

# Acculturation of Croatian Migrants into the Promised Land (the 1880s-1930s)

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DIPLOMSKI RAD

**Acculturation of Croatian Migrants into the Promised Land (the 1880s-1930s)**

(Smjer: Književnost i kultura – amerikanistika)

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## 1. Introduction

This paper will discuss the migration of Croatian people to the USA and how their lives changed accordingly. It will try to explain the process of acculturation by which is meant the manner in which they adapted to the new culture, which changes they had to go through and what they might have given to the new culture. These issues will be discussed in the period from the 1880s to 1930s because in that period there were a few big emigration waves, and we can observe how the arrival to the USA affected the first generation and how the second and third generation managed to preserve their culture on the foreign ground by researching various articles and literary works. Migration of Croats to the USA was a process that they believed would bring them a better future. They hoped that there would be better than it was back home. This paper will also discuss the reasons that made Croatian migrants leave their home and most of all the way they adapted to life in the USA and how they managed to preserve their culture and tradition from fading away in the years between the 1880s and 1930s. In that period there was a big exodus of Croats from their homeland. Ivan Čizmić in his paper “Emigration and emigrants from Croatia between 1880 and 1980” states:

In the second half of the nineteenth century poor economic conditions were the main reason for emigration. The years of poor harvest with their food shortages and unpaid loans and, in the maritime provinces, the decline of such industries as wooden ship building, fishing, and winemaking, in addition to the political neglect of the region, triggered mass emigration. In spite of its economic nature, that emigration was also political. (Čizmić 431)

We can imagine that most of them hoped for a better life and believed that going to the USA would bring them prosperity. Most of them thought of emigration as something temporary since they were counting on coming back to their homes. Young single or married men were the first ones to leave, hoping to make better lives for themselves and their families. Some of them emigrated to the USA “just for the sake of emigration” (ibid.), meaning that perhaps they were not in a bad material position, but they wanted to try out the Promised Land that was prosperous due to rapid industrial growth. (ibid.) The travelogue *Across the Atlantic to Pacific* written by Ante Tresić Pavičić, which will be one of the main sources for discussing this topic, brings us closer to all the changes that Croatian people went through after coming to America. In an encounter with a hotel owner that was of Dalmatian origin, but was born in Spain, Ante Tresić Pavičić saw in him an allusion to many other Croatians who set their feet on the American soil. He states:

Zove se Berutić. Čujuć to ime, obratim mu rječ hrvatski, nu ne razumije me. Valja se mučiti engleski ili španjolski. Reče mi, da mu je djed bio iz Dalmacije, nu da se je on rodio u Cadixu, s toga da ne zna hrvatski. Upre mi prstom u jagodice, pa mi kaže: *vidi se, da ste Dalmatinac*. To sam i ja vidio na njegovom licu, nu nisam mu upro prstom u jagodice! . . . On je Amerikanac, pa mu je i kret i ponašanje amerikansko. . . .Odnarogjenje, neizbježno, neumolno odnarogjenje! (His name is Berutić. Hearing that name, I spoke to him in Croatian, but he does not understand me. I have to struggle with either English or Spanish. He said that his grandfather had been from Dalmatia, but he had been born in Cadix, which is why he did not know any Croatian. He pointed his finger into my cheekbones and said: *It is evident that you are a Dalmatian*. I saw it on his face too, but I did not point my finger

into his cheekbones! He is an American, so his behaviour is American. Alienation, inevitably, inexorable alienation!). (Pavičić, 16-17)<sup>1</sup>

Even though this man is Croatian by descent, it is evident that he was completely shaped by American way of life, he acts as an American, speaks as an American, and it is only his physiognomy and last name that gives away his Croatian origin. Tresić Pavičić describes him as a real American, from his language to his behavior. Since he (Berutić) is not the member of the first generation, he did not go through all the processes the others had to. He was born as an American, so he is not really a fellow countryman as Tresić Pavičić thought at first, but he is a representation of the transformation that happens to all the incomers and their descendants. The fact that Berutić was a representation of a real American saddened Tresić Pavičić, as he wondered how many Croatians there are around the world who are not aware of their origin (17).

This travelogue will give us a closer insight into the lives of Croatian people in the USA in the sections to follow. Also one of the books I will be referring to is *Theories of Ethnicity* by Werner Sollors, in which Karl Mannheim writes about the changes that happen upon facing the beginning of a new life away from home by saying: “It is well known that in all these cases a quite visible and striking transformation of the consciousness of the individual in question takes place: a change, not merely in the content of experience, but in the individual’s mental and spiritual adjustment to it” (qtd. in Sollors 125). This statement helps us to understand the behavior of Berutić because he is an example of a person with transformed consciousness as a member of the third generation compared to those of the first generation.

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<sup>1</sup> All translations of Ante Tresić Pavičić are mine unless otherwise noted.

## 2. Reasons for leaving the homeland

As was already stated in the introduction, the reasons for emigration were both economic and political, encompassing all parts of Croatia, especially Dalmatia in the early stages. In a paper that discusses how newspapers were an important source of information for tracking down the phenomenon of emigration in the period before WWI, Ljubomir Antić states that emigration from Dalmatia at the beginning of the 1880s had a big impact because people were leaving for America in herds, and mostly men in their prime years. Among reasons for leaving, he says that some of them left to avoid military duty, which implies negative attitude towards the state, and poor material position (Antić). People in Dalmatia were mostly in the wine-making business and that was the main source of their incomes. So, when the government decided to introduce the Wine clause on December 6<sup>th</sup> 1891, it had fatal consequences for the people of Dalmatia, because their wines did not make it to Austro-Hungarian marketplace, since the government allowed Italy to import their wines to Austro-Hungary at lower prices (*Hrvatska Enciklopedija*). After the Wine clause there was another big shock for the people of Dalmatia - the outbreak of phylloxera in 1894. Since most of the people were peasants, they were directly affected by this, and the only thing they could do if they stayed was “to look forward to starvation and misery” (Prpic 94). This turn of events left no choice for these people, but to leave their home and look for prosperity somewhere else.

In the upcoming years the number of emigrants just kept rising. Peasants from Slavonia that were in debt were amazed by the promises of a better life in America and the possibility to earn a lot of money in a short period of time (Balta 395). Since lots of them were in serious debts, they



were looking for a way to buy the ticket to promised land, which in many cases resulted in selling all they possessed just to get enough money to leave the country and look for a better future. Since peasants were obviously abandoned by the government, Ante Radić, one of the founders of the Croatian Peasant Party regularly reported about the lives and the activities of Croatians in America and tried to draw attention to the fact that Austro-Hungarian government did all they could to force Croatians to leave their homes.

As time passed by, his statements proved to be true (Prpic 94). In one of his reports he states “that very soon in the vicinity of Lokve and Fužine there shall not be enough men left to bury their dead... Everybody is fleeing to America” (ibid.). This clearly paints a picture of how abandoned Croatia was and how big the waves of emigration were. Culmination of emigration from Austro-Hungary was in 1907 when 338,507 people went to the USA, and in the period between 1900-1909 the number of people who left their home was a shocking 1,887,238 (Balta 395-396). Another thing that influenced emigration were the steamship agents who were working with different American firms in order to attract young men, because they needed cheap labor to work at the mines, shipyards and other kinds of jobs in the USA (Čizmić, *Iseljena Hrvatska* 14). They were allowed to roam the villages and promote the wonders of America (Prpic 95). Poor Croatians were an easy target due to all the sufferings they were going through.

The exodus of people was a matter of concern on a national basis. Men in their prime years were leaving, and only women, old people and children stayed behind. Croatian economy was suffering and was heading to a complete downfall. Antun Gustav Matoš warned that “Emigracija u Ameriku danas je najaktuelniji narodni naš problem, - socijalni, politički, pa i moralni” (Emigration to America is the biggest current problem, - social, political and moral.) (Čizmić, *Iseljena Hrvatska* 15). This strong statement really includes all the aspects of emigration and all

the consequences: people left their land for foreigners to take it over, they left their country in economic ruins and went to look for a better future, and last but not least, they left their families knowing that many of them would never return. “Son follows father, neighbor another neighbor, those who succeed inflame the imagination of masses, who never think for a moment of the numerous ones who failed” (Antić, Croats and America 78). This statement is meant to illustrate the chain migrations that were very common, because any kind of development or adjustment to the new is easier to apply within a community.

The exodus before the First World War was a phenomenon that left a big mark in life of the nation. Ljubomir Antić states that “America entered the homes and souls of Croatian people. It changed the silhouettes of towns and villages, but also the landscape itself since, due to “the lack and costs of labor, many labor-intensive crops had to be dropped” (Antić, Croats and America 90). The country was dying, there was no one to take care of it, while the landscapes were the first ones to show and emphasize the lack of people. The period between the two wars was challenging for Croats in America since, first of all, the Croatian community was growing older, there were not many newcomers, and the Croats that were born in America were assimilated because they were American citizens by birth (Antić, Croats and America 90), and, secondly, the Act of Immigration from 1924 and the Great Depression marked a new era in the lives of Croatians. The Act of Immigration slowed down the number of migrants that were allowed to enter: only 671 people from the area of former Yugoslavia could enter per year (Čizmić 15, *Iseljena Hrvatska*). This was a method used by Americans to preserve their economy. As for the Croats in America, they were hit by the Great Depression, and a lot of them were left jobless during the thirties, which led to mass pauperization (Antić, Croats 90). When we observe all these events, we can only imagine the direct damage that migrations to America have done to Croatia in terms of people and the number

of families that were made in America and stayed there, and in the economic terms, because Croats left their country to help in development of another. The truth is that most of them did not go willingly, but because they were forced in one way or another, but a lot of them chose to stay there and take the ones who were left behind to America as well.

### 3. Acculturation

Croats were among the first groups of people to enter the USA after the official opening of Ellis Island in 1892. Upon their arrival, they had to undergo a medical examination that lasted only six seconds to eliminate any kinds of diseases, whether psychological or physical (Bukovčan 72). Regarding these six-second examinations, it must be taken into consideration that in the years of the biggest influx of immigrants, which is between 1882 and 1924, there were from five thousand to eleven thousand people coming daily, so the authorities did not have the time for any longer examinations (ibid.). New arrivals were examined before they even knew it, because public health care physicians observed them from the top of the stairs and looked for any signs of illness, and then they would put a mark on their clothes, for example K for hernia, L for lameness, X for mental illness, and so on (Bukovčan 74). After passing the medical examination, they had to go through a legal procedure, during which they were examined about relatives in America, mental illness, polygamy and so on, just to see if they had to be marked with LPC sign which would mean that they were a possible burden for the society (Bukovčan 75). It was not unusual that these passengers were locked away until there would appear a relative that could guarantee for them. Same was with women that were not accompanied by anyone, so they had to wait for their “fiancé” to come, or, if no one appeared, they were sent back home (ibid.). It is evident by all of this that the dream

of a better life was not easily achieved. There were a lot of obstacles before being allowed to enter the United States, even though they were technically already in the USA.

Once there, they would inevitably be exposed to the process of acculturation. Acculturation is a term that is usually described as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into direct and continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al. 229-230), which means that the acculturation is not a single event, but a process (Thurnwald 557) that takes time to give results. It is also important to point out that the acculturation is not a one-way process, but a reciprocal development. To that effect, Richard Thurnwald in his paper “The Psychology of Acculturation” describes how the Indian man changed upon the arrival of the white man:

His life was opened to new implements as well as to new impressions. He did not so much change his habitat as his mode of living. The maintenance of his ancient skills was now to be jeopardized by the results of trade. From the moment that he received iron, in the form of knives, axes, and other such “indispensable” implements, his life became different. And the very process of the acceptance of these new things is indicative of the path of acculturation. (558)

It is not only the white man who faced big changes just because he changed his habitat, but also the fact that his arrival greatly influenced the life of the Indian. Throughout this paper we will see how the Croatian people changed after facing the new surroundings upon their arrival to America, and what they brought with themselves to enrich American culture. Also, this paper will try to analyze acculturation through contacts with members of other nations, families of different social

status, and so on. Newcomers to America had to undergo a lot of changes and adjustments to the new way of life. In the paper "What Makes Ethnic Literature Ethnic", Berndt Ostendorf states:

The self is pushed into marginality, and has to deal, from a situation of reduced political participation, with two cultures in a stratified social relationship which assigns to his old heritage the role of subculture within an alien dominant context. As "subculture," his heritage is placed under excessive strain and shows divisions and cracks along the lines of language, kinship, and religion. (577)

The individuals were often, as the quote states, marginalized before being integrated into the new society. Their origin and heritage usually made it difficult for them to adjust to the new language and culture since everything was strange to them. The cracks in language, kinship and religion are something that immigrants tried to fill. Most, if not all of them were determined to learn English, and, despite their poor education they received before coming, they still managed to overcome that obstacle. As for the kinship and religion, those were two big matters in the lives of Croatians, which led them to establish Croatian communities all around America in order to stay connected to each other and to be able to practice their religion in their own parishes.

#### 4. Acculturation in literary works

This part of paper will discuss the aspects of acculturation through several literary works. We will see how people all around America got used to the new life and how all of it influenced and shaped the lives of their families and their children. This will help us have a better insight into their American lives, the problems they struggled with, the things they gave up on, and the new things and customs they embraced. We will also see how they fit in into American state of mind.

##### 4.1. Ante Tresić Pavičić's Travel in the USA

Ante Tresić Pavičić was a Croatian writer and a politician. He was born on the island of Hvar in 1867 to a quite wealthy family. This fact enabled him to study at the Viennese university and also to travel the world, which will later be of great importance in his political as well as literary life. He was an expert in Romance languages and a connoisseur of Greek and Latin. When it comes to his political activity, he was a follower of the ideas Ante Starčević promoted, among which was the idea of independence of Croatian countries. Ante Tresić Pavičić was a member of the Croatian Party of Rights which influenced his political beliefs (Knezović, VII). Later, he moved on to Yugoslavism. In 1906 he was elected as a representative in the Vienna Imperial Council. He wrote poems, novels, short stories, travelogues, plays, tracts and an epic. However, here he will concern us foremostly as a travel writer. He died in Split on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1949 (Hrvatska enciklopedija).

His travelogue was and still is of great importance when it comes to understanding what was going on with Croatian people in the USA, considering how they integrated into the new

society and new culture. From the above-mentioned encounter of Ante Tresić Pavičić with a man of Croatian descent, we can observe the processes Croats went through in America, particularly in terms of acculturation. In his travelogue Ante Tresić Pavičić documents every stage of migration to the USA, from crowded ships and awful conditions on them, to the arrival to Ellis Island and, further, life in the USA in general. His vivid descriptions of the streets, the architecture, the conversations of the people in the crowds really set a scene for the reader to feel the spirit of the time. What is interesting about his travelogue, is the fact that he does not idealize the USA; he is aware of the way in which the Americans function and points out how everything can be done in a short period of time.

Furthermore, on one example of building a library, he points out how the Americans prefer to invest in the exterior, while what is on the inside does not matter too much. They put marble on the facade, while the books on the shelves are mainly modern titles without any real significance (Tresić Pavičić 27). This is a good display of the American way of life: the exterior over the interior. In the USA everything is done at rapid speed, and Americans take pride in that. They are fast at building things, they are fast at developing into a mighty industrial force and they are fast at gaining education. European standards do not go along with these. Europeans are more concerned with the quality of everything above, so they prefer to take time and be certain that what is done is done the right way. Ante Tresić Pavičić wanted to get in touch with Croatian people across the country to observe how their life in the USA was going. And to do so, he wanted to gather them at conferences to give both political and literary lectures, which were set on different days, so that both the poor and the wealthy could come and listen to him; the poor would attend the political lecture, and the wealthy would come to the lecture related to literature. He thought

that it was important that his conferences are affordable to everyone who wanted to listen to him, which determined the ticket price, as stated in the quote below:

“Napokon se diže dr. Pavelić, bivši narodni zastupnik, i predloži, da se za političku konferencu udari ulaznina od po dolara, da me svak uzmogne doći čuti, a za književnu, na koju će po svoj prilici doći samo inteligencija, da se udari pet dolara, pa će se tako proći bez sramote.” (Tresić Pavičić 55) (Finally, dr. Pavelic, former people’s representative, stood up and suggested that the ticket for the political lecture should be half a dollar, so that everyone could come and listen to me, and for the literary, which would probably be attended only by the educated people, to be five dollars, so that one would not disgrace oneself.)

People were often aware that the things in the USA did not work the way they did back in the homeland. This realization often entailed a negotiation of mundane processes of acculturation. One example that is provided in the travelogue are funerals. Tresić Pavičić describes an event of a man asking to bury his friend, and to do so free of charge, because he does not want to pay for the priest since they are already funded by the people there, and in that way, he shows no respect for the priest. The man claims that he is not obliged to pay anything, and that the things are not as they were back home, where priests are paid by the government, and by that, they are also supported by the government (Tresić Pavičić 61). The priest does not want to do so, because he wants to be paid for the services that he provides. Yet, the man is furious: “Dobro, vidjećemo! Vidjećemo! Kakav je to pop, koji ne će da sprovagja mrtve, nego hoće za sve plaću!” (ibid.) (“Alright, we’ll see! We’ll see! What kind of priest is this, who refuses to bury the dead, but wants to be paid for everything!”)



By this example, it is evident that the emigrants' irreverence for the traditional institutions grew in a new country. For some reason Croatian people were more willing to pay the funeral company, rather than their priest (Tresić Pavičić 62). This might be out of spite because they probably expected some kind of compassion from their people, especially being so far away from home. Tresić Pavičić states that our people were not just mine workers, but many of them were in saloon business, trade, agriculture, fishing, and so on (Tresić Pavičić 65). Tresić Pavičić mentioned how and why women were treated the way they were in American society, which is best evident in the following lines: "U početku naseljavanja Amerike bilo je malo žena. Onda, kao i danas, većinom su selili muškarci. Uslied toga žene su bile vrlo rietke: a sve što je rietko skupo je i dragocjeno" (Tresić Pavičić 33). ("At the beginning of settlement of America, there were not that many women. Then, and now, men were mainly migrating. Due to that, women were very rare; and all that is rare, ought to be expensive and valuable"). This applies to all the nations of immigrants coming to America since it was hard to get there alone and start a completely new life without a wife, let alone find someone who they could trust enough to marry.

Arranged marriages, therefore, were a common thing for a Croatian immigrant. Having said how hard it was for an immigrant to find a woman of trust, it was only logical that they would ask for someone from the Old Country with whom they could share the same ideas when it comes to raising a family. Tresić Pavičić describes a case of a Croatian immigrant who ordered a fiancée from his home village: "Poznaje je od djetinstva, pa joj je poslao novce za put. Bio bi on oženio amerikanku, ali kako će siromah s njom govoriti? A ne udaje se amerikanka za čovjeka, kojega ne razumije?" (Tresić Pavičić 66) ("He has known her since his childhood, so he sent her the money for the trip. He would have married an American girl, but how could a poor guy talk to her? And an American girl is not going to marry someone she can't understand?"). This again reminds us

of how hard the life across the big pond is. The instance of marriage could be an incentive for acculturation but, as this example testifies, it was also fraught with difficulties and beset by cultural and linguistic obstacles, at least for the first generation. This example emphasizes the strong emotional connection they still have with their homes and habits left behind.

Tresić Pavičić describes the arrogance that easily takes over the Croatian people as soon as they save some money. They usually become arrogant the moment they put on a fine suit, and forget about good taste, just to be more like the Americans. To justify this, Tresić Pavičić notes how popular implanting gold teeth was, including people willing to have their healthy teeth taken out just so they can implant gold ones (65). This anecdote further attests that in the USA it was all about the money, gaining and displaying wealth. People did not have the time to care about each other, because they were too busy thinking about money and acquisition of material things. Those who were wealthy, only cared about earning more and more, without thinking about the damage they were leaving behind, and the damage was measured in people's lives. There were two kinds of people when it comes to discussion about the business world - the ones on the top who keep growing in economic ways, and the ones at the bottom who sacrifice their lives and health by working their tails off. As Hinko Sirovatka states,

Dakle jedan je postao bogat, ali je zato tisuće i tisuće drugih izgubilo svoj život, svoje ruke, noge ili svoje zdravlje i radnu snagu. U Americi, što se života tiče, mora svaki skrbiti sam za sebe, a svaki već od najranije dobe bježi za novcem. Jedan hrli preko drugoga, pa tko je jači, da drugoga potisne pod sebe, i pametniji, da druge nadmudri, zavede ili čak prevari, taj se diže u vis. Takovi postaju vlasnici trgovina, tvornica, rudokopa, zemljišta, jednom riječju svega! (32)

(There is only one that became rich, but there are thousands and thousands of others who lost their lives, their hands, legs or their health and strength. In America, as far as life is concerned, everyone is responsible for their own good, yet everyone is running after money. People rush over one another so that whoever is stronger or smarter to push the other ones under him or to outsmart or even deceive others, is the one who rises to the top. And people like that become owners of the shops, factories, mines, land, in one word of everything!)

Croatians were usually the ones at the bottom, because the jobs that they got, Americans refused to do, since Americans for starters knew the language, they knew their way around and could not be easily fooled as a newcomer who did not know either the language or the circumstances of life in America.

Industrialization was taking its course at the time Tresić Pavičić was travelling in the USA. He was stunned by the gloomy landscape in Pittsburgh that was thriving on coal production, which was why the city was covered by soot coming from the factories' chimneys. People's faces were in harmony with the display of the city; they were always worried, as if they were thinking about what was next when they got to the dark and noisy factory, just to earn a few dollars for their families (Tresić Pavičić 73-74). Tresić Pavičić goes on to describe the effects that hard work driven by American capitalism left on the people he saw along the way by saying that "Slavena ne trebam opisivati. Ostao je kaki je bio u domovini, samo što ga je pognuo, slomio rad, otupio whiskey, ubila studen. Ruke su mu žuljave, ko nasagjene kurjim očima." (A Slav needs no description. He is the same as he was back home, the only difference is that he is bent down by hard work, numbed by whiskey, torn apart by the cold. His hands are full of calluses, as if they were covered in corns) (Tresić Pavičić 73). This description leaves us with the conclusion that work in America is far

from what the immigrants, not only Croatians, but all immigrants faced with in their homeland, and far from what they expected to find upon their arrival to the promised land. It is evident that capitalism does everything it takes just to make a profit, which result in completely drained people, both mentally and physically. Croatian people were not used to these kinds of jobs since they were mostly peasants, used to living in the country, and surrounded by nature, a shocking contrast to what they found in the USA. As industrialization was moving forward, the capitalists wanted to make the most of the time and production. “Ti kapitalisti, rekao sam već, idu svuda za tim, da postignu gotov proizvod uz što manji trošak. Zato oni ne troše mnogo na tvorničke zgrade i prigrade za sigurnost radnika, a i kod najtežih poslova nastoje, da radnici što dulje rade i dobe što manju naplatu” (Sirovatka 37). (Those capitalists, as I said before, think only how to make a finished product with as little costs as possible. That is why they do not spend much on factory buildings and worker safety. They also strive to make workers work as much as possible even at the most strenuous jobs and to pay them as little as possible.)

With technological development, capitalist saw another opportunity for improvement in building up machines to shorten the time of production and to lower the number of people employed in factories. The machines enabled them to reduce the jobs previously done by a few thousand people to only three or four men. Croatians were not that privileged to be working in the factories near those machines, as Tresić Pavičić points out, “ali većina ih nije tu na božjem zraku, - i ako po užasnoj klimi vražjem – nego u dubi nama rudnika, gdje im memla svojom vlagom ispija kosti i mišice” (6). (“But most of them are not here in God’s given air, -even though it is the devil’s air in this climate- but in the depths of the mine, where mold is draining their bones and muscles”). The speed of production was astounding. It is evident that the American capitalists really believed in the saying “time is money”. They did not care about the quality of the steel they

were producing, compared to the European steel, they only cared about the quantity, which was the reason why their steel quickly began to rust (Tresić Pavičić 76).

This fact could be connected to the phenomenon mentioned before, describing the amazement with speed in everything: building, developing etc., just to prove a point because it really turns out that the Americans are concerned only with numbers which speaks of their greatness without caring about the people who are making it all possible. The greed of American capitalists comes up even more with their constant desire to build better and faster machines which end up producing faster and reducing the amount of time required to do a certain task. Those machines not only reduce the amount of time but also reduce the number of people required to do something, which leaves a great number of people unemployed (Tresić Pavičić 75), but that does not seem to be the concern of the ones in charge.

This section will deal with the change in the state of mind of Croatian people and how they adjusted to the new rules and behaviors in American society. Business is the driving force in American society and, as stated before, the Americans are only concerned about what is on the outside, without any reflection on the spiritual issues, as Tresić Pavičić charges. This can be discussed in the context of morals as well. At first, it might seem that American society had high standards when it comes to morals, if we observe what Tresić Pavičić has to say about it in the following lines, when describing the Temperance movement: “Nigdje, na primjer, nije dozvoljeno otvoriti saloon, ili gostionu u blizini crkve ili škole. U nekim mjestima zabranjeno je u nedjelju smijati se, govoriti glasno na ulici, ili zviždati” (86) (“It is not allowed to open a saloon or an inn anywhere near a church or a school. In some places it is forbidden to laugh, speak loudly or whistle on the streets on Sundays”). When we read these lines, it may seem that Americans really take care of the public peace in their society and that they are concerned about people’s wellbeing, but

Tresić Pavičić gives us a different insight when he speaks of how the Temperance movement speaks strongly against alcoholism and working on a Sunday, but says nothing about the capitalists who make people work day and night, without any real rest, only to gain as much profit as possible (ibid.).

Observing the morals of the Americans, Tresić Pavičić invites us to consider and compare it to the morals of Croatian people in the USA. He noticed that there was a problem with alcoholism because the workers loved to spend their free time drinking at the saloons. But still, there are those who are driven by common sense. Croatian churches in the USA were scattered all around the country, in any place where Croatians were settled. Everyone was free to decide whether they wanted or did not want to go to church. The fact that there were not any Croatian schools in the USA was a bit troublesome, because children attended American schools, and therefore spoke English and, not rarely, they refused to speak Croatian with their parents. Tresić Pavičić sees this as a problem and tries to indicate the need for a change to the representatives, but no one sees any point in that. The argument against building schools was the fact that Croatian people were in the process of alienation, so it was not important if it was going to happen to a present generation or the next one (Tresić Pavičić 87). It was pointless to build school for Croatians who would never return to the old country because “roditelji će umrijeti, sinovi će još znati hrvatski onoliko, koliko su od roditelja naučili, a unuci ni rieči” (ibid.). (“Parents will die, sons will know Croatian as much as they learnt from their parents and grandsons would not know a word”).

As the quote says, there was not much hope for Croatian people to go back to their homeland. The ones that went and found their way around were likely to stay there, so the question of building schools remained inconclusive for a while. Also, what looked like a problem was a supply of teachers and how they should be paid. We could already see how Croatian people treat their priests

and come to conclusion that Croatians like to command the ones they pay. To find a teacher who knows both Croatian and English was quite hard, because a person with those qualifications would probably want to get a better paid job than teaching the children of immigrants. Ante Tresić Pavičić finds this alarming because he witnesses the troubles of a Croatian in the USA who is left alone, without any guidance. Very soon an individual faces his misleading desires which bring him close to impurity, alcoholism, gambling and all sorts of temptations, which is the reason why Ante Tresić Pavičić thought of Croatian schools as a pillar which would hold up Croatians in a foreign land. Alcoholism turns out to be the biggest flaw of Croatians in the USA because it causes all other vices to show up. It is painful to witness these sorts of things, but, as Ante Tresić Pavičić confesses “boli donositi ovakva svjedočanstva, peče ko usijano željezo, ali ne lieči se rana, koja se prikriva” (92) (“This burns as red hot steel, but a wound that is hidden cannot be healed”). The pain Tresić Pavičić felt for his people when writing this is almost tangible. It must have been very hard for him to witness such a moral decline, but as he says, to treat a problem, it has to be addressed first. He believes that the people from the working class are more likely to fall under this vice because that is the only entertainment they get, while educated people are not willing to blur their minds by giving in to alcohol (ibid.).

Now that the bad aspects of life in the USA have been brought to attention, it is only fair to mention the good ones, because there are some. Ante Tresić Pavičić presents to us Ante Randić, a man from Kostrena, near the town of Bakar, to present how a person with a strong will can achieve anything. Ante Randić was left orphaned at the age of four, after which an uncle took him under his wing. His early years were rather difficult, with all the burden of life in the country, which is why he started dreaming of the USA as a little boy. One day after getting up, instead of taking the sheep to pasture, he decided to go to Rijeka to board a ship. After persuading the captain, he was

allowed to stay and help around. As time went by, the desire to sail to the USA grew in him day by day. He heard of a ship going there, and went to speak to its captain, asking him to take him in as a member of the crew. Upon his arrival to the USA, he remembered that he had an uncle there and was hoping to find him. And so he did. His uncle had a saloon, and Ante quickly found a way around. After seeing how things around the saloon functioned, he decided to enter the saloon business as well, and very soon became quite successful. He is an interesting example of a Croat in the USA because he married a woman of Czech descent and had two children with her, a boy and a girl, who knew both Czech and Croatian, and what is most important, he achieved success according to American standards (Banov 9). When he came to the USA, he was illiterate, could not speak English, but his hard work brought him to the top.

Even though there are just a few examples of Croatians who succeeded to such an extent, Ante Tresić Pavičić found it important to emphasize it so that the people could see it is possible. In Calumet Ante Tresić Pavičić observed the lives of workers, the factories they worked in as well as their homes. On one occasion he visited a worker Skender and was amazed by his family; his wife was a dedicated and hardworking housewife, and their children spoke only Croatian (Tresić Pavičić 129). After visiting some other workers, Ante Tresić Pavičić points out: “Ko je u Americi bolji radnik, a marljiv je i zna štediti, može u par godina steći kuću i namještaj u njoj” (A good worker in American, if he is hardworking and knows how to save money, can acquire a house and furniture in just a few years) (131). Calumet turns out to be one of the best organized Croatian settlements in the USA, judging by the morals of the people, especially compared to the southern parts. There are lots of women from homeland which means that the men are more oriented towards the family life. Wages are also better, so that everything goes in hand with the raising of a family (132). People in Calumet turn out to be quite fond of Ante Tresić Pavičić.



One thing that was in some way terrifying after arriving to Duluth, was a dinner at a Slovene family Brozić, where there have been a few Croatians as well. The reason why it was terrifying was because there was an abundance of food, which is not something Ante Tresić Pavičić was used to. Therefore, we can observe how the process of acculturation occurs through food and dietary habits. This was the case in lots of Croatian families Tresić Pavičić visited, and that is also not something that is common back in the homeland, because there was not so much food to begin with. It was interesting to him how Croatians embraced this custom, and how quickly they forgot the circumstances they grew up in. When we talk about those circumstances, the following quote brings us closer to understanding why Tresić Pavičić was so shocked:

The staple food in all parts of peasant Europe was bread. If one had as much bread as he wanted, he was more than happy. America offered not only plain bread, but white bread (the kind Slavic peasants ate only in holiday season); and in America there was also plenty of meat which was seldom to be afforded in many parts of Croatia. If only for bread and meat, many a peasant was ready to go to the land where it was in abundant supply. (Prpic 94)

From this we can observe his disbelief of what he saw at the Slovene family dinner. Not only was there enough food for everyone, but there was a lot more than enough. People back home appreciated bread almost as something holy, not to speak about meat. But since the people found their way around in America and could afford the things they could not before, they probably got carried away and ended up buying more than they actually needed, which was also quite a big sign of acculturation, because they started acting as Americans in worshipping abundance.

Another thing that Tresić Pavičić points out is the railway construction. He uses it to make a connection, or better said to make a distinction, between America and Europe, even Croatia. It is said that the USA have more railways than the entire Europe (Tresić Pavičić 143). In America authorities, landowners, railway companies, government, they all work together to make as many railways as possible, because they see the benefit the railways bring. The government gives away the land for free, because they realize that the railways would initiate the development in all aspects possible: if there is a mine anywhere near, then it would transport both the worker and the products of the mine, and also all the other passengers that came along. Tresić Pavičić views the railway in America same as the people used to view a river: river meant life, and now as he sees it- the railway means life. When observing the land along the railways, there are little towns, densely populated villages, while there is just wasteland when one observes further away from railways. Now to compare this to Croatia, Tresić Pavičić, almost bitterly states that

A kod nas? Vlada sama sprečava gradnju željeznica, da ostavi u mrtvilu naše bogate rudnike, da ubije naš promet i trgovinu, da drži u neznanju i siromaštvu narod, da ga sili na seobu, sve kako će lakše Magjari i Niemci, naš narod istisnuti sa rovjene grude, ili ga držati u podčinjenosti, koja je vrlo slična ropstvu. (143) (And what about us? The government itself prevents the railways construction, to prevent our rich mines from developing, to kill our traffic and trade, to keep our people ignorant and poor, to force them to migration, only to make it easier for Hungarians and Germans to dislodge our people from their own land, to keep them in subordination, similar to slavery.)

Furthermore, when discussing railways and all the benefits they bring, he also draws attention to the fact that there are many rail accidents, but interestingly, the people are not afraid of taking the train, because even though a lot of people are losing their lives in accidents, they still have to

continue with their business . Once again, Tresić Pavičić directs us to see how little human life in America is worth by saying “Ne cieni se ljudski život, glavno je, da poslovi napreduju, a ko ostane živ, neka uživa” (143) (Human life is not valued, the important thing is that the business goes on, and if anyone survives, good for him).

Crested-Butte was a place where Tresić Pavičić saw the need to make his conference more about the spiritual needs of Croatians, since he noticed that they have a lot of vices, alcohol in the first place, following adultery and so on. He realized that the moral decay in this place is the greatest so far. Customs are better kept here than in the big cities, but people are far from what Tresić Pavičić expected, they were in serious need of help, since they were deep in alcohol consumption. During his conference, he tried to speak more about what is expected of them, rather than talking about the homeland, but it seemed to him that it was all in vain.

California was a place Tresić Pavičić was extremely happy to see, because the landscapes of it reminded him of Italy. Also, California was a state that attracted many Croatians, with its mild climate and fertile soils, and this is the place where they seemed to prosper since they learned back home what hard work was. An interesting thing Tresić Pavičić had noticed in California was how well Croatians and Serbs get along. He emphasizes that both of them tried really hard to welcome him in the best way possible, and that they wanted for his conference to be well attended. He explains this by saying that our people abroad do not care much about someone’s political background, because they are connected by language, and that is what keeps them together.

Ta sloga me je neobično ganula, pa stadoh razmišljati, kad mogu braća živjeti bratski u tugjini, zašto ne bi kod kuće? Nema u Kaliforniji ni Austrije, ni Magjarije, da siju kukolj među braćom, eto razloga! Osim toga, u tugjini majčina rieč jače steže. Kad Srbin i Hrvat

čuju jedan drugoga govoriti, ne znade jedan, da li je drugi Srbin ili Hrvat, ali zna, da mu je brat. (Tresić Pavičić 161)

(I was strangely moved by this concord, so I started thinking, if brothers can live fraternally abroad, why can't they at home? There is no Austria, or Hungary in California to sow discord among brothers, that's why! Besides, mother tongue tightens abroad. When a Serb and a Croatian hear each other, one does not know whether the other one is Serb or Croatian, but they do know they are brothers.)

Being far away from home, the divisions between Slavic nations seem to fade away, as their only concern is that they can speak to each other in their language, and that they have someone in the wasteland of America they can turn to. Political events were one of the reasons why our people migrated to America, and the quote above illustrates it precisely since people do not focus on divisions normally, but the government is the one that brings division among them, they go by the principle of divide and rule.

His conference in Chicago was well attended, and it served him to display his observations that he made along the way. People were impressed by what he had to say, so they requested him to type it and print it so that it could be available to anyone who could benefit from it. The speech was both a summary of all the things he saw as well as a criticism of how easily the Croatians give up on preserving the national identity. “Već danas mnogi poenglezuju svoja imena, ma da još ni sami nisu naučili engleski govoriti. Ja sam našao vrlo rietko djece od hrvatskih roditelja, koja bi znala hrvatski govoriti, a našao sam ih mnogo, koji ne znadu ni rieči” (Tresić Pavičić 183) (A lot are already anglicizing their names, even though they do not speak English yet. I have found a few children of Croatian parents who speak Croatian, but I have found a lot of them who do not know

a word). This is a direct warning that Croatians are alienating quicker than one would expect and that it is about time for them to start thinking about how to preserve their heritage, because if they let it go so easily, their children will grow up without knowing where their roots are.

He also points out that the amount of money they gave in to building churches is absurd, because if they do not keep their national identity alive, those churches that once belonged to them will end up in the hands of Americans. What hurts him the most is that the amount of money they spent into building churches that will probably get out of hands of Croatians in a certain period of time, could have been used for helping the homeland, because with that much money, they could really make a change in circumstances that surround the people back home. He also criticized the envy that is omnipresent among Croatians, because as he states they are envious of success of their compatriot, instead of being proud of him and supporting him, they look for a way to sabotage him. “Vi pijete u saloonu domaćeg saloonera, kupujete potrebne stvari u domaćeg trgovca; ali samo kada ne znate drugoga jezika, da možete poći u tuginca. Domaćeg župnika, liečnika, pravnika itd., plaćate slabije, nego biste drugoga platili” (Tresić Pavičić 184) (You drink at your native proprietor’s saloon, you buy necessities at a native’s store, but only because you do not know the language to go to foreigner’s. You pay your native vicar, doctor, lawyer and so on a lot less than what you pay to someone else.). Lack of unity is something Tresić Pavičić warned them about and pointed out to specific blunders they persist in. There was a line that he repeated several times, and it was “Zdravo moja izgubljena braćo!” (Tresić Pavičić 183) (Hello my lost brethren!) This statement might just be perfect to sum up all he had to say, because Croatians were indeed lost in the wasteland of America. They began to alienate from their customs, from their language, from other members of their community, and all that to blend in with the Americans. Their children were probably the first factor in their process of alienation, because they were born as American

citizens, they spoke English better than their parents, so the parents, instead of teaching them Croatian, gave up and let their children speak English and communicate with them in English. It was not a rare case that the children were embarrassed in front of their American friends by their parents' bad accents and their peasant background.

#### 4.2 Louis Adamic's Model of Acculturation

In this section the emphasis will be on Manda Evanich. She is the main character in the short story "Manda Evanich from Croatia", published as a part of Louis Adamic's book "From Many Lands". The book itself was his project in which he describes the lives of many immigrant persons and families to illustrate their impact in the life of the nation. In the short story "Manda Evanich from Croatia", Louis Adamic introduces the Evans family (their surname was changed from Evanich to Evans), whose leading character was the wife, Manda. Their life in America is interesting to trace, because they moved up from miner's family to a family that entered a saloon business, and a very successful one (Adamic 60). Their lives show that hard work pays off.

The Evanich family was a large family living in Smisliak in the old country. They were all illiterate, old man Evanich and his five sons, there was no school in the village and their home budget was tight and uncertain (55). The third oldest son Mihailo married Manda, a nineteen-year-old widow with a small child. She turned out to be an outstanding woman, who was admired by her entire family as well as the people in the village. She could read and write and she was good at healing sick people. One day someone in the village uttered the name of America and people started hearing stories how men in America eat meat and white bread every day, which was very hard to imagine for poor peasants. Manda suggested to her husband to go and try out the life in America. Croatian men, who were married and left their wives "across the big pond" (56), tried to

get them to the USA as soon as they could. That was the case with Manda Evanich as well. As was mentioned before, she was very valued in her village, because of her skills and for being a bright woman. She knew how to heal different kinds of diseases with herbs that had medical benefits, and “she became expert also at setting broken bones and treating open wounds” (Adamic 56). When her husband Mihailo left to the USA, he started working for a copper company where he met a number of Slovenians and associated almost only with them for a year (Adamic 57). It did not take a lot of time for those men to find out that Mike’s (“as he began to be called”) (ibid) wife was extraordinary in housekeeping, which is why they urged him to get her to come to the USA. Not long after that, Mike got an eye disease which no one could diagnose and heal, so he believed that his wife could do something about it. One of the literate Slovenians wrote to her to come and take the boys with her. By bringing the children with her, they believed it would make her stay longer, because they wanted her to take care of the boardinghouse, since they lived with the Irish, German and Finnish families. Manda was valued among the boarders because they needed her to do the housework, which is not the way Tresić Pavičić described the position of American woman in the society when he states:

S toga se je u Americi zapovijed Sv. Pisma preokrenula, te glasi da muž mora biti vjerman I podložan ženi svojoj. I doista joj je podložan, baš pod papučom. Osobito u bogatim obiteljima, gdje nužda ne sili ženu na rad, ona uživa pravi raj. Muž ne živi za drugo, i ne radi, ne špekulira po vas boži dan, nego da zadovolji hirove svoje žene. (Tresić Pavičić 31)

(That is why the commandment of the Holy Scripture in America is reversed and says that a husband must be faithful and subject to his wife. And he really is subject to her, right under the boot. Women in rich families do not have to work, and therefore they live a heavenly life. The husband lives for nothing else but to satisfy his wife’s every whim.)

Manda was far from being privileged and cherished, which is best seen in the following quote: the custom was for the “boarding missus” to do all the cooking, baking, washing and ironing for the boarders. The washing included their heavy miners’ work clothes and, once a week, their feet. For this she received three dollars monthly from each border” (Adamic 58). Her workday was from sixteen to eighteen hours a day and the only vacations she ever had were during short periods after childbirth (59).

It took Manda quite some time to get used to the new way of life. Boarders made her learn how to prepare all kinds of different foods which she had never heard of before. Her husband bought her a stove which was also new to her because back in Smisliak food was cooked over an open fire on the floor (57). As mentioned before, Manda was good at curing people, which made her become the boarders’ doctor. Even though at first Manda really had a rough time with the new life in the USA, after she and Mike saved six hundred dollars in two years, “she began to see that America was a land of opportunities and gradually ceased thinking of returning to the old country” (Adamic 59). Manda began to “adapt to new conditions of life” (Thurnwald 557). To add up to that adaptation, their surname “Evanich” was changed to “Evans” because of misunderstanding with Mike’s boss, and by that they were naturalized. The Evans family, with Manda as the moving spirit (Adamic 59) saw America as a land of economic prosperity. In a pretty short period of time they managed to save twenty-five thousand dollars and decided to buy a large house in Calumet (ibid). That was when they decided to go into the saloon business. Not all Croatians were like the Evans family in that they knew how to save money. Lots of them spent all their savings in those saloons and on other sources of fun. The Evans family knew what they were doing when they entered the saloon business, so they set some rules: gambling was forbidden, and excessive drinking was sanctioned (60). The Evanses were making their own wine, making sausages, hung



up the hams, and by that revived the culture and tradition of their homeland. Their background was always visible in everything they did, especially Manda. The way she raised their children was admirable, because it took great strength to handle twelve boys. She strongly believed that they always need to be busy with something in order to keep them away from all sorts of vices and bad life habits (61). Speaking of their background, religion was of great importance to Manda, which led her to discuss the idea of leaving the saloon business, because that kind of life could not be more opposed to her beliefs, and as she grew older, her peasant past made her desire a more peaceful life. Although that idea was accepted and started to materialize, life circumstances suddenly changed when her husband died (62). This tragedy made them keep the saloon which helped them pay for the education for those who wanted to be educated. One of their sons named Steve entered law school which eventually helped him understand all kinds of problems that workers in America face. The fact that his mother was always on call, because workers from the mines came to her to set their bones or treat their wounds made Steve see firsthand all the injustice of the American system when it comes to protection of workers which did not even exist. Steve was the one who enacted laws which required safety measures in the mines and industrial plants (63). His commitment to helping workers was recognized among people which is why they elected him the prosecuting attorney of Houghton County (63). To point out the power and significance of community, Adamic stresses that his mother and brothers were his biggest support during campaign, as they were the ones who distributed leaflets, posted posters with his face and so on. Manda remained close to her sons and their families throughout her entire life, and she also remained true to herself and the values she cherished. Although she was a peasant woman from Croatia, she fully accepted the life in America and what it entailed. She respected the American government and became a true patriot, even though her English remained broken. She helped

dozens of girls from Croatia by bringing them to America and providing them with a job in their saloon up until they got married. She was a godmother to numerous children now scattered all around the States. To sum up her life and the life of her family, we can observe how a strong and well led community is important when it comes to achieving success. Manda's family had that elementary feature. They preserved the principles they had learned back home and those were the driving force for their future. Only two of her sons married Croatian girls born in Calumet (66), while the rest of them married girls of different origin. As mentioned, while Manda's English remained broken, her children were good at it, since most of them were born in America, while some of her grandchildren as third generation were ashamed of her accent, fearing that their American friends would find out about their foreign descent. The third generation marked the disruption with the old country. The old country was something beyond their comprehension, because they felt like Americans since they were born and raised there, and the fact that their mothers (most of them) were not related to Croatia, keeping a connection with it did not make any sense to them.

#### 4.3. Gabro Karabin- "Honorable Escape"

In his autobiographical narrative "Honorable Escape", Gabro Karabin invites us to observe the process of his breaking of patterns imposed by his father and brother. At the beginning, he introduces his background, his mother is Magyar and his father is Croatian. He lived with his two sisters and a brother. They lived in a settlement where people mostly worked in the mill, which was a job that awaited Gabro as well, but that was not how he envisioned his future. Having seen the outlines of his father's dead body under a tarpaulin after a terrible accident in the mill made him question the meaning of such a life where any kind of ambition was ripped out from a man by forcing him to work at such a place, without ever finding peace (Karabin 40). The fact that the

tragic death of his father did not make it as news to any papers once again emphasizes how little a worker's life is appreciated. His brother Ziga was also working at the mill, which he completely accepted as his way of life, and he was not willing to change anything about it, but Gabro was still struggling with it, he kept thinking that there must be something better than working there. The summer Ziga got Gabro his first job at the mill seemed like it was never-ending. He kept thinking "This is not everything. Life will not find its best routine here. For a while – yes – but only for a while" (Karabin 42). These thoughts were deep inside of him, and as he says they were with him ever since he was a child. He always felt a bit alienated from his settlement because his ambitions were greater than himself, and he was not ready to reject those ambitions because of his origin, since he believed in a better future, and did not want to be defined by the job his father and brother were working at or by the community he was living in. It did not take him long to see that "the mill forgets life as quickly as it takes it – the safety department hushing up, and the central office paying off miserably" (Karabin 42). It was a representation of a hard life, without any real worth given to a man. The things he saw there fed his fears about continuing with such a life. The young people, young foreigners that kept coming seemed to him as if they were rushing into the unknown. They did not think it through, since all they cared about was earning for a living without thinking about the possible risks that could come along. After summer came to an end, Gabro took two extension courses that the University gave in the high school, which helped him find his way around to a new job, finally. It was a job that took him out of the factory, a job where he worked for a salary, and not wages. This made him see all the possibilities that opened in front of him, and finally setting him free from the chains of his settlement, the chains of his origin and all the patterns he has picked up along his growing up. The fact that he managed to find something that fulfilled him was not something that his brother Ziga cared about at all, since Ziga was certain that the life

he was living was the only possible and the only right. Gabro was hurt by this, because he tried to seek a better job, a better life, but without alienating from his close ones.

## 5. Conclusion

Acculturation of Croatians in the United States during the major immigration wave was a matter of concern for many writers, because they saw a set of complex problems that surrounded it. In some way, people were forced to alienate from their old identity, one of the problems being their names and last names that were hard for Americans to pronounce, let alone write it down, which led to anglicizing of their names. When we look at the bigger picture, the members of the first generation were not that bad at being aware of their origin, but due to different pressure described in the works presented here, they were not able to pass it on to the second generation to feel affiliated to Croatia, because they accepted American names for their children, they let them attend American schools, and in the end they could not control the people their children would become friends with, which were all steps closer to complete alienation. We could see that the third generation in the period discussed here in most cases did not know the language nor their cultural background.

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## Abstract

This paper dealt with the process of acculturation on the example of the massive immigration of Croats to the United States from the 1880s to 1930s. I analyze several representative fictional and non-fictional texts by and about Croats in the USA which illustrate some features of accommodating to a new society. Ante Tresić Pavičić's travelogue was both a report for the Croatians back home, as well as a warning and a reminder for the Croatians in America. The aim of his work was to make a connection between America and home. He wanted to remind Croatian communities in the States where they were coming from, and wanted to warn them against losing their identity, because he saw that they were not really fighting to preserve it. Anglicizing of their last names was the first step towards alienation. We could see that in Louis Adamic's story about Manda Evanich, as her husband changed his last name due to misunderstanding with his boss. Manda Evanich is an example of a woman that did not give up on her language and the customs that she had brought from her homeland, but she was unable to instill the love for Croatia into the hearts of her children or her grandchildren to the extent that she felt it. Since most of her children were born in America and by that they were immediately American citizens, there was not much that she could do about it. Their home was the place they were born in, so they lived their lives according to the rules of the country they were in, became a part of its political, economic and social systems. Even though Manda had great love for Croatia, she respected her new country, obeyed the rules, spoke well of its politicians, and believed that they were guiding her new country the right way. Her sons married women of mostly different nationalities, which resulted in the fact that the third generation did not speak Croatian, and most of them did not even know where exactly that country is that their grandmother came from a long time ago. As for Gabro Karabin's character, he wanted to look for something better for himself,

because he knew that he did not have to be defined by his origin and consent to a job that was made of hard work just because his brother and father did so. His escape from those patterns was painful for his family, but he managed to do it without forgetting where he came from.

Key words: acculturation, national identity, alienation, homeland, customs, , Croats in the USA