

## The Case for Bibliographical Archeology

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Material-culture studies are established within the disciplinary framework of archeology and are aimed primarily at the study of prehistoric and non-literate communities. Some recent research, however, has shown the possibilities of expanding their scope to focus on the relationship between artifacts and social context regardless of these original constraints. Looking at objects as inscriptions of social and cultural realities is implied in analyses of popular phenomena (Barthes, *Elements, Mythologies*; Fiske), but more explicitly “archeological” in linking objects with ideologies are Miller’s theory of consumption and Tilley’s theoretical explorations of the implications of the emerging field of material-culture studies (with Shanks). Considering the book as artifact has also been implicit in the literature dealing with the culture of print. For example, Davidson places emphasis on the “material embodiment” of books as a source of evidence in defining the “archeology of reading” (*Revolution* 6, 2). Adams and Barker (6) reiterate the importance of considering books as artifacts and indicate the possibility of their “archeological treatment.” Nevertheless, there are no studies that actually undertake an analysis or formulate the principles of bibliographical archeology. By adjusting the principles of archeological processing to bibliographical artifacts, this exploratory essay constitutes a contribution to that approach.

In order to demonstrate how archeological explanation may be extended beyond a prehistoric community or one without written records, I have focused on an example of printed ephemera, specifically, almanacs published for the Croatian diaspora in North America in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The purpose of presenting this case is to demonstrate how researchers of popular culture may link the materials with the textual communities in which they are used by examining the quantitative characteristics of the materials themselves. Taking into consideration that the survival rates for popular materials, particularly ephemera, are often low, we can “make do” with what has been preserved by showing that fragmentary patterns of preservation may be a valuable kind of historical record in itself. The choice of ethnic ephemera was deliberate. This type of

publication exists on the margins of mainstream culture and beyond the scope of systematic collection by major national repositories, and it therefore has a lower survival rate (Grabowski). In this way, it resembles other types of popular print material, the collection and survival of which is often left to chance.

The underlying assumption about material culture and its relation to sociocultural realities is structuralist. Material culture is determined by the context in which the objects are produced and used. It is not accidental, but represents "a set of resources, a symbolic order in practice, something drawn on in political relations, activated and manipulated in ideological systems" (Shanks and Tilley 116). The conjectures about the sociocultural context of the physical artifacts presented here are organized according to the principles of archeological processing under the assumption that the analytical framework for the study of archeological and bibliographical artifacts should be the same, even if the techniques are different because of the nature of objects involved.

The model of archeological explanation used here has been developed by Jean-Claude Gardin (5-13). It is applied in four stages: the acquisition of materials and cataloging, classification, pattern recognition, and historical inference. The outcome of analysis at each level consists of an increased articulation of the information derived from the material remains about the social context in which they were produced and used. In the first step, the recovered materials are inventoried, and descriptive data about the artifacts are compiled. The selected characteristics of the artifacts are then used to establish typological series that reveal underlying patterns in the data. In the next step, the meaning of the derived structures is interpreted in terms of a theoretical framework. Independent historical evidence is introduced in order to formulate hypotheses about the events and functions related to the formation of the artifacts.

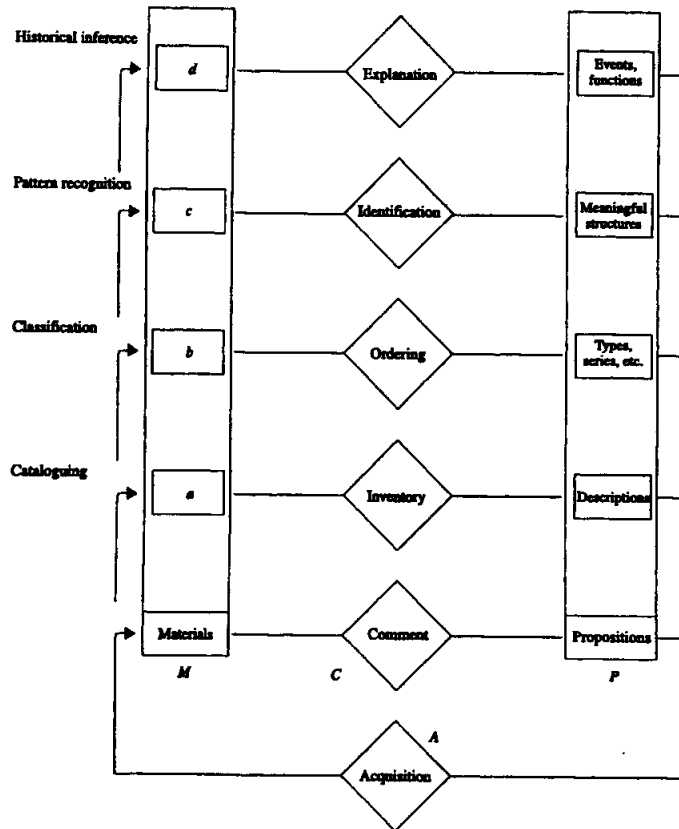
#### **Bibliographical and Archeological Inference: The Basis for Comparison**

Archeology deals with artifacts that have ceased to be part of the living culture. Before they pass from the living to the dead culture, they will have undergone two phases of their existence as physical objects: formation and use. The formation stage relates to the manufacture or mass production of objects; their dissemination is part

of the use stage. The transformation phase for archeological objects occurs as they exit from the living culture (Neustupny 44-54). The interest of this stage is in the loss of information that occurs during the separation of the object from the context of its formation and use and its gradual permutation into dead culture. For most bibliographical artifacts, the transformation stage occurs at a time when they are still part of the living culture. But determining precisely when books exit from the living culture is problematic, given that they are integrated into it as long as they are read. A useful distinction is provided by recognizing cycles of primary and secondary use; this approach enables us to distinguish bibliographical objects that have made their exit from primary use into archeological culture. Being displaced from the environment of primary use and detached from the events and functions that brought about their existence, books are often as information-poor as prehistoric wheels removed from their carts or pottery shards that await reconstruction. It is at this point that bibliographical archeology can be applied.

Jean-Claude Gardin (9) outlines the process of "transfer from physical materials to discursive propositions" through four consecutive stages following the location of a body of artifacts and the formulation of propositions that justified their recovery in the first place (see fig. 1). These analytical stages are labeled cataloging, classification, pattern recognition, and historical inference. As already stated, each subsequent process structures information from the material remains into increasingly meaningful patterns about the social context in which the materials have been produced and used, but the information is recovered in reverse order. The fact that a number of a certain type of object has been produced or disseminated at a particular time is crucial in making generalizations, and so is their strength and distribution in space and time. However, bibliographical archeologists have to work with incomplete data, much like conventional archeologists or historians. That limitation means that they do not have positive evidence about the nature of their find. At best, they get a blurred picture of the artifact population before its deposition. Nevertheless, the assumption that preservation is accidental does not mean that the patterns of preservation are devoid of information. If they were, we would be dealing with absolute entropy (which would equal zero preservation). The reading of material culture certainly requires caution and involves an understanding of the conditions of deposition and subsequent transformation that an object has undergone. It is necessary to know the

Figure 1. Archaeological Processing: From Physical Materials to Discursive Propositions, from J. C. Gardin, *Archaeological Constructs: An Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology* (Cambridge, Paris, 1980), 9.



objects, a requirement that is the same in archeological processing, where reliance on cumulative knowledge, such as classification schemes for artifacts, is extensive. The challenge for the bibliographical archeologist is to untangle the underlying pattern or impose a plausible one, informed by theory, on the data. One such attempt is outlined here.

### The Case: Almanacs of the Croatian Diaspora, 1893-1991

The case selected to demonstrate the working of “bibliographical inference,” a label suggested to denote the analytical process behind bibliographical archeology, encompasses almanacs published for the Croatians who migrated to North America in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth. The focus is on a group of texts tied to a physical community of readers. The examination of almanacs as material culture will, it is hoped, reveal the cultural dynamics of an ethnocultural community over an extended period of time.

Almanacs are miscellanies of a popular nature; thus they constitute the historical equivalent of today’s mass media and an important resource of popular learning, a form of “people’s encyclopedia.” Best described as “book-like serials,” they are published annually, usually coming out in the early or late fall before the year for which they are issued. Produced inexpensively, in portable format, they are used frequently by more than one reader. Not unlike a prayer book or an encyclopedia, they epitomize “intensive” reading (Engelsing), but unlike the former, they are meant to be discarded at the end of the year. Almanacs are intended for visually oriented reception, integrating text and illustration and employing the expressive potential of typography, with an arrangement on the page that undermines the linearity of the text. Reading an almanac is a year-long occupation. Long before glossy magazines and tabloids, this form of publication satisfied the reader’s desire for variety in content, combining serious and light material. The “serious” content of the almanac is of course determined by the expectations of its readership. The cultural traditions in almanac production vary, but a constant feature seems to be the calendar, which not only lists dates but is commonly expanded to include weather prognostications, astrological information, horoscopes, saints’ days, official holidays, and even, in some Croatian examples, to calculate the Jewish, Muslim, and Julian calendars. They are also meant for interactive reading, supplying blank leaves for note taking inserted at or integrated with the calendar

portion or, in seventeenth-century almanacs, interleaved to provide space for a personal diary.

The almanac is an elusive genre. Its development is tied to the popularization of the calendar by the Catholic Reformation in that movement's attempts to spread the Gregorian calendar.<sup>1</sup> The precursor of the almanac, the calendar, is featured in manuscripts from the eleventh century and later in typographical works.<sup>2</sup> Although the calendar appears as an integral part of liturgical works intended for public use, it is also found in books of hours and prayer books intended for personal use. Almanacs designed for popular use do not appear in Croatia before the mid-seventeenth century, and the peak of their popularity—indeed the golden age of the Croatian almanac—is the nineteenth century, when they function as a surrogate of the daily press and mass-information media. In the twentieth century, the almanac undergoes topical specialization and is targeted to a specific audience, with regional, religious, and diaspora almanacs evolving into discrete subgenres.

Almanacs of the Croatian diaspora are identifiable as a separate category in this tradition. As living evidence of the survival of popular didacticism in the twentieth century, they are similar to their regional and religious counterparts in Croatia. Regardless of whether the political ideology that they represent is from the left or the right, these almanacs tend to promote a conservative world-view that is also reflected in the archaism of form characteristic of diaspora almanacs. The survival of forms found in the early-nineteenth-century Croatian almanacs in those of the mid- and late-twentieth-century diaspora is notable (Zečević 113-116). The traditional conventions surface especially in the emphasis on didacticism and the diffusion of "useful" knowledge, but also in their marked tendency to be ideological. This quality made them a preferred publication for political organizations, and religious and governmental, as well as commercial bodies that wrapped their ideologies in popular reading.

The oldest preserved almanac from the Croatian diaspora is *Narodni amerikanski koledar . . . za godinu 1893*, a pocket-sized volume issued by Zdravko Mužina in Chicago, and almanac reading and publishing among diaspora Croatians flourished from the early 1920s through the late 1950s but rapidly declined after the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> This tapering off of the genre in the 1970s, with only a few titles being issued continuously as subsidized publications and a virtual absence of new titles, could be explained by a lack of interest or the disap-

pearance of the almanac's primary audiences in diaspora communities. Originally, the almanac appealed to a readership close to an oral culture and the values of a peasant society (Redfield). With the end of the "peasant era" after World War II (Nejašmić 146), it made its exit from the living culture, together with that older generation of readers.

#### **From a Body of Texts to the Social Context of Their Production and Use: The Four Stages of Bibliographical Inference**

*Retrieval.* Considering that popular works in general have a low likelihood of preservation because they succumb to physical use, any generalizations about the potential artifact population of such works based on those that have been recovered are unreliable. Ephemera are particularly vulnerable to physical disappearance, partly because of the conditions of their use and partly as a result of the perishable nature of the materials from which they are made. As noted earlier, 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 that pattern of use, almanacs from the Croatian diaspora that have been retrieved in various repositories in North America and Croatia may be ones that were preserved either by default or because they were valued as symbolic goods. Establishing provenance for a sample of titles has confirmed that a large number of almanacs were saved through the systematic effort of individual collectors.<sup>4</sup> That these popular texts of dubious literary merit but historically important could be considered valuable enough to be preserved in private collections by historically aware individuals, salvaged from their natural fate of being "literally read to pieces"<sup>5</sup> or discarded at the end of the year, is significant. A search for provenance also led to the "unwilling protectors" of their value as symbolic goods. For example, almanacs produced in North America were found in the archives of the former Yugoslav secret police,<sup>6</sup> because they had been intercepted on route from foreign destinations to cultural institutions in Croatia. They have survived among other undesirable books, such as the complete works of Kim Il Sung, the publications of Amnesty International, and pamphlets of various dissidents of the political left, and right. In spite of this limited interest in the diaspora almanacs by private collectors and the secret police, their repositories are not abundant, a fact that made the process of their retrieval painstaking and time-consuming. In North America, where most of these almanacs

were published, they were not collected at all before the mid-1970s.<sup>7</sup> They were similarly neglected in Croatia, in part because of censorship. Nevertheless, after a systematic search of relevant collections, I have retrieved 41 titles and 324 preserved issues of almanacs published between 1893 and 1991.<sup>8</sup> As the focus of this paper is methodological, it deals with these almanacs individually.

*Classification.* The process of retrieval was accompanied by the classification of the almanacs into chronological series of yearly issues, that is, the reconstruction of distinct runs. Because most of the almanacs of the Croatian diaspora bear generic titles, changed their place of publication very often, and sometimes even alter their titles, issuing bodies, and editors, the ordering of the material turned out to be quite involved. This step corresponds to the classification stage of archeological processing and involves the ordering of objects according to predetermined characteristics in chronological series. Here the typology of the artifacts is established through their chronological characteristics. After the reconstruction of almanac runs, the chronological series of a synchronic order, which involved identifying titles published simultaneously at any given time, were also established. At this point, no conjectures about the meaning of the patterns could be made. Instead, the interpretive framework of cultural theory (Wuthnow, *Meaning*, "An Emerging Framework") was introduced in order to translate the characteristics of the almanacs into the relevant features of the model of cultural dynamics.

As I have already mentioned, diaspora almanacs represent an array of distinct political and religious discourses. If each title 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. Therefore the length of publication of a title was operationalized as the success or failure of the ideology that it represented.

In accordance with the focus of the study, I also looked for periods of intensified cultural change. Such change is reflected in a modification of values, beliefs, and attitudes and may be more pronounced in some periods than others. According to the model of cultural dynamics used in this study (Wuthnow, *Meaning*, "An

Emerging Framework), the periods in which cultural change was a dominant feature of life were reflected in increased mobilization of resources and social interaction, a process that resulted in the proliferation of discourse and cultural objects. Almanacs may be considered both as objects and as discourse; in this paper they are examined in the former aspect. Therefore the periods of ideological experimentation, marked by a proliferation of cultural production are those characterized by an increase in the number of new titles published.

*Pattern Recognition.* In the previous step, the almanacs were classified according to two variables: the length of publication as a diachronic variable and the periods marked by higher activity in establishment of new titles as a synchronic variable. We can therefore identify the ideological variants with a high or low likelihood of survival while pinpointing the periods that may be designated as those in which cultural change is a dominant feature of life. The survival of ideologies is translated into the variable of length of publication for these almanacs. The distribution of almanacs according to this variable is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Length of Publication**

Length of publication (in years)	# of Titles	Length of publication (in years)	# of Titles
1	14*	16	1
2	2	17	1
3	4	18	1
4	1	24	1
6	1	27	1
7	1	29	1
8	2	37	1
10	2	43	1
12	1	49	1
13	2	54	1
14	1		
		<b>Total titles</b>	<b>41</b>

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 separately. Decisions were based on the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd ed., chapter 12.

\*This number includes two items that were published in a year of transition during which the two runs assume a new identity. The continuing, as well as the transitional, issue are counted separately. This approach was justified by the substantial change, including the ownership of the almanacs, editorial policy, and title, that occurred at the time.

The data show that the average length of publication for all almanacs was twelve years.<sup>9</sup> This figure is not useful for cultural interpretation except in showing that in the course of a hundred years, not many titles were published over a considerable length of time. Indeed, over half the retrieved almanacs were issued for under four years, and only 10 percent appeared for more than thirty years. Therefore, an overall pattern in the survival of almanac titles is between one and four years. Almost one in three titles survived for only a year. Single-issue almanacs, or those that expired in their first year, are presented in figure 2, which shows that their concentration is greatest between 1921 and 1925 and remains high throughout 1920s. Their absence is observed at the turn of the century and between 1946 and 1960, as well as after 1970; other interval ranges demonstrate a relatively even distribution.<sup>10</sup>

The evidence of the production of new titles, or the number of titles started in a given interval, and the strength of an overall publishing activity, or the number of concurrently published titles at a given time, is presented in another diagram (fig. 3). The black portions of the diagram indicate the production of new titles in a given period. Stacked on the new titles are the continuing ones, that is, those in their second or later issue.<sup>11</sup> The overall publishing activity, or number of concurrently published titles, combines the two. In terms of the interpretive model used here, the intensity of the publication activity corresponds to that of ideological function at any given time. Peak periods of overall activity correlate to the high points in the production of new titles. The diagram shows that the number of new titles started was highest in interval between 1921 and 1925, followed by the years between 1951 and 1955, indicating periods of ideological experimentation. Low points, periods when no new titles were produced, are observed between 1956 and 1960, from 1971 to 1980, and after 1986. Having thus established the strength of publishing activity (new titles and overall activity) over time, we can clearly observe the pattern of periods marked by the intensified proliferation of ideological variants or intensified cultural change.

Combining the data in the diagram demonstrating patterns associated with single-issue almanacs (fig. 2) and that representing overall publishing activity (fig. 3) points to the distinctions between the ideological variants established in different periods of intensified cultural change. Specifically, the highest number of almanacs that were established and expired in a single year falls between 1921 and

1925, which corresponds to the period in which the first surge in publication is also noted. The same is not true for the second period of intensified change, between 1951 and 1955. A conclusion may be advanced about the ideological variants (almanac titles) published between 1921 and 1925: it is evident that the almanacs issued at that time had a lesser likelihood of survival than those started in the second high peak of activity, between 1951 and 1955.

*Historical Inference.* Giving explanations for the patterns of data recognized as significant should involve other types of evidence, either of an independent historical nature or from the texts of the almanacs themselves. In the concluding section of the study, the first goal was to find out whether the periods of cultural change were in any way linked to the dynamics of the diaspora communities. It was also necessary to identify whether the communities that engaged in the production, dissemination, and use of almanacs produced in the two periods were different in their social composition and if so, how. Dealing with these two problems called for a superimposing of the calendar of migration history<sup>12</sup> over the periods marked by intensified publication activity, and a search for indicators of overall qualitative or quantitative shifts in the Croatian diaspora community.

Migrations from Croatia to North America that related to industrialization began in the nineteenth century and reached mass proportions between 1900 and 1914.<sup>13</sup> The period between 1919 and 1921 was characterized by a reverse trend of reimmigration to Croatia, which reached a peak in 1920. It was tied to high hopes invested in the newly formed state of the South Slavs after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and was reinforced by the 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. As well, many who were 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.<sup>14</sup> In describing this phenomenon, Godler (199) attributes the second emigration to disillusionment with economic and political conditions in the new state (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). Quantitative aspects of migration notwithstanding, it is evident that this phenomenon can be approached from its qualitative side if one recognizes the ideological nature of the intensified flow in both directions. The process of repatriation and second emigration

Figure 2. Single-Issue Almanacs

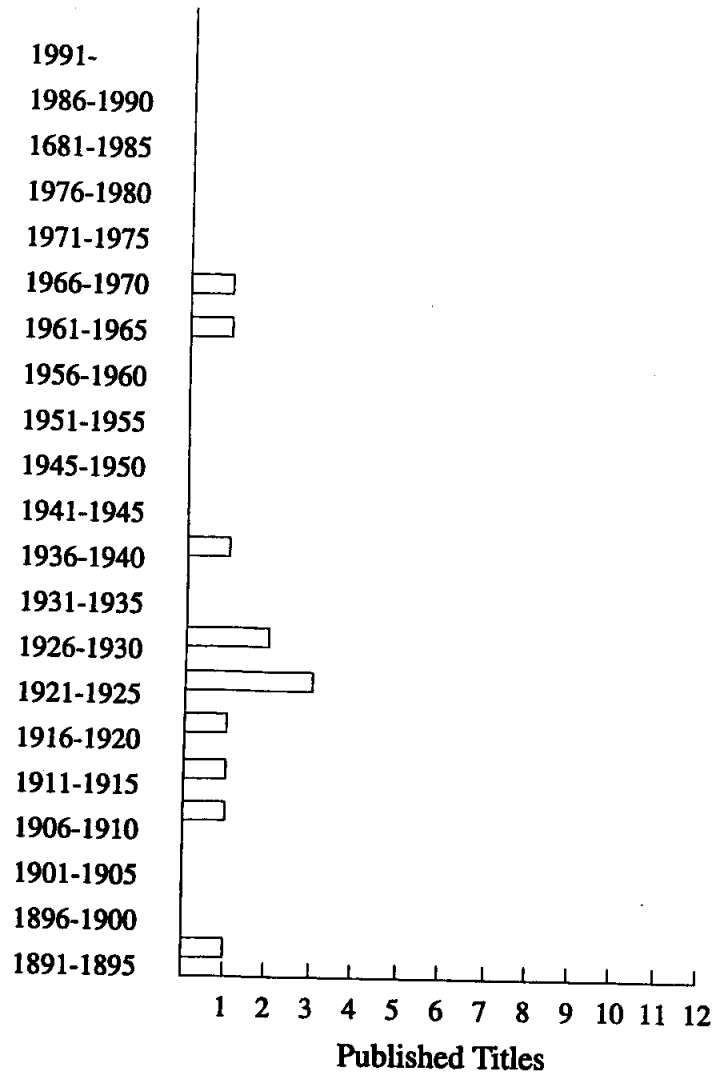
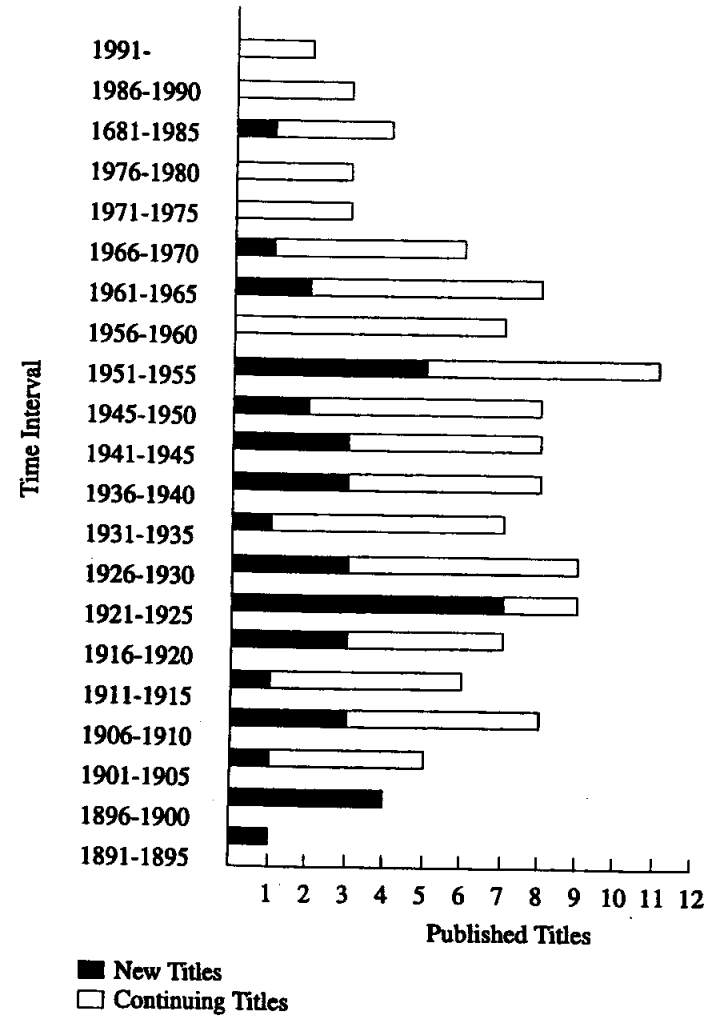


Figure 3. Overall Publishing Activity



within a short number of years after World War I is documented as a historical fact (Godler; Čizmić 131), but only a detailed analysis of the material could provide answers regarding the content of cultural change as it was experienced by migrants of that era.

The second significant flow of refugees occurred after World War II and reached record numbers just before and throughout the second period of cultural change. Displaced by the war, many Croatians spent years in camps scattered throughout Europe before they were able to settle in Australia, New Zealand, and North and South America; record numbers immigrated to the United States between 1948 and 1955 under the Displaced Persons Act and The Refugee Relief Act (Bogue 356). The same process is recorded in Canada (Rasporich 182). Joining this flow were émigrés from the newly formed communist republic of Yugoslavia, who were leaving the country illegally in significant numbers in the early 1950s (Čizmić 132). A closer look at the historical periods identified by a surge in the publication of almanacs shows that the periods of intensified cultural change are also distinct eras in the history of Croatian migrations not merely in terms of the record numbers but also because they coincided with periods of greatest uncertainty in the political environment. The higher likelihood of the survival of almanacs established between 1951 and 1955 is related to the differences between the communities associated with each period of cultural change. Early immigrants constituted communities predominantly created by rural depopulation;<sup>15</sup> the second wave represented a more organized and more educated refugee population<sup>16</sup> who had the ability and the will to commit more resources to ideological production.

### Conclusion

Although this analysis could be developed further, the scope of this paper allows, in conclusion, only the hope that the viability of bibliographical inference for the historical research of print culture has been demonstrated in sufficient depth to show the potential for this type of research. The nature of cultural change in the Croatian diaspora could be pursued through an in-depth analysis of the texts produced in each period. The physical communities that were involved in the production of almanacs and their use could also be examined further by documenting them through independent historical evidence.

As the previous discussion has shown, the goal of bibliographical inference is not to provide an alternative to historical investigation but an enrichment of it. This approach is viable for the study of groups and texts that have existed on the cultural fringe, that is, those for whom records are rare, even if they might be relatively recent. Popular-culture studies specifically could benefit from this approach because bibliographical inference helps the researcher to be disengaged from the imposed discursive frameworks for interpretation and provides an independent insight through the patterns recorded in the material aspects of cultural production. When a body of texts is analyzed, however, it is important to be able to relate it to a discrete cultural phenomenon and show how the texts have aggregated around a specific event, function, textual community, or cultural group. The question of where, what and why dig (to use the archeological metaphor central to this paper) has to be decided beforehand, both in practical and in theoretical terms. Bibliographical inference, therefore, is not a method but a strategy for recognizing a body of printed artifacts meaningfully related to their social context. The approach to case interpretation will depend on the interpretive framework and the underlying pattern. Application of a cultural-theory model for the analysis of the data has been demonstrated here. The major goal of this paper has been to show that bibliographical artifacts constitute evidence for cultural interpretation. In contrast to the "gut feelings" and "informed guesses" that so often guide the research process in its early stages, bibliographical data have the distinct advantage of being measurable.

### Notes

An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the conference co-sponsored by The Center for the History of Print Culture in America at Madison, Wisconsin, and the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, "Print Culture in a Diverse America," held in Madison, Wisconsin on May 5-6, 1995. I would like to thank the readers of this paper, Patricia Fleming, Christopher Halonen, and Elizabeth Hulse, for their helpful comments and suggestions.

1. Calendar 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, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain, including Croatia, 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 linked to the religious controversies of the Protestant and the Catholic Reformation.

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

3. These conjectures are based on the evidence of almanacs that have been retrieved.

4. Inventories and provenance records were available for the titles found in the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia. Particular titles and groups of titles could be traced to individual donors.

5. The phrase, originally used by Davidson ("Towards a History"), graphically describes the intensity with which popular works were often consumed by their readers.

6. The document enumerating the holdings of dissident 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 newspaper and periodical items.

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

8. Two techniques were applied to ensure that the retrieved almanacs are representative. The first was based on drawing an independent sample through backward chaining of references cited in the secondary literature on diaspora almanacs and comparing it with the sample of retrieved almanacs on specified variables (the "overall publishing activity feature" discussed below, for example). The

second involved determining the cut-off point for retrieval based on the ratio of duplicates and prototype copies retrieved.

9. This figure is based on the number of volumes retrieved (N=324). Depending on how the identification of title runs proceeds, the totals, as well as the average for single-issue almanacs may vary. The average for the base of 41 is 10.9 years, and that for the base of 35 is 12.8 years. Their common average is 11.8 years.

10. The modes for this distribution are the years 1922 and 1929 and the median is 1922-23.

11. That is, each continuing title is counted only once in a given five-year interval.

12. Croatian migration history is a complex one. The official statistics are inconsistent in how they reported Croatian migrations; secondary literature provides data that is not comparable. Before 1920 immigrants are reported with others from the Habsburg realm. Later, they are found under Yugoslavs in the statistical sources.

13. The most intensive flow of immigrants to Canada, between 1903 and 1914, is paralleled by a similar trend for the United States (Telišman 134-135).

14. Immigration by quota was introduced in 1921 and revised in 1924 (Bogue 355).

15. They are immortalized as "the uprooted" (Handlin), "the urban villagers" (Gans), "the street corner society" (Whyte), and "our Slavic fellow citizens" (Balch). The research conducted by the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s, complemented by the sources published in Croatia (Karaman; Nejašmić; Gross and Szabo), allows for the reconstruction of the socio-cultural characteristics of the early wave.

16. The composition of the second wave is not socially homogenous because of the fact that immigrants were not motivated primarily by economic reasons. Nevertheless, there is evidence that these immigrants were much better educated, and comprised a higher number of professionals (Rasporich 183).

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