cooperation and dependence on the same pools of contributors and subscribers are similar publishers' tactics. In the case of the three types of publishers identified in the previous sections, several of these tactics are noted. For example, Hrvatski kalendar for 1963, Hrvatski narodni kalendar for 1955, and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1940 shared the same plate. The image, as shown in Figure 5.1, is used on the front cover of some publications and as an illustration in another. *Šestinčanka*, a woman in a folk costume from a village in the vicinity of Zagreb (*Šestine*), with the Zagreb Cathedral in the background, is titled "A Croatian Motif" in Hrvatski narodni kalendar for 1955 and "Zagreb" in Hrvatski kalendar for 1963.³³² In Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1940, we find an explicit elaboration of the motif, "the historical data about the Zagreb Cathedral, seen on the front cover of Godišnjak. Next to it note a Croatian beauty in the folk costume ..."³³³ The three almanacs are issued by groups of diverse ideological orientation: Hrvatski narodni kalendar, issued by "Narodni glasnik" in Chicago, is an almanac of the socialist-communist orientation, Hrvatski kalendar is clericalist, and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana has a radical nationalist orientation. Apart from demonstrating that ethnic networks crossed these political boundaries

³³¹There are many examples of recycling within the same run--using the same illustrations, border, vignette decorations, and framing of the calendar register. Another example of collaboration concerns two different ethnic groups that must have commissioned the same printer or binder. The covers for the 1955 issue of Kalendar Hrvatski glas and the Ukrainian almanac, Kalendar kanadijskoga farmera, issued two years later (for 1957), are identical. This will be discussed in the next case.

³³²The captions, with regard to how they frame the motif of *Šestinčanka*, with more or less precision, i.e., as synonymous with Zagreb (the city), or as "a Croatian motif." The motif of *Šestinčanka* can still be found as a souvenir doll; its other version is a couple of dolls, tied with a string, of *Šestinčanka* and *Šestinčanin* (a man from *Šestine*), in tourist shops in Zagreb. This is a stock motif of Zagreb, where peasants from *Šestine* were a picturesque sight in the farmer's market in the 1920s and the 1930s, surviving in picturesque dolls in post-World War II period.

³³³The original text, found on p.[2], reads as follows: "Povjesni podatci stolne crkve u Zagrebu, koja se vidi na prednjim koricama Godišnjaka. Uz ovo vidimo ljepoticu-Hrvatcu u slikovitoj narodnoj nošnji."

(it is not excluded that the readers of one would also read another publication), it is significant that the same cultural material that these images evidently present belongs to a shared repertoire of symbols (exemplifying the "bricolage" tactics of the popular press, as discussed in Chapter 1). This tactics is not limited to the types of publishers analyzed so far; examples of resource-sharing telling about the context of publishing are noted in the models analyzed in the following sections.

5.2.1.1.4. Presses Run by Individuals. Institutional affiliation as a model for publishing dominates the almanac trade of the diaspora (as shown in Table 5.1). This is noted for publishers issuing almanacs for two decades or more. In two cases, however, individuals were instrumental in success and longevity of almanacs. The publishing enterprises run by Petar Stanković, as an official publisher of the Croatian Peasant Party, and Ivan Krešić, whose publishing efforts were directed toward the immigrant waves of the turn of the century and the 1920s, are examples of ethnic publishing operated by individuals. They catered to very different segments of ethnic culture, but at least for some time, their publications were contemporaneous.³³⁴

5.2.1.1.4.1. Petar Stanković and the Croatian Voice, Inc. The Croatian Voice became synonymous with the newspaper Hrvatski glas and the almanac, Kalendar Hrvatski glas. The firm was active for over fifty years (1930-1983) in Winnipeg, Manitoba and later in Acton and Sudbury, Ontario.³³⁵ It was run by Petar Stanković from 1929 until his death in 1976. Croatian Voice was the official Croatian Peasant Party newspaper, aimed originally at "the settled Croats on or near the small urban frontier," and reached an impressive circulation of 4,000 or 5,000 by the mid-thirties (Rasporich 1982, 140-141). The popularity of the newspaper

³³⁴Or, between 1930 (the first year of Hrvatski glas, Kalendar) and 1944 (the last year of issue of Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar).

³³⁵The publishing history of the title is found in the annotation. The earlier issues of Kalendar Hrvatski glas are preserved in a very sketchy fashion, but those issued from the 1950s on are found in a number of collections, which might be due to the the size and type of its audience in later decades.

issued by Croatian Voice was due to its vitality as a regional and political publication. It featured "colonization news and land advertisements for the Prairies," with "folksy small-town flavor, which included everything from folk humor to home remedies and strongly nationalistic editorials ... which soon made the Voice the most powerful news instrument in Croatian homes from coast to coast" (ibid., 118). The almanacs were a subsidiary operation of the newspaper and used the same distribution network. The stability of this publishing operation relied on both the popularity of the Croatian Peasant Party and the vitality which Stanković gave to the official party publications, addressing a range of concerns among his readers. Affiliation with the Croatian Peasant Party, Stanković's journalistic talent, and his business ability to establish a cost-effective publication in the favorable context of the Canadian Prairies all contributed to the long existence of this publishing enterprise. Reconstructing the activities of an ethnic publisher is a formidable challenge, and likely an impossible one, because they rarely keep archives. Croatian Voice, Inc. is not an exception. Based on bibliographic evidence, it is possible to reconstruct some of the specifics of almanac publishing in the Prairies during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Comparing the physical layout of Kalendar Hrvatski glas with a contemporary Ukrainian calendar (already mentioned in connection with resource sharing), Kalendar Kanadijs'kogo farmera, provides a wealth of information. The two runs bear a striking similarity (as shown in Figure 5.2), with identical layout on the title page, title page verso (with table of contents and index of advertisers), and often the calendar portion as well. Typesetting styles throughout the publications are also identical (layout of titles, attributions, integration of verse and narrative portions, two-column arrangement of material, etc.). In addition to these correlations, the layout and type of advertisements found in both runs make it possible to rule out the possibility that these similarities are coincidental. The issues for 1948, as a typical example, include ads titled "Young farmer," from the Royal Bank of Canada on p. [2] of the cover. This long advertisement is translated into Croatian and Ukrainian, as is usual with advertisement pages in

these two runs. Product description and commercial messages are always translated into the vernacular. The advertisements are for mainstream products, featuring Standard Brands Limited (including ads for Magic Baking Powder, Gillett's Lye, and Fleischmann's Fast Rising Dry Yeast) and corporate sponsors (Royal Bank of Canada and Bank of Montreal were regular sponsors in both of these publications). The imprint in both the Ukrainian and Croatian run for 1948 indicates that the publisher is located at the same address.³³⁶ When the address changes (as indicated in the issue for 1955), the imprints show that both publishers have moved to the new address.³³⁷ Additional research is needed on the nature of this collaboration and the role of Frank Dojaček, publisher of several ethnic newspapers in Winnipeg and owner of National Publishers.³³⁸

Not only the external features, but the even political sympathies may have been similar for the two almanacs: the photographic portrait³³⁹ of Winston Churchill is found in both the Ukrainian and Croatian almanacs on the page facing the title page (where a dedication image of the sovereign, party leader, or religious figure is normally found). This example indicates that the two runs originated from a more organized publishing exchange that extends beyond sharing stereotype plates and other typographical resources.³⁴⁰ Evidently, financial infrastructure and printing facilities were shared. Although the distribution of the Croatian almanac was not limited to the local farming communities of Western Canada, it certainly benefited from local

³³⁶"Nakladom 'Hrvatskog glasa', 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man." in the Croatian run and "Nakladom 'Kanadijs'kogo farmera, 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man." in its Ukrainian counterpart.

³³⁷The publisher of both moved to 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg 2, Man.

³³⁸Multilingual Press in Manitoba, Winnipeg. Canada Press Club, 1974, pp. 97-100, mentions his activities with regard to the Croatian Voice and other Croatian newspapers (reference courtesy of Ivan Basar, National Library of Canada). According to Jere Jareb (oral communication, August 1992), Dojaček was the owner of a printing office which issued the Czech, Ukrainian, and Croatian newspapers. Dojaček still owns the rights of publication at the time of the first issue of the almanac. The Croatian Peasant Party bought his address list and the right to issue the paper.

³³⁹It is subtitled: "Šef Vinston Čorčil, Premier Velikoj Britanij" (in Ukrainian) and somewhat more descriptively and chattier, in Croatian, "Na slici se vidi stanna Sir Winston Churchill, predsjednik ministar Velike Britanije, koji je jesenas navršio 80 godina života. I danas se smatra prvim državnikom svijeta, napose u zapadnim državama." ("This picture depicts old-timer Sir Winston Churchill, President Minister [sic] of Great Britain, who turned 80 this Fall. Even today, he is considered the first statesman of the world, especially in Western countries.").

³⁴⁰Steinbrener does the same thing--reducing the cost by publishing editions in different languages.

resources. The price for the 1955 issue of the Croatian almanac is one dollar, while the Ukrainian counterpart issued two years later costs seventy-five cents, probably because of the edition sizes (the Ukrainian community being larger). The issues for 1948 are priced at forty cents (Ukrainian) and one dollar (Croatian), respectively, indicating an even larger discrepancy.

Identical packaging of the Croatian and Ukrainian runs reflects not only shared production facilities and the integrated nature of the communication networks, but also the process of assimilation in which the economic base of publishing involves the society at large as evidenced by advertisements. The streamlining and standardizing of production is combined with Stanković's strategy of obtaining sponsorship through advertising from non-Croatian businesses. Publishing by formula is not uncommon for publishers of popular almanacs, as demonstrated by the case of J. Steinbrener, a commercial publisher who catered to the multilingual audiences of the Habsburg Monarchy.

5.2.1.1.4.2. Ivan Krešić and the Croatian Publishing Co., Inc. This is another case of a firm inextricably tied to an individual. Like Petar Stanković, who acquired his journalistic experience prior to starting Hrvatski glas,³⁴¹ Krešić came to America as a professional journalist in 1906 when he first worked for Narodni list, published by immigration agent Zotti (Čizmić 1974, 18). He was the editor and publisher of three almanacs Novi Hrvat koledar (1914), Kalendar Narodnog lista (1914-1920) and Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar (1921-1944). All of these were subsidiary to newspapers which he either edited or of which he was the founding editor. These publications were aimed at Croatians immigrating during the peak of migration and were published with profit as their primary aim.

³⁴¹ "Petar Stanković was a young Croatian journalist from Zagreb who had been educated in a classical college in Karlovac. A migrant to the United States prior to World War I, he had acquired journalistic experience in the lively and radical Croatian-American pioneer press. As a returned migrant to Zagreb, he was encouraged in the later twenties by the Croatian Peasant Party to begin a newspaper in Canada to carry the message of Croatian nationalism to Canadian immigrants." (Rasporich 1982, 117).

Krešić and Stanković may have been contemporaries for some time³⁴² but their work was tied to two different eras of early immigration. They also operated in different contexts of ethnic publishing. The almanacs they issued were secondary to their primary activity of issuing a newspaper. This had been a recipe for success for almanac publishers ever since the beginning of the twentieth century. The newspaper was the leading information medium of the early era of immigration, when a number of them³⁴³ were issued by immigration agents and other commercial sponsors.

Krešić's main enterprise was his almanac, Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar, which served as a marketing tool for his other publications, a bimonthly newspaper Danica Hrvatska (The Croatian Morning Star) and Hrvatski list (Croatian News), which came out three times a week. Along with the usual full-page advertisement for the shipping company, Navigazione Generale Italiana, and one for the workers' movement paper Jugoslovenski svijet (The Yugoslav World) from "Croatian and other Slavic lands" (cf. issue for 1922), ads for Danica hrvatska were cleverly incorporated in the December portion of the almanac calendar. At the bottom of the page (where a prognostication, a verse from the perpetual calendar, or a proverbial saying were included), the advertisement would remind subscribers to renew their subscriptions (cf. issue for 1925, at bottom of p. [26]). The issue for 1924 (pp. [15-27]) includes an extensive advertisement and instructions for readers who want to submit news from their colony for the newspaper. These three publications--the newspapers Danica and Hrvatski svijet and the almanac--were closely tied together and it may be safely assumed that their readership was the same. The almanac might have been distributed free of charge to subscribers of the

³⁴²Krešić's Croatian Publishing Co., Inc. was active between 1903 and 1945 in New York and Stanković's Croatian Voice, Inc. in Winnipeg, Manitoba, between 1929 and 1976.

³⁴³According to Hinko Sirovatka (quoted in Čizmić 1974, 18), there were some forty Croatian newspapers published at the turn of the century, but none of them long-lived. At most, there were five or six issued simultaneously at any given time in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first five years of the twentieth.

newspapers, although there is no corroborating evidence for this practice.³⁴⁴ These publications successfully addressed the concerns of immigrant communities. That the almanac evidently sympathizes with the workers' movements of the time is evident both from advertisements for the workers' press and from how the almanac addresses its readers (cf. advertisement for Danica in 1922 issue, which is referred to as the "newspaper dedicated to the Croatian worker in America," on p. facing t.p.). The spine title for the 1930 issue claims that this is the only Croatian almanac in America,³⁴⁵ although at least five other titles were being issued at that time (Naša nada, Iseljenik, Crveni kalendar, Amerikanac, and Kalendar Novi svijet), according to the database compiled for the purpose of this study. Krešić probably refers to the fact that this is the only almanac with an entirely Croatian orientation (published overseas). This advertising pitch is in tune with his appeals to his compatriots to support his newspapers because they present and defend Croatian interests.³⁴⁶

Most of the texts in the almanac were written or compiled specifically for this almanac--they are signed with the author's initials or abbreviated forms of the name, including geographic locality. The readers were also contributors of colonizing news (cf. advertisement for sister-newspapers and call for contributions in issue for 1924, p. [15]). Dedications to Danica Hrvatska (cf. the issue for 1924, pp. 254-255 and the issue for 1935, p. 30), composed by one Tomo Alfirević of Quealy, Wyoming³⁴⁷ and one I.K. of New York, demonstrate the popular appeal of the

³⁴⁴Nevertheless, the only instance of designation of price in the examined issues of this run is for 1945, after Krešić had already sold the publication rights to the Croatian Franciscan Press.

³⁴⁵"Koledar lista-Danice za 1930, jedini hrvatski koledar u Americi." This is also found in the issues for 1935 and 1940.

³⁴⁶The article by Ante Pavelić that outlines the politics of Hrvatski Domobran appears in the issue for 1930. That year, a strong shift from the Yugoslav political orientation to a nationalist orientation occurred in the Croatian diaspora in response to the assassination of the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Stjepan Radić (Jerome Jareb, oral communication, October 9-10, 1993).

³⁴⁷It reads: Oj Danice, Mila posestrimo, // Bila vilo i hrvatska diko // Ali ne znaš al ti stalo nije; urednik je od Hrvatske strane! // Ti spomeni sve što je hrvatsko // Ne plasi se ti zuluma vlaškog // Jer Hrvat ostaju Hrvat, // Dok imaju i zuba u glavi! // Čemu onda, velika Danice, // Da se bojiš ti male zvjezdice? // Hrvatska je viša od Srbije-- // Danas Srbo po njoj ašikuje; // Srbo misli, da će tako biti, // Svu Hrvatsku da će osvojiti, // Kad osvoji i cilu Hrvatsku, // Sve otoke i grada Makarsku, // Opet neće tebe, posestrimo, // Ti, Danice, plemenita vilo, // Jer si vitez u slobodnoj zemlji // Americi viteškoj državi, // Mi slavimo ovu svetu zemlju, // Ameriku i njezina vodju, // koji nama svako pravo daju // Jer slobodu poštuвати znaju, // Amerika uzor je i dika, // Svemu svitu može dati

publication and the grassroots authoring of texts by the readers. Krešić has a powerful journalistic style which addresses with vitality the everyday concerns of Croatian immigrant workers of the period, while at the same time taking advantage of the resources created by the context of the immigration industry (cf. advertisements for immigrant banks, shipping companies, mining companies, boarding houses, bookstores, and funeral homes).³⁴⁸ Krešić invested his life in this publishing enterprise, which he ran until 1944 when his failing health forced him to sell the publication rights to the Croatian Franciscans in Chicago and move to California. Krešić deposited the archives of his publishing firm in the Croatian parish church in New York. Jerome Jareb (oral communication, January 1, 1992) remembers that the archive was destroyed by Rev. Stevo Rajić, a parish priest, who might not have grasped the historical importance of this material.

5.2.1.1.5. Commercial Publisher Protected by Royal Privilege. J. Steinbrener was located in Winterberg (or Vimperk) in Bohemia, and held the royal privilege for publishing of prayer-books, hymnal, and almanacs. This gigantic enterprise flourished as a monopoly, which reflects the conservative or archaic nature of the book trade in the Habsburg Empire in the period of its decline. On the other hand, this case is fascinating in reflecting the potential of specialization in the context of publishing for a single cultural realm marked by cultural and linguistic plurality, unique in the European context. Advances in the technology of illustration, combined with a location in the heart of the industrially developed European region, brought about this publishing phenomenon. Paradoxically, this firm flourished in the combined context of a backward political system (of royal privilege and protected markets),³⁴⁹ and an extremely advanced system of production, especially in the area of lithography, photoengraving, and

straha, //Doše danak i Hrvatskoj slavnoj majci našoj, mučenici davnoj, //Da i njojzi jednom svane zora //I slobode da joj kućne hora -- ... etc., running over two pages.

³⁴⁸The advertisement section of the issue for 1924 (pp. [1-23] at end) includes advertisements for such businesses, including Croatian bookstore at 202 East 12th St., New York offering novels, stories, songbooks, abecedaries, dictionaries, handbooks, almanacs, maps, prayer-books, etc.

³⁴⁹The royal privilege was a system of publishing obsolete in any European context outside of the Habsburg realm.

collotype. J. Steinbrener was an industrial concern, combining publishing and plate production with the sale of equipment and religious objects. Evidence of its involvement in almanac publishing falls in the nineteen years between 1898 and 1916. An advertisement found in the almanacs produced by Steinbrener (e.g., Davor for 1900) gives some sense of the size and method of operation of the firm. The establishment included: the publishing branch (that issues 450 works in different languages), a bookstore, an office specializing in art prints (probably lithography), a binding equipment factory, a factory for the production of brass objects, a steam factory for production of cellulose, a photographic atelier, an atelier for products made of bone and ivory, a painting atelier, a factory for the production of decorations, and a division for the production of decorative gilt objects. The firm advertises itself as the continent's largest producer of artistic bindings for prayer books and the largest publisher of prayer books in German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Croatian, Polish, Italian, Ukrainian (Ruthenian), French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese. According to the same advertisement, Steinbrener supplied a market that went beyond the borders of the Habsburg Empire, with warehouses in Vienna, Budapest, Strasbourg, Milan, and Dublin. Most notably, a number of the almanacs issued by Steinbrener benefited from such distribution network.

The titles identified in this study include several religious almanacs (Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk, Novi katolički koledar, and Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk), Davor, a military and veteran's almanac, as well as almanacs specializing in humorous content (Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar), entertainment (Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar), or popular and sensational news and colored illustration (Šareni svjetski koledar). Advertisements for the "line" of almanacs offered by Steinbrener³⁵⁰ include the price and a general description of each title, emphasizing the lavish illustration and physical format but also the specialized content of each almanac. The use of lithography, collotype (a technique that enabled the transfer of a photographic process into printing), and colored illustration in these publications makes them

³⁵⁰Cf. the issues for 1916 and 1917 of Šareni svjetski koledar (back cover) and Davor for 1900.

popular illustrated news sources in these pre-radio and pre-newsreel days. The Steinbrener series is recognizable in layout and style, with the illustrative content outweighing the text. Sometimes, the illustrations are integrated with the text, but they are also included as laid in or loosely attached posters. Among the almanacs issued by Steinbrener that were aimed at the Croatian market, Šareni svjetski koledar is the most flamboyant. It features colored³⁵¹ illustrations, and focuses on sensational and bizarre news. An illustrated piece on the Boer War, for example (in the issue for 1901, on the title page and plates facing p. 2), is a spectacular and dramatic action cartoon. Each issue contains a versified prologue, in the tone of prognostications from seventeenth century almanacs.

The firm of J. Steinbrener is active during the early immigration period and disappears with the demise of the Habsburg Empire. Although these almanacs are not limited to specific content of interest to immigrants, the evidence shows that they are targeted at the emigrating population. For example, the imprint shows Winterberg (Bohemia) (where Steinbrener's central office was located), Zagreb (where it was distributed through appointed bookstores), and New York (where it was sold as well, although without indication of the exact distribution methods). Many of these almanacs, especially between 1901 and 1908, include advertisements for shipping companies (e.g., F. Missler from Bremen, in Šareni svjetski koledar for 1901, Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1900) and banks (e.g., services offered by the Croatian Bank of Credit Limited, in Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1908). An advertisement for a handbook for "those who have decided to go to America," by Milan Obradović, "journalist from America" which was printed in an edition of 50,000, is found in Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1907, p. 32. Interestingly, he suggests that "only those should make the decision to emigrate whose lives are beyond endurance and who have not even a piece of land left to feed themselves from" (ibid., 32).³⁵²

³⁵¹"Šareni" means multicolored in Croatian, but it is a literal translation of a German word, "bunt," and not a word entirely in the spirit of the Croatian language.

³⁵²The cost of passage was 300 crowns (the price of the almanac was 1 crown).

Steinbrener's almanacs were distributed by Franjo X. Hribar's bookstore in Zagreb (later, L. Hartman (St. Kugli)). An advertisement in Mali Marijin koledar for 1907 gives instructions for placing orders from different parts of the world from the bookstore of Gjuro Trpinac in Zagreb (the titles are listed in the catalog which is appended to the almanac, pp. [2-33] at end). This also indicates the radius of distribution of the almanac in which the advertisement appears.³⁵³ Evidence of overseas distribution is found in Šareni svjetski koledar for 1914, which carries instructions for those wishing to place an order from America. An important link of Steinbrener's almanacs to emigrating Croats as readers and owners of these almanacs was supplied in my field trip to the library of the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago (in May 1995), where I found a copy of Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar for 1913. According to Father Vinko Lasić, curator of the collection, the copy originally belonged to a parish priest who kept it in his private library, which he dispersed upon retirement before returning to Croatia. This copy was interesting because it established a clear link to readers in North America, although not directly to the J. Steinbrener distribution network. Either it was bought in North America, sent, or carried from Croatia. It exemplifies a special edition with three different titles bound together³⁵⁴ in what appears to be an original binding specially produced for this purpose, as the marketing and sale strategy.

The content of Steinbrener's almanacs is general and humorous, with a playfulness that makes them entertaining even for a reader today. They are quintessential representatives of the genre. These almanacs also feature local content that is aimed specifically at the Croatian market, such as the article "Hrvatski spomenici" ("Croatian Monuments") on Croatian monumental sculpture

³⁵³The advertisement lists the following locations from which one can place an order from the catalog, together with prices: Austria-Hungary (with Croatia), Bosnia-Herzegovina, a common market of Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia and Turkey, the English, French and German colonies, South America, and other countries of Asia, Africa and Australia.

³⁵⁴The three almanacs bound together are Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar, Veliki Marijin koledar and Davor. They share a common table of contents and the calendar portion at the front, as well as advertisements, civil lists, and lists of fairs at the end.

in Zagreb (Šareni svjetski koledar for 1905, pp. 57-62), gossip social news about a women's club in Zagreb ("Društvo za kuhačko umieće" in the issue for 1907, p. 45), civil lists for Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, and a list of fairs (in the same issue). The humorous and sensational news in these almanacs was easily recycled into other editions, and certainly offset the costs of production while targeting a very large market throughout the Habsburg realm which was multilingual yet shared the same cultural background. The production of these almanacs was exclusively commercial and the publisher and printer would assemble several variant titles at once, such as all those aimed for the Croatian market. For example, a folded plate on pp. 1-2 of Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1909 (which was meant to be cut out and serve as a poster) is marked in the bottom margin as "Hr. Veliki Marijin kol." (Veliki Marijin koledar is another almanac in the series of which has as its central theme the adoration of St. Mary, all of which were issued by Steinbrener). The binder's note in the issue for 1910 reads "Hr. Mali Marijin koledar" indicating that the plate would be included in either Veliki Marijin koledar or Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk. Designations "Hr." or "Hrvat." (both abbreviations for "hrvatski" or Croatian) are found in the bottom margin of all advertising pages. The same is found in Davor, which means that the firm recycled plates, but also used the same advertisements for all editions distributed in the Croatian market. Steinbrener evidently mass-produced almanacs in different languages spoken in the Habsburg Empire. The evidence for this are binder's marks in the bottom left corner of some gatherings ("Hr.," with a number added), probably an abbreviation denoting a Croatian edition that served as an instruction for binders.³⁵⁵

5.2.1.1.6. Government Information Agency as Publisher. A government-sponsored association of émigrés, Matica iseljenika in Zagreb, issued an almanac (Matičin iseljenički kalendar) beginning in the post-war period, continuously from 1954 to the present. The publications of

³⁵⁵It is very likely that the same texts and plates were recycled for editions in other languages, but their existence has yet to be confirmed in library collections.

Matica were subsidized and produced with the intention of exerting influence in the diaspora, but also maintaining some links to the home country. In spite of being government-sponsored (as opposed to self-financed) this body is important for the history of the Croatian diaspora communities. Matica was relatively successful in its attempt to strike a balance between the political values of diaspora communities and the political values prevailing in the country of origin, and in proselytizing these ideals in the diaspora, especially through the communication network of the Croatian Fraternal Union in Pittsburgh. The patterns of distribution of this almanac had to fit into the existing communication networks of the diaspora, and this is the most interesting aspect of this publication broadcast from Socialist Yugoslavia to North American reading audiences. This almanac is distinct from other diaspora almanacs because it is an official publication. The content of the diaspora almanacs published in North America, when compared to the content of Matica's almanacs (which were also available in Croatia, unlike other diaspora almanacs), is striking. Matica's almanacs presented carefully selected, non-controversial material on ethnic dance, song, and folkloric revival among the diaspora Croats. In that sense, these publications also conveyed a sense of bounded identity. This was also unusual in the environment sanitized of any symbols of national identity during Socialist Yugoslavia, because such expressions of national distinction would contradict the official policies of "Unity and Brotherhood." Reflection of the emigrant life, as seen through the cultural activities of the Croatian Fraternal Union and the Croatian Tamburitza of Duquesne,³⁵⁶ was a limited one. Nevertheless, Matica also operated in a broad context of distribution, and depended on a communicational network that extended beyond the special interest groups in the diaspora. The content of these almanacs, for audiences in Croatia, contained an important link to the diaspora, even if its complexity was largely simplified to fit into the context of folkloric revival. The resources available for production of these almanacs

³⁵⁶The Tamburitza attracted Americans of non-Croatian origin interested in the techniques of tamburitza playing.

are reflected in the quality of contributions (text and illustrative content), and the quality of physical production.

5.2.1.1.7. Conclusion. The publications that were issued over a long period are those related to the workers' and socialist movements, those affiliated with ethnic and religious organizations, political groups, individuals, a commercial publisher and a government agency. Dependence on the community from which these publishers operated determined the success of a publication, as in the case of trade unionist and communist almanacs, but also the one issued by Hrvatski Domobran. Publishers that were stable and prolific are associated with almanacs issued in conjunction with a newspaper or magazine, as shown in many of the examples discussed here. These primary publications were usually the official publication of the ethnic organization under the patronage of which the publisher existed. The technique of publishing the almanac as a subsidiary of a newspaper, since early in the twentieth century, represents the strongest single group of almanac publishers, as shown in Table 5.1. In this setup, the almanac was absorbed into the same distribution network and financing scheme. Almanacs published by bookstores show a similar trend, and they have often been run or supported by individuals associated with a movement or active in the work of an ethnic organization.³⁵⁷ Bookstores as publishers of almanacs are related to workers' movements of the 1920s and 1930s.³⁵⁸ They were concentrated in the American midwest (Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland) and the labor movements tied to the steel industry and mining communities. The almanacs they published were relatively stable, some of them issued in long runs.

³⁵⁷For example, Stanley Borčić, whose bookstore also sold religious objects and paraphernalia, is associated with the Croatian Catholic Union. The association of the almanac, prayer-books, and religious objects is comparable to the range of activities in which the Steinbrener firm was involved.

³⁵⁸Radnički kalendar and Hrvatski narodni kalendar were published by Hrvatska narodna (radnička) knjižara in Pittsburgh, Crveni kalendar by Jugoslavenska radnička knjižara in Chicago, Socialistički radnički kalendar by Knjižara "Radnička borba" in Cleveland, and Radnički kalendar by Radnička knjižara in Chicago.

5.2.1.2. Financing and Patronage. Publication is a transaction that involves a number of parties and is often split between several bodies (Adams and Barker 1993, 16). A distinction between the publisher and the body with which it is associated is difficult to impose because the functions of each are not always clearly defined.³⁵⁹ In order to understand the communication purpose of the almanac, it is important to know who provided the resources for its manufacturing, and whether it was subsidized or earning money for the organization. The financing of individual publishers cannot be understood without research in publishers' archives and, as already mentioned, this method of research is not viable for ethnic publishers. Indirect evidence, such as information in the advertisements, provides clues on financing and patronage. Although this approach cannot definitively determine the financing involved in the production of almanacs, it may reveal some aspects of financing of the almanacs of the Croatian diaspora.

Publishers whose financial base comes at least partially from advertising and sales are distinct from those in which the cost of almanac production was subsidized by other activities of the publisher,³⁶⁰ or directly by the organizational base.³⁶¹ Self-standing commercial enterprises that rely only on sales of almanacs are less likely to stay in business for a long time, unless they resort to a specific strategy in which they tie the almanac to their other products. Stable enterprises depended on ethnic organizations, religious orders, or political groups. Advertisements reflect the communication network in which a publisher operated. It is necessary to distinguish among those that are sponsored by Croatian businesses only, those with sponsors from other ethnic communities, and those that show assimilation with the mainstream society. They are also an indicator of the radius of distribution of a run, with

³⁵⁹This is exemplified by established political groups such as the Croatian Peasant Party, the Yugoslav Communist Alliance, and Hrvatski Domobran.

³⁶⁰Some of these were already discussed, including those in which the almanac is a subsidiary of a magazine/newspaper or benefits from bookstore profits or other activities of the publisher. In many of these cases, the almanac itself was an extended advertisement for the organization, its views and its affiliated publications.

³⁶¹The examples include almanacs of the Croatian Franciscan Press and *Matica iseljenika*.

implications for defining the readership base. Many of the almanacs feature members' greetings³⁶² and publish the names of contributors who supported a given issue, which provides evidence of both financing and reader base.

More than three quarters of the titles include some form of advertisement.³⁶³ The range of advertisements in these runs, however, is uneven. Among these advertisements, many are for the publisher's own products or services and do not tie the almanac to the community. Although almanacs that include paid advertisements are not common overall, but they are much more common in the earlier period of publishing. The acknowledgment of support in the issue of Hrvatski kalendar for 1946, p. 15, is typical of the earlier period of publishing prior to the 1950s. The publishers urge their "subscribers, boosters, and readers to render [their] words of gratitude more effective by patronizing" the businesses that advertise in the almanac, but they also instruct the readers to mention the almanac when patronizing these stores. Securing sponsorship was not only a publisher's responsibility. For example, in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941 (p. [147]) the editor thanks members, followers, and supporters of Hrvatski Domobran for soliciting advertisements from businesses in their colonies, commending their effort and listing the names of members involved.³⁶⁴ Apart from the advertisements for Croatian businesses, there are those from other ethnic groups (e.g., Slovenian, p. [53], Macedonian, p. [43]) and many that are not ethnic businesses.³⁶⁵

³⁶²They are found in Krčki kalendar, Narodni kalendar, and Hrvatski kalendar (1944-1946).

³⁶³Or 42 out of 55 titles (i.e., 76.36 percent of all titles) at one point included an advertisement. This percentage is much smaller if the presence of advertisements is calculated in terms of issues. Namely, 190 out of 425 issues identified in this study (or 44.7 percent) include some form of advertisement.

³⁶⁴They were located in California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

³⁶⁵For example, advertisements by insurance companies, and a number of small businesses, and an announcement from a Democratic Committeeman of the 10th Ward in Chicago, W.M.A. Ravan.

Almanacs advertise or list publications of other, affiliated publishers or ideological groups.³⁶⁶ They also act as a showcase for bookstore catalogs.³⁶⁷ Bookstores as publishers would include advertisements of their own stock,³⁶⁸ which had a commercial purpose but also served the educational purpose central to the philosophy of the organization for which the bookstore served as an outlet.³⁶⁹ This is particularly noted with the publishers of socialist almanacs. The degree of dependence on advertising is lowest with almanacs issued in established organizational settings. For example, Hrvatski kalendar (published by the Croatian Franciscan Press in Chicago) has no advertisements except for its own publications and services. In the initial issues of this almanac (i.e., in the issues for 1944, 1945, and 1946), there are advertisements for Croatian businesses and non-Croatian businesses, but the conception clearly changes in later issues, indicating either that the almanac could survive on sales alone or that the organization had been able to invest other resources in its production.

Advertising for Croatian businesses is more common in all almanacs than those for non-Croatian businesses, major corporations, or mainstream industry products. Almanacs issued by ethnic and religious organizations are more likely to include advertisements that reflect the communication networks of that particular organization and its supporters³⁷⁰ – indicating a tightly knit community of supporters.³⁷¹ The almanacs of the immigrant era featured

³⁶⁶Cf. Kalendar Hrvatskog Sokola (St. Louis, Mo.) for 1918, p. [3] of cover, with advertisements for the press representing the idea of Yugoslav unity. Krešić also included advertisements for the workers' press.

³⁶⁷For example, Steinbrener's almanacs carried ads for the Leonova knjižara and Gjur Trpinac bookstores (e.g., Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1907, pp. [2-77] at end, Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1909). Hrvatski sokolski koledar for 1919 includes advertisements for Knjižara Sikoćan in St. Louis, Mo., p. [18].

³⁶⁸For example, Novi svijet offered a list of their own publications and Socialistički radnički kalendar in the 1920s regularly featured a price list of offerings by Knjižara Radnička borba in Cleveland, including postcards with images of Maxim Gorki, De Leon, Lenin, Morgan, Mehring, Rosa Luxembourg, and the Paris Commune, enamel pins with hand and hammer, as well as books by socialist writers.

³⁶⁹Cf. slogan of Radnička borba bookstore--"Znanje je sila, znanje je moć. Čitajte radnici Dan i noć! (Knowledge is power, knowledge is force. Read, workers, day and night!).

³⁷⁰For example, Naša Nada kalendar in the 1920s, Krčki kalendar, Socialistički radnički kalendar in the 1940s and later, and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana.

³⁷¹The slogan in Hrvatski kalendar for 1945 "Svoj svome!" ("Each one to their own!"--indicating the need to patronize Croatian business and show solidarity in a community) appears in several advertisements and greetings from the readers (e.g., on pp. 76, 90).

advertisements by the immigration industry and sometimes also for Croatian businesses in the countries of immigration.³⁷² The connection with mainstream society is evidenced by the announcements from political candidates lobbying in the Croatian community, published in some of the almanacs. Kalendar Hrvatski glas produced by Petar Stanković, has numerous advertisements from firms outside the ethnic community, including major corporations, banks, and manufacturers, but this practice is also found in early issues of Hrvatski kalendar (published by the Croatian Franciscan Press).³⁷³

Two special cases of publication financing are represented by "greetings" sent by readers in North America who were supporters of a particular run, and publishing by subscription. "Greetings" were common in the almanacs published in the 1940s and early 1950s and are analyzed in the subsequent section on reception. Publishing by subscription is exemplified by Jeka for 1910, which features a published list of 343 donors who supported its publishing. Jeka for 1910 is a hard-bound, oversized luxury edition issued as the equivalent of an immigrant encyclopedia. Listed are individuals who donated from one to a hundred dollars,³⁷⁴ and the total sum collected was \$2,186.25,³⁷⁵ which provides an insight into the cost of production of such a volume. The structure of the list is also interesting because it gives not only the name of the donor, but the place of birth, with an indication of a region or larger administrative entity in Croatia, and current domicile (in South American countries, primarily in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Paraguay). This title also features a number of advertisements by local businesses that were also used to subsidize its production.

³⁷²For example, Jeka for 1910, Amerikanac for 1913, Hrvatski sokolski koledar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1919, Amerika almanak for 1923, Iseljenički kalendar for 1924, Iseljenik 1930, Iseljenički zabavni kalendar for 1921, and Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar.

³⁷³Cf. advertisement for Sears in the issue for 1946, p. 20, and for war bonds in the issue for 1944, p. 208.

³⁷⁴The largest single sums are of 50 and 100 dollars.

³⁷⁵It is interesting to note that the sums are in dollars and not the local currencies, which points to the non-local character of this publication.

5.2.1.3. The Centers of Production. This section links with the previous one, but it focuses on the centers of production of almanacs, as they reflect the dynamics of movement of the community, identifying the major centers of concentration of ethnic publishers (presented in Table 5.3). The almanac was a most likely type of publication to be produced in the early stages of settlement of a community because of its encyclopedic and reference character, but even more because it was an annual intended for intensive (sustained) reading and thus easier to produce and maintain than a newspaper. Illustrative of this is Krčki kalendar,³⁷⁶ which was issued by a community in the process of resettlement in North America. This regional almanac was aimed specifically at the immigrants from the island of Krk who constituted part of the influx of D.P.'s (Displaced Persons) in the aftermath of World War II. Reverend Nikola Fabijanić, pastor of the community, obtained permission for its publication from church authorities³⁷⁷ and obviously organized every aspect of its production. This is an improvised publication, which is obvious from its physical format: it appears in a combined technique of typewritten and printed pages bound together. The printed pages are those with advertisements and postcards from the Island of Krk, while the textual portions were typewritten.

The movement of the community and cultural change may be inferred from advertisements in the almanac. In this first issue, the advertisements are exclusively from New York, indicating a distribution that was limited to a physically integrated community. The edition for 1954 is produced with more resources; the radius of dispersion of the community and its physical movement is also evident. No longer exclusively from Brooklyn and Long Island, the advertisers include locations in New Jersey, and even some from Clairton, Pennsylvania, reflecting a new pattern of settlement. This issue also includes a number of "greetings," which were paid messages from families and individuals supporting the publication of the almanac

³⁷⁶It was issued between 1952 and 1955.

³⁷⁷Interestingly, the publication bears the stamp of the church censor, "Nihil obstat Rev. John Illich, S.T. Lic., censor deputatus. Imprimatur Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York," although it is not a religious publication. As a stamp, or printed information on t.p. verso, the imprimatur is found in the issues for 1952, 1954, and 1955.

(e.g., "čestitke našem kalendaru" (greetings to our almanac) from Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Jedrlinić from Omišalj, now in Brooklyn, N.Y., Krčki kalendar for 1955, p. 101). A motto found in one of these greetings posted by one Ivan Sparožić of Brooklyn in Krčki kalendar for 1954 reads "Let us not be ashamed of our mother tongue--Let us not run away from each other--We will do better if we hold together!" ("Ne stidimo se materinskog jezika--Ne bježimo jedan od drugoga--bolje će nam biti, ako držimo zajedno!"). The anxieties associated with dispersal of this transplanted local community are thus expressed by one of its members located in its primary area of settlement, a neighborhood in Brooklyn. Another such publication for a community in the process of resettlement is Mali hrvatski kalendar, which was probably printed with a moveable printing press installed in a refugee camp in Rome in 1945 (Jerome Jareb, oral communication, April 1994).³⁷⁸

The overall pattern of geographic dispersion of publishers, not surprisingly, shows that the greatest number were in the United States and Canada, in the cities of the American industrial heartland (Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Pittsburgh, Pa., Gary, Ind., St. Louis, Mo., and Whiting, Ind.), New York, the Canadian west (Winnipeg, Manitoba), and Ontario (Toronto, Acton, and Sudbury). Some publishers of almanacs were also located in Croatia, and some operated from various locations in Europe and Argentina. Some almanac publishers intentionally do not indicate their location for reasons of security,³⁷⁹ some changed their location,³⁸⁰ and some list multiple locations in the imprint to indicate a wide distribution range or reflect their complex publication arrangements.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸This miniature publication features an editorial expressing the sense of resignation regarding betrayal by the West and the Allies which must have pervaded these camps. This publication includes a calendar, a gazetteer, a historical segment with a brief chronology of Croatian history, and an entertainment portion.

³⁷⁹Examples are the communist Crveni kalendar for 1921 and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1933.

³⁸⁰For example, the Croatian Catholic Union of the USA (Hrvatska katolička zajednica), "Narodni glasnik," Croatian Voice, Inc., and Hrvatski Domobran (which operated on several continents).

³⁸¹For example, the J. Steinbrener firm. It includes a list of all its almanacs on p. 3 of the cover in the issues of Šareni svjetski koledar for 1916 and 1917.

Twenty-two percent of all publishers active in the diaspora were located in Chicago, issuing a total of eleven titles. Most of them were active in the earliest period of immigration, from the end of the nineteenth century until the mid-1930s, particularly in the teens and the 1920s. Chicago was a strong center of the socialist movement, which certainly had a role in its prominence as a center of ethnic publishing at that time. Six publishers of almanacs, including Steinbrener (who probably only had a warehouse there) were located in New York, another center of early publishing. This concentration was due to the specific character of New York as the point of entry for new immigrants at the turn of the century.³⁸² Steinbrener's enterprise and other publishers benefited from the presence of the physical community. A total of twelve titles was issued by publishers stationed in New York in the period from the end of the nineteenth century on, with the most activity between 1914 and 1944. Krčki kalendar demonstrated a typical pattern of distribution for an almanac in a regional community that settled first in New York, but later migrated west.

It is possible to relate the almanac trade to the physical centers of diaspora communities in the case of those publishers that operated in Cleveland and Pittsburgh, which were places of steady settlement for many of these new immigrants and attracted subsequent waves of immigrants. The publishers that operated in those two centers emerge in the mid-1920s (Cleveland) and the 1930s (Pittsburgh), when the communities were already established and flourishing. It is the publication of their titles over a long period of time rather than the number and variety of the publishers themselves, which demonstrates the very stable nature of these communities. In Cleveland, Radnička borba bookstore and the Croatian Catholic Union of the USA were most active. The Hrvatska narodna knjižara bookstore in Pittsburgh and the "Narodni glasnik" newspaper in Pittsburgh, later in Chicago, both published almanacs but disappeared after 1945 and 1966, respectively. Chicago, Pittsburgh and Cleveland remain the centers of Croatian émigré life even today, with institutions that emerged from these early concentrated settlements

³⁸²But also later, as shown by Krčki kalendar for 1949 to 1953.

of immigrant communities joined by new waves of émigrés that arrived subsequently. Some publishers were briefly active in other towns of the midwest.³⁸³ Most of the publishers of almanacs in the American midwest disappeared in the fifteen years after World War II.

The pattern of geographic concentration of almanac publishers does not automatically reflect the diffusion range of titles or distribution networks. Nevertheless, the location of a publisher is an important node in the communication network of an ethnic community. There are also distinctions determined by the type of publisher involved. For example, distribution networks for the profit-oriented J. Steinbrener firm and the Hrvatski Publishing Co. (Ivan Krešić) reflect strategies of distribution distinct from grassroots publications such as Krčki kalendar or the almanac of Hrvatski Domobran. These differences are analyzed in the following section.

5.2.2. Distribution

The bookstore was a primary outlet for distribution of many of these almanacs, but this method does not necessarily presume the physical proximity of the outlet to all of the readers. Notably, mail-order sales reflect a broader scope of distribution in many of the cases in which a bookstore is the nominal point of distribution. Organizations relied on appointed bookstores for distribution of almanacs,³⁸⁴ together with other publications that were within the scope of their activity. The importance of the bookstore as a center of cultural (and political) activity, especially in labor movements, is notable from its naming in the imprint as publisher. Other cases of commercial outlets are banks and pharmacies,³⁸⁵ and appointed booksellers either in

³⁸³Cf. Table 5.3 for specific locations and publishers.

³⁸⁴Radnička borba in Cleveland is a bookstore outlet for the South Slav wing of the Socialist Labor Party.

³⁸⁵Occasional publications, such as one published by a pharmacy (Severov kalendar for 1918 and 1919, of which there are no known copies but which was advertised in Koledar Hrvatskog Sokola (St. Louis, Mo.) for 1918 and Hrvatski sokolski koledar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1919), or a bank (John Zagar & Co. in Chicago), were probably distributed directly to patrons of those enterprises.

Croatia or in North America.³⁸⁶ These distribution outlets correspond to the physical location of the community, especially in the early days of the twentieth century. For example, New York was a center of production and distribution that corresponded to a physical location of the community, being the first destination for the immigrant waves of both the early twentieth century and post-World War II period.³⁸⁷ Similarly, Chicago and Cleveland³⁸⁸ are centers in which the publishers took advantage of a physical concentration of the community. The examined copies confirm the prevalence of distance selling by mail order among publishers' distribution strategies. This is not surprising considering that many of the almanacs were issued as a subsidiary to a newspaper. Advertisements for a publisher's other publications would be found in the almanacs, prompting mail-in orders through inserted or laid in subscription notices. Some of the publishers distributed complimentary copies to subscribers of the sister publication (newspaper or magazine)³⁸⁹ or sent unsolicited copies of the almanac, with the intention of collecting subscriptions later.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶Cf. Steinbrener's blurbs on the cover of *Šareni svjetski koledar* for 1916 and 1917, advertising the firm's other almanacs that were available from a Zagreb bookstore, L. Hartman (St. Kugli).

³⁸⁷Krešić's Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc. in New York or the J. Steinbrener firm, which had its warehouse in New York.

³⁸⁸Toronto becomes a center for the Croatian diaspora in the 1950s and 1960s.

³⁸⁹This statement is tenuous because it is not possible to reconstruct whether the almanac was sold separately. A statement of price is found for at least thirty-two almanac titles (out of fifty-five, eight of which have not been inspected and therefore may have included a statement of availability with price as well). Nevertheless, some of these runs did not have the price recorded on the issue (e.g., *Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar* has a price on its last issue only, which might indicate that it was the only one sold separately). *Jugoslavenski glasnik. Kalendar* was intended as a commemorative edition for the 35th anniversary of the newspaper *Jugoslavenski glasnik*, but it bears a price designation. The source of evidence would be the sister publications where advertisements for the almanacs would be found.

³⁹⁰Cf. *Ave Maria kalendar* for 1956, which has a subscription leaflet and self-addressed envelope inserted. It was obviously sent unsolicited to the subscribers of the *Ave Maria* Catholic magazine, with hopes of recovering costs from the subscriber sending back the subscription money and a contribution for the Church. It was mailed out before Christmas, with Christmas wishes. The accompanying letter reads:

Dragi naš prijatelju: Šaljemo vam ovaj bogato uređen *Ave Maria Kalendar* za godinu 1956. Cijena mu je kao i ostalim hrvatskim katoličkim kalendarima dva dolara. Sastavili smo ovaj Kalendar za pouku i zabavu našem hrvatskom narodu, pak smo uvjereni, da će naši cijenjeni čitaoci iz njega mnogo naučiti i da će im pružiti mnogo ugodnih časova. Sa ovim kuponom možete uplatiti svoj kalendar. A ako želite poslati još koji drugi doprinos, naći ćete dovoljno prostora na ovom kuponu. Primite iskreni pozdrav i sve dobre želje za Sretan Božić i za blagoslovljenu Novu Godinu 1956. Hrvatski Franjevci Třećoredci.

Evidence permitting reconstruction of contemporary distribution networks is found in the almanacs themselves. The lists of distribution agents and advertisements indicate the method and scope of distribution. Advertisements in particular indicate the radius of diffusion of a title. Unfortunately, this type of evidence is irregular and found only in some almanacs. The evidence of specific distribution practices, even when available, does not reveal much about the actual success of any of these strategies with the readers, or the number of copies distributed. Reconstructing a distribution network for one title is informative for the almanac trade, because it parallels the network of distribution of other almanacs. The contents of private collections identified in field research and inventory records documenting acquisitions by individual donors, examined in the National and University Library (Zagreb, Croatia), show that a person would read (or collect) more than one title. Further evidence of distribution networks, based on this assumption, is presented in the section on ownership.

Identifying distribution networks beyond the scope determined by the publisher's primary location is a challenging task. As suggested by evidence analyzed here, the changing nature of distribution networks is an additive function of the dynamics of the community and successful distribution practices. As a rule, in the first years of a publication's life, the diffusion range for its almanac was narrower; it was also closer to the place of publication, as demonstrated in the discussion of Krčki kalendar in the previous section. If the publisher and the almanac survived,

Our dear friend: We send you this lavishly arranged Ave Maria Kalendar for 1956. Its price is, as for other Croatian Catholic almanacs, two dollars. We have put together this Almanac for the edification and entertainment of our Croatian people, and we are convinced that our esteemed readers will learn a lot from it and that it will give them many a pleasant hour. You can pay for your copy of this almanac with this coupon. And, if you wish to send some other contribution, you will find enough space on that coupon. Our best regards and good wishes for a Happy Christmas and the blessed New Year 1956. Croatian Franciscan Minoritan Brothers.

The form included other items available for sale by the Franciscans apart from the almanac, such as a subscription to Ave Maria magazine, celebration of the high mass (literally, "hoy misu" in which "hoy" is a corrupt form of "high"), stamps? ("markice"), images of Cardinal Stepinac, candles, contributions for the education of young priests, contributions "for the bread of St. Francis," Christmas cards, and Kolo sv. Franje (probably a magazine).

the scope of diffusion would be expanded. The regional Krčki kalendar (and the textual community tied to this local-scope publication) differs from Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana, which shows a wide range and dispersal of distribution from the very first issue by virtue of its dependence on the political organization for which it was a medium of communication. The distribution network mirrors the community for which the almanac provides a voice and to which it gives cohesion. The ways in which the publishers' strategies counteracted difficulties of dispersal in the community depend on the existence of alternative channels of communication. This is exemplified by Hrvatski Domobran, which provided political cohesion for the textual community, in contrast to the continued physical interaction of the regional community from the island of Krk, which continued its chain-migration pattern to the west. The changes in tactics of distribution reflect changes in readership base, changes in popularity of the almanac as a tool of communication in different periods, and changes in the political and intellectual climate. These are the components of the whole socio-economic conjuncture in the circulation of the bibliographic item (Adams and Barker 1993, 14).

The distribution networks for Hrvatski kalendar in the post-World War II period are reconstructed using published lists of representatives and advertisements.³⁹¹ The primary distribution channel for the printed products of the Croatian Franciscan Press,³⁹² including Hrvatski kalendar, were the Croatian Franciscan-run parishes. The network of parishes has been a primary method of distribution for this almanac to date.³⁹³ The representatives' lists and

³⁹¹Content features (whether they include local news or news affecting the entire diaspora community) also indicate the scope of diffusion, but they are not analyzed here.

³⁹²These representatives were also distributing other publications of the same publisher, the Croatian Catholic Messenger (Hrvatski Katolički Glasnik) and Danica, as well as a prayer-book in Croatian which is in "large and bold type ... with over 400 pages and contains all prayers and devotions you are used to," rosaries, "images of Our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin ... two images -- but forming 'a set'...painted in oil ... a beautiful decoration for any Catholic home... ." medals and other religious insignia (cf. issues for 1945 and 1946), and commemorative stamps issued by sympathizers of the exiled government in Argentina (cf. issue for 1952, p. 70). It is interesting to note that the price for the almanac is one dollar in 1944, which was the same as the annual subscription for a monthly Croatian Catholic Messenger (cf. issue for 1944, p. 256); a prayer-book advertised a year later is \$1.75.

³⁹³From the issue for 1976 to date, a list of Croatian parishes is added to the almanac. Vinko Lastić (oral communication, June 1991) mentioned that small editions of 250 copies are distributed to the Croatian parishes run by Franciscans.

local offices were published in issues of the almanac from 1944 to 1975. The analysis of these lists in Table 5.4 shows the pattern of diffusion in the midwest (Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Illinois) and New York. Expansion to additional locations in Pennsylvania in the early 1950s³⁹⁴ reflects the influx of Displaced Persons during that period. A new outlet established in Gulf Breeze, Florida, in 1961 may be due to the movement of the aging cohort of 1920s immigrants to retirement resorts in the south. From 1966 on, the locations in Canada start to multiply, with Vancouver, Montréal, and Sault Ste. Marie (in British Columbia, Québec, and Ontario respectively) added in 1966, and Sudbury and Windsor (both in Ontario) in the 1970s,³⁹⁵ in response to new immigrant waves in that period.

The churches and parish priests are only one link in the distribution network.³⁹⁶ The actual distribution involved the grassroots participation of individuals who acted as agents for the almanac. A photographic "album" with portraits of these individuals, together with names and locations, is issued in 1944 (pp. 195-211).³⁹⁷ Their work is praised in the accompanying editorial³⁹⁸ in the flowery grandiloquence of a sermon. Appropriate to the times and the content of the almanac, this editorial reveals the intended audience and channels of distribution for the newly established title. According to the editorial, the agents distributed the almanac and the newspaper³⁹⁹ among their "friends, neighbors, acquaintances" (ibid., 194). The statement that "thousands of new subscribers" were reached this way might be a publisher's "pitch." These "thousands" may not indicate edition size, but rather the pattern of reading, in which

³⁹⁴Two new outlets are listed, in Rankin and Monessen, Pa. in the early 1950s, and another was added in Beaver Falls, Pa. in 1966.

³⁹⁵In assessing these patterns, it is necessary to follow the influence of the Franciscans as well as the growth of the communities.

³⁹⁶The lists also show that, from 1944 to 1960, the representatives are individuals, all of them Franciscan priests. Beginning in 1961, only rectory names are listed.

³⁹⁷"Povjerenice i povjerenici Kalendara ..." (representatives of the Almanac) (*Hrvatski kalendar* for 1944, pp. 193-211).

³⁹⁸It appears on p. 194, titled, "The Workers in the Vineyard of Our Lord" ("Radnici i radnice u vinogradu Gospodnjem"), referring to the agents as "flowers from the garden of Émigré Croatia" ("cvijeće iz vrta Iseljene Hrvatske") and their work as conquering souls for Christ ("osvajanje duša za Krista").

³⁹⁹*Hrvatski katolički glasnik*.

households or networks of multiple individuals would be reading the same copy.⁴⁰⁰ The editorial ends with a call for volunteers among the readers to act as agents in their area. Table 5.5 shows that the agents were distributed across the United States, with high concentrations in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and other midwestern states (Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Kansas, and Wisconsin). They are also found in California, Washington, and New Jersey, the centers of settlement for the Croatian immigrant waves from the turn of the century. The majority of agents were women, as shown in Table 5.6. The photographs of the agents give the impression that they were recruited among middle-aged men and women, with a small number of women in their twenties. The average age in this distribution network points to a settled ethnic community from the immigration wave of the early twentieth century to the 1920s, considering that this wave of immigrants arrived in their teens and twenties. This would suggest that Hrvatski kalendar was distributed in the communities that settled prior to World War II, at the time this title was launched by the Croatian Franciscans. The issue for 1944 is the first one issued by the Croatian Franciscan Press after they purchased the right to publish the newspaper and the almanac from Ivan Krešić. The attempt to preserve continuity with Krešić's publication may explain why the early issues of this title include advertisements,⁴⁰¹ which all but disappear from the later issues. The tone and language of the publication change in later issues. This shift corresponds to the changing demographics of the diaspora, with the influx of émigrés from the late 1940s and early 1950s. At that time, the Croatian Franciscan Press started printing in its own shop.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰Corroborating this is an advertisement in Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941, which also mentions "many thousands of Croatians not only here but abroad" who will be reading the almanac (p. [3] of cover).

⁴⁰¹They appear in the issues for 1944, 1945, and 1946. Advertising in the first two issues is different from the latter one. Commercial and general advertisements appear on pp. 196-246 in the issue for 1944 and on even pages throughout the issue for 1946. Individual advertisements are also found in the issues for 1954 (pp. 223-224), 1956 (pp. 146-147), 1957 (p. 176, cont. on p. [3] of cover), 1964 (pp. 151-152, 160, 173), and 1966 (p. 187). Advertisements for printing, publishing, and distribution representatives are found in 1944-1946, 1953-1955, 1960, 1965-1966, 1968-1969, 1972, 1976-1977, 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1991, but they are mostly advertisements for their own editions (magazine, newspaper, and prayer-books), or services of their printing office.

⁴⁰²The indication of Croatian Franciscan Press as the printer is found in the issue for 1953.

The location of firms advertising in the first three issues of the almanac (1944-1946) is shown in Table 5.7. They were predominantly, but not exclusively, Croatian businesses. The majority of advertisements in the first issue are from California, where an affluent and long-established diaspora community was located.⁴⁰³ Sporadic advertisements are from more recent settlements in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The change of pattern in the advertisements in the issues for 1945 and 1946 shows a strong representation from Illinois, Indiana, New York, Ohio, and particularly Pennsylvania, from a wide range of settlements, while California businesses have almost completely disappeared.⁴⁰⁴ The consolidation of support from the midwestern states in those later issues shows that the geographic diffusion is narrower and located in adjacent states. The Chicago location of the publisher was probably influential in how advertisers were recruited. When the number of distribution agents of the issue for 1944 in Table 5.5 is compared with the diffusion of patron businesses in Table 5.7, the numbers of representatives and advertisers from California in 1944 are identical. The fact that businesses from California did not patronize the issues for 1945 and 1946 might also indicate a shift in the publishers' focus to the more recent settlements. A large number of representatives in Illinois (Chicago in particular) is responsible for increased interest in advertising from Illinois in the issues of Hrvatski kalendar for 1945 and 1946. Diffusion patterns for Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941 and Hrvatski kalendar for 1944, shown in Table 5.7, are identical (with advertisers from California, followed by Ohio and Pennsylvania, being best represented). The transitional issue of Hrvatski kalendar for 1947 contains hardly any advertisements. A subscription leaflet inserted in a copy for 1948 announces the "First ed. distributed to Croatians of North and South America, silver jubilee ed. of Koledar list-Danica and fifth year of Kalendar Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika." Although the editorial proclamation acknowledges

⁴⁰³They belong to nineteenth century migrations, different from those prompted by demands for industrial labor that prompted migrations to the American midwest at the turn of the century.

⁴⁰⁴Note that the advertisers in New Mexico, Iowa, and West Virginia only support the first issue of the almanac.

the continuity of Krešić's popular Danica,⁴⁰⁵ it explicitly states that this almanac is a subsidiary to Hrvatski katolički glasnik (Croatian Catholic Messenger). The transition from the old to the new is underlined by the statement that the intended audiences include the Croatians of North and South America. The representatives list does not reflect changes in intended distribution scope. A high level of preservation of Hrvatski kalendar in various collections indicates that its distribution was successful⁴⁰⁶ and/or that its runs were large. Edition sizes are not available for this title, but if one can trust the editorial in the issue for 1944 that mentions "thousands" of readers,⁴⁰⁷ they must have been considerable. The preservation pattern for the issues from the 1950s and the 1960s indicates broader diffusion than that of the 1940s,⁴⁰⁸ although this does not automatically mean that the editions were equally large.

The official distribution networks discussed in this section were for the most part controlled by the publishers. Even so, grassroots participation and the dependence of these publications on the community are characteristic of the self-organizing nature of ethnic publishing, as suggested by the presence of advertisements and readers acting as distribution agents for the analyzed almanacs. The networks of informal distribution are discussed in the following section, because they are connected to reading practices.

5.2.3. Reception.

Readings determined by editorial strategies were discussed in the section on intended readings encoded in almanac discourse in the previous chapter, while the historical associations of text

⁴⁰⁵The full name is Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar.

⁴⁰⁶This does not automatically reflect the degree of use.

⁴⁰⁷In contrast to this, the edition for 1991 was 250 copies.

⁴⁰⁸Issues for the 1940s are preserved by its home institution in the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago (affiliated with the Croatian Franciscan Press) and by the Immigration History Research Center in Minnesota. The later issues of the title are found in the private collections in the National and University Library in Zagreb, the Migrations and Nationalities Research Institute (Zavod za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti) in Zagreb acquired after 1991, and in the collection of the Balch Institute in Philadelphia.

were discussed in Chapter 3. Such readings, determined by editorial strategies and by association of a genre with a tradition of literacy, do not necessarily correspond to social groups of readers. This does not mean that they are not social. The social nature of the intended readings lies in the shared assumption regarding what the conventions encoded in the genre of the reading object represent to the creators of texts and to the audiences. Regardless of the deeply social nature of text, reconstruction of the actual practices of reading is necessary to understand how the social potential of the genre is actualized.

This section deals with reception of the almanac, considered broadly to include various types of engagement with the text and the almanac as an artefact. Patterns of use are not limited to interactions of individual readers with individual texts. The act of reading is broadly conceived to include interactions with the physical features of the text, the symbolic associations that these texts evoke, the reading of individual texts, and social exchanges that are conducted through the text. These social exchanges are immaterial because they involve the exchange of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984, 249-256, 291). Namely, the decision to associate oneself with a particular almanac and the cultural sphere that it represents, and assume membership in the symbolic and cultural community that this implies, constitutes reading practice. The acts through which this association is translated into tangible forms of ephemeral behavior are buying, owning an almanac, filing it away after reading it or without reading it, throwing it away, bequeathing it to a library, preserving it as family heritage or scholarly resource, tearing pages out to be sent to another reader, or using pages of the almanac as a writing surface for a letter, placing an advertisement for one's business, sharing news about the death of a family member, or using the almanac as a writing surface to underline or efface its text. Some of these acts do not leave traces. Others have been stripped of their context, and are therefore difficult to interpret within the limitations of historical research. The evidence for many of the behaviors mentioned here are traces of "reading" which are available to a historian although in many cases the interpretation of these interactions with the text is devoid of the context in which the

behavior has occurred and is therefore limited. But recognizing the broad nature of reading as social practice aids in the interpretation of these practices. Such an approach is not limited to the interactions of an individual reader with an individual, monolithic book (the book of literate culture, bounded and essential in itself), but looks at a genre as an arena for the social interactions of a textual community, a notion that separates textuality from literacy "invented to deal with medieval evidence" (Stock 1996, 140-158).

Analysis of the social interactions that the almanacs provided for groups of readers, or textual communities clustered around these types of texts, calls for evidence to identify the composition of reader groups, individual responses, and negotiation of reading practices between the readers and the producers of texts. With historical materials, such as almanacs of the diaspora, the degree to which this is possible depends on the traces left in the texts that survived. This determines the nature of evidence, strategies of interpretation, and limitations of the analysis. The composition and scope of readership, as well as the reception of almanacs, can be inferred from published readers' letters, advertisements, traces of interactive reading, and patterns of ownership. Social characteristics of readers and the practices of reading are identified from internal evidence in the texts themselves (editorials, visual characteristics of texts that determine the "protocols of reading" (Scholes 1986, 78)). The evidence found in almanacs has an innate limitation due to the control exercised by the editors of the almanacs as they decided what to show about who is reading the almanac. Nevertheless, the popular nature of the almanac, even if resulting in low preservation of the issues themselves, has preserved the readers' voices in significant ways. A concrete limitation in the available evidence for analysis results from incomplete preservation of some almanac runs, which necessitates reconstruction of patterns from sketchy data.

5.2.3.1. Readers and Social Networks. The readers' letters and the lists of distribution agents, used earlier in reconstructing the distribution network of the almanac trade, can also be used to

identify the social characteristics of readers and their social networks. Accordingly, women seem to be prominent among readers of almanacs. In the first issue of Hrvatski kalendar for 1944, for example, analysis of signed letters to the editor⁴⁰⁹ shows women in the majority.⁴¹⁰ This is confirmed by a high ratio of women among distribution agents of the same almanac, presented in Table 5.6, which is also a characteristic of the composition of the readership. That women were very prominent as readers and active in the distribution of the almanac is noted in another example of readers' letters⁴¹¹ published in The Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952 (pp. 187-196). Among these letters, the majority were from women, who often mentioned that they had given the almanac as a present to their friends (also women). The composition of readership is a function of an organizational network represented by a run.

As these examples have shown, the prominence of women in the distribution and reader base of the Catholic almanacs is notable. This finding is in conformity with findings of other almanac researchers: Vanucci (1998) notes a similar pattern in a comparable group of twentieth-century Catholic almanacs in Québec. This distinction (at least in the case of Catholic almanacs, which happen to be a notable single group) may be due to a higher participation of women than men in the religious aspects of life, which places women as recipients of texts but not as authors (cf. discussion in Chapter 6). Another explanation for this phenomenon derives from the liminal nature of almanac literacy, and the fact that it is intended that the texts, which are arranged in book form, be read in short segments over the long period of a year.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹The letters are from readers of this almanac's sister publication, the magazine Croatian Catholic Messenger, but the letters are aimed to attract audiences for both of the publications. These letters appear under the pretentious heading "The handfuls of flowers woven into the crown of Croatian Catholic Messenger" ("Rukoveti cvijeća upletenog u vijenac Hrvatskoga Katoličkog Glasnika"), on p. [1] at end.

⁴¹⁰Twenty-five letters are signed by three priests, a university professor, and six men without indication of professional status. Two of the letters are signed by families (Mr. and Mrs.) and one is unidentified. The remaining twelve were from women. Considering that the editors wanted to showcase as readers some of the prominent figures in the community, who happened to be men, the sample may have been biased in favor of men.

⁴¹¹These 144 letters were published under the heading "Pohvale čitatelja" ("Readers' Praises"), pp. 187-196.

⁴¹²The distinction between the newspaper and the almanac in the layout of the text is not as significant as the distinction in the time required to read each of them. While a newspaper is intended to be read in daily, weekly,

The almanacs may have been accessible to readers at lower levels of literacy and, consequently, educational achievement. This may have been so, but it is more interesting that the almanacs permitted specific literate experiences which appealed to specific groups of readers. Therefore, the meaning that the almanac genre held for specific types of readers should not be pursued through the educational deficiencies of those readers, but through the communicational richness that the almanacs held for them. Naturally, judged from the point of view of a "literate" or "bookish" culture of literacy (Illich 1993, 1), the only possible direction would be to identify the deficiencies in the reader population. Oral interaction built into the genres typically found in almanacs (lists, visual material) was discussed in the previous chapter, and the following chapter discusses the almanac as a genre of memory but also as a communication tool that enacts the exclusionary power of literacy (who constructs culture and who receives it). The structures of power which historically excluded women from full participation in literacy cannot exclude them from the interactions entailed in almanac reading, because almanacs are literate, if not "bookish" texts. The relationship of literacy and power is tackled in the conclusion to Chapter 6. Here, various forms of reader participation are recognized and analyzed as evidence of the actual use of the almanac in social interactions.

A form of reader participation, known as "pozdravi" ("greetings from readers") directly links the runs to textual communities that read them. "Greetings" are a form peculiar to almanacs of the diaspora and best reflect these publications' grassroots appeal and participative nature. They are a combination of readers' letters and advertisement, typically short announcements posted by an individual and accompanied by a sloganized statement, a photographic portrait, and personal information (current address, place of origin, profession) regarding the person(s) posting them. Individuals, families, or regional, professional, and other groups sponsor these

or monthly rhythm, the almanac is an annual, and there is a corresponding chronological pattern for its intended reading.

notices. The original function of greetings was fundraising, but they also reinforced solidarity for a cause. They are found in both clericalist and regional almanacs, as well as those identified with workers' movements. Therefore, greetings directly reflect the communicational purpose of the almanac. Although a vanity-press atmosphere of self-publishing is palpable in the publication of these short pieces, as is the financial benefit to the publishers (because they were paid), the greetings represent manifest form of direct dialogue of text and reader.

The popular and participative character of the almanac has already been mentioned in connection with authorship. Getting published empowers a reader because of the high degree of control that the reader can exert on the wording and appearance of these short forms. The greetings combine transcription of speech with a realistic embodiment of the speaker (i.e., her/his photograph accompanied by a personalized slogan), communicating a message from one to many, but also memorializing the letter-writer. The public nature of this act is also an important component of the greeting. These participative forms are both spontaneous and artificial because they invert the natural role of the reader as passive recipient of the text, making the reader an author. They also have the force of "perlocutionary" speech acts according to Searle's taxonomy of speech (1969), in which speaking is doing⁴¹³ (as in the example of the greeting shown in Figure 5.4). These readers' emblems are visually reinforced by compartmentalization of the greeting within a ruled frame, with the optional photographic portrait and text equally compartmentalized, further reinforced by the integral component of the address and the signature of the person(s) posting the greeting. These gnomic oratories in print are rhetorical forms whose presence might be difficult to imagine outside the context of a popular text such as an almanac.⁴¹⁴ The somatic narratives, in which the image is incorporated into the text of the name (as a symbolic marker of the person), are liminal forms of literacy because they do not exclude the somatic components of speech.

⁴¹³An example of the action of speaking as doing is found in magical spells, or curses.

⁴¹⁴Similar rhetorical forms are gravestones, as markers for a body, in which a stone label is individualized and personalized through inscription and engraved image.

Greetings always appear clustered together at the end of the almanac and ordered either geographically by common origin of readers posting greetings from a locality in Croatia, or by occupational identity, participation in ethnic organizations and clubs, or pattern of settlement in North America. The ordering reflects a vision of the community which is literally "imagined" in print because these individuals may not know each other from face-to-face interaction. The greetings are most commonly grouped first according to North American locality and, secondly, according to regional origin or occupation of their senders.⁴¹⁵ For example, greetings from forest workers and miners in Port Alberni and Chemainus on Vancouver Island demonstrate the prominence of occupational profile as a criterion for grouping.⁴¹⁶ This typical "group greeting" of the period (reproduced in Figure 5.5) deserves to be quoted in full:

Forest workers and coalminers from the great island of Vancouver send their brotherly greetings to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the great son of our people, Marshall Tito. Even if we are at the end of Canada, five thousand miles from Yugoslavia, we are with you in our thoughts and deeds. We solemnly promise to invest all our efforts to collect aid and help rebuild the country and lead the uncompromising struggle against all the enemies of the Peoples Liberation Struggle. (Hrvatski narodni kalendar 1947, p. 203, tr. from Croatian)

Another greeting from Vancouver demonstrates that grouping according to regional origin is also common: it reflects the pattern of settlement that is typical for communities tied to the mining and forest industries in Canada. These communities were formed by chain migration of extended families and those from the same village, followed by organization along regional lines. Greetings from Ličani (inhabitants of the Lika region), Žumberčani (those from Žumberak), or Slavonci (those from Slavonia), as well as those from various villages and towns in Croatia (e.g. Mrzlo-Vodičani, Mrkopoljci, Zlobinjari, Grobnik, Drivenik, Sv. Juraj,

⁴¹⁵Cf. Hrvatski narodni kalendar for 1947, pp. 200-203.

⁴¹⁶The names on the greeting are subgrouped as forest and sawmill workers in Port Alberni, B.C. and sawmill workers in Chemainus, B.C.

etc.) and greetings from miners from Cumberland and Princeton, B.C., are clustered. These greetings are mostly sent by men, some by families, and only a small number by women.⁴¹⁷ More importantly, the patterns of grouping demonstrate that textual communities emerge around an almanac run in patterns that mimic the actual social structure of the community. The social phenomenon of recreating the peasant village in urban settings in the country of immigration (Rasporich 1982, 115) has been noted by researchers of different ethnic communities.

By posting the greetings, readers also identify themselves as participants in the ideological communities that the almanac signifies, indicating that their reading is ideologically engaged and politically charged. That also means that the reader is aligned with a social and cultural system, and reading is revealed as a moral act. Reading as social practice enables the participants of that practice to express solidarity with the cause exemplified by the textual community of the almanac. This model of reading shows a high degree of control of the publications' ideological direction by its reader base, and is not the only model of reading found in these almanacs.

Although most of the greetings are from "a common reader," some of them are directed to the community of readers from a prominent figure. For example, Hrvatski narodni kalendar⁴¹⁸ for 1948 includes a greeting from Louis Adamič,⁴¹⁹ with a photographic portrait and an advertisement for his books and his journal, Trends and Tides (p. 455). The publishers' ability to ensure the support of a prominent figure in the community, or in society at large, as is

⁴¹⁷Among thirty-six greetings from Vancouver by "Žumberčani," 18 are from men, 6 from women, 7 from families, and five are signed with initials (and probably belong to men). Among greetings from a group of twenty-three miners from Princeton, B.C., we find five women's names, probably spouses, sisters, or daughters of miners.

⁴¹⁸This title was published in Pittsburgh, Pa. as a subsidiary of the daily Narodni glasnik. A Canadian run, Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Toronto, Ontario, by Savez Kanadskih Hrvata i Novosti) for 1946-1948 follows the same format of greetings.

⁴¹⁹He was a prominent figure of American socialism and a writer who captured the essence of immigrant life in his widely read novels.

sometimes the case, lends authority to the publication. Communal solidarity in greetings found in the workers' and communist press is seen in examples from Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.). The issue for 1946 consists largely⁴²⁰ of greetings from American Croatians in support of the Croatian partisan movement led by Josip Broz Tito, exemplified in Figure 5.3. The greetings are directed to "the heroes of the homeland," "Tito's partisans," "Yugoslavia," "the Five Year Plan," etc. They are signed by individuals who identify themselves as coming from a particular place or town in Croatia, or by regional clubs and organizations. They are informative in tone and do not hide personal conviction, as demonstrated in a later example of the genre from 1967,⁴²¹ shown in Figure 5.4 ("I Greet ... "). They often address other readers of the almanac as comrades, and their phrasing often reflects the colloquial and even formulaic phrasing of the oral epic tradition. Many of the sympathizers are originally from Dalmatia, and are now settled in the United States and Canada. The editorial on page 381 of this issue describes the process by which they collect greetings from individual activists in their communities. Greetings reflect the readership base more accurately than advertisements, which need not be related to direct supporters of the movement.

The presence of greetings in some runs, and their absence in others, may be proportional to the degree of grassroots support that a publication enjoys. This support increases in the period of intensified cultural production and community consolidation during World War II.⁴²²

Almanacs issued in the 1940s were read in communities already established in North America. Buying an almanac involved social interaction, with the distribution agent, or in the bookstore or parish. The purchase is a public act, reinforced by even more open support in the form of a greeting or advertisement. The reinforcement of solidarity by association with and through the text, and reading as a cultural practice which conveys "culturally shared knowledge" (Boyarin

⁴²⁰Greetings are published on 173 pages, which is more than half of the publication. Advertisements are found on 161 pages (cf. editorial on p. 381).

⁴²¹The example is taken from Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.).

⁴²²A report of activities in Canada related to the war effort is published in Hrvatski narodni kalendar for 1947, p. 189. It demonstrates a well organized activity in Canada.

1992, 28), allows us to consider the textual and ideological communities clustered around texts as social and cultural units. This aspect is very dominant in the reception of the almanac as a type of text in situations when reading is not only passive and "representational," but also "operational" as demonstrated by the greetings (*ibid.*, 28). Operational reading involves the active participation of readers in creating the ideological content of the publication⁴²³ and makes the publication the center of social interaction. The almanacs of the diaspora reinforced existing communication patterns and social networks, which demonstrates their vitality as an aspect of social communication. Both Catholic almanacs that are circulated in women's networks and communist almanacs that are circulated in the recreated village communities show a correspondence between social networks and reading communities that emerges around these publications.

5.2.3.2. Ownership. Ownership and reception on an individual level are reconstructed using information on provenance⁴²⁴ and the evidence of appropriation of the almanac through inscribing as well as inventories. When a copy is linked to a particular individual, however, this evidence remains weak unless placed in a broader context of that person's life patterns, which was not possible within the limitations of this study. Nevertheless, a brief outline of ownership patterns for this group of almanacs is presented here.

⁴²³Posting a paid greeting, submitting one's name and image together with slogans and narratives, to be published in the almanac.

⁴²⁴It is possible to trace provenance from accession notes inscribed in most of the examined copies. This provided an entry point to inventories by year and type of acquisition. An exception to this are materials stamped by Kraljevska sveučilišna biblioteka u Zagrebu (Royal University Library, a former name of the National and University Library). Provenance may be researched through the old call numbers inscribed in the copies. Nevertheless, the types of copies in this category have not been particularly interesting in terms of the history of censorship in the corpus of Croatian diaspora almanacs. A typical accession note lists the acquisition code (i.e., z=exchange, d=gift, k=purchase), followed by year and inventory number. The search for a particular item requires a search of inventories of a particular year which usually distinguish between the three modes of accession (as well as legal deposit). Most of the almanac titles were published abroad and did not fall under the scope of legal deposit. Specific suppliers are not always listed in the inventories and record entries are inconsistent. Nevertheless, the identity of most suppliers could be identified. By type of acquisition, in an initial sample of thirty-seven entries examined in the summer of 1992, two were obtained through legal deposit, one through exchange, eighteen donated, and sixteen purchased.

A sample search of inventory books⁴²⁵ in the National and University Library in Zagreb during my fieldwork in the summer of 1992 provided some clues regarding the owners of the almanacs of the diaspora. Nevertheless, these records do not provide an automatic link to ownership patterns. The accession numbers in the copies examined were traced to inventory books which pointed to a donor, owner, or supplier of the almanacs. An analysis of the sample for thirty-seven issues is presented in Table 5.8. It shows that the almanacs issued between 1893 and 1925 were acquired by purchase, often at a time considerably later than the original issue (average: 37 years); they were not collected by the libraries at the time they were issued. In comparison, those issued after 1930 were for the most part donated; many of them were obtained within three years of publication. Due to censorship, titles issued from the mid-1950s through the late 1980s were not acquired immediately. The individuals who donated almanacs during this period include Ivo Hergešić and Slavko Cuvaj, two prominent figures in Croatian cultural and political life, as well as émigrés. Some almanacs were donated by the Communist Party of Croatia (CK KPH), and by émigré associations (e.g., the League of Canadian Croatians); others were purchased from second-hand bookstores. The Radnička borba bookstore in Cleveland, Ohio was a regular supplier in the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁴²⁶

The link to ownership patterns is provided by entries that refer to individual donors. One larger group donation from 1969⁴²⁷ comes from one Milivoj Čatipović of San Francisco. Nothing is known about this individual⁴²⁸ except what can be inferred by reconstructing of the content of his collection. For the most part, the almanacs are religious.⁴²⁹ It is possible that he had been a

⁴²⁵Since inventories more or less accurately reflect the cumulation of materials in a particular period, they are relatively objective and unintrusive. They also give information about the price (which I have not considered here) and other conditions of acquisition. The time difference from the date of acquisition to the date of inventory should be noted in considering inventory data as evidence.

⁴²⁶This bookstore sent in its own publication. Some of the entries note that the almanacs were donated by South Slavic wing of the Socialist Labor Federation Central Executive Committee.

⁴²⁷Which was donated or inventoried at that time.

⁴²⁸Nothing about that individual, including his prominence in the community of Croatians in California is known to the bibliographer. By contacting other members of that community a reader-profile may be established for that individual.

⁴²⁹Namely, the issues for 1952 and 1954 (5 copies) of the Croatian Catholic Almanac (Gary, Ind.).

distributor of The Croatian Catholic Almanac in California, which would explain why he donated five copies of an issue for 1954. The other titles include a number of Croatian émigré and ethnic publications from the 1940s and the 1950s,⁴³⁰ and a number of American authors and titles in English. A detailed analysis of this collection could give additional insight into the reading habits of an individual who was also a reader of almanacs.

The timing of this donation (or its entry in the inventory books) is particularly interesting because it comes on the eve of the Croatian Spring in 1971, after a long period of political pressures that complicated interactions with the diaspora. Other almanacs for which information on provenance is available include copies found in the Migrations and Nationalities Research Institute (Zavod za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti) in Zagreb and the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago. They confirm that many owners held on to copies in their private collections for a long time prior to donation. A copy of Davor for 1913 was kept for forty-five years by its owner. A note inserted in the copy reads: "... It was donated for the Museum of Emigration [sic] together with other émigré books through comrade Nikčić Silvija from Gary, Ind. in 1959." Another copy from the same year, Veliki zabavni koledar for 1913, was owned by a parish priest before it was acquired by the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago, Ill. after his retirement (Vinko Lasić, oral communication, 6 May 1995). A number of copies of Crveni kalendar in the Migrations and Nationalities Research Institute (Zavod za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti) in Zagreb are presentation copies. They were donated by various individuals. Among them, a most informative series (for the years 1915 to 1934) is a donation by the family of one Filip Fijan in 1977, evidently donated upon his death. The value invested in these publications by the owner(s) is evident from the tone of the inscription,⁴³¹ but even more so from the care taken to restore the issue for 1915 by addition of a title page fabricated by the

⁴³⁰Cf. inventory ranges 637-2055, 2065-2069, 2361-2584 and 2642-2644.

⁴³¹The original inscription in some of the donated copies reads: "Na poklon Hrvatskoj Matici Seljeničtva [i.e. Iseljeničtva] od obitelji Filipa Fijan, New York 1977" (The present to the Croatian Matca Seljeničtva from the family of Filip Fijan, New York 1977).

owner. The angular cursive used to reconstruct the title page by someone whose handwriting was untrained, shows the value the almanac had for its owner. The time lag between the donation and the date of the earliest issue in 1915 is over sixty years. A similar pattern of ownership is confirmed by another example in which a copy of Napredak almanah i koledar for 1920 is presented by one Nick Kekich in 1960. A group of almanacs purchased by the National and University Library from Ivan Lupis Vukić in 1957,⁴³² probably from his own collection,⁴³³ shows that this pattern of ownership was prevalent.

Direct evidence of use, a record of either interactive reading or ownership, is not common. Paradoxically, such evidence is not found in the register, but more commonly in the form of signatures, doodling, and scribbling of one's name on the preliminaries, personalized stamps, marginal inscriptions, underlining, crossing out of text that the reader disagreed with,⁴³⁴ and cutting out portions to be held on to or reused,⁴³⁵ which may be why images were missing from the examined copies.

In the group of almanacs issued by J. Steinbrener, plate(s) titled "memory page" ("Spomen list") in the preliminaries explicitly call for interactive use. These "memory pages" were either foldout plates meant to be cut out and used as posters, or plates that were used for inscribing. An example is shown in Figure 5.6 ("Memory-Page--Upon the Transition to the New

⁴³²They are: Narodni amerikanski koledar for 1893, Jeka for 1910, Kalendar "Narodnog lista" for 1921, Hrvatski list i Danica Hrvatska. Koledar for 1922, 1923, and 1925, Socijalistički radnički kalendar for 1923, Naša nada for 1925, and Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni kalendar for 1936. These titles are of different political orientations.

⁴³³This is indicated by an inscription in the copy of Narodni amerikanski koledar for 1893, which is a calculation of his date of birth, indicating that he was 18 years old at the time. He could have been in his fifties at the time when most of these titles originate (the early 1920s) and 82 years old at the time of the purchase of the collection by the National and University Library.

⁴³⁴For example, somebody crossed out the sentence, "Tito, a Communist murderer ... with crimes ..." ("Tito, komunistički krvnik ... zlodjelima") in The Croatian Catholic Almanac (Gary, Ind.) for 1952, in the article about Andrija Artuković in a copy held in the National and University Library (NSB 420.372).

⁴³⁵The copies found in the publisher's collection in the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago were probably cut for reuse in printing. It is possible to imagine that images might be cut out to be sent to someone, and thus present instances of social interaction through the text.

Century"). It is a historical counterpart of the illustrated biblical allegories with interpretive scrolls which were typical of seventeenth century almanacs, and a typological counterpart of the modern comic book--both a religious image and a political pamphlet. It is explicitly monarchist, legitimizing the Habsburg Empire using religious imagery in a style that is intended for the female audience of this almanac. Other examples of "spomen" pages are meant to be used for organizing information.

Figure 5.7 shows a "Family Memory Page" published during World War I (in 1916). It is a ruled form in which the family would record the names of family members who were veterans of the war. Interestingly, the text in the table is in the past tense, although at the time this almanac is published, the war is still in full force. This emphasis on commemoration integrated with daily life, rather than involvement with the present, is a stylistic feature typical of the almanac as a genre. More relevant in terms of reading audiences is the fact that this "spomen" presumes an interaction with a family group rather than with individual readers. In this function, the almanac is comparable to the Protestant tradition of a family Bible. The intimate nature of the information to be jotted down jars with the nature of the space provided--a table segmenting and labeling the information. The schematic formulation of sensitive content exemplifies a genre characteristic discussed in the section on listing and ordering.

The third example is represented by illustrated "spomen" (or memory) pages with space for inscriptions. One such page is used to enter a presentation note which is shown in Figure 5.8 ("Memory Page"); it is followed by an identical page in the same issue filled with doodlings. In contrast to the first inscription (the angularity and clumsy language of which associates it with either an uneducated person or one who is an autodidact) the second "spomen list" is filled with signatures and doodling in German, in a flowing handwriting. This example reveals that almanacs were presented at the end of the year as a valued object to affirm a friendship. A copy of Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak for 1970 inscribed with a personal letter reinforces

this point. The letter is reproduced in Figure 5.9 ("Letter: Vancouver, June 15, 1970"). The personal nature of inscriptions in these examples reveals the context of use of the almanacs and indicates that they were meant to be shared and read in a repetitive fashion, or "intensively" (Davidson 1989, 15). The occasional examples of uses of the almanac as diary (entered in the calendar portion)⁴³⁶ do not indicate that this was a prominent feature of the diaspora almanacs. This may be due to the corpus. Almanacs which were found in publishers' collections or in private collections of individuals who collected them as cultural-historical objects rather than holding on to them for their primary function. As noted earlier, almanacs from the later period, the 1940s and the 1950s, reflect an active participation of readership in the form of greetings which also reflect shared authorship. The passive nature of inscribing in provided spaces is more common in almanacs of the earlier period. Even then, inscriptions in the calendar register are surprisingly rare. Evidence of interactive reading--crossed out portions of text, comments of agreement and disagreement added in manuscript cursive--is common in later almanacs.

5.2.3.3. How to Read an Almanac. Images of reading are found on the front covers of some of the runs issued by J. Steinbrener. Although these images cannot be taken as evidence of actual practices of the readers of almanacs, they do reflect an "ideal" of reading associated with the almanac: that it is a collective activity, entertaining and popular, and tied to conversation as a related genre of everyday communication. The front cover of Šareni svjetski koledar depicts a group reading an almanac aloud as a social pastime. Figure 5.10 shows the front cover of Šareni svjetski koledar for 1916, which depicts a group of women and men seated around the table, entertained by reading an almanac. The women are sewing and the men are listening intently; the reader is a man. The iconography of the cover is very rich in projecting this idealized role of the almanac. It reflects its social role as conversation booster, but the adjacent images also associate it with an imaginative world of foreign lands and peoples (emphasized

⁴³⁶For example, the copy of Davor for 1913 which was donated to the library of the Migrations and Nationalities Research Institute (Zavod za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti) contains notes in the January portion.

by the image of the globe), and with turn-of-the-century utopias (futuristic means of transportation including trains, flying contraptions, and gigantic steamships). The iconography links the activity of almanac reading to other popular means of socializing, such as women's sewing circles, and emphasizes its domesticity (the setting in a homey bourgeois interior). The iconography of the bindings of Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar emphasize that the almanac is not only a book for entertainment, but that it is valued for its instructive and moralizing quality.⁴³⁷ In these examples, Martin Luther is shown on the cover distributing books to different ranks of society including soldiers, peasants, and craftsmen (represented by a blacksmith). In the medallion in the center of the page is a bourgeois family reading an almanac. This image places emphasis on the almanac as a book of instruction with a broad social reach; the almanac is also a book for the whole family.

This example, in which an almanac is a travesty of a Lutheran Bible, brings out the connection with Bible reading in the Protestant tradition, which is practiced in domestic circles, focused on a single volume that is read and re-read over a long period. The association of the Bible with an almanac is not ironic--this amusing pictorial travesty is didactic.⁴³⁸ A different twist is given to issues of the morality of reading in general in a series of idealized images of solitary female readers in Novi svijet for 1926 and 1927. Figure 5.11 shows two examples from this iconographic series titled, respectively, an "Interesting" and a "Forbidden" book. These idealized representations should be interpreted with regard to the context in which they appear. Novi svijet is a socialist publication focused on educating the working class, and promoting rationalism, tolerance, cosmopolitanism, and pacifism. "Through Knowledge to Freedom!"⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷Its title also emphasizes this role stating in the subtitle of all of its issues that its intended audiences include "priests, clerks and public servants, artists, craftsmen, townfolk and peasants" ("za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, gradjane i seljake").

⁴³⁸The place of publication of this example in Protestant Bohemia, may be significant in understanding the cultural meanings of this image, or use of the Luther icon, which would be vague for the Croatian (and Catholic) readers of the almanac. On the other hand, the images are open texts, and contradiction does not diminish their impact.

⁴³⁹The slogan, "Znanjem k slobodi!" ("Through Knowledge to Freedom!") is found on the publications of Jugoslavenski prosvjetni savez u Americi (cf. Table 5.1).

is the socialist motto, and summarizes the motivation of many almanacs tied to socialist publishing. However, this view of empowerment through knowledge is contradicted in these images, which convey the role of a woman as a subversive, but not radical reader. The ability of reading to physically affect does not move a solitary woman reader to social action (Long 1992, 180) and is not an expression of such action. It is private and personal, rather than public like the genre of greetings.

The texts of editorials address the reader most directly. Editorials in immigrant almanacs are pragmatic in tone, emphasizing the usefulness of these publications for the immigrant.⁴⁴⁰ Editorials in ethnic almanacs tend to be more specialized and reflect a particular textual community's concerns. Versified editorials in Steinbrener's almanacs directly continue the tradition of prognostication in which the author of the almanac (often fictitious) addresses the reader.⁴⁴¹ In some instances, the almanac "speaks" to the reader as the personification of a boastful but benevolent character. The almanac addresses the reader in a chummy and gossipy tone, professing to know what the next year will bring, offering a perspective on the past year, and promoting itself, all as a skilled versifier and storyteller in the oral tradition. If one considers that the almanac was read aloud, the verbal game implied in this versified editorial is very effective. The almanac is sassy, clowns around, brings news from around the world, and, although prone to exaggeration of the truth and maybe even lying, is exonerated for its humor. The personalized experience of the almanac genre, as part of these editorial strategies in which the reader is directly addressed by the text, is an archaic trait of texts. To encounter them in twentieth-century printed genres points to an intentional historicism, the communicational purpose of which is discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

⁴⁴⁰Examples of editorials are found in *Iseljenički kalendar* for 1924, p. vi-vii, *Kalendar (John Zagar & Co.)* for 1917, p. 3, etc.

⁴⁴¹For example, *Šareni svjetski koledar* features such "editorials" in each of its issues. The tone of each captures the mood of the times ranging from: lightheartedness in the issues for 1901 and 1902, and a sombre and resigned mood in the issue for 1917, reflecting the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire.

The pattern of reading in which the almanac is a book read year-round, is a good example of Rolf Engelsing's concept of intensive reading (1974; discussed in Davidson 1989, 15), which is found in situations in which reading material is scarce. The "readers [who] read 'intensively,' [are] rereading over the course of a lifetime the same few precious books ... incorporating those books into their most intimate and important moments and activities" (Davidson 1989, 15). An advertisement from 1913 vividly captures a similar enthusiasm, if diminished by the fact that it is directed from the publisher to the reader, rather than the reverse:

The house without a good almanac is prone to sorrow and spoil! This is an old saying that requires no comment, my friend. You know yourself how many times you have to reach for the almanac in your life, how many times you need to ask its advice and instruction. As no other book, the calendar is a friend to every home. It is the witness during the whole year of the family's joyful and sorrowful events. It teaches the youth, it soothes the men and women after hard work, it is the comfort of old age. On Sundays and holidays, and especially during long winter evenings -- for old and young.⁴⁴² (Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar for 1913)

Dedications in decasyllabic verse sent to the almanac by readers (e.g., to Danica) are discussed in the previous chapter. They offer additional evidence of reading experiences, as reflected also by greetings. The intensity of these interactions can be explained by the fact that the almanac is a popular genre which does not exclude such participation, as do texts which are literate in the narrow sense ("bookish").

5.2.3.4. Accessibility. Objective parameters that determine the patterns of reading and buying almanacs are availability and affordability. The size of an edition, or circulation figures and subscription figures, determine availability. The size of an edition does not reflect the actual rate

⁴⁴²The original reads: "Gdje u kući nema dobrog koledara, tamo ima dosta i jada i kvara! Stara je to riječ, i bilo bi suvišno, da ti ja, dragi prijatelju, поближе tumačim. I sam vrlo dobro znaš, koliko puta u životu treba posegnuti za koledarom, koliko puta treba u njega potražiti upute i savjet. Kao nijedna druga knjiga koledar je prijatelj u svakoj kući. On je cijele godine svjedok svih radostnih i žalostnih obiteljskih događaja. On poučava mladež, razblažuje muševce i žene iza teška rada, tješi starost. Po nedjeljama i blagdanima, pa osobito za dugih zimskih večeri - i staro i mlado ..." (on last p.).

of distribution because estimates are often based on distribution of comparable items (e.g., newspapers or magazines also issued by the publisher). The difference between circulation and actual distribution rate is closer with commercially driven enterprises such as those in the 1930s and 1940s, and their figures are more reliable than those derived from other organizational resources (e.g., almanacs from the 1950s). Affordability estimates are based on comparative pricing with comparable and unrelated commodities, and on income levels of the target groups.

Table 5.9 lists the prices of almanacs of the diaspora and other commodities. The almanacs for which prices were available show fluctuations that depended on the type of edition, overall economic shifts, and the economics of publishing, which cannot be analyzed beyond a general view of their comparative value. In comparison to other goods, they are an affordable entertainment--costing less than a cheap seat for "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Rough Riders Show" in Madison Square Garden in 1901 and approximately as much as a set of dominoes in 1912 (The Value of a Dollar 1994, 128). In the first two decades of the twentieth century, they cost approximately one hour's wages for a unionized manufacturing worker or coal miner (35-39 cents), or two hour's wages for payroll workers (15 cents).⁴⁴³ The price of transatlantic passage and settlement at the turn of the century is 300 crowns or 60 dollars, approximating six weeks' wages in a lower-paying job.⁴⁴⁴ Considering that these almanacs were purchased primarily in the country of origin, comparison to other goods shows that their cost was the equivalent of two or three bars of baby soap, farming tool (scythe), and almost a quarter of the value of a chain watch. A comparison with the prices of instructional manuals on tobacco growth, grafting of vine, chemical fertilizers, accounting, store/farm management, etc., listed in the mail catalog of Gjuro Trpinac Bookstore in 1907 (cf. Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk), demonstrates that the almanacs are in the upper price range of illustrated and hard-cover

⁴⁴³All incomes are taken from the standard job income values listed in The Value of a Dollar: Prices and Incomes in the United States, 1860-1989 Ed. Scott Derks (Detroit: Gale, 1994).

⁴⁴⁴The calculation is based on the average working week of 61.10 hours in 1904 at 16 cents per hour in a non-unionized manufacturing job.

editions. The price of the almanacs at that time is equivalent to the price of a contemporary coffee-table book or reference book, providing an important link to its probable use in a typical household.

The cost of an almanac was equivalent to two packs of brand-name cigarettes in 1923, or less than two packs of Wrigley's Spearmint gum in 1929; it approximates an hour's wages for non-unionized factory workers, or less for higher paid jobs. In the 1930s, the price of almanacs drops compared to the price of an illustrated popular book ("Ripley's Believe it or Not") and also compared to their price in the previous decade. In the 1940s, almanacs are affordable when judged against other commodities. Their prices also vary, with the workers' almanacs being the cheapest. The Catholic almanac published at that time cost the same as a movie ticket. In the 1950s, the almanac cost less than a wrestling ticket. Almanacs issued after 1960 are similarly priced, while prices rise in the the 1970s and 1980s⁴⁴⁵ with the declining interest in this type of publication. Prices are higher before than during the Great Depression, when the almanac, especially workers' almanacs, are priced lower.

Compared to the prices of contemporary ethnic newspapers in the 1920s, an almanac is available for less than a quarter of the cost of an annual newspaper subscription.⁴⁴⁶ In the 1930s, the almanac cost approximately as much as a month's subscription to a newspaper.⁴⁴⁷ In the 1940s, the cost of the almanac is two months' worth of newspaper subscription.⁴⁴⁸ The almanacs cost twice as much as the hard-bound volumes of fiction advertised by the workers' bookstores, which is five times the price of soft-cover editions.⁴⁴⁹ The cost of the almanac

⁴⁴⁵The price of Kalendar Hrvatski glas goes from \$1.50 in the 1960s to \$5 in the 1970s, and up to \$7 dollars in the 1980s (and from 2.50 in the 1960s to 6 pounds Sterling in the 1980s).

⁴⁴⁶Based on the advertisement for newspapers in Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar for 1924 (facing the calendar p. for June).

⁴⁴⁷Cf. an advertisement for Hrvatski list i Danica in Naša nada for 1932 (p. [2] of cover), and for Radnik in Crveni kalendar for 1931 (p. [3] of cover).

⁴⁴⁸Cf. advertisement for Narodni glasnik in Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.) for 1947.

⁴⁴⁹Cf. advertisement for Radnička borba bookstore in Socijalistički radnički kalendar for 1947.

rises in the 1950s, and amounts to between fifty and a hundred percent of the annual subscription price for a newspaper.⁴⁵⁰ These fluctuations in prices show that the almanac was cheaper in the 1930s and the 1940s, and more expensive in the 1950s and 1920s.

As a rule, figures on the edition sizes of almanacs are not available. Indirect evidence of circulation figures for newspapers offers an approximate number of copies of almanacs. Linardić (1945, 165) gives a figure of 8,000 subscribers for the three "progressive" (communist and/or workers') newspapers among Croatians in Canada. If we know that the ethnic newspapers were read by two persons or more, according to Linardić (1945, 165), then the almanac, as a book and reference source for the whole family, would at least show a similar pattern of use.⁴⁵¹ For the Catholic almanacs, the figures do not contradict Linardić. The editors of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, p. 194, give an estimate of "thousands of new subscribers" (emphasis Dalbello-Lovrić) in what is already a high number of existing readers. Moreover, these numbers refer to specialized niches in the market: Canadian workers' and a Catholic almanac. Average edition sizes for the almanacs published in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s were from 2,000 to 6,000.⁴⁵² Information on the size of the run for Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) in the 1950s is based on a contemporary survey by Kesterčanek (1953) showing that the subscription base was 4,000. By 1991, circulation dropped to 2,500 (oral communication, Vinko Lasić, 13 June 1991), a number which includes 200 copies that were returned to the publisher because they were not distributed due to diminishing interest in

⁴⁵⁰Cf. advertisement for Radnička borba in Socijalistički radnički kalendar for 1953 and for Ave Mana (monthly) in Ave Mana kalendar for 1955.

⁴⁵¹The ratio of circulation and actual readership for newspapers is 1 to 5, which is widely accepted as a conservative estimate in the literature (Anderson 1991, 3).

⁴⁵²This data is based on the national bibliography and refers to Matica. Iseljenički kalendar which starts with edition sizes in the 2,000 range in the 1950s, rising to 3,000 and 4,000 in the 1960s, and to over 5,000 by 1973. Džepni kalendar za radnike u inozemstvu for 1967 is issued in an edition of 6,000. It is a pocket almanac. Another pocket almanac, Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine for 1971, is issued in a large run of 100,275 copies, however, this number does not reflect market conditions but the estimate of the information agency in the country of origin.

subscriptions to the Catholic press in general.⁴⁵³ The shrinking of the market for the specialized almanac in the 1980s and 1990s is accompanied by the rise in price.

Based on the previous discussion, it may be concluded that the period of great popularity of the almanac, in the 1930s and the 1940s, as reflected in the edition sizes and cost of these publications, is also a period of greater stability in the almanac trade and the reading market. In contrast, the 1920s and 1950s are the periods when more almanac titles were issued simultaneously, but not necessarily in runs as high as those quoted for the 1930s and 1940s. The readership base also becomes smaller and more specialized in the 1950s, preceding the decline of the diaspora almanac in the 1960s. Fluctuations in the almanac trade reflected in the bibliographical patterns related to the production, selection, and institutionalization of ideologies are analyzed in the following section.

5.3. THE ALMANAC TRADE IN THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

Almanacs may be identified as distinct ideological variants which go through social production, selection, and institutionalization (Wuthnow 1987, 151, 161, 169). This process occurs as part of cultural dynamics in the diaspora. Cultural production is directly related to social changes in the community; in fact, cultural production is a direct outcome of such changes. Change in the social system results in the need for values to be adjusted. Change occurs through a process of selection of cultural codes by which social processes are translated into cultural forms. Genres of communication act as vehicles by which symbolic-cultural codes are conveyed in a group undergoing change; they enable expression of these values, but also their acceptance and incorporation in ordering the worldview. Processes of cultural production facilitate the maintenance of culture and use existing resources to enable adaptation of the community in new circumstances. Wuthnow's theory presents a framework which is used to connect change in the

⁴⁵³Cf. Dalbello-Lovn  (1991, 32-33), for more detail on the fluctuations in circulation figures for this title.

social system of Croatian diaspora communities to cultural productions and specifically to the production of almanacs as a distinct genre of communication of cultural meanings. The cultural analysis of that process relies on connecting several components: the social environment (related to the country of origin, and the countries of settlement), the actors in social change (diaspora Croatians of different cohorts) and cultural productions that reflect the processes of adaptation, maintenance, and change in their culture (reflected in the fluctuations in the almanac trade). In order to select a meaningful case for in-depth analysis of cultural meanings articulated in the almanac genre, which will be the topic of the next chapter, it is necessary to draw an overall picture of how cultural production is related to the social dynamics of the community throughout the period covered in this study.

One can observe this process in all of its stages, in order to understand distinctive periods in the process of cultural change, through the production, selection, and institutionalization of ideological variants. The process of cultural selection, when applied to almanacs as a distinct body of texts, distinguishes those which were successful or failed as cultural forms. Overall fluctuations in the almanac trade may also be interpreted in those terms. The purpose of this section is to consider how the almanac functioned as a distinct communicational tool in specific periods in the diaspora, by identifying periods of intensified cultural change, and observing how ideologies are selected.

In the following text, the almanac trade is translated into bibliographical series represented by individual titles. As already noted in discussion of the context of production of these ideologies, and in discussion of the types of publishers engaged in almanac production earlier in this chapter, the success of a cultural form is tantamount to length of publication, size of editions, and the overall impact of the publication (as witnessed by its survival through preservation). It has also been stated in the introduction that the corpus of almanacs used for this analysis reflects contemporary trends in the almanac trade, even if it does not list all that

has ever been produced. Based on the corpus, overall dynamics in the production and institutionalization of almanacs is established. Processes of cultural selection are analyzed as well.

5.3.1. Fluctuations in the Almanac Trade as an Indicator of Community Dynamics

The dynamics of production in the almanac trade are reflected in the fluctuations of 1. overall output, 2. output of new titles (first issues of a run) at any given time,⁴⁵⁴ and 3. stability of production reflected in publication duration of individual titles. These features not only aid identification of periods of intensified cultural change but guide interpretation of specific characteristics of the almanac trade in each of these periods. These distinctive periods reflect fluctuations in the community, with the assumption that there is correspondence between new immigration cohorts and periods of intensified activity in the almanac trade when special properties of the almanac genre can address new communicational needs. This activity in periods of intensified cultural change is associated with the changing nature of the community of the diaspora. Disruption of social relations (Wuthnow 1987, 224) that occurs in the process of migration results in intensified production of ideologies, and reconstruction of the moral order (ibid., 224). In these periods the community pools resources to maintain cultural continuity through its adaptation.

5.3.1.1. Periods of Intensified Cultural Change. Cultural change is more pronounced in some periods than others; it refers to modification of values, beliefs, and attitudes. According to the model of cultural dynamics proposed by Wuthnow (1987), periods in which cultural change is a dominant feature of life result in the increased mobilization of resources and social interaction, a process that is evident in the proliferation of discourse and cultural objects. Almanacs may be

⁴⁵⁴The years are those in which the almanac is published and not the year for which it was intended to be used. In most cases, they would be published in summer or fall of the year preceding the year for which they were intended.

considered as objects and as discourse. This section focuses on almanac as artefactual record: the analysis of discourse is presented in the next chapter. Proliferation of cultural objects is expected in periods of greater ideological experimentation. Concretely, these periods are reflected in an increase in the number of new titles published and high overall activity in the production of almanacs.

The periods of high, stable and low overall activity in almanac publishing, summarized in Table 5.10, show that the greatest number of titles⁴⁵⁵ published simultaneously falls between 1900 and 1912, 1922 and 1939, and continues through 1955. If the number of issues⁴⁵⁶ rather than the number of concurrently published titles is used as a basis for the overview of overall production (thus incorporating the preservation variable), the pattern becomes slightly different. According to this distribution, shown in Table 5.11, peak periods fall in the first decade of the century and in the 1950s (i.e., 1954 and 1957). Titles in the first peak period are skewed because they represent almanacs issued by a single publisher, the J. Steinbrener firm.⁴⁵⁷ Distributions based on inferred runs (pilot study) and the issues actually preserved in collections, both point to the mid-1950s as a period of peak production. Because of the natural process of erosion (Hill 1993, 11) that must have affected preservation of the corpus from the 1920s, the earlier period may have not been as well documented as the second. Title count and the count of preserved issues both indicate that high and stable levels of production of almanac titles are concentrated in a span of thirty-five years, between 1922 and 1955.

In the first part of this period, from 1922 to 1939, patterns of production are different from the second period, between 1940 and 1955. In addition to the average number of simultaneously published titles being higher, as shown in Table 5.10 and 5.11, in the second period there is a

⁴⁵⁵The titles are inferred from the designation of seriality in the volumes of the runs retrieved in this study.

⁴⁵⁶These numbers, however, reflect the issues actually preserved and, although they are not a direct reflection of what has been produced, they are significant in reflecting preservation patterns.

⁴⁵⁷As already mentioned, J. Steinbrener specialized in mass production of popular materials.

large concentration of peak years in the production of almanacs as shown in Table 5.12 (or 1945 and 1946, 1951 and 1952, and 1954). As already mentioned, periods of high ideological production are a combined effect of overall publication activity and the output of new titles. Evidence of the production of new titles, or the number of titles started in a given interval, presented in Table 5.13, and the strength of an overall publishing activity, or the number of concurrently published titles at a given time--shows that high intensity in the proliferation of new titles corresponds to high overall activity (between 1922 and 1955) but is much higher in the first period (1920 to 1939). The diagram shows that the number of new titles started was highest in the interval between 1921 and 1930 indicating periods of highest intensity of ideological experimentation. Most of the titles established in the 1920s (or specifically, in 1922 and 1923), however, were also those that expired in the same year (cf. Table 5.14 and 5.15). Low points, periods when no new titles were produced, are observed in the first decade of the century and after 1961. Slump years in the production of almanacs, as listed in Table 5.16, fall between 1893 and 1898, between 1920 and 1921, and from 1968 to date.

If the two periods of intensified almanac production and, consequently, cultural change, characterized by a proliferation of ideologies (1922-1939 and 1940-1955), are compared to the institutionalization of new ideological variants (new titles), a distinction may be noted. While the first period is characterized by higher uncertainty which is manifested by a high mortality rate for almanacs preceding the first period and in the 1920s, the second shows greater stability of ideological variants. Table 5.15 shows that twenty of the titles established between 1911 and 1930 expired in the first year of publication. The same trend is not noted for almanacs published in the 1950s. The significance of this pattern is interpreted in terms of success or failure of ideological variants to secure the resource base that will ensure their institutionalization and survival. Patterns of proliferation of ideologies (titles) should be interpreted together with patterns of ideological selection in order to understand the overall cultural dynamics related to material objects and the social contexts of their production.

The strength of publishing activity (new titles and overall performance) over time reveals the patterns of institutionalization and selection of almanacs in two periods of intensified cultural change. Before the implications of this finding are analyzed in a section on historical inference, a further insight into patterns of survival and mortality rates of the almanacs is necessary.

5.3.1.2. Cultural Selection of Ideologies. Diaspora almanacs represent an array of distinct political and religious discourses. If each title run is identified as a discrete ideological variant, its success or failure as ideology could be measured by its ability to secure support over a prolonged period of time. Accordingly, those almanacs that were published longer were considered to be more successful than single-issue almanacs, because they represented cultural variants that were able to pool adequate resources (human and material) to ensure their survival. Those almanacs that were published longer, or preserved in greater numbers, were more dominant. They prevailed over others because they contributed to greater social solidarity than did the other, less successful ones. They represent the mainstream as opposed to one-year runs that were selected out of the mainstream. This is an important feature of distinction because almanacs are, by definition, meant to be serialized even though many pocket editions and immigrant almanacs are single-issue runs.

Accordingly, length of publication corresponds to the survival of ideology. The distribution of almanacs according to this variable is presented in Table 5.17, indicating an overall trend according to which only a fraction of titles was published over a length of time. The overall pattern in the length of publication shows that more than half of the titles were short-lived (four years or less) and only nine percent appeared for more than thirty years. Those issued for fifteen years and longer are shown in Table 5.18. Although this sample may be biased because of preservation (and some of the titles may, in fact, be issued longer than shown in this sample), they nevertheless reflect a general trend. The prevalent pattern in the survival of

almanac titles is between one and four years, with one in three lasting for only a year. A listing of single-issue runs in Table 5.14 indicates that most of the titles that were established and expired in the same year are immigrant-type almanacs. A large majority, or seventy percent of them were issued before 1930. Some of the almanacs in this group appear to be incidental publications (many of them pocket editions) issued by businesses for their customers and the emigration industry (banks, shipping agents) and organizations dealing with migration. Their greatest concentration is between 1910 and 1923,⁴⁵⁸ and remains high throughout the 1920s. There is a noted absence of these single-issue runs in the second period of cultural change (1940-1955). Titles started at that time continued to be published for extended periods of time. Comparison of patterns for single-issue almanacs in Tables 5.13 and 5.14 and the overall publishing activity in Tables 5.10 and 5.11 at the two ends of greatest popularity of almanacs in the diaspora shows that the highest number of almanacs that were established and expired in a single year fall in the first period of cultural change, from 1922 to 1939.

The same is not true for the second period, between 1940 and 1955. Almanac titles published in the first period of cultural change had a lower likelihood of survival than those published in the second high peak of activity, ending in 1955. The reasons for this are complex. They are tied to the nature of these almanacs, the characteristics of the publishers, and the social environment in which they appeared.⁴⁵⁹

It is clear from this evidence that in the two periods of cultural change, conditions for survival of the almanacs were better met in the second period. Although in both periods increased

⁴⁵⁸The modes for this distribution are the years 1922 and 1929 and the median is 1922.

⁴⁵⁹This study also does not distinguish between the Canadian and American publishing scene. Considering these as two distinct markets would not be justified, because the communications networks of the diaspora do not correspond to geopolitical boundaries. The analysis should take into account the content of the publications issued in Canada and the United States. In the period prior to 1955, there is a relative absence of government influence in matters of ethnic publishing between the two countries. In the later period, in the 1970s, for example, the policies of multiculturalism and their effect on publishing in Canada would be reflected in the differences of the almanacs published at that time. Similarly, the mid-1970s in the United States is the time of the ethnic revival. These environmental factors would be significant for shaping the cultural identity of diaspora Croatians from the 1970s on.

production reflects the response of different organizations and publishers to meet a need for communicative acts, these acts result in the establishment of almanac titles, but are not sufficient for their survival. Success in maintaining the runs depended on material resources, communication networks, and the success of these communication acts in responding to the needs of the communities. Continuing runs (presented in Table 5.15) are interesting from the point of view of ideological production, because they represent those that were able to secure and maintain a resource base over a period of time. Case studies of publishers of selected titles from this group were presented in a previous section of this chapter, explaining publishers' strategies in accomplishing those goals. This finding is also interpreted in terms of the dynamics of the diaspora community in the concluding section of this chapter. It is used to identify a case for in-depth analysis in Chapter 6, of cultural meanings encoded in the almanac genre in the second period of cultural change.

5.3.2. Historical Inference.

It is possible to draw inferences from patterns of production presented in this section using historical evidence about the diaspora community in establishing whether the periods of intensified cultural change are in any way linked to what is known about the dynamics of diaspora communities. It is also necessary to identify whether the communities that engaged in the production, dissemination, and use of almanacs produced in the two periods are different in their social composition and if so, how. Dealing with these two problems called for superimposing the calendar of migration history over the periods marked by intensified publication activity, and searching for indicators of overall demographic (qualitative or quantitative) shifts in the Croatian diaspora.

A closer look at the historical periods identified by a surge in the publication of almanacs shows that these periods are also significant in terms of record immigration: they are also

distinct eras in the history of Croatian migrations. These periods coincided with periods of greatest uncertainty in the political environment and it is not surprising that this had an effect on intensified cultural production. Almanacs of the diaspora are a tangible record of the intensified cultural change which occurred in these two periods. As outlined in Chapter 2, migrations from Croatia to North America related to industrialization began in the nineteenth century and reached mass proportions between 1900 and 1914. It is also significant, from the point of view of uncertainty in the political environment that motivates cultural change, that the period between 1919 and 1921 was characterized by a reverse trend of reimmigration to Croatia, which reached a peak in 1920. Considering the literacy competence and political predisposition of this cohort, it is notable that these early immigrants were predominantly created by rural depopulation. The second wave represented a more organized and more educated refugee population which immigrated in record number between 1948 and 1955 to the United States and Canada (Čizmić 1982, 132; Rasporich 1982, 182). The composition of the second wave is not socially homogenous because these immigrants were not motivated primarily by economic reasons. There is evidence that this cohort was much better educated, and comprised a higher number of professionals (Rasporich 1982, 183). Notably, these immigrants had the ability and the will to commit more resources to ideological production which explains a higher likelihood of survival of the diaspora almanacs established in that period.

5.4. CONCLUSION

Interpreting fluctuation in the almanac trade and connecting it to changes in the community called for a combination of the approaches of book history and cultural analysis. The first part of this chapter presents the almanac trade in the diaspora in terms of conventional publishing history publishing, focusing on firms and their strategies in pooling resources for production, and drawing connections with these strategies and the communicational networks of the community. Connections between almanac production and the social environment focused on

organizational footing, material resources and communication networks. Strategies used by communities (producers, distributors, and users) to secure a resource base for a prolonged period of time, to adapt themselves to different constraints in the political environment in order to maintain legitimacy of their publications, and the actual interactions these processes entailed in relation to individual titles, groups of readers, or publishing enterprises, are reconstructed from available evidence of the almanacs, the context of their preservation and oral communication with those who were involved in the almanac trade. Following this conventional history of the diaspora almanac trade is an analysis of the almanac trade from the point of view of the theory of cultural dynamics. Overall trends in diaspora almanac publishing rather than individual titles are considered here, and the almanac trade is examined as a phenomenon of cultural production that reflects the social dynamics of the diaspora community.

So far, this thesis has focused on the historical prototypes of the almanac, the description of these almanacs, and the conditions of their production as it is related to segments of the Croatian diaspora community. In the next chapter, cultural meanings conveyed by almanacs are considered in depth, using a case-study approach, in order to draw conclusions about the communicational role of the almanac as a liminal genre of literacy. Establishing a meaningful link between material objects and the communities that produced them is an important element in understanding the role of print and its specific genres, in historical perspective. Therefore, in order to identify the roles that print genres have at a particular time, it is necessary to identify significant moments in the history of the community, characterized by an increased level of ideological production, and use these moments of crisis to target an analysis of the genre. In the next chapter, the link between the nature of the social environment and ideological production will be tightened even further, focusing on how the almanac was used in diaspora (or, rather, an important segment of that community) to redefine the social order. A case-study in the next chapter focuses on the content of knowledge and the "symbolic categories and boundaries that constitute the internal structure of ideological systems" (Wuthnow 1987, 146).

6

Genre and the Politics of Memory

6.1. INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that almanacs hold an ambiguous position in relation to orality; they are also an anomalous literate form. In Chapter 4, the generative processes that determine the structure of the almanac are interpreted in terms of a dialectic of orality and literacy. This chapter builds on the recent criticism of classical theories of orality and literacy, by further interpreting the textual strategies and the communicative purposes of the almanac. Using a case study approach, this chapter considers the almanac as a cultural text and shows how the interplay of orality and literacy may be used to convey cultural meanings. The issue selected for analysis is Hrvatski kalendar for 1955. The year in which it appears is identified as the time of most intense almanac production of the diaspora. This example shows how culture is mediated to participants of almanac literacy, using examples of texts conveying communal, group-directed meanings associated with oral mentality. Conclusions based on empirical evidence of this case aid in interpreting almanac literacy as a performative model of text.

6.2. THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT AND ANALYTICAL TOOLS

6.2.1. Literacy and Orality Debates

The problem with the traditional model of orality and literacy, associated with the work of Walter Ong, Jack Goody, Ian Watt, and Eric Havelock, is that it considers orality and literacy as mutually exclusive and "incompatible states." According to that model, we find orality only "in the complete absence of literacy," in primary oral societies in transition to literacy, and when literacy has extinguished (all but residual) orality (Coleman 1996, 18). Also known as the "autonomous" model of literacy (Besnier 1995), or the Great Divide theory (Street 1984), it compartmentalizes orality and literacy and, by extension, societies in different stages of cognitive development. Widely documented coexistence of orality and literacy and forms of

literacy that depend on orality, or vice versa, fall out of that model. Ong reserves the notion of residual orality for such phenomena.

Theorists of medieval literacy and anthropologists have found empirical evidence that challenges the dominant model of literacy. These recent theories show that the historical and evolutionist model of literacy is limited in interpreting complex phenomena in which orality and literacy may be involved in actual empirical settings. Ong's (and Havelock's) notion of shifts in the technology of communication that affect cognitive structures in individuals, societies, and cultures is diachronic--it excludes a concurrent existence and interaction of orality and literacy in a given society. It also fails to address cross-cultural evidence which shows that the nature of oral and literate communication may vary from society to society and that we may have oralities with literacy traits and vice versa. The analysis of literacy and orality as generative principles that determine the aesthetics of the diaspora almanac, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, shows that these properties are not mutually exclusive, and in fact, that the almanac effect in these texts is created through their interaction.

Ethnographic evidence has also demonstrated that several concurrent literacies may coexist and interact within the same communities (Street 1984). This is evident when literacies tied to specific genres and their readership are considered. The contribution of anthropologists to the research into orality and literacy should be considered by historians of the book⁴⁶⁰ because anthropologists look at the practices rather than the objects of literacy in isolation from the total act of communication in which they are involved. The notion of orality carries the negative connotations that the evolutionist model has brought to it. This model defines orality as "insufficient, negative, obsolescent, phonocentric, logocentric and uniformitarian" (Scollon & Scollon 1995, 19), judging text from the viewpoint of the aesthetics of literacy, and neglecting

⁴⁶⁰As more studies, particularly of popular literature, are undertaken, historians of the book are recognizing that the distance between print and oral culture has been overemphasized (Hall 1996, 46). The evolutionist model of literacy and orality is insufficient in explaining the textuality of popular print.

speech as an act of communication that cannot be conveyed in writing in its entirety. Scollon and Scollon suggest the notion of somatic communication to replace the notion of orality which, according to them, is reductionist because communication is identified with the sounds of language (1995, 19). Instead, somatic communication emphasizes communication tied to other "significant aspects of the speech event or cultural transmission" (ibid., 23). If such communication is more than the technology of transmission, it is an overall cultural experience and a totality of interactions that are engaged in the act of communication which reveals itself through discourse (speech, writing and print). Therefore, almanac literacy, as shown in Chapter 4, is tied to textual strategies that provide certain kinds of experiences for their intended readership. Analysis has shown that the cultural experiences that these texts provide for participants of almanac literacy⁴⁶¹ are based on emulating the oral characteristics of discourse for a calculated social effect. Almanac literacy, as indeed any literacy, serves in "reinforcing an assimilative relationship with one's intellectual or cultural environment" (Coleman 1996, 46); it represents a cultural practice.

Because this thesis is not an ethnographic investigation of literacy, being limited to the properties of texts, it does not deal with all components of almanac literacy, such as evaluating the behaviors of actual participants in that "literacy practice" (Besnier 1995, 5) using participant-observation approach. As has been repeatedly argued throughout this thesis, however, cultural productions are directly linked to the social dynamics of communities. Through reliability and validity checks described in Chapter 1, and analysis of fluctuations in the almanac trade as an indicator of cultural dynamics (cf. Chapter 5), a link between the cultural artefact and the cultural context of the Croatian diaspora community in the North American setting has been established. Accordingly, the analysis presented here does not

⁴⁶¹In reader-response criticism, "concretization" denotes a process in which the formal nature of the text has a definite effect on contemporary readers. According to Felix Vodička, it is "the reflection of a work in the consciousness of those for whom it is an esthetic object" (quoted in Mayer 1990, 532). There may be a number of such reflections, but "concretization is controlled both by 'the properties of the work' itself and by the 'period's literary requirements'" (ibid., 532). The "concretization" of the almanac of diaspora as a genre depends on that "definite effect" that it has on its readers, and its characteristics as an "aesthetic object."

consider text as a fact out of reality, as in the essentialist position, but as a social act embedded in the social context. The properties of the text, it is argued here, are social agents. Not only do they offer a blueprint for action, but in some instances (as shown in the "performative" genres found in almanacs, in which the distinction between readers and writers is blurred), the texts themselves are social acts.

6.2.2. Conceptual Tools for Analysis.

In order to interpret almanac literacy as a model of social action, two conceptual frameworks are used: Paul Ricoeur's theory of text (1971) and new theories of orality and literacy (e.g., Coleman 1996; Scollon and Scollon 1995).

6.2.2.1. Text Theory. Starting from the assumption that the basis of all culture is somatic (Scollon and Scollon 1995, 27-28) and that the mediation of culture is constrained by intervening technologies, the cultural effects of any technology depend on the ways in which it is able to overcome these constraints. Accordingly, understanding literacy practices requires consideration of textual strategies that emulate embodied human communication and diminish this innate discontinuity of life and text. The theory of speech acts developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) introduces an important assumption about the text: that it is equivalent to social action. Therefore, speech is not simply seen as "information transfer," or a means of "exchanging ideas" but as a means of social interaction (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 294). Because the social nature of any form of text is derived from its connection to speech, ideally realized in face-to-face communication, it changes in each instance of removal of the text from synchronous and embodied mediation. What happens when the text is removed from speech by the act of writing? And what may happen when written text is manipulated typographically?

Ricoeur's theory of text helps in thinking about important distinctions among the modalities of discourse and the distinctions between the acts of speaking, writing, and print. Using the traits he has identified for a comparative assessment of different technologies of the text, i.e., temporality and referentiality, it is possible to generalize that, in terms of temporality, writing is more powerful than the fleeting event of speech. Writing is mnemonic and commemorative because it represents the processes by which spoken discourse, possible only in face-to-face synchronous interaction, supports itself in order to be understood. While enabling asynchronous communication, writing loses immediacy in comparison to speech because it fixes not the event of speaking but disembodied speech reduced to its phonological aspects, "the said of speaking" (Ricoeur 1971, 532). In terms of referentiality to self, world and the other, written discourse "explodes dialogical relation" (ibid., 537) by optimizing its reach beyond the synchronic interaction with the interlocutor(s), a feature that "marks the spirituality of writing" (idem). Written discourse escapes the momentary character of the spoken event: "the bounds lived by the author. ... the narrowness of ostensive reference ... the limits of being face-to-face [and] no longer has a visible auditor [but] an unknown, invisible reader has become the unprivileged addressee of the discourse" (ibid., 537). Writing is a more accomplished form of discourse in terms of temporality and referentiality, but with limited social force. The meaning of the event of speech does not lend itself to material fixation even with the aid of grammatical paradigms because the somatic and the prosodic features of language, realized in face-to-face communication, are not inscribable (ibid., 533).

The instances of discourse fixed in print represent an ultimate accomplishment of written discourse with regard to temporality and referentiality, but print also opens up the possibility of inscribing the somatic and the prosodic features of speech when some form of sensory modality is introduced in written discourse through typographical inscription. These acts of print recapture the social effects of face-to-face communication. Such effects of "orality" multiplied in print, through an indefinite time and to an anonymous audience, increase the

potential of discourse. However, these texts do not correspond to the aesthetics of literacy but to the realm of mass, popular, and subversive literacy. In the escape of writing through the acts of print back into the world of orality, the text both retrieves its nature as an instance of spoken discourse and retains its quality as an instance of discourse inscribed in writing.

6.2.2.2. Literacy as Mentality (Exophoric / Endophoric). Instead of discrediting the "strong" model of literacy, Joyce Coleman (1996) uses it as a basis for a revised model. In the "weak" model, literacy and orality are viewed as mentality: they reinforce a particular kind of relationship with the individual. But, importantly, they are disengaged from the medium of transmission of the text, or the technology of communication (spoken, written). The traditional notions of orality and literacy are inflexible because they presuppose "pure types of cultures as wholes" (Coleman 1996, 15); they are also ambiguous because they collapse the mentality, the technology and the modality of texts. Coleman's model presents a set of cultural traits tied to the concepts of exophoric and endophoric literacies and oralities. These liminal literacies and oralities account for the bimodal nature of communication practices relevant to the channels of composition, communication and reception of medieval literature in English (ibid., 34).

Coleman's domains do not require societies to be categorized as evolutionary (or historical) prototypes of either of these states to the exclusion of the other. They also allow for a discussion of discrete literacy events or practices in specific social contexts, and cultural implications that "build up around a particular pattern of reception" (ibid., 34) that may be characterized in terms of these traits. Exophoric literacy or exoliteracy refers to the use of literacy to "reinforce assimilative relationship with one's intellectual or cultural environment" (ibid., 46). Endophoric literacy or endoliteracy "manifests the endophoric trait of autonomy" (idem) in the relationship between the self and other, as well as abstract and decontextualized use of language, and a historical, impersonal, de-homeostatized world view. The major distinction between Coleman's theory and Ong's inventory of "oral" and "literate" traits is in

dissociating the "literate" traits of texts from literacy as technology and from evolutionary, ethnocentric and historical presuppositions (*ibid.*, 12). In fact, exophoric and endophoric traits of texts (whether oral or literate) broadly correspond to the characteristics identified in the foundational theories of Ong, Goody, Watt and Havelock (*ibid.*, 2), in which "exophoric" would correspond to the traits of oral mentality and "endophoric" to literate mentality. Exophoric and endophoric mentalities, the traits of which are presented in Table 6.1, incorporate Walter Ong's inventory of traits and Basil Bernstein's (1971) categorization of the types of language used in different social situations based on the notions of elaborated and restricted codes.⁴⁶² In this chart, many features of cosmological derivatives that underlie the cultural biases of different social environments, suggested by Mary Douglas (1982, 205-231), are also recognizable.

According to Douglas' theory, the cosmologies shared by a group are mediated through institutions of those societies in order to assimilate individuals to a specific social order and are revealed in their notions of nature,⁴⁶³ time,⁴⁶⁴ human nature,⁴⁶⁵ and society.⁴⁶⁶ Societies may be categorized as distinct cultural types, in which either individualism or group-affirming qualities are desirable. A cosmology of such a society will be predictable, aimed at reinforcing these values. She identifies four basic cultural types that are determined in terms of a

⁴⁶²O'Sullivan et al. (1994, 102) define elaborated code as the type of language that "is used in social relations where there is an expectation of individual differences, and which therefore encourage the expression of meanings that are discrete to the speakers. Meanings of this sort have to be verbalized precisely and accurately in order to make them available to the listener, and so the elaborated code requires a large vocabulary and a complex syntax. It is thus relatively unpredictable, or of low redundancy." The restricted code "encourages the expression of group membership rather than of individual differences, and depends upon a context of shared assumptions, common social experience, and shared expectations. It therefore needs a smaller vocabulary, and a simpler syntax: it is a highly redundant code."

⁴⁶³Including views on nature in general, nature as contrasted with "culture," the notion of "abroad" and "strange places" (i.e., desire to travel, or a lack thereof) and pre-culture, as well as cultural processes which involve relations with other people. Since "relations between people require mediating materials, these are processed" as in: spatial dimension of social relationships, gardening as a medium of social relations, cookery, medicine (Douglas 1982, 208-216).

⁴⁶⁴Including attitudes toward old age, youth, and time past (Douglas 1982, 216-219).

⁴⁶⁵Including views on sickness and health, death, personal abnormality and handicaps, and personal relations (Douglas 1982, 219-224).

⁴⁶⁶Including the role of distributive justice and punishment (Douglas 1982, 225-226).

combination of these dimensions.⁴⁶⁷ In suggesting that cultural meanings about the nature of the relationship of the individual to society and the sense of the past are mediated through texts as their "exophoric" or "endophoric" traits, Coleman (1996) facilitates the analysis of texts as they project these cultural traits. Respectively, they would convey communal or individualistic values, and homeostatic or historical world view.

Textuality and practices associated with its various channels of composition, communication and reception in themselves reflect the beliefs and enforce a particular world view. The text is a model for conduct: it defines the moral obligations binding individuals to one another and mediates in-group meanings. Texts are used to communicate a system of moral codes that define the nature of commitment to a course of behavior (Wuthnow 1987, 66). As demonstrated in the previous chapter, texts are cultural products that depend on institutional arrangements to guide their production, and this is where social environment and texts coincide.

As a literacy practice with cultural implications, almanac literacy would fall into the category of exophoric literacy that depends on the technology of writing and print but exhibits many of the traits of "orality" as mentality, the effect of which is to mediate specific cultural meanings related to interpreting the past and defining the relationship between self and the social context.

Coleman's concepts of exophoric and endophoric mentalities and the traits aligned with each of these notions correspond to the traditional notions of orality and literacy as mentalities, but do not depend on the technologies of orality and literacy. The contrast of endophoric and exophoric (Coleman 1996, 44) guides the analysis of almanac literacy, using two of the three constitutive traits of these mentalities identified by Coleman: the relationship between self and other, and the world view. For an inventory of attributes associated with each of the categories,

⁴⁶⁷The *grnd* variable refers to the degree to which a society regulates an individual's behavior and identifies his/her position in relation to other members of the group. The *group* variable denotes the degree to which an individual is absorbed and sustained by her/his membership in a group.

see Table 6.1. Analysis of the contextualized or decontextualized nature of language as it characterizes almanac literacy, falls outside the scope of this study, and will not be presented as evidence.

This chapter presents a reading of the diaspora almanac as a cultural text, examining the kinds of cultural knowledge that almanacs convey and the genres by which they accomplish that effect. The exophoric nature of almanac literacy would indicate that these traits are collective-affirming⁴⁶⁸ and intent on mythologizing the past rather than asserting individualism or building a sense of history. The genres and techniques that enable the mediation of such meanings are examined; their uses in articulating the experiences of diaspora Croatians are interpreted in the analysis of the case. The implications of these findings reach beyond the understanding of the diaspora almanac; they are related to a broader political process which involves mainstream and diaspora culture. Efforts to isolate diaspora culture from mainstream society in Croatia in the post-World War II period and the tensions that manifested themselves in parallel cultural production are related to the problem of cultural legitimacy and the issue of control over spiritual capital. Cultural production in diaspora should be considered as subculture asserting itself through texts.

6.3. THE CASE--HRVATSKI KALENDAR FOR 1955

In the previous chapter, the corpus of the almanacs of the diaspora was analyzed to demonstrate that there were significant connections between this print genre and the dynamics of the community for which it was intended. As previously argued, the two periods of surge in the production of titles, in the early to mid-1920s and in the early to mid-1950s, occur at times of peak migration. These were also identified as periods of change. Although it may be argued

⁴⁶⁸The relationship between self and other is communal, assimilative, conservative, and public in exophoric mentalities; individualistic, and analytic in endophoric mentalities.

that the almanacs of the first wave contain more oral components, the second wave is selected for analysis because it occurs at a time when the almanac form literally disappears in Croatia. While the previous two chapters focused on the almanac as a genre in a historical perspective in the context of the almanac trade, this chapter provides a different perspective by analyzing a single issue published in a significant year.

Almanac literacy is practiced within the broad framework of genre conventions and symbolic associations of almanac literacy, as presented in Chapters 3 and 4. These conventions relate to audience expectations and to the character of the text. Because almanac literacy shows a bias toward sensory modalities associated with orality, it has been proposed in Chapter 4 that these texts communicate the intimacy of face-to-face communication; the elements of almanac discourse that support this function were analyzed as well. However, an explanation of the ideological significance of textual preferences associated with almanac literacy requires additional consideration of empirical evidence. The booming of the almanac in the diaspora concurrent with the end of the "peasant era" in Croatia, preceded the establishment of the regional almanac there (*Kaj. Žumberački kalendar*, etc.) during the dialect renaissance of the 1960s. In this hiatus in almanac publishing, the diaspora almanacs of the 1950s address the status of oral traditions in the Croatian community. They may be compared to the regional almanacs of the 1960s in which the artificial and intentional use of dialect in printed form is an instance of oral register disembodied from its "traditional functional context" (Quasthoff 1995, 10). Diaspora almanacs are likewise mediating a world disembodied from its traditional functional context. Both of these traditions of the almanac, the diaspora and the regional almanac, represent a phenomenon in which oral traditions are evoked in print. Genres of print that evoke nostalgia⁴⁶⁹ may mediate certain meanings about the past. They deal with the "communication problems" (Bergmann and Luckmann 1995, 289-304) of a society, drawing on its "communicative budget" (idem) as expressed in "the actual communicative acts, often

⁴⁶⁹The current popularity of the farmer's almanacs also represents an artificial revival of an oral world.

organized in a format of genres" (Quasthoff 1995, 6). The almanac is historically evocative, as discussed in Chapter 3. However, what is of interest here is why a genre of print nostalgia satisfies the communication need of the diaspora community.

The title targeted for analysis appears at a period identified in the previous chapter as one of intensified cultural production. Patterns in the fluctuations of the almanac trade, as discussed in Chapter 5, reflect the cultural and demographic change in the Croatian diaspora community (i.e., a new cohort of very politicized and well educated immigrants in the aftermath of World War II has asserted its presence in the diaspora community). As demonstrated already, this link connects the texts and the social context of their use and this chapter explores the nature of the process in one segment of the diaspora community.

6.3.1. Rationale for Selection.

A comparison of the pattern of publication of almanacs produced in Croatia and those in the diaspora shows an inverse trend in the period after World War II. Accordingly, the peak in the production of diaspora almanacs follows a decline of the almanac in Croatia that began in the 1940s and continued throughout the 1950s. In order to understand the function of almanac literacy in the context of the diaspora, it was considered productive to observe the almanac form at the time that it becomes an anachronism in the home country. Therefore, the text selected for in-depth analysis falls in the period after World War II. In terms of the demographics of the diaspora, it was in the first half of the 1950s, with the arrival of political refugees, that the culture of the diaspora changed under the influx of a new wave of immigrants. Also interesting is the fact that historians mark this period as the end of the "peasant era" in Croatia. A title that appears at the time of decline of the almanac in the home country and at the end of an era associated with orality as a preferred mode of communication, and which also coincides with a significant period in the history of Croatian migrations, should provide a better view of how

almanac literacy can serve a particular communicational need. This ties the literacy experience strongly to a specific context.

Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 was selected for in-depth analysis. This title does not represent all diaspora almanacs, but it is a significant case for several reasons. Three sets of criteria have influenced the selection of this title for interpretation of its communicational role. These criteria are determined with regard to the overall dynamics of the production of almanacs of the diaspora and therefore are meaningful in a broader sense. This title was selected:

1. Because it belongs to the surge period, between 1950 and 1957, which coincides with a demographic and cultural shift in the Croatian diaspora community.⁴⁷⁰ This is the time of intensified emigration overseas in the aftermath of World War II, three years after what is considered a peak immigration year in 1952. The immigrant cohort that arrived in North America at that time had a strong impact on the ideology of the Croatian diaspora.
2. Because it introduces a diachronic component into the analysis. This title had been published for eleven years⁴⁷¹ prior to 1955 and is issued to date, representing a stable ideological variant that has been able to maintain its presence and mould the sense of identity in the diaspora community. This stability provides a longitudinal perspective of the changes in ethnic ideology. An iconographic analysis of the cover art (discussed in Chapter 4) of this issue demonstrates a very stable presence of religious motifs. In 1954, nationalist symbolism enters the iconography of the cover and continues until 1965.⁴⁷² Iconographic evidence shows two periods of

⁴⁷⁰It has been noted in the discussion of the transformation in the iconography of cover art that a shift occurred at that time.

⁴⁷¹Or, thirty-three years if counting from the first issue of Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar. For years of publication, cf. Appendix 1.1.

⁴⁷²In 1966, a shift in the type of Croatian motifs is noted. Between 1966 and 1972, folklore and visual allegories expressing nationalist ideology, as well as panoramic sights from Bosnia and Croatia, prevail, but present a balance of religious and nationalist iconography. Between 1973 and 1980, nationalist orientation is intensified, and could be attributed to the new cohort of immigrants in the aftermath of the Croatian Spring. From 1981 to date, the balance of national and religious subjects is established again, with an emphasis on sights from Croatia and Bosnia.

intensified introduction of nationalist iconography in the cover art of this almanac. In both cases, this phenomenon is tied to an influx of new immigrant cohorts in the 1950s and the 1970s, and to the political events in the country of origin, the establishment of the Communist regime in the aftermath of World War II, and the suppression of the Croatian Spring in 1971. The shifts that are reflected in the changing iconography of the title may be interpreted as shifts from a primarily religious publication (until 1954), to a secularized religious almanac from 1954 on. The critical year of 1955 is one in which the blending of political with religious discourse is already accomplished.

3. Because of its association with a distinct ideological context. Published by a Franciscan brotherhood, this title has been traditionally associated with the Croatian community from Bosnia-Herzegovina. This community held a liminal position with regard to Croatia proper, and has traditionally exhibited a strong sense of self-awareness. The Franciscans have been historically associated with the preservation of the cultural and religious identity of that community, and have traditionally carried out their pastoral work close to the people and their concerns. Croatian national ideology has also been played out through the identity of Bosnian Croats, as a symbolic boundary for the Croatian identity as a whole.

Although Hrvatski kalendar demonstrates the principles of almanac literacy, its content is not typical of all the almanacs produced at that time, which present a number of ideological variants. (The list of titles published in the same year is shown in Table 6.2. They are listed in Appendix 1.1.) Further research is needed to address assumptions about the nature of almanac literacy in the critical year of 1955, taking into account comparative evidence of all the titles issued in that year. Nevertheless, the title that is selected for case analysis represents many typical features of the almanac as a type of print, using those genre characteristics for the production of new meanings that are relevant in a particular social setting.

6.3.2. Analysis and Interpretation of the Case.

As argued in Chapter 4, the dialectic of orality and literacy is at the core of structuring almanac discourse. This chapter develops this thesis using additional empirical evidence to explain how content features are interwoven with the genre to convey and structure information; it shows how the almanac is used as a "template for storing memories" and "structuring information" (Storkerson and Wong 1997, 147). The traits of exophoric and endophoric literacy tied to particular modes of structuring the social memories which are presented in this almanac, through the types of events commemorated and the narratives that serve this purpose, are also analyzed. All of this may add to the cultural experiences that these texts convey, and clarify the methods by which this is achieved.

6.3.2.1. History. The issue of Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 comes from one of the major centers of the almanac trade, Chicago. It is published by one of the most persistent publishers of almanacs, the Croatian Franciscan Brotherhood. Franciscan involvement in almanac publishing to interpret and articulate the concerns of the diaspora community is a natural extension of the tradition of that order. Their activity with regard to almanac publishing was discussed in the previous chapter, in the section on Catholic clericalist presses and the presses of ideological brotherhoods as well as in the sections dealing with the financing, distribution, and reception of the almanacs of the diaspora. The various points made there will not be repeated.

6.3.2.2. Thematic Focus. The 1955 issue is a thematic issue, one of a number of such issues during the almanac's long publishing history (from 1944 to date). As stated in the editorial found in the colophon (shown in Fig. 6.1), this issue is dedicated to the "tenth anniversary of the great tragedy of the Croatian people which fell under the Communist tyranny in the year 1945." The title is published under the approbation of the Church authorities, "Cum permissu Superiorium" (on half-title page), and is dedicated to the "martyrs for the Holy Faith and the

Croatian homeland" (from title page).⁴⁷³ Clearly, the issue for the significant year of 1955 is explicitly presented as a commemorative thematic issue. The dedication on the title page presents the theme in a general way, while the editorial gives it a very specific meaning. Because the almanac is used for the commemoration of these events, and as a medium of inscription of these memories, the structuring of remembrances had to observe the conventions of the genre and the framework for its reception in the community of the Catholic faithful. Combining these purposes has resulted in an interesting blending of religion with the Croatian ethos.

6.3.2.3. Presentation. The theme established in the editorial is developed through rhetorical figures in the almanac. The format, cover art, layout and typography, illustrations, textual forms (calendar, chronology, directories, statistics and tables, facts on file, various narratives), and the presentation of authorial function are all harnessed to that purpose. These formal characteristics of almanac discourse express the memories that were selected to create a template for the identity of diaspora Croatians at that particular time. This almanac is a memory theater, a compact metaphor for the "martyrdom for the Holy Faith and the Croatian homeland." The structure of information presented for commemoration to the readers of the almanac is constructed out of familiar resources of this almanac literacy and typographical inscription because the almanac is a printed artifact.

6.3.2.3.1. Structure, Format, Content. This issue is representative of the title, Hrvatski kalendar in its outward appearance. It consists of 232 pages of text,⁴⁷⁴ including eight pages of plates (sepia, glossy paper), with an additional four pages of cover; it is stapled, with illustrated colored wrappers. A little over a tenth of the writing space (thirty pages) is taken up by conventional features of the almanac: the calendar, directories, facts on file, news, and

⁴⁷³Text of dedication (from title page) reads: "Posvećen mučenicima Sv. vjere i domovine Hrvatske."

⁴⁷⁴120 leaves, pp. [24] [2] 1-16 [2] 17-112 [2] 113-160 [2] 161-199 7 207 [1].

advertisements. The rest of the issue contains texts that range from historical, political, theological prose and polemics to poetry, prayers, reprints of documents, fictional accounts, autobiographical prose, and an excerpt from a novel. What it does not include are many gnomic forms tied to oral traditions, which are typically found in the almanacs of the diaspora, such as anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, jokes, and jests. The absence of the genres of entertainment is due to the solemn subject of this issue. The traditional role of the almanac as a mediator and a site of folkloric memories is fulfilled by text #24 (pp. 133-144). This ethnographic description of Croatian folk costumes and ornaments establishes the connection with the peasant tradition and the context of orality, but in terms of literacy, so that an "exophoric" world is the object of an "endophoric" account.

Table 6.3 shows the contents of Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 as forty text units, twenty-eight of which are prose and a third of which are verse. However, the overall impact is determined by a ratio of illustration to typographical content. As shown in column four of Table 6.3, many of the texts are profusely illustrated. Pictorial text is found on all 8 pages of plates, on front and back covers, and as illustrations in nearly half of the items (twenty-three out of fifty, listed in Table 6.3). A typical number of illustrations found in these texts is three or fewer. Some texts are more profusely illustrated: an ethnographic account (#24 (pp. 133-144), "Croatian Folk Costume and Ornaments") has seven illustrations, and a reportage (#30 (pp. 167-173), "Croatian Marian Congress in Chicago, U.S.A.") has eleven.⁴⁷⁵

6.3.2.3.2. Layout, Arrangement of Texts. The issue for 1955 has a modern look, with minimal fragmentation of the page. However, this simplicity is deceptive: closer examination reveals features that subvert the uninterrupted motion of written discourse and natural linearity of

⁴⁷⁵The images, and the titles attached to them that interpret, frame, and direct the reading of these images, are listed in Tables 6.4, 6.4A and 6.5. The tables present different aspects of the pictorial material found in this almanac: images that are integral to narratives are presented in Table 6.4 and their titles are translated in Table 6.4A; images that are independent units are shown in Table 6.5.

written discourse through layout and typography. The short forms in this issue are limited to poetry, while other texts are longer. Interfering with continuous narrative are illustrations accompanying the texts. When the units of text end mid-page as they invariably do, they also interrupt the linearity of the text. The blanks thus created may be filled with pictorial material that illustrates the text, or provides a filler, or is ornamental (vignette illustrations). Variations in typography in adjacent units of text found in the same visual unit (two facing pages) are used for the same effect. Typography and other visual cues determine protocols of reading--they structure the features of the text for preferred interpretation (Scholes 1989, 78). They may be used to introduce performative aspects into the text, or imbue the text with somatic or prosodic features that recapture the social effects of face-to-face communication. The structuring principle of almanac literacy through graphic forms relies on various techniques, using the shapes of the text, the typographical distinction of font, and the combination of text and image.

For example, the text of the editorial titled Hrvatski kalendar, is shaped as an ellipsis. It is a visual variation of the rectangle of printed text on a page. This unexpected effect visually isolates the text of the editorial from other texts, which are presented conventionally: prose items in a single column, poetry in two columns, with titles and subtitles that mark divisions between discrete units. The editorial is positioned, unexpectedly, at the end of the issue--almost as an afterthought. Although this gives a sense of closure to the text, leaving the editorial voice for the end of the reading, addressing the reader in the colophon which is at the end of the sequence that starts with the first page of cover, inverts the natural order in which the reader is introduced into the text. This inversion may also be interpreted as an invitation to a rereading. Therefore, sequential and linear movement through the text from left to right is a pattern that determines the flow of reading. This pattern of reading, however, is incorporated into a broader pattern of cyclical movement through the text, which is induced by many features of the text. Illustrations and typography are used to interlock and overlap several consecutive items, to keep the reader moving from one text to the other in a linear progression, yet without a

definitive sense of closure, which calls for repeated re-readings. Each of the texts or illustrations is part of a larger whole, and their order is determined by their significance in pointing to the central frame of reference, "martyrdom for the Holy Faith and the Croatian homeland" (dedication from title page).

The ordering of texts in this volume with regard to where they appear in the issue and with regard to each other is not arbitrary. Even in overall arrangement, the editorial intent is evident. Feature articles are found in the central position on pp. 78-119 (cf. #15-21 in Table 6.3). They constitute the ideological core of this issue and focus on central themes; other texts are ancillary to that purpose. The texts in the beginning (cf. #1-14 in Table 6.3) and at the end (cf. #22-40 in Table 6.3) of the volume are those conventionally found in the almanac (the calendar, directories, honorific portraits, etc.); the rest are "minor" forms (fictional accounts, poetry, meditative, theological, ethnographic, biographical or historical narratives, advertising).

It is useful to look at the texts in the order of appearance (shown in Table 6.3). A closer examination of thematic sequences reveals an internal logic of arrangement from the universal aspects of "martyrdom" (as expressed by theological musings that are found at the outset of this issue) to the specific instances (as demonstrated by the examples taken from contemporary history). This principle of development is exemplified in the cluster of texts #2-8. This group of texts appears as a single thematic bloc which proceeds from the existential level in considering the nature of suffering (#2, "Worldly Suffering and God's Will"), through presentation of suffering and martyrdom according to traditional Christian iconography (#3-4, "Suffering and Christ," and "The Spirit of Martyrdom of the First Christians: The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans"), to historical instances of suffering (#5, "Communist Victims, Christian Martyrs," which uses Christian symbols to interpret contemporary concerns). The text that follows (#6 "White Madonna"), is a fictional account, a story of a miraculous sighting of the White Madonna in Široki Brijeg in the aftermath of World War II. Her apparition to a group of

partisans responsible for the torture and execution of the Franciscans from Široki Brijeg (which is aluded in other texts of this almanac). The story personalizes the executioners, giving them names and faces (they are, naturally, stereotypical, iconographic figures).

This fictional account is a link to the grim statistics that are presented in text #7. "List of Croatian Catholic Priests Killed Between 1941 and 1954." This list is a compilation of statistics on priests executed by the partisans during World War II and the period of intense persecution in the Communist regime in the post-war period. The information is arranged by the diocese⁴⁷⁶ to which the individuals belonged. Within each diocese, the entries are numbered. Each entry contains the name of the priest, his ecclesiastical rank, date of birth, date of death, and often the circumstances of his death. The listing derives authority from the detached nature of factual, objective information, while the fictional account of text #6 derives authority from its proclaimed proximity to reality. Nevertheless, the two forms of historical narrative, the story and the objective fact, share a common referent (White 1987, 169).

The listing is a modern version of a martyrologium, tied to another genre in the same textual tradition, of a miracle (text #6). Martyrologia are the historical precursors to the calendar, which is also integral to the almanac tradition. Martyrologia correspond to this list in both form and function. Originally historical records transmitted in early Christian communities, celebrating the memory of martyrs, they are an appropriate textual precedent. The cult of the martyrs was celebrated in the Christian tradition and non-Christian hero-cults, and this transformation of martyr-celebration is a mnemonic for an ethos at the center of which it is possible to transform Catholic priests as Communist victims into Christian martyrs, and confer on them the status of Croatian heroes to be commemorated. This is a feature of exophoric mentality in which the meaning of individual life and death is in its relation to group. The text also reveals a system of relations in which the oppositional groups are clearly demarcated, thus revealing the agonistic

⁴⁷⁶The ecclesiastical divisions of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina do not correspond to the political divisions.

view in which the world is interpreted in terms of good and evil. The last text in the series is #8, "Cardinal Stepinac - Living Martyr," which captures a paradox in typical almanac fashion. As the last in the thematic bloc, this article adds the component of currency to the argument that was developed in the preceding narratives, transforming history into current concerns. This is a homeostatic tendency, characteristic of exophoric mentality. The end of the thematic cycle and the introduction of a new one, consisting of other interlocking texts, is marked by an appropriate textual boundary, a poem titled "Prayer for Croatia" (#9).

The layout of the text is another protocol of reading exploited by the compilers of the almanac. The almanac is meant to be read in a pre-determined fashion, but not from beginning to end, as a book. Rather, it is linear but calls for re-reading and cyclical movement. Although linear ordering underlies an overall organization of the text, this does not preclude alternative movements in smaller sections that are meant to be read together, such as the sequence of texts #2-8 analyzed above. This apportioning of reading material in self-contained units is natural for a text that is meant to be read throughout a year. Alternative paths of reading are also determined by the arrangement of pictorial material, or by items that tell the same story, in narrative and in image. Sepia plates inserted throughout the text form a separate and self-contained narrative that runs parallel to and intrudes into the continuous paginated narrative. A table of contents added at the beginning is a retrieval tool provided by the editors, emphasizes the reference function of the almanac, and also offers the possibility of "random" retrieval by known item, controlled by the reader.⁴⁷⁷

6.3.2.3.3. Typography. The typographical means at the disposal of this almanac publisher are limited. Consequently, typographical expression is restricted to alteration of size and the use of bold, italic, and bold italic, in addition to the fonts of headings for semantic distinctions. These

⁴⁷⁷The material is grouped into four categories: 1. general, 2. articles, 3. poems and stories, and 4. minor contributions.

devices are be used to invoke parallel readings, to make readings of texts ambiguous, to group or distinguish texts, or to introduce visual variation and prosodic features into the text.

Italic is used primarily as a marker of genre (of liminal texts) but also to indicate variations in register. Poetry is displayed in italic, which is a conventional typographical presentation for verse from the early days of printing. Italic is also used in printing commentaries that are in some way distinct from the texts with which they are associated, such as legends accompanying images, the (editorial) introduction preceding the main text (#7, on p. 36) in which the sources and technical details of compilation are presented, and biblical quotations (#2, p. 10; #3, p. 13), as well as for emphasis, in places where bold font is commonly found (#21). It is also used in #29, to set off this text from the ones adjacent to it, and for differentiation from bold italic, in which the text of the prayer "Molitva za spas Hrvatske" ("Prayer for the Salvation of Croatia") is printed in the same textual unit. The prayer, being neither prose nor verse, is aptly presented in this fashion, combining emphasis and italic. Other examples that combine the use of bold and italic are the editorial note introducing the document reprinted in #28 and a poem by Ivan Gundulić (#26, "To Freedom"). The latter, a classic work of nineteenth century Croatian literature, is a shared cultural text for all Croatians. In the context of this almanac, it is paired with a vignette illustration depicting the Statue of Liberty, an equally powerful unifying symbol in the immigrant imagination.

Another example of typographical variation that deserves to be addressed is the use of bold font. The texts in which bold is used for emphasis are of three types: those that combine it with italic, mentioned earlier; the texts that are entirely printed in bold font; and those in which bold is selectively used to set off portions of texts, as memorable phrases or keywords for retrieval. Several texts in this almanac scream out of the pages of the almanac, printed entirely in bold font. What sets them off from the rest is their liminality with regard to other texts. They include text #1, "Duties of a Real Catholic," and text #28, a reprint of a memorandum issued by the

Conference of Slovenian and Croatian Catholic Bishops on October 7, 1953 addressed to the Federal Executive Assembly of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The other texts printed entirely in bold are an advertisement for editions of "Croatia" (#39, "For Familiarization With and Freedom for Croatia") and the directory of Croatian Catholic parishes and institutions in America.

The interesting use of bold font for emphasis of portions of text which are considered memorable also reveals one important feature of almanac literacy and its connections with exophoric mentality. Typographical emphasis is used to produce a parallel structure of meaning that reinforces the main points in the text. Instances of setting off text typographically are found throughout the issue, but not in every text. In some instances, whole paragraphs are highlighted; in others, words or phrases. Unlike readerly subversions of the text such as underlinings and marginalia, these are added by the editor, and are available for public consumption by all readers of that edition. Looking more closely at some of the emphases, it is possible to reconstruct a system of associations that they convey. This technique may seem similar to the organization of text through subtitles, but is also the opposite of such organization because it is not subordinative and hierarchical (as the system of titles and subtitles in a written text), but aggregative and additive. These are features that Ong (1982, 37-57) lists as characteristic of oral thought and expression. The concepts/phrases are connected through association rather than place within a logical framework of an argument. These fragments are verbally effective because they are rhetorical, using contrast and hyperbole. They are also copious, a feature of orality that uses repetition for reinforcement. Although these texts are repetitive with regard to texts in which they reside (i.e., as variations on the theme of martyrdom), they add value to them and interlock meanings of different textual units in the same issue. Phrases are decontextualized from the text that they belong to visually (a literate procedure), but when put together, they extend meanings beyond the bounds of individual text.

They call for reading in the context provided by the overall theme of this issue, and even beyond that, in the context of collectively shared memories.

Phrases capture the essence of the text in condensed form, similar to proverbial wisdom in oral tradition. Thus, a simple typographical device becomes a powerful mnemonic feature of the text; at the same time, this device undermines the linear dimension of writing and reorganizes the text to be easily recycled into other communicative genres. These texts integrate mnemonic tools as a key to their own meaning. A complex and lengthy unit of original text is reduced to memorable linguistic signs. The message is reinforced, and its chances for retrieval increased through redundancy. This strategy of organizing information into more easily remembered units facilitates their recycling into other texts or into other forms of communication. Through this procedure, the text is simplified, selectively, into conceptual units which may be reassembled with more flexibility than the original text may be recalled. A parallel text that builds on a continuous narrative undermines the boundedness of writing. The flexibility of the almanac in providing material to be reused in other texts of a culture also indicates that the almanac is intertextual, a "junction of several texts of which it is simultaneously the rereading, accentuation, condensation, displacement, and depth" (Sollers 1968, 75; quoted in Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory 1997, 569). The text of this almanac becomes open for permutation in other texts, through the double-voiced technique conveyed by typography. This technique increases the ease of dissemination and facilitates the absorption of this text by other historical and social texts.

The cases which exemplify this semantic procedure in which typography is used mnemonically is noted in various instances in which a type of font is used for emphasis. The use of special fonts for emphasis is noted in texts #2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 14, 16, and 19. In one instance, italic is used

instead of bold for emphasis (in text #21).⁴⁷⁸ Italic for emphasis is used in many instances when the text quotes directly from scholarly texts. In one other case, upper case is used for emphasis (in text #30). Among the texts in which bold is used for emphasis is #2, "Worldly Suffering and God's Will." The phrases emphasized are: "triumph of evil over the rightful ... preternatural drama ... have not repented ... and have not repented ... nor have they repented [all in one paragraph] ... persecution because of the faith ... martyr ... witness ... Follow Christ ... Magnificat."⁴⁷⁹ These phrases are fragmented, but they connect some important concepts and provide associative ties to other texts. For example, they can be used to frame the list of priests, victims of post-World War II persecution by the Communists, who are martyrs and witnesses of Faith, who died willingly, following Christ's example, who are celebrated forever and whose death is evidence of the triumph of evil over rightful men, i.e., drama that exceeds human proportions. Text #5, "Communist Victims, Christian Martyrs" has another sequence under the subtitle, "The Concept of Christian Martyrdom": "forceful death ... caused by the person responsible and different from the victim ... reason must be faith ... must consciously receive death for the reason already mentioned ... non-resistance [of the victim to his/her persecutor]. Under the subtitle "Indestructible Value and Cult of our Martyrs," one word starkly stands out: "... witness" Text #8, "Cardinal Stepinac - A Living Martyr," presents the following sequence: "living martyr ... living martyr ... [in a single paragraph] ... birthdays [because the first Christians celebrated the days of martyrdom as birthdays] ... persecutor ... a Catholic individual ... living martyr." This "nonsensical" sequence in fact makes sense only as a mnemonic to the whole text of the almanac, a reminder that Cardinal Stepinac is a "living

⁴⁷⁸This variation is justified, because that text is one of the feature articles and its tone is distinct from that of the other texts, which are more popularly presented. This text contains a scholarly apparatus (endnotes), and explicitly attempts to frame itself as scholarly and as tied to scholarly authority. For example, on p. 106, the text reads: "The Professor of the Catholic University in Washington, Donald A. Maclean, discussing the questions of nationalism and internationalism, represents a similar opinion ..." (reference to endnote follows) ("Profesor Katoličkoga Sveučilišta u Washingtonu, Donald A. Maclean, raspravljajući o pitanju nacionalizma i internacionalizma, zastupa slično mišljenje ...").

⁴⁷⁹Text in Croatian: "... trijumfu zla nad pravednikom ... nadnaravnoj drami ... ne pokajaše se ... i ne pokajaše se ... niti se pokajaše ... progon zbog vjere ... mučenik ... svjedok ... Nasljeduj Krsta ... Magnificat"

martyr" for the Faith, and a symbolic indication of the status of the Catholic church in the new Communist state.

Texts #13 and 14 are historical and establish precedents of martyrdom for the Croatian cause, only to introduce a highly controversial event from the end of the World War II known as Bleiburg. As one of the hidden atrocities of World War II in the former Yugoslavia, Bleiburg involved the execution of an estimated 100,000 people by Tito's partisans, without trial or investigation. These individuals had surrendered to the British troops as prisoners of war after the official capitulation of the Independent State of Croatia.⁴⁸⁰ Bleiburg is explicitly commemorated in Hrvatski kalendar for 1955, a decade after its occurrence. Sentences highlighted in this article include quotes from the Geneva Convention about the treatment of prisoners of war. Text #19, "A Calvary of the Croatian People in 1945," expands on the theme of mass executions by Chetnik and Partisan troops in Croatia and in Bosnia, with execution sites highlighted, as symbolic, verbal markers of mass graves. The last in that grim list of highlighted names is a phrase-- "...already at the end of war..." ("već na svršetku rata" in Croatian) --which dramatically frames the list and connects some of these atrocities to Bleiburg. Text #21 is another polemical text, an apology for Croatian nationalism, presented as a scholarly debate, using *italic* for emphasis. In the two remaining texts which use **bold** type for emphasis, it is reduced to one or two occurrences in each of the texts, highlighting factual information. Smaller font is used for compilations of facts in #32-33, presumably to set them off as minor forms, and to add intensity (speed) to these lists of trivia heavily packed on a single page.

⁴⁸⁰They included those with ties to a pro-Nazi group known as Ustashe, conscripts of the regular army known as Domobrani, and civilian refugees. The British troops extradited them to the Liberation Army. Bleiburg is the locality in Slovenia where the killings occurred. The event was unmentionable in Socialist Yugoslavia, but debated in the diaspora.

The evidence given here shows some of the techniques by which the printed text may undermine the linearity of writing by providing alternative but pre-determined readings. Typographical topoi that constitute the parallel text determine the mnemonic repertoire that conveys a vision of the past valid for a particular social group. The effectiveness of the memories so constructed depends on how they are integrated into generally shared cultural discourses (such as their reinforcement through Catholic imagery). The use of images is added to the use of verbal markers for mnemonic elements.

6.3.2.3.4. Illustration. This issue contains two types of images: those that appear in independent sequences and those that support the text (listed respectively in Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

Illustrations appear with the text which they are meant to illustrate.⁴⁸¹ Images that are not illustrations in the narrow sense are found as cover art, a series of two-sided sepia-toned plates, and two independent images integrated into the pagination. In terms of content, they include reproductions of art, documentary photographs, a map, and line drawings. Each of them, including the cover art, is accompanied by a legend (translations of which are found in Table 6.4A and integrated into Table 6.5). The legends are rather lengthy descriptions that are assigned by editors to support the message of the text and increase emotional impact of the images. A comparison of text sequences presented in Table 6.3 and their accompanying images (with legends) in Table 6.4A indicates how they fit in creating signification chains. The association of image with music is common.⁴⁸² The transcending role of the image, and the anchoring role of the text is evident in the following two examples: #2c, "Mary Sings: My Soul Praises the Lord" describes a musical event, and #29a, titled "Hail Virgin, Queen of Croatians" is a visualized line from a church hymn, possible only through this symbiotic relationship between the text and the image.

⁴⁸¹One exception to this rule are images that are spread over three consecutive texts, i.e., #31 to #33.

⁴⁸²Cf. the example of a pictorial anthem discussed in Chapter 4.

Interpolation of images is one of the strategies by which almanac literacy diminishes the "spirituality" and "alienation" of written discourse (Ricoeur 1971, 536), with this reminder of the "ostensive" referentiality of oral discourse (ibid., 535). These images infuse the text with the "life-like," personalize it, and bring it "close to the human lifeworld," which are the distinctive features of orality (Ong 1982, 42). Among all genres of pictorial presentation, photographic reproduction is the most authoritative form of somatic embodiment and also the most common type of illustration in the almanacs of the diaspora. Thirty-eight out of fifty images that illustrate the texts are photographs; ten illustrations are reproductions of art; and two are line drawings (cf. Tables 6.4 and 6.4A). Photographs of localities, portraits, monuments and buildings, as well as panoramic views from the homeland are among some of those found in this issue as the embodiment of the environment. Interestingly, the only images of new places are those of the Croatian churches and parishes in the United States and the Marian procession held in Chicago in 1954. All other visual references are to locations in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Among the images that are not illustrations for the texts, the majority are reproductions of art (ten out of thirteen listed in Table 6.5). The images that are not illustrations for the texts, are ordered in accordance with the requirements of the genre and the requirements of the thematic issue to which they are attached. The portraits of Pope Pius XII (on p. [7]) and George Washington (on p. [22]) are found in the position of "honorific" portrait. Yet, the fact that the president is not a contemporary of the Pope or the readers is of no concern to the compilers of the almanac: this shows indifference to current affairs and a concept of time that is mythical rather than historical, a common feature in these almanacs.

Also in the "honorific" portrait position (on p. [4]) is the image of St. Mary, titled "Our Lady of Sorrows, the Solace of all Those Sad and Persecuted." This image is a conventional religious image, and in its formality a typological equivalent of the portraits of the ecclesiastical and the secular heads also found in this issue. Nevertheless, its role is expanded by being linked to the image on the front cover depicting a peasant woman with a rosary, titled "Croatian

Mother in Sorrow and Prayer." This pairing of images of the two mothers mirrored in their grief not only introduces the theme of this issue in the language of images but also reinforces the connection of national to religious discourses. The "Croatian Mother in Sorrow and Prayer." is an instance of a heavy or type character of oral discourse, an "iconographic figure" (Ong 1982, 130).

According to Storkerson and Wong (1997, 148), images that are vivid and memorable derive their power to interpret through the characteristics of:

- Analogy: structural relations in the image can be transferred to the situation.
- Mapability: constituents of the image can be mapped onto individual constituents of the situation.
- Coherence: the image has a unity of order that can be used to interpret the situation.
- Significance: the image projects a significance or content which can be transferred to the situation.
- Rhetoric: in sum, the image constructs the situation according to its template, enabling us to see the empirical situation as a mirror of a created one.

Although it is possible to look at images as individual units of meaning and see how they interact with the text, it is possible to look at groups of images as more complex visual texts which provide interpretations through the characteristics identified by Storkerson and Wong (1997, 148).

Implicit images to be added in the visual list presented by the sequence of plates, by force of analogy, mapability, coherence, significance, and rhetoric (Storkerson and Wong 1997, 148),

are those of recent collective experiences that need to be integrated into historical time and shared cultural memories. The recent past and the present, as seen by the producers of this issue, are theorized through existing historical and religious discourses. Therefore, the visual series does not only remind, but creates new interpretations of the lived experience: "the mnemonics and interpretation are closely linked in the unity of an image with its sense of structure, and its potential narrative" (Storkerson and Wong 1997, 149). The visual series should be seen as a single mnemonic image. Multi-image mapping of the idea of martyrdom, as a unifying concept, into both historical time and immortality, suggests history as a unifying narrative integrating the more recent history commemorated in this issue. This example illustrates the principle of listing and ordering discussed in Chapter 4. Accordingly, lists serve to fragment and itemize reality, but also convey the coherence and unity of these fragments, as well as transforming the meanings of the fragments. As "structural sequences" that convert "paradigmatic associations" into "syntagmatic chains" (Leach 1977, 26) through addition and aggregation, they are the principles underlying oral communication. They also impart a communal view of the self, and a homeostatic world view, because they communicate a mythical past. The past is reduced to the elements that correspond to episodic events in mythical narratives. These events are unified through the referential text of the visual list and the theme of "martyrdom for the Holy Faith and the Croatian homeland." The messages conveyed are "summary 'additive' stories" (ibid., 26).

Inserted series of plates may be read as a visualization of the themes that are united as an actualization of martyrdom on three semantic levels (religion, history, and nationalism). The themes are visualized in images that stimulate memory. Images linked in this particular fashion present "a rhetorical frame for the interpretation of the events which makes an intelligible theory of the case" (Storkerson and Wong 1997, 148); the theory is transferable to other cases. The plates that form a series are listed in Table 6.5 (as #5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13). The connection

into a unit of meaning is obvious only if browsed in a sequence. Since they are two-sided plates, the pairing of thematic content of the two sides is also significant.

The visual list starts with reproductions of works of two artists, Jozo Kljaković and Ivan Meštrović. The images titled "Flogging" and "The Suffering of Jesus" are followed by the reproduction of Dolci's "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian." The sequence is not arbitrary, but associative: the Passion of Christ is reinforced by the martyrdom of St. Sebastian; the work of twentieth century Croatian artists is counterbalanced by a Renaissance depiction of the subject. The title of Dolci's St. Sebastian has the explicit statement of location (Florence), which is paired with the image on verso, the location of which is also emphasized: "Early Christian Martyrs from the Croatian Lands in a Beautiful Mosaic ... in St. John of Lateran in Rome" (cf. item #8 in Table 6.5). Christian art is presented in the first four images. The arrangement is calculated to create a framework into which the Croatian content will be integrated. This order corresponds to sequences of texts discussed earlier. Movement from the universal and shared symbolism of religious art to examples of higher specificity, stands for a movement from eternal chronology (martyrdom of Christ and saints) to linear time (historical martyrs) and, eventually, the movement from "martyrs for the Holy Faith" to the "martyrs of the Croatian homeland" (cf. dedication on title page). Death, the survival of death through Faith, and immortality are interrelated.

Suggested leaps lead the reader to associate Christian martyrdom (in Croatian art), with "Early Christian Martyrs from the Croatian Lands" (in the Basilica of St. John of Lateran), and with instances of non-canonical martyrdom (historical figures). The last four plates are chronologically arranged. They depict well-known historical figures: Matija Gubec, a leader of a peasant rebellion in the sixteenth century (plate facing p. 112), Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan, the Croatian nobles who organized resistance to Habsburg absolutism in the seventeenth century (plate facing p. 113); and Eugen Kvaternik, leader of an unsuccessful

military rebellion in 1871 (plate facing p. 160). The last in the series of historical martyrs is Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (plate facing p. 161). These figures and their significance in Croatian political history is discussed in Chapter 2 (also shown in Table 2.1). Interpretation of the images is given in subtitles added to the illustrations (as shown in Table 6.4A). In the almanac, these historical figures are commemorated as leaders of nationalist, grassroots movements. Although this may hold for nineteenth and twentieth century figures, interpreting the Zrinski and Frankopan Conspiracy in this light is problematic. Interestingly, the cult of Matija Gubec, leader of a peasant uprising in the sixteenth century is the only one among those presented in this line of historical martyrs, that was also officially cultivated in Socialist Yugoslavia. Kvaternik has been embraced as a hero by those who identified their political affiliation as the Croatian Party of Right.

But what is the purpose of these images? If they are not arbitrary, what do they stand for? What is the framework for interpretation of new cases that they offer? Clearly, this visual list establishes the ideological affiliation of this issue, but more importantly for the argument developed in this chapter, it exemplifies a method of the art of memory which utilizes a historical template within which new memories can be stored, i.e., the memories and experiences of World War II and the post-war period. The memories in this case are of things (events, figures) but also of a concept of martyrdom as a continuous historical state⁴⁸³ (i.e., homeostatic feature of orality), presented in a series of striking and memorable images.

6.3.2.3.5. Authorial Function. Formulaic ways of remembering are tied to the folkloric tradition (exemplified by myth, proverbial wisdom, etc.). In the almanac tradition, authorial function is manipulated in order to assert this liminal position with regard to an anonymous (collective) tradition and individual creativity as the attributes of orality and literacy respectively

⁴⁸³According to Ong, this homeostatic feature of oral communication means that "the integrity of the past [becomes] subordinate to the integrity of the present" (1982, 48). In other words, the relevance of the past is determined by the needs of the present.

(corresponding to exophoric and endophoric mentality). Different markers of authorial function are found in the statements of responsibility and their presentation. For example, anonymous, pseudonymous, acronymous, or true authorship, or a combination thereof, may be stated. The somatic presence of the author (with the image to accompany the text) may underline this function. The author's persona may be qualified by attributes (rank, title, geographical location, affiliation), and the statement of authorial function may refer to different aspects of responsibility (whether the author is a translator, compiler, creator of original text).

Before exploring the features of authorship in this issue, and drawing conclusions from the evidence, it is important to remember that many of these features are manipulated to create an overall effect of authorship. Analysis of the choice of typography, display and formatting of text, the arrangement of narrative and pictorial content, and the mnemonic effects of these processes, indicates that the nature of authorship (as original, innovative work of an identifiable creator, tied to a distinct unit of text) has been constantly deconstructed. The nature of authorship as traditionally conceived is not possible to uphold in the context of the almanac genre. The emphasis is on organic unity rather than the originality of each text. Therefore, although authorial functions are listed as contributors of individual articles, editing procedures manipulate this function to create the "almanac effect." As explicitly stated on the title page, the issue for 1955 is edited by a noted Franciscan historian, fra Dominik Mandić. The identity of other contributors and the ways in which these identities were presented are analyzed in the text that follows.

Thirty-three individuals are named as authors of texts,⁴⁸⁴ including six pseudonyms. Anonymous texts are the calendar, directories, facts on file, prayers (#2, and #29), reportage, news items (#30, 38), collections of trivia (facts that are odd, unusual, or fascinating) (#32, and

⁴⁸⁴This excludes the pictorial content of the almanac. Neither the photographs nor the original drawings are signed, but the original source for reproductions of art is carefully documented.

#33), the advertisement (#39) and the editorial (#40). Authors' names are modified by titles showing affiliation with monastic orders, academic credentials and/or geographic locality. In four cases, all of the qualifiers are present, but for the most part, only some of the qualifiers are included. The list of names with a distribution of qualifiers is shown in Table 6.6. Explicit statements about the author are determined by the nature of the text to which they are attached. These qualifiers, and the mode of authorship in which the text is presented (anonymous, pseudonymous, explicit), are important stylistic devices which enable the change of register between the exophoric and endophoric.

Texts of fictional or autobiographical nature, reminiscences, and personal accounts tend to be written under pseudonym, while argumentative and polemical texts tend to "intensify" authority by markers such as an academic or ecclesiastical title. The choice of a pseudonym instead of real name, and the display of the statement of responsibility at the end instead of the beginning, is determined by a model of reception rooted in an oral world view. Although the authority of personalized experience is a feature of orality, this does not mean that the author as individual is important. In the world of orality, the author is the equivalent of a Homeric bard and the tradition is anonymous and collective. Authority is relative to the proximity of the report to the event, and not an essential quality of authors. The ability of the author to convey a sense of such proximity, of being there confers authority to the text. In order to emphasize this quality of text, rather than an author, autobiographical texts, or those that focus on personalized experience of the past, are associated with pseudonymous authorship in the almanac. Pseudonymous authorship indicates a link with oral tradition in which the authorship is at least to some degree concealed. In many instances, the pseudonyms may emphasize the collective nature of composition, or its anonymity.

The geographic location in the issue of Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 refers to the current location of the authors (Chicago, Ill., Rome, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Buffalo, N.Y.).

The sense of dispersal, which is balanced by a sense of unity through print, emphasizes a common voice regardless of geographic fragmentation. In the context of émigré publication, the place is crucial: the place of arrival, as well as the place of departure, and the sense of identity fragmented between the two. This is played up in one of the texts (#14), in which the author is signed as Rev.dr. Nikola Šojat, Senjanin, Buffalo, N.Y. We learn that the writer of the text on local history of Senj is a local (Senjanin), now located in Buffalo, N.Y. The geographic qualifiers convey a participatory and empathetic rather than objectively distanced writing (Ong 1982, 45-46).

The demographics of authors, as evident through the qualifiers, shows that the community of authors in this issue is globally dispersed, which is in stark contrast to the local focus of the themes and concerns conveyed in the text of the almanac. Among the named authors, all are male, with the exception of one text signed by a woman (Maca Koračević, author of text #20). Seven of the authors are explicitly associated with ecclesiastical orders, although most of the authors are known to be priests (but their ecclesiastical titles are omitted in some instances). The more prominent attributes are academic titles, which are added to fourteen out of thirty-three authors' names. In some instances in which an author is known to be a priest, he is identified only in terms of academic credentials (cf. prof.dr. Bazilije Pandžić and Dr. Kvirin Vasilj in Table 6.6).

Most of the listed contributors wrote specifically for this issue, although there is a significant proportion of reprinted works: seven of the texts in this issue are classics of Croatian, French, or German literature, and one is a biblical translation. This redundancy increases familiarity and explains the unknown with the known, similar to the use of religious imagery discussed before. By drawing on the existing repertoire of cultural texts to reach the audience, almanacs

rely on various formulaic strategies of expression, but also on excerpts and reprints⁴⁸⁵ that represent texts known to the readers from other sources. The issues of recycling, originality, and manipulation of authorial function through the use of variations in the names, pseudonymous and anonymous authorship, as well as attributes added to the names of authors, all emphasize exophoric traits of almanac literacy.

Introduction of the elements of spoken communication through typography, layout, image, and other structural features of the almanac, and superimposition of these elements on the arguments conveyed through sustained reasoning, add social force to information. These performative features of the text assimilate the reader into a shared world view. The content and structuring of knowledge thus conveyed will be analyzed in the following section.

6.3.2.4. Almanac Literacy and the Structuring of Knowledge. Print enables individual memories of the past to be transformed into group commemorations of a common past. The processes by which new episodes are added to the stock of memories that are collectively held rely on mediation through existing bodies of knowledge and communicative genres. Individual texts enter a system of "shared memories" (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 88) through the production of spoken or written narratives about the past. In reading social memories, it is not only important what is remembered and why, but also how meanings are tied to the narrative context (Fentress and Wickham 1991, 86). Therefore, to comprehend how shared memories are involved in building discourses of identity, it is necessary to identify: 1. who or what is commemorated (figures, events), 2. how this knowledge is structured, and 3. the narrative context in which the commemorations are presented.

⁴⁸⁵Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) includes the category "Extracts & Reprints" in each year of its publication (cf. index of this run in Dalbello-Lovrić 1991, s.v. Appendix 7).

6.3.2.4.1. Figures and Events of Commemoration. What is suppressed from memory and what is remembered depends on "what has meaning for the group that remembers it" (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 87). The sorts of things about which knowledge is imparted in Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 are the events of World War II and its aftermath, focusing in particular on the persecution of the Catholic church by the Communist regime. Instances of atrocities in this regard are memorialized in a number of texts of this almanac: individual killings and locations listed in #7 (pp. 36-52), #19 (pp. 94-100), Širokobriješke žrtve, Bleiburg, and the case of Cardinal Stepinac presented in #8 (pp. 53-59). The significance and interpretation of the events of lived history memorialized in these texts are communicated through acknowledged history and the universal language of religion. These two stocks of shared knowledge present ancillary discourses for communicating the immediate past of World War II.

The commonplaces of Croatian history used as historical episodes are rebellions, uprisings, political movements, and the figures associated with them. Matija Gubec, the leader of a peasant uprising in the sixteenth century, Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan, Eugen Kvaternik, and Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, are commemorated in narrative and image. They are presented as victims of malevolent and powerful forces that threatened the Croatian nation, but the historical contexts in which this occurred are not analytically presented. That would be irrelevant and would subvert the original purpose of these texts: to establish a group boundary. Discourses directed at these previous and current internal and external opponents are represented by feudal lords, Venetians, Habsburg absolutism, Magyarons, Serbian hegemonist rule, Communists, Chetniks, Tito's partisans, etc. But these references are used to reinforce the fact of suffering by the individuals listed, rather than being directed at a single opponent.⁴⁸⁶ An overwhelming focus, however, is on Communists and Communism.

⁴⁸⁶It is interesting to note that a list of priests killed between 1941 and 1954 (text #7), is worded as oral tradition, imprecisely. Examples of wording include, "died at forced labor in Belgrade," "killed in the concentration camp Stara Gradiška," "taken to Siberia," "killed by one local Communist," "died from the consequences of Communist prison," "... killed by Chetniks, together with more than eighty parishioners," "killed together with father and mother," "killed by Germans," "killed by a Communist, veteran of the Spanish

and their war-time activity through the Croatian Resistance. In that respect, this text also articulates the anti-communist sentiment of the McCarthy era⁴⁸⁷ as it made relevant by the diaspora community. The history presented in these narratives is, paradoxically, cyclical because it is a succession of analogous instances of resistance and suppression. Theorizing about these historical events in religious terms, as instances of martyrdom, adds a component of timelessness. The frame for interpretation provided by the shared religious symbolism of saints supports the metanarrative of "martyrdom for the Holy Faith and the Croatian homeland" (dedication from title page). Religious content is largely conveyed in images. The sequences of images are shown in Tables 6.4A and 6.5.

In addition to the prominent leaders and national ideologues, historical material includes pieces on the violent suppression of a protest against Magyarization in 1845, an uprising in 1937 known as Velebitski ustanak (cf. text #14 (pp. 74-77)), as well as summary executions in Bleiburg in 1945. At the time of publication of this issue of the almanac, the last two events are not the object of official history but an informal history tied to oral tradition. Among the texts that belong to the open historical tradition are numerous accounts of atrocities mentioned before. This religious almanac not only commemorates the experiences of Croats and Catholics. The experiences of Bosnian Muslims in World War II are also incorporated in the narratives of recent history (cf. text #15 (pp. 78-85)). However, this incorporation with its explicit references to "Croats of Muslim Faith," added to frame these experiences, has its roots in national ideology (cf. Chapter 2).

The geographical frame of reference used in structuring social memories includes names of locations and images of cityscapes, structures, and natural environment, predominantly in

civil war," etc. These statements are lapidary and do not identify a single opponent but rather convey a sense of overwhelming suffering.

⁴⁸⁷It is generally held that the anti-Communist campaign known as McCarthyism in the United States lasted from 1950 to 1954; it stems from the popular sentiment that lasted from the late 1940s through the early 1950s.

Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Images of Zagreb, Sarajevo, Fazlagić Kula, and Senj depict cathedrals, churches, and mosques (one in Zagreb, interestingly, was non-existent at the time of publication of this issue, and the one illustrated in #15a, is exemplary. "one of many burned by Chetniks and Partisans in Bosnia-Herzegovina"). References to the American context are sparse. A piece (#36 (pp. 187-191)) on Josip Kundek, Croatian missionary and pioneer in America, establishes a (historical) link with the new places. Images of the Croatian Catholic parish churches and a drawing of the Statue of Liberty are among those sparse geographical reminders. Links with the present and the life of the community in the new environment are the commemoration of the Croatian Marian Congress (#30 (pp. 167-173)), a news item regarding the new parish school in West Allis (#38 (p. 197)), and the directory of Croatian Catholic Parishes and Institutions. These places are fixed, and they reflect, appropriately, the life of the community structured around church events and institutions. The poetry (e.g., item #37 (pp.192-197)), however, contains references to both new and old homelands-- "Geneva on the Lake," "Bosna," "Tudina" ("Foreign Land"), "Iz tamnoga gaja" ("From a Dark Forest"), etc. These places are reminders of displacement and dispersal, and therefore non-places. Still, it is important to note the role of these anomic loci in structuring émigré memories.

Among the figures featured in this issue is Pope Pius X (1903-1914) (text #27 (pp.151-156)), who provides a link with church history, but without a direct connection to the major theme of this issue. The focus of this biographical article is on this Pope's opposition to "modernism" (p. 155), connecting him to an overall conservatism and traditionalism rather than commitment to progressive history.

The manner in which the events and figures present the loci of memories is subordinated to their usefulness in linking the traumatic, recent, lived history of World War II to conventional, codified history and filling it with religious significance. Experienced history is interpreted through the idea of martyrdom "for the Holy Faith and the Croatian homeland" as the only way

in which the present and the past could be integrated into a unified metaphor. Such historical time is recurrent and anachronistic. This process, in which available cultural resources are used to interpret new experiences, reveals that the past is constructed from such resources. The construction is homeostatic because the past is interpreted as an instance of the present.

6.3.2.4.2. The Structuring of Memory. The perception of time and the perception of space in structuring remembrances reflects their class or group origin. Therefore, the self-identity that a group builds is communicated within the constraints of its world view and its notions of time and space. Theorists of social memory agree on the structuring of different group memories, distinguishing peasant, workers, and national memories. Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 reveals these characteristics in structuring remembrances.

Selecting the things to be remembered and commemorated is the first level of structuring experiences of the past. The notion of time conveyed in the selection of "mythic historical moments" (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 87) and their analogy to martyrdom, is cyclical, fatalistic, and governed by forces that are beyond the control of those involved. This notion of time is superimposed on a linear pattern of historical events arranged chronologically (e.g., the visual list constituted by inserted plates) and conveys a notion of regressive history, which is associated with peasant world views. The notion of space conveyed in the imagery of this almanac reflects national geography with an emphasis on the local. Anomic geography of the diaspora is also conveyed through the notions of space represented in this almanac. It seems as if the structures for remembrance combine two patterns. An internal pattern that conveys linear time and national space (encompassing Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) is combined with an external pattern that relies on local geography and cyclical time, typical of the structuring of peasant memories, as if the national culture is "naturalized" through the patterns associated with peasant remembrances. The process of inward and outward structuring may be demonstrated in the following example.

The image on the cover is a stock character of a peasant woman holding a rosary. This image is an open text. In contrast, words fix floating chains of possible signifieds (Barthes 1977). The signifiers (visual and verbal cues) of the image invoke many signifieds. The title, found at the end of the table of contents, "Croatian Mother in Sorrow and Prayer," also determines the reading of this open text. The meaning of the image is directed to a preferred reading through its juxtaposition with other images in the same issue: "The Lady of Sorrows: the Solace of all Those Sad and Persecuted" (#2 in Table 6.5), "Mothers Mourning Killed Soldiers" and "Croatian Mother Prays and Weeps for Killed Children, Innocent Victims of Cruel Communism" (#16a, #19b in Table 6.4A). The meaning of the image on the front cover is amplified and directed through text and juxtaposition of: the mother is a Croatian mother ... praying ... for children who are victims of cruel Communism ... who are soldiers. The experience of grief and sorrow is communicated through mother's grief, which is personalized, yet transcends the personal experience. Several levels of meaning are combined in this one example: the national (stock character of a Croatian peasant mother) is presented in personalized terms (everyone has a mother) and transcended through a reference to the Eternal Mother (the mother of us all).

The recurring importance of local geography as a structure for remembrance, the villages, mosques, valleys and churches, conform on the surface to what Fentress and Wickham call the structures of everyday routine in the open air that gives sense to peasant memories (1992, 113). Yet these instances of geographical reference are often informed by other concerns. For example, an image titled, "One of many mosques burned by Chetniks and Partisans" (cf. Table 6.4A, #15a) is a local geography marker, but the text attached to it transforms it into a symbol that transcends its iconic meaning. The image of Zagreb is a local geography marker, but an image titled, "Zagreb, the capital of Croatia" (cf. Table 6.5, #9), which is juxtaposed with an image titled, "Sarajevo, Religious and Cultural Center of Croatians of Muslim Faith" (cf. Table

6.5. #14). outgrows the role of a simple geographical marker and becomes a boundary-building device. It may be read as a complex symbol of national culture, and an abbreviation of the "historical myth" in which Bosnian Muslims are incorporated into the Croatian nation as "Croatsians of Muslim Faith."

6.3.2.4.3. Narrative Context. The use of local settings is also noted in narratives that are autobiographical, personalized, or fictional accounts of the recent past and experiences of World War II (e.g., locations of Široki Brijeg in text #6 (pp. 27-35) or Fazlagić Kula in text #15 (pp. 78-85), in Bosnia-Herzegovina). These accounts function in the construction of the past in a different way from the legitimating discourses of religion and history discussed earlier. By offering a life-like version of the past, in fact an embodiment of the past (not only in image but the description that is tied to personal experience) which diminishes the "spirituality" (Ricoeur 1971, 537) of written discourse, they "naturalize" the past. With the added immediacy of the experience they convey, these types of texts exemplify what Bourdieu (1984, 32-34) identifies as the affirmation of continuity between art and life,⁴⁸⁸ or text and lived experience. Such instances of discourse are also appropriate in communicating ambiguous or contested meanings of historical events that are still in flux.⁴⁸⁹

Nevertheless, histories constructed out of personal experiences, recollections, first-hand accounts, or autobiographical prose are more convincing because they appear to be closer to

⁴⁸⁸Cf. Bourdieu (1984) and Fiske (1989a, 1989b) on the nature of the "popular." Bourdieu's (1984) radical rethinking of canon-formation shows that taste, as reflected in the doctrines of pure aesthetics, is in fact socially constructed; moreover, it is integral to the political process aimed at legitimating some and excluding others. That work introduces a number of concepts indispensable in analyzing the cultural production of the "popular" classes. Identifying an emphasis on the continuity of life and art/text (as a characteristic of "popular" taste, in contrast to the tendency of pure aesthetics to negate this continuity) is among such basic distinctions. Bourdieu also warns about the inadequacy of class as a determinant of cultural appropriation: the real issue of who controls the spiritual capital of legitimate art is related to groups not always corresponding to particular social classes.

⁴⁸⁹Applied to diaspora culture vs. the mainstream society, the tension which results in parallel cultural production is related to the problem of cultural legitimacy and the issue of control over the spiritual capital. Cultural production represented by the diaspora almanac exemplifies an expression of unique experiences of a group which exists outside of the sphere of a dominant culture.

reality. One distinction between historical narrative and legend is how each is related to the historical event. Historical narrative is based on historical evidence and legend arises from a need to "organize information in story form, which requires the selection of an appropriate plot structure and literary style" (Zerubavel 1994, 118). As a result, legend and history are considered to be "mutually exclusive representations of the past," with the legendary being associated with the false and the incredible while the historical refers to the credible aspects of the story (ibid., 114). Zerubavel shows that credibility is a function of the social context, i.e., that the "meanings of the categories and the relation between them shifts in line with other social and political changes that the society undergoes," and that they are in fact "complementary" (ibid., 117). The legendary and the historical are tied to the function rather than the essential quality of the narrative itself. This distinction between credible and incredible history is useful in considering the genres of memory in Hrvatski kalendar for 1955. Although none of the texts falls into the category of legend, the overall principle of combining texts in this issue (especially the pictorial texts) "follow[s] the common literary strategies of the traditional legend, such as condensing historical periods and linking heroes who were not historically connected in order to highlight the ideological message of the story," and transform it into an "educational narrative" (Zerubavel 1994, 110).

As already mentioned, the events/experiences of recent history are conveyed in narratives that retain a personal, autobiographical quality, intermingling fiction and first-hand report of these events. They are at the same time both legendary and historical because historical evidence (testimonials, first-hand reports) are intermingled with fictional elements. Personal reminiscences by one Maca Koračević published under the title "A Painful Memory of Communist Terror and Killings in Croatia" (cf. Table 6.3, #20) and "The White Madonna" (cf. Table 6.3, #6) personalize the experiences through an autobiographical narrative and a fictional account based on real events, exemplifying the use of fiction in the construction of history. The exposé of atrocities titled "A Calvary of the Croatian People in 1945" (cf. Table 6.3, #19)

incorporates anonymous witness accounts and second-hand reports of various execution sites. Similarly, a text that reads like a chronicle and reminiscence, "Even in Fazlagić Kula is Croatia" (cf. Table 6.3, #15) retains a closeness with oral tradition through vivid detail reporting one's own and others' experiences. The "List of Croatian Catholic Priests Killed Between 1941 and 1954" (cf. Table 6.3, #7) is presented in uniform format, with the focus on hard fact. However, some entries contain phrases that are direct quotes of what must be witness accounts, conveyed through oral tradition. Narrative forms that capture the life-like quality of remembrance are those related through personal experience. The authenticating experience of the past does not focus on the individual as "author" of the experience, but on the empathetic nature of the text, the fact that it is conveying "the quality of being there." Some of these accounts are anonymous, or collective, as the inclusion of witness reports and testimonials. First-hand accounts, even if their sources are not verified, are legitimating. They are "close to the lifeworld" and "present the world in terms of the struggle of good and evil," which are features of orality (Ong 1982, 42, 43) and focus on detail without necessarily conveying a completely accurate image of the past. The use of personalized, localized narrative in presenting materials that are not historical in the strict sense of the word (because they are not associated with written tradition, and they are very much the material of present and ongoing experience), is also a simple way of organizing historical information in written form. The genre of the almanac preserves a tentative and fluid character for these historical narratives while concurrently transmitting them in the oral tradition. They take advantage of aspects of both written and spoken discourse; they are inscribed but ready to be reused and modified.

The role of narrative contexts and preferred genres in conveying certain experiences also shows a transformative process in which individual histories and experiences become shared memories through the mediation of print. Individual narratives as individual commemorations are transformed into collective commemorations that aim to structure the identity of the group (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 89). Such histories are performative and participatory because

memories need to be presented in narrative forms that allow for easier circulation of memories through oral communicative genres (story-telling and building secondary accounts from the material presented in the almanacs). The performative features of the text that were analyzed provide ready-made material for rhapsodizing the new narratives. These performative features include: selecting points to emphasize through typography; personalizing the story with images that resemble sound in their capacity to provide escape from the boundedness of a text; juxtaposing images that reveal ideological agendas; relying on narrative forms that do not offer a closure of meanings, such as lists, personal narratives, and testimonial; framing the text through presentation of authorial function, etc. As a result of these features, the text fixed in writing leaps off the pages back into the oral tradition. The almanac, as a disembodied storyteller, assumes some of the features of embodied communication, which are possible in face-to-face interaction. The "credibility of a commemorative narrative" (Zerubavel 1994, 106) or its credibility for the group on which it attempts to confer identity, is the condition for its acceptance as shared memory, common culture, or a reference of identity.

These "invented traditions" are particularly significant for the legitimation of the emergent social and political order, and their success depends, to a large measure, on their ability to reconstruct an acceptable view of the past. These newly constructed commemorations are successful when they manage to project an aura of traditionality that obscures their brief career as cultural representations of the past. (ibid., 106)

Almanacs present these liminal experiences of invented traditions structured as peasant memories (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 92). The traditionality and conservativeness of such a world view conveyed through almanac literacy was the third strategy (in addition to the legitimating historical and religious discourses) that enabled the incorporation of new experiences into the cultural mainstream. Thus presented, the new experiences will be perceived as familiar by the group. Although national memories are distinct from peasant and working-class memories, according to theorists of social memory, the evidence of this almanac

demonstrates how national culture uses the structuring devices associated with peasant memories.

6.3.2.4.4. Literacy and Power. A lack of differentiation between legendary and historical views of the past is a conscious effort by the compilers of this almanac to fulfill their role as "traditional intellectuals, established mouthpieces of the peasantry who are not, however, peasants themselves" (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 106). These individuals assume the roles of the intelligentsia and the middle classes by managing the memories of historical events and creating national culture (ibid., 127). The Franciscan authors of this almanac are traditional intellectuals who assume the role of cultural mediators. But rather than seeing this effort as a way of manipulating the memories of the past into a national framework and imposing them from outside on the peasant reader, the structuring of narratives should be seen as an attempt at (nostalgic) recreation of the community in print. These texts exemplify Benedict Anderson's thesis that print empowers communities to imagine themselves without direct contact and living speech. The time in which this almanac is issued is considered to be the end of the peasant era. Therefore, the function of presenting national culture in terms of peasant narratives must have been a miscalculation of readership base (which would tie the almanac to a very limited circle of readers⁴⁹⁰) or an assumed manner. Rather than identifying the social base of the audiences, the analyzed example shows the role of literacy in an attempt to recreate community in print, in the

⁴⁹⁰The majority of the readers of an earlier generation of religious almanacs (according to the evidence found in the almanacs issued in the 1940s), as argued in the previous chapter, were women. We do not know anything about the readers of this almanac, except what is revealed in the editorial, that they were also the readers of *Hrvatski katolički glasnik* and *Danica*, also issued by the Franciscans. What is obvious is that the authors of this almanac were predominantly priests and that women were not represented among the featured authors (with one exception). All evidence points to the fact that the text implies an invisible and passive reader. Neither is there evidence that would indicate that women were intended as audience, except for some of the images used. The use of the grieving mother perspective in personalizing the text might or might not indicate a connection with female readership, but it certainly does reflect an emphasis on the values of a patriarchal and traditional society in which the women's roles are defined. In comparison, the issue of *Hrvatski narodni kalendar* for 1955, a publication aimed at a socialist-communist audience, is participative. The implied reader is not passive, but performs his/her own texts, as demonstrated by the "greetings" (or "pozdravi") analyzed in the previous chapter. Highly participative readers and the performative aspect of their participation as documented in "greetings" are due to the different ideological context in which that almanac emerged. The effacement of the reader in the ecclesiastical *Hrvatski kalendar* is due to its function as an educational, didactic narrative.

image of a traditionalist peasant, local community. These are virtual rather than actual peasant narratives. In fact, it is not even important whether this issue is connected to a particular group of readers, but whether the memories are circulated beyond this issue. The medium of print captures the remembrance beyond the fleeting event of speech, structuring experiences (notably, the experiences of the ecclesiastical order during World War II and its aftermath) in faked peasant narratives, preserving these memories in a form that may be more easily recycled back into the oral tradition and reused in future commemorations of the past. This issue fixes in writing the experience that would have died with the oral tradition shared by the actual witnesses to these events. The choice of the form of inscription as peasant memories is not accidental, because there is a timeless, mythical quality to their structuring. The communication of these memories through more generally accepted discourses of national culture and religion make them accessible beyond the experiences determined by local geography. Also, the local is incorporated and inscribed within the symbols of national culture, thus optimizing its reach.

6.4. CONCLUSION

The almanac genre entails a polarization of the internal organization of discourse elements, in conformity to the rules of literacy; it is orally-based in its reference to reality. This chapter has shown that such characteristics of discourse have social and ideological roots and ideological implications and associate the almanac with an oral-based tradition at the time when this is an obvious anachronism. In the almanacs of the early twentieth century, such connection with an oral-based tradition and/or peasant society was direct and literal. The almanacs of a later period, it is argued here, demonstrate a type of literacy that is liminal, capturing the world of orality in print. This contrived orality conveyed in print medium is purposeful—conveying cultural information aimed at assimilation of the individual into a cultural system. Specifically, the cultural system that is conveyed through genre is a template of identity for the diaspora conveyed through evocative mnemonic techniques possible only to invoke through the almanac

genre. The analysis has assessed how the experiences of recent history are legitimated by combining discourses of the past, religious discourse, and the anti-Communist rhetoric of the McCarthy era. It also demonstrates how the past is constructed in the movement from a historical event, which gives rise to the constructed commemoration (a legend), to history as invented tradition, which provides a frame of reference for national identity. If such legitimation is successful, it will result in an "entirely new historical language" (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 128) that may be used to legitimate new experiences. The analysis of the texts in a selected almanac issue demonstrates an attempt at creating such a new historical language, which constitutes a "building block of national self-identity" (ibid., 127). The productivity as text (Kristeva 1968) and the productivity of discourses that themselves were derived, through bricolage, from other texts, is a continuous process from which this chapter singled out one aspect. Permutations of these historical narratives into new historical and social texts should be the object of further study. Although this chapter connected discourses to their sources, thus bringing up the question of who controls commemoration in a given society, this is beyond the scope of the present study. A study of how national culture is constructed from such memories would have to take into consideration more than a single issue published any one critical period, and examine what discourses were privileged, thus becoming mainstream.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹¹One of the criteria for selection of this title was its longevity.

7

Conclusion

7.1. MAJOR FINDINGS

This study proceeded from a general question on the nature of almanac literacy, to consider the social implications of literacy through the lens of this particular genre and in the context of the Croatian diaspora in North America in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. The almanacs the diaspora community issued during this time allow an interpretation of how culture is mediated through genre--the structural elements and symbolic associations of that genre, and the communication of culture built on the almanac's historical roles, indicating an ambiguous position that the almanac held in relation to genres of oral communication. This thesis has shown how these roles were revived to model identity and historicize individual experiences of social dislocation.

Chapter 2 proceeded from an examination of the broader historical context of the Croatian diaspora community's formation, the demographics and levels of literacy, and the political processes (which underlay the social dynamics of the diaspora community). The marginal position of the dispersed Croatians was marked by the spaces of the homeland and the host country. These two spaces were centers around which emerged the diaspora culture of displacement. The texts reflecting this cultural process are annotations and additions derived from the cultural texts articulated and circulated in the dominant culture(s). Therefore, Chapters 2 and 3 addressed these features of the dominant culture as they shaped the community and its texts, focusing on the history of migration and the history of almanacs in Croatia (in Chapter 3) as elements of the broader context in which these almanacs emerged.

Chapter 2 provides a basis for an understanding of the almanac trade, and the dynamics of diaspora politics and culture. The major distinction in that history is between the Croatian immigrants to North America before and after World War II. While the first were predominantly economic emigrants of rural origin, the latter were a mix of economic and

political migrants. The social dislocation of many individuals also continued in Socialist Yugoslavia from 1945, coinciding with the end of the "peasant era" (Nejašmić 1991, 146). The values of these different groups of immigrants and their literacy habits varied considerably. In the first half of the twentieth century the immigrants' ability to read was restricted. A third were not literate, a figure on which the Croatian census and the statistics of immigrant literacy from the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century agree. Social movements of the 1920s promoted the education of the working classes and the ideal of the enlightened worker which pervades both socialist and communist almanacs of the diaspora. As the conditions of restricted literacy of the early diaspora community changed, differentiation along ideological lines became a more significant factor in almanac consumption. The almanac became an expression of the programs of political groups, and religious, and cultural organizations in the 1920s, and almanac publishing the reflection of these social dynamics. The political alignments of the diaspora Croatians which are important in understanding the publishing dynamics, are rooted in the legacies of three prominent ideologues--Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Ante Starčević, and Stjepan Radić--and the ideologies of Yugoslavianism, Pravaštvo, and the Croatian Peasant Party. Socialist, trade unionist, and Communist movements are another major influence. Together, these ideologies provided a field for the subgroups in the diaspora to establish their distinct identities within a single frame of reference. Although the culture of these groups depends on the ideologies derived from the dominant culture, it also transforms the dominant culture by adjusting the cultural process to the democratic environment of the host country.

The attitudes of the community, shaped by history and ideology, are one variable of the historical context that influenced the production and reception of diaspora almanacs. The context in which these publications were meaningful for their readers and their creators also depended on the historical evolution of the almanac in Croatia, and the successive uses of the almanac texts in successive historical contexts. With the end of World War II and the diminishing of its primary (small-town and rural) audiences, the popular almanac all but

disappeared in Croatia. Religious and regional almanacs were the only remaining representatives of the almanac tradition. Paradoxically, almanacs were most popular among diaspora Croatians in the mid-1950s, when the almanac was in rapid decline in Croatia. This phenomenon indicates that the almanac satisfied a certain communicational need that occurred in diaspora society at that time.

The historical overview in Chapter 3 reconstructs the successive roles of the almanac in the Croatian tradition, its uses by the church and secular reformers in the eighteenth century to shape public opinion, and its ties to orality. The formulaic markers of ending in the seventeenth century astrological almanacs published in Croatia, provide a clear link from the almanac to the medieval practice of auditing of written texts. The almanac's connection to oral delivery in the context of restricted literacy is brought out in its association to the circulation of news and the consolidation of public opinion after the Turkish withdrawal from Slavonia. The eighteenth century Franciscan almanacs in particular were a medium for the "de-Ottomanization" of Slavonia. These almanacs circulated texts modelled on oral forms (i.e., epic decasyllabic verse), which are easily recycled back into the oral tradition, a transformation that challenges the bounded notions of orality and literacy. They also demonstrate how print was used to influence segments of population that may not be literate, by articulating texts in forms that can readily be committed to memory and infused into an existing oral tradition. The symbolic association of the almanac with oral forms of everyday communication is also conveyed in the spirit of the eighteenth century "šoštari," and nineteenth-century town almanacs, which include social news and local content. From early on, printed almanacs were tied to forms of writing, through providing writing surfaces for account books and diaries, again disclosing ambivalence of form. Links of the almanac to the calendar, news-mongering, and oral genres do not exhaust its successive roles. The reformist almanacs of the eighteenth century were compendia of home economics, popular medicine, ideas for family entertainment, and rules of etiquette. The association of the almanac with the regional dialect, and local focus, is also reflected in the

survival of the regional almanac after the disappearance of the popular almanac in Croatia. Diaspora almanacs also show a strong link with regionalism and local differentiation of the communities resettled in North America. Almanac literacy had a strong connection to didacticism and invented traditions. These symbolic associations, crucial in reader expectations, are established through the historical uses of similar verbal forms (genre), the grammar of the genre, and the content of these verbal forms.

The generative principles underlying textual manifestations in these almanacs are identified in Chapter 4 which shows that the diaspora almanacs are built on liminality. Such liminality is rooted in medieval literacy in which the distinction between the written and oral is fluid, because of the practices of textual transmission, which required literacy (writing) to be mnemonic, ancillary to oral transmission, and not a self-contained text. Liminality is introduced into the almanacs through certain structural features, or "liminars" (Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory 1996, 579). These elements shift the boundaries that divide orality and literacy. Listing and ordering is an organizing principle of structuring discourse in these almanacs. Inventorizing events, objects, concepts, and dates is the simplest way of transforming speech in writing. The calendar, the chronology, directories, statistics and tables, facts on file, and visual structures that serve as concept maps are forms common in diaspora almanacs. Listing and ordering gives coherence to events, concepts, and concrete aspects of reality, giving them unity by applying literate procedures of visualisation, abstraction, generalization, and formalization, which are not possible in speech. Therefore, through the process of categorization, the concrete is abstracted. Examples given in Chapter 6 have shown how such arbitrary connection of episodic events can be employed to convey narratives of identity, and how the descriptive lists can be transformed into temporal and evaluative narratives (Schiffrin 1994, 377), without applying analysis or presenting an argument. Listing and ordering have a potential to be recycled back into the oral tradition and transformed into genres of everyday communication because they provide a mnemonic organization for certain

groups of information objects. The techniques of listing show that Ong's (1982, 171) distinction between performance-oriented orality, and information-oriented literacy is untenable in this case. Direct links of diaspora almanacs with oral tradition are the inclusion of texts from the oral tradition, emulation of orality through manipulation of author function, inclusion of stereotypical characters, placing the reader in a participatory role, and other features that Ong (1982) identifies as features of orality. These liminars of orality are communicated visually, in print. Almanac literacy, therefore, is clearly not the literacy of "bookish texts" (Illich 1993, 115).

The diasporic condition marked by social dislocation is a liminal state. The liminality of the almanac reflects the material conditions of its production, and conveys the sense of marginal spaces in which it was produced, distributed, and used. In the case of the diaspora almanac, liminality of the text reflects the liminal states of the diaspora communities that produced these almanacs. Throughout the history of the diaspora, the almanac was the first of the printed forms issued, taking the form of compilations of useful knowledge for the prospective or landed immigrant, a book of memories of the homeland and the bulletin board for community affairs, that reintegrated dispersed local communities. The almanac's role is to aid the process of acculturation and to provide a social network in print, an imagined community.

The almanac trade, including an overview of the business models of their production, financing, and distribution networks, together with the reception of these almanacs, is analyzed in Chapter 5. Because genres are not only texts but sets of social, political, and economic interactions among the individuals and groups with which they are associated, the ways in which the almanac trade was organized reflects patterns of socialization of communities and individuals, and their ability to mobilize economic, social, and cultural resources in the production of almanacs. An intensified mobilization of social and cultural resources was noted in the 1920s and the 1950s. These two expansive stages in the production of diaspora almanacs

were a reflection of intensified interactions in the community, which resulted in a higher number of new titles issued in those periods. The distinctiveness of the ideological programmes presented in almanacs of different orientations issued in these periods does not necessarily imply that publishing of almanacs occurred in self-contained communicational networks. On the contrary, many instances of cross-communication were noted in the production, distribution, and reading of these almanacs. Sharing of material resources, and contributor-base, as well as patterns of ownership show that concurrently issued titles were distributed in overlapping reader networks. The economy of limited resources also determined a cultural repertoire of these almanacs.

How genre was used to communicate culture and address the current concerns of diaspora Croats, is analyzed in Chapter 6, which focuses on an issue of a diaspora almanac for 1955. Its appearance during the Cold War era meant that the expression of strong anti-Communist sentiments among some diaspora Croats was legitimated and amplified. The Franciscans who issued this title, used the memories of the past in forging group identity. In doing so, they used the genres of religious literature (e.g., martyrologium), the symbolic associations of the almanac and conventional symbols and imagery of national and religious culture with which their readers were familiar. The invention and legitimation of the tradition by integrating it with familiar discourses is typical of emergent social and political orders (Zerubavel 1994, 106). The Franciscans were clearly assuming the role of cultural mediators in interpreting the meaning of the recent past. Apart from revealing how literacy and power are aligned in the inventing of traditions, this case exemplifies the process of genre formation and change, and the process by which individual histories and experience are transformed into shared memories. The liminality of the almanac played a central role in this process, because the fluidity of the genre (with its ambivalent position with regard to orality and literacy), could incorporate and transform personal narratives and local traditions (which are not historical in the strict sense of the word because they are not associated with written tradition) into a historical narrative.

7.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Even though the object of this study is texts of common experience communicated through verbal forms and genre as a structuring principle, the findings about almanac literacy presented here concern implied rather than real readers. Without evidence that reflects the actual responses of readers, claims about the communicational role of the almanac, and the actual effect of these texts and their meanings, are limited. Nevertheless, one might say that the objective of the study was the interpretation of a body of texts and the protocols of reading which can be applied to studies of actual reading events and practices. The findings may be used to develop studies in other contexts of liminal literacy, some of which would use a participant-observation approach allowing for the study of experiences of those involved in literacy events, or apply ethnographic methods to reconstruct a community when dealing with historical sources. Although the texts provide the means of creating and communicating order for individuals and groups, and meaning for their experiences, such an approach does not assume collective identity of the diaspora. Texts are cultural expressions, dependent on language, communicated in a social context, which provided a framework for behavior, thought, and feeling. However, the actual behaviors or attitudes in individuals that constitute such groups, are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The distinctive nature of diaspora almanac literacy is another area in which the findings may need to be expanded. Comparison with other types of ethnic print (e.g., the newspaper), and comparison with the almanacs issued in Croatia, and those issued by other diaspora groups would fully justify such distinction. Similarly, the interpretation of the case and the single issue of a Franciscan almanac is not sufficient evidence to generalize about the social memory of the Croatian diaspora. Comparative study of other almanacs issued by nationalist, Yugoslavianist, and socialist groups would provide the breadth of evidence which would enable generalization

about the shared (and contested) repertoire of figures, events, and modes of structuring that describe the social memory of diaspora Croatians. Since the focus of this thesis is on the role of genre in transforming oral into inscribed histories and distributing them in printed form, further research could include distinctions among pro-communist and nationalist factions during the Cold War era in order to fully understand the process of identity creation among diaspora Croatians and the role of genre in that process.

Another direction in which to pursue research would be to consider the impact of diaspora culture on the dominant culture, for example during the Wars of Yugoslav Secession, to exemplify how ideological fragments exported to new contexts where, according to the Hartzian theory of fragments, they exhibit conservative traits, may interact with the culture of the center at a later time. This type of study would be of particular interest because ideological diversity, polarized between the left and the right, was preserved in the diaspora community, though absent from public life after the establishment in 1945 of Socialist Yugoslavia and its one-party system. This would be part of a longitudinal approach which would compare the literacy features of the almanacs issued in the 1920s and those issued in the 1950s, and relate these distinctions to immigrant cohorts, the cultural material they used in formulating discourses of identity, the degrees of liminality, and the preferred markers of liminality in each of the almanac groups. The degree of overlap with oral traditions in the almanacs of the earlier period, as compared to the later, would reveal changes in literacy patterns of the Croatian diaspora community in these two periods, and the functions of the almanac in communicating diverse concerns of the diaspora in these periods.

This thesis makes a contribution in examining literacy and genre through the notion of liminality. It has been shown that orality and literacy are not exclusive categories and that these analytical concepts are still useful, if carefully separated from evolutionist paradigms.

Anthropologists and researchers of medieval literacy have shown the usefulness, but have also

pointed to the weakness of evolutionist and autonomous models of literacy, in which orality and literacy are bounded categories. They have shown that logocentric interpretations of literacy cannot capture the nature of the evidence they collected--that there are multiple oralities, and literacies. Analysis of diaspora almanacs also confirmed that literacy and orality as autonomous modes of communication are not useful in interpreting these texts which exemplify popular textuality. Liminal literacy of the diaspora almanacs is rooted in the historical uses of the almanac in Croatia; it is in fact a rudimentary characteristic of these texts which reveals that they were always circulated in contexts in which the distinction between reading silently and auditing is not clear. In such contexts of transmission, the mnemonic devices of orality and the somatic aspects of oral communication are incorporated in written texts. These characteristics challenge the logocentric view of the text, sustained by the authority of literate culture which defines a literate text as self-contained, ideally without referents outside itself. This study contributes to an understanding of literacies of marginal texts, the characteristics of which are external to the notions of the literate.

Studying the literacy of textual forms in the context of associated networks of social interaction can be done in very different contexts and types of text. The historical study of books will have much to contribute in this area of research. As Hall (1996, 11) points out in a recent re-evaluation of the field: "reading was never an autonomous practice, but embedded in a series of mediations," defining new roles for book history to describe these mediations "as they affect not only reading, but also printing, bookselling, book collecting, and authorship" (idem). Instead of focusing only on reading, text, or artefact, Hall demonstrates that circulation of meanings through genre occurs at many levels, activating social interactions and cultural processes, and references to textual tradition. A focus on liminal literacies other than the diaspora almanac's would be needed for a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of orality and literacy. Although possible within the framework of the history of the book, such research should abandon this discipline's logocentric tradition, focusing on societies or

historical periods in which the status of orality and literacy is not distinct, societies in which orality is a primary but not an exclusive form of communication, the study of genres that are considered peripheral to literate culture (by being hybrid, unidiomatic, or vernacular), or studies that focus on literacy in social groups outside of the dominant culture. Also, literacy should not be restricted to the ability to read or interact with a text, or a type of text, but should consider all aspects of the circulation of text, encompassing social, economic, and political exchanges in social groups--to interpret literacy as a form which mediates culture. The study of literacy is the interpretation of culture. The visual aspect of communication is crucial in the study of texts, literacy, and reading, and these aspects of literacy should not be limited to the study of the printed page.

The interpretation of diaspora almanacs in the unique environment of social change in the past provides a model for the study of any type of text in the process of transition. The almanacs show how they were a written arena for oral production, and an informal writing space in which communities outside the dominant culture could interact. We can extrapolate this to the transitions of textual interactions to another informal social space, the Internet. Not unlike the almanacs, electronic text departs from the rules of literacy. The liminality of the diaspora almanac corresponds to the liminality of the electronic text in its defiance of a logocentric paradigm of text. The continuous information of the electronic text is comparable to the fluidity of oral and literate forms in the almanac. Diaspora almanacs have demonstrated that it is possible to communicate information which has no final cut (feature of orality) in a fixed medium of print. Relying on the visual interface to introduce somatic aspects of communication, almanacs developed ways to present such open, fluid texts. Using pictograms and effects of typography, manipulation of the authorial function (pseudonymous authorship, the authority of personal narrative), and listing and ordering to present information descriptively but then converting the lists into evaluative narratives which convey ideological arguments, are some of the features of almanac literacy that can provide a context for

understanding digital literacy. The lesson from liminal literacies of texts circulated in the context of restricted literacy is that modifying text to increase its impact works on an alternative paradigm of literacy.

TABLES

Table 1.1. -- Titles of Croatian Diaspora Almanacs, in Croatian with English Translations

TITLES IN CROATIAN	ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
Almanak Amerika Amerikanac. Kalendar Amerikanac. Veliki narodni kalendar Ave Maria kalendar Crveni kalendar	Almanac America The American Almanac The American. A Great People's Almanac Ave Maria Almanac The Red Almanac
Džepni kalendar za radnike u inozemstvu Davor. Hrvatski vojnički kalendar Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica. Džepni kalendar Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica. Koledar	Pocket Almanac for Workers Abroad Davor. Croatian Military Almanac The Annual (Almanac) of the Croatian Defender Croatian Catholic Union. Pocket Almanac Croatian Catholic Union. Almanac
Hrvatski glas. Kalendar Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.) Hrvatski godišnjak (Toronto, Ont.) Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar	Croatian Voice. Almanac Croatian Annual (McKeesport, Pa.) Croatian Annual (McKeesport, Pa.) Croatian Almanac (Chicago, Ill.) Croatian Catholic Popular Almanac
Hrvatski list i Danica Hrvatska. Koledar Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.) Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Toronto, Ont.) Hrvatski radnički kalendar (Toronto, Ont.)	Croatian Paper and Morning Star. Almanac Croatian People's Almanac (Chicago, Ill.) Croatian People's Almanac (Pittsburgh, Pa.) Croatian People's Almanac (Toronto, Ont.) Croatian Workers' Almanac (Toronto, Ont.)
Iseljenički kalendar Iseljenik Jeka. Hrvatski iseljenički koledar Jugoslavenski glasnik. Kalendar Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak	Almanac for Emigrants The Emigrant Echo. Croatian Emigre Almanac Yugoslav Herald. Almanac Yugoslav Canadian Annual
Jugoslavenski sokolski almanak Jugoslavija. Narodni kalendar Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni kalendar Kalendar (John Zagar & Co.) Kalendar Narodnog lista	Yugoslav Falcon Almanac Yugoslavia. People's Almanac Yugoslavia. A Great People's Almanac Almanac (John Zagar & Co.) People's Paper Almanac
Kalendar Novi svijet Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine Koledar Hrvatskog sokola (Chicago, Ill.) Koledar Hrvatskog sokola (St. Louis, Mo.) Krčki kalendar	Almanac New World Almanac Guide for Croatians Abroad Almanac of the Croatian Falcon (Chicago, Ill.) Almanac of the Croatian Falcon (St. Louis, Mo.) The Island of Krk Almanac
Mali hrvatski kalendar Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk Matica iseljenika. Kalendar Napredak almanah i koledar Narodni amerikanski koledar	Small Croatian Almanac Small Mary's Almanac for the Catholic Folk The Emigre Current. Almanac Progress Almanac and Calendar People's American Almanac

Table 1.1. -- Continued

TITLES IN CROATIAN	ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
Narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Naš kalendar (Toronto, Ont.) Naša nada. Kalendar Novi Hrvat. Koledar Novi katolički koledar	People's Almanac (Chicago, Ill.) Our Almanac (Toronto, Ont.) Our Hope. Almanac The New Croatian Almanac New Catholic Almanac
Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar Putnik. Koledar Putnik. Narodni kalendar Radnički kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Radnički kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.)	New Humorous Illustrated Almanac The Traveller. Almanac The Traveller. People's Almanac Workers' Almanac (Chicago, Ill.) Workers' Almanac (Pittsburgh, Pa.)
Socijalistički radnički kalendar Šareni svjetski koledar Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk Zajednički kalendar	Socialist Workers' Almanac Multicolor Global Almanac Great Illustrated Entertaining Almanac Great Mary's Almanac for the Catholic Folk Fraternalist Almanac
Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke (London, England)	A Compendium (Croatian Peasant Party)

NOTE: These forms of names are standardized (uniform) titles. They do not reflect all title changes of a run.

Table 1.2. ... Sources for Retrieval of Croatian Diaspora Almanacs

NAME OF SOURCE	TYPE OF SOURCE	LOCATIONS	CODES	CORRESPONDING OCLC / NUC SYMBOL
Repositories in North America				
National Library of Canada	national library	Ottawa, Ont.	OONL ¹	NLC / CaOONL
University of Pittsburgh (Libraries)	university library	Pittsburgh, Pa.	PITT	PIT / PP1U
University of Toronto (Libraries)	university library	Toronto, Ont.	UofT	UTM / CaOTU
Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies	research collection (open to public)	Philadelphia, Pa.	BIES	BAI / PPBI
Immigration History Research Center (University of Minnesota)	research collection (open to public)	St. Paul, Minn.	IIRC	
Croatian Ethnic Institute (Hrvatski etnički institut) ²	publisher's archive and research collection (limited access)	Chicago, Ill.	HEI	
Research Library of the Croatian Historical Society of Canada ³	research collection (limited access)	Calgary, Alberta	ACHS	
Jerome Jareb ⁴	private collection	Loretto, Pa.	JJ	

¹In the listing of almanacs in Appendix 1.1 the location symbol is followed by a call number assigned to the item by the library (e.g., OONL (D1N 41715)).

²Most the research in this collection was done during a visit in June 1995, although contacts with its curator Vinko D. Lasić date from January 1992.

³This archive was located in the private home of Vladimir Markotić and the library in the home of Alexander Maljcky, both in Calgary (oral communication, Alexander Maljcky, April 1992) where they were transferred from the Croatian Cultural Center (Calgary). Since Vladimir Markotić passed away, the fate of the collection is unknown.

⁴The private collection of Jerome Jareb was used from December 1991.

Table 1.2. -- Continued

NAME OF SOURCE	TYPE OF SOURCE	LOCATIONS	CODES	CORRESPONDING OCLC / NUC SYMBOL
Repositories in Croatia				
National and University Library (Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka)	national and university library	Zagreb	NSB ⁵	-
National and University Library Collection of Émigré Press (Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka. Zbirka iseljeničkog tiska)	national and university library special collections	Zagreb	NSB (IT) NSB (IT backlog) ⁶	-
Research Institute for Migrations and Nationalities (Zavod za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti) ⁷	research collection (open to public)	Zagreb	ZAMIN	-
The Institute for Folklore Research (Zavod za istraživanje folklor) ⁸	research collection (open to public)	Zagreb	ZIF	-

⁵In the listing of almanacs in Appendix 1.1, location symbol is followed by a call number in the form assigned to the item by the library (e.g., NSB 156.798).

⁶At the time of the compilation of the bibliography (in July 1992 and August/September 1995) the diaspora almanacs could be located in the general collection of the National and University Library (Zagreb) and in the Collection of Émigré Press (Zbirka iseljeničkog tiska) from the summer of 1990 (telefax dated 23 June 1992, from Branko Hanž). This collection was not completely cataloged at the time, and various items were assigned either an inventory designation or a call number (e.g., NSB (IT 231.894)). The first category of uncataloged items was assigned a general designation (e.g., NSB (IT backlog) in the listing given in Appendix 1.1.

⁷Present name: Institut za migracije i narodnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. This collection was used on several occasions, but the major work in the collection was done in August and September 1995.

⁸Present name: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku. The material in this collection consists of the donation of materials by Marija Dalbello (obtained from the Croatian Ethnic Institute, and Jerome Jareb).

Table 1.2. -- Continued

NAME OF SOURCE	TYPE OF SOURCE	LOCATIONS	CODES	CORRESPONDING OCLC / NUC SYMBOL
Printed Sources				
<u>Croatian retrospective bibliography</u> ⁹	national retrospective bibliography and union catalog	N/A	HRB	
<u>Narodna biblioteka (Serbia). Catalog</u> ¹⁰	national retrospective bibliography printed catalog	Belgrade, Serbia	NBSer (Katalog)	
<u>Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials</u> ¹¹	special collection printed catalog	N/A	C.C.E.S. 198112	

NOTE: Location codes in the last column are acronyms from the name of the source (repository, an individual, printed source). These codes are used in the bibliographical listing of almanacs of the Croatian diaspora in Appendix 1.1. The corresponding unique three-character symbol assigned by OCLC¹³ and the USMARC Code for organizations (NUC identification symbol) assigned by the Library of Congress, ¹⁴ are given when applicable.

⁹Godišnja za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju 1835-1940. Vol. 9-10 (Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1987). The number assigned in the bibliography is retained in the listing of almanacs in Appendix 1.1 (e.g., HRB 25465).

¹⁰Katalog Narodne biblioteke u Beogradu (Belgrade: SANU, 1982).

¹¹Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials = Liste des publications en série ethniques du Canada. Compiled by Ruth Bogusis (Ottawa: Newspaper Division = Division des journaux, 1981).

¹²In the listing of almanacs in Appendix 1.1 the location code consists of an abbreviation Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials (1981) (C.C.E.S. 1981). If the same item is also found in the library collection, the code is structured as follows: OONI (C.C.E.S. 1981).

¹³Cf. OCLC documentation, OCLC Participating Institutions (Dublin, Ohio: OCLC, 1998).

¹⁴The list of codes is found in Symbols of American Libraries (Washington, D.C.: L.C. Cataloging Distribution Service, 1996).

Table 1.3 -- Retrieval Patterns, Pilot Study and Fieldwork

RETRIEVED	TITLES	%	NUMBER OF VOLUMES OF VOLUMES	NUMBER OF VOLUMES INCLUDING DUPLICATES
Pilot Study				
In Secondary Sources	47	27	n/a	n/a
In Repositories	43	14	324	932
Only in Repositories	8	14	n/a	n/a
Only in Secondary Sources	16	27	n/a	n/a
Duplicated in Repositories and Secondary Sources	35	59	n/a	n/a
De visu Examination and Authoritative Secondary Sources				
In Repositories	53	n/a	422	1272
In Printed Sources ¹	3	n/a	3	117
TOTAL	56	n/a	425	1389

¹The sources used at this stage are listed in Table 1.2.

Table 2.1. Timeline of Croatian History, Landmark Dates, Figures, and Events

DATE	LANDMARK EVENTS
Pre-History, the Roman Period and the Croatian Medieval Kingdom	
Second millennium B.C. to 4th century B.C.	Period of Illyrian dominance of the Adriatic Coast.
6th century B.C.	Greeks infiltrate Illyricum.
4th century B.C.	Romans expand to Illyricum
100 A.D.	Pannonia and Illyricum are integrated into the Roman Empire.
200	Barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire begin. Among these are Slavs that settle in the vicinity of the Croatian coastal towns.
500	The Great European Migrations. Avar-Slavic tribal formation descends on the borders of the Eastern Roman Empire; Croats are part of this formation. Croatian ethnogenesis considers these groups to be a formative demographic element of Croatian identity.
7th to 9th century	Gradual conversion to Christianity.
The Middle Ages	
700	Croatian medieval kingdom exists with the name of Croatia under the Frankish and Byzantine realms
879	Croatian Kingdom achieves a sovereign status under Duke Branimir; followed by succession of Croatian kings whose official language is Latin
925	Dalmatian Duke Tomislav crowned as Rex Croatiae; Greatest territorial expansion of Croatia, reaching as far as Bulgaria and encompassing all of Bosnia
1102	Croatia enters into personal union with Hungary under King Koloman. The union lasts until 1526, when Croatian nobles call upon the Habsburgs for protection against the Ottoman invasion

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE LANDMARK EVENTS

The Middle Ages

- 13th and 14th century Dubrovnik Republic flourishes as an exemplary Mediterranean city-state (engaged in global and regional trade from the 11th to the 16th century). Free royal cities hold a central role in the cultural, political and economic life of Croatia. Mongol invasions.
- 1409 Venice purchases Dalmatia from Duke Ladislav of Naples. This is the result of the dynastic struggles in the House of Anjou concerning the Croatian-Hungarian crown and an ensuing political instability. Venetians rule the Croatian Coast (Dalmatia and Istria) until 1795, excepted are the areas of the Poljica Republic and the town of Senj (Senjski uskoci¹) which successfully resist Venetian expansion.
- 1453 Fall of Constantinople. Turkish expansion begins.
- 1463 Battle of Krbava. An alliance of the Croatian nobles is defeated by the Turks. Most of Bosnia, the Adriatic coast south of Omis (except the Dubrovnik Republic and Kotor), Eastern Slavonia and Bosnian Posavina fall under Ottoman rule.

The Turkish Wars and the Formation of the Military Frontier

- 1520s to 1560s Turkish campaigns for expansion to the west.
- 1526 Croatian Diet meets in Križevci. The Diet demands that Croatia dissolve its association with Hungary and accept the Habsburg crown.
- 1527 Ferdinand I of Habsburg is elected to the Croatian throne.
- 1537 Battle of Klis. Croats repel the Turkish advance on Split and the Croatian coast.

¹ Senjski uskoci refer to native units that operate from the free town of Senj, which remains outside of the Venetian rule. Uskok refers to their guerrilla tactic of surprise attacks with which they threatened the Venetian trade, especially at sea (uskoci literally means jump in).

Table 2.1. - Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

The Turkish Wars and the Formation of the Military Frontier

- 1566 Battle of Siget led by Croatian Ban (Viceroy) Nikola Šubić Zrinski. As a result, the Turkish advances to the west and north are stopped, but Croatian lands are in a state of free fall. In the ensuing Ottoman campaigns, Croatia is reduced to the most pitiful state in its history, referred to as *Reliquiae Reliquiarum* (remnant of remnants). It is reduced from 50,000 km² in 1526 to less than 20,000 km² in 1606. Depopulation is massive (only every fifth inhabitant survived the Turkish campaigns). Migrations to the west result in settlements in Austria, Slovakia, Southern Moravia, Hungary, as well as Mohács in Southern Italy (15th-17th century). In literature and art, the Humanist and Renaissance achievements in literature, lexicography, science, and the arts flourish on the Croatian coast. Humanists come from the Sava-Drava valley (Janus Pannonius). Literature is multilingual (Latin, Croatian vernacular, Italian), and is written in three different alphabets (roman, glagolitic, and bosančica, which is a variant of cyrillic).
- 1573 *Seljačka buna*. Inhuman treatment of peasants by some feudal lords and high taxation gave rise to a peasant uprising which spread to the vicinity of Zagreb and into Slovenia (1571-1572). The peasant leaders were Matija (Ambroz) Gubec, Ivan Pasanec, Ivan Mogačić and Ilija Gregurić. The peasants fought for "royal justice" (*carska pravda* in Croatian) and establishment free fluctuation of commerce to the Adriatic. The peasant army was defeated by the army of the feudal lords and Matija Gubec was tried and executed in 1573. He was crowned with a hot iron, as "peasant king" which became a common iconographic theme in Croatian art. Gubec has become a symbol of opposition to social injustice.
- 1573 The Battle of Sisak.
- 1579 The Habsburgs form the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border as a system of defensive fortifications. This region is excluded from the jurisdiction of the Diet; it is administered directly from Vienna. Croatia consists of several jurisdictions: Croatia-Slavonia (Civil Croatia), the Military Border (*Vojna krajina*), Dalmatia and Istria, and the Dubrovnik Republic.
- 1606 The Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty begins. A hundred-year-peace. A border is established south of the Kupa river which is to last until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875. Turks settle Orthodox Balkan Vlachs in the territory of northwestern Bosnia and parts of Croatia and deport the Catholic population, resulting in the demographic restructuring of western and south-central Croatia.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

Croatia Rediviva (Croatia Revived)

- 17th and 18th century Cultural and economic revival in the aftermath of the Turkish war. Enlightenment efforts are carried out by the ecclesiastical orders (Jesuits and Franciscans) in Slavonia. Educational, economic, social reforms under the absolutist rule of Maria Theresa and Joseph II; the period of Enlightened Absolutism.
- 1669-1670 Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy. Croatian nobles Petar Zrinski and Kristo Frankopan forge an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. They are accused of high treason and decapitated in Bečko Novo Mjesto (Wiener Neustadt). Their lands are transferred to the Habsburg crown.
- 1785 Joseph II abolishes serfdom. Serfdom is officially abolished in Croatia by Ban Jelačić in 1848.
- 1790 The functions of administrative and financial sovereignty are transferred from the Croatian to the Hungarian Diet. An era of intense Hungarian expansionism begins, continuing in the first quarter of the 19th century and particularly after 1868. Struggles over railway monopoly and language. Formation of "Ugarsko primorje" (Hungarian Coast) with the port of Rijeka under the direct administration of Hungary until 1918.

The Period of Habsburg Absolutism, Dual Monarchy, and the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918

- 19th century The Croatian Diet keeps demanding an end to the administrative separation of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier and Ugarsko primorje throughout the 19th century. The Illyrianist Movement is a cultural movement in Croatia, opposing Germanization and Magyarization (Hungarization). Battles over language and language laws are conducted in the Hungarian and Croatian Diets. Hungarian nationalism is a major political force in the Habsburg Monarchy.
- 1784 Venice disappears as a political power. The successor to its Croatian possessions (Dalmatian Coast) is Austria.
- 1805 Napoleon creates the Illyrian Provinces. The provinces unite all of Croatia south of the Sava river, with parts of Slovenia. The French introduce social reforms and abolish the autonomy of Istrian towns.
- 1814 End of Napoleonic rule. Istria and Dalmatia with Boka Kotorska are under the Austrian rule but administered separately from Civil Croatia and the Military Frontier.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE	LANDMARK EVENTS
The Period of Habsburg Absolutism, Dual Monarchy, and the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918	
1790 to 1867	Austrian centralization and absolutist monarchy. Suppression of the ideas of the French Revolution under Klemens Fürst von Metternich (appointed 1821 as Austrian state chancellor). Alexander Bach expands the power of the church as Austrian state chancellor beginning in the mid-19th century. The Habsburg Monarchy undergoes a period of neo-absolutist modernization and reorganization.
1867	Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary established by Nagodba (Ausgleich, or Compromise). This agreement asserts the federalist structure of two constitutionally autonomous parts. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy lasts from 1867 to 1818.
1868	Croatian-Hungarian Nagodba (Compromise), the agreement by which the position of Croatia is regulated in the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy until its dissolution in 1918. Croatia retains sovereignty in internal matters, such as the juridical, religious, educational, and legal systems, the right to use the national symbols, and to use the Croatian language in public offices. Defense, financial affairs, trade, and transportation become a joint Croatian-Hungarian affair. Nagodba introduced a period of struggle over these rights.
1871	Rakowacka buna, military uprising led by Eugen Kvaternik. This uprising is an expression of the dissatisfaction with Nagodba among Croatian nationalists.
1873	Revision of Croatian-Hungarian Nagodba under pressures of the political parties in Croatia, especially Narodna stranka
1873 to 1880	Ban (Viceroy) Ivan Mažuranić comes to power and introduces reforms in the legal system, laws governing the freedom of the press and free association, and secularization of the education system, easing the effects of the absolutist monarchy and the Compromise. Nagodba stifles economic development, resulting in rural poverty and forcing peasants to emigrate in large numbers.
1878	Berlin Congress allows Austrian Annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina after Ottoman withdrawal. Infrastructure of roads and railways is built to facilitate the economic exploitation of resources by Austria. The status of the Catholic (Croatian) minority becomes more prominent.
1881	Dissolution of the Military Frontier.
1895	Students burn Hungarian flag in Zagreb. Reign of Ban Khuen Hedervary is marked by riots. Khuen is forced to resign.
1902	Anti-Serb riots in Zagreb a reaction to publication of a provocative anti-Croat article in the Serbian paper "Srbobran."
1903	Politics of the New Course improves Croatian-Serb relations in Croatia. Formulated by Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić, the politics of the New Course unites Croatian and Serbian liberal bourgeois politicians and dominates political life until World War I.

Table 2.1 ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

The Period of Habsburg Absolutism, Dual Monarchy, and the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918

1917 *Kriška deklaracija* is signed at Križ by Croatian and Serbian politicians to define the union of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes in a democratic and parliamentary constitutional monarchy under the Serbian dynasty of Karađorđević.

1918 Dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. As a result, Croatia is technically independent for two months.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, until the End of World War II

1918 Creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

1920 The Rapallo Agreements; Istria annexed to Italy.

1921 Vidovdan Constitution proclaimed. The advances of Serbian unitarism are sanctioned constitutionally.

1928 Stjepan and Ante Radić (leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party) are assassinated in the Parliament in Belgrade. Popular riots, strikes, and armed conflicts ensue in Croatia in response.

1929 King Aleksandar Karađorđević abolishes the Vidovdan Constitution and pronounces dictatorship, changes the name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Communists and nationalists are persecuted in Croatia; they resort to illegal activities. Political leaders are imprisoned.

1931 Dictatorship officially ends.

1934 King Aleksandar is assassinated in Marseille. He is succeeded by Regent Pavle, who is more open to the idea of federalism.

1939 Banovina Hrvatska created by agreement of Croatian and Serbian politicians (Vladko Maček and Dragiša Veković). It is a territorial administrative unit approximating the borders of today's Republic of Croatia, with the addition of Western Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bosnian Posavina. The process of federalization of Yugoslavia is interrupted by the encroachment of World War II.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the End of World War II

1941

Cvetković and Maček sign agreement with Hitler.
 [25 March] Yugoslavia enters the war on the side of the Axis powers.
 Coup led by the army and Pavle Kariadorjević, prompting the invasion of German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian troops. The army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia capitulates in two days. The King and Government go into exile.
 Maček turns down Hitler's offer to become head of the newly formed independent state of Croatia.

April 10, 1941

The puppet state the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, or NDH) is formed. Ante Pavelić, leader of the paramilitary group Ustashe, becomes head of the state. Persecution of the Serbian minority, Jews, and communists in Croatia ensues for the next four years. The new state encompasses rump Croatia without the Adriatic Coast, which is under Italian occupation, and all of Bosnia.

Spring 1941

Sisački odred (Sisak² fighting unit) formed. They conduct a first armed action by the Croatian Liberation Army, and the beginning of the active resistance and the partisan movement. Although the Resistance was not exclusively Communist, it emerges as such under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito.

November 29, 1943

The Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (Antifašističko Vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije, or AVNOJ) meets in Jajce (Bosnia). This provisional government in which the Communist Party is heavily represented, meets to determine the principles on which to form a new state.

²Sisak is a town in northwestern Croatia.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

Post-War Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)

1945

People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Narodna Republika Jugoslavija, or NRJ) is created. The new state consists of federal units, governed by the League of Communists. Although it abolishes the system of social privilege through agrarian reforms and nationalization, the political system is top-down, rather than participative.

The Yugoslav federation follows the model of a balance-of-power system, with behavioral constants for each of the constituent federal units. Each of the federal units, the republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia) and autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina) has its own interests and a basis for alignment with other units.

Threats to the system include: the reconstruction of the system by an external power (for example, the Soviet Union during the Cominform crisis); the threat of the federal units to secede (for example, Croatia on the eve of the Croatian Spring in 1971); encroachment on the autonomy of the federal units and ethnic assimilation (for example, the abolishment of the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo by Serbia in 1982). If threatened by exclusivist nationalism by one of the units, the alternatives are: civil strife, or, decentralization and local autonomy.

1948

Cominform (Informuro) political crisis in which the Yugoslav Communist leadership breaks its ties with the Soviet Bloc. Cominform expels the Communist Party of Yugoslavia over ideological differences. The crisis results in internal purges of pro-Soviet elements in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but also of many political opponents. Soviet threat of military invasion, and economic blockade last until Stalin's death in 1955, when Soviets try to patch up relations with Yugoslavia under Nikita Khrushchev.

1953

Tito becomes the first president of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija, or FNRJ), later changed to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). Tito introduces a system of a multinational state conceived in opposition to Soviet centralism. The constitutive republics of FNRJ are firmly defined as equal partners in a federative system; the administration is decentralized; federation is a community of all nationalities in Yugoslavia, with each of the five socialist republics as sovereign but mutually dependent.

1956

Self-management system introduced in the economy, based on workers' councils in factories.

1960s

Tito, Nehru, and Nasser initiate the Nonaligned Movement. In the context of the Cold War, this movement gives prominence to socialist Yugoslavia and Tito as its leader, and brings about the establishment of political ties with newly dependent countries in the post-colonial world order, with the goal of strengthening the position of socialist countries against Soviet military invasion.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

Post-War Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)

- 1963-1965 Balance-of-power crisis in the federal system. Serbia unsuccessfully aspires to use the federal system to establish itself as the leader of a block of underdeveloped republics within Yugoslavia, isolating Slovenia and Croatia, which would enable centralization. Liberalization, and economic decentralization, the demise of centralized planning are achieved under the push of Croatia and Slovenia. Two blocs are created: the liberal bloc of Slovenia, Croatia, and Vojvodina, aided by the underdeveloped federal players, Macedonia and Kosovo, and Serbia with Montenegro on the other side.
- 1967 Another balance-of-power crisis in the federal system. Croatian Communist Party leadership under Sava Dabčević-Kučar and Miko Tripalo pushes for decentralization, reform, and secession, with popular support in Croatia. Federal partners give no support because they feel Croatia is threatening the territorial integrity and economic interests of the federation by going too far in its demands.
- 1971 Student demonstrations in Zagreb (the Croatian Spring) are suppressed by force, followed by imprisonment of student leaders and the Croatian Spring nationalist intellectuals, and political repression; results in emigration and renewal of political life in the diaspora.
- 1974 Constitution adopted in an attempt to reform the federation, the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo are established as autonomous units in the federation (autonomous provinces).
- 1980 Tito dies. Transition of power to the collective presidency; economic crisis; the nationalisms of the constituent federal units (primarily Croatian and Serbian) strengthen and new ones emerge (Albanian, Montenegrin, Muslim).
- 1982 Autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina abolished unilaterally by Serbia. Opponents in Kosovo's provincial Assembly are imprisoned. Bloody suppression of the demonstrations of the Albanian majority in Kosovo.
- 1986 The Serbian Academy's "Memorandum" is leaked. This document, originating in the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, outlines a program of expansion for Greater Serbia.
- 1987-1989 Slobodan Milošević comes to power in Serbia. Organized travelling rallies that participants call the Meetings of Truth, are staged across Yugoslavia, with the goal of electrifying and radicalizing Serbian minorities outside Serbia.
- The Velvet Revolutions of the Communist Bloc affect Socialist Yugoslavia: the Leagues of Communists proclaim free elections.
- May 1990 Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, or HDZ) led by Franjo Tuđman wins elections in Croatia. This movement is populist, running on the nationalist platform. Other parties were revived at the time, including the Croat Peasant Party.

Table 2.1. ... Continued

DATE **LANDMARK EVENTS**

Post-War Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)

1991 Split in the collective presidency of Yugoslavia. Under the leadership of the League of Communists, Slovenia and Croatia demand confederation, with the support of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia and Montenegro support re-centralization. Slovenia and Croatia respond with an ultimatum for the reformation of the federation to be resolved before June 26, 1991; they will proclaim secession from the federation as entitled by the Constitution of 1974.

The Dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the Wars of the Yugoslav Secession (1991-1994)

May 1991 Referendum on independence held in Croatia and other federal units. Ninety-four percent of votes in Croatia support independence from Yugoslavia. Local Serb militias raise barricades and checkpoints in central Croatia.

On June 25, 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declare independence from Yugoslavia.

On July 6, 1991, Macedonia declares independence from Yugoslavia.

Serbian delegates walk out of the mid-October session of the Bosnian Parliament convened to declare independence. A referendum in which eighty-seven percent of votes support secession from Yugoslavia.

June-October 1991 The Yugoslav Army leads, aided by local Serb militias, armed invasion of Slovenia and Croatia, followed by Bosnia-Herzegovina.

March 1992 Wars of Yugoslav Dissolution.

1994 Dayton Peace Agreement signed.

NOTE: This outline is based on standard sources for Croatian political and cultural history including Hrvatski povijesni zemljovid (1993) and Boban (1992) for historical maps; Banac (1984) and Črtnja (1994) for the early history, the Roman period, and Slavic migrations; Katičić and Novak (1989) for Humanism and Renaissance; Macan (1992), Horvat (1984 and 1990), and Šidak, et al. (1988) for the Turkish wars to the end of World War II; and Ramet (1991) for analysis of the balance-of-power model in reconstructing the history of post-World War II Socialist Yugoslavia. The chronology and factual information of the most recent developments are from Evolutionary geopolitical analysis (1991), and My Croatia (1994).

Table 2.2. ... Literacy Levels in Croatia, in 1869 and 1880

PERIOD	ADMINISTRATIVE AREA	LITERACY LEVELS %							
		NONE				PARTIAL (READ ONLY)			
		U	R	G	U	R	G	U	R
1869	Civil Croatia and Slavonia	87.8	54.3	10	45	1.4	0.8		
	Slavonia only	87	46.4	12.2	52.9	0.76	0.78		
	Military Border								
	Rijeka			40					
1880	Civil Croatia and Slavonia								
	women	32.1-58.2			57.3-57.7		2.1-2.7		
	Slavonia only	39.6			57.7		2.7		
	men	29.2-30.5		70.1	68.8	0.7	0.7		
	Dalmatia and Lika								
			73 ¹						

NOTE: The legend of abbreviations used in this table is as follows: G=general population; U=urban; R=rural; W=among women; M=among men. The sources used to derive this information are the censuses of 1869 and 1880 and their summary, as reported by Gross and Szabo (1992, 40). In categories in which there was no data available, the information is omitted.

¹Source: Cipolla (1969, 81).

Table 3.1. -- New Titles of Almanacs, by Period

PERIOD	TITLES	RATIO %
1800-1899	161	24.9
1900-1994	485	75.1
TOTAL(S)	646	100.0

NOTE. The discrepancy of title totals (i.e., 646 vs. 650 titles in the database) is due to the exclusion of four of the almanacs continued from the eighteenth century.

Table 3.2. -- Fluctuations in the Almanac Trade in Croatia: New Titles Published Between 1800 and 1994

TIME-FRAME	LENGTH OF PERIOD (YEARS)	NO. OF NEW TITLES	AVERAGE OF NEW TITLES (PER YEAR)
1800-1850	51	27	0.5
1851-1885	35	74	2.2
1886-1899	14	49	3.8
1900-1911	12	99	9.0
1912-1921	10	50	5.6
1922-1935	14	182	14.0
1936-1942	7	62	10.3
1943-1958	16	74	4.9
1959-1994	33	29	0.8
TOTAL	192	646	3.36

NOTE: The discrepancy of title totals (i.e., 646 vs. 650 titles in the database) is due to the exclusion of four of the almanacs continued from the eighteenth century.

Table 3.3. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Duration

LENGTH OF RUN	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Single Issue	291	45
Two Issues or More	355	55
TOTAL(S)	646	100

NOTE: The discrepancy of new title totals (i.e., 646 vs. 650 titles in the database) is due to the exclusion of four of the almanacs continued from the eighteenth century.

Table 3.4. -- Geographic Distribution of Publishers, 1800-1994

LOCATION OF PUBLISHER	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %	CUMULATIVE %
<u>Single location</u>			
In Croatia	571	87.8	87.8
Elsewhere	61	9.4	97.2
<u>Moved to several locations</u>			
In Croatia and Elsewhere	18	2.8	100
<hr/>			
TOTAL(S)	650	100	

Table 3.5. - Geographic Distribution of Publishers and Their Activity in the Almanac Trade, 1800-1994

LOCATION OF PUBLISHER	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %	CUMULATIVE %
<u>50-100 titles</u>			
Zagreb	338	59.0	59.0
<u>20-50 titles</u>			
Osijek	41		
Split	30		
Zadar	23	16.5	75.5
<u>10-20 titles</u>			
Virovitica	18		
Bjelovar	11		
Koprivnica	10	6.8	82.3
<u>5-10 titles</u>			
Dubrovnik	9		
Slavonska Požega	9		
Varaždin	8		
Čakovec	7		
Križevci	7		
Rijeka	7		
Sisak	7		
Karlovac	6	10.5	92.8
<u>1-5 titles</u>			
Vukovar	4		
Pula	3		
Šibenik	3		
Vinkovci	3		
Daruvar	2		
Nova Gradiška	2		
Senj	2		
Slavonski Brod	2		
Črikvenica	1		
Đakovo	1		
Grubišno Polje	1		
Kraljevica	1		
Kutina	1		
Legrad	1		

Table 3.5. -- Continued

LOCATION OF PUBLISHER	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %	CUMULATIVE %
<u>1-5 titles</u>			
Pazin	1		
Petrinja	1		
Poreč	1		
Samobor	1		
Sinj	1		
Županja	1		
Gorski Kotar- Šuma Javornica	1	6.0	98.8
<u>Unknown</u>	6	1.1	99.9
TOTAL(S)	571	99.9	

NOTE: The total number of titles excludes those published outside of Croatia.

Table 3.6. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Type of Affiliation

AFFILIATION	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Society	54	8.3
Political Party / Movement	21	3.2
Subsidiary to a Newspaper	16	2.5
Association	11	1.7
Firm	22	3.4

NOTE: The last column expresses a ratio of titles issued by a particular body that acted as publisher to the total number of titles in the database (N=650). Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

Table 3.7. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Language

LANGUAGE	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %	CUMULATIVE %
<u>Monolingual</u>			
Croatian	547	84.1	84.1
German	24	3.6	87.7
Italian	37	5.7	93.4
Latin	7	1.2	94.6
Hungarian	1	0.1	94.7
Serbian	20	3.0	97.7
Ukrainian	1	0.1	97.8
<u>Bilingual & Polyglot</u>			
Croatian and German	5	0.8	98.6
Croatian and Hebrew	1	0.2	98.9
Croatian and Hungarian	1	0.2	99.0
Czech and Slovak	2	0.3	99.3
South Slavic	4	0.6	99.9
TOTAL(S)	650	100	99.9

Table 3.8. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Intended Audience

AUDIENCE TYPE	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Occupational groups	158	24.3
Social class (Workers, Peasants, Youth)	42	6.5
Ethnic-Religious groups	63	9.7
Religious (Catholic) groups	34	5.2
Regional groups	61	9.4
Common reader ("pučki," "narodni")	56	8.6
Special interest groups (e.g., Masonic)	2	0.3

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles intended for particular audiences to the total number of titles in the database (N=650). "Pučki" and "narodni" (popular, people's) indicate general audiences. Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

Table 3.9. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Content Features

CONTENT FEATURES	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
<u>Subject Focus</u>		
Entertainment (no particular focus)	164	25.2
Humor / satire	19	2.9
Finance / economics /management	15	2.3
Other (sports, music, literature, theatre, cinema, statistics)	12	1.8
<u>Special Focus (Function)</u>		
Charitable	11	1.7
Official publication	3	0.5
Commemorative	2	0.3
Astrological	2	0.3
Astronomical	1	0.2

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles with a particular subject focus to the total number of titles in the database (N=650). Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

Table 3.10. -- Croatian Almanacs, by Special Features Related to Form or Purpose

SPECIAL FEATURE / FOCUS	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Illustrated	37	5.7
Pocket	34	5.2
Planner	33	5.1
School Diary	19	2.9
Ecclesiastical Calendar	9	0.9

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles with special features to the total number of titles in the database (N=650). Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

Table 4.1. -- Diaspora Almanacs, by Size

TYPE	HEIGHT (CM)	FREQUENCY (TITLES)
<u>Pocket Size</u>		
	9	1
	10	1
	11	0
	12	0
	13	3
	14	1
<u>Standard Size</u>		
	15	1
	16	1
	17	0
	18	0
	19	1
	20	10
	21	6
	22	33
	23	169
	24	46
	25	27
	26	15
<u>Large Format</u>		
	27	6
	28	3
	29	0
	30	1
TOTAL		325

Table 4.2. -- Statement of Ethno-Cultural, Political Boundaries, Boundaries Determined by Emigrant Status, and Other Features, as Specified in the Wording of the Titles 329

TYPE OF GROUP DESIGNATION	NUMBER OF TITLES	RATIO %
<u>Ethno-Cultural or Political-Geographic</u>		
*hrvat-" (Croatian, Croatia)	18	33.1
*jugoslav-" (Yugoslav, Yugoslavia)	4	7.1
*Amer-" (American, America)	4	7.1
*kanad-" (Canadian)	1	1.8
*krčki" (pertaining to the island of Krk)	1	1.8
Total	28	50.9
<u>Emigrant Status or Experience of Migration</u>		
*iselj-" (Emigrant, Emigre)	4	7.1
*u inozemstvu", "izvan domovine" (in foreign land, out of the country)	2	3.6
*putnik" (traveller)	2	3.6
*novi svijet" (New World)	1	1.8
*novi Hrvat" (the New Croat)	1	1.8
Total	10 ¹	17.9

¹Three of these titles combine the attribute of migration experience and ethno-cultural identity.

Table 4.2. -- Continued

TYPE OF GROUP BOUNDARY	NUMBER OF TITLES	RATIO %
<u>Other Features²</u>		
Specialized Content (Catholic, Workers)	6	10.7
Affiliation (with an Organization, Paper, Magazine)	5	8.9
Reference to Physical Features (Illustrated, Colored, Humorous, etc.)	3	5.4
Specific Focus not Indicated (e.g., "red," "ours," "people's")	3	5.4
Total	17	30.4
TOTAL TITLES	56	99.2

NOTE: When two categories overlapped, a title belonging to both categories is assigned to one category only.

²This category brings together the titles that do not fit into the categories listed above. The titles assigned to subcategories in this group do not represent all the titles of that type (e.g., there are workers' almanacs that are identified as such in the ethno-cultural and political-geographical category).

Table 5.1. -- Publishers of Almanacs of the Croatian Diaspora

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
BOOKSTORES	6				
Hrvatska narodna knjižara (Hrvatska radnička knjižara) ¹		Pittsburgh, Pa.	1938-1941 1942-1945	Radnički kalendar (Hrvatski narodni kalendar)	1
Jugoslavenski Komunistički Savez [S.n.] (Jugoslavenska radnička knjižara) ²		Chicago, Ill. [S. I.]	1914?-1920 1921 1922-1933	Crveni kalendar	2
Knjižara Radnička borba ³		Cleveland, Ohio	1922-1925 1946-1964	Socijalistički radnički kalendar	3
Radnička knjižara ⁴		Chicago, Ill.	1934-1937	Radnički kalendar	4
Knjižara i štamparija Palandačića (Palandech's Publishing House)		Chicago, Ill.	1908?-1935 1909?-1920	Jugoslavija, veliki narodni kalendar Jugoslavija, narodni kalendar	5 6
Stanley Borčić, Religious Articles		Gary, Ind.	1951-1953	Croatian Catholic Almanac (Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar Srca Isusova i Marijina)	7
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS	6				
Jugoslavenski Prosvjetni Savez u Americi		Chicago, Ill.	1925-1930	Kalendar Novi svijet	8
Jugoslavenski Sokol		St. Louis, Mo.	1932	Jugoslavenski sokolski almanak	9

¹The Croatian People's Bookstore (The Croatian Workers' Bookstore)

²The Yugoslav Workers' Bookstore

³The Radnička Borba Bookstore

⁴The Workers' Bookstore

Table 5.1. -- Continued

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS	6				
Mlada Narodna Hrvatska Zajednica		Whiting, Ind.	1919	Napredak, almanah i koledar	10
Prosvjetni odbor Narodne Hrvatske Zajednice		[S.I.]	1922	Zajednički kalendar	11
Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske župe Tomislav		Chicago, Ill.	1918-1919	Hrvatski sokolski koledar	12
Starješinstvo Hrvatskog sokola		St. Louis, Mo.	1917	Koledar hrvatskog sokola	13
PUBLISHING FIRMS	5				
Amerika Almanac Publishing Company		New York, N.Y.	1922	Almanak Amerika	14
"Chicago"		Chicago, Ill.	1893	Narodni američki koledar	15
Steinbrener (J.), katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara		Winterberg, Bohemia, Zagreb, Croatia and New York, N.Y.	1898-1916	Davor, hrvatski vojnički koledar	16
				Mali Marijin koledar	17
				Novi katolički koledar	18
				Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar	19
				Šareni svjetski koledar	20
				Veliki ilustrirani zabavni koledar	21
				Veliki Marijin koledar	22
Yugoslav-Canadian Publishers		Toronto, Ontario	1967-1969	Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak (Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book)	23

Table 5.1. -- Continued

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
PUBLISHING FIRMS					
	5				
Novinsko-izdavačko i štamparsko poduzeće Založba Obzorja		Čakovec, Croatia	1967	Džepni kalendar za radnike u inoz. 24	
EMIGRANT AGENCIES					
	3				
Matica Iseljenika		Zagreb, Croatia	1954 to date	Matica iseljenika, kalendar	25
Savez Organizacije Iseljenika		Zagreb, Croatia	1929	Iseljenik, kalendar	26
Vijeće Biskupske konferencije za hrvatsku migraciju		Zagreb, Croatia	1971	Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine	27
NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES					
	14				
Croatian Catholic Union of the USA (HKZ) ⁵		Cleveland, Ohio	1925-1957	Naša nada (Our Hope Almanac)	28
		Chicago, Ill.	1927		
		Pittsburgh, Pa.	1938		
		Gary, Ind.	1957		
		Milwaukee, Wis.	1927		
				Hrvatska katolička zajednica, koledar	29
		Munich, Germany	1948	Džepni kalendar	30
Croatian Publishing Co., Inc. ("Jugoslavenski glasnik")		Chicago, Ill.	1940	Jugoslav Herald Almanac	31
				(Kalendar Jugoslavenskog glasnika)	

Table 5.1. -- Continued

⁵HKZ=Hrvatska katolička zajednica

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES		14			
"Hrvatski glas" (Croatian Voice Inc.) ("Kanadski glas")		Winnipeg, Manitoba	1930-1976	Kalendar Hrvatski glas	32
		Acton, Ont.	1977-1979		
		Sudbury, Ont.	1980-1983	(Hrvatski godišnjak)	
Hrvatski katolički mjesečnik "Zdravo Manjo"		Pittsburgh, Pa.	1935?-1950	Hrvatski godišnjak	33
(Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci) ⁶ ("Ave Maria" Almanac)		McKeesport, Pa.	1949?-1962	Ave Maria kalendar	34
Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc. (Uredništvo "Danice Hrvatske")		New York, N.Y.	1921-1944	Hrvatski list i Danica hrv. koledar	35
Jugoslavenski iseljenik		Zagreb, Croatia	1923	Iseljenički kalendar	36
Materinska riječ		Rosario de Santa Fe, Argentina	1910	Jeka, hrvatski iseljenički koledar	37
"Narodni glasnik"		Pittsburgh, Pa.	1946-1950	Hrvatski narodni kalendar	38
		Chicago, Ill.	1951-1966	(Narodni kalendar)	
"Slobodna misao"		Toronto, Ontario	1937-1946	Hrvatski radnički kalendar	39
"Novi Hrvat"		New York, N.Y.	1914	Novi Hrvat koledar	40
Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana and "Jedinstvo"		Toronto, Ontario	1954-1966	Naš kalendar	41
				(Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book)	
Savez kanadskih Hrvata and "Novosti"		Toronto, Ontario	1945-1947	Hrvatski narodni kalendar	42
			1964	Hrvatski godišnjak	43
Croatian Franciscan Press		Chicago, Ill.	1944 to date	Hrvatski kalendar	44
(Uprava "Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika" i "Danice")					
Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc. ("Narodni list")		New York, N.Y.	1914-1920	Kalendar "Narodnog lista"	45

⁶Croatian Minoritan Franciscan Brothers

Table 5.1. -- Continued

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
POLITICAL PARTIES					
	2				
Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka		London, England	1982 to date	Zbornik Hrvatske seljačke stranke	46
Hrvatski Domobran		[S.I.]	1932	Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana	
(Printed by Dr. W. Broner)		Berlin, Germany	1933		47
		Buenos Aires, Argentina--Pittsburgh, Pa.	1937-1939		
		Pittsburgh, Pa.	1940-1941		
		Buenos Aires, Argentina	1941-1955		
("Hrvatska"--glasilo Hrvata Južne Amerike)			1949-1950		
EMIGRATION INDUSTRY					
	4				
Hamburg-Amerika Linie,		Zagreb, Croatia	1929	Amerikanac	48
Glavno zastupstvo za Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju					
Iseljenička poslovnica Putnik,		Zagreb, Croatia	1915	Putnik koledar	49
Vlastnici Hrvatska poljodjelska banka i Savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga					
John Zagar & Co. nasljednici A.C. Jankovich & Co.,		Chicago, Ill.	1916	Kalendar	50
Prva i najstarija hrvatska banka u Americi osnovana god. 1895.					
Poslovnica J. Grof Drašković		Zagreb, Croatia	1906	Putnik, narodni kalendar	51
			1913	Amerikanac, veliki narodni kalendar	
					52

Table 5.1. -- Continued

PUBLISHER TYPE	NUMBER OF PUBLISHERS	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	TITLE NO.
UNKNOWN / NOT STATED	4				
		New York, N.Y.	1949-1953	Krčki kalendar	53
		Rome, Italy?	1945	Mali hrvatski kalendar	54
		Buenos Aires, Argentina	1949	Mali hrvatski kalendar	55
		Buenos Aires, Argentina	1950	Mali kalendar Hrvatska	56

NOTE: The titles of the almanacs are given in the original. Their translations are supplied elsewhere in this thesis. The titles in parentheses indicate title changes which have not resulted in the interruption of the run. The information given in brackets is supplied, i.e., it is not transcribed as found on the publication. The standard abbreviations, [s.l.] and [s.n.] (for, "sine loco" and "sine nomine") stand for "no place" and "no name." They indicate that the publisher's name and the place of publication are not found in the imprint and, therefore, there is no indication of a publisher's location in that interval of the almanac's publication. The publishers' names are also given in the original and their alternative names are given in parentheses. Their translations are given in the text of the thesis, and in the footnotes, when considered necessary. The categories for type of publisher do not necessarily reflect the affiliation of the publisher (with religious organizations, for example). Religious organizations and orders as publishers are not shown here as a separate category. Publishers that issued religious almanacs belong to several types (many of them are listed as subsidiary to newspaper / magazine although they might also be religious order, or organization; other types are ethnic organizations, and a bookstore).

Table 5.2. – Editors of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) from 1944 to 1991

NAME	ISSUES EDITED	YEARS AS EDITOR
Silvije Grubišić	1944-1949	6
	1947 (co-edited with Vendelin Vasilj)	1
	1956-1958 (co-edited with Kvirin Vasilj)	3
	1979 (co-edited with Celestin Raguz)	1
	1980-1982 (co-edited with Gracijan Raspudić and Ivo Sivrić)	3
Leon Medić	1944 (editor of Roman Catholic portion of the calendar)	1
Tomislav Fins	1944 (editor of Greek Catholic portion of the calendar) ¹	1
Vendelin Vasilj	1947 (co-edited with Silvije Grubišić)	1
	1962-1967	6
Kvirin Vasilj	1950-1952	3
	1956-1958 (co-edited with Silvije Grubišić)	3
Dominik Mandić	1953-1955	3
Ljubo Čuvalo	1960-61, 1968-1975	10
Hrvoslav Ban	1976, 1987-1991	6
Celestin Raguz	1979 (co-edited with Silvije Grubišić)	1
Vinko D. Lasić	1977, 1978, 1986	3
	1979 (co-edited with Celestin Raguz)	1
	1987-1991 (editor of calendar)	5
Gracijan Raspudić	1983-1985	3
	1980-1982 (co-edited with Ivo Sivrić and Silvije Grubišić)	3
Ivo Sivrić	1980-1982 (co-edited with Gracijan Raspudić and Silvije Grubišić)	3

¹ He also edited the Greek Catholic calendar in the Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952.

Table 5.3. Geographic Distribution of Publishers of Almanacs of the Croatian Diaspora

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
IN ARGENTINA				
1	Buenos Aires	1949	Mali hrvatski kalendar	[S.n.]
2	Buenos Aires	1950	Mali kalendar Hrvatska	[S.n.]
3	Rosario de Santa Fe	1910	Jeka, hrvatski iseljenički koledar	Maternska tječe
IN CANADA				
<u>Ontario</u>				
4	Toronto	1937-1946	Hrvatski radnički kalendar	"Slobodna misao"
5	Toronto	1945-1947	Hrvatski narodni kalendar	Savez kanadskih Hrvata and "Novosti"
6	Toronto	1964	Hrvatski godišnjak	Savez kanadskih Hrvata and "Novosti"
7	Toronto	1954-1966	Nas kalendar (Yugoslav Canadian Year Book)	Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana and "Jedinstvo"
8	Toronto	1967-1969	Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak (Yugoslav Canadian Year Book)	Yugoslav Canadian Publishers
<u>Manitoba, later moved to Ontario</u>				
9	Winnipeg Acton Sudbury	1930-1976 1977-1979 1980-1983	Kalendar Hrvatski glas (Hrvatski godišnjak)	"Hrvatski glas" (Croatian Voice Inc.) ("Kanadski glas")
IN CROATIA				
10	Čakovec	1967	Džepni kalendar za radnike u inozemstvu	Novinsko izd. i štamparsko poduzeće Založba "Obzorja"

Table 5.3. . . Continued

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
IN CROATIA				
11	Zagreb	1946	Putnik, narodni kalendar	Poslovnica J. Grol Diaskovic
12	Zagreb	1913	Amerikanac, veliki narodni kalendar	
13	Zagreb	1915	Putnik, Koledar	Iseljenička poslovna Putnik, Vlastnici Hrvatska poljodjelska banka i Savez srpsk. h. zemljoradničkih zadruga
14	Zagreb	1923	Iseljenički kalendar	Jugoslavenski iseljenik
15	Zagreb	1929	Amerikanac	Hamburg-Amerika Linie, Glavno zastupstvo za Kraljevino Jugoslaviju
16	Zagreb	1929	Iseljenik	Savez Organizacije Iseljenika
17	Zagreb	1954 to date	Matica iseljenika, kalendar	Matica Iseljenika
18	Zagreb	1971	Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine	Vijeće Biskupske konferencije za hrvatsku migraciju
IN EUROPE				
19	London	1982 to date	Zbornik HSS	Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka
20	Munich	1948	Džepni kalendar	[S n.]
21	Rome?	1945	Mali hrvatski kalendar	[S n.]
IN THE UNITED STATES				
Illinois				
22	Chicago	1908? 1935	Jugoslavija, veliki narodni kalendar	Knjižara i štamp Palandačica (Palandach's Publ. House)

Table 5.3 -- Continued

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
IN THE UNITED STATES				
	<u>Illinois</u>			
23	Chicago	1909-1920	Jugoslavija, narodni kalendar	
24	Chicago	1893	Narodni americkanski koledar	"Chicago"
25	Chicago [S. I.]	1914-1920 1921 1922-1933	Crveni kalendar	Jugoslavenski Komunistički Savez [S. I.] (Jugoslavenska radnička knjizara)
26	Chicago	1916	Kalendar	John Zagar & Co. nasljednici A. C. Jankovich & Co., Prva i najstarija hrvatska banka u Americi osnovana god. 1895
27	Chicago	1918-1919	Hrvatski sokolski koledar	Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske Zupe Tomislav
28	Chicago	1925-1930	Kalendar Novi svijet	Jugoslavenski Prosvjetni Savez u Americi
29	Chicago	1934-1937	Radnički kalendar	Radnička knjizara
30	Chicago	1940	Jugoslav Herald Almanac (Kalendar Jugoslavenskog glasnika)	Croatian Publishing Co., Inc. ("Jugoslavenski glasnik")
31	Chicago	1944 to date	Hrvatski kalendar	Croatian Franciscan Press (Uprava "Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika" i "Danice")
	<u>Indiana</u>			
32	Gary	1951-1953	Croatian Catholic Almanac (Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar Sreću Isusova i Marijina)	Stanley Bone, Religious Articles
33	Whiting	1919	Napredak, almanah i koledar	Mlada Narodna Hrvatska Zajednica
	<u>Missouri</u>			
34	St. Louis	1917	Koledar hrvatskog skola	Starješinstvo Hrvatskog skola

Table 5-3 -- Continued

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
IN THE UNITED STATES				
<u>Missouri</u>				
35	St. Louis	1932	Jugoslavenski sokolski almanak	Jugoslavenski Sokol
<u>New York</u>				
36	New York	1914	Novi Hrvat koledar	"Novi Hrvat"
37	New York	1914-1920	Kalendar "Narodnog lista"	Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc. ("Narodni list")
38	New York	1921-1944	Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar	Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc. (Uredništvo "Danice Hrvatske")
39	New York	1922	Almanak Amerika	Amerika Almanac Publishing Company
40	New York	1949-1953	Krčki kalendar	[S n.]
<u>Pennsylvania</u>				
41	Pittsburgh	1935?-1950	Hrvatski godišnjak	Hrvatski katolički mjesečnik "Zdravo Marijo"
42	McKeesport	1949?-1962	Ave Maria kalendar	(Hrvatski Franjevac Trecoredel) ("Ave Maria" Almanac)
43	Pittsburgh	1938-1941 1942-1945	Radnički kalendar (Hrvatski narodni kalendar)	Hrvatska narodna knjižara (Hrvatska radnička knjižara)
<u>Pennsylvania, later moved to Illinois</u>				
44	Pittsburgh Chicago	1946-1950 1951-1966	Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Narodni kalendar)	"Narodni glasnik"

Table 5.3 - Continued

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S)	PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
IN THE UNITED STATES					
<u>Ohio</u>					
45	Cleveland	1922-1925 1946-1964	Socijalistički radnički kalendar		Knjžara "Radnička borba"
46	Ohio, with individual issues published in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana	1925-1957	Naša nada (Our Hope Almanac)		Croatian Catholic Union of the USA (HKZ) ¹
	Cleveland Chicago Pittsburgh Gary	1927 1938 1957			
<u>Wisconsin</u>					
47	Milwaukee	1927	Hrvatska katolička zajednica, koledar		Croatian Catholic Union of the USA (HKZ)
MULTIPLE LOCATIONS IN IMPRINT					
48	Winterberg, Bohemia, Zagreb, Croatia, and New York, N.Y. 1898-1916		Davon, hrvatski vojnički koledar		Steinbrener (J.), katolički nakladni zavod, knjižotiskara i umjetnička tiskara
49	"		Mladi Marijin koledar za katolički puk		
50	"		Novi katolički koledar		

¹HKZ=Hrvatska katolička zajednica

Table 5.3. Continued

ITEM	LOCATIONS	ACTIVE PERIOD	TITLE(S) PUBLISHED	PUBLISHER
MULTIPLE LOCATIONS IN IMPRINT				
51	Winterberg, Bohemia, Zagreb, Croatia, and New York, N.Y.	1898-1916	Novi Sadnji slikovni koledar	Steinbrener (J.), katolički nakladni zavod, knjižgotiskara i umjetnička tiskara
52	"	"	Šareni svjetski koledar	
53	"	"	Većki ilustrirani zabavni koledar	
54	"	"	Većki Martijev koledar za katolički puk	
55	[S.L.] Berlin, Germany	1932 1933	Godišnjak (kalendari) Hrvatskog Domobranca	Hrvatski Domobran (Printed by Dr. W. Broner)
	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Pittsburgh, Pa. 1937-1939	"	
	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1940-1941	"	
	Buenos Aires	1941-1955 1949-1950	" "	("Hrvatska" - glasilo Hrvata Južne Amerike)
LOCATION NOT STATED				
56		1922	Zajednički kalendari	Prosvjetni odbor Narodne Hrvatske Zajednice

NOTE: The titles of the almanacs are given in the original. The titles in parentheses indicate title changes which have not resulted in the interruption of the run. The information given in brackets is supplied, i.e., it is not transcribed as found on the publication. The standard abbreviations, [s.l.] and [s.n.] (for "sine loco" and "sine nomine") stand for "no place" and "no name." They indicate that the publisher's name and the place of publication are not found in the imprint and, therefore, there is no indication of a publisher's location in that interval of the almanac's publication. The publishers' names are also given in the original and their alternative names are given in parentheses.

Table 5.4. -- Representatives and Local Offices of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.), from 1944 to 1975¹

LOCATIONS	YEAR(S)	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES
CANADA		
Montreal, P.Q.	1966-67, 1969-75	1
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. ²	1966-67, 1969-75	1
Sudbury, Ont.	1970-75	1
Vancouver, B.C.	1966-67	1
Windsor, Ont.	1975	1
UNITED STATES		
<u>Florida</u>		
Gulf Breeze	1961-67, 1969-75	1
<u>Illinois</u>		
Chicago	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	2
<u>Missouri</u>		
St. Louis	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
<u>New York</u>		
New York	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
<u>Pennsylvania</u>		
Ambridge	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
Beaver Falls	1966-67, 1969-75	1
Bethlehem	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
Monessen	1954-67, 1969-75	1
Rankin	1954-56, 1969-75	1
Sharon	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
Steelton	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
<u>Wisconsin</u>		
Milwaukee	1944	2
	1945-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1
West Allis	1944-46, 1951-63, 1965-67, 1969-75	1

¹Data for 1947-50, 1964, and 1968 were not available.²Distributed through rectory of "Our Lady of the Highways."

Table 5.5. -- Distribution Agents for Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, by Location

LOCATIONS	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES PER STATE / PROVINCE
CANADA		
<u>Ontario</u>		1
Sault Ste. Marie	1	
UNITED STATES		
<u>Arkansas</u>		1
Hamburg	1	
<u>California</u>		10
Florn	1	
Los Angeles	3	
Oakland	1	
San Francisco	2	
San Pedro	3	
<u>Illinois</u>		41
Canton	1	
Chicago	37	
Crystal Lake	1	
Galesburg	1	
La Grange	1	
<u>Kansas</u>		4
Kansas City	4	
<u>Michigan</u>		6
Detroit	5	
High Park	1	
<u>Minnesota</u>		7
Chisholm	1	
Duluth	1	
Eveleth	1	
Gilbert	1	
Keewaun	1	
St. Paul	2	
<u>Missouri</u>		3
Kansas City	1	
Kirksville	1	
Sugar Creek	1	
<u>Montana</u>		1
Lewistown	1	

Table 5.5. -- Continued

LOCATIONS	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES PER STATE / PROVINCE
UNITED STATES		
Nebraska		
Omaha	1	1
New Jersey		
Camden	1	1
New Mexico		
Raton	1	1
New York		
Lackawanna	1	2
New York	1	
Ohio		
Barberton	1	7
Cleveland	1	
Lowelville	1	
Nutwood	1	
Struthers	1	
Warren	1	
Youngstown	1	
Pennsylvania		
Aliquippa	1	17
Bressler	1	
Clairton	3	
Farrell	1	
Johnstown	1	
Mather	1	
McKeesport	1	
New Brighton	1	
Pittsburgh	3	
Sharon	1	
Swisvale	1	
Uniontown	1	
Wilksburg	1	
Washington		
Gig Harbor	1	3
Roslyn	1	
[Roslyn, area outside of Washington, D.C.]		
Spokane	1	
Wisconsin		
Ashland	1	4
Kenosha	2	
West Allis	1	

Table 5.5. -- Continued

LOCATIONS	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES PER STATE / PROVINCE
UNITED STATES		
<u>Wyoming</u>		1
Rock Springs	1	

Table 5.6. -- Distribution Agents of Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1944, by Type

TYPES	NUMBER OF AGENTS	PERCENTAGE
Women	70	63.63
Men	37	33.63
Family Group	3	2.73
TOTAL	110	99.99

Table 5.7 -- Distribution of Firms Advertising in Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill) and Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana (Buenos Aires, Argentina), by Date

LOCATIONS	<u>Hrvatski kalendar</u>			
	1941	1942	1944	1945
Argentina	-	-	-	-
Dock Sud	-	+	-	-
Sarandi	-	+	-	-
California				
Fresno	+	-	+	-
Headsburg	-	-	+	-
Hollywood	+	-	-	-
Los Angeles	-	-	-	-
Moneta	+	-	+	-
San Francisco	+	-	+	-
San Pedro	+	-	-	-
San Jose	-	-	+	-
Oakland	+	-	-	-
Illinois				
Brookfield	-	-	-	-
Calumet City	+	-	+	+
Chicago	+	-	-	+
Congress Park	-	-	+	+
East St. Louis	-	-	+	-
Effingham	-	-	+	+
Fairmont City	-	-	+	-
Granite City	-	-	-	+
Joliet	-	-	-	+
LaGrange	-	-	+	+
Lyons	-	-	+	+
Madison	-	-	+	+
Waukegan	+	-	-	+

Table 5.7. -- Continued

LOCATIONS	<u>Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana</u>		<u>Hrvatski kalendar</u>		
	1941	1942	1944	1945	1946
<u>Indiana</u>					
Calumet City	-	-	-	-	+
East Chicago	-	-	-	+	+
Gary	+	-	-	-	+
Hammond	+	-	-	+	+
Indiana Harbor	+	-	-	+	+
Whiting	-	-	-	-	+
<u>Iowa</u>					
Waterloo	+	-	+	-	+
<u>Kansas</u>					
Kansas City	-	-	-	-	+
<u>Michigan</u>					
Detroit	+	-	-	+	+
Hamtramck (sic)	+	-	-	-	-
Highland Park	+	-	-	-	-
<u>Minnesota</u>					
Gilbert	+	-	-	-	-
Hibbing	+	-	-	-	-
Virginia	+	-	-	-	-
<u>Missouri</u>					
Kansas City	-	-	-	-	+
St. Louis	-	-	-	+	+
<u>Nebraska</u>					
Omaha	-	-	-	-	+

Table 5.7. ... Continued

LOCATIONS	Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana				Hrvatski kalendar		
	1941	1942	1944	1945	1946	1945	1946
<u>New Mexico</u>							
Gallup	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
<u>New York</u>							
Blusdell	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Buffalo	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Lackawanna	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
New York City	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
<u>Ohio</u>							
Akron	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Barberton	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Brookfield	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Campbell	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Canton	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Cincinnati	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Cleveland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elyria	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Girard	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Hubbard	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
Lorain	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Lowellville	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Niles	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Struthers	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Warren	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Youngstown	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
<u>Pennsylvania</u>							
Aliquippa	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Ambridge	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Beaver Falls	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Bessemer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Bradock	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

Table 5.7 -- Continued

LOCATIONS	<u>Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana</u>		<u>Hrvatski kalendar</u>		
	1941	1942	1944	1945	1946
<u>Pennsylvania</u>					
Carbon	+	-	-	+	+
Clairton	-	-	-	+	+
Dravosburg	-	-	-	+	+
Duquesne	-	-	-	+	+
East McKeesport	-	-	-	-	+
Easton	-	-	+	-	-
Elwood City	+	-	-	+	+
Etna	-	-	+	+	-
Farrell	+	-	+	+	+
Greenville	-	-	+	+	+
Harrisburg	-	-	-	+	+
Johnstown	-	-	-	-	+
McKees Rocks	-	-	-	+	+
McKeesport	-	-	-	+	+
Monaca	-	-	-	-	+
Munhall	-	-	-	+	+
New Brighton	-	-	-	-	+
New Castle	+	-	+	+	-
Pittsburgh	+	-	+	+	+
Rankin	-	-	-	+	+
Rochester	-	-	-	+	-
Sharon	+	-	+	+	+
Sharpsburg	-	-	-	+	+
Sharpsville	-	-	+	+	+
Steelton	-	-	-	+	+
Turtle Creek	-	-	-	+	+
Wampum	+	-	+	-	-
Wheatland	+	-	+	-	-
West Middlesex	-	-	-	+	+
Wilmerding	-	-	-	+	+

Table 5.7. -- Continued

LOCATIONS	Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana			Hrvatski kalendar		
	1941	1942	1944	1945	1946	
West Virginia
Monte Clare	.	.	+	.	.	.
.....						
<u>Wisconsin</u>						
Kenosha	+	.	.	+	+	+
Milwaukee	.	.	+	+	+	+
West Allis	.	.	+	.	.	+

Table 5.8. -- Accessioning Patterns, From Inventories of the National and University Library (Zagreb), for a Sample of Thirty-Seven Titles

YEAR OF ISSUE ¹	DATE OF ACCESSIONING	TIME LAG (YEARS) ²	METHOD OF ACCESSIONING			
			GIFT	PURCHASE	EXCHANGE	NOT SPECIFIED
1893	1957	65	-	+	-	-
1910	1957	48	-	+	-	-
1916	1973	58	-	+	-	-
1917	1973	57	-	+	-	-
1919	1930	12	-	-	-	-
1921	1950	30	-	+	-	+
1921	1957	37	-	+	-	-
1923	1957	35	-	+	-	-
1923	1957	35	-	-	-	-
1925	1957	33	-	+	-	+
1925	1957	33	-	+	-	-
1926	1941	16	-	+	-	-
1926	1957	32	-	+	-	+
1927	1957	31	-	+	-	-
1930	1930	1	-	-	-	-
1930	1948	19	+	-	-	+
1933	1942	10	-	-	-	-
1936	1957	22	-	-	-	+
1941	1949	9	+	+	-	-
1941	1950	10	+	+	-	-
1941	1969	29	-	-	-	-
1946	1948	3	+	-	-	+
1946	1951	6	+	-	-	-
1947	1947	1	+	+	-	-
1947	1948	2	+	-	-	-
1947	1948	2	+	-	-	-
1948	1948	1	-	+	-	-
1948	1948	1	+	-	-	-
1948	1948	1	+	-	-	-
1948	1948	1	+	-	-	-
1949	1949	1	+	-	-	-

¹ The year of issue is the year for which the almanac was intended.

² The calculation of the lag between the date of publication and the date of accessioning is based on the assumption that the almanac was published in the year preceding the year for which it was intended.

Table 5.8. -- Continued

YEAR OF ISSUE	DATE OF ACCESSIONING	TIME LAG (YEARS) ³	METHOD OF ACCESSIONING			NOT SPECIFIED
			GIFT	PURCHASE	EXCHANGE	
1950	1949	0	+	.	.	.
1951	1951	1	+	.	.	.
1952	1951	2	+	.	.	.
1954	1969	18	+	.	.	.
1955	1969	16	+	.	.	.
1955	1956	2
1988	1991	3	+	.	.	.

³ The calculation of the lag between the date of publication and the date of accessioning is based on the assumption that the almanac was published in the year preceding the year for which it was intended.

Table 5.9. -- Prices of Almanacs of the Diaspora, Compared to Unrelated Commodities, 1890s to 1950s

PERIOD	TITLES	PRICE ¹	OTHER COMMODITIES	PRICE
1890s -1910s	Davor	1 kr. - 1.80 kr. (hbd.) ² (\$0.20 - 0.36)	Hofer's Babypoap	60 fil. (\$0.12)
		90 fil. - 1.50 kr. (pbk.) ³ (\$0.18 - 0.30)	Tetrieb-srebrocejelna kosa (scythe)	2 kr. (\$0.40)
	Šareni svjetski koledar	1 kr. - 1.50 kr. (\$0.20 - 0.30)	Roskopf chain watch	5 - 6 kr. (\$1 - 1.20)
	Veliki zabavni koledar	2 kr. - 3 kr. (\$0.40 - 0.60)	men's good working shoes (1892)	\$1
	Veliki Marijin koledar	80 fil. - 1 kr. (\$0.18 - 0.20)	subscription (1893) to "Ladies Home Journal" ticket to Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Rough Riders Show (Madison Square Garden)	\$1 (annual) \$0.50 (gallery) - \$12 (arena boxes)
1920s	Napredak almanah i koledar	\$0.60	Pall Mall cigarettes	\$0.30 (per 20)
	Socijalistički radnički kalendar	\$0.50	Bayer Aspirin tablets	\$0.98
	Naša nada		Coca-Cola	\$0.05 (per bottle)
	Novi svijet		man's medium-weight chambray shirt	\$0.89
	Koledar Hrvatskog sokola (Chicago, Ill.)		illegal brandy (1928)	\$6.25
	Crveni kalendar			
	Jugoslavija. Narodni kalendar	\$1		
Iseljenički kalendar	10 dinara			
1930s	Crveni kalendar	\$0.35	"Ripley's Believe it or Not" (over 350 illustrations)	\$0.85
	Kalendar Hrvatski glas	\$0.35 - 0.50 (Cdn.)	man's medium-weight chambray shirt	\$0.69
	Radnički kalendar	\$0.35 - 0.50		
	Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni kalendar	\$0.50		
	Jugoslavenski sokolski almanak			
	Hrvatski radnički kalendar	\$0.40		
Iseljenik	10 dinara			

¹The prices are in crowns ("kruna") and dollars. Kr. is an abbreviation for "kruna" (crown). 1 kruna = 100 filira. According to the conversion table published in *Šareni svjetski koledar* for 1901, 1 dollar = 4.95 Kr. and 1 crown = 20 cents.

²hbd.=hardbound

³pbk.=paperback

Table 5.9. -- Continued

PERIOD	TITLES	PRICE	OTHER COMMODITIES	PRICE
1940s	Hrvatski radnički kalendar	\$0.40	haircut for boys (side part, crew cut, or pompadour) magazine (monthly) "Better Homes and Garden" movie ticket for "Hamlet" (Laurence Olivier) movie ticket for "Obsession" (with Basil Rathbone), evenings	\$0.50 \$0.10 (per issue) \$1 \$1.20 - 3
	Radnički kalendar	\$0.50		
	Jugoslavenski glasnik. Kalendar			
	Hrvatski narodni kalendar	\$0.50 - 1		
	Kalendar Hrvatski glas	\$0.75 (Cdn.)		
	Hrvatski list i Danica Hrvatska. Koledar	\$1		
	Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.)			
	Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.)	\$2		
Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Toronto, Ont.)	\$1 (Cdn.)			
1950s	Naša nada	\$1	ticket to wrestling match (Vern Gagne, heavyweight champ)	\$1.30 - 3.90
	Socijalistički radnički kalendar			
	Hrvatski narodni kalendar			
	Kalendar Hrvatski glas	\$1 (Cdn.) ⁴		
	Naš kalendar (Toronto, Ont.)			
	Krški kalendar	\$1.25		
	Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar	\$1 - 2		
	Ave Maria kalendar	\$2		
Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.)	\$1.50			

NOTE: The comparative prices of commodities available in the country of origin are taken from mail catalogs published in Mali Marijin koledar for 1908. The comparative prices of North American commodities and standard job incomes are taken from The Value of a Dollar: Prices and Incomes in the United States, 1860-1989. Ed. by Scott Derks (Detroit: Gale, 1994).

⁴Cdn.=Canadian

Table 5.10 -- Fluctuations in the Overall Production of Almanac Titles between 1893 and 1991

PERIOD	TITLES			FLUCTUATION RANGE (NO. OF TITLES)
	mean	median	mode	
1893-1899	3.3	4	1, 4, 5	1-5
1900-1912	8.2	8	9	7-9
1913-1921	5	5	5	3-6
1922-1939	7.2	7	8	6-8
1940-1955	9.1	9	9	8-10
1956-1964	7.2	7	7	6-8
1965-1971	4.3	4	4, 5	3-5
1972-1991	3.1	3	3	3-4

NOTE: This distribution is based on title count. The publication range was inferred from the designation of seriality.

Table 5.11. -- Fluctuations in the Overall Production of Almanac Titles between 1893 and 1991, Based on the Issues Preserved in the Collections

PERIOD	ISSUES	AVERAGE (TITLES PER YEAR)
1893-1900	16	2
1901-1910	65	6.5
1911-1920	25	2.5
1921-1930	41	4.1
1931-1940	39	3.9
1941-1950	58	5.8
1951-1960	69	6.9
1961-1970	50	5
1971-1980	31	3.1
1981-1990	30	3
1991	3	3

Table 5.12. -- Peak Years in the Overall Activity in the Almanac Trade

YEAR(S)	TITLES ISSUED
1908	Davor: hrvatski vojnički koledar Jugoslavija: Narodni kalendar Jugoslavija: Veliki narodni kalendar Kalendar Narodnog lista Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk Novi katolički koledar sa slikama Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk Šareni svjetski koledar
1945 and 1946	Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.) Hrvatski glas. Kalendar Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh Pa.) Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Toronto, Ontario) Hrvatski radnički kalendar (Toronto, Ontario) Mali hrvatski kalendar Naša nada Socijalistički radnički kalendar
1951 and 1952	Ave Maria kalendar Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana Hrvatski glas. Kalendar Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.) Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Krčki kalendar Naša nada Socijalistički radnički kalendar
1954	Ave Maria kalendar Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana Hrvatski glas. Kalendar Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Krčki kalendar Matičin iseljenički kalendar Naš kalendar (Toronto, Ont.) Naša nada Socijalistički radnički kalendar

NOTE: In 1908, all but the last three titles were issued by Steinbrenner's publishing enterprise (Winterberg, Bohemia). Some of the issues to which this table refers are not confirmed in the examined collections but are inferred from the designation of seriality in other issues of the run. In some instances, two consecutive years are those in which peak activity is observed (1945 and 1946 and 1951 and 1952).

Table 5.13. -- The Periods in which First Issues of the Run were Established

PERIOD	NEW TITLES
1893-1900	8
1901-1910	5
1911-1920	8
1921-1930	11
1931-1940	7
1941-1950	6
1951-1960	6
1961-1970	3
1971-1980	1
1981-1990	1
1991	0
TOTAL	56

Table 5.14. -- Single-Issue Runs

DATE	TITLE	STATEMENT OF SERIALIZATION ON COPY
1893	Narodni amerikanski koledar	+
1906	Putnik. Narodni kalendar	-
1910	Jeka. Hrvatski iseljenički koledar	-
1912	Amerikanac. Veliki narodni kalendar Putnik. Koledar	-
1914	Novi Hrvat. Koledar	-
1916	Kalendar (John Zagar & Co.)	-
1917	Koledar hrvatskog sokola (St. Louis, Mo.)	+
1919	Napredak almanah i koledar	+
1922	Almanak Amerika Zajednički kalendar	+
1923	Iseljenički kalendar	-
1929	Amerikanac. Kalendar Iseljenik	-
1932	Jugoslavenski sokolski almanak	-
1940	Jugoslavenski glasnik. Kalendar	+
1948	Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica. Džepni kalendar	-
1964	Hrvatski godišnjak (Toronto, Ont.)	-
1967	Džepni kalendar za radnike u inozemstvu	-
1971	Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine	-

Table 5.15. -- Mortality Rates for Almanac Titles

PERIOD	NUMBER OF RUNS	
	ceased publication	changed title
1893-1900	1	0
1901-1910	5	0
1911-1920	13	0
1921-1930	7	0
1931-1940	3	2
1941-1950	3	4
1951-1960	5	1
1961-1970	6	1
1971-1980	1	0
1981-1990	0	1
1991	0	0
TOTAL	44	9

NOTE: The discrepancy between the total number of titles (N=56) and the total of runs that expired and changed title (N=53) leaves out three titles which are ongoing in 1991. High totals in the first and especially the second decade of the twentieth century include seven titles issued by J. Steinbrener that expired at that time.

Table 5.16. -- Slump Years in the Overall Activity in the Almanac Trade

YEARS	TITLES ISSUED
1893	Narodni amerikanski koledar (Chicago, Ill.)
1894-1897	none
1898	Novi živivi slikovni koledar Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk Novi katolički koledar sa slikama
1920	Crveni kalendar Jugoslavija: Narodni kalendar Jugoslavija: Veliki narodni kalendar Kalendar Narodnog lista
1921	Crveni kalendar Hrvatski list i Danica koledar Jugoslavija: Veliki narodni kalendar
1968-1969	Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak (Toronto, Ontario) Kalendar Hrvatski glas Matičin iseljenički kalendar
1969 to date	Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) Hrvatski glas. Kalendar ¹ Matičin iseljenički kalendar

NOTE: Some of the issues to which this table refers are not confirmed in the examined collections but are inferred from the designation of seriality in other issues of the run.

¹In 1982 and 1983, this almanac appears in two editions, reflecting the factional split in the Croatian Peasant Party that occurred at that time (one by Juraj Krnjević and the other by Mirko Meheš).

Table 5.17. — Length of Publication, 1893-1991

LENGTH OF PUBLICATION (IN YEARS)	NUMBER OF TITLES	LENGTH OF PUBLICATION (IN YEARS)	NUMBER OF TITLES
1	20	15	2
2	1	17	1
3	3	18	2
4	5	20	1
5	2	24	2
9	1	29	1
10	2	35	1
11	2	38	1
12	1	43	1
13	4	49	1
14	1	54	1
TOTAL (TITLES)			56

NOTE: The serials that followed a split or merger have been counted separately. Those in which only the title or the numbering has changed sporadically are not counted as separate runs. Decisions were based on the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd ed., Chapter 12.

Table 5.18. -- Titles Issued Fifteen Years and Longer

LENGTH OF PUBLICATION (YEARS)	TITLES	ISSUED (DATES, PATTERN)	CONTINUES / CONTINUATION OF ANOTHER RUN
15	Davor. Hrvatski vojnički koledar	1899-1913 (continuously)	-
15	Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk	1898-1912 (continuously)	-
17	Šareni svjetski koledar	1900-1916 (continuously)	-
18	Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.)	1935-1952 (continuously)	-
18	Kalendar Narodnog lista	1903-1920 (continuously)	-
20	Crveni kalendar	1914-1933 (continuously)	+
24	Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana	1932-1955 (continuously)	-
24	Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar	1921-1944 (continuously)	+
29	Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni kalendar	1907?-1935? (unknown)	-
35	Naša nada. Kalendar	1923-1957 (interrupted)	-
38	Matica iseljenka. Kalendar	1954-1991 (continuously)	-
43	Socijalistički radnički kalendar	1922-1964 (interrupted)	-
49	Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.)	1943-1991 (continuously)	+
54	Hrvatski glas. Kalendar	1930-1983 (continuously)	+

Table 6.1 -- Attributes and Properties of Exophoric and Endophoric Mentalities

	EXOPHORIC	ENDOPHORIC
TRAITS		
Language	<p>Contextualized</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> concrete embedded context-bound ----- restricted code 	<p>Decontextualized</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> abstract distanced context-free formal metalanguage elaborated code
Relationship Between Self and Other	<p>Communal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> assimilative synthetic conservative collective traditional public unselfconscious anonymous group-directed communal recreation 	<p>Individual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> autonomous analytic iconoclastic idiosyncratic innovative / original private self-conscious self-identified self-directed individual genius
World view	<p>Homeostatic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> myth magic personalized proverbial wisdom 	<p>De-homeostaticized / Possessing a sense of the past</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> history science impersonal formal logic

Source: Joyce Coleman, "Taxonomies and Terminology: The Pursuit of Disambiguity," In *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 44).

Table 6.2. -- Titles Issued in the Two Periods of Cultural Change

TITLES	AVAILABLE ISSUES (FOR YEAR)	LOCATION ¹
1920-1925		
Almanak Amerika	1923	NSB 65.984; ZAMIN
Crveni kalendar	1921, 1922, 1923, 1924 1925, 1926	ZAMIN; IHRC ZAMIN
Hrvatska katolička zajednica. Kalendar		not preserved
Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska. Koledar	1922, 1923 1924 1925 1926	NSB 44.875 HEJ NSB 335.306; ZAMIN IHRC
Iseljenički kalendar	1924	NSB 148.907
Jugoslavija. Narodni kalendar	1921	ZAMIN
Jugoslavija. Veliki Narodni kalendar		not preserved
Kalendar Narodnog lista	1921	NSB 335.305; ZAMIN
Naša nada	1925 1926	NSB 176.234; HEJ NSB 176.234; ZAMIN
Novi svijet	1926	NSB 235.246 (II-21.391); ZAMIN
Socijalistički radnički kalendar	1923 1925, 1926	NSB 187.031 ZAMIN
Zajednički kalendar	1923	ZAMIN
TOTAL TITLES: 12		

¹To convert these location codes to standard codes, cf. Table 1.2.

Table 6.2. -- Continued

TITLES	AVAILABLE ISSUES (FOR YEAR)	LOCATION
1950-1955		
Ave Maria Kalendar	1955	NSB IT 231.880; HEI; ZAMIN
	1956	HEI
Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana	1950, 1953, 1954, 1955	HEI
Hrvatski glas. Kalendar	1951	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894; ZAMIN; HEI
	1952	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894
	1953	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894 HEI; ACHS; JJ
	1954	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894 NSB 333.578; JJ; HEI
	1955	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894 NSB 333.578; JJ; HEI
	1956	OONL (DDN 41715); NSB IT 231.894 JJ; HEI; IHRC
Hrvatski godišnjak (McKeesport, Pa.)	1951, 1953	HEI
Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.)	1951	ZIF; HEI
	1952	ZIF; HEI; ZAMIN
	1953	ZIF; HEI; ZAMIN; NSB IT (backlog); BIES
	1954	ZIF; HEI; ZAMIN; NSB IT (backlog); NSB 417.153
	1955	ZIF; HEI; NSB IT 231.853
	1956	ZIF; HEI; ZAMIN; NSB IT (backlog)
Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar	1952	NSB 420.372 ; NSB IT 231.854
	1953	NSB IT 231.854; HEI
	1954	NSB 420.372 ; NSB IT 231.854; HEI
Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.)	1951	ZAMIN; JJ
(Chicago, Ill.)	1952, 1953	ZAMIN
	1954	ZAMIN; JJ
	1955	ZAMIN; JJ; HEI
	1956	ZAMIN; JJ; NSB IT 231.936 (192.036)

Table 6.2. . . Continued

TITLES	AVAILABLE ISSUES (FOR YEAR)	LOCATION
1950-1955		
Krički kalendar	1952, 1954	NSB (IT backlog); HEI
Matica iseljemika. Kalendar	1955	NSB (IT backlog)
Niš kalendar	1955	NSB 318.952; IHRC; ZAMIN; BIES
Niš kalendar	1955	OO NL (DDN 125275)
Niš kalendar	1956	OO NL (DDN 125275); ZAMIN
Niš kalendar	1951	ZAMIN
Socijalistički radnički kalendar	1951	NSB 187.031, NSB (IT backlog)
	1952	NSB 187.031
	1953	ZAMIN; HEI
	1954	ZAMIN
	1955, 1956	NSB (IT backlog)
TOTAL TITLES: 12		

Table 6.3. -- Contents of Hrvatski kalendar for 1955

CATEGORY OF TEXT	AUTHOR	TITLE	EXTENT (NO. OF PAGES)
PRELIMINARIES		(half-title, title page, table of contents)	4
CALENDAR		Zapovjedni blagdani u Američkim Udruženim Državama (=Official Feasts and Holidays in the United States of America)	0.5
		Zakon o postu i nemrsu (=Prescribed fasts and abstinences)	0.5
		(Register of the Roman and Greek-Catholic calendar)	12
		Muslimanski kalendar za god. 1955: za Hrvate islamske vjeroispovijesti (=Islamic Calendar for 1955: for Croatsians of Muslim Faith)	1
DIRECTORIES		Zastupnici i mjesni uredi u USA =Representatives and Offices	1
		Hrvatske katoličke župe i ustanove u Americi (=Croatian Catholic Parishes and Institutions in America)	6 (ill.)
FACTS ON FILE		Stanje katoličke crkve u Amer. Udruženim Državama (=The State of the Catholic Church in the United States of America)	1
		Nekoliko podataka o novim nezavisnim državama (=Data about New Independent States)	0.5
		Mjere evropske i američke (=European and American Weights and Measures)	1

Table 6.3. ... Continued

CATEGORY OF TEXT	AUTHOR	TITLE	EXTENT (NO. OF PAGES)
TEXTS (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)			
1		Dužnosti pravoga katolika (=Duties of a Real Catholic)	1
2	Spiridon (pseud.)	Zemaljske patnje u vječnim osnovama Božjim (=Worldly Suffering and God's Will)	10 (3 ill.)
3	Kyrin Vasilj	Patnje i Krist (=Suffering and Christ)	4
4	S grčkoga prevoo. pt.	Duh mučeništva prvih kršćana: List sv. Ignacija Rimljanina (=The Spirit of Martyrdom of the First Christians: The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans)	5 (1 ill.)
5	Diomizije Lastić	Komunističke žrtve kršćanski mučenici (=Communist Victims, Christian Martyrs)	8 (2 ill.)
6	Marijan Mikac	Bijela Gospa (=White Madonna)	9 (1 ill.)
7	(compiled by Krunoslav Draganović, Bazilije Pandžić, et al.)	Popis hrvatskih katoličkih svećenika ubijenih u razdoblju 1941-1954 (=List of Croatian Catholic Priests Killed between 1941 and 1954)	17 (2 ill.)
8	Dragutin Kamber	Kardinal Stepinac - živi mučenik (=Cardinal Stepinac - A Living Martyr)	6-25 (1 ill.)
9	Andrija Ilić	Molitva za Hrvatsku (=Prayer for Croatia)	0-75
10	Oton Knežević	Anđeo (=Angel)	4 (1 ill.)
11	Antun Nemčić	Himna žrtvama 29. siječnja god. 1845 (=An Anthem for the Victims of 29 July 1845)	1
12	Mirko Bogović	Na grobu žrtava 29. siječnja 1845 (=At the Grave of the Victims of 29 July 1845)	1 (1 ill.)

Table 6.3. ... Continued

CATEGORY OF TEXT	AUTHOR	TITLE	EXTENT (NO. OF PAGES)
TEXTS			
(IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)			
13	P. Hrvatinić	Kult političkog mučeništva (=The Cult of Political Martyrdom)	8 (1 ill.)
14	Nikola Šojat	Senjske žrtve (=Senj Victims)	4 (1 ill.)
15	Miroslav Vatroš	I u Fazlagicu Kuli je Hrvatska (=Even in Fazlagic Kula is Croatia)	8 (3 ill.)
16	Sjepan Heler	Izručavanje hrvatske vojske god. 1945. u svjetlu međunarodnoga prava 7 (1 ill.) (=Extradition of the Croatian Army in 1945 in the Light of International Law)	
17	Lucijan Kordić	Pročivališće: (epitalij 1945.) (=A Place of Rest: an Epitaph for 1945)	0-5
18	Andrija Ilić	Balada o svibanjskom cvijeću: posvećeno bleiburškim žrtvama (=The Ballad of May Flowers: Dedicated to the Victims of Bleiburg)	0-5
19	Krunoslav Draganić	Kalvarija hrvatskog naroda god. 1945. (=A Calvary of the Croatian People in 1945)	7 (2 ill.)
20	Maca Koraćević	Bolno sjećanje na komunističku stravu i ubijanje u Hrvatskoj (=A Painful Memory of Communist Terror and Killings in Croatia)	2
21	Vilko Rieger	Opravdanost i značenje hrvatskog nacionalizma (=A Justification and Significance of Croatian Nationalism)	17 (2 ill.)
22	Amado Nervo Rainer Maria Rilke Heinrich Heine Paul Claudel	Iz svjetske lirike (=Selections from World Poetry)	6
23	Ivan Tomas	Katolička Crkva i muslimanske države u osvjetlu atomskog vijeka (=Catholic Church and Muslim States at the Dawn of the Nuclear Age)	7 (1 ill.)

Table 6.3. ... Continued

CATEGORY OF TEXT	AUTHOR	TITLE	EXTENT (NO. OF PAGES)	
TEXTS				
(IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)				
24	(pp. 133-144)	Branko Marić	Hrvatska narodna nošnja i njezini uredi (=Croatian Folk Costume and Ornaments)	12 (7 ill.)
25	(pp. 145-149)	Feritio Svjetlic	Borbe malih naroda za opstanak i slobodu (=Struggles of Small Nations for Survival and Freedom)	4-5
26	(p. 150)	Ivan Gundulić	Slobodi (=To Freedom)	1 (1 ill.)
27	(pp. 151-156)	Ljubo Čuvalo	Sveti Papa Pio Deseti (1903-1914) (=St. Pope Pius X (1903-1914))	6 (1 ill.)
28	(pp. 157-165)	(Conference of Slovenian and Croatian Catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia)	Progrom i mučeništvo kat. Crkve u Hrvatskoj se nastavljaju (=Persecution and Martyrdom of Cath. Church in Croatia are Continuing)	8-25
29	(pp. 165-166)		Molitvena vojna za spas Hrvatske: Iseljenim Hrvatima širom svijeta (=A Campaign of Prayer for the Salvation of Croatia: for Croats Around the World)	2 (2 ill.)
30	(pp. 167-173)		Hrvatski marijanski kongres u Chicagu, S.A.D. (=Croatian Marian Congress in Chicago, U.S.A.)	7+1.5 (11 ill.)
31	(pp. 174-179)	R. Jablanički	Iz knjige "Krišćanska obitelj i njezina uzvišenost i ljepota" (=From the Book, "Christian Family and its Eminence and Beauty")	5-5
32	(pp. 180-182)		Iz kraljevstva božjega (=From God's Kingdom)	2-5
33	(pp. 183-185)		Mnogi putovi vode do Krista (=Many Paths Lead to Christ)	2-5
34	(p. 186)	Predrag Korde	Žrtva (=Sacrifice)	0-5
35	(p. 186)	Andrija Ilic	Materinska riječ (=Mother's Word)	0-5
36	(pp. 187-191)	Ljubo Čuvalo	Hrvatski svećenik Josip Kundek misionar i pionir u Americi (=Croatian Priest Josip Kundek, Missionary and Pioneer in America)	5 (3 ill.)

Table 6.3 . . . Continued

CATEGORY OF TEXT	AUTHOR	TITLE	EXTENT (NO. OF PAGES)
TEXTS			
(IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)			
37	(pp. 192-197)	Hrvoye Ledemčki Antun Bomlačić Lucijan Kondić Alan Horić	(Selections of poetry) Geneva on the Lake; Izgubljene jeseni (=Lost Autumns); Večer kraj tvornica (=Evening near the Factories) Iz tamnoga gaja (=From the Dark Forest) Ljeta putuju (=Summers go by) Tudina (=Foreign land); Ja i zemlja (=The Earth and Me); Bosna (=Bosnia) Mir u duši (=Peace in the Soul) 5.5
38	(p. 197)	(anon.)	Novi moderna škola Zupe West Allis (=New Modern School of the Parish in West Allis) 0.5 (1 ill.)
39	(pp. 198-200)	(anon.)	Za upoznavanje i slobodu Hrvatske (=For Familiarization with and Freedom for Croatia) 2.5
40	(colophon)	(anon.)	(Editorial) 1

NOTE: The numbers in italics refer to the original sequence of texts. The complete listing of illustrations accompanying the texts is found in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. -- Pictorial contents of *Hrvatski kalendar* for 1955 (images illustrating texts), in the order of appearance

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)	ATTRIBUTION	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION ¹
Directories			
2	<i>a</i>	(illustrations depicting each of the parish churches accompany a directory of Croatian Catholic parishes and institutions in America)	P
		Isusova molitva u Getsemani	R
	<i>b</i>	Ivan Meštrović	R
		Isus na križu	R
	<i>c</i>	A. Dürer	R
		Marija pjeva: veliča duša moja Gospoda	R
4	<i>a</i>	Zvijeri puštene na kršćanske mučenike u amfiteatru u Rimu	R
5	<i>a</i>	Japanski prvomučenici u XVI. stoljeću po Kr.	R
	<i>b</i>	Lice najvećega Patnika	R
6	<i>a</i>	Šimki Brijeg: crkva sa samostanom, lijevo gimnazija, desno na kraju konvikt	P ¹
7	<i>a</i>	Zborovanje here: franjevac na Širokom Brijegu g. 1940. Od naznačenih bilo je kasnije 37 ubijeno od komunista za sv. vjeru i Hrvatsku	P
	<i>b</i>	Franjevački samostan i crkva sv. Petra i Pavla u Mostaru. Središnjica here. franj. provincije. Iz ovoga samostana g. 1945 ubijen je provincijal Petrović sa šest drugih svećenika.	P
8	<i>a</i>	Njemački liječnik kod kardinala Stjepinca Na slici se vide s lijeva na desno: prof. dr. Vilim Keilbach, dekan teološkog fakulteta u Zagrebu, kardinal dr. Alojzije Stjepinac, prof. dr. L. Heilmeyer iz Freiburga i dr. B. Bogičević, osobni kardinalov liječnik iz Zagreba.	P

¹ For the explanation of codes, see note at end of table.

Table 6.4. -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ATTRIBUTION	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION
10	<i>a</i>		Svećenik na oltaru podiže posvećenu Hostiju	R
12	<i>a</i>		Spomenik Srpanjskih žrtava na Mirogoju u Zagrebu	R
14	<i>a</i>		Grad Nehaj nad Senjom	P
	<i>b</i>		Senjske žrtve g. 1937	P
15	<i>a</i>		Jedna od mnogih džamija spaljenih od četnika i partizana u B. i H.	P
	<i>b</i>		Zagrebački muftija I. Muhić ubijen od komunista g. 1945.	P
	<i>c</i>		Muslimanska džamija u NDH u Zagrebu	P
16	<i>a</i>		Vanka M.: Hrvatske majke oplakuju poginule vojnike (Crkva sv. Nikole u Pittsburghu, Pa.)	R
19	<i>a</i>		Grobovi hrv. vojnika razasuti po Domovini i Tuđini	P
	<i>b</i>		Hrvatska majka moli i plače za poubijanom djecom, nevinim žrtvama okrutnog komunizma	R
21	<i>a</i>		Stjepan Radić (d. 1928)	P
	<i>b</i>		Dr. Ante Starčević (d. 1886)	P
	<i>c</i>		Dr. Milan Šušljaj, ubijen u Zagrebu g. 1931.	P

Table 6.4. -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)	ATtribution	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION
24 a		Hrv. narodna nošnja iz Međumurja (desno) i Slavonije	P
b		Hrvatice muslimanke iz Sarajeva u domaćim narodnim nošnjama s orijentalnim utjecajima	P
c		Nadgrobni spomenik bosanskih banova Kotromanića u Donjoj Zgošći s hrv. narodnim ukrasima iz XII. stoljeća	P
d		Primi dio bogato urešene muške košulje iz okolice Karlovca iz početka 19. stoljeća	P
e		Mladie u hrv. narodnoj nošnji iz okolice Zagreba	P
f		Ukras s donjeg kraja rukava ženske haljine iz okolice Siska, sredinom 19. stoljeća	P
g		Hrvati i Hrvatice u narodnim nošnjama u Karakašu, Venezuela	P
h		Američki Hrvati u hrv. narodnim nošnjama prigodom otvora hrv. franj. samostana u Chicagu 3. VIII. 1952.	P
26 a		(no title - depicts Statue of Liberty)	D
27 a		Sv. Pio X Papa	P?
29 a		Zdravo Djevo, Kraljice Hrvata	R
b		(no title - vignette depicting a gesture of blessing)	D

Table 6.4. -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ATTRIBUTION	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION
30	<i>a</i>		Marijanska procesija se svrstava pred crkvom sv. Jeronima	P
	<i>b</i>		Školska mladež u bijelim haljinama i bijelim dušama molila je i pjevala preko cijele procesije u čast majke Božje	P
	<i>c</i>		Članovi H.K.Z. u velikom broju dostojno su zastupali Hrv. Kat. Zajednicu na Gospinoj proslavi	P
	<i>d</i>		Članice "Auxiliary" u lijepim uniformama dostojno su uzveličale procesiju u čast Majke Božje	P
	<i>e</i>		Veličanstvena grupa hodočasnika iz hrv. župa van Chicaga	P
	<i>f</i>		Svećenstvo pred slikom Gospe Sinjske, koju nose članice Marijanskoga društva	P
	<i>g</i>		Članice Marijine kongregacije u velikom broju pobožno učestvuju procesiji	P
	<i>h</i>		Njegova uzoritost kard. Stritch na izlazu iz crkve u pratnji hrv. svećenstva veselo razgovara s hodočasniciima i djecom	P
	<i>i</i>		Članice Oltarskoga društva hrv. župe sv. Jeronima pobožno mole krunicu na procesiji Hrv. Marijanskoga Kongresa u Chicagu 15. kolovoza 1954.	P
	<i>j</i>		Grupe u hrv. narodnim nošnjama na Marijanskom kongresu u Chicagu	P
	<i>k</i>		Veterani hrv. župe sv. Jeronima u Chicagu u Marijanskoj procesiji 15. kol. 1954	P

Table 6.4. -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ATTRIBUTION	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION
<i>36</i>	<i>a</i>		Rev. Josip Kundek, 1810-1857.	P
	<i>b</i>		Benediktinska nadopatiya Sv. Meinarda, Ind., osnovana na poticaj i uz pomoć Rev. J. Kundeka 1854.	P
	<i>c</i>		Hrvatsko izaslanstvo na proslavi 100-god. nadopatiye St. Meinarda, Ind.	P
<i>38</i>	<i>a</i>		Nova moderna škola župe West Allis	P

NOTE: The numbers in italics on the left-hand side of the table refer to the original sequence of texts, listed in Table 6.3. The translations of illustration legends are found in Table 6.4A, coded with the same number-letter. The illustrations that are not integral to the texts of the almanac are listed in Table 6.5. The abbreviations indicate the following categories of illustration: R=reproduction of a work of art; P=photographic illustration; D=original drawing.

Table 6.4A. -- English translation of legends accompanying illustrations, in the order of appearance

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DESCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING ILLUSTRATIONS
2	<i>a</i>	Jesus prays in the Garden of Gethsemane
	<i>b</i>	Jesus on the Cross
	<i>c</i>	Mary sings: my soul praises the Lord
4	<i>a</i>	Animals released on the Christian martyrs in the amphitheatre in Rome
5	<i>a</i>	Japanese martyrs in 16th century A.D.
	<i>b</i>	The face of the greatest Sufferer
6	<i>a</i>	Široki Brijeg: church with monastery, high school on the left and, to the extreme right, the seminary
7	<i>a</i>	A meeting of Herzegovinian Franciscans on Široki Brijeg in 1940. Of those present, 37 were later killed by Communists for the holy faith and Croatia.
	<i>b</i>	Franciscan monastery and the church of Sts Peter and Paul in Mostar. The center of the Herzegovinian Franciscan province. Provincial Petrović and six other priests from this monastery were killed in 1945.
8	<i>a</i>	A German physician visiting Cardinal Stepinac. In the picture, from left to right, are: Prof. Dr. Vilim Keilbach, Dean of the Theology Faculty in Zagreb, Cardinal Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, Prof. Dr. L. Heilmeyer from Freiburg, and Dr. B. Bogičević, the Cardinal's personal physician from Zagreb.
10	<i>a</i>	A priest raises a consecrated Host at the altar
12	<i>a</i>	The monument to the July Victims at the Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb
14	<i>a</i>	Nehaj above Senj
	<i>b</i>	Senj victims of 1937

Table 6.4A -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DESCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING ILLUSTRATIONS
15	<i>a</i>	One of many mosques burned by Chetniks and Partisans
	<i>b</i>	Zagreb Mujah. Multić killed by Communists in 1945
	<i>c</i>	Muslim mosque during the Independent State of Croatia in Zagreb
16	<i>a</i>	Croatian mothers mourning for killed soldiers (Church of St. Nicholas in Pittsburgh, Pa.)
19	<i>a</i>	Graves of Croatian soldiers scattered in the Homeland and Abroad
	<i>b</i>	Croatian mother prays and weeps for killed children, innocent victims of cruel Communism
21	<i>a</i>	Stjepan Radić (d. 1928)
	<i>b</i>	Dr. Ante Starčević (d. 1886)
	<i>c</i>	Dr. Milan Šullaj, killed in Zagreb in 1931
24	<i>a</i>	Croatian folk costume from Međimurje (right) and Slavonia
	<i>b</i>	Croatians of Muslim faith from Sarajevo in native folk costumes with oriental influences
	<i>c</i>	Monument to Bosnian Bans Kotromanić in Donja Zgošća with Croatian folk ornaments, from the 12th century
	<i>d</i>	Front of richly decorated male shirt from the vicinity of Karlovac from the beginning of the 19th century
	<i>e</i>	Young man in the Croatian folk costume from the vicinity of Zagreb
	<i>f</i>	Sleeve border ornament from a dress from the vicinity of Sisak, mid-19th century
	<i>g</i>	Croatian men and women in folk costumes in Caracas, Venezuela
	<i>h</i>	American Croats in Croatian folk costumes during the opening of the Franciscan monastery in Chicago, 3 August 1952

Table 6.4A -- Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)		ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DESCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING ILLUSTRATIONS
27	<i>a</i>	St. Pope Pius X
29	<i>a</i>	Hail Mary, Queen of Croatians
30	<i>a</i>	Marian procession is getting ready in front of the Church of St. Jerome
	<i>b</i>	School children in white robes and white souls prayed and sang during the procession in honor of the Mother of God
	<i>c</i>	Members of the Croatian Catholic Union in large numbers and fitting style represented the Croatian Catholic Union at Madonna's celebration
	<i>d</i>	The members of "Auxiliary" in beautiful uniforms have fittingly magnified the procession in honor of the Mother of God
	<i>e</i>	A magnificent group of pilgrims from the Croatian parishes outside Chicago
	<i>f</i>	Priests in front of the picture of Madonna of Sinj, which is carried by members of the Marian Club
	<i>g</i>	Members of Mary's congregation in great numbers piously participating in the procession
	<i>h</i>	His Excellency, Cardinal Strich, leaving the church accompanied by Croatian priests, cheerfully talks to the pilgrims and children
	<i>i</i>	Members of the Altar Society of the Croatian Parish of St. Jerome are piously saying their rosary in the procession of the Croatian Marian Congress in Chicago, 15 August 1954
	<i>j</i>	Groups in Croatian folk costumes at the Marian Congress in Chicago
	<i>k</i>	Veterans of the Croatian parish of St. Jerome in Chicago in the Marian procession on 15 August 1954

Table 6.4A. ... Continued

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
36 <i>a</i>	Reverend Josip Kundek, 1810-1857
<i>b</i>	Benedictine abbey of St. Meinard, Ind., founded at the initiative and with the help of Rev. J. Kundek, 1854
<i>c</i>	Croatian delegation at the centennial of the Abbey of St. Meinard, Ind.
38 <i>a</i>	A new, modern school for the parish in West Allis

NOTE: The numbers in italics on the left-hand side of the table refer to the texts for which these illustrations were intended. The legends of the illustrations in the original Croatian are listed in Table 6.4, and the texts with which they are associated, in the order indicated by the numbers in italics, in Table 6.3. Each illustration is coded with numbers and letters that correspond to those listed in Table 6.4.

Table 6.5. --- Pictorial contents of Hrvatski kalendar for 1955 (free-standing images, not illustrating texts), in the order of appearance

ATtribution	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION ¹	LOCATION IN THE ISSUE
1	Joza Bužan Hrvatica majka u tuži i molitvi (=Croatian mother in sorrow and prayer)	R	front cover
2	Franchi (Siena) Gospa od žalosti, ujeha svih žalosnih i progonjenih (=Our Lady of Sorrows, the solace of all those sad and persecuted)	R	frontispiece
3	Sv. Otac Papa Pio XII, Najvesnik Kristov na zemlji i vidljivi poglavar Sv. Kat. Crkve, Dvjestu šezdeset drugi nasljednik sv. Petra na biskupskoj stolici u Rimu (=St. Pope Pius XII, Christ's representative and the visible head of St. Peter's in the Catholic Church, two hundred sixty-second heir of St. Peter's in the episcopal see of Rome)	P	honoric portrait (precedes the calendar)
4	George Washington Prvi predsjednik Ujedinjenih Američkih Država, Otac američkoga naroda (=The first president of the United States of America, father of the American people)	R	honoric portrait (follows the calendar)
5	Jozo Kljaković Bičevanje (=Flogging)	R	facing p. 1
6	Ivan Meštrović Isusove patnje (=The Suffering of Jesus)	R	facing p. 1
7	Dolci (Firenca) Mučeništvo sv. Sebastijana (=Martyrdom of St. Sebastian)	R	facing p. 16
8	Stari kršć. mučenici iz hrv. zemalja u krasnom mozaiku pape Ivana IV. (640-643) u Kristionici sv. Ivana Lateranskoga u Rimu (=Early Christian Martyrs from the Croatian lands in a beautiful mosaic of Pope John IV (640-643) in the Baptistery of St. John of Lateran in Rome)	R	facing p. 17
9	Zagreb, glavni grad Hrvatske (=Zagreb, the capital of Croatia)	P	p. 73

¹ For the explanation of codes, see note at end of table.

Table 6.5. -- Continued

ATtribution	TITLE / LEGEND	TYPE OF ILLUSTRATION	LOCATION IN THE ISSUE
10 (Vlaho Bukovac)	Matija Gubec, borac za ljudska prava hrv. seljaka, na stratištu 14. II. 1573. (=Matija Gubec, champion of human rights of the Croatian peasants before execution, 14 February 1573)	R	facing p. 112
11 (Vlaho Bukovac)	Borci za hrvatsku slobodu: Hrv. ban Petar Zrinski i Krsto Frankopan u tamnici prije pogubljenja 30. IV. 1671 u Bečkom Novom Mjestu (=Fighters for Croatian freedom: Croatian Ban Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan in prison, before execution on 30 April 1671 in Wiener Neustadt)	R	facing p. 113
12	Hrv. narodni mučenik Eugen Kvaternik ubijen 11. X. 1871. kod Rakovice u Vojnoj Krajini (=Croatian martyr Eugen Kvaternik, killed on 11 October 1871 near Rakovica in Vojna Krajina)	R	facing p. 160
13	Stjepan Radić, vođa hrvatskog naroda, na odru. Smrtno ranjen u beogradskom parlamentu 20. srpnja, umro u Zagrebu 8. kolovoza 1928. (=Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian people, lies in state. Fatally wounded in the Belgrade parliament on July 20, died in Zagreb on 8 August 1928)	P	facing p. 161
14	Sarajevo, vjersko i kulturno središte Hrvata muslimana (=Sarajevo, religious and cultural center of Croats of Muslim faith)	P	p. 132
15	(no title - "Greater Croatia" with Bosnia and part of Voivodina)	M	back cover

NOTE: The abbreviations indicate the following categories of illustration: R=reproduction of a work of art; P=photographic illustration; M=map. The images that accompany texts as illustrations are listed in Tables 6.4 and 6.4A.

Table 6.6. -- Contributors in Hrvatski Kalendar for 1955

NAME	TYPE OF AUTHORSHIP	TITLE (ECCLESIASTICAL)	TITLE (ACADEMIC)	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION
Mirko Bogović (#12)	real name			
Antun Bonifadić (#37)	real name			
Paul Claudel (#22)	real name			
Ljubo Čuvalo (#27)	real name	O. O.F.M.		Chicago
Ljubo Čuvalo (#36)	real name	O. Ira, O.F.M.		Chicago
Krunoslav Draganović (#19)	real name		Prof. dr.	Rim
Krunoslav Draganović, Bazilije Pandžić, et al (#7)	collective		dr. prof. dr.	Rim, S.A.D.
gr (#4)	pseudonym, abbreviation			
Ivan Gundulić (#26)	real name			
Stjepan Hefter (#16)	real name			
Heinrich Heine (#22)	real name		Dr.	
Alan Hornić (#37)	real name			
P. Hrvatinić (#13)	pseudonym?		Prof.	
Andrija Ilić (#18)	real name			
Andrija Ilić (#35)	real name			
Andrija Ilić (#9)	real name			
R. Jablanički (#31)	pseudonym?		Prof. Dr.	
Dragutin Kamber (#8)	real name	Rev.	dr	

Table 6.6. -- Continued

NAME	TYPE OF AUTHORSHIP	TITLE (ECCLESIASTICAL)	TITLE (ACADEMIC)	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION
Oton Knežović (#10)	real name	Fra	-	-
Maca Koračević (#20)	real name?	-	-	Santa Rosa, Calif. Sept. 13 1953
Predrag Kordić (#34)	real name	-	-	-
Lucijan Kordić (#17)	real name	-	-	-
Lucijan Kordić (#37)	real name	-	-	-
Dionizije Lasić (#5)	real name	Fra, O.F.M.	Prof. dr.	Rome
Hrvoje Ledenički (#37)	pseudonym?	-	-	-
Branko Marčić (#24)	real name	Fra	Dr.	Madrid
Marijan Mikac (#6)	real name	-	-	Buenos Aires
Antun Nemčić (#11)	real name	-	-	-
Amado Nervo (#22)	real name	-	-	-
Vilko Rieger (#21)	real name	-	Prof. Dr.	-
Rainer Maria Rilke (#22)	real name	-	-	-
Spiridion (#2)	pseudonym	-	-	-
Luka Fertilio Svječić (#25)	real name?	-	-	Santiago de Chile
Nikola Šojat (#14)	real name	Rev.	dr.	Senjaniin, Buffalo, N.Y.
Ivan Tomas (#23)	real name?	-	Dr.	Rim
Miroslav Varoš (#15)	real name	-	Prof.	Rim

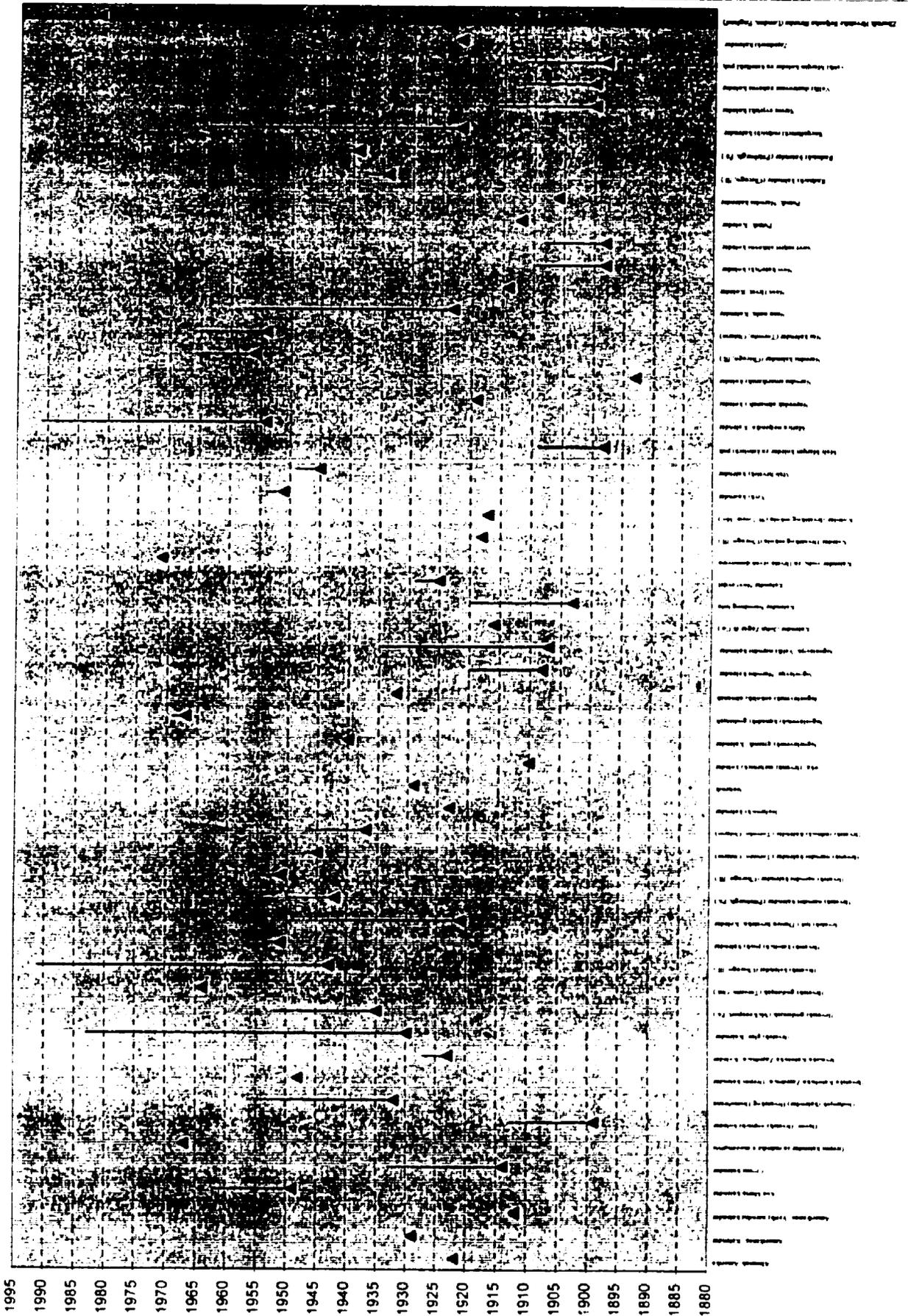
Table 6.6. -- Continued

NAME	TYPE OF AUTHORSHIP	TITLE (ECCLESIASTICAL)	TITLE (ACADEMIC)	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION
Kvirin Vasilj (#3)	real name		Dr.	Chicago
document (#28)	collective			

NOTE: The numbers in parentheses in the first column signify the number of texts, as shown in Table 6.3

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.1. Croatian Diaspora Almanacs Issued Between 1893 and 1991.



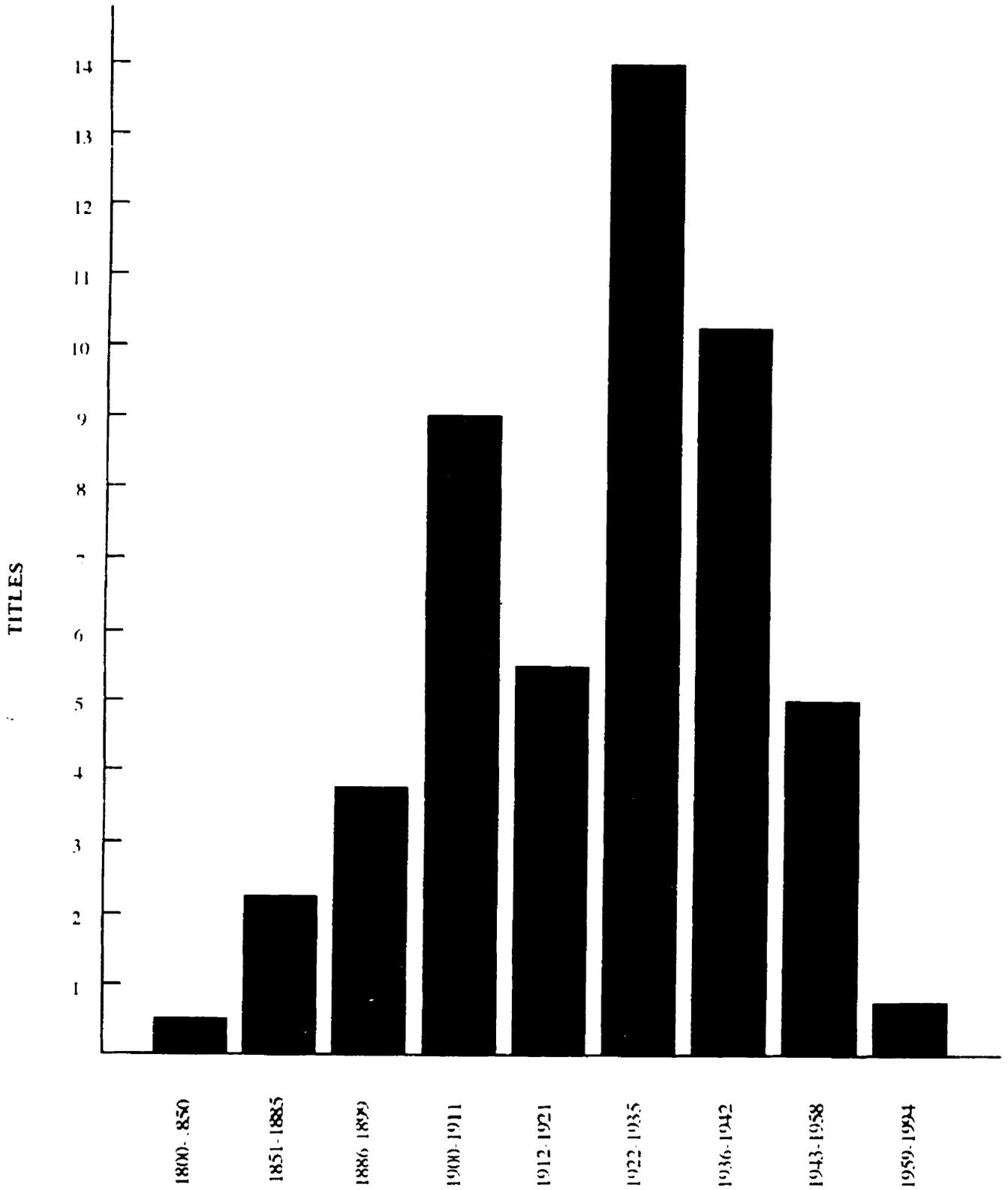


Fig. 3.1. New Titles of Croatian Almanacs Issued in Selected Intervals, 1800-1994.

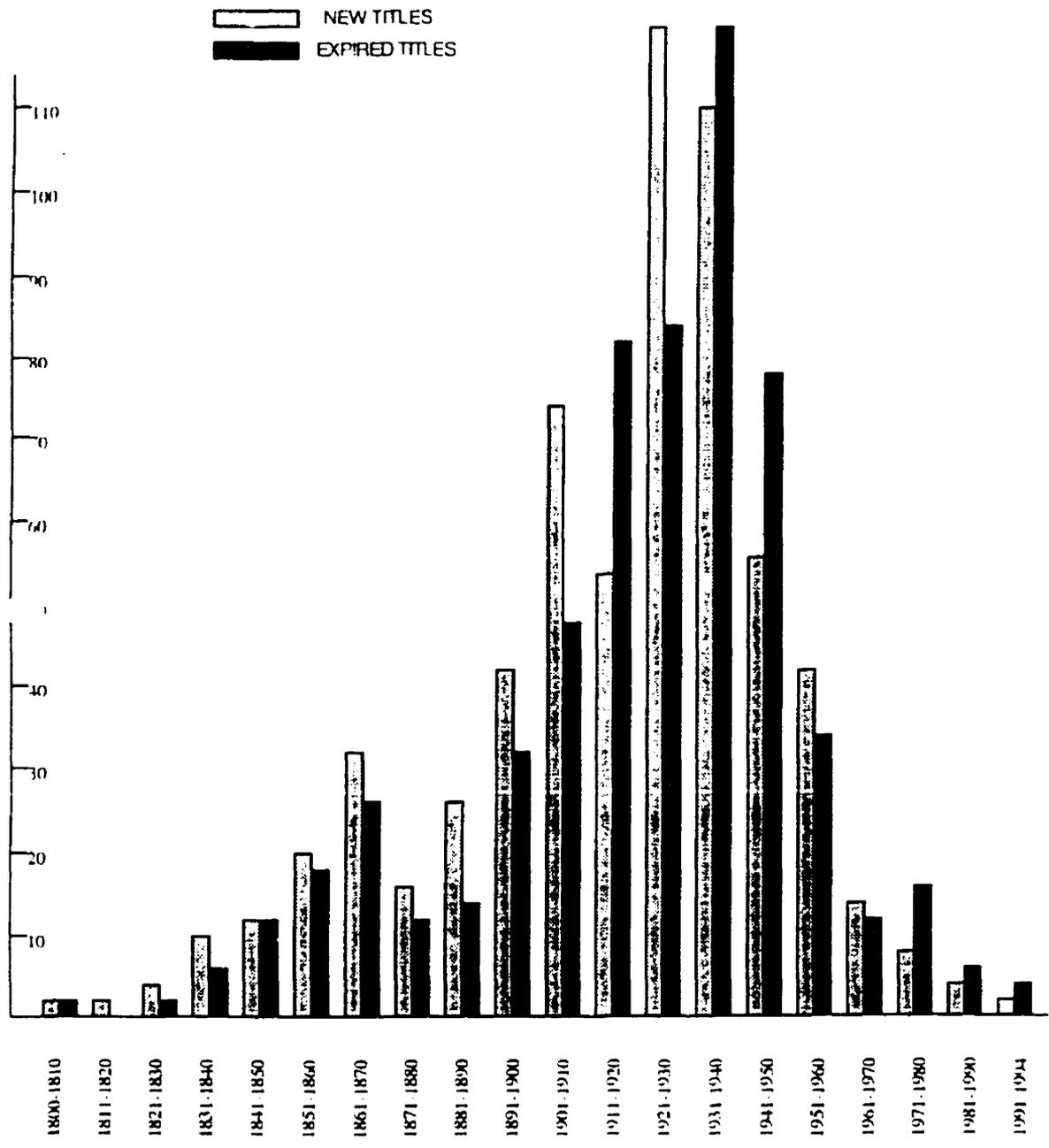


Fig. 3.2. The Croatian Almanac Trade, 1800-1994: Production Dynamics of New Titles and Titles that Expired During Designated Intervals.

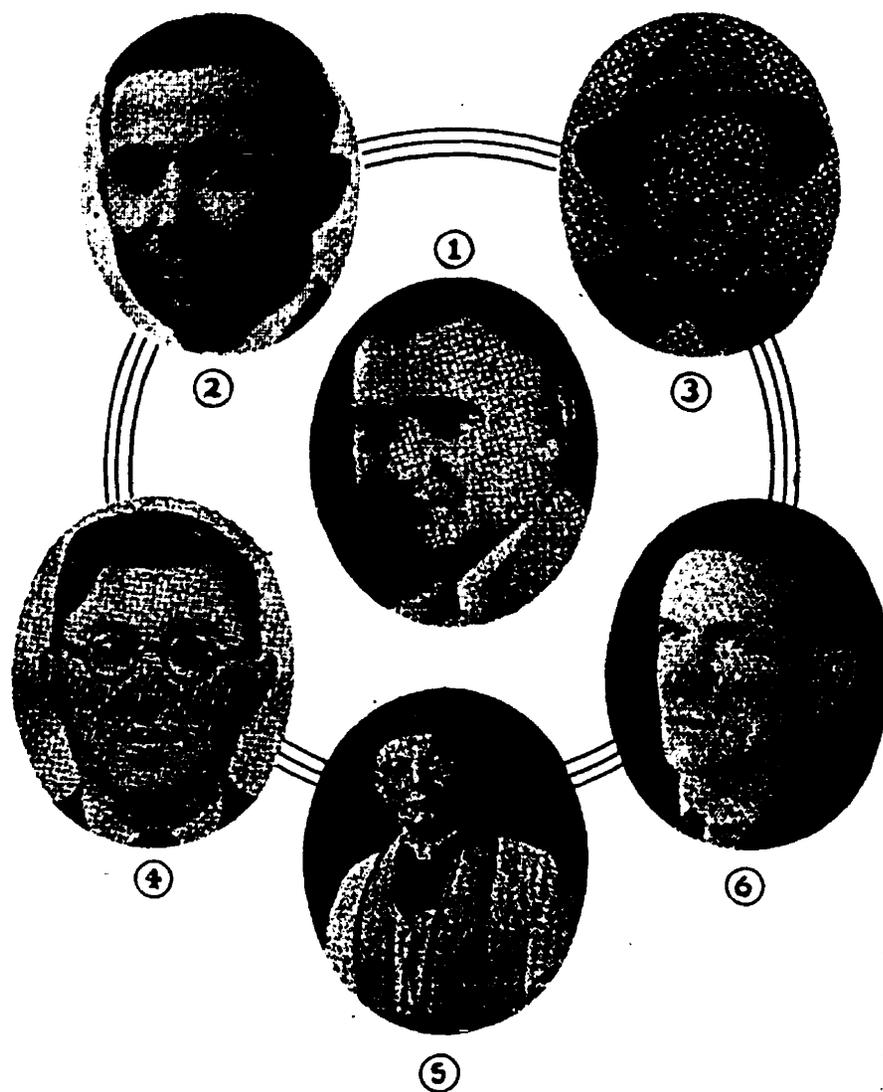


Veselo srce kudeljku preda . . .



Groždje je zrelo i slatko, berba je vesela. Seljakinja nosi kovanju groždja na glavi.

Fig. 4.1. "A Merry Heart Spins ..." and "The Grapes are Ripe and Sweet and the Grape Gathering is Merry. A Peasant-Woman Carries a Bowl of Grapes on Her Head." (From: Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1955, frontispiece, and p. 97.)



STARJEŠINSTVO HRVATSKOG DOMOBRAHA U SJEVERNOJ AMERICI.

1. Nikola Šulentić, gl. starješina; 2. Franjo Budak, gl. blagajnik; 3. Luka Grbić, gl. tajnik i urednik "N. H. Države"; 4. Nikola Budak, zamjenik gl. blagajnika; 5. Rev. Oskar Šuster, duhovni vođa; 6. Jack Jakovac, tajnik N. O.

Fig. 4.2. "The Leadership of Hrvatski Domobran in North America." This diagram is used to show the executive structure of the Hrvatski Domobran organization. (From: Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941, p. 68.)

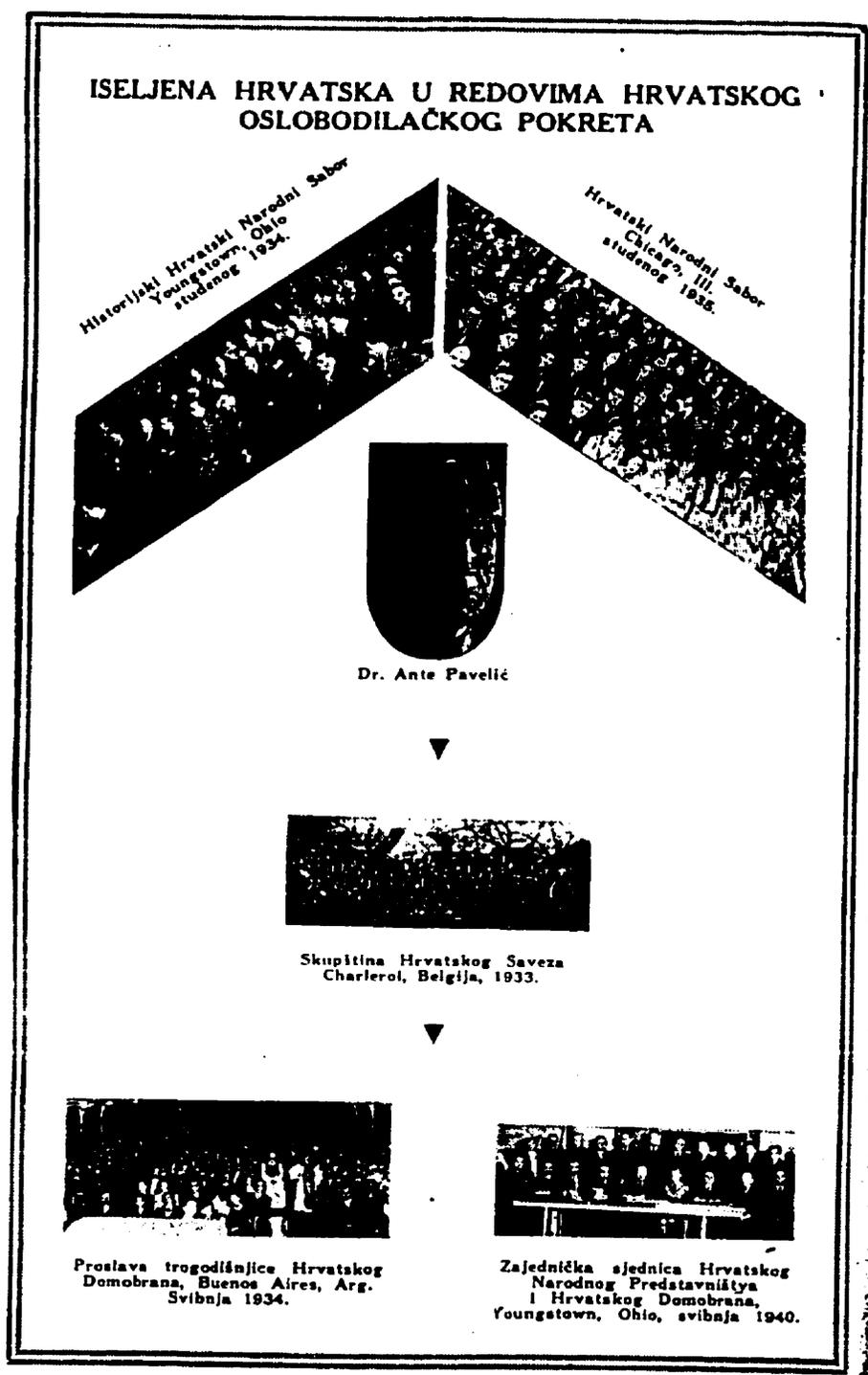


Fig. 4.3. "Émigré Croatia in the Ranks of the Croatian Liberation Movement." This diagram is used to show the structure of the Hrvatski Domobran organization. (From: Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana for 1941, p. 64.)

Kako se u Kanadi postupa s velikim zločincima.

U svim modernim kaznionama postupa se s velikim zločincima vrlo strogo, to naravno moraju da budu što više osamljeni,

jer su takvi ljudi, koji su osuđeni na dugotrajnu doživotnu kaznu, u svojoj očajnosti uvijek su vrlo opretni, pa rado upotrebe svaku zgodu, da se međusobno dogovore i da onda pokušaju pobjeći.

No kažnjenci ne mogu da budu osamljeni goda, kad su uzatvor

na tešku radotu, te moraju da obavljaju razno poslove. Kod tih poslova mogu ih njihovi stražari posve lako nadzirati, ali je radar mnogo teži u vrijeme, kad takvi kažnjenci idu na svoj posao, pa se tada mora na njih najoštrije paziti. — Da

im se na putu onemogućiti svako sastajanje i svako potajno dogovaranje, izmislili su engleski kažnjenički stražari u svojoj nasel-

bini Kanadi vrlo zgodno uređenje, koje nam prikazuje naša slika.

Kažnjenci, sami veliki i vrlo pogibeljni zločinci, budu strpani u posebne vreće, koje vise na jakoj željeznoj prečki, i to na malim i pomičnim kotačima, koji su spojeni dugim kolanom, pa se tako odpremaju iz svojih ćelija

na posao, i opet natrag u svoje ćelije. Transport tih „živih vreća“ vrlo je čudan, ali i vrlo dobar, jer je tako izključena svaka mogućnost, da kažnjenci komu učine kakovo zlo, ili da umaknu svojoj zasluženoj kazni.



Fig. 4.4. "How Dangerous Criminals are Handled in Canada." The translation of the text attached to the illustration reads as follows:

In all modern penitentiaries, the treatment of dangerous criminals is very strict and includes, in particular, isolation, because such people, who are condemned to long-term confinement, in their despair, are often ready to do anything, and they use every opportunity to talk to each other and try to escape.

But the convicts cannot be completely isolated when their sentence includes prison and forced labor, and they have to complete various tasks. During this work, the guards can easily control them, but the control is much more difficult when such prisoners are on their way to their place of work, and this is when they have to be carefully guarded. -- To prevent any meeting and secret communication, the English prison guards in their settlement of Canada have invented a very convenient device, which is depicted in our picture.

The convicts, all very dangerous and life-threatening criminals, are put in special bags, which hang on a strong iron rod, on small moveable wheels, which are connected with a long rope, which is how they are taken from their cells to work, and then back to their cells. The transport of those "live bags" is very unusual, but also very good, because it excludes the possibility for the convicts to harm anyone, or to escape their deserved punishment.

(From: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1901, p. 61.)

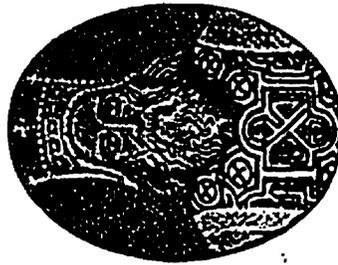
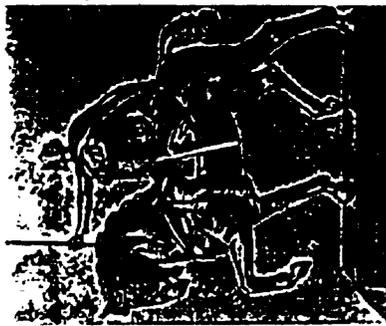


Odakle i kamo se najviše ljudi seli?

Fig. 4.5. "Where Most People are Moving To and From." This is a bar diagram representing the European annual emigration statistics at the turn of the century. It accompanies a text published in the same volume. (From: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1905, plate facing p. [2].)

HRVATSKI KRALJEVI NARODNE KRVI

O. Frangđ: Kralj Tomislav 910-928.



Krešimir I. 935-945.



Sijepan Držislav 869-897.



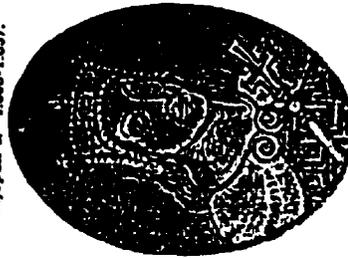
Krešimir II. 949-969.



Krešimir III. 1.000-1.030.



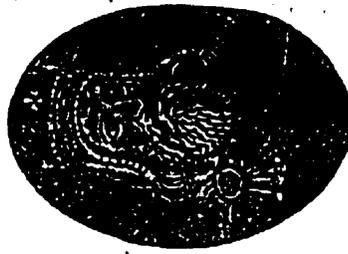
Sijepan I. 1.030-1.057.



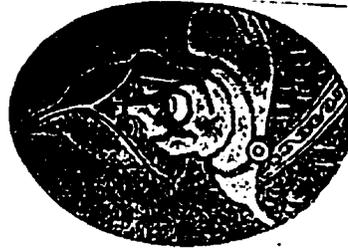
Dmitar Zvonimir 1.076-1.089.



Sijepan Tvrtko I. 1.377-1.391.



Krešimir IV. 1.057-1.074.



Petar Svetać 1.090-1.097.



Sijepan Tomáš 1.449-1.481.

Fig. 4.6. "Croatian Native Rulers." (From: Hrvatski kalendar (Chicago, Ill.) for 1953, pp. 51-52.)

Figure 4.7. -- An Analytical Scheme of Wording Patterns in Titles of the Almanacs of Diaspora

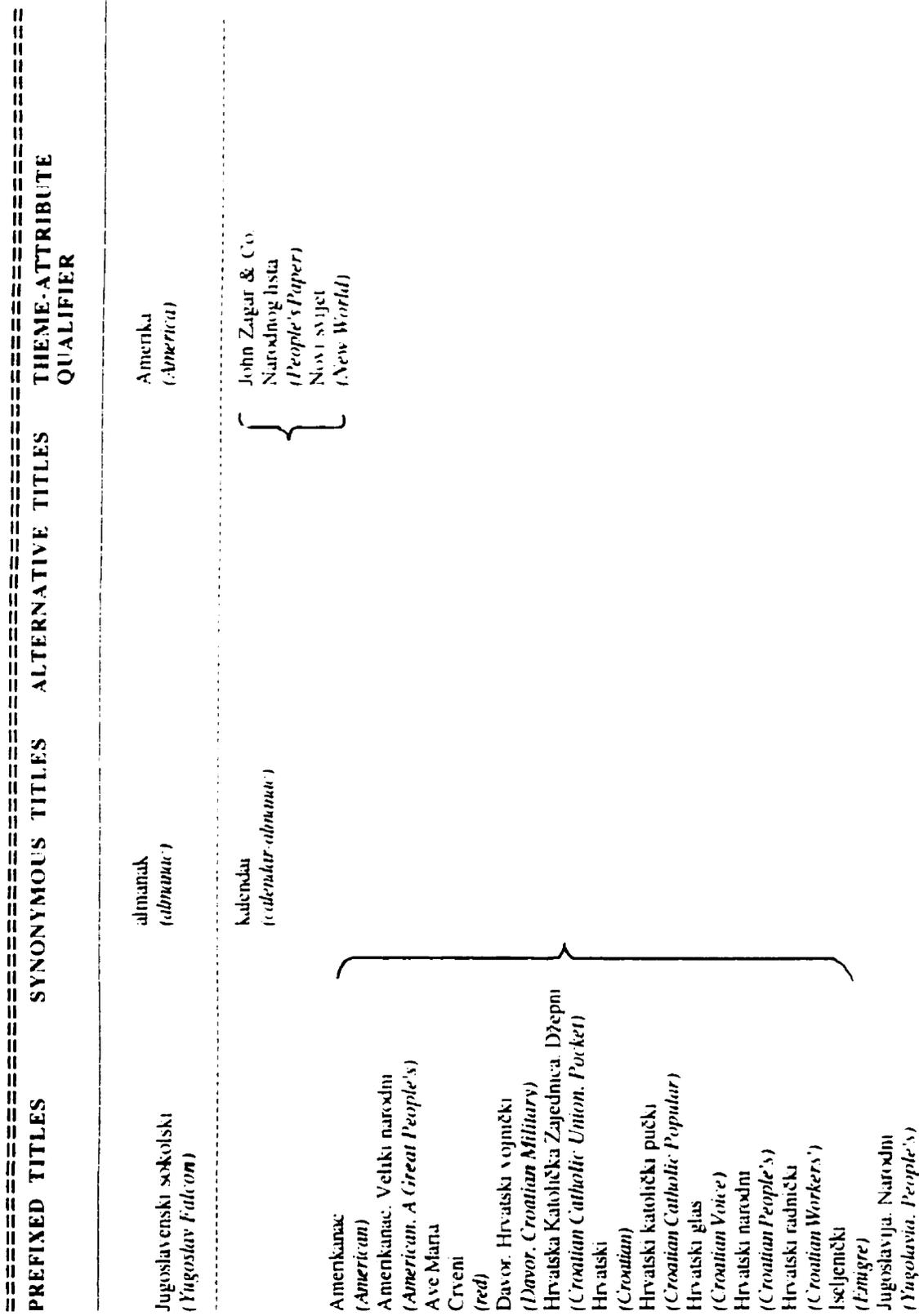


Figure 4.7. -- Continued

PREFIXED TITLES	SYNONYMOUS TITLES	ALTERNATIVE TITLES	THEME-ATTRIBUTE QUALIFIER
<p>Jugoslavija. Veliki narodni <i>(Yugoslavia. A Great People's)</i> Krčki <i>(from the Island of Krk)</i> Mali hrvatski <i>(Small Croatian)</i> Jugoslavenski glasnik <i>(Yugoslav Herald)</i> Matica iseljenika <i>(Emigre Current)</i> Narodni <i>(People's)</i> Naš <i>(Our)</i> Naša nada <i>(Our Hope)</i> Putnik. Narodni <i>(The Traveller. People's)</i> Radnički <i>(Workers')</i> Socijalistički radnički <i>(Socialist Workers')</i> Zajednički <i>(Fraternalist)</i> Džepni <i>(Pocket)</i></p>	<p>kalendar <i>(calendar almanac)</i></p>	<p>vodič <i>(guide)</i></p>	<p>za radnike u inozemstvu <i>(for Workers Abroad)</i> za Hrvate izvan domovine <i>(for Croatians Abroad)</i></p>
<p>Hrvatski <i>(Croatian)</i> Jugoslavenski kanadski <i>(Yugoslav-Canadian)</i></p>	<p>godišnjak <i>(annual)</i></p>	<p>kalendar <i>(calendar almanac)</i></p>	<p>Hrvatskog Domobrana <i>(Croatian Defender)</i></p>

Figure 4.7 -- Continued

=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
PREFIXED TITLES	SYNONYMOUS TITLES	ALTERNATIVE TITLES	THEME-ATTRIBUTE QUALIFIER	
Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica (<i>Croatian Catholic Union</i>) Hrvatski list i Danica Hrvatska (<i>Croatian Paper and Morning Star</i>) Jeka Hrvatski iseljenički (<i>Exile, Croatian Emigre</i>) Narodni američanski (<i>People's American</i>) Novi Hrvati (<i>The New Croatian</i>) Novi katolički (<i>New Catholic</i>) Novi šaljivi slikovni (<i>New Homeric Illustrated</i>) Putnik (<i>The Traveller</i>) Šareni svjetski (<i>Multicolor Globe</i>) Veliki ilustrirani zabavni (<i>Great Illustrated Entertaining</i>) Mali Marjin (<i>Small Mary's</i>) Veliki Marjin (<i>Great Mary's</i>)	zbornik (<i>collection album</i>)	no qualifiers	Hrvatskog sokola (<i>Croatian Falcon</i>)	za katolički puk (<i>for the Catholic Folk</i>)
Koledar (<i>calendar almanac</i>)				
Iseljenik (<i>The Emigrant</i>)				

NOTE: The analysis is based on standardized (uniform) titles, of most common forms (excluding the variants) of a run.



FIGHT COMMUNISM by—

—PROTECTING everyone's right to speak his mind. Free speech guarantees individual rights, protects majority rules and our American way of life against Communism.

—SPEAK UP FOR UNITY among all Americans . . . accept people on their individual worth. America was made great by the contributions of all—Protestants, Catholics and Jews. **HELP KEEP IT THAT WAY.**

—DEFENDING the right of every person to worship as he wishes. . . to work in any job for which he qualifies. . . to live where he pleases. . . Defend **ALL** human rights for **ALL**—regardless of race, religion or national origin. **SET THE EXAMPLE YOURSELF!**

126

Fig. 4.8.

"Fight Communism by—"

(From: The Croatian Catholic Almanac for 1952, p. 127.)



Hrvatski motiv.

HRVATSKI KALENDAR 1963.

Fig. 5.1. "Zagreb" and "A Croatian Motif."
(From: Hrvatski kalendar for 1963, and Hrvatski narodni kalendar for 1955, 78.)



СЕР ВИНСТОН ЧЕРЧИЛ
Прем'єр Великої Британії

Народний Ілюстрований Календар
**КАНАДІЙСЬКОГО
ФАРМЕРА**

На Рік Звичайний

1955

Ціна 75 центів.



НАКЛАДОМ „КАНАДІЙСЬКОГО ФАРМЕРА“
462 BARGAVE ST. WINNIPEG 2, MAN.

PRINTED IN CANADA



... који su ovdje stavljen Sir Winston Churchill, predsjednik ministara Velike Britanije, koji je ...
... godine života. I danas su slobodni prvici državnih vijesti, neposredno u ...
... državnim ...

КАЛЕНДАР
**ХРВАТСКИ
ГЛАС**

ЗА ПРОСТУ ГОДИНУ

1955

Urednik: Petar Stanković

ЦИЈЕНА 1 ДОЛАР

Издавач
"ХРВАТСКОГ ГЛАСА"
462 BARGAVE ST. WINNIPEG, MAN.

(Printed in Canada)

Fig. 5.2. Title pages with frontispiece. Croatian text accompanying the illustration reads as follows: The picture shows old-man Sir Winston Churchill, the President Minister [sic] of Great Britain, who is eighty this Fall, and is still considered to be the first statesman in the world, especially in the countries of the West

(From: Kalendar Hrvatski glas for 1955 and Narodni ilustrovanj kalendar kanadijskogo farmera for 1955.)

Pozdravljamo oslobodjenje Jugoslavije

I NJEGOVOG VELIKOG VODJU, MARŠALA TITA



Partizan.

Jugoslavenski Zabavni i Prosvjetni Dom.

Coverdale, Pennsylvania.

ODBOR:

A. Čipčić, predsjedj.
A. Krajšaš, podpredsjedj.
Thos. Milovac, blag.
J. M. Mason, tajnik
H. Hamilton, zap.

NADZORNI ODBOR:

V. Kuzman, predsjedj.
J. Mur, odbornik
P. Robich, odbornik
Pazikuća: S. Tatomir.

Fig. 5.3.

"We Welcome the Liberation of Yugoslavia and its Great Leader, Marshall Tito." The image depicts a Liberation Army fighter ("partizan"). The "greeting" was posted by the Yugoslav Entertainment and Educational Hall in Coverdale, Pennsylvania.

(From: Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Pittsburgh, Pa.) for 1946, 380.)

POZDRAVLJAM

Moju junačku Liku, kao i njene slavne borce i borce cijelog svijeta, koji su se borili protiv dušmanima kleta i koji su sa svojom borbom zadivili cijeli svijet.

Njihova imena će se spominjati na vjekove jer su se borili protiv zakletog i krvavog neprijatelja — fašizma, nacizma, ustaša, četnika i domobrana, koji su bili izdajice svoga naroda. Njih će stići kazna za njihova zla djela. Teško njima kada im bude narod sudio.

Sada idu u crkvu i mole se bogu da bi opet nastavili pokolje.

Živjeli borci za slobodu, prokleti bili izdajice!

Smrt fašizmu, sloboda radnom narodu!

ANA MIŠKULIN BABIĆ

c/o Narodni Glasnik

2122 S. Ashland Ave

Chicago, Ill., 60608



Fig. 5.4.

"I Greet ..."

The translation of the text attached to the illustration reads as follows:

My heroic Lika, as well as its glorious fighters and the fighters of the whole world, who fought the enemy ['dušmanina kleta' is a formulaic expression from epic oral tradition and contains a term of reinforcement], having the whole world marvel at their struggle. Their names will be remembered for ages because they fought the sworn and murderous [lit. blood-stained] enemy -- fascism, nazism, Ustashe, Chetniks, and Domobrani, who were the traitors of their people. They will meet just punishment for their evil deeds. Let God help them when the people be their judge.

They now go to church and pray to God to continue their carnage.

Long live freedom fighters, damn the traitors!

Death to fascism, freedom to the working people!

Ana Miškulin Babić, c/o Narodni Glasnik, 2122 S. Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60608

(From: Hrvatski narodni kalendar ((Chicago, Ill.) for 1967, 98.)

POZDRAVI IZ PORT ALBERNI, CHEMAINUS.

Sunski radnici i ugljenokopači velikog otoka Vancouver Island šalju bratske pozdrave narodima Jugoslavije i velikom sinu naših naroda, maršalu Titu. Akoprem na kraju Kanade, pet hiljada milja udaljeno od Jugoslavije, mi smo mislima i djelima sa vama. Svečano vam obećavamo, da ćemo i u buduće ulagati sve napore u sakupljanje materijalne pomoći izgradnji i obnovi zemlje i voditi neusmiljenu borbu protiv svih neprijatelja tekovina narodno oslobodilačke borbe.

PORT ALBERNI, B. C. — SUNSKI I PILANSKI RADNICI

Odsjek 896, H. B. Z.
Savez Kanadskih Hrvata
Ilija Sigurnjak
Marija Sigurnjak
Mičo Asić
Stjepica Rubčić
Franjo Ronner
Mile Super
Pave Super
Boža Došen
Luka Matanović
Marija Matanović
Ivan Markušić
Mate Bartulović
Blaž Orešković
Martin Sutić
Simun Kruljac
Ante Šaban
Josip Prpić
Ilija Kalan
Zdravko Vrančić
Petar Pajević
Blaž Staničić
Dane Ivezić
Franjo Zaidarić st.
Marko Mahović ml.
Ilija Šajatović

Katica Ninković
Jole Pjevač
Juka Naglič
Ivan i Marija Super

CHEMAINUS, B. C. — PILANSKI RADNICI

Ivan Kruljac
Ivan Bušljeta (Fijolica)
Stjepan Stillnović
Stojan Vukas
Ivan Bunčić
Mate Arbanas
Joso Svetić
Dako Sirmac
Mijo Balaban
Petar Padjen
Ivan Padjen
Mića Padjen
Ivan Svetić
Nikola Svetić
Josip Gršković
Nikola Berdik
Dane Bulić
Stjepan Zoretić
Ana Zoretić
Mile i Milka Popović
Franjo Duralija
Šime Kruljac

Fig. 5.5. "Greetings from Port Alberni, Chemainus."
(From: Hrvatski narodni kalendar (Toronto, Ont.) for 1947, 203.)



Fig. 5.6.

"Memory Page -- Upon the Transition to the New Century."

The translation of the text attached to the illustration reads as follows:

[above the title] Maria, helper ... [not legible]

[first interpretive scroll] Polish king, John Sobieski, before going to war, supplicating the Holy Virgin on behalf of his army.

[second interpretive scroll] St. Stephen, the king of Hungary, commits himself and his kingdom to the defense of the Mother of God.

[third interpretive scroll] Emperor Ferdinand III chooses the Holy Virgin as the protector of Austria. Empress Maria Theresa bids the Queen of Heaven to defend herself and her family.

[line at bottom] What Will the New Century Bring to the Human Race?

(From: Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk for 1900.)

Obiteljski spomen list.

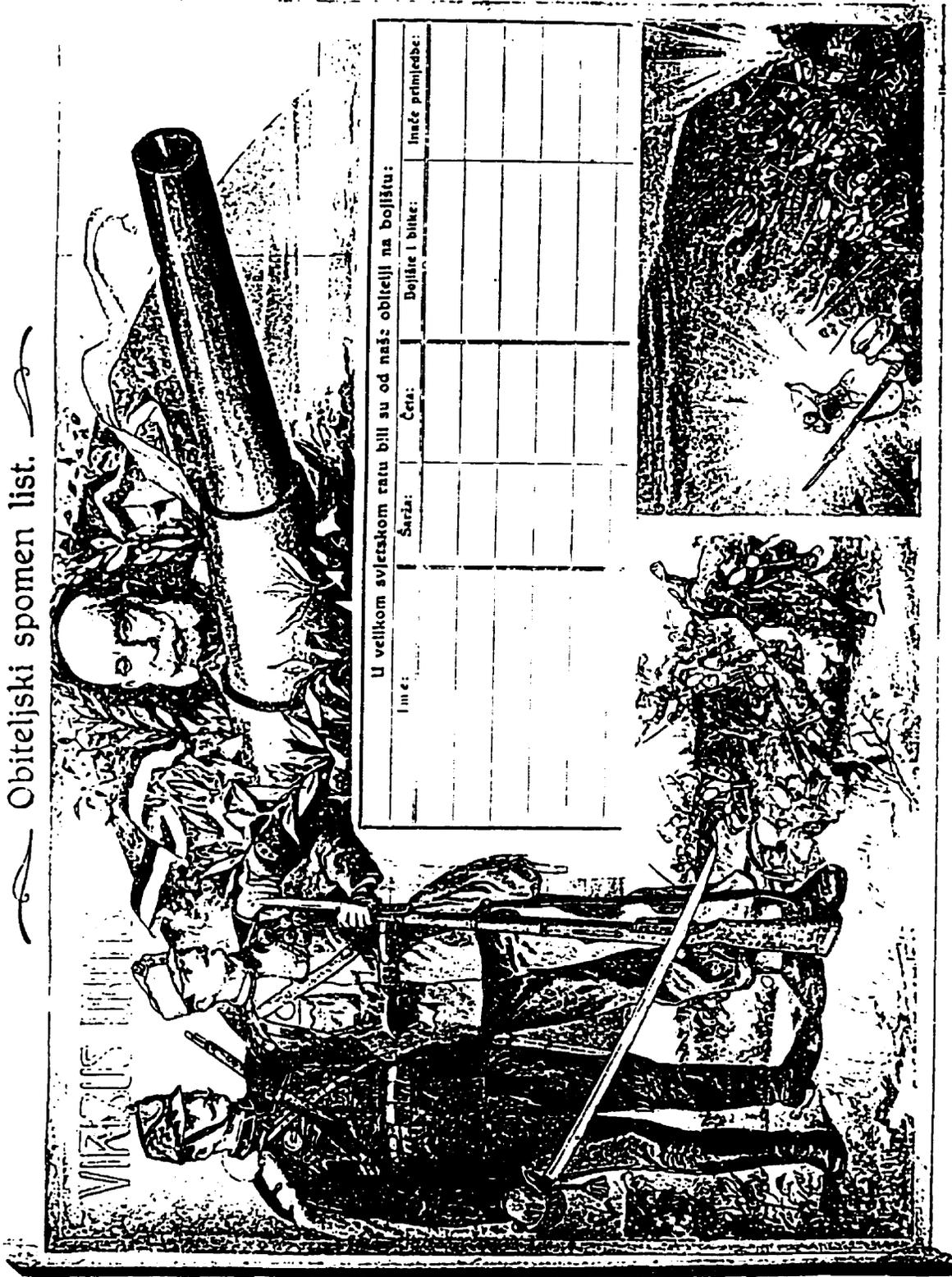


Fig. 5.7. "Family Memory Page."

The translation of the text of the table reads as follows:

[first row] In the great world war, the following family members were on the front
[column titles] Name, Rank, Battle Unit, Front and Battles, Other Comments.

(From: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1916.)



Fig. 5.8.

"Memory Page." (on two consecutive leaves)

The translation of the text of the inscription (left side) follows:

from your faithful friend who wishes you all the best, that is, to marry happily and get a son whose name is Joca and that he (likes) his father. Your unforgettable [stamp] Josip Matijasec, merchant-apprentice and student in Djakovci, Slavonia [date] 21 November 1913

(From: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1914.)

Vancouver, 15-6-70.

O Dugi moj Marko i gosp. Zarić!
 Sretno vam ovaj naš godišnji kalendar u
 trih postroje i postroje. Kao jedinstvo naš
 izdanka u Kanadi.

U istom imam dva članka
 "Slovo Tomi Gariću" i "Kale Sirota".

Pete nam je skopirao brak
 sa Julkom, sed je petan i padovafen.

Florije je bio ljubomoran na sve nas, mi svi
 milujemo njegovu on tuda.

Moj dugi Marko je u puno
 puta putim od otaca, prošlog tjedna
 nisam mogao preći preko robe, je tri dane
 jedne godine, je i moje starija keuka
 jedne godine dolosimo u poz. I u našu
 rodnu obitelji, je i mo otati 4 mjes
 mada je jedine deka, pos imo želu da ite
 u Eboniju jednu godinu u Zagreb
 Lako je mo misliti, curam pisali iz vaske
 koliko je otme minuta, tako vas je praderompete dr

Fig. 5.9.

Letter: "Vancouver, 15 June, 1970."

(From: Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak for 1970.)



Ciena 1 kr.

Fig. 5.10. Front cover: Šareni svjetski koledar for 1916.



J. Lefebvre

Zanimiva knjiga.



ZABRANJENA KNJIGA

Zuber-Buhler

Fig. 5.11. An "Interesting" and a "Forbidden" Book.
(From: Kalendar Novi svijet for 1926, 63, and Kalendar Novi svijet for 1927.)

HRVATSKI KALENDAR

NAMIJENJEN JE SVIM HRVATIMA U ISELJENOJ HRVATSKOJ. POSVEĆEN JE DESETGODIŠNJICI VELIKE TRAGEDIJE HRVATSKOGA NARODA, KOJI JE GOD. 1945. PAO POD KOMUNISTIČKO NASILJE. OPĆEM IMENU OVE SMO GODINE DODALI PODNASLOV: "HRV. KAT. GLASNIKA I DANICE", DA TIM IZRAZIMO NAŠE PRIZNANJE I DUBOKU ZAHVALNOST VELIKOJ HRVATSKOJ OBITELJI, ŠTO SE KUPI OKO "HRV. KAT. GLASNIKA" I "DANICE" U SAVEZNIM AMERIČKIM DRŽAVAMA I KANADI, KOJA SVOJOM PRETPLATOM I PRINOSIMA PODRŽAVA HRV. KALENDAR I SAV TISAK, KOJI SE ZA DOBRO SV. VJERE I HRVATSKOGA NARODA TISKA NA DREXEL BOULEVARDU U CHICAGO. — TISKANJE OVOGA KALENDAR DARA DOVRŠENO JE 30. LISTOPADA 1954. U HRVATSKOJ FRANJ. TISKARI, 4851 DREXEL BOULEVARD., CHICAGO 16, ILL., U.S.A.

Fig. 6.1. Editorial. (From: Hrvatski kalendar for 1955. colophon.)

APPENDIX

**THE SOURCES: CROATIAN DIASPORA ALMANACS
1893-1992¹**

ALMANAK AMERIKA (1922-)

Almanak Amerika : priručnik zabavnik : za 1923. Mladineo, Ivan, Uredio i izdao. 2434 Grove Street - Brooklyn, N.Y.: Published by Amerika Almanac Publishing Company; 1922; 1 (1923). 319, [1] p. : map : 22 cm.
HRB 24860 ; NSB 65.984 ; ZAMIN³.

AMERIKANAC. KALENDAR (1929-)

Amerikanac : kalendar za godinu 1930. [Zagreb]: ["Hamburg-Amerika Linie" Glavno zastupstvo za Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju]; 1929; 1930. 80 p. : ill. : 15 cm.
HRB 24862 ; NSB 96.777.

AMERIKANAC. VELIKI NARODNI KALENDAR (1912-)

Amerikanac. : veliki narodni kalendar : za godinu 1913. : sa slikama. [Zagreb]: Izdala poslovnica J. Grof Drašković u Zagrebu, Mihanovićeve ulica 10 ...; 1912; 1913. 83, [11], 13, [21] p., [4] p. of col. plates : ill. : 22 cm.
HRB 24861 ; NSB 158.058.

AVE MARIA KALENDAR (1949-1962)

Ave Maria kalendar : za godinu 1955. Sorčić, Boniface T. O.R., Edited by. Ave Maria Almanac, P.O.B. 409, McKeesport, Pennsylvania: Dopuštanjem redovničkih i crkvenih poglavara izdavaju Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci; 1954; 6 (1955). 160 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
NSB IT 231.880² ; HEI² ; ZAMIN.

Ave Maria kalendar : za godinu 1956. Sorčić, Boniface T. O.R., Edited by. Ave Maria Almanac, P.O.B. 409, McKeesport, Pennsylvania: Dopuštanjem redovničkih i crkvenih poglavara izdavaju Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci; 1955; 7 (1956). 176 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
HEI.

Ave Maria kalendar : za godinu 1958. Sorčić, Dobroslov T. O.R., Edited by. P.O.B. 409, McKeesport, Pa.: Dopuštanjem redovničkih i crkvenih poglavara izdavaju Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci; 1957; 9 (1958). 256 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
NSB IT 231.880 ; ZAMIN.

Ave Maria kalendar : za godinu 1959 [i.e. 1960]. Sorčić, Dobroslov T. O.R., Edited by. P.O.B. 409, McKeesport, Pa.: Dopuštanjem redovničkih i crkvenih poglavara izdavaju Hrvatski Franjevci Trećoredci; 1959; 11 (1960). 195, [1] : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
HEI.

¹The entries in this listing include locations and call numbers (when available) below the bibliographical description. The number of copies in each of the collections is also recorded; multiple copies are indicated by an index added to the location symbol (e.g., ZAMIN³). The source codes used here are explained in Table 1.2. A string of location symbols preceded by an asterisk (*) indicates that the particular issue was not examined de visu but were identified through library catalogs, or authoritative bibliographies.

Ave Maria kalendar : za godinu 1963. Sorčić, Dobroslav, Edited by. P.O.B. 409, McKeesport, Pa.: Ave Maria Almanac; 1962; 13 (1963). 128 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
*NSB IT 231.880.

CRVENI KALENDAR (1914-1933)

Continued by: RADNIČKI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, Ill.)

[Crveni kalendar : 1915]. [Chicago, Ill.]: [Jugosl. Kom. Savez]; 1914; 1915. 153, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN.

Crveni kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1920. Chicago, Ill.: Izdao Jugosl. Kom. Savez; 1919; 3 (1920). 176 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN² ; IHRC.

Crveni kalendar : 1921. [Chicago, Ill.?]: [Izdao Jugosl. Kom. Savez?]; 1920; 1921. 158 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.
ZAMIN; IHRC.

Crveni kalendar : 1922. S.l.: s.n.; 1921; 1922. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN² ; IHRC.

Crveni kalendar : 1923. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1922; 1923. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; IHRC.

Crveni kalendar : 1924. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1923; 1924. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN² ; IHRC.

Crveni kalendar : 1925. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1924; 1925. 176 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
ZAMIN⁴.

Crveni kalendar : 1926. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1925; 1926. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1927. 1806 So. Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1926; 1927. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1928. 1806 So. Racine Ave. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1927; 1928. 207, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN.

Crveni kalendar : 1929. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1928; 1929. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1930. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1929; 1930. [15], 18-162 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1931. Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1930; 1931. [14], 18-162 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1932. 2741 West 22nd Street, Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1931; 1932. [16], 19-162 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN².

Crveni kalendar : 1933. 2741 West 22nd Street, Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1932; 1933. [1], 4-130 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN.

Crveni kalendar : 1934. 2741 W. Cermak Rd., Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Jugoslavenske radničke knjižare; 1933; 1934. 128 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
ZAMIN².

DAVOR. HRVATSKI VOJNIČKI KOLEDAR (1899-1913)

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1900. : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. [Winterberg]: J. Steinbrenerov nakladni zavod, knjigotiskarna i umjetna tiskarna u Winterbergu; 1899; 1 (1900). 126, [2], IX, [1], [40] p., [2] leaves of folded plates, [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 22 cm.
HRB 25232 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1901 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: J. Steinbrener, nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 2 (1901). 127, [1], IX, [1], [28] p., [6] p. of plates, [4] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 22 cm.
HRB 25233 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1902 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 3 (1902). 127, [1], IX, [21] p., [2] folded leaves of plates, [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 22 cm.
HRB 25234 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1903 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 4 (1903). 126, [2], IX, [23] p., [3] leaves of plates (some folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 25235 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za prijestupnu godinu 1904 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1903; 5 (1904). 126, [2], VIII, [28] p., [1] folded leaf of plates, [4] p. of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 25236 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1905 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1904; 6 (1905). 127, [1], VIII, [24] p., [2] folded leaves of plates, [2] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25237 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1906 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (i.e. Winterberg) (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1905; 7 (1906). 127, [1], VIII, [26] p., [6] p. of plates (some folded), [1] leaf of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25238 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1907 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1906; 8 (1907). 127, [1], VII, [1], 32, [38] p., [2] folded leaves of plates, [4] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25239 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1908 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći : kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1907; 9 (1908). 126, [2], VII, [39] p., [4] leaves of plates (1 folded), [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25240 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1909 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1908; 10 (1909). 126, [2], VII, [41] p., [4] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25241 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1910 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1909; 11 (1910). 127, [1], VIII, [40] p., [4] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25242 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1911 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga stališa. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1910; 12 (1911). 127, [1], VIII, [36] p., [6] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.) ; 23 cm.
HRB 25243 ; NSB 156.798.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1913 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga staleža. Zagreb, Winterberg i New-York: Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara; 1912; 14 (1913). 124 p., [3] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.
HRB 25244 ; NSB 156.798 ; HEI.

Davor : hrvatski vojnički koledar : za godinu 1914 : za sve pripadnike naše oružane moći, kao aktivne vojnike, pričuvnike i domobrance, pučke ustaše i veterance, te za sve prijatelje vojničkoga staleža. Zagreb, Winterberg i New York: Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska

knjižotiskara; 1913; 15 (1914). 142 p., [4] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN.

DŽEPNI KALENDAR ZA RADNIKE U INOZEMSTVU (1967-)

Džepni kalendar za radnike u inozemstvu : 1967. Čakovec ; Maribor: Novinsko-izdavačko i štamparsko poduzeće : Založba "Obzorja"; 1967; 1967. 123 p. ; 14 cm.
*NSB 395.529.

GODIŠNJAK (KALENDAR) HRVATSKOG DOMOBRANA (1932-1955)

Hrvatski Domobran : kalendar 1933. Valenta, Ante, Uz suradnju hrvatskih rodoljuba i pisaca uredio:. [S.l.]: Naklada organizacije "Hrvatski Domobran"; 1932; 1933. 112 p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
HRB 25249 ; NSB 170.937 ; JJ².

Nezavisna hrvatska država : godišnjak : 1934. Budak, Mile, Izdao i uredio: Nowawes (Berlin): Druck Dr. W. Bronner; 1933; 1934. 138 p., 1 leaf of plates : ill., map (39x25.5 cm) ; v8⁰.
*HRB 25305 ; NSB (IT backlog) ; JJ.

Hrvatski domobran : godišnjak (kalendar) 1936. Valenta, Ante, Uredio:. Pittsburgh, Penna., U.S.A. ; Buenos Aires - Argentina; 1935; 1936. 207. [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI² ; JJ.

Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana : 1937. Valenta, Ante, Uredio:. Pittsburgh, Penna., U.S.A. - Buenos Aires, Argentina; 1936; 1937.
*JJ.

Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana : 1938. Došen, Ante M., Uz suradnju hrvatskih rodoljuba i pisaca uredio:. Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. - Buenos Aires, Argentina: Naklada organizacije Hrvatski Domobran u Sjevernoj Americi; 1937; 1938. 239 p.
*IHRC ; JJ.

Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana : 1939. Došen, Ante M., Uredio:. Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. - Buenos Aires, Argentina: Naklada organizacije Hrvatski Domobran u Sjevernoj Americi; 1938; 1939.
*JJ.

Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog Domobrana : 1940. Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S. - Buenos Aires, Argentina: Naklada organizacije Hrvatski Domobran; 1939; 1940. 159. [49] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC ; JJ.

Croatian Almanac : 1941 = Godišnjak (kalendar) Hrvatskog domobrana. Pittsburgh, Pa., USA: Naklada organizacije Hrvatski domobran; 1940; 1941. 148. [54] p. : ill., map, ports. ; 22 cm.
HRB 24723 [i.e. 24823] ; NSB 192.778 ; HEI ; JJ.

[Croatian almanac : 1942]. [Pittsburgh, Penna., U.S.A.]: [Published by Nezavisna Hrvatska država]; 1941; 1942. 136. [48] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI.

Hrvatski domobran : godišnjak : 1942. Valenta, Ante i. Zlatko Fraisman, Edited by. Buenos Aires: Naklada "Hrvatski domobran"; 1941; 1942.
JJ².

Hrvatska : kulturno-politički zbornik. Nikolić, Vinko and Franjo Nevistić, Uredili.: Buenos Aires: Izdala "Hrvatska"-glasilo Hrvata Južne Amerike=Edición de "Croacia"-órgano croata de la América del Sur; 1949; 1949. 174, [2] p., [1] leaf of plates (folded) : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
HEI.

Hrvatska : kulturno-politički zbornik. Nikolić, Vinko and Franjo Nevistić, Uredili.: Buenos Aires: Izdala "Hrvatska"-glasilo Hrvata Južne Amerike=Edición de "Croacia"-órgano croata de la América del Sur; 1950; 1950. 223, [1] p., [1] leaf of plates (folded) : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
HEI².

Godišnjak Hrvatskog domobrana. Ante Matijević, Uredio.: Buenos Aires: Izdanje Hrvatskog domobrana=Edición de La defensa del hogar Croata; 1953; 1953. 191, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
HEI.

Godišnjak Hrvatskog domobrana. Ante Matijević, Uredio.: Buenos Aires: Izdanje Hrvatskog domobrana=Edición de La defensa del hogar Croata; 1954; 1954. 223, [1] p., [1] leaf of plates (folded) : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
HEI.

Godišnjak Hrvatskog domobrana. Antić, Žitomir, Uredio.: Buenos Aires: Izdanje Hrvatskog domobrana=Edición de La defensa del hogar Croata; 1955; 1955. 224 p., [1] leaf of plates (folded) : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
HEI.

HRVATSKA KATOLIČKA ZAJEDNICA. KOLEDAR (1923-1927)

[Koledar Hrvatske katoličke zajednice : 1928]. Jesih, Dragutin, Urednik. [Milwaukee, Wis.]: [Hrvatska katolička zajednica]; 1927; 5 (1928). 290 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
HEI.

HRVATSKA KATOLIČKA ZAJEDNICA. DŽEPNI KALENDAR (1948-)

Džepni kalendar : 1949. München: Izdala Hrvatska katolička zajednica; 1948; 1949. 55, [9] p. : ill. ; 10 cm.
HEI.

HRVATSKI GLAS. KALENDAR (1930-1983)

Continued by: ZBORNIK HRVATSKE SELJAČKE STRANKE (LONDON, ENGLAND)

Kalendar Kanadskog glasa : za prostu godinu 1933. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Kanadskog glasa"; 1932; 3 (1933). 95, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
HEI.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1936. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1935; 6 (1936). 159, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1937. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1936; 7 (1937).
*ACHS.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1940. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1939; 10 (1940).
*IHRC.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1944. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1943; 14 (1944). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
ZAMIN ; ACHS.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1945. Stanković, Petar, Edited by. 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1944; 15 (1945). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
ZAMIN; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715) ; IHRC.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1946. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1945; 16 (1946).
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715).

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1947. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1946; 17 (1947).
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715).

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1948. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1947; 18 (1948).
*HEI ; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1949. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1948; 19 (1949).
*HEI ; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715) ; ACHS ; NSB IT 231.894.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1950. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1949; 20 (1950).
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715) ; ACHS ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1951. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1950; 21 (1951). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
ZAMIN ; HEI ; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 41715) ; NSB IT 231.894.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1952. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1951; 22 (1952).
*OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ ; NSB IT 231.894.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1953. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1952; 23 (1953).
*HEI ; ACHS ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ ; NSB IT 231.894.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1954. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 295 Market Ave., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1953; 24 (1954). 200 p., [2] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ² ; NSB IT 231.894 ; NSB 333.578.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1955. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1954; 25 (1955). 200 p., [2] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 25 cm.
NSB 333.578 ; NSB IT 231.894² ; HEI ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1956. Stanković, Petar, Uredio.: 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1955; 26 (1956). 191, [1] p., [2] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 25 cm.
NSB IT 231.894⁴ ; HEI ; IHRC ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1957. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1956; 27 (1957).

*NSB IT 231.894³ ; HEI ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1958. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1957; 28 (1958). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁷ ; HEI ; ACHS ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1959. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1958; 29 (1959). 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ² ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1960. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1959; 30 (1960). 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁸ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ² ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1961. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1960; 31 (1961). 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1962. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1961; 32 (1962). 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.

ZAMIN ; NSB IT 231.894⁷ ; HEI ; ACHS ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1963. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1962; 33 (1963). 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁷ ; ACHS ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ² ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1964. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1963; 34 (1964). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894³ ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ² ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1965. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1964; 35 (1965). 224 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ³.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1966. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1965; 36 (1966). 223. [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.

ZAMIN ; NSB IT 231.894⁵ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1967. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1966; 37 (1967). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894⁵ ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1968. Stanković, Petar, Edited by. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg,
Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1967; 38 (1968).

*NSB IT 231.894 ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1969. Stanković, Petar, Uredio:. 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.:
Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1968; 39 (1969). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.

NSB IT 231.894³ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UoIT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1970. Stanković, Petar, Uredio: 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1969; 40 (1970). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1971. Stanković, Petar, Uredio: 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg 2, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1970; 41 (1971). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ³.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1972. Stanković, Petar i. M. Gordan, Uredili: 462 Hargrave St., Winnipeg, Man., Canada: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1971; 42 (1972).
*NSB IT 231.894³ ; HEI ; ACHS ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1973. Stanković, Petar i. M. Gordan, Uredili. Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1972; 43 (1973).
*NSB IT 231.894³ ; HEI ; ACHS ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1974. Gordan, Mario. Winnipeg, Man.: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa". 1973; 44 (1974).
*NSB IT 231.894 ; HEI ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1975. Gordan, M., Uredio: 325 Logan Ave., Winnipeg, Man. Kanada-R3A 0P7: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1974; 45 (1975). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm + 1 map (col. ; 38 x 40 cm. (fol.)).
NSB IT 231.894 : ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prestupnu godinu 1976. Gordan, M., Uredio: 325 Logan Ave., Winnipeg, Man. Kanada-R3A 0P7: Nakladom "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1975; 46 (1976). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm + 1 map (col. ; 39 x 40 cm. (fol.)).
NSB IT 231.894⁶ ; HEI ; ACHS ; IHRC ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ².

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : za prostu godinu 1977. Petek, Rudolf. P.O.Box 308, Winnipeg, Man., Kanada: Vlastita naklada "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1976; 47 (1977).
*NSB IT 231.894⁴ ; HEI ; ACHS ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : 1978. Mehmed Bašić, Urednik: P.O.Box 310, Acton, Ontario: Vlastita naklada "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1977; 48 (1978). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB IT 231.894 ; HEI ; ACHS ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : 1979. Mehmed Bašić, Urednik: P.O.Box 310, Acton, Ontario: Vlastita naklada "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1978; 49 (1979). 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 27 cm.
NSB IT 231.894⁴ ; HEI ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Kalendar Hrvatski glas : 1980. Krnjević, Juraj, Edited by. P.O.Box 210, Acton, Ontario: Vlastita naklada "Hrvatskog glasa"; 1979; 50 (1980).
*NSB IT 231.894⁴ ; IHRC ; UofT ; OONL (DDN 41715).

Kalendar : za godinu 1981. Meheš, Mirko, Uredio: P.O.Box 910, Station B, Sudbury, Ont., P3E 4S4: Izdanje "Hrvatski glas, - Croatian Voice Inc."; 1980; 51 (1981). 245, [3] p. (last 3 p. blank).
*NSB IT 231.894² ; OONL (DDN 41715) ; JJ.

Hrvatski godišnjak : za godinu 1982. Meheš, Mirko, Uredio: P.O. Box 910, Station B, Sudbury, Ont., P3E 4S4
Izdaje "Hrvatski glas, - Croatian Voice Inc."; 1981; 1982. 200 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI ; OONL (DDN 8279987).

Hrvatski godišnjak : za godinu 1983. Meheš, Mirko, Uredio: P.O. Box 910, Station B, Sudbury, Ont., P3E 4S4
Izdaje "Hrvatski glas, - Croatian Voice Inc."; 1982; 1983. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI ; OONL (DDN 8279987).

Hrvatski godišnjak : za godinu 1984. Meheš, Mirko, Uredio: P.O. Box 910, Station B, Sudbury, Ont., P3E 4S4
Izdaje "Hrvatski glas, - Croatian Voice Inc."; 1983; 1984.
*NSB (IT backlog) ; ACHS ; OONL (DDN 8279987) ; JJ.

HRVATSKI GODIŠNJAK (MCKEESPORT, PA.) (1935-1952)

Hrvatski godišnjak : za prostu godinu 1947. Rev. Boniface Sonć, T. O. R., Uredio. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Sjedinjene Države Sjeverne Amerike: izdaje hrvatski katolički mjesečnik "Zdravo Manjo"; 1946; 12 (1947). 304 p.
: ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC.

Croatian Almanac = Hrvatski godišnjak : 1948. McKeesport, Pa.; 1947; 13 (1948).
*IHRC.

Croatian Almanac = Hrvatski godišnjak : 1949. McKeesport, Pa.; 1948; 14 (1949).
*IHRC.

Croatian Almanac = Hrvatski godišnjak : 1950. McKeesport, Pa.; 1949; 15 (1950).
*IHRC.

Hrvatski godišnjak : za godinu 1951. Very Rev. Boniface Sonć, T. O. R., Gl. urednik. McKeesport, (Pittsburgh)
Pennsylvania, Sjedinjene Države Sjeverne Amerike: [s. n.]; 1950; 16 (1951). 256 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI.

Hrvatski godišnjak : za godinu 1953. Very Rev. Boniface Sonć, T. O. R., Gl. urednik. McKeesport, (Pittsburgh)
Pennsylvania, Sjedinjene Države Sjeverne Amerike; 1952; 18 (1953). 240 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI.

HRVATSKI GODIŠNJAK (TORONTO, ONT.) (1964-)

Hrvatski godišnjak : 1965. [Toronto, Ontario]; Ujedinjeni Kanadski Hrvati; 1964; 1965. 223, [1] p., [1] leaf of
plates : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI ; ACUCES (C.C.E.S. 1981) ; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 121036).

HRVATSKI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.) (1943 to date?)

Continues: HRVATSKI LIST I DANICA HRVATSKA. KOLEDAR

Kalendar Hrvatskog katoličkoga glasnika : za prestupnu godinu 1944. Grubišić, Silvije, Uredio. Chicago, Illinois:
Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkoga glasnika; 1943; 1 (1944). 256 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI ; IHRC ; PITT ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1945. Grubišić, Silvije, Uredio. Chicago, Ill.: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1944; 2 (1945). 312 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI ; IHRC ; PITT.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1946. Grubišić, Silvije, Uredio. Chicago, Ill.: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1945; 23-3 (1946). 400, [2] p., [14] leaves of plates : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI ; IHRC ; PITT.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1947. Grubišić, Silvije i. Vendelin Vasilj, Uredili. Chicago, Illinois: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1946; 24-4 (1947). 175, [1] p., [8] leaves of plates : ill., map ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC ; ZAMIN².

Hrvatski kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1948. Grubišić, Silvije, Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1947; 5-25 (1948). 176 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1949. Grubišić, Silvije, Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Izdaje Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1948; 6-26 (1949). [2], 159, [1] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1950. Vasilj, Vendelin, Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1949; 7 (1950). 176 p., [4] leaves of plates : ill. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1951. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1950; 8 (1951). 161, [1] p., [4] leaves of plates : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1952. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika; 1951; 9 (1952). [3]-172, [4] p., [10] p. of plates : ill., map ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN².

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1953. Mandić, Dominik O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdaju Hrvatski franjevci u Američkim Udruženim Državama; 1952; 10 (1953). 256 p., [14] p. of plates : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Hrvatsku kalendar : za prostu godinu 1954 : posvećeno 100-godišnjici dogme Bezgrješnoga Začeca Bl. Dj. Marije. Mandić, Dominik O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: "Croatia" Hrv. izdavački zavod; 1953; 11 (1954). [24], 232 p., [14] p. of plates : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; NSB 417.153 ; ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski kalendar Hrv. kat. glasnika i Danice : za prostu godinu 1955 : posvećen mučenicima Sv. Vjere i domovine Hrvatske. Mandić, Dominik O. F.M., Edited by. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdaju Hrvatski franjevci u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (Croatian Franciscan Press ...); 1954; 12 (1955). [24], 207, [1] p., [8] p. of plates : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB IT 231.853 ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1956. Grubišić, Silvije and Kvinn Vasilj, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika; 1955; 13 (1956). 184 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)⁴ ; ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1957. Grubišić, Silvije and Kvirin Vasilj, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika; 1956; 14 (1957). 198, [2] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1958. Grubišić, Silvije and Kvirin Vasilj, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika; 1957; 15 (1958). 198, [2] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1959. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika; 1958; 16 (1959). 190, [2] p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1960. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika & Danice; 1959; 17 (1960). 198, [2] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1961. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskoga katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1960; 18 (1961). 206, [2] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1962. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1961; 19 (1962). 192 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1963. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1962; 20 (1963). 197, [3] p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1964. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1963; 21 (1964). 192 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1965. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1964; 22 (1965). 200 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)⁴ ; ZIF ; IHRC ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1966. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1965; 23 (1966). 200 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1967. Vasilj, Vendelin O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1966; 24 (1967). 208 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1968. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1967; 25 (1968). 208 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1969. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava: Hrvatskog kat. glasnika i Danice; 1968; 26 (1969). 208 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1970. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1969; 27 (1970). 224 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1971. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1970; 28 (1971). 222, [2] p. (last 2 p. blank) : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)² ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1972. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1971; 29 (1972). 224 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1973. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1972; 30 (1973). 224 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1974. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1973; 31 (1974). 240 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prostu godinu 1975. Čuvalo, Ljubo O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava Hrvatskog katoličkog glasnika i Danice; 1974; 32 (1975). 200 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za prjestupnu godinu 1976. Ban, Hrvošlav O. F.M., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1975; 23 (1976). [3]-238 p., [4] p. of plates : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)³ ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : za godinu 1977. Lasić, Vinko D., Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1976; 24 (1977). 272 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatska baština : godišnjak za godinu 1978. Lasić, Vinko D., Edited by. [Chicago, Illinois]: Hrvatski izdavački zavod Croatia; 1977; 55 (1978). 352 p. : ill., maps, music ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1979. Grubišić, Silvije and Celestin Raguž, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1978; 26 (1979). 200, [8] p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1980. Raspudić, Gracijan Silvije Grubišić, Ivo Sivnć, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1979; 27 (1980). 208 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1981. Sivnć, Ivo Silvije Grubišić, Gracijan Raspudić, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1980; 28 (1981). 208 p. : ill., map ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1982. Raspudić, Gracijan Silvije Grubišić, Ivo Sivnć, Uredili. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1981; 39 (1982). 200 p. : ill., maps ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1983. Raspudić, Gracijan, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1982; 40 (1983). 208 p. : ill., maps ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1984. Raspudić, Gracijan, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1983; 41 (1984). 208 p. : ill., facsim. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1985. Raspudić, Gracijan, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Izdala Uprava izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1984; 42 (1985). 207, [1] p. : ill., map, facsim. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)³ ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatska baština : povijesno-književni zbornik i kalendar : za godinu 1986. Lasić, Vinko D., Edited by. Chicago, IL: Croatian Franciscan Press ...; 1985; 43 (1986). 207, [1] p. : ill., maps ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT 999) ; NSB (IT backlog)⁵ ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1987. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada Uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1986; 44 (1987). 200, [4] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog)³ ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1988. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada Uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1987; 45 (1988). [3]-204, [2] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1989. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada Uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1988; 46 (1989). 206, [2] p. : ill., music ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1990. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada Uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1989; 47 (1990). 207, [1] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1991. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada Uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1990; 48 (1991). 207, [1] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; ZIF ; HEI.

Hrvatski kalendar : 1992. Ban, Hrvoslav, Uredio. [Chicago, Illinois]: Naklada uprave izdanja Hrvatskih franjevaca; 1991; 49 (1992). 208 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
ZIF ; HEI.

HRVATSKI KATOLIČKI PUČKI KALENDAR (1951-1953)

The Croatian Catholic Almanac = Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar : Srca Isusova i Marijina : 1952. Bonc, Stanislav and Helen M. Bonc, Compiled by. 710 Pierce St., Gary, Ind.: Naklada Stanley Bonc, Religious Articles; 1951; 1952. 199, [1] p. : ill., map, ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 420.372 ; NSB IT 231.854.

The Croatian Catholic Almanac = Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar Srca Isusova i Marijina : 1953. Bonc, Stanislav and Helen M. Bonc, Compiled by. 710 Pierce St., Gary, Ind.: Naklada Stanley Bonc, Religious Articles; 1952; 1953. 280 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB IT 231.854 ; HEI.

The Croatian Catholic Almanac = Hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar Srca Isusova i Marijina : 1954. Borčić, Stanislav and Helen M. Borčić, Compiled by. 710 Pierce St., Gary, Ind.: Stanley Borčić, Religious Articles; 1953; 1954. 276 p. : ill., map, notes, ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 420.372 ; NSB IT 231.854² ; HEI.

HRVATSKI LIST I DANICA HRVATSKA. KOLEDAR (1921-1944)

Continued by: HRVATSKI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.)

Danica hrvatska : koledar za prostu godinu 1922. Krešić, Ivan, Edited by. New York, N.Y.: Uredilo i izdalo Uredništvo "Danice Hrvatske"; 1921; 1 (1922). 182, [10] p. : ill. ; 22 cm.
HRB 25171 ; NSB 44.875 ; IHRC.

Danica hrvatska : koledar za prostu godinu 1923. Krešić, Ivan, Edited by. New York: Uredilo i izdalo Uredništvo "Danice Hrvatske"; 1922; 2 (1923). 166, [10] p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
HRB 25171a ; NSB 44.875.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1924. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 32 Union Square, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1923; 1924. 265, [23] p., [32] p. of plates : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
HEI².

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar : za prostu godinu 1925. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1924; 2 (1925). 281, [7] p., [32] p. of plates : ill. ; 23 cm.
HRB 27016 ; NSB 335.306 ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska koledar : za ... godinu 1926. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1925; 1926.
*IHRC.

Hrvatski list and Danica hrvatska koledar : za prostu godinu 1927. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 166 Avenue A, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1926; 4 (1927). 176 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
HEI.

Hrvatski list and Danica hrvatska koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1928. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 166 Avenue A, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1927; 5 (1928). 256 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list and Danica hrvatska koledar : za prostu godinu 1929. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 166 Avenue A, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1928; 6 (1929). 256 p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI.

Hrvatski list and Danica hrvatska koledar : za prostu godinu 1930. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 166 Avenue A, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1929; 7 (1930). 240, [16] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
HEI ; IHRC ; JJ.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1931. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio:. 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1930; 10 (1931).
*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1932. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1931; 11 (1932).

*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1933. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1932; 12 (1933).

*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1934. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1933; 13 (1934). 158 p.

*IHRC ; JJ.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1935. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1934; 14 (1935). 160 p.

*HEI ; IHRC ; JJ².

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1936. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1935; 15 (1936).

*IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1937. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1936; 16 (1937).

*IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1938. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1937; 17 (1938). 160 p.

*HEI ; IHRC ; JJ.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1939. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1938; 18 (1939).

*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1940. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1939; 19 (1940).

*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1941. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1940; 20 (1941). 160 p.

*IHRC ; JJ ; NSB 335.306.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1942. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1941; 21 (1942).

*HEI ; IHRC ; BIES (missing).

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prostu godinu 1943. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1942; 22 (1943). 160 p.

*HEI ; IHRC ; JJ.

Hrvatski list i Danica hrvatska : koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1944. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 512 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1943; 23 (1944).

*HEI ; IHRC.

Hrvatski list and Danica hrvatska koledar : za prostu godinu 1945. Krešić, Ivan, Uredio.: 166 Avenue A, New York, N.Y.: Izdanje i naklada Hrvatski Publishing Co., Inc.; 1944; 22 (1945). 159, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI.

HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.) (1942-1950)

Continues: RADNIČKI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.)

Continued by: HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.)

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1943. 1916 East Street N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1942; 1943. 250 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1944. 1916 East Street N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1943; 1944. 304 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1945. 1916 East Street N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1944; 1945. 382 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
IHRC ; ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1946. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske narodne knjižare; 1945; 1946. 544 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 192.036 ; NSB IT 231.936 ; ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1947. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Naklada: Narodni glasnik; 1946; 1947. 448 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 192.036 ; NSB IT 231.936 ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1948. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Naklada: Narodni glasnik; 1947; 1948. 464 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 192.036 ; NSB IT 231.936 ; ZAMIN⁴.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1949. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Naklada: Narodni glasnik; 1948; 1949. 416 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1950. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Naklada: Narodni glasnik; 1949; 1950. 336 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1951. 1916 East Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, (12) Pa.: Izdaje Narodni glasnik; 1950; 1951. 240 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.) (1951-1955)

Continues: HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.)
Continued by: NARODNI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.)

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1952. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Illinois: Izdaje Narodni glasnik; 1951; 1952. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1953. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Illinois: Izdaje Narodni glasnik; 1952; 1953. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN⁶.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1954. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Illinois: Izdaje Narodni glasnik; 1953; 1954. 176 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : 1955. 1413 West 18th St., Chicago 8, Illinois: Izdaje: Narodni glasnik; 1954; 1955. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : 1956. 1413 West 18th St., Chicago 8, Illinois: Izdaje: Narodni glasnik; 1955; 1956. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 21 cm.
NSB IT 231.936 (192.036) ; ZAMIN⁵ ; JJ.

HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.) (1945-1947)

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1946. [S.l.]: Naklada Saveza kanadskih Hrvata i Novostu; 1945; 1946. 192 p. : ill., ports., map ; 24 cm.
NSB 191.081 ; ZAMIN².

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za 1947. [S.l.]: Naklada Saveza kanadskih Hrvata i Novostu; 1946; 1947. 272 p. : ill., map, ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 191.081 ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski narodni kalendar : za godinu 1948. Toronto, Ontario: Izdanje Saveza kanadskih Hrvata i Novostu; 1947; 1948. 240 p. : ill., map, ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 191.081 ; ZAMIN.

HRVATSKI RADNIČKI KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.) (1937-1946)

Continued by: NAŠ KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.)

Hrvatski radnički kalendar : 1938? Toronto, Ontario: Slobodna misao; 1937; 1938.
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN ...) ; ZAMIN.

Hrvatski radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1939. Toronto, Ontario: Izdanje Slobodne misli; 1938; 1939. 238, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN.

Hrvatski radnički kalendar : 1946. Toronto, Ontario: Slobodna misao; 1945; 1946.
*ZAMIN.

Hrvatski radnički kalendar : 1947. Toronto, Ontario: Slobodna misao; 1946; 1947.
*ZAMIN.

ISELJENIČKI KALENDAR (1923-)

Iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1924. Grado, Artur, Compiled by. U Zagrebu: Naklada "Jugoslavensog [sic] iseljenika"; 1923; 1924. XXXIII, [1], [3]-122, [2] p. (last 2 p. blank) ; 16 cm.
HRB 25779 ; NSB 148.907.

ISELJENIK (1929-)

Iseljenik : kalendar 1930. M. K. [i.e. Marcel Kolín], Uredio. [Zagreb]: Izdanje Saveza organizacije iseljenika u Zagrebu; 1929; 1930. 118, [10] p. + [4] p. of plates ; 24 cm.
HRB 25465 ; NSB 14.238 ; ZAMIN⁴.

JEKA. HRVATSKI ISELJENIČKI KOLEDAR (1910-)

Jeka : hrvatski iseljenički koledar : za prostu godinu 1910. Krajić, Josip A., Edited by. Rosario de Santa Fe, República Argentina: Tisak i naklada "Maternske nječi"; 1910; 1910. [12], CVIII, [66], 208, [2], 84 p., [17] leaves of plates : ill., facsim., ports. ; 25 cm.
HRB 25497 ; NSB II 21.393 ; ZAMIN.

JUGOSLAVENSKI GLASNIK. KALENDAR (1940-)

Jugoslav Herald Almanac 1941 = Kalendar Jugoslavenskog glasnika. 1st ed. 25,000 ed. 1806 So. Allport Street - Chicago, Ill.: Published by Croatian Publishing Co., Inc.; 1940; 1 (1941). 172, [36] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 197.950.

JUGOSLAVENSKI KANADSKI GODIŠNJAK (1967?-1969)

Continues: NAŠ KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.)

Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak : kalendar - 1969 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Izdavač: Yugoslav Canadian Publishers; 1968; 15 (1969).

*NSB (IT backlog)³ ; C.C.E.S. 1981 ; ACHS ; ZAMIN.

Jugoslavenski kanadski godišnjak : kalendar - 1970 = Yugoslav Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. W., Toronto 133, Ont., Canada: Published by Yugoslav Canadian Publishers = Izdaje Yugoslav Canadian Publishers; 1969; 16 (1970).

*NSB (IT backlog)³ ; C.C.E.S. 1981.

JUGOSLAVENSKI SOKOLSKI ALMANAH (1932-)

Jugoslavenski sokolski almanah : za godinu 1933. Nemeč, Slavko, Edited by. 1439 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.: Prosvjetnog Odbora Jugoslavenskog Sokola; 1932; 1933. 103, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 30 cm.
ZAMIN².

JUGOSLAVIJA. NARODNI KALENDAR (1908-1920)

Jugoslavija : narodni kalendar : za prostu godinu 1921 koja ima 365 dana = Yugoslav Almanac-Calendar. 318 So. Canal Street, Chicago, Ill.: Izdanje knjižare i štamparije Palandačića; 1920; 13 (1921). 177, [31] p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
NSB 308.858.

JUGOSLAVIJA. VELIKI NARODNI KALENDAR (1907-1935)

Jugoslavija : veliki narodni kalendar : za godinu 1936 = Yugoslav Almanac-Calendar. 536 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.: Izdanje knjižare i štamparije Palandačića = Published by Palandech's Publishing House; 1935; 29 (1936). 179, [13] p. : ill. : 22 cm.
HRB 25526 ; NSB 335.301.

KALENDAR (JOHN ZAGAR & CO.) (1916-)

Kalendar : za godinu 1917. 2400 Wentworth Ave., Chicago, Ill.: Prva i najstarija hrvatska banka u Americi osnovana god. 1895. John Zagar & Co., nasljednici A.C. Jankovich & Co.; 1916; 1917. 64, [2] p. : 23 cm.
*ZAMIN.

KALENDAR NARODNOG LISTA (1903-1920)

Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : 1915. Krešić, Ivan, [Edited by]. 209-211 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y.: Naklada: "Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc."; 1914; 12 (1915). 142 p.
*ZAMIN.

Kalendar "Narodnoga lista" : 1917. Krešić, Ivan, [Edited by]. 209-211 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y.: Naklada: "Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc."; 1916; 14 (1917).
*HRC.

Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : za prostu godinu 1918. Sastavilo uredništvo "Narodnog lista". 61 Park Row, New York, N.Y.: Naklada "Narodnog lista"; 1917; 15 (1918). 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. : 25 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : za prostu godinu 1919. Sastavilo uredništvo "Narodnog lista". 61 Park Row, New York, N.Y.: Naklada "Narodnog lista"; 1918; 16 (1919). 136, [8] p. : ill., ports. : 25 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : za prestupnu godinu 1920. Sastavilo uredništvo "Narodnog lista". 61 Park Row, New York, N.Y.: Naklada "Narodnog lista"; 1919; 17 (1920). 350, [2] p. : ill., ports. : 24 cm.
HEI.

Kalendar "Narodnog lista" : za prostu godinu 1921. Krešić, Ivan, [Edited by]. 209-211 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y.: Naklada: "Croatian Printing & Publishing Co., Inc."; 1920; 18 (1921). 350, [2] p. : ill., port. : 23 cm.
HRB 25870 ; NSB 335.305 ; ZAMIN.

KALENDAR NOVI SVIJET (1925-1929)

Kalendar Novi svijet : godina 1926. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom Jugoslavenskog Prosvjetnog Saveza u Sjedinjenim Državama; 1925; 1926. 80, [16] p. : ill. : 28 cm.
HRB 27467 ; NSB 235.246 (II-21.391) ; ZAMIN.

Kalendar Novi svijet : godina 1927. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom Jugoslavenskog Prosvjetnog saveza u Sjedinjenim Državama; 1926; 1927. 82, [14] p. : ill. ; 28 cm.
HRB 27468 ; NSB 235.246 (II-21.391).

Kalendar Novi svijet : godina 1928. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom Jugoslavenskog Prosvjetnog saveza u Sjedinjenim Državama; 1927.
*IHRC.

Kalendar Novi svijet : godina 1929. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom Jugoslavenskog Prosvjetnog saveza u Sjedinjenim Državama; 1928; 1929.
*NSB 235.246 (II-21.391).

Kalendar Novi svijet : godina 1930. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom Jugoslavenskog Prosvjetnog saveza u Americi; 1929; 1930. 104 p. : ill. ; 28 cm.
ZAMIN.

KALENDAR VODIČ ZA HRVATE IZVAN DOMOVINE (1971-)

Kalendar vodič za Hrvate izvan domovine : 1971. Zagreb: Vijeće Biskupske konferencije za hrvatsku migraciju; 1971; 1971. 96 p. ; 13 cm.
*NBSer (Katalog ... 1989, I 66.718).

KOLEDAR HRVATSKOG SOKOLA (CHICAGO, ILL.) (1918-1919)

Hrvatski sokolski koledar : za godinu 1919. Chicago, Illinois: Izdalo Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske župe "Tomislav"; 1918; 1 (1919). 207, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 26 cm.
HRB 26541 ; NSB II 7139 ; ZAMIN².

Hrvatski sokolski koledar : za prestupnu god. 1920 = Croatian Sokol's Almanac ... Chicago, Ill.: Izd. Starješinstvo Hrvatske sokolske župe "Tomislav"; 1919; 2 (1920). 190, [2] p. : ill. ; 26 cm.
HRB 26542 ; NSB II 7139 (missing) ; ZAMIN.

KOLEDAR HRVATSKOG SOKOLA (ST. LOUIS, MO.) (1917-)

Koledar hrvatskog sokola : 1918. St. Louis: Izd. Starješinstvo hrvatskog sokola; 1917; 1 (1918). 104, [16] p., [2] folded plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN² ; NSB 50.386.

KRČKI KALENDAR (1951-1954)

Krčki kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1952. Fabijanić, Nikola, Urednik. 32-23 Perry Ave., New York 67, NY: [s.n.]; 1951; 1 (1952). [2], 84 p., [28] p. of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI.

Krčki kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1953. Fabijanić, Nikola, Uredio. [New York]: [s.n.]; 1952; 2 (1953). 119, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI.

Krčki kalendar : za godinu 1954. Fabijanić, Nikola, Uredio. [New York]: [s.n.]; 1953; 3 (1954). 132 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI.

Krčki kalendar : 1955. Fabijanić, Nikola, Urednik. 32-23 Perry Ave., New York 67, NY; 1954; 1955. (Krčki kalendar. 1955).

*NSB (IT backlog).

MALI HRVATSKI KALENDAR (1945-1949)

Mali hrvatski kalendar : za godinu 1945. [Rim]: [s.n.]; 1945; 1945. 106 p. : ill. ; 9 cm. JJ.

Mali hrvatski kalendar : za godinu 1950. Buenos Aires, República Argentina: [s.n.]; 1949; 1950. 135, [9] p. : ill., ports. ; 13 cm.
HEI ; NSB IT 18.

MALI KALENDAR HRVATSKA (1951-)

Mali kalendar "Hrvatska": za godinu 1951. Buenos Aires, República Argentina: [s.n.]; 1950; 1951. 157, [3] p. : ill., ports. ; 13 cm.
HEI².

MALI MARIJIN KOLEDAR ZA KATOLIČKI PUK (1898-1909)

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1900. [Winterberg]: Nakladni umjetnički zavod i knjigotiskara J. Steinbrener-a u Winterbergu (Vimperk); 1899; 2 (1900). 64, VII, IX, [40] p., [1] leaf of folded plates, [4] p. of plates. : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26649 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1901. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: J. Steinbrener, katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara: 1900; 3 (1901). 71, IX, [28] p., [1] folded leaf of plates, [2] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26650 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1902. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara. J. Steinbrener c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar: 1901; 4 (1902). 71, [1], IX, [21] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26651 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički [sic] puk : za godinu 1903. Bakotić, Vladimir župnik, Uredio i izdao. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara. J. Steinbrener c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar: 1902; 5 (1903). 72, IX, [23] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26652 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički [sic] puk : za prjestupnu godinu 1904. Bakotić, Vladimir župnik, Uredio i izdao. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara. J. Steinbrener c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar: 1903; 6 (1904). 71, [1], VIII, [28] p., [1] folded leaf of plates, [2] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26653 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1905. Bakotić, Vladimir župnik, Uredio i izdao. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara. J. Steinbrener c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar: 1904; 7 (1905). 64, VIII, VIII, [24] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26654 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin kalendar za katolički puk : za godinu 1906. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija, J. Steinbrener c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1905; 8 (1906). 64, VIII, VIII, [26] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26655 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1907. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija, J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1906; 9 (1907). 64, VIII, VII, [71] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26656 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za prestupnu godinu 1908. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod knjižna i umjetnička štamparija, J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1907; 10 (1908). 64, VIII, VII, [39] p., [1] folded leaf of plates, [2] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26657 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1909. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija, J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1908; 11 (1909). 64, VIII, VII, [41] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26658 ; NSB 156.813.

Mali Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1910. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižara i umjetnička tiskara, J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski knjigouskar; 1909; 12 (1910). 64, VIII, VIII, [40] p., [2] p. of plates : ill. (1 col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26659 ; NSB 156.813.

MATICA ISELJENIKA. KALENDAR (1954 to date?)

Matičin iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1955. Balen, Šime, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1954; 1 (1955). 240 p. : ill., music, ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matičin iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1956. Balen, Šime, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1956; 2 (1956). 240 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN.

Matičin iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1957. Balen, Šime, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1957; 3 (1957). 224 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matičin iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1958. Balen, Šime, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1957; 4 (1958). 216, [24] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; ZAMIN.

Matičin iseljenički kalendar : za godinu 1959. Balen, Šime, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1959; 5 (1959). 224 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matuca : iseljenički kalendar : 1960. Krolo, Ivan, Edited by. Zagreb: Matuca iseljenika Hrvatske; 1959; 6 (1960). 240 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1961. Krolo, Ivan, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1961; 7 (1961). 288, XLVIII p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1962. Krolo, Ivan, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1961; 8 (1962). 254, [1], XLVII p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1963. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1962; 9 (1963). 256, XXIV p. : ill., ports., facsim. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN².

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1964. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1963; 10 (1964). 228, XXII, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1965. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1965; 11 (1965). 313, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1966. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1965; 12 (1966). 252, [4] p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1967. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Glavni odbor Matice iseljenika; 1967; 13 (1967). 290, [30] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1968. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Glavni odbor Matice iseljenika; 1967; 14 (1968). 313, [12] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1969. Zagreb: Glavni odbor Matice iseljenika Hrvatske; 1968; 15 (1969). 296 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1970. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Glavni odbor Matice iseljenika Hrvatske; 1969; 16 (1970). 274, 13 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1971. Balen, Šime i. Ivan Krolo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika; 1970; 17 (1971).
*NSB 318.952 ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1972. Balen, Šime i. Ivan Krolo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika; 1971; 18 (1972).
*NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1973. Čović, Danilo, Edited by. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1973; 19 (1973). 278, [9] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; ZAMIN³ ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1974. Smoljan, Ivo and Zorislav Ugljen, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1973; 20 (1974). 299, 15 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
*NSB 318.952 ; PITT ; ZAMIN² ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1975. Balen, Šime i. Ivan Krolo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika; 1974; 21 (1975).
*NSB 318.952 ; PITT ; ZAMIN ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1976. Balen, Šime i. Ivan Krolo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika; 1975; 1976.
*PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1977. Novak, Ante, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1976; 22 (1977).
*NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; BIES ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1978. Novak, Ante, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1977; 23 (1978).
*NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1979. Novak, Ante, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1978; 24 (1979).
*NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1980. Novak, Ante, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1979; 25 (1980).
*NSB 318.952 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1981. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1980; 26 (1981).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; BIES ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1982. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1981; 27 (1982).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1983. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1982; 28 (1983).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1985. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1984; 30 (1985).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1986. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1985; 31 (1986).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1987. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1986; 32 (1987).
*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1988. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1987: 33 (1988).

*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1989. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1988: 34 (1989).

*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1990. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1989: 35 (1990).

*NSB 231.249 ; IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

Matica : iseljenički kalendar : 1991. Smoljan, Ivo, [Edited by]. Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske; 1990: 36 (1991).

*IHRC ; PITT ; HEI.

NAPREDAK ALMANAH I KOLEDAR (1919-)

Napredak : almanah i koledar : za prestupnu godinu 1920. Smičiklas, Marko, Edited by. Whiting, Ind.: Izdala Mlada Narodna Hrvatska zajednica; 1919; 1 (1920). 145, [15] p. ; 21 cm.
ZAMIN.

NARODNI AMERIKANSKI KOLEDAR (1893-)

Narodni amerikanski koledar : za godinu 1893. Mužina, Zdravko, Uredio. Chicago, Illinois: Nakladom i uskom lista "Chicago", 2131 Wentworth Ave.; 1893; 1 (1893). 76, [8] p. ; 19 cm.
HRB 26701 ; NSB 338.028.

NARODNI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.) (1956-1966)

Continues: HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.)

Narodni kalendar : 1957. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1956; 1957. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 21 cm.
ZAMIN⁴.

Narodni kalendar : 1958. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1957; 1958. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 20 cm.
ZAMIN⁴ ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1959. 1413 West 18th Street, Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1958; 1959. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 20 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1960. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1959; 1960. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 20 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; NSB IT 231.936 ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1961. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1960; 1961. 159, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 20 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1962. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1961; 1962. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN⁴ ; NSB IT 231.936 ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1963. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1962; 1963. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
ZAMIN³ ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1964. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1963; 1964. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
HEI ; IHRC ; ZAMIN⁵ ; JJ.

Narodni kalendar : 1965. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1964; 1965. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
HEI ; IHRC ; ZAMIN³.

Narodni kalendar : 1966. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1965; 1966. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
IHRC ; ZAMIN⁴.

Narodni kalendar : 1967. 2122 So. Ashland Ave., Chicago 8, Ill.: [Izdaje: Narodni glasnik]; 1966; 1967. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 20 cm.
IHRC ; ZAMIN⁴ ; JJ.

NAŠ KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.) (1954-1966)

Continues: HRVATSKI RADNIČKI KALENDAR (TORONTO, ONT.)

Continued by: JUGOSLAVENSKI KANADSKI GODIŠNJAK (TORONTO, ONT.)

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1955 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1954; 1955.
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 125275).

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1956 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1955; 1956.
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 125275) ; ZAMIN².

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1957 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1956; 1957.
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 125275).

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1958 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. Toronto, Canada: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1957; 1958. 160 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
NSB IT 231.941³ ; IHRC ; ZAMIN.

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1959. Toronto, Canada: [Izdaju "Jedinstvo" i Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana]; 1958; 5 (1959). 160 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm.
HEI ; OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 125275) ; ZAMIN.

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1961 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1960; 1961.
*OONL (C.C.E.S. 1981, DDN 125275).

Naš kalendar : za 1963. godinu. Miošić, S., Edited by. Toronto, Canada: ["Jedinstvo" i Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana]; 1962; 1963. 188 p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
ZAMIN².

Naš kalendar : za 1964. godinu = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. Toronto, Canada: Izdali "Jedinstvo" i Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana; 1963; 1964. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
ZAMIN².

Naš kalendar : za 1965. godinu. Toronto, Canada: [Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstvo"]; 1964; 10 (1965). 196 p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
ZAMIN.

Naš kalendar : za 1966. godinu. Toronto, Canada: [Savez jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstvo"]; 1965; 11 (1966). 160, 36 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN.

Naš kalendar : za godinu 1967 = Yugoslav-Canadian Year Book. 479 Queen St. West, Toronto 2-B, Ontario: Nakladom Saveza jugoslavenskih Kanadana i "Jedinstva"; 1966; 1967.
*ACHS.

NAŠA NADA. KALENDAR (1923-1957)

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za običnu godinu 1925. [Cleveland, Ohio]: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u Sjedinjenim Državama Američkim; 1924; 2 (1925). 223, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 27109 ; NSB 176.234 ; HEI.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za običnu godinu 1926. Domladovac, Mijo Gjuro, Edited by. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1925; 3 (1926). 285, [3] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 27110 ; NSB 176.234 ; ZAMIN.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1927. Chicago, Illinois; 1926; 4 (1927).
*IHRC.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za prestupnu godinu 1928. Jesih, Dragutin, Edited by. 1849 West 22nd Street, Chicago, Ill.: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1927; 5 (1928). 296 p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN ; IHRC.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za prostu godinu 1929. Severović, Ilija. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica U. S.D. Amerike; 1928; 6 (1929). [28], 31-222, [18] p. : ill., ports. ; 25 cm.
HEI.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1930. Domladovac, Mijo uro. Cleveland, O.: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica U. S.D. Amerike; 1929; 7 (1930). 254 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : 1931 = Our Hope : Calendar for the Catholic Croatians in the U.S.A. : 1931. Domladovac, M. G., Editor. [Cleveland, Ohio]: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u SDA=Published by The Croatian Catholic Union of the U.S.A.; 1930; 8 (1931). 221, [3] p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm. HEI ; ZAMIN.

Naša nada kalendar : za g. 1932 : za američke katoličke Hrvate. Kolander, Francis X., Uredio. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica U. S.D. Amerike = Croatian Catholic Union of the USA; 1931, 9 (1932). 306. [2] p. : ill., ports. : 26 cm. HEI ; IHRC ; ZAMIN².

Naša nada : kalendar za godinu 1939. Kolander, F. X., Uredio. [Pittsburgh, Pa.]: Izdala Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u Sjed. Državama Amerike; 1938; 16 (1939). 272 p. : ill., ports. : 23 cm. HEI ; ZAMIN.

Naša nada : hrvatski katolički pučki kalendar : 1946. Bonć, Helen, Edited by. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1945; 23 (1946). 312 p. : ill., ports. : 26 cm. ZAMIN; HEI ; IHRC.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1947. Chicago, Illinois; 1946; 24 (1947). *IHRC ; NSB 176.234.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1948. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1947; 25 (1948). *HEI ; IHRC.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1949. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1948; 26 (1949). *HEI ; IHRC.

Naša nada : kalendar za američke katoličke Hrvate : za godinu 1951. Cleveland: Izdala ga Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica u S.D. Amerike; 1950; 28 (1951). 192 p. : ill., ports. : 24 cm. ZAMIN.

Naša nada : kalendar Hrvatske Katoličke Zajednice : 1958 = Our Hope Almanac. Bonć, Stanislav i. Helen M. Bonć, Priredili.: 125 W. 5th Avenue, Gary, Indiana: Izdala: Hrvatska Katolička Zajednica; 1957; 1 (1958). 96 p. : ill., ports. *NSB (IT backlog) ; HEI.

NOVI HRVAT. KOLEDAR (1914)

Novi Hrvat koledar : za prostu godinu 1915. P.O. Box 1163, New York, N.Y.: Izdalo uredništvo "Novoga Hrvata"; 1914; 1915. 87, [7] p. : ill., ports. : 25 cm. ZAMIN.

NOVI KATOLIČKI KOLEDAR (1898-1910)

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1899. Winterberg: Tisak i nakl. J. Steinbrener-a; 1898; 1899. 2, 39, IX p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. : 22 cm. *HRB 26748 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1900. Winterberg: Tisak i nakl. J. Steinbrener-a; 1899; 1900. 32, VII, IX p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26749 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1901. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: J. Steinbrener, katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 1901. 32, IX, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26750 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1902. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 1902. 32, X, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26751 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1903. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 1903. 32, IX, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26752 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1905. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1904; 1905. 32, VIII, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26753 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1906. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1905; 1906. 32, VIII p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26754 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1907. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1906; 1907. 20, VII, [1] p., [15] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26755 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za prnestupnu god. 1908. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1907; 1908. 19, [1], VII, [1] p., [16] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26756 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1909. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1908; 1909. 19, [1], VII, [1] p., [16] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26757 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1910. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski štampar; 1909; 1910. 19, [1], VIII p., [15] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26758 ; NSB 156.808.

Novi katolički koledar : sa slikami : za god. 1911. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička knjigotiskara J. Steinbrener, ces. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1910; 1911. 29, [1], VIII p., [11] leaves of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26759 ; NSB 156.808.

NOVI ŠALJIVI SLIKOVNI KOLEDAR (1898-1908)

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1899. Winterberg: Tisak i nakl. J. Steinbrener-a; 1898; 1899. 2, 39, IX p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26760 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1900. Winterberg: Tisak i nakl. J. Steinbrener-a; 1899; 1900. 39, VII, IX p., [2] leaves of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26761 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1901. Winterberg , Zagreb i New York: J. Steinbrener, nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 1901. 32, IX, [1] p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26762 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1902. Winterberg , Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 1902. 32, IX, [1] p., [1] folded leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26763 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1903. Winterberg , Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 1903. 32, IX, [1] p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26764 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za prijestupnu god. 1904. Winterberg , Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1903; 1904. 32, VIII p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26765 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1905. Winterberg , Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1904; 1905. 32, VIII p., [1] leaf of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26766 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1906. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1905; 1906. 32, VIII p., [14] leaves of plates (1 col.) : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26767 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1907. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1906; 1907. 18, VII, [1] p., [8] leaves of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26768 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za priestupnu god. 1908. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1907; 1908. 19, [13], VII, [1] p., [2] leaves of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26769 ; NSB 156.807.

Novi šaljivi slikovni koledar : za god. 1909. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1908; 1909. 23, [9], VII, [1] p., [18] leaves of plates : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.

*HRB 26770 ; NSB 156.807.

PUTNIK. KOLEDAR (1912-)

Putnik : koledar : za prijestupnu godinu 1912. Zagreb: Izd. Iseljenička poslovica "Putnik". Vlastnici Hrvatska poljodjelska banka i Savez srpskih zemljoradničkih zadruga; 1912; 1912. 126 p. : ill. ; 8⁰.
*HRB 27193.

PUTNIK. NARODNI KALENDAR (1906-)

Putnik : narodni kalendar : za god. 1907. Kukić, Nikola St, Edited by. Zagreb: Izd. Poslovnica J.G. Draškovića; 1906; 1907. 89, [1] p. ; m8⁰.
*HRB 27192.

RADNIČKI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.) (1934-1937)

Continues: CRVENI KALENDAR

Continued by: RADNIČKI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.)

Radnički kalendar : 1935. 1809 S. Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Radničke knjižare; 1934; 1935. 128 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Radnički kalendar : 1936. 1849 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Radničke knjižare; 1935. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN⁴.

Radnički kalendar : 1937. 1625 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.: Nakladom Radničke knjižare; 1936; 1937. 192 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN².

[Radnički kalendar : 1938]. [1625 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.]: [Nakladom Radničke knjižare]; 1937; 1938. 224 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN².

RADNIČKI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.) (1938-1941)

Continues: RADNIČKI KALENDAR (CHICAGO, ILL.)

Continued by: HRVATSKI NARODNI KALENDAR (PITTSBURGH, PA.)

Radnički kalendar : 1939. 1918 East Street, N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1938; 1939. 166, [50] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN ; IHRC.

Radnički kalendar : 1940. 1916 East Street, N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1939; 1940. 168, [52] p. : ill., ports. ; 22 cm.
ZAMIN².

Radnički kalendar : 1941. 1916 East Street, N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1940; 1941. 192, [56] p. : ill., ports. ; 21 cm.
ZAMIN⁵.

Radnički kalendar : 1942. 1916 East Street, N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nakladom Hrvatske radničke knjižare; 1941; 1942. 256 p. : ill., ports. ; 21 cm.
ZAMIN³.

SOCIJALISTIČKI RADNIČKI KALENDAR (1922-1964)

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1923. Cleveland, O.: Izdanje knjižare "Radničke borbe"; 1922; 1923. 145, [15] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26130 ; NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : 1925. [Cleveland, O.]: [Izdanje knjižare "Radničke borbe"]; 1924; 1925. 140, [20] p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : 1926. Cleveland, O.: Izdanje knjižare "Radničke borbe"; 1925; 1926. 160 p. : ill., ports. ; 24 cm.
ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1947. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1946; 1947. 195, [1] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1948. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1947; 1948. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1949. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1948; 1949. 140, [4] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1950. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1949; 1950. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1951. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1950; 1951. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031 ; NSB (IT backlog)².

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1952. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1951; 1952. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
NSB 187.031.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1953. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1952; 1953. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
HEI ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1954. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1953; 1954. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
ZAMIN³.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1955. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1954; 1955.

*NSB (IT backlog).

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1956. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1955; 1956.

*NSB (IT backlog).

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1957. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1956; 1957.

*NSB (IT backlog).

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1958. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1957; 1958.

*NSB (IT backlog).

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1959. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1958; 1959. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog) ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1960. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1959; 1960. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog)³ ; ZAMIN².

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1961. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1960; 1961. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog)³ ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1962. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1961; 1962. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog) ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1963. 3413 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1962; 1963. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog) ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prestupnu godinu 1964. 3413 St. Clair, Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1963; 1964. 142, [2] p. : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.

NSB (IT backlog) ; IHRC ; ZAMIN.

Socijalistički radnički kalendar : za prostu godinu 1965. 3413 St. Clair, Cleveland 14, Ohio: Izdanje knjižare Radničke borbe; 1964; 1965.

*IHRC.

ŠARENI SVJETSKI KOLEDAR (1900-1916)

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1901. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: J. Steinbrener, nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 1901. 140, [4], IX, [29] p., [6] p. of plates, [3] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.

HRB 26866 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1902. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 1902. 142, [2], IX, [21] p., [4] p. of plates, [3] leaves of plates (2 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26867 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1903. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 1903. 142, [2], IX, [19] p., [4] leaves of plates (3 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26868 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1904. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1903; 1904. 143, [1], VIII, VIII, [30] p., [3] leaves of plates (2 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26869 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1905. Winterberg, Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1904; 1905. 143, [1], VIII, [24] p., [4] leaves of plates (2 folded), [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26870 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1906. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1905; 1906. 143, [1], VIII, [26] p., [4] p. of plates, [3] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26871 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1907. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1906; 1907. 143, [1], VII, [1], 32, [38] p., [3] leaves of plates (2 folded), [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26872 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za prnestupnu godinu 1908. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1907; 1908. 143, [1], VII, [39] p., [5] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.), [2] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26873 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1909. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1908; 1909. 143, [1], VII, [41] p., [5] leaves of plates, [2] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26874 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1910. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New-York: Nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1909; 1910. 143, [1], VIII, [40] p., [8] p. of plates, [2] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26875 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1911. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakladni zavod, knjižara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, ces. i kralj. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1910; 1911. 143, [1], VIII, [36] p., [5] leaves of plates (1 folded), [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26876 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1914. Zagreb, Winterberg i New-York: Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara; 1913; 1914. 143, [1], 8, [16] p., [4] leaves of plates, [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
HRB 26877 ; NSB 156.815.

Šareni svjetski koledar : za godinu 1916. Winterberg (Češka), Zagreb i New-York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižara i umjetnička tiskara, J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara; 1915; 1916. 142, [2], 8, [34] p., [2] folded leaves of plates, [4] p. of plates : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm. NSB 156.815.

Sareni [i.e. šareni] svjetski koledar : za godinu 1917. Zagreb, Winterberg i New-York: Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara; 1916; 1917 117, XI, 8, [24] p., [5] leaves of plates (3 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm. NSB 156.815.

VELIKI ILUSTROVANI ZABAVNI KOLEDAR (1900-1912)

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1901. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: J. Steinbrener nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 1901. 140, 33-96, 33-127, [1], IX p., [19] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26894 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1902. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 1902. 142, 33-96, 33-127, [1], IX, [1] p., [14] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26895 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar za god. 1903. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 1903. 142, [2], 33-96, 33-126, [2], IX, [1] p., [13] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26896 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za prijestupnu god. 1904. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1903; 1904. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-126, [2], VIII p., [10] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.); 24 cm. *HRB 26897 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1905. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1904; 1905. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-126, [2], VIII p., [12] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26898 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1906 : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1905; 1906. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-126, [2], VII p., [11] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26899 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1907 : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, građane i seljake : s mnogo ilustr. ... Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1906; 1907. 143, [1] 33-96, 33-127, [1], VIII p., [11] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) : 24 cm. *HRB 26900 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za prestupnu god. 1908 : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, gradjane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1907; 1908. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-126, [2], VIII p., [12] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) ; 24 cm.
*HRB 26901 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1909 : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, gradjane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1908; 1909. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-126, [2], VII, [1] p., [13] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) ; 24 cm.
*HRB 26902 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za god. 1910. : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, gradjane i seljake : s mnogim ilustr. ... Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Nakl. zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1909; 1910. 143, [1], 33-96, 33-127, [1], VIII p., [14] leaves of plates : ill. (some col.) ; 24 cm.
*HRB 26903 ; NSB 156.795.

Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar : za godinu 1913 : za svećenike, činovnike, umjetnike, trgovce, obrtnike, gradjane i seljake : s mnogim ilustracijama. Zagreb, Winterberg i New-York: Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlastnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara; 1913. 127, 2, 2 p., [?] leaves of plates (some col., folded) : col. ill. ; 24 cm.
*HEI.

VELIKI MARIJIN KOLEDAR ZA KATOLIČKI PUK (1898-1912)

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1899. Winterberg (Vimperk): Nakl. umjetnički zavod i knjigotiskara J. Steinbrener-a; 1898; 1899. 2, 103, IX p., [6] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
*HRB 26904 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1900. Winterberg (Vimperk): Nakl. umjetnički zavod i knjigotiskara J. Steinbrener-a; 1899; 1900. 103, IX p., [4] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
*HRB 26905 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1901. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: J. Steinbrener, katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara; 1900; 1901. 103, IX p., [5] leaves of plates (some col., 2 folded) : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
*HRB 26906 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1902. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1901; 1902. 103, [1], IX, [1] p., [7] leaves of plates (some col., 2 folded) : ill., ports. ; 23 cm.
*HRB 26907 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički [sic] puk : za god. 1903. Bakotić, Vladimir župnik, Edited by. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski knjigotiskar; 1902; 5 (1903). 104, IX, [1] p., [7] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. ; 23 cm.
*HRB 26908 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički [sic] puk : za god. 1905. Bakotić, Vladimir župnik, Edited by. Winterberg, Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjigotiskara i umjetnička tiskara J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski

knjigotiskar; 1904; 1905. 96, VIII, VIII p., [5] leaves of plates (some col., 2 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26909 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin kalendar za katolički puk : za god. 1906. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski štampar; 1905; 1906. 96, VIII, VIII, VIII p., [4] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26910 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1907. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski štampar; 1906; 1907. 96, VIII, VII, [1] p., [3] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26911 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za priestupnu god. 1908. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski štampar; 1907; 1908. 96, VIII, VII, [1] p., [3] leaves of plates (some col., 2 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26912 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1909. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski štampar; 1908; 1909. 96, VIII, VII, [1] p., [2] leaves of plates (1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26913 ; NSB 156.804.

Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za god. 1910. Winterberg (Česka), Zagreb i New York: Katolički nakladni zavod, knjižna i umjetnička štamparija J. Steinbrener, c. i k. dvorski štampar; 1909; 1910. 96, VIII, VIII, [1] p., [6] leaves of plates (some col., 1 folded) : ill. (some col.), ports. : 23 cm.

*HRB 26914 ; NSB 156.804.

[Hr. Veliki Marijin koledar za katolički puk : za godinu 1913]. [Zagreb, Winterberg i New-York]: [Nakladni zavod, tiskara knjiga i umjetnina J. Steinbrener, vlasnici Ivan i Rupert Steinbrener, c. i kr. dvorska knjigotiskara]; 1912; 1913.

*HEI.

ZAJEDNIČKI KALENDAR (1922-)

Zajednički kalendar : 1923. Ubojčić, Juraj, Uredio. [S.l.]: Izdao Prosvjetni odbor Narodne Hrvatske Zajednice; 1922; 1923. 192 p. : ill. : 24 cm.

ZAMIN³.

ZBORNİK HRVATSKE SELJAČKE STRANKE (LONDON, ENGLAND) (1982 to date?)

Continues: HRVATSKI GLAS. KALENDAR

Kalendar Hrvatskoga glasa i Hrvatske isune : 1983. Kuvačić, Ljubo, Uredio. [London]: Izdaju: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka u Vel. Britaniji i Hrvatski Studentski Dom "Dr. Juraj Krnjević," London, Vel. Britanija; 1982; 1 (1983). *NSB IT 231.865 ; JJ.

Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke : 1904-1984. Krnjević, Juraj i. Ferid Salihović, Uredili.: [London]: Izdaje: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka; 1983; 2 (1984).

*NSB (IT backlog)² ; JJ.

Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke : 1985. Krnjević, Juraj i. Zvonimir Kunek, Uredili:. [London]: Izdaje: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, 1985, 3 (1985).

*NSB (IT backlog)⁴ ; JJ.

Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke : 1986. Krnjević, Juraj i. Zvonimir Kunek, Uredili:. [London]: Izdaje: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka; 1985; 4 (1986).

*NSB (IT backlog)² ; JJ.

Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke : 1987. Krnjević, Juraj i. Mehmed Bašić, Uredili:. [London]: Izdaje: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka; 1986; 5 (1987).

*NSB (IT backlog)⁴.

Zbornik Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke : 1988. Salihović, Ferid, Urednik:. [London]: Izdaje: Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka; 1987; 6 (1988). 64 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

NSB (IT 969) ; NSB (IT backlog)⁵ ; JJ ; HEI.

Slobodni dom : časopis Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke za kulturna, društvena i politička pitanja : s kalendarom za godinu 1989. Tomić, Ivo, Urednik:. [London]: Izdavač i nakladnik: Organizacija Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke u Velikoj Britaniji; 1988; 7 (1989).

*NSB (IT backlog)⁴.

Zbornik : časopis Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke za kulturna, društvena i politička pitanja : s kalendarom za godinu 1990. očan, Mujo Ferid Salihović, Asim Lepić, Milan Šuk, Uredništvo:. [London]: Izdavač i nakladnik: Organizacija Hrvatske Seljačke Stranke u Velikoj Britaniji; 1989; 8 (1990).

*NSB (IT backlog)⁵.

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