

The Desire to be Free: Marica Nadlišek Bartol and the Young Intelligentsia at the Turn of the 20th Century

This article discusses the social network surrounding the first editor of the Slovenian women's journal, Slovenka (1897-1902). The authors present the people who created Slovenka and the common interests that connected them. To establish this network, the correspondence to the editorial board of Slovenka and the correspondence of its editor, Marica Nadlišek, were analysed. In addition to these archival materials, the available correspondence of Slovenka's contributors was examined. In this research, the emancipatory strategies used by the leading Slovenian women of the first of wave feminism in the Slovenian territory can be recognised. Furthermore, the research highlights aspects of the emotional culture and the concept of friendship that developed around the young and progressive part of Slovenian intelligentsia at the turn of the 20th century.

Keywords: journal *Slovenka*, Slovenian intelligentsia, feminism, correspondence of Marica Nadlišek, Russophile ideas

Introduction

The entrance of women into the public sphere in the Habsburg monarchy went (as was characteristic for the then on-going processes all over Europe) hand in hand with the development of national movements and revolutions in 1848. National movements encouraged the development of women's movement by emphasising the crucial role of women as protectors of culture and language. In the process of the expansion of national values, women gained prominent roles as mothers and educators of their offspring, which was especially characteristic for German and also for Slovenian nationalism. In the Austrian half of the monarchy, according to various nationalisms, mothers were especially responsible for protecting „the core identity of the nation“. As Judson argues, German nationalism did not require women to raise their birth rates, as in France in Great Britain; however, they were responsible

for protecting the ethnic purity by discouraging intermarriage and for providing cultural reproduction of the nation by using the right language and „traditions“.¹ In nationalists' views, women's activity in public was necessary because of the entanglement of private, public-cultural and national spheres.² In the second half of the 19th century, national circles in Slovenian territory also started to recognise nationally engaged women as one of the pillars for development of a „strong and healthy“ nation. Female poets, orators, singers and musicians became indispensable protagonists of national sociability, the main organisers of different balls, festive parties and reading room celebrations. Due to the widespread belief that the national awareness should not remain solely in the domain of the upper middle class but had to reach all social strata, new opportunities arose for Slovenian women: active in charity circles and cultural work, they had a new mission to „culturally educate“ the „less privileged.“³

Furthermore, the emancipation of women in Slovenian territory contributed to greater equality in rights and opportunities. It reduced what fathers and patriarchs needed to agree on not just because of the „national feminism“ framed in terms of rights and duties to the nation, but also because of the democratisation implicit in the ideology of the middle classes.⁴ All this was reflected in the foundation of the first Slovenian women's journal *Slovenka* in 1897 in Trieste, whose editor was Marica Nadlišek, a teacher and a writer. Under Nadlišek's editing, the journal's main goal was to strengthen Slovenian national identity among women, though other objectives were respected as well: moderate emancipation of Slovenian women and literary education, given the literary character of the journal. *Slovenka* was published until 1902; in 1900, the editor became Ivanka Klemenčič. Under her management, *Slovenka* became more radical and feminist, inspired by Berliner *Die Frau* and less

- 1 Pieter M. Judson, The Gendered Politics of German Nationalism in Austria 1880-1990, in: David F. Good, Margarete Grandner and Mary J. Maynes (ed.), *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford: Berhahn Books, 1996), 5, 6.
- 2 Pieter M. Judson, The Gendered Politics of German Nationalism in Austria 1880-1990, in: David F. Good, Margarete Grandner and Mary J. Maynes (ed.), *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford: Berhahn Books, 1996), 5, 6; Simonetta Soldani, Donne e nazione nella rivoluzione italiana del 1848, *Passato e presente* 17, no. 46 (1999): 75-102. Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).
- 3 Marta Verginella, Ženska obrobja. *Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev* (Ljubljana: Delta, 2006); Marta Verginella, Nacionalna pripadnost žensk in njihovo delovanje na nacionalnem obrobju, in: Kozma Ahačič in Petra Testen (eds.), *Jeziki, Identitete, pripadnosti med središči in obrobji. Razprave, predstavljene na mednarodnem simpoziju v počastitev 500. obletnice rojstva Primoža Trubarja (Ljubljana, 5.-8. junij 2008)* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, Inštitut za kulturno zgodovino ZRC SAZU, 2011), 253-262. On construction of femininity within public discourse in the second half of the 19th; see also: Katja Mihurko Ponž, *Evine hčere. Konstruiranje ženskosti v slovenskem javnem diskurzu 1848-1902* (Nova Gorica: Založba Univerze v Novi Gorici, 2009).
- 4 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire. 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 1987, 2007), 202; Karen Offen, *European Feminism 1700-1950. A Political History*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 213.

by Vienne *Dokumente der Frauen*.⁵ *Slovenka* had a distinct place in Slovenian history and public discourse; its distinctive stature keeping it relevant through the 1930s.⁶

In our research, we investigated who was behind the project of *Slovenka*, who were the people who created it and what their common interests were. We investigated the social networks of the editor of *Slovenka* and the collaborators of the journal and attempted to evaluate group structures and dynamics. From the available correspondence published, and preserved in archives,⁷ we have attempted to make a reconstruction of sociability and to make some clarification about the relationship between collaborators and the editor of *Slovenka*, Marica Nadlišek Bartol. Our main goal was to understand the emancipatory strategies of the leading Slovenian women from the first wave of feminism in Slovenian regions, in Carniola and the Austrian Littoral. We aimed to offer an in-depth view on emotional culture at the turn of the 20th century, developed around the young and free-minded part of Slovenian intelligentsia.

The Geo-Political Context behind *Slovenka* and Marica Nadlišek Bartol

The public activities of young intellectuals took place in the framework of the multi-ethnic and multinational empire of Austria-Hungary, which was shaken in the 19th century by numerous nationalist movements, attempting to consolidate their national identities. When the dual imperial system in the Habsburg Empire was established with the Compromise of 1867, two political entities of equal rights under the same ruler came into existence. However, the compromise did not terminate German predominance in the western part of the monarchy. Slavic people represented nearly half of the population of the Habsburg monarchy, yet their numbers were not visible in the official politics and political representation. The majority of Slovenes lived in Carniola, but considerable Slovene populations also dwelled in the Habsburg crown lands of Styria, Carinthia and Istria, and the cities of Trieste, Gorizia and Gradisca. In the Slovenian national imagination, Carniola represented the national home of the Slovenes as more than 90 percent of its population was Slovenes yet at the same time they held, for example, only one third of the seats in the local diet in the late 19th century. Nevertheless, Carniola was the place where Slovenes enjoyed the most rights and liberties. In the last two decades of the 19th century, ethnic divisions between Germans and Slovenes in Carniola became more intense, and worsened steadily in Carinthia and Styria. In other crown lands, such as Gorizia, as well as the city of Trieste, the Slovene national movement was faced with the Italian national movement. After 1880, this growing „concern to develop

5 Marja Boršnik, *Študije in fragmenti* (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1962), 149.

6 Natascha Vittorelli, *Slovenka*, *Zgodovina za vse* 11, no. 2 (2004), 12-21.

7 NUK, Rokopisni oddelek, Ms 703 Bartol Nadlišek Marica and NUK Ms 1429 Slovenka.

national identity“ contributed to women becoming part of those activities as in German Austria, while in Carniola and Trieste new nationalist women’s organisations were established.⁸ It comes as no surprise that women first started to organise in the ethnically mixed urban areas of Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, as well as of Gorica and Trieste, where interactions with members of other national communities were part of everyday life.

Marica Bartol Nadlišek organised Slovenian women in Trieste, which was the main city in the Austrian Littoral at the turn of the 20th century. In the 19th century, it had become the largest Habsburg port and one of the most attractive Central European places to immigrate to. In 1910, it had nearly 230,000 inhabitants (suburbs included). From the 1860s, it was the scene of constant conflict between two national movements: Italian and Slovenian. Italian nationalists strived to restore Italian domination in this multi-ethnic and multilingual city, which was at the time part of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy. They were helped by the municipality,⁹ since Italian language was the language of the majority and city council had supported Italian national claims by distributing to them jobs in city administration, different financial donations to Italian associations, and by resisting the implementation of equality measures regarding ethnic groups from Vienna. Despite the fact that Ljubljana was considered the political and cultural capital of Slovenians, Trieste was, according to the population census, the city with the highest number of Slovenian inhabitants. At the time, 56,000 Slovenians lived in Trieste, while in Ljubljana there were 52,000. In their national struggle, Slovenian circles from the city appealed to Austrian constitution of 1867, which guaranteed national rights to all nationalities, yet in practice it was otherwise. They demanded the use of the Slovenian language in public offices and the right to teach it in schools. The conflict between the two national communities in Trieste continued until the city finally became part of Italy after the First World War. In the interwar period, Italian and Slovenian relations were marked by the rise of fascism, which consolidated its power before the Second World War.¹⁰ Although Triestine Slovenians were not a numerously strong community in the mid-19th century, they did participate in modernisation and nationalisation.¹¹ In 1887 in Trieste, for example, they opened a local branch of Slovenian all-female nationalist school association *Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda*,

8 As, for example, in Ljubljana *Frauenortsgruppe Laibach des deutschen Schulvereines* (1885) was established and in Trieste *Družbe Sv. Cirila in Metoda* (1887).

9 Marco Breschi, Aleksej Kalc and Elisabetta Navarra, La nascita di una città. Storia minima della popolazione di Trieste, secc. XVIIIXIX, in: Giacomo Borusso, Robert Finzi and Giovanni Panjek (eds.) *Storia sociale ed economica di Trieste*. (Trieste: Lint, 2001), 69-237.

10 Marina Cattaruzza (ed.), *Nazionalismi di frontiera: identità contrapposte sull'Adriatico nord-orientale, 1850-1950* (Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2003).

11 Marta Verginella, Sloveni a Trieste tra Sette e Ottocento: da comunità etnica a minoranza nazionale, in: Giacomo Borusso, Robert Finzi and Giovanni Panjek (eds.) *Storia sociale ed economica di Trieste*. (Trieste: Lint, 2001), 441-481.

which encouraged education in Slovenian language by establishing private schools and kindergartens. This first all-female local branch of *Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda* was founded in Trieste only four years after a competitive German school association *Deutscher Schulverein* established the first women-only branch of this kind in Graz. As political competitiveness among Slovenian and Italian national camps was rising, Slovenians regarded female national activity as an undisputable contribution to strengthening their community's position in Trieste. This awareness that there is no national progress without women created favourable conditions for women's organisations and for the establishment of the first Slovenian women's journal in Trieste.¹² The central point of this vivid social life was Marica Nadlišek (married surname: Bartol).

The Life of Marica Nadlišek (Bartol)

Marica Nadlišek Bartol was a daughter of nationally conscious father; he was an active member of the Slovenian community in Trieste, a land surveyor who belonged to the suburban middle class. In 1882, she enrolled in teacher's college in Gorizia, where she made contacts with Slovenian intelligentsia, inspiring her interest for Slovenian literature. After graduation 1886, she worked as a teacher in Slovenian schools in the Trieste area. She enjoyed reading French, Italian and German authors and especially Russian novelists, including Dostoyevsky or Tolstoy, Gogolj and Turgenjev. She was active in Slovenian reading rooms and wrote her first article in the Slovenian daily newspaper *Edinost* in 1888. She was also one of the co-founders of the all-female local branch of *Družba sv. Čirila in Metoda*.

Part of her public engagement was also her literary and publicist work, with which she established herself as a writer. Her literary stories carry strong national themes, but she also published different kind of articles. In the 1890s, she participated in a long controversial discussion with the future bishop of the island of Krk, Anton Mahnič, who was at the time leading Slovenian Catholic ideologist. He argued for male supremacy or domination, claiming that only a man could be a holder of authority.¹³ Her presence in publications most probably contributed to her becoming the first editor of the



Photography of Marica Nadlišek Bartol (Digitalna knjižnica Slovenije. Zbirka upodobitev znanih Slovencev NUK.)

¹² Verginella, *Ženska obrobja*.

¹³ Anton Mahnič, *Kaj piše Marica?*, *Rimski katolik*, 1893, 114-118; Anton Mahnič, *Žensko poglavje*, *Rimski katolik*, 1893, 456.

first Slovenian women's journal, *Slovenka*, published in Trieste in 1897. In her very first editorial, she called attention to the insufficient national awareness of Slovenian womanhood.¹⁴ *Slovenka* became the true forum for female authors to exercise their writing talents and also a place of vivid discussions where feminist topics were not left out.

After Marica married Gregor Bartol, a postal clerk, in 1899, she no longer taught and also gave up her position of an editor of *Slovenka*. In the years to come, she gave birth to seven children, two of whom died. She was disappointed in her marriage, no longer having time to write or be publicly active. Another important change in her life came with Italian domination in Trieste after the First World War, when she was forced to leave the city and move to Ljubljana. There she lived as a refugee with her five children in a train wagon.¹⁵ After she managed to resolve these problems of basic survival, she occasionally wrote and translated, contributed to the most influential women's magazine at the time, *Ženski svet*, and also became a member in associations working for the rights of women and Slovenians, who still lived in Italy.¹⁶ One of her sons (Vladimir Bartol) became a famous Slovenian writer.¹⁷

Letters as Butterflies

The main source of our analysis was Marica Bartol's correspondence, preserved in two archival records. In the first, there are her personal letters; in the second, formal letters to her and Ivanka Klemenčič as the next editor of *Slovenka*.¹⁸ As a complementary material, we used the available correspondence of contributors in *Slovenka* to clarify and emphasise certain moments of the relationship and group dynamic between them and the editor. Marica's memoirs, written in the 1930s, were also analysed.¹⁹ We divided the correspondence in two chronological groups according to the milestones in her life. The first group of letters analysed originates from the time when she was an editor of *Slovenka* between 1897 and 1899. In the second group are the letters from the interwar period when she was forced to leave Trieste and found a new home in Ljubljana, analysed together with the memoirs of women's activists. Through these letters, we identified the relations and their strength between

14 Introductory article, *Slovenka* 1, no. 1 (1897), 1-2.

15 About the intellectual emigrants from Venezia Giulia after 1918 and the Mussolini regime, see: Marta Verginella, *Granica drugih*. (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2011), 88–94.

16 Marta Verginella, *Granica drugih*. (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2011), 88-94.

17 His canonical work of Slovene literature *Alamut* (1938) has been translated into twenty-nine languages (Italian, Spanish, German, English, Croatian, Czech, Serbian, etc.).

18 NUK Ms 703 Bartol Nadlišek Marica and NUK Ms 1429 Slovenka.

19 Her memoirs were published in literary journal *Razgledi* as *Iz mojega življenja* in 1948 (vol. 3, no. 4/5-9). The first draft of *Iz mojega življenja* was put together in 1927. Dušan Moravec, *Pisma Frana Govekarja*, (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1982), 173.

Marica Nadlišek Bartol and her correspondents (male and fame), as well as the density and frequency of contacts and intimacy used in the letters. Therefore, part of the analysis also required researching the emotional and cultural expressions of the time, to provide the valid context for further analysis and conclusions.

During her work at *Slovenka*, Nadlišek Bartol corresponded with 41 men and 18 women. This can be concluded from the preserved letters, which she kept in her private archive and were handed over to the National and University Library in Ljubljana in 1945. Even though *Slovenka* was a journal for women, it seems that men were the most influential supporters of the project. Mostly, they were all engaged in *Slovenka* as writers of short stories or poems. On the basis of the available data, though not all birth years could be gathered, we can claim that most of them were older than Nadlišek Bartol. Most correspondents were priests, teachers or professors. Since she corresponded with intellectuals living in all Slovenian lands (Littoral, Carniola, Styria), their connections were not hindered by the distance as one might have thought. In her memoirs, she remembers how: „My letters rushed all over Slovenia and across it just like butterflies to all sides.“²⁰

She most frequently exchanged letters with Anton Aškerc,²¹ Fran Govekar,²² Simon Gregorčič,²³ Fran Göstl,²⁴ Anton Medved²⁵ and Adolf Pahar. She was infatuated with Adolf Pahar²⁶ at the time (1898) which explains why letters are personal. Other men were all key members of the Slovenian liberal circles, some (at least two)²⁷ almost two decades older than her. She managed to connect the young and ambitious „modern Vienna circle“ with its leader Fran Govekar, the generation of writers of the 1870s with older, already established writers and poets of the Slovenian Parnas. At the turn of the century, this young circle was no longer an eager supporter of the „old famous“ generation of the writers of realism (Anton Aškerc, Janko Kersnik²⁸ and Ivan Tavčar²⁹), who were at the time in the zenith of their lives and to whom the

20 Marica Nadlišek Bartol, Iz mojega življenja, *Razgledi* 3, no. 8 (1948), 367.

21 Anton Aškerc (1856-1912), important Slovenian poet of realistic orientation, he was a priest until 1898 when he was employed as an archivist.

22 Fran Govekar (1871-1949), journalist, publicist. He wrote the naturalistic novel *V krvi*. Latter he became one of the editors of the liberal newspaper *Slovenski narod*, and was afterward employed in city administration. At the end of his career, he became the director a theatre in Ljubljana.

23 Simon Gregorčič (1844-1906), important Slovenian poet of romantic orientation who performed his profession of a priest under constant pressure to retire.

24 Fran Göstl (1864-1945) a medical doctor and a publicist.

25 Anton Medved (1869-1910), a poet and playwright, a priest who was several times removed from duty because of his behaviour.

26 Adolf Pahar, teacher from Styria.

27 Simon Gregorčič and Anton Aškerc.

28 Janko Kersnik (1852-1897), an important Slovenian writer of realistic period, a lawyer and politician.

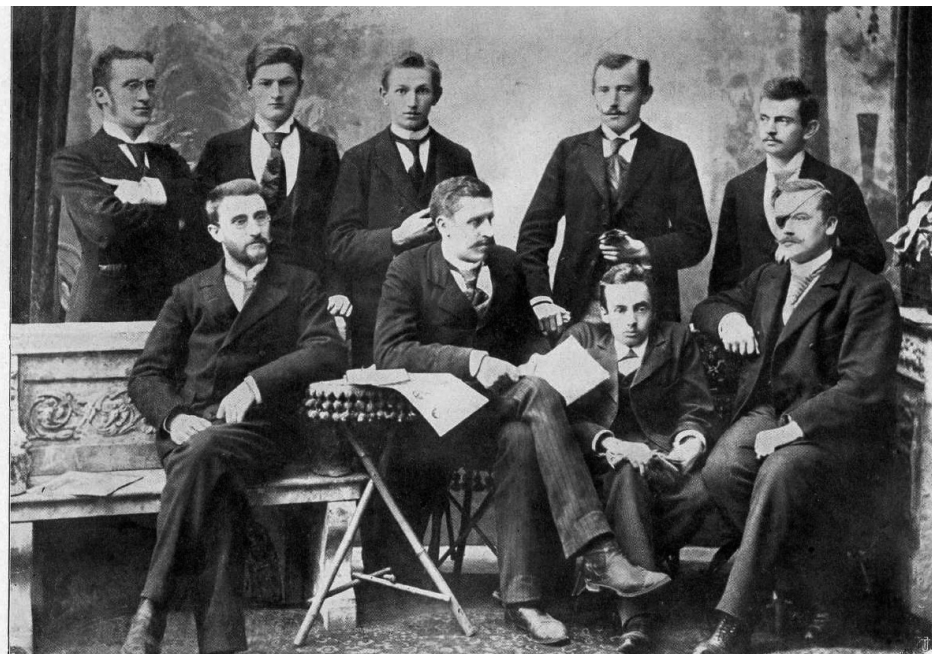
29 Ivan Tavčar (1851-1923), an important Slovenian writer of realistic period, a lawyer and politician.

circle of the young artists and its decadence seemed strange.³⁰ Nadlišek Bartol was at first against this „new tendency“ from Vienna having supported the „healthy realism of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky“ as early as the 1890s.³¹ However, after she started her correspondence with Fran Govekar, exchanging frequent letters, she changed her mind. She started to seek advice from him for her own literary work and invited co-workers for *Slovenka* from his circle. Nevertheless, from the letters, it is evident that they never developed close or intimate ties, their relationship remaining pragmatic. While Nadlišek Bartol was searching new contributors for *Slovenka*, Govekar found in the journal a venue for his articles and those of his friends. Furthermore, in her memoirs, thirty years later, she again expresses her lack of understanding towards the new literary style and identifies the young writers as „Govekar and his satellites“.³²

30 Marja Boršnik, Tavčar v prvi Cankarjevi ustvarjalni dobi, *Sodobnost* 24, no. 5 (1976), 458.

31 Dušan Moravec, *Pisma Frana Govekarja. II. Knjiga*. (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1982), 173; Boršnik, *Študije in fragmenti*, 117.

32 Nadlišek Bartol, *Iz mojega življenja*, 365-6.



LITERARNI KLUB NA DUNAJU V L. 1896/1897.

Stoječa vrsta od leve proti desni: Fran Govékar (višji magistratni svetnik v Ljubljani), Anton Majaron (umrl kot jurist v Borovnici), Oton Župančič (dramaturg Nar. gledališča v Ljubljani), Ivan Škerjanec (umrl kot jurist v Ljubljani), Ivan Cankar (pisatelj, umrl 1918 v Ljubljani); sedeča vrsta od leve proti desni: dr. Fr. Vidic (referent za umetnost in znanost v prosvetnem oddelku v Ljubljani), dr. Fr. Göstl (primarij v zavodu za umobolne v Ljubljani), dr. Ferdo Jančar (filozof in historik, umrl kmalu po dovršenih studijah), dr. Fran Eller (univerzitetni profesor v Ljubljani).

Photography of the Slovene Literary Club in Vienna –1896/1897. (Digitalna knjižnica Slovenije. Vir: Dom in svet, 1926, letnik 39, številka 5. <<http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-VL1JNIQD>>)

This modern Vienna circle was truly gathered around Fran Govekar, together with Fran Göstl, Fran Vidic, Anton Majaron, Oton Župančič,³³ Ivan Škrjanec, Ivan Cankar,³⁴ Ferdo Jančar and Fran Eller. They were all part of a young politically liberally orientated Slovenian intelligentsia who studied in Vienna, successfully or unsuccessfully. In 1896, Slovenian students with literary ambitions established the Slovenian Literary Club. All of them were the same age as Nadlišek Bartol or even younger. They can be considered mediators of modern literature and contemporary literary trends. Among nine members, at least four can be found in Nadlišek Bartol's correspondence, two more published in the journal, and another was named as a co-worker of *Slovenka*. In 1897, Govekar became an editor in Ljubljana at a liberal

33 Oton Župančič (1878-1949) important Slovenian poet, dramatic and translator, a representative of Slovenian moderna.

34 Ivan Cankar (1876-1918) important Slovenian a writer, dramatic and a poet, a representative of Slovenian moderna.

newspaper, *Slovenski narod*, whose leader was Ivan Tavčar. A year later, the group split up with some of the members becoming even more radical, for example, Ivan Cankar who started to write in a symbolist manner. Others, like Govekar, did not hold on to this new style. After this parting, Nadlišek Bartol again „loses her patience“ with new modern styles in literature and writes to Ivan Cankar: „Everything may be transferred to Slovenian ground: various organisations, which are needed and appropriate in other nations but not in our little nation where they do not fit and cannot make it; decadent and Secession styles which if not beautiful are at least modern...“.³⁵ We can only guess that this change of mind happened after an attack of the „new tendency“ group on another circle of her friends, who also published in *Slovenka* and with whom Nadlišek Bartol had close ties, and who will be presented below.

Philosophical Letters

As mentioned, among *Slovenka*'s collaborators we can find the well-established Slovene poets like Anton Aškerc, who was the editor of the most influential literary magazine *Ljubljanski zvon* (1900–1902), and Simon Gregorčič, a tremendously popular poet at the time, both older than Marica.³⁶ Letters to them, and from them to her, testify that she was treated as an equal. She was considered an expert on the literary scene and at the same time its creator; they consulted her about literature and she even proposed what should be translated to them. Her male correspondents from this circle shared previously „more or less unsuccessful“ careers as priests, and they were also suspiciously liberal in the context of Catholic Church. Anton Aškerc left the spiritual vocations and worked as an archivist at the Liberal party in Ljubljana. Priest Simon Gregorčič found himself in disfavour with the Catholic party after Anton Mahnič actively agitated against his poems and, as a result, Gregorčič was forced to retire. Priest Anton Medved's employment was consistently interfered with, as he was often sent away on mandatory extended sick leave and other leaves of absence. Though Nadlišek Bartol, the editors for the poems published in *Slovenka* found in this circle, they remained only co-editors of the journal. At first, the editorship was taken on by Simon Gregorčič, but then the duties were taken over by Anton Medved.³⁷

35 Ivan Cankar, *Zbrana dela. Pisma III. 28 knjiga* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1972), 342.

36 Anton Aškerc was conservative in his view on women poets and writers, as he thought that women's writings could not be on the same level as men's. Marica was rare exception. From: Dušan Moravec, Aškerčeva lastna podoba v pisemskih sporočilih, in: Anton Aškerc, *Zbrano delo. Pisma II. 9. knjiga*. (Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije, 1999), 498.

37 Fran Saleški Finžgar, *Zbrana dela. Knjiga 14*. (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1996), 64, 356; Simon Gregorčič, *Zbrana dela. Knjiga 4*. (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1951), 443, 446.

Nadlišek Bartol led a remarkably intense correspondence also with a poet and priest Ivan Trinko-Zamejski,³⁸ whose poems were declared by the proponents of „modern style“ as „outdated“.³⁹ However, Trinko was the only one orientated towards Italy and familiar with Italian literary production: another reason why he was important to Nadlišek Bartol. Their correspondence was in her words more „philosophical“; they discussed and reflected on friendship, for example, on life as how it is necessary to contain oneself and why it is essential to have a dream. Trinko was, in his letters to Nadlišek Bartol, the only one who consistently drew attention to the fact that Catholic female writers are missing in Slovenia, and that *Slovenka* could not be too emancipated. He was also judgmental towards the decision of Anton Aškerc to abandon the clerical profession in his traditional views.⁴⁰ However, in his views he was more of an exception among other members of this circle, who were (despite their vocations) less strict, and their opinions can be in many ways considered liberal. That means that they did not unconditionally obey the bishop and church authority, their primary mission was not to claim the rights of the Catholics in the public; moreover, even their literature was reviewed by church dignitaries as inappropriate regarding their moral, religious or even aesthetic views. The lives of these artists reflect the most salient characteristic of Slovenian history: the intense cultural struggle between the two critical pillars of Slovenian society. A so-called cultural war was ongoing between liberals and conservative Catholics, where being a priest and a liberal was almost an impossible mission. Therefore, it is surprising that we can find in their correspondence statements like: „Don't be liberal only to be liberal, always listen to your reason and also, your heart, so that the consciousness will never complain.“⁴¹ Its author, Anton Medved, was one among few who dared to say: „Although I wear a black coat I am always liberal...“⁴²

Part of this circle were also young female poets, who were collaborators of *Slovenka*. They were teachers Franica Vovk (Vida Jeraj),⁴³ Kristina Šuler⁴⁴ and Marica Strnad.⁴⁵ We can find here also a teacher, Ljudmila Poljanec,⁴⁶ and another priest and a writer Fran Saleški Finžgar. The project *Slovenka* and its editor Nadlišek Bartol initiated and encouraged ties that would last a lifetime and had a strong

38 Ivan Trinko Zamejski (1863-1954), a priest, poet and a writer.

39 Gregorčič, *Zbrana dela*, 446.

40 NUK, Rokopisni oddelek, Ms 703, Bartol Nadlišek Marica to Ivan Trinko Zamejski, 15.5.1898.

41 E.S.F., Anton Medved v pismih, *Dom in svet* 27, no. 1/2 (1914), Anton Medved to Franc Saleški Finžgar 1892, 69.

42 Emil Cesar, *Pesnik Anton Medved – Življenje in Delo. Bratje Zapojmo!* (Ljubljana: Amalietti&Amalietti, 2007), 226.

43 Franica Vovk (Vida Jeraj) (1875-1932) a teacher and a poet.

44 Kristina Šuler (Schuller) (1866-1959) a teacher and a poet.

45 Marica Strnad Cizerlj (1872-1953) a teacher and a poet. After her marriage, she moved to Russia and returned in 1920 to Slovenia.

46 Ljudmila Poljanec (1874-1948) a teacher and a poet.

emotional effect on its protagonists. A teacher and a poet, Kristina Šuler was part of the literary circle that was established by Fran Saleški Finžgar in 1896. In 1898, she became the unwed mother of Anton Medved's daughter.⁴⁷ Marica Strnad married a priest, who consequently left the priesthood. In the circle of friends, this act was not judged but even seen as an example. Anton Aškerc wrote to Ljudmila Poljanec, who was bringing him her poems to review; they developed close friendship: „Allow me to wish you all the best: health, further poetic inspiration and – a handsome young husband! Marica I [Bartol], Marica II [Strnad] and Zofka [Kveder] all feel excellent.“⁴⁸ – they all were newlyweds.

Through the correspondence of Nadlišek Bartol and of her colleagues, we can identify highly free-minded and even radical circles, finding astonishing religious views in the letters. For example in the letter of Ciril Jekovec⁴⁹ to Marica Bartol: „I do not believe in Christ the King at all, I do not acknowledge any popes and similar authorities, I try to be my own king, and to be consistent in that.“⁵⁰ Or as another extract from the letter of Marica Strnad Cizelj to Marica Bartol states: „I do not acknowledge any sin according to church rules. To me, morality is far away more supportive than religion...I would kiss the statue of the Virgin Mary with the same sacred fear and respect as I would You...“⁵¹

In this intense correspondence, public and private met. In letters, information on cultural and literary publishing is merged with personal events and emotions.⁵² We can see how close and intimate friendships were developed between all the female collaborators of *Slovenka* and Marica Nadlišek Bartol, but also, in some cases, between her and the male authors, who published in the journal, as in the cases of Anton Aškerc or Ivan Trinko.

In the 19th century, friendship was a vital part of the everyday life of the middle classes. It celebrated choice, serving as a space to discuss old and rehearse new dilemmas. One chose one's friends so as to develop one's true self.⁵³ Women's friendship was especially celebrated at the turn of the century; in Slovenia at the time, a number of short stories could be found under the title „Female Friend“, as for example the first piece of literature that Marica Nadlišek wrote, and it was published

47 Ime človeka, priimek zveri, *Slovenske novice*, 23.5.2009, 18.

48 Janko Glazer, Korespondenca med Aškercem in Ljudmilo Poljančevo, in: Vlado Novak (ed.), *Aškercjev zbornik. Ob stoletnici pesnikovega rojstva*. (Celje: Odbor za proslavo stoletnice Aškercovega rojstva, 1957), 78.

49 Ciril Jekovec (1881-?) engineer, economist, diplomat and publicist. In 1914, he immigrated to Argentina.

50 NUK, Ms 1429, Ciril Jekovec to Ivanki Klemenčič, 19.9. 1901.

51 NUK, Ms 708, Marica Cizelj Strnad to Marica Bartol, 31.8.1898.

52 Marta Verginella, Zgodovinopisna raba avtobiografskih virov in značilnosti ženskega avtobiografskega pisanja, in: Alenka Korun and Andrej Leben (ed.), *Avtobiografski diskurz*. (Ljubljana: Inštitut za slovensko literaturo in literarne vede ZRC SAZU, 2011), 103.

53 Mark Peel, New Worlds of Friendship: The Early Twentieth Century, in: Barbara Caine (ed.), *Friendship: A history*. (London: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 280.

was titled „My Female Friend“.⁵⁴ Close bonds between women were particularly celebrated by women engaged in feminist activities,⁵⁵ examples of which can be seen in letters between „the first feminist“ Elvira Dolinar and Marica Nadlišek Bartol. In their letters, we can recognise the importance of friendship as protection against alienation and loneliness. Elvira Dolinar wrote to Marica Nadlišek: „Miss, one wish which I have long and hopelessly grown is fulfilled, namely to correspond with a witty person. Yes, this wish is fulfilled ... I live in the country side in absolute loneliness. I do not associate with anyone. Do you believe me that I am clumsy in interactions that I have grown apart from the world in this rural loneliness?“⁵⁶

The letters were so noteworthy that each detail was significant, especially the number of them. Marica Cizelj complained to Marica Bartol: „Ljudmila is therefore better off as she is not a collaborator of *Slovenka* yet she reports on ‘lovely letters’ from you. I do not envy her, I am not jealous and I do not think that she writes about it to tease and annoy me ... Altogether I neglect everything as I see, that you neglect me, I neglect even myself. What are all of them to me without You?“⁵⁷

What connected Marica Bartol with her correspondents was, of course, their interest in literature but also life views. They were modern, liberal and not at all as rigidly Catholic in the way that the Catholic party in Carniola demanded at the time. The collaborators of *Slovenka*, Kristina Šuler, Vida Jeraj, Marica Strnad Cizelj, Elvira Dolinar, and Zofka Kveder⁵⁸ ignored moral standards as they married priests or were unwed mothers or decided for only a civil marriage. Even though literary history judges Marica Nadlišek Bartol as a moderate, in framing the editorial policy of *Slovenka* she was radical.⁵⁹ Letters connected these women with exceptional

54 Zofka Kveder, Moja prijateljica, *Ljubljanski zvon* 21, no. 11 (1901), 713-717; Ljudmila Poljanec, Prijateljici, *Dom in svet* 14, no. 1 (1901), 28; Ljudmila Poljanec, Prijateljici, *Dom in svet* 11, no. 24 (1898), 756; Strnad Marica, Prijateljici, *Slovenka* 1, no. 8 (1897), 1; Marica Bartol Nadlišek, Moja prijateljica, *Ljubljanski zvon* 9, no. 4 and 5 (1889), 208-215, 258-268; Antonija Grmek, Prijateljici, *Zvonček*, 1.6.1916, 135-138.

55 Barbara Cain, Taking up the Pen: Women and the Writing of Friendship, in: Barbara Caine (ed.), *Friendship: A history*. (London: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 221.

56 NUK, Ms 703, Elvira Dolinar to Marici Bartol, 11.3.1897.

57 NUK, Ms 703, Marica Cizelj to Marici Bartol, 28.11.1889.

58 Zofka Kveder (1878-1926) first married Vladimir Jelovšek, second marriage to Juraj Demetrovič, she was a publicist and writer. She lived in Prague (1900-1906) and thereafter moved to Zagreb.

59 Verginella, Zgodovinopisna raba avtobiografskih virov, 106. The literary historian who wrote the most about Marica Nadlišek Bartol was Marja Boršnik. She stressed that *Slovenka* was a journal for not-so-great literature that was rejected elsewhere. Marica Bartol, in her opinion, represented the old literary styles that needed to be replaced with new ones, for example with ‘Moderna’. The expression ‘moderna’ was used in the 19th century for new literary styles that broke with old traditions. Naturalism, new romanticism, decadency and symbolism in particular were labeled as ‘Moderna’ in contrast with the previously prevailing Realism. Even though the newspaper *Slovenka* was, in her mind, important because Slovenian women started to read Slovenian literature for the first time, the first years of *Slovenka* with the editor Marica Nadlišek Bartol were evaluated as reflecting adolescent aspirations.

worldviews; they valued the support of the friends' community, also a characteristic of women's movements elsewhere in Europe and the USA.⁶⁰ Some historians emphasise the importance of professional friendships, which can also be recognised in the analysed letters. We can find features of a common purpose, encouragement, challenge and mentorship, which can also be discussed in the frame of the broader context of social changes in the 19th century.⁶¹ Women's emancipation began to show its first results, with female teachers growing in number; at the turn of the century, they were still the minority in the profession, but by 1910, female teachers had already reached a level of 64 percent of in Carniola. As did their colleagues in the rest of Europe, they worked in rural areas, away from their families and friends. They felt lonely and through letters formed their own support system and intimate network. Female friendship was modelled on familial relationships, was extremely powerful and meant intense emotional intimacy, loyalty and excessive statements of affection as in Carniola, also in the rest of Europe and United States.⁶²

Mother Russia

Another prominent characteristic connected the collaborators with *Slovenka*: Mariča and her correspondents were pro-Russian. We can observe traditional sympathy in the Slovenian lands towards the greatest Slavic state: Russia. Especially after 1867 (the implementation of dualism in the monarchy), the idea of pan-Slavism became one of the key elements for the expression of Slavic affiliations among Slovenians. Politically under-represented Slavic nations started to connect against German and Hungarian dominance. Many among the Slovenian intelligentsia saw in Russia a protector of Slovenians against Germanisation and Italian nationalism. They believed that only Russia was capable of standing up against Germanisation and could help Slavic nations. Broad Russophile ideas together with pro-Yugoslav views⁶³ can be easily found among elite, especially those who were liberally oriented in the 1870s and 1880s while in the 1890s these ideas were again debated in smaller circles of

60 Marc Brodie and Barbara Caine, Class, Sex and Friendship, in: Barbara Caine (ed.), *Friendship: A history*. (London: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 243.

61 Pauline Nestor, Female Friendship in Mid-Victorian England: New Patterns and Possibilities, *Literature & History* 17, no. 1 (2008): 36-47.

62 Carol Lasser, Let Us Be Sisters Forever: The Sororal Model of Nineteenth-Century Female Friendship, *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1988), 158-181.

63 Pro-Yugoslav views strive to achieve in the second half of the 19th century linguistic-literary union between Croats, Serbs and Slovenians in the Cislethania (Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1980), 394.

intellectuals again close to the Liberal party.⁶⁴ Those Pan-Slavic enthusiasts admired the Orthodox religion and Russian absolutism, though the political program was less prominent than the cultural one.⁶⁵

In Nadlišek Bartol's letters, we can see strong admiration for Russian literature, although she corresponded mostly with intellectuals from the Czech, Serbian and Croatian lands. Regarding internationality, it is surprising that even though she lived in Trieste and was in her everyday life probably in contact with Italian culture, there was not any, at least not preserved, serious contact with representatives of Italian culture.⁶⁶ We know that she translated Antonio Fogazzaro. However, in *Slovenka*, Italian authors were absent.⁶⁷ The writer Ada Negri was in fact the only Italian author who interested collaborators of *Slovenka* and was also published in *Slovenka* under the next editor, Ivanka Klemenčič.⁶⁸

In contrast, we can find some letters exchanged with Croatian students in Prague, from the „novonadaški krug“⁶⁹ we can find Croat modernists Vladimir Jelovšek, Milan Marjanović and Dušan Plavšić.⁷⁰ Plavšić invited Nadlišek Bartol and one of her editors to write for *Mladost*, a journal of Yugoslav modernists, however, „the reference“ of Fran Govekar prevented this.⁷¹ In the correspondence, we can also find letters of a Croatian journal published by teachers, *Domaće ognjište* in Zagreb, the journal *Svetlo* published in Karlovac and the literary journal *Nada*, published in Sarajevo by Croatian association, and the Serbian science and literary journal, *Kolo*, published in Belgrade. Marica Nadlišek Bartol was part of, as some may argue, the most intense collaboration between Slovenian and Croatian literary artists, characteristic for the turn of the century, not limited to individuals but generational in scope.⁷² The support of proponents of the Croatian Literature of the new literary styles of Moderna for Slovenian modern literature was obvious as they defended the

64 The Liberal party in Carniola was established as Narodna napredna stranka in 1894. It represented the upper social strata in Carniola.

65 Iskra Vasiljevina Čurkina, Osnovne etape v razvoju rusko-slovenskih odnosov v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis* 33, no. 3 (1979), 451-462.

66 She was in her letters with correspondence with Italian writer „C“. Most probably Arturo Cronia.

67 Anton Aškerc, *Zbrana dela Antona Aškerc. Deveta knjiga. Pisma II* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1999), A letter of Anton Aškerc to Marica Nadlišek 8.9.1900, 16.

68 Boršnik, Študije in fragmenti, 89. In Ada Negri was interested Vida Jeraj and Anton Aškerc. Marica Bartol lent her book to Marica Cizelj (NUK, Ms 708, Marica Cizelj to Marica Bartol, 31.8.1898).

69 „Novonadaški krug“ was a circle of young writers who published in the literary journal *Nova Nada* published between 1897 and 1899. In the journal, Croatian Modernists published their work.

70 Marjan Šabič, Vladimir Jelovšek i praški mostovi hrvatske dekadencije, *Nova croatica* 2, no. 2 (2008), 117-137.

71 Dušan Moravec, *Pisma Frana Govekarja. Druga knjiga*. (Ljubljana, SAZU, 1982), 228.

72 Štefan Barbarič, Milan Marjanović kot slovensko-hrvatski literarni posrednik, *Slavistična revija* 28, no. 4 (1980): 457-474.

same modern literary ideas but, at the same time, the Croatian journals were more open towards other literary styles.⁷³

Marica Nadlišek Bartol mostly supported Russian realism and was an enthusiastic admirer of Russian literature, which she discussed with her correspondents. Consequently, *Slovenka* published many translations of Russian poets, Pushkin, Lermontov, and writers Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Chekhov and also Czech poets and other Slavic authors. Despite the fact that German cultural influence on Slovenian intelligentsia remained strong until the end of the century, Marica Nadlišek Bartol translated only works by Heine and dramas by Suderman and Hauptmann in *Slovenka*.⁷⁴ However, though she was an ardent fan of Russia, Russian literature and the Russian language, we cannot find traces of Russian correspondence in her heritage, even though she knew Russian.

Marica Nadlišek Bartol read Russian literature in the original language since learning to do so through the Russian Circles, informal gatherings of enthusiasts of Russia where they read Russian literature, learned the language and discussed things related to Russia. Those existed in Carniola from the 1870s, especially in high schools. In the 1890s, these circles were also established for broader public by Ljudevit and Terezina Jenko in Ljubljana, who later registered those informal gatherings and established official association „Ruski krožek“.⁷⁵ The circles existed in Maribor, Celje, Idrija, Trieste and Gorizia. In Marica Nadlišek Bartol's correspondence, we can find letters from Terezina Jenko, who, like other Russophiles, greeted the foundation of *Slovenka* together with other members of the Russian Circle in Ljubljana (Fran Ilešič, Ivan Hribar, Minka Govekar, Franja Tavčar, Ivan Vrhovnik). The members of Ljubljana's Russian Circle were listed as potentially dangerous to the Austrian State because of their Russophilic ideas.⁷⁶ These circles were also considered subversive in the eyes of the Catholic Church; Ljubljana's bishop Anton Jeglič was warned by authorities that behind innocent teachings of Russian language and admiration for Russia there was a hidden intention of converting believers to the Orthodoxy.⁷⁷ Let us look more closely at what is veiled behind this high regard.

In Russia, if we look at Marica Nadlišek Bartol's correspondence, everything is better, not only literature but also the position of women. In this regard, she was no different from other Russophiles, who were uncritical in their idealism towards

73 Barbarič, Milan Marjanović, 457.

74 Marta Verginella, Between Rejection and Affinity – Slovene-German Relations on the Periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy, *Die Deutschen als die Anderen. Deutschland in der Imagination seiner Nachbarn. Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 40 (2012), 56.

75 Vasiljevina Čurkina, Osnovne etape v razvoju rusko-slovenskih odnosov, 461.

76 Archive of Republic Slovenia, AS 185, C. Kr. Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, Predsedstvo II, fasc.30, Ruski krožek.

77 Anton Jeglič, *Dnevnik*. 1900, 83.

Russia.⁷⁸ Russian women were considered independent and committed to their work.⁷⁹ When Marica Strnad wrote to Marica Nadlišek Bartol about some less-than-idealistic information on Russia, it was difficult for the latter to believe. Marica Strnad learned from her neighbour, a Polish officer, how Polish people were repressed even more harshly than Slavic people in Germany were, how they were forbidden to speak Polish and how strict the financial penalties were for such offences in Russia. The following extract summarises the idealist view on Russia. „I strongly disagree with him always, stating what I know from *Slovanski svet* [magazine] and other similar sources, yet he says that all this is just on paper...“⁸⁰

Russia represented to them the unlimited freedom and independence, a promised land and a utopian place where all the bonds of limitation (moral and social) will vanish. The Promised Land to where Marica Strnad flew after her marriage with the priest also encouraged others to think about moving to Russia.⁸¹ When Franica Vovk (Vida Jeraj) in a moment of enthusiasm changes her mind about her engagement with her fiancé, she thinks about moving to Russia.⁸² Russia represents for her freedom, escape, undefined horizon, eternity. In everyday life, the most „open, honest and direct thoughts – free views“ were written in Cyrillic. That is how the message remained secret and not for all to see. For example, Anton Aškerc wrote in Cyrillic to Ljudmila Poljanec: „If it would be possible I would come around to see if you are still that chubby and if you still have such dreaming eyes.“⁸³

The Time of Lost Idealism

In the interwar period, Marica Nadlišek Bartol was forced to leave Trieste and move to Ljubljana. In this period, the second creative period of her writing came about, as can be argued from letters and articles published in different women's journals and newspapers.⁸⁴ During this time, she restored her contacts with old friends like Kristina Šuler and Vida Jeraj.⁸⁵ She again found her place at the centre of social life in Ljubljana. She was a member of numerous women's organisations in Ljubljana and also their co-founder. While living in Ljubljana, she was an associate of the consor-

78 Irena Gantar Godina, *Iskanje rešitve v panslavizmu*, in: Stane Granda and Barbara Šatej (eds.), *Slovenija 1848-1998: Iskanje lastne poti*. (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1998), 112.

79 NUK, Ms 703, Davorin Hostnik to Marica Nadlišek Bartol.

80 NUK, Ms 703, Marica Cizelj to Marica Bartol.

81 NUK, Ms 1429, Letter of Davorin Hostnik in the editorial archival material of *Slovenka* (most probably to the second editor's husband – Fran Klemenčič) from 1.14.1900.

82 Boršnik, *Študije in fragmenti*, 93.

83 Zbrana dela Antona Aškerc, 218.

84 Marja Boršnik, *Ob stoletnici rojstva Marice Nadlišek Bartol*, *Jezik in slovstvo* 12, no. 4 (1967), 106.

85 Kristina Šuler, *Češnja pod mojimi oknom*. (Ljubljana: Založba Amalietti&Amalietti, 2008), 101.

tium that published the Slovene women's magazine *Ženski svet*.⁸⁶ This magazine was at first published in Trieste but was due to the fascist prohibition in 1928 forced to move its editorial board to Ljubljana. In this time, Marica again published articles and essays on literature and was between 1931 and 1934 the editor of the magazine.

However, even though she was now in Ljubljana and had a prominent position in social and cultural life we can conclude from her preserved correspondence that her social network became smaller. The most prominent members of the network were old friends and family members. The most intensive correspondence preserved until today was with her son Vladimir Bartol, and with the liberal priest Ivan Vrhovnik, who became her friend during her time of association with Fran Saleški Finžgar and Anton Medved. Part of the answer to why her social network was narrowing might be found in the fact that journal *Ženski svet* could not be compared to *Slovenka*, especially not in regard to the prominence of the writers or poets who were published there; the literary quality of the journal decreased particularly in the 1930s. The articles were written for a special focus group of women, with the intention of informing them and, in particular, to contributing to national awakening of women in its first decade of publishing. Women were, due to this kind of policy of the journal, forced to stay in the female niche. There was also a backlash in regard to the male support: despite active feminist movement, men could no longer be considered as important supporters. The network that published in this journal mostly consisted of women. In Nadlišek Bartol's network, there were important feminists. Her colleagues before the First World War were Pavla Hočevar and a young intellectual Marja Boršnik, who was interested in the history of literature. These were the women who created and framed women's movement in Slovenian part of Yugoslavia in the pre-war period.

Conclusion

The social network of intellectuals and writers gathered around Marica Nadlišek Bartol consisted of several circles, which she successfully linked. These circles differed in several aspects: regarding literary styles, intimacy between correspondents and the support (emotional, professional) that they offered. However, they were connected through their interest in literature, liberal views, Russophile ideas and friendship. Nadlišek Bartol successfully developed different types of friendship, with intimate friendship predominant in her correspondence with women. Creating self-reflections on paper meant for women a reshaping of the coherent image of themselves. Women reflected on their lives and their actions and conflicts. They

86 AS 1931, Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije, 1918-2004, fasc. 547, Angela Vode. Other members of the *Ženski svet* consortium were: Milka Martelanc, Slavica Godina, Roza Ribičič.

perceived themselves as active and very much involved in the community but also in a wider Slovenian public. In their letters, they created their own safe space, which reflected their social effectiveness and a mutual community of independent women.⁸⁷ Those were the women who raised voices and demanded rights in the name of their gender, nationality, profession; without any constraints, they demanded what was according to them truthful and just.

Professional friendship was mainly cross-sex friendship. While for Nadlišek Bartol, it was obvious that correspondence with women started formally, with professional purposes, but it quickly became intimate. Characteristic for cross-sex friendship was that both pen parties most carefully watched that formal distance was preserved and that intriguing questions were asked that contributed to self-discovery and personal development. Those friendships provided new forms of intimacy in Slovenian emotional culture in both domestic and social life that enabled people to escape the confines of what was considered appropriate.⁸⁸ In spite of the fact that philosophical reflection and information on the literacy scene prevailed in the letters, the heterosexual imperative dictated that that young women's encounters with the opposite sex would focus primarily on courtship, while married women's emotional needs could and should be filled by their husband.⁸⁹ There is little wonder that Gregor Bartol, according to memoirs of his wife Marica Bartol, pouted and directly told Marica that he did not approve of the correspondence.⁹⁰

Marica Nadlišek Bartol was probably one of the rare women who developed this kind of intensive correspondence with eminent male members of literary circles. This can be explained by her commitment, which extended into the public realm in the frame of Slovenian national movement. The events after her marriage support the thesis that these kinds of intensive epistolary connections were rare, since she soon, at the request of her husband, withdrew back into the domestic sphere and halted the correspondence with her male acquaintances. In the past, most women did not have male friends. Yet it was precisely this strategy that started and maintained *Slovenka* and promoted the beginning of the Slovene women's movement.

87 Verginella, Zgodovinska raba avtobiografskih virov, 95-108.

88 Marc Brodie and Barbara Caine, *Class, Sex and Friendship*, 271.

89 Linda W Rosenzweig, *Another Self: Middle-Class American Women and Their Friends in the Twentieth Century*. (New York: University Press, 1999), 149-155.

90 Nadlišek Bartol, „Iz mojega življenja“, 369.

SAŽETAK

Želja da se bude slobodnim: Marica Nadlišek Bartol i mlada inteligencija na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće

U članku se rekonstruira slovenski intelektualni milje na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće. Autorice su analizirale krug oko časopisa *Slovenka*, koji je izlazio u Trstu od 1897. do 1902, odnosno korespondenciju Marice Nadlišek, prve urednice časopisa, te ostalih suradnika i suradnica lista. Nastojale su identificirati koja je grupa pripadnika mlade inteligencije pokrenula i objavljivala tekstove u časopisu te istražiti njihove emocionalne, profesionalne, političke i socijalne veze.

Dopisivanje Marice Nadlišek podijeljeno je u dva vremenska bloka. Prvo razdoblje pokriva vrijeme u kojem je ona bila urednica lista i živjela u Trstu, a drugo razdoblje pokriva vrijeme nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata kada je živjela u Ljubljani i bila angažirana u radu slovenskog lista *Žena i svet*. Diskontinuitet između dvaju razdoblja objašnjava se udajom M. Nadlišek.

Autorice smatraju da se krug oko časopisa *Slovenka* isticao slobodoumnim životnim stilom (napuštanje svećeničkog poziva, vanbračno majčinstvo), liberalnim nazorima i rusofilstvom. Marica Nadlišek u to se vrijeme dopisivala sa širokim krugom ljudi različitog spola, dobi i nacionalnosti, a u pismima korespondenti razmjenjuju profesionalne informacije, filozofske diskusije i emocionalne iskaze. Bogata korespondencija odškrinula je pogled u dinamiku, ograničenja i važnost društvenog života toga razdoblja te otkrila klimu i glavne preokupacije tadašnjeg slovenskoga intelektualnog miljea. Drugo razdoblje obrađeno je u manjem obujmu, s naglaskom da se korespondencija tada vodila s užim krugom ljudi, većinom prijateljica i članova obitelji Marice Nadlišek Bartol.

Ključne riječi: časopis *Slovenka*, slovenska inteligencija, feminizam, korespondencija Marice Nadlišek, rusofilske ideje