



THE IMPACT OF EMIGRANTS AND REEMIGRANTS ON SLOVAK SOCIETY (1880'S - 1920'S)

Elena JAKEŠOVÁ
Slovak Historical Institute, Bratislava
UDK: 325.1/.2(437.6)"1880/1920"
Prethodno priopćenje
Priljeno: 9. 7. 1997.

The purpose of this study is to mention the reemigration factor and its consequences, namely the influence that the returnees from the U.S.A. had on the attitudes of Slovak society in the forty years between the 1880's and the 1920's. The reemigrants were not only the bearers of material assets. They also brought back new experiences and their way of thinking became generally recognized and influenced the rural community. State oppression, however, did not allow for the coordination of their activities, nor did it enable the reemigrants to act in support of the national movement. Reemigration tendencies emerged among American Slovaks after WW I. The fact-finding delegations of American Slovaks, who came to Slovakia in the post-war years, were successful in influencing Slovak politics. However, only a few individuals remained in Slovakia and entered politics. The majority of the returnees, however, came back to their original villages and devoted themselves to agriculture. Despite this fact, there were still some people among the returnees who invested their savings in business and industry, but many of them were unable to adapt to the unsatisfactory post-war conditions in Slovakia and therefore decided to emigrate once again.

When we look back on the history of the Slovak nation, we find expressions of sorrow by intellectuals concerning emigration to countries abroad at the end of the 19th century. This period evoked bad times in the minds of Slovaks, especially for the lowest social strata connected with agriculture, which represented the dominant part of society.

Slovak historians, who started to research the phenomenon of mass emigration in the 1950's, were influenced by the grievous atmosphere from the turn of the 20th century. They

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spent much time considering the motives for emigration, and they concentrated upon population losses. They did not think about emigration as a complex process and what it meant for the people who stayed at home, and how the returning emigrants changed society. They took into consideration only the causes and not the consequences of the emigration.¹ In spite of this one-sided approach, I would like to sum up the known facts concerning the other side of emigration to inspire further research into the economic, political and cultural consequences of emigration on Slovak society at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Previous historians used traditional methods in their research and depicted first of all the negative aspects of emigration and its consequences for Slovak national development. The population decreased as a result of emigration, which was considered to be a negative development for Slovakia. With the help of statistical macroanalysis it was concluded that the migration loss in Slovakia (in its present area) in 1869 - 1910 was 57.8% of the natural population growth, while in the Kingdom of Hungary it was only 20.7%. This represented a decrease of 597,894 inhabitants from the total number of

2,916,533 in Slovakia and 1,197,901 inhabitants from the total number of 18,264,533 in Hungary. It was clear that for Hungary the emigration was a more characteristic phenomenon in the northeastern counties (Slovakia), for it distinctively decreased this regions natural population growth. Although the emigration statistics were not based on ethnicity, we know in accordance with a comparison to American statistics that 1,684,681 Slovaks lived in Slovakia² before the beginning of World War I and by 1914 about 500,000 Slovaks lived in the U.S.A.³ and more than 5,000 in Canada.⁴ This represented nearly one-quarter of the Slovak nation, which showed a serious population loss for Slovak society.

The demographic consequences of emigration could be summarized as follows: Slovak society was weakened by the loss of people, by the imbalance between men and women, the age structure was deformed, the number of marriages was reduced and the birth rate declined. It must also be said that the demographic picture was different in particular regions, counties and even villages. The worst situation was in the four northeastern counties of Slovakia: Spiš, Šariš, Abov and Zemplín. 219,930 inhabitants of the four counties and 148,144 people of the other eleven Slovak counties emigrated in the period of 1900 - 1913 (which represents 58.9% of the inhabitants of eastern-Slovak counties and 41.1% of the inhabitants of the other eleven counties⁵).

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These negative features outweighed several positive aspects of the process. I especially mean the factor of reemigration from the U.S.A. and its consequences. The American-Slovak ethnic group included not only permanent settlers, but also sojourners who, after a short or long period of residence in the U.S.A., came back to Slovakia with their earnings. More attention should be paid to the earliest migration movements, when the main reason for emigration was the search for work. The very first known documents stress that 75% of emigrants were returning back to Slovakia.⁶ Interestingly enough, neither the Hungarian ruling classes, nor Slovak national leaders considered the reemigrants of the end of the 19th century to have changed their behaviour as a result of emigration.⁷ The main reason for such an opinion was the conservatism of the rural society and its re-assimilating power. The first reemigrants had to readapt to the surrounding and traditional values of the peasant population.

After a certain period of time more and more emigrants became settled in overseas countries permanently. The high rate of returning emigrants started to decline gradually until it became approximately 30%.⁸ Despite the declining tendency to reemigrate, the number of emigrants at the beginning of the 20th century began to increase remarkably, which influenced even the number of reemigrants.

Now the influence of the returning people on Slovak society was much more obvious. The returnees, who were called "Americans", came to their home villages not only with their earnings but also with new knowledge and experience. Although they improved their social standing with the help of their earnings, the social mobility of the reemigrants was not overwhelming. As I will explain later, there was no tendency to establish themselves as a separate social stratum. The reemigrants came back as "small people" who had worked hard to make some money.⁹ According to micro-research in regions that were most affected by emigration, the main reason for leaving was poverty or debt. The returnees settled the loans for their travel expenses, then they re-paid their debts, or they bought new land. Another possible investment was the purchase of a building or a house. Savings from abroad covered the existential needs of the reemigrants and their families. The decisive difference was the fact that the emigrants could earn money abroad much faster than in Slovakia.

The question of whether or not reemigrants in the regions that were most influenced by emigration helped to change the structure of land ownership remains open. The fact that many reemigrants found themselves in a much better economic situation shows that the American earnings

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slowed down to a certain extent the pauperization of the peasants and helped to increase the number of small and medium land owners. Another open problem is the question of the failure rate of the reemigrants. Some emigrants came home without any money, ill, exhausted, or even crippled as a result of hard work in the steel-mills and mines of the U.S.A. and Canada.

Slovak historians have not yet researched the influence of capital which the reemigrants brought home (its amount is certainly difficult to estimate) nor have they tried to specify the economic consequences of money orders that the emigrants remitted to their families in Slovakia in the amount of about 80 - 100 million crowns (by post or bank) yearly in the period before World War I. Although the financial contribution seems to have been high (this influx of money was appreciated even by Hungarian economists from the point of view of national income enhancement), there is no reference to it in economic analyses or syntheses. Only Ladislav Tajták has asked the question whether the savings of the emigrants had any influence on capital formation and the development of enterprise in industry, agriculture and commerce: "... savings were mostly used to cover and provision the individual and existential needs of the emigrants' families. The only important enterprise arising from the emigrants' savings was Slovak banking".¹⁰

The "Americans" adopted new and higher standards of living, clothing and eating from the urban working-class culture of the overseas countries. That is why they came back to the villages of Slovakia with higher social and cultural claims. According to ethnographic micro-research, it became clear that the emigrants' different cultural norms were initially met with certain incomprehension in the conservative rural society. Gradually, however, some of their imported elements started to be accepted and even the other members of rural society adopted the new values.¹¹ The influence of the "Americans" can be seen especially in the field of folk building and the culture of living. The reemigrants did not build log cabins, but houses of stone and brick. They started to use shingles and slate instead of straw thatch. They introduced bigger windows and new interior designs and furnishings. These new elements and features began to spread as soon as others realized their practical meaning. The culture of clothing was also influenced by the reemigrants. The "Americans" wore American "áncuks" (suits) as their Sunday best and spread the urban way of clothing in a rural environment. As for food, the emigrant families which had taken in boarders during their stay in America were influenced by American cooking habits. The emigrant women learned to prepare

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meals in a different way, e.g. to roast and fry beef, to drink coffee etc.¹²

The return of emigrants to their home villages has been called a conservative form of migration in current books on emigration, for they represented a return to the original way of life.¹³ As I stated earlier, most of the Slovak emigrants came back to their original surroundings, traditional form of living and agricultural production. In spite of that the "Americans" established new and progressive methods, even in agriculture. The reemigrants were more active in taking over methods of highly-developed agricultural regions than the other people, e.g. they started to use teams of horses instead of oxen. Another important influence of the emigrants could be traced in rural crafts. Many reemigrants were involved in different country crafts after their return. The tools brought from America helped them to improve and facilitate their work and at the same time to increase the total level of the country crafts. The attendant phenomenon of the reemigration was the process of progress in folk culture, while the time factor and the increasing number of reemigrants also played an important role. The "Americans" contributed to the enhancement of folk culture of the ethnic community of Slovaks as a whole by accepting and transmitting the new cultural values to the other members of the rural society.¹⁴

The reemigrants brought not only new material values to their society, but also intellectual ones. They were more experienced and self-confident than the other members of the society and acquired a different behaviour and view-points from abroad. For they rejected servility and excessive social subordination and they came into conflict with the "upper authorities" on the one hand and became the natural authorities in their surroundings on the other hand. They were often elected village-reeves and their opinions were decisive for the whole village in many cases in the period before World War I.¹⁵

The reemigrants were opinionated and were more nationally and politically conscious, for they had become acquainted with the advanced economy, democracy, religious and national tolerance of the U.S.A. After their return to Slovakia they proudly announced their membership in Slovak organizations in America. They brought from abroad various newspapers, almanacs and other literature printed in Slovak, which encouraged the national consciousness of people, especially in the border areas, where „the people often didn't have the slightest idea what the Slovak nation is“.¹⁶

On the other hand, many emigrants, after a short 2 - 3 year stay in America, returned to their country and to their original work in agriculture but adapted to the traditional

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surroundings and its habits and differed little from their countrymen with the exception of being better off, and with recollections of the remote country and the life in it. This could be another area for further research.

Changes in opinion were more complicated and these lagged behind changes in material culture. As I already stated, the Hungarian ruling classes did not consider the reemigrants of the late 19th century to be different in comparison with their behaviour in the period before their emigration. The more important influence of the reemigrants on Slovak society started to be felt by the Hungarian ruling classes only after the increase in emigration and attendant process of reemigration at the beginning of the 20th century, in the period, when the migration of people between Hungary and America was unusually large. The situation was connected with the fact that the Slovaks living in America by dint of their own intelligence had become organized, had established societies, published newspapers and encouraged national consciousness among their people.

The Hungarian ruling classes began to focus on the reemigrants coming from such a society. They were afraid that the "Americans" were returning with rebellious and "Panslavist" ideas and would become leaders of nationally-conscious activities. In 1902 Hungarian fears grew so much that the government began to track the influence of the reemigrants in individual regions of Slovakia. Although most of the county reports did not confirm their fears, it is clear that the reemigrants seemed to be a real danger for members of the Hungarian ruling classes. They initiated the so-called "American Action", the goal of which was to paralyse the nationally-conscious process among Slovak emigrants in the U.S.A. But the action did not achieve its goal. Instead, it had the opposite effect. In spite of the fact that the action was top secret, it was uncovered by American Slovaks and used as an argument against the Hungarian government for interference in the internal affairs of another country.¹⁷

Even the representatives of the national movement in Slovakia noticed and appreciated the national consciousness, social self-confidence and general scope of knowledge of the returnees and wanted to cooperate with them. Unfortunately, government oppression prevented such cooperation.

Changes in the outlook and attitudes of groups in the development of national consciousness are phenomena which are difficult to grasp. Therefore some questions have still not been answered by Slovak historians. However, a comparative analysis of the written sources with the local

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investigations of some villages affected by emigration indicates the following: the frequency of the reemigration differed considerably from one county to another and the effects of the returnees in different regions varied a great deal. The space factor was also important. Villages located in the proximity of towns (and with fewer returnees) were changed remarkably. In villages that were located at a great distance from towns (and returnees were in every family), the process of change took place slowly.¹⁸ The continuity of this process among Slovaks was ensured by the very intensive intercontinental emigration and reemigration from Slovakia to the U.S.A. and vice-versa. The process of reemigration was stopped by the outbreak of WWI.

Since most of the emigrants remained in the U.S.A., the migration loss to Slovak society became an advantage. A Slovak-American society, with a strong feeling of togetherness and strong ties to their own nation formed in the U.S.A. became an important nation-defender. During World War I American Slovaks even became a national-liberation force in contrast to the situation of the Slovaks in Hungary. American-Slovak society was primarily oriented to the liberation of their homeland. "To take care of our old country is our sacred duty", said the Roman Catholic priest Štefan Furdek, the founder of the Slovak League of America in 1907. The Slovak question in Hungary became paramount to American Slovaks, who watched the situation in Slovakia and supported the Slovak national and cultural efforts by means of their organizations, press and cultural events. They knew there was not enough money for the political struggle in their former home, and therefore, they decided to establish the National Fund and collect money to support the political activities of the Slovak national movement. As for the Slovak League, it decided to solve the problem of the Slovak nation in Hungary. It adopted a programme of union with the Czech nation, emphasizing the common goal of American Slovaks and Czechs, i.e. the federative union of Slovaks and Czechs. Their efforts reached a peak in the resistance organised abroad during the 1st World War. It resulted in the creation of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks in 1918.¹⁹

Reemigration tendencies emerged among American Slovaks after WWI. An important impulse for this movement was the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic. The American-Slovak representatives felt that they were, to a certain degree, responsible for the origin of the new state. They proclaimed: "Our people want to return from the U.S. en masse".²⁰ The president of the Slovak League of America, Albert Mamatey, predicted that "there are about 700,000 Slovaks here

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according to the latest census. It is supposed that about 100,000 of them will return to Slovakia".²¹ Mamatey's data were neither the result of any statistical investigation, nor accidental discovery, but they were in conformity with the known reemigration moods. In order to prove this, the Slovak League carried out the following measures to facilitate the return of American Slovaks to Slovakia. A representative of the League, Ignác Gessay, who had opened an office in Bratislava in March of 1920, was entrusted with providing the returnees with information and concrete help. The operation of his office and the publication of the monthly paper "Americký Slovák" on the problems of reemigration was subsidized by the Slovak League.²² The office went through a difficult time in 1920, for more than 11,000 people returned home, which was more than 10 times the rate of return in 1919 (1,150 people).²³ The first symptoms of problems started to appear with the acceleration of the reemigration process. The reemigrants had to face such post-war problems as disorders in transport, new and unusually strong border and customs barriers, difficulties in European transit countries, and chicanery from several sides. Thus, they were disappointed with the situation in Slovakia.²⁴

The returnees who had counted on an allotment of land in the framework of land reform expressed the greatest disappointment of all. They referred to promises made by officials of the government of Vavro Šrobár, especially by Pavel Blaho, which were published in the American-Slovak press that Slovaks living abroad would also participate in land redistribution.²⁵ At the beginning Ignác Gessay also raised the hopes of the returnees, and directed the attention of the applicants to the allotment of lands which had been gained by the division of the great estates of former Hungarian and German landowners.²⁶ The programme of land reform was set for a period of ten years, which became a real handicap in carrying out the aims of the American returnees. Most of them supposed that they would get land in the immediate vicinity of their villages. This was an unrealistic goal, because in the first period of land reform the great estates in the area near the southern border of Slovakia were divided. This became one of the main regressive factors of the reemigration process and the basic reason for repeated emigration of many returnees. It is clear that a considerable number of the reemigrants wanted to work in agriculture but, that the reemigration was often directed to the areas of the most intensive emigration, where there was the greatest shortage of land.

Although Pavel Blaho, who was the referent for agriculture in the government, was engaged in the recruitment of emigrants from the U.S.A., the reemigration concept of

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Šrobár's government was different. Pavel Blaho began the recruitment campaign with an appeal addressed to American Slovaks: "Help to support the economy of Slovakia, so that it would be ours and yours".²⁷ To gain the support of emigrants abroad, Blaho stressed the role of American Slovaks in the political liberation of Slovakia and used it as the first premise, on the basis of which he formulated another one stating that the returnees could be an effective means of keeping the economy of Slovakia in Slovak hands.²⁸ Ivan Dérer, another referent of Šrobár's government, expanded Blaho's standpoint concerning the future tasks of American-Slovak returnees in Slovakia. In his opinion, strong individuals, as well as capital, would encourage Slovak commerce, as well as create Slovak industry.²⁹ The very promising objective of using the capital of the reemigrants for strengthening the Slovak economy dominated the thinking of the members of the government ("...it would be a waste of every American cent to be used for nothing").³⁰

The rate of returning migrants in 1921 was even higher than in 1920. Statistics showed that 17,625 came back. In 1921 the reemigration process reached its peak in comparison to the preceding and following years. In 1922 there were 3,451 but in 1923 only 387 returnees. That is why discussion concerning land reform arose once again. As Ignác Gessay stated in the autumn of 1921, the allotment of a great estate was the only advantage offered to the returnees by the land reform. The slowness of the allotment programme did not correspond with the acute requirements of the reemigrants and became one of the reasons why many of them asked repeatedly for an emigration permit instead of waiting for an allotment quota.

The dreams of politicians in Slovakia of receiving American dollars in commerce and industry came into collision with reality. According to unbiased authorities, the number of unskilled workers with low incomes outweighed the number of more solvent returnees. The preponderance of such people among the reemigrants was natural with regard to their social origins and class structure, their short stay in the U.S.A., the consequences of the economic crisis in America, and unemployment.

Although during World War I emigrants' savings could not be sent from America to Slovakia, which led to an increased accumulation of money in the hands of the emigrants, the money brought by the returnees to Slovakia after the war ranged from \$500 to \$2,000.³¹ These were sufficient for covering the needs of the returnees, for the purchase of land or building a house etc. The broader economic influence of their capital could be felt only by the business efforts of

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several returnees, especially those who tried to unite their capital for bigger business plans, mainly in the towns. The well-known business companies established with the help of American Slovaks were: Podnikateľská spoločnosť na Myjave (the Enterprise Company in Myjava), Americko-slovenská podnikajúca spoločnosť v Bratislave (the American-Slovak Enterprise Company in Bratislava), Spoločnosť pre zakúpenie Štubnianskych Teplíc (the Company for the Purchase of Štubnianske Teplice), the woodworking company Turčan in Turčiansky Svätý Martin, Americko-slovenské krajčírskoe družstvo (the American-Slovak Tailor's Association) and Americko-slovenská drevospracujúca spoločnosť v Novom Meste nad Váhom (the American-Slovak Woodworking Company in Nové Mesto nad Váhom).³² The above-mentioned and also other similar capital investments did not lead to more extensive ownership in industry as sufficiently as the government had supposed. Another problem was the investment activity of individuals and groups as for cooperative purposes in Slovakia, for they had to face various obstacles caused by disorganization in the economic sphere and by prejudice against the returnees, which made the realization of the American-Slovak investment activities even more difficult. A few returnees, who had become rich by exchanging dollars for crowns in the 1920's, lived from their savings and were involved in many more distinctive business plans.³³

The hopes which the American Slovaks had with the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic, were also connected with a presumption of changes in the sphere of economic relations. But after the war ended the presumed changes were not carried out in a way which had been supposed by many people across the ocean. The slow realization of the land reform, the process of downsizing in industry, the unemployment in towns and the overpopulation in the country dissuaded people who wanted to return, and accelerated the departure of the reemigrants back to the U.S.A. Besides, American Slovaks felt that they were responsible for the Republic, which they had helped to establish by the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Agreements, and that is why they tried to discover the real state of affairs to solve the Slovak question. The fact-finding delegations of American Slovaks, who came to Slovakia in the post-war years, were successful in influencing Slovak politics. Their programme of Slovak autonomy was adopted by the Hlinka Slovak People's Party. American Slovaks Marek Čulen and Jozef Schiffel also helped to establish the Slovak Communist Party. However, only a few individuals remained in Slovakia and entered politics.³⁴

As a whole, the reemigrants did not belong in the forefront of the political movement. But they influenced the de-

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velopment of opinions a considerable amount, especially in the sense of the political programme for Slovakia, e.g. the Pittsburgh Agreement. They were supported in their arguments by Ján A. Ferienčík's booklet *Politická náuka vzhľadom na Československý štát* (Slovak League of America, 1919), which nearly everyone of them brought from America.

The first symptoms of repeated emigration of the American returnees could be traced distinctively from the second half of the 1920's. Some of the reemigrants could not reconcile themselves with post-war problems in Slovakia and returned to the U.S.A. with great sorrow. They did so despite the strong and repeated appeals - "Our country needs you... to run away beyond the sea is no patriotic deed".³⁵ The contemporary press even stated that those people, who had been coming back - "...were taking with them hundreds and hundreds of others".³⁶ That meant that the repeated emigration of the American returnees motivated the post-war emigration process.

The returns of the reemigrants from Slovakia to America influenced the one as well as the other side and led to a gradual change of opinion on reemigration. The foremost Slovak representatives in the U.S.A. started to express a much more moderate attitude and a crystallized standpoint as follows: It would be necessary to wait until the political situation in Slovakia was stable and the economic conditions were better.³⁷ The change in opinion of the politicians in Slovakia was connected with the above-mentioned facts. Their interest in the reemigrants and their mild opinions on the harsh domestic conditions changed into a more distinctive standpoint directed to prevent the effort, or to stop the process of reemigration. In a very short time the decisive process of the American Slovaks concerning the question - to return or not to return to Slovakia - was settled by the American government. The laws and quotas of 1921 and 1924 markedly reduced the number of immigrants to the U.S. A. American Slovaks had to finally decide where they wanted to live. The majority of them decided to stay in the U.S.A., which ended the post-war process of reemigration.

The changes that caused the reemigration faded away in the period of 1922-1923. At the same time Gessay's three-year "American mission" in Slovakia was halted by a decision of the Slovak League. By then the mission had lost its meaning, for the number of returnees was minimal by the end of 1922. On the other hand, the repeated departures of the returnees for the U.S.A. increased the emigration contingents of the post-war years and enforced the dominance of the opposite direction, parallel with the reemigration - the increasing emigration.

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Thus, I have mentioned the most decisive circumstances of the reemigration process. Another important fact could be its statistical investigation and evaluation in summary, especially if a comparison of the prewar and post-war period should be drawn as a conclusion. It follows from summary data concerning the number of the reemigrants that the rate of return was high – 34,181 Slovaks returned from the U.S.A. in 1918-1923.³⁸ On the other hand, the rate was not so distinctive when compared to the originally announced number of 100,000 potential returnees. The low rate of return of the emigrants could be seen in comparison with the total number of Slovaks in the U.S.A., which was 619,866 persons in 1920. Thus, only 5.5% of the population were reemigrants. According to the point of view of a more precise description of the adequate role, rate and meaning of the post-war reemigration, it should not be forgotten in comparison with the development and rate of the prewar reemigration process. As I have already shown,³⁹ 4,713 people emigrated to the U.S.A. from Slovakia in 1899-1913. In the same period 116,099 people returned to Slovakia, i.e. 29% of the total number of emigrants. The highest rate of reemigration in this period was reached in 1907-1908 (15,758 persons in 1907 and 18,967 persons in 1908).³⁹ The reemigration in those two years reached the rate of 34,725 people. In summary it was the same as the total reemigration in five post-war years (34,181 people) and was even higher than the 29,193 people in 1920-1921, which were the years of the typical reemigration. It follows then, that the post-war reemigration was not a new or different, or extraordinary phenomenon. Its rate did not surpass the top limits of the prewar reemigration process, although it was carried out with a higher number of Slovak emigrants in America.

The repeated departures of the American returnees were significant in 1920 and started to increase in 1921, which also increased the number of emigrants. According to statistics there were 35 people in 1918, 85 in 1919, 3,824 in 1920 and 35,037 Slovak emigrants in 1921.⁴⁰ In conclusion, the statistical data prove that in 1918-1921 more people went to the U.S.A. than the total number of the reemigrants. It means that the higher number of the reemigrants was a question of the reemigration aims, which were not carried out during the war and that it was a cumulation of returns of the people, who would have come back in 1-2 years if there had been peace.

Emigration and reemigration had a strong influence on Slovak society. They caused changes at home and even in America. Slovak society found itself in an extraordinary situ-

ation in this period. It developed out of the fact that the negative consequences of the emigration overlapped with the positive ones, which were brought by the returnees to Slovakia and which were produced by the American-Slovak society. I hope that more detailed research into the consequences of the emigration and reemigration will enable historians to concentrate on other features and a more complex investigation of the consequences in the development of Slovak society.

NOTES

¹ SVETOU, Ján, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu," *Ekonomický časopis*, 1956, 2, p. 171 - 191. SVETOU, Ján, *Obyvatel'stvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu* (Bratislava: SVPL, 1958). SVETOU, Ján, *Vývoj obyvateľ'stva na Slovensku* (Bratislava: EPOCHA, 1969). HANZLÍK, Ján, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo na prahu imperializmu", *Geografický časopis*, 1961, 3, p. 195 - 209. HANZLÍK, Ján, "Vyst'ahovalectvo z východného Slovenska od druhej polovice 19. st. do roku 1918", *Príspevky k dejinám východného Slovenska* (Bratislava: VSAV, 1964), p. 220 - 232. HANZLÍK, Ján, "Začiatky vyst'ahovalectva zo Slovenska do USA a jeho priebeh až do roku 1918, jeho príčiny a následky", *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA* (Bratislava: VSAV, 1970), p. 49 - 96. BIELIK, František, "Príspevok k otázke vyst'ahovalectva zo Slovenska v rokoch 1919 - 1924", *Historický časopis*, 1953, 6, p. 505 - 520. BIELIK, František, "Vyst'ahovalectvo z východného Slovenska za prvej ČSR", *Príspevky k dejinám východného Slovenska* (Bratislava: VSAV, 1964), p. 298 - 313. BIELIK, František - RÁKOŠ, Elo, *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo. Dokumenty I. - IV.* (Bratislava - Martin: SAV - MS, 1969 - 1985). BIELIK, František a kolektív, *Slováci vo svete 2.* (Martin, MS, 1980). TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "Východoslovenské vyst'ahovalectvo do 1. svetovej vojny", *Nové obzory* 1961, 3, p. 221 - 247. TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "K začiatkom Amerikánsko - Slovenských novín", *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA* (Bratislava: VSAV, 1970), p. 86 - 196. TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo a migrácia v rokoch 1900 - 1914", *Historický časopis*, 1975, 3, p. 377 - 415. TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "Vývin, pohyb a štruktúrne zmeny obyvateľ'stva na Slovensku v predvojnovom období (1900 - 1914)", *Historický časopis*, 1980, 4, p. 497 - 530.

² We use these data, though we know, that the statistics were undervalued intentionally as for the ethnicity.

³ STOLÁRIK, M. Mark, "Slovaks in the United States and Canada, 1870-1990, Similarities and Differences," *Historické štúdie*, 34 (1993), p. 8.

⁴ The data on Canada is from the report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Montreal in 1902 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, F 15, K 62, 85026, 27.12.1902.

⁵ TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "Vývin, pohyb a štruktúrne zmeny obyvateľ'stva na Slovensku v predvojnovom období (1900 - 1914)", *Historický časopis*, 1980, 4, p. 499.

⁶ GLETTLER, Monika, *Pittsburg - Wien - Budapest*, (Wien: Verlag der OEAW, 1980), p. 24.

⁷ BIELIK, František - RÁKOŠ, Elo, *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo, Dokumenty I.*, (Bratislava: VSAV, 1969), p. 145.

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⁸ According to the known statistical data, 361,074 Slovaks emigrated to the countries *beyond the sea* in 1900-1913 and 111,435 of them returned, i.e. one third of the emigrants.

⁹ MANN, Arne, "Etnografický pohľad na vyst'ahovalectvo zo severovýchodného Slovenska (príčiny, organizovanie, formy) do prvej svetovej vojny", *Historica Carpathica*, 14 (1983), p. 129 - 151.

¹⁰ TAJTÁK, Ladislav, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo a migrácia v rokoch 1900-1914", *Historický časopis*, 23 (No. 3, 1975), p. 413.

¹¹ MANN, Arne, op. cit., p. 129 - 151.

¹² MANN, Arne, "Vyst'ahovalectvo a jeho vplyv na zmeny v ľudovom staviteľstve na východnom Slovensku", *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea, Etnografia*, 75, (1981), ps. 139-182.

¹³ GLETTLER, Monika, "Slovak Return Migration from the U.S. to Hungary Before the First World War", (unpublished paper), ps. 34.

¹⁴ MANN, Arne, "Vyst'ahovalectvo a jeho vplyv na zmeny v ľudovom staviteľstve na východnom Slovensku", *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea, Etnografia*, 75 (1981), p. 139 - 182.

¹⁵ MANN, Arne, op.cit., p. 143.

¹⁶ TAJTÁK, Ladislav, op.cit., p. 412.

¹⁷ FABIAN, Juraj, "Od Klebelsbergovho memoranda k "Americkéj akcii". (Stanoviská uhorských vlád k slovenskému vyst'ahovalectvu na prelome storočí)", *Slováci v zahraničí*, 14, 1988, p. 135-143.

¹⁸ MANN, Arne, "Vyst'ahovalectvo za prácou do Ameriky na prelome 19. a 20. storočia a jeho vplyv na ľudovú kultúru na Slovensku", *Slovenský národopis*, 28, (1980), ps. 527-544.

¹⁹ STOLÁRIK, M. Mark, "The Role of American Slovaks in the Creation of Czecho-Slovakia, 1914-1918", *Slovak Studies VIII. Historica* 5. Cleveland - Rome 1968, p. 7-82.

²⁰ "Redaktor Getting o Slovákoch amerických", *Národné noviny*, 50, No. 72, March 28, 1919, p. 2.

²¹ Letter of A. Mamatey to Vavro Šrobár of 22nd November 1919. Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava, documents of Dr. Vavro Šrobár, No. 156.

²² GESSAY, Ignác, "Správa Kancelárie Slovenskej ligy", *Americký Slovák*, (Bratislava), 2, No. 1-2, May-June 1921, p. 15.

²³ *Statistická príručka Republiky Československé*, II, (Praha, SÚS, 1925), p. 449.

²⁴ PARMA, O., "Sklamaní", *Americký Slovák* I, No. 5, September 15, 1920, p. 8.

²⁵ BLAHO, Pavel, "Parcelovanie veľkostatkov a americkí Slováci", : *Americký Slovák* I, No. 2, June 15, 1920, p. 4.

²⁶ "Delenie veľkostatkov na Slovensku a americkí Slováci", *Americký Slovák* I, No. 3-4, August 15, 1920, p. 4.

²⁷ BLAHO, Pavel, "Slovenská liga doma", *Americký Slovák* I, No. 1, May 15, 1920, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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²⁹ DÉRER, Ivan, "Úkoly amerických Slovákov na Slovensku", : *Americký Slovák* II, No. 1, May 15, 1920, p. 1.

³⁰ BLAHO, Pavel, op.cit., p. 1.

³¹ The Vice-consul of the Czechoslovak General Consulate in Trieste to the Central Committee of the Slovaks Living Abroad in Bratislava in May 1921. Archív Ministerstva zahraničných vecí, Praha, II. sekcia, K 531, No. 6132/21.

³² KUKLIŠ - KUNOVSKÝ, Pavel, *Americkí Slováci a Slovensko*, (Chicago: The Mally Press, 1923), p. 29.

³³ MANN, Arne, "Kysucké vyst'ahovalectvo do zámoria na prelome 19. a 20 storočia", *Správny a informácie Kysuckého múzea*, 2, (1981), ps. 99-138.

³⁴ JAKEŠOVÁ, Elena, "Reemigrácia a vyst'ahovalectvo obyvateľstva Slovenska v období po vzniku Československej republiky", *Slováci v zahraničí*, 14, 1988, p. 90-111.

³⁵ "Slovo k slovenským Amerikánom na Slovensku", *Národné noviny*, 50, No. 252, November 6, 1920, ps. 1-2.

³⁶ PARMA, O, op. cit., p. 8.

³⁷ MATLOCHA, Ján, *Album nového Slovenska*, (Chicago, 1919), p. 140.

³⁸ WALASZEK, Adam, *Reemigracija ze Stanów Zjednoczonych do Polski po I. wojnie swiatowej (1919-1924)*, (Warszawa-Krakow: PWN, 1983), p. 150.

³⁹ The data are from 16 county units. In: *Statistická ppírúčka RČS, I*, (Praha: SÚS, 1921), p. 28.

⁴⁰ MÉZL, František, "Vystihovalectví z Československé republiky. Vývoj a úprava jeho do konce roku 1922", *Sociální revue, IV*, No. 2, p. 137. The author used data from American statistics.

Utjecaj emigranata i reemigranata na slovačko društvo (1880. - 1920.)

Elena JAKEŠOVÁ
Slovački povijesni institut, Bratislava

Cilj ovoga rada je progovoriti o čimbeniku reemigracije i njegovim posljedicama, odnosno utjecaju koji su povratnici iz SAD-a imali na stavove slovačkog društva u četrdesetogodišnjem razdoblju od 1880. do 1920. Reemigranti nisu bili samo nositelji materijalnih dobara. Sa sobom su također donijeli nova iskustva, a njihov je način razmišljanja postao opće priznat i utjecao na seosku zajednicu. No, državna je represija sprečavala usklađivanje aktivnosti reemigranata i onemogućivala njihovu potporu narodnom pokretu. Sklonost reemigraciji pojavila se među američkim Slovacima nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata. Delegacije američkih Slovaka koje su u potrazi za činjenicama u poslijeratnim godinama dolazile u Slovačku

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uspješno su utjecale na slovačku politiku. Ipak, samo je nekolicina pojedinaca odlučila ostati u Slovačkoj i uključiti se u politička zbivanja. Većina se povratnika pak vratila u svoja sela i posvetila poljoprivredi. Unatoč toj činjenici još je uvijek među povratnicima bilo ljudi koji su uložili svoju uštedevinu u posao i industriju, no mnogi se nisu uspjeli prilagoditi nezadovoljavajućim poslijeratnim uvjetima u Slovačkoj te su još jednom odlučili emigrirati.

Der Einfluß von Emigranten und Remigranten auf die slowakische Gesellschaft (1880–1920)

Elena JAKEŠOVÁ
Slowakisches Geschichtsinstitut, Preßburg

Dieser Artikel möchte den Faktor der Remigration und ihre Folgen ansprechen, d.h. die Art und Weise, in der slowakische Rückwanderer aus den USA in den vier Jahrzehnten zwischen 1880 und 1920 die slowakische Gesellschaft beeinflussten. Die Rückwanderer brachten nicht nur materielle Güter mit in die Slowakei zurück, sondern auch neue Erfahrungen, so daß ihre Denkweise allgemeine Anerkennung fand und nachhaltigen Einfluß auf das Leben der Dorfgemeinschaften ausübte. Durch Repressionen von staatlicher Seite jedoch wurden ein gemeinsames Auftreten der Remigranten und ihre der Volksbewegung zugeordnete Unterstützung vereitelt. Die amerikanischen Slowaken bekundeten nach Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs die Tendenz, in ihr Ursprungsland zurückzukehren. Delegationen amerikanischer Slowaken, die in den Nachkriegsjahren wiederholt die Slowakei besuchten, um die dortige Sachlage zu prüfen, beeinflussten mit Erfolg die slowakische Politik. Dennoch beschlossen nur wenige, in der Slowakei zu bleiben und sich am politischen Geschehen zu beteiligen. Diejenigen jedoch, die sich zur Rückkehr in die Slowakei entschlossen, ließen sich zumeist in ihrer Heimat nieder und widmeten sich der Landwirtschaft. Dennoch gab es unter den Rücksiedlern auch solche, die ihre Ersparnisse in Unternehmen und in der Industrie anlegten. Viele jedoch schafften es nicht, sich den widrigen Nachkriegsverhältnissen in der Slowakei anzupassen, so daß sie sich ein weiteres Mal zur Emigration entschlossen.