THE EMIGRATION OF CZECHS TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla v ní předepsaným způsobem všechnu použitou literaturu.

V Olomouci dne ..................  Podpis ..................
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1 INTRODUCTION

The emigration of Czechs to the United States is very rich topic which dates back to the 17th century and continues until now. The Czechs emigrated for various reasons. They were either seeking religious or political freedom or looking for better future and living conditions, which they did not have in their country. But the great future that they had been dreaming about did not come at once.

Firstly, people had to endure a long and demanding voyage across the ocean which took several weeks until first steamships were introduced and the voyage considerably shortened. After the arrival to the New World other hardships awaited to most of them. They suddenly appeared in a new and unknown environment, with little money in their pockets and very often without any knowledge of English. Even though it was not easy to get assimilated into a new society, with the help of Czech countrymen, the Czechs gradually adjusted themselves into the new American environment, which after some time became their home.

As far as the Czechs were settling down in various states and cities, such as Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa or Minnesota and St. Louis, Chicago, New York, Cleveland or Milwaukee, I have decided to pick up and describe the emigration of the Czechs to Chicago, as it was once said to be the second biggest Czech city immediately after Prague.

Chicago, which lies on the shore of Lake Michigan, is the third most populous city in the United States. It was established as a trading post in the second half of the eighteenth century and currently belongs to most important business centres in the world and is furthermore a significant cultural centre sought for by many tourists.

To explain why the Czech immigrants chose to settle down particularly in Chicago, in Chapter 2 you will learn about the historical development of the city.

The chapter is going to deal with the establishment and the development of the city. The important moments in the history of Chicago, such as the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the development of railroads, which influenced the future expansion of the city, will be chronologically ordered and will imply why the city developed into the centre of the Midwest.

The following part will bring statistical data concerning the population of Chicago and the factors that influenced the growth of the city. The numbers of inhabitants are going
to reveal how Chicago developed from a small settlement into a metropolis which became a significant business, industrial and tourist centre.

Afterwards, it will be explained how Chicago got its name and what is it derived from. And immediately after that, I am going to focus on the nickname “Windy City,” which Chicago gained. Although the “Windy City” is the best known, Chicago has more nicknames, such as The Second City, The City of Big Shoulders and many others.

In Chapter 3 I am going to describe the general overview of the emigration of Czechs to the United States throughout the time, and with respect to a historical background of the Czech lands. Firstly, I am going to describe the beginnings of the Czech emigration which took place in more individual manner, and the reasons which made the Czechs to leave their motherland. Secondly, I will focus on the mass emigration which started off in the second half of the 19th century.

With the influx of immigrants, the Czechs started to established and gather in their newly established organizations, which often promoted the Czech culture and traditions. Except for establishing Czech organizations, the Czechs also founded and published Czech newspapers. The newspapers often informed about the situation in the old country and thus people never lost track of what happened there. Moreover, the Czechs had been settling down close to their countrymen and there had been Czech villages growing up in Chicago.

Further information about Czech community in Chicago will be given in Chapter 4 which is going to deal with Czech periodicals and societies that were published and established in Chicago. The readers will also get acquainted with the areas which were occupied by the Czechs.

The final chapter is going to focus on the organizations in Chicago that are currently offering courses of the Czech language. Recently, it has been said that the Czech community is rather falling apart and the Czech community is getting assimilated to the American way of life, and as far as the mother tongue is undoubtedly an important part of the national identity, I am going to investigate if there are still any societies in Chicago or its neighbourhoods which offer Czech language classes and thus develop the efforts to preserve the language among their countrymen in Chicago.
2 CHICAGO

2.1 Chicago Historical Timeline

The first reference to Chicago appears in the map drawn by a French missionary P. Jacques Marquette. The map was published in 1683 in Quebec, Canada. Ten years earlier, in 1673, Marquette himself, together with a Canadian missionary Louis Jolliet, first came to the area where the city of Chicago lies today. Before them, only Native American tribes entered the Chicago area.¹

Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a Haitian fur trader settled in today’s Chicago in the mid-1780s (several sources claim that du Sable must have settled in Chicago by 1779 though) and is considered the first permanent settler in the Chicago area. He married a daughter of the chief of a Native American tribe and they had two children. He established the first trading post in the area which led to the development of trade. Du Sable lived in Chicago until 1800. Later, in 1803 the Government of the United States had built a military fort at the mouth of the Chicago River. It was called Fort Dearborn, “named after Henry Dearborn, President Thomas Jefferson’s secretary of war,”² and which laid foundations for the city of Chicago. It was built in the place of present Michigan Avenue and Wacker Drive, where you can find bronze markers in the pavement.³

In August 1812, the soldiers who occupied Fort Dearborn and several settlers left the fort due to the outbreak of war between the United States and England. However, they were attacked by the Native Indians who destroyed Fort Dearborn and killed fifty-three settlers including children. This event today is known as the Fort Dearborn Massacre. Despite this, the fort had been rebuilt four years later.⁴

Back in the 1804, the agent of Astor’s American Fur Company, John Kinzie, moved in and bought a former house of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable. He became the first white settler in Chicago. He was a handy silversmith and also a crafty dealer who was

¹ Jan Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův Amerických (St. Louis, Mo.: Newspaper Hlas, 1910), 563.
trading with the Native Americans and the garrison of the fort. He left Chicago in 1812 when the American-British war broke out and he managed to escape the Fort Dearborn Massacre. Kinzie returned to Chicago four years later, in 1816 and lived there until his death in 1828.5

Meanwhile, “the Congress had passed an act dividing Indiana Territory into two separate governments, which was approved on February 3, 1809.” 6 The boundary of the new separate territory called Illinois was formed by the Wabash River and Post Vincennes in the east and by the Mississippi River in the west. Illinois became the U.S. 21st state in 1818. Chicago, lying within the borders of Illinois, was incorporated as a city on 4th March 1837 under the Act of Incorporation. The first mayor of Chicago became William B. Ogden.7

At that time Chicago was gradually expanding, concerning people, houses, shops and services. The first bridge spanning the Chicago River was built in 1832. The following year on 26th November, the first issue of newspapers came out, called the Democrat. After several years of financial troubles, the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal had begun in 1836. Building of the canal meant revolution and business opportunities for the region. [...] “the Illinois and Michigan Canal finally opened for traffic in April 1848.”8 It resulted in reduction of transportation costs and it helped to ease the difficulties connected with transport. It also led to an increase in the corn sales and other goods. In the first place “the canal provided a direct water link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River, and helped to shift the center of Midwestern trade from St. Louis to Chicago.”9

This invention was soon overshadowed by the construction of railroads. “The first railroad in Chicago was the Galena & Chicago Union, which was chartered in 1836 to build tracks to the lead mines at Galena in northwestern Illinois. The first tracks were laid in 1848,”10 and yet on November 21st the first regular passenger service commenced. But the rails never reached Galena, the planned route of thirty-one miles stopped in Oak Ridge,
present day Oak Park. However, the erection of the first railroad in Chicago was preceded by financial problems as well. Nevertheless, the representatives of the railways, with Ogden at the head, managed to raise the capital from local people and communities by selling them the shares worth $2, 50 for the first instalment.\(^{11}\)

Next important step came in 1853 when Chicago was connected by the rails with New York and the journey between these cities shortened from two weeks to less than two days. In the following decade the city was also linked with the Pacific coast.\(^{12}\)

As far as the connection is concerned, in 1848 the telegraph service arrived at Chicago. In the same year the Chicago Board of Trade, the world-famous commodity exchange, was set up. A year earlier, Chicago’s leading newspaper the Chicago Tribune, began to publish.\(^{13}\)

The 1850s were important for Czechs. It was the decade of the first Czech groups coming to Chicago. First Czechs settled in the north of Chicago by the lake. Their village was not far from the cemetery that was located in the area of today’s Lincoln Park. They stayed either in the house at the corner of Dearborn Street and North Avenue or the majority anchored at the empty space between Clark and Dearborn Streets, where they did not have to pay rent until 1855 when they were forced to leave by the owner of the plot. Most of the Czechs then moved to the area around Van Buren and Jackson Streets.\(^{14}\)

Made out of limestone, the Water Tower with the adjacent Pumping Station were among the few buildings that survived the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. It was designed by a New York architect William W. Boyington who moved to Chicago in 1853. The erection began in March 1867 and was completed two years later. The purpose of the Water Tower construction was to house a 135-foot-tall standpipe with 3 feet in diameter for the city’s water system.\(^{15}\)

The fire broke out at 9 p.m. on 8\(^{th}\) October 1871 in the barn in possession of Mrs O’Leary on De Koven Street. The fire spread out very quickly boosted by wind. The extent

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13 “Timeline.”
was enormous. The fire burnt three and a half square miles of the city. Based on the figures in the book of Jan Habenicht *Dějiny Čechův Amerických* during the fire 250 people died, the fire destroyed 17,450 buildings and almost one hundred thousand people lost their homes, represented one third of the Chicago’s population. The total amount of damages was estimated to $190,000,000.  

However, Chicagoans showed their indomitable determination and they began to rebuild the city from the beginning. “Aided by an outpouring of charity from around the world, Chicagoans brought about a remarkable reconstruction; the city expanded as it rebuilt, and most visible signs of the destruction were erased within a year. Traditionally understood as the turning point of Chicago’s early history, the Great Fire cemented the reputation of the rising metropolis as a place of opportunity, renewal, and future promise.”

Education is also an important part of an emergent city with the increasing number of inhabitants. That brings us to the University of Chicago that was established in 1890 by the American Baptist Education Society and John D. Rockefeller, a famous oil tycoon. The land where the university is located was donated by the owner of a legendary department store in Chicago, Marshall Field. The university was opened in 1892.

One of the most significant events in the history of Chicago was the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893 also known as the Chicago’s World Fair which was held to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the Christopher Columbus’s landing in the New World. Chicago managed to defeat New York, Washington and St. Louis, cities which also vied to host the exposition. After long preparations the World’s Fair opened on 1st May and ended on 30th October 1893 and hosted over twenty million visitors.

The Exposition went down in the history of Czechoslovakian Chicago as well. Czech countrymen in Chicago and visitors from the Czech homeland got united to prepare the exhibition of the Czech culture, music, traditions and crafts. The Czech Day took place on 12th August and it finished better than it was expected.

Chicago made another step forward by constructing the Sanitary and Ship Canal. “With the construction of a series of locks, the Sanitary and Ship Canal permanently reversed the flow of the Chicago River in 1900. The canal was designed both as a transportation route and a means to improve water quality by sending Chicago’s sewage south into the Illinois River instead of into Lake Michigan” which served as water supply for the city.

A significant personality that went down in Chicago history was a Czech native of Kladno, Antonín Čermák, who was elected the 35th mayor of Chicago in April 1931. He died in office on 6th March 1933 after he had been seriously shot by an assassin Guiseppe Zangara on February 15. It happened in Miami, Florida when Cermak was accompanying the President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt on a public meeting.

Another figure that is connected with Chicago was an infamous gangster Al Capone. Al Capone, also known as the Scarface was a son of Italian emigrants born in Brooklyn, New York. He grew up in gangland surroundings. In 1920s Capone moved to Chicago and became a right-hand man of Johnny Torrio, a boss of local mafia. When in 1920 the act on prohibition came into effect, Al Capone started to smuggle and bootleg alcohol. As a local mafia boss and thanks to his generous bribes, he gained big power and the loyalty of the Chicago city hall. Al Capone was blamed for several murders and the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre of 1929, when he had executed seven members of an opposite gang. However, in public Capone presented himself as a respectable and a decent citizen. There was never enough evidence to arrest him until 1931, when he was charged with tax evasion and sent to prison for eleven years. After seven years Capone was discharged from prison due to his advanced disease of syphilis that damaged his brain. He died on 25th January 1947 in Florida.

As far as the architecture is concerned, Chicago became an important player. “The world’s first skyscraper, the Home Insurance Company, was built here in 1885.”

The building was designed by William LeBaron Jenney and it was unique for its steel-framed construction. It stood at the corner of LaSalle and Adams Streets from 1885 until 1931 when it was torn down.\textsuperscript{25}

Among its successors we count the John Hancock Center built in 1869 and the Willis Tower from 1974. Both of them were designed by an architect Bruce Graham and built by an engineer Fazlur Kahn. The Hancock skyscraper with one hundred stories and 337 meters can boast with the America’s fastest elevator. The Willis Tower, formerly known as the Sears Tower, is located on Wacker Drive. With its 110 stories and 443 meters, “the building held the record for the world’s tallest building for 25 years until the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia were built in 1998.”\textsuperscript{26}

The first airport in Chicago, Midway Airport, has been operating since 1927. Originally known as Chicago Municipal Airport, it was recognized as the world’s busiest airport by 1929.\textsuperscript{27} Nowadays, one of the busiest airports in the world is Chicago’s O’Hare International Airport that was opened in 1955. It was renamed in 1949 from Orchard Field to O’Hare in honour to a fighter pilot Edward “Butch” O’Hare from Chicago, who was killed in World War II.\textsuperscript{28}

\subsection*{2.2 Population}

From a small settlement of soldiers and a few settlers Chicago developed into a megalopolis. During the 1820s the population of Chicago was less than 200 people, mostly traders. In 1833, when Chicago was incorporated as a town, the population added up to 340. The population boom began with the construction on the Illinois and Michigan Canal three years later, and by 1837 there were more than 4,000 inhabitants. Due to the unfavourable economic situation the population growth slowed down for a couple of years though and Chicago had only 4,479 inhabitants according to the census from 1840. However, in the following decade the population increased up to almost 30,000. With the massive influx of immigrants, Chicago became a 100,000 city by the end of the 1860s and after the Great Fire the population almost tripled. The growing tendency continued

even in the new century and the number of inhabitants scaled up to 1,698,575 in 1900. In 1930s the population of Chicago exceeded the border of three million people and reached the number of 3,376,438. Since 1950s the population of Chicago had been declining; in 1950 there were 3,620,962 inhabitants while ten years later Chicago had 3,550,404 and the census of 1990 revealed that Chicago’s population decreased below three million. According to the latest data of U.S. Census Bureau from 2010 Chicago has 2,695,598 inhabitants. Despite the declining tendency in the population rate, Chicago keeps the third position among the U.S. most populous cities.29

2.3 Etymology

The name of the city is derived from chicagoua, a word that Native people of Illinois applied to “wild leek” or “wild garlic” (with botanic name Allium tricoccum, see Appendix 1) as a metaphor, because their word for “skunk” was also chicagoua, a reference to the skunk-like odour, which the wild leek exudes when the leaves are broken, similar to a defensive spray of the skunk. This plant chicagoua occurred plentifully along the river banks in Chicago area. The Native people used this word for both, the river and the village. Later the name appeared in different variations like checagou, chicagou and others.30

2.4 Chicago aka Windy City

Chicago, also called the “Windy City,” got its nickname “due to the Arctic wind coming from the Canadian plains,”31 which is the most frequent explanation. On the contrary, Jonathan Boyd explains that “it is a favorite observation of tour guides and reference books that in fact Chicago's climate is not distinctively windy.”32

It is said that the use of the “Windy City” 33 is connected with the figurative use of the word “windy” for something or somebody who is boastful and bombastic. And this applied to Chicagoans who reportedly always lauded their marvellous city.

The first recorded use of the expression “Windy City” appeared in a Cleveland newspaper in 1885 and one year later in a Louisville paper. However, it is assumed that the term might have been used even earlier, as it was used in the newspaper headline. “It may well have been Chicago’s urban rivals who coined a nickname, in derision, which has come to be adopted with pride.” 34

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33 Boyd, “Windy City.”
34 Boyd, “Windy City.”
3 HISTORY OF THE CZECH EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

3.1 Beginning of the Emigration until WWI

Although beginnings of the Czech emigration to the New World are not exactly clear because of the lack of evidence, we are able to reconstruct this period amply.

The first Czech who entered the North America was Joachim Gans, who arrived at Roanoke in North Carolina in 1585. Gans was a Jewish geologist and an expert on metals, from Prague, who participated in a scientific expedition, led by Sir Richard Greenville, a cousin of Sir Water Raleigh, an organizer of this expedition.  

However, the first documented person from the Czech lands who settled in America is Augustin Heřman (also Augustine Herrman and Herman). He was born probably in 1605 although a few authors are of the opinion that he was born in 1621. “However the earlier date, 1605, is more likely, since we know he acted as a witness to the Schuylkill River treaty. If Heřman had been born in 1621, he would have been only twelve years old – too young to witness so important a document.” There appear to be some doubts about the place of his birth as well. One group claims that he was born in Mšeno near Mělník and the other tends to think that he was born in Prague.

Based on the assumption that Heřman was born in 1605, he and his family left Bohemia in 1621 and moved to Germany and later the Netherlands. Heřman’s family and other emigrants in the 17th century left the Czech lands for religious reasons. The Thirty Years’ War broke out in Europe (1618–1648) and the population of the Czech lands was gradually made to turn to the Catholicism. Those who did not, were after the defeat in the Battle of White Castle in 1620 persecuted, and many of them were forced to leave their land.

In 1633 Augustin Heřman arrived at New Amsterdam, present day New York. At that time he worked for the West India Company, later he engaged in politics and

35 Miloslav Rechcigl, Počátky české emigrace do zemí latinské a severní Ameriky (Brno: Miroslav Nehyba, 1999), 4. – Svatava Raková and Josef Opatrný, Stručná historie států USA (Praha: Libri, 2003), 214.
became a governor’s advisor. He was also a good businessman, it is said that Heřman set up tobacco business with the focus on export and he introduced growing up of indigo seeds that were used to produce ink and to dye fabric. Augustin Heřman is also famous for drawing a map of Virginia and Maryland. Although it took him ten years to draw the map, he was properly rewarded. The governor George Calvert, known as Lord Baltimore, rewarded him with a piece of land in Maryland. Heřman moved there in 1660 and built a mansion that he called the Bohemia Manor. He died in 1686.\(^3\)

Naturally, there were more Czech immigrants arriving in America in the 17\(^{th}\) century. One well-known Czech immigrant was Bedřich Filip (also Frederick Philips, Philips, Vreedryck or Vrederych Felypsen, Flypson, Felyps).\(^4\) His origin is not clear though. It is said that he was born around 1626 in Prague but there is a possibility that he might have been born in the Netherlands. Numerous authors incline to the first opinion. His widowed mother let him trained to be a carpenter. It is not certain when did Philips move to America, but it must have been prior to 1653, when he was appointed an assessor of Augustin Heřman’s property in New Amsterdam.\(^5\) Filip grew up in a noble Protestant family and he became a successful businessman in America and died in 1720.\(^6\)

First group from the Czech lands emigrated to America in 1735. This group of Moravian Brethren, lead by the bishop David Nitsch (also Nitschmann or Ničman), headed to Georgia. However, they were threatened to join the army there, so they moved to Pennsylvania in 1740 and set up the city of Bethlehem in 1742.\(^7\)

The first large-scale emigration of Czechs to America launched after 1848 for political and economical reasons. When the revolution of 1848 was suppressed and the Bach’s absolutism was established, mainly the intelligentsia left the country, followed by peasants and craftsmen who, in spite of the abolition of servitude, were often unable to make their living in the Czech lands.

Another incentive that stimulated the emigration of Czechs in 1850s was the discovery of gold in California. Secondly, the railroad connection from Moravia and Bohemia to German ports of Bremen and Hamburg was completed, which significantly

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\(^3\) although Habenicht states that he died in 1692 and Filípek differs from others for more than twenty years and he writes in his book that according to an inscription on the gravestone Heřman died in 1661.  

\(^4\) Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 7.  

\(^5\) Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 7–8.  

\(^6\) Rechčígl, Počátky české emigrace, 4.  

\(^7\) Raková and Opatrný, Stručná historie států USA, 214. - Rechčígl, Počátky české emigrace, 7-8. - Josef Polišenský, Češi a Amerika, 14. – Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 11.
eased the overseas emigration, as they were the main ports where Czechs embarked on boats heading to America.\textsuperscript{43} 

The voyage on the boats was very demanding for people to bear and it lasted long. At first only sailing boats were used and the journey took from eight to twelve weeks.\textsuperscript{44} When new ships were introduced, powered by steam, the journey across the Atlantic shortened to approximately two weeks in 1870s. And at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the fastest ships crossed the Atlantic in only eight days.\textsuperscript{45} The steamships left port every Wednesday and Sunday while sailing boats set sails every first and fifteenth day of the month. In addition, the increasing number of competitors and bigger ships that enabled to carry more passengers led to price cuts and better conditions on the ships.\textsuperscript{46} 

The ships from Bremen and Hamburg sailed to New York, Baltimore, New Orleans and Galveston. From there, one part of Czech immigrants continued to rural farming areas, such as Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska or Minnesota and the others settled in big cities, especially New York, Chicago, St. Louis and Milwaukee, Cleveland and Baltimore. The first group consisted of farmers and peasant who had at least little money to buy a piece of land while the second group stayed in the cities to find any job available, particularly as blue-collar workers.\textsuperscript{47} 

Since most of Czech immigrants did not speak English, they very often settled near established German and Polish villages, as they were able to communicate with them. Polišenský also points to the fact that there were numerous breweries at the places where the Czechs and Germans lived. For example Milwaukee and St. Louis are one of those brewery centres.\textsuperscript{48} 

Another stimulus for Czechs, who wanted to emigrate in 1860s from the Czech lands, was the Homestead Act of 1862. The Homestead Act was signed on 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1862 by President Abraham Lincoln, and it enabled “any U.S. citizen, or intended citizen, who had never borne arms against the U.S. Government”\textsuperscript{49} to make a claim for a piece of government land of maximum 160 acres. The homesteader had to pay only a reasonable 

\textsuperscript{43}Raková and Opatrný, \textit{Stručná historie států USA}, 215. 
\textsuperscript{44}as Vaculík claims. Polišenský and Peprník, however, say that the voyage took 35 days. 
\textsuperscript{48}Polišenský, \textit{Češi a Amerika}, 28. 
filing fee and for the next five years continuously live on that land and improve it and cultivate it until he was eligible to gain the title to the land. Or after six months of residency the homesteader was allowed to purchase the land for $1.25 per acre.\textsuperscript{50}

The influx of Czech immigrants continued in the following decades with short occasional pauses such as at the time of the American Civil War, between 1861 and 1865. “[…] after 1890 the Czechs scattered over a wider territory in the States. […] Much of the Czech population shifted into sparsely occupied regions of North Dakota, Oregon, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida and Indiana.” \textsuperscript{51} Very often, Czechs purchased their own land, although it was of lower quality but cheap. But not every Czech chose this way. Those who did not want to “slave” on the farm chose to live and work in an industrial city.\textsuperscript{52}

The Czechs gradually became integrated into the American society and they also took part in American political life. Among them for example the above-mentioned Antonín Čermák,\textsuperscript{53} whose political career reached the top in 1931 when he became the Mayor of Chicago. Čermák who left the Czech lands as a two-year-old baby with his family in 1875, was considered a capable man and a politician who considerably contributed to the development of the city. He himself had to fight his way to the top as well. As a son of a miner, he started to work in the mines of the Chicago and Wilmington Coal Company when he was thirteen. After he worked as a coachman for the city service he set up his own business as a teaming contractor. Since his twenties he gradually became involved in Chicago’s public life because a countryman Vladimír Červenka asked him for help with his election campaign. After that he held various positions in the town or state offices and he became a member and leader of several associations.

As far as the family life is concerned Čermák got married when he was twenty-one and his wife Marie (něe Hořejšová) bore him three daughters.

Despite the fact that Cermak left Bohemia as a baby, he was able to speak Czech fluently which he proved during his visit in Czechoslovakia and his birthplace in 1932. In his memory 22\textsuperscript{nd} Street in Chicago was renamed Cermak Road.

But not only Czech Chicagoans participated in American political life, also the Czechs from other parts of the United States got involved in a local political life.

\textsuperscript{50} “Teaching with Documents: The Homestead Act of 1862.”
\textsuperscript{52} Chada, \textit{The Czechs in the United States}, 27.
\textsuperscript{53} Brož, \textit{Čermák versus Al Capone}, 6–23, 238–246.
The Czechs in Wisconsin, New York, Texas, Nebraska or Ohio had also their representatives in the town, county or state offices.54

Not forgetting about the Czech origin, the immigrants in the United States were setting up variety of associations, schools, churches and they published Czech newspapers. Thomas Čapek remarks that the reason for Czechs in America to unite was partly because they were not allowed to do so at their home country, at least not completely.55

Since 1860s, the Czech national societies, called Slovanská lípa were being established all over the United States. The name was adopted from Lípa slovanská which was founded in April 1848 in Prague. First of these societies in the States were set up in Missouri in St. Louis on the 1st January 1859 and in Wisconsin in Racine, Milwaukee and Manitowoc. Many Czech libraries and Czech schools were founded under the aegis of Slovanská lípa. Slovanská lípa also organized various lectures, theatre performances or balls. Another significant group was a sporting association Sokol set up in 1865 in St. Louis, thus three years after its Prague counterpart.56

As far as the Czech-American press is concerned, the first Czech-written newspaper in the United States was Slowan amerikánský (also Slovan Amerikánský). It was founded by František Kořízek on 1st January 1860 in Racine. The second one St. Louis’ Národní noviny were first published only a few weeks later on 21st January. The first editor became Jan Bolemil Erben, who, however, edited only first fifteen issues. In summer 1861 both of the weeklies connected to create a new weekly newspaper called Slávie.57 On the contrary, Dr. Vojan claims that Slávie was established on 30th October 1961 as a fortnightly newspaper. Since June 5, 1863 the editor became Karel Jonáš.58 The first daily newspaper was founded in Chicago in 1875 though and it was called Svornost.59

There were approximately 170 Czech titles coming out in the States between 1880 and 1900, consisted of free-thinking, catholic and working class’s press.60 It is, however, hard to tell the exact number because there were also many newsletters, calendars and reports that the Czech immigrants had been publishing and that existed only for a short period of time. Notwithstanding, in forty years, from the beginning of the 1860s until the end of the nineteenth century, the Czechs published approximately from 225 up to 240

55 Thomas Čapek, The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: a study of their national, cultural, political, social, economic and religious life (New York: Arno, 1969), 432.
60 Raková and Opatrný, Stručná historie států USA, 216–217.
periodicals in their mother tongue in the United States. But it is true that since 1920s, with the decrease of new immigrants, we can observe that the circulation of the Czech newspapers in the USA has declined.\textsuperscript{61}

The Czech immigrants in the United States were possible to distinguish according to their religious affiliation. They were freethinkers, Catholics and Protestants. The freethinkers, who advocated atheism, were the most powerful. The Catholics had their supporters especially in farming areas and also in St. Louis and Cleveland. The Protestants were less significant in their manifestation in America. This classification also appeared in cultural aspects of everyday life. These groups had their own newspapers, associations or schools.\textsuperscript{62}

### 3.2 Emigration between the World Wars

The First World War meant a turning point in the emigration of Czechs to the United States. Until that time there was about a half million of the Czech immigrants living in the States but the outbreak of the war on 28\textsuperscript{th} July 1914 broke in the influx of immigrants.\textsuperscript{63} Despite this, Czechs, especially the intelligentsia that was seriously endangered by persecution, at that time under the ascendancy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and deprived from democratic rights and freedoms, were still going into exile.

The head figures of an independence movement were Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, Edvard Beneš and Milan Rastislav Štefánik who established the Czechoslovak National Committee, a main body of an independence movement abroad. These three figures were also involved in establishing independent Czechoslovakia in October 1918.\textsuperscript{64}

The main reason for a decreasing number of the Czech immigrants was, however, implementing of restrictive immigration quotas on 3\textsuperscript{rd} June 1921. The Immigration Act of 1921 limited the number of Czech immigrants to 14,282 persons per year and in 1924 the quota was cut down to only 3,073 immigrants and five years later the permissible number was 2,874 persons.\textsuperscript{65}

In the two upcoming years after establishing a democratic and independent country of Czechoslovakia, the number of returnees from the United States to Czechoslovakia even

\textsuperscript{61} Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 63–64.
\textsuperscript{62} Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 49.
\textsuperscript{63} Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 255.
\textsuperscript{65} Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 294–295.
outnumbered the number of the Czech emigrants coming to America. In the following years the migration from post-war Czechoslovakia took place mainly for economical reasons.

In September 1938 the heads of leading European countries signed the Munich Agreement that resulted in invasion of Hitler’s army into Czechoslovakia, which took over one third of the country. In March of the following year, Nazis established the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Czechoslovakia remainder under the Nazi seizure until the end of WWII. Its aim was to Germanize a part of the Czech inhabitants, the other part was meant to be displaced and the rest of them, particularly the intelligentsia, exterminated. The disturbing situation in Europe in the end resulted in a war conflict that spread all over the world, today known as the Second World War on 1st September 1939. The world war caused that the immigration fell to a minimum, although it never entirely stopped.

It should be noted that even the Czech-Americans supported their countrymen during the First and the Second World Wars. Czechs (and Slovaks as well) in America organized money collections or “they dispatched to Bohemia enormous numbers of crates containing food, clothing, medicines, medical equipment, etc.” And they continued to provide such help even after the establishing of Czechoslovakia realizing that the state will face many difficulties at the outset. Help of this kind was also organized during WWII by the Czech compatriots in America. Moreover, Czech-Americans also engaged politically and raised the awareness of the situation in their homeland.

3.3 February 1948

Another significant immigration wave rose in February 1948. After the Communist victory in the elections of 1946, the Communist Party gradually seized power over the country and established a monopoly of the Communist Party as the only governmental party. The estimated number of Czechoslovak refugees after the coup in February 1948 is about sixty thousand. The majority left the country in the first two years after

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66 Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 295.
68 Ivan Dubovický, Češi v Americe: České vystěhovalectví do Ameriky a česko-americké vztahy v průběhu pěti staletí (Praha: Pražská edice, 2003), 35.
70 according to Pavel Tigrid but Filípek suggests that there might have been up to eighty thousand people who left Czechoslovakia after 1948 and Ivan Dubovický claims that during two years up to 100,000 people
In spite of the immigration quotas adopted in 1920s, those who were threatened to be persecuted by the Communist regime were permitted to enter the United States based on the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. The expatriates consisted mainly of former non-communist politicians, soldiers and officers who fought in western armies during WWII, and the intelligentsia. Those who did not flee the country were often kept in prison or executed.\footnote{Pavel Tigrid, \textit{Politická emigrace v atomovém věku} (Praha: Prostor, 1990), 43. – Miloš Trapl, \textit{Exil po únoru 1948: Počátky politické organizovanosti a činnosti poúnorové emigrace a vznik Rady svobodného Československa} (Olomouc: Centrum pro československá exilová studia, Univerzita Palackého, 1996), 6.}

Czechoslovakia remained under the Communist supremacy until the Velvet Revolution in November 1989.

### 3.4 Immigration of 1968 up to the Present

The situation in Czechoslovakia was getting better after years of oppression. The Communist Party dismissed its leader Antonín Novotný who was replaced by Alexandr Dubček, who advocated the policy of “the Communism with a human face.” This event set off the period called the Prague Spring at the beginning of 1968, which led to gradual democratization of relations in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union, however, strongly opposed these changes and on 21\textsuperscript{st} August 1968 the Red Army and its allies occupied Czechoslovakia. The Prague Spring was terminated in April 1969 when Dubček was substituted by Gustav Husák and consequently a new period called normalization had begun.\footnote{Filípek, \textit{Odlesky dějin}, 21–22. – Tomáš Vlček, “Pražské jaro 1968” and “Rok 1968,” \textit{Totalita.cz}, accessed March 24, 2012, http://www.totalita.cz/vysvetlivky/jaro68.php and http://www.totalita.cz/1968/1968.php.}

The post-August emigration wave consisted of one hundred thousand people, maybe even more while 21,400 immigrants came only to the United States between 1961 and 1970. In the following decade the number was reduced by half. This emigration wave consisted primarily of professors, artists, doctors, engineers and students and even former Communist officials who took part in the reform movement. People were allowed to leave the country because the borders were left open in the first weeks after the soviet occupation.
and almost everybody who applied for issuing the passport was satisfied. This emigration flow continued until 1989, except for some pauses.74

And the emigration continues even in the present days when people very often emigrate for economical reasons in following their vision of the so called American dream.

According to the latest statistics of the U.S. Census Bureau from 2000,75 there are 1,258,452 people living in the United States that claim to be of the Czech ancestry and 441,403 people of the Czechoslovakian ancestry. Thus, the Czech population in the United States accounts for 0.4% of the total U.S. population, which makes the Czech minority in the United States rather inconsiderable in number compared with other minorities living in the States.76

75 The relevant data from the 2010 Census have not been processed yet and as noted on 2010.census.gov “Additional data from the 2010 Census will be released on a flow basis through 2013.” Right now, only 2010 estimates are available on http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml?refresh=t. According to these estimates there are 1,525,187 people of the Czech ancestry living in the USA (with a margin of error +/- 25,310) and 304,020 of Czechoslovakian ancestry (with a margin of error +/- 9,162).
4 CZECHS IN CHICAGO

4.1 The First Czech in Chicago

Opinions about who was the first Czech that settled in Chicago vary. To begin with, according to Jan Habenicht, the first Czech resident in Chicago was Dr. František Adolf Valenta. Valenta spent some time in monastery in Linz, Austria he however, came from Moravia. In 1849 he set off for America. Initially, he stayed in New York but later that year, in August, he moved to Chicago. He settled at the north of the city among Germans. We can read that he was reproached for this and also for the fact that he did not care much about his fellow citizens in Chicago. Doctor Valenta set up a profitable business in Chicago when he opened a pharmacy at the corner of State and Van Buren Streets. After sixteen years of medical practice he brought 50,000 dollars back to Bohemia. He died in 1870 on his estate that he bought when he returned to Bohemia. On the contrary, Dr. Vojan claims that Valenta died in Vienna.77

Another person who was following up the issue of the first Czech who settled in Chicago was Rudolf Bubeníček. On the basis of a newspaper article “Kdy počalo stěhování Čechů do Ameriky?” (When did Czechs start to move to Amerika?), published in the 3rd issue of the magazine České osady v Americe in 1888, he learnt about Vojtěch Škliba who might have been the first Czech in Chicago.

Consequently, Bubeníček started to search for some information that would confirm the aforementioned information. He tried to find the name of Škliba in a telephone directory and in the end he managed to find the name Skleba L.F., MD., together with the address. The person from the directory, Leonard Skleba, was a grandson of Vojtěch Škliba. His mother provided Bubeníček with some information about Skleba. She claimed that Vojtěch Škliba moved to Chicago with his mother at the age of twelve. He became a saddler and he established very profitable business on Michigan Street. He married a Czech woman and they had seven kids. Bubeníček adds that if Vojtěch Škliba was the first Czech immigrant in Chicago, his mother must have been the first Czech woman in Chicago.78

Lastly, Miloslav Rechcíg! Jr. claims that he have found another Czech settler who came to Chicago even four years before Škliba, thus in 1842. The person is Henry Horner,

who was born on 29\textsuperscript{th} December 1818 in Čkyně in Southern Bohemia. Horner established the oldest wholesale grocery house in Chicago located at the north-east corner of Randolph and Canal Streets. “In 1861 he moved his grocery store to 267 South Water Street, at the same time establishing a bank at the southeast corner of Randolph and La Salle Streets.” In 1849 he married Hannah Demburg and they had eleven children. Henry Horner died in 1878 in Chicago. It is also worth mentioning that one of the Henry Horner’s descendants, his namesake, became Illinois governor in 1932.\textsuperscript{79}

4.2 Czech Neighbourhoods

As it was mentioned in the second chapter, first groups of the Czech expatriates in Chicago settled in the north of the city near present-day Lincoln Park in 1852. After they were driven out of the space between Clark and Dearborn Streets, the majority moved to the area around today’s Board of Trade on LaSalle and Van Buren Streets. Nevertheless, the business expansion in that area resulted in the rise of estate prices and after two years of dwelling there, Czechs were forced to leave again. They moved behind the Chicago River and settled on Beach Street. The development of railroads, however, caused that Czechs were expelled again around 1860. Consequently, a new Czech permanent village called Praha was established. Praha extended on horizontal streets Canal, Clinton, Jefferson and Des Plaines and others and on vertical streets Taylor, De Koven, Bunker and Polk. By the end of 1860s around ten thousand Czechs lived there. Even though the village was not destroyed by the Great fire,\textsuperscript{80} the fire and the subsequent lack of houses caused the increase of prices and poorer people were forced to find cheaper accommodation. The others simply profited by selling their houses and moved out too.\textsuperscript{81}

The Czechs found cheaper lots in Plzeň, a Czech quarter situated approximately from Halsted Street to Western Avenue and vertically between the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 22\textsuperscript{nd} Streets.\textsuperscript{82} The name Plzeň was derived from a public house called “Hostinec u města Plzně” located on 103\textsuperscript{rd} Fisk Street (today’s Carpenter Street and Nineteenth Place).\textsuperscript{83} It was established


\textsuperscript{80}Because the Czech village was situated to the south of the place where the fire broke out and it spread northwards.

\textsuperscript{81}Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 566–568. – Bubeníček, Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu, 28–29.


\textsuperscript{83}Malynne Sternstein, Czechs of Chicagoland (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), accessed March 27, 2012, http://books.google.cz/books?id=T9RVa0c9ANIC&pg=PP1&lpg=PP1&dq=Malynne+Sternstein&source=bl&ots=W2XzEkaZq&s=cs&sig=LuzVM_tqILkjQsoqKY1sg2BNs&hl=cs&sa=X&ei=32lwT_eqD6W70QWk_umNAg&ved=0CHgQ6AEwCg#v=onepage&q=Malynne%20Sternstein&f=false, 23.
by Matěj Škudera in 1881. The name Plzeň was gradually spreading throughout the Czech community until people started to call the area Plzeň.\(^8^4\)

But Plzeň neighbourhood did not suffice to cover the influx of Czech immigrants, especially in the 1880s. On that account, new villages, such as Česká Kalifornie, Vápenky, Klatovy, Nový Tábor, also called Merigold, or Vinohrady, were set up west off Plzeň. After 1893 Czech immigrants also started to settle down in the suburbs, e.g. in Berwyn and Lyons or in Cicero, where a freethinking school of T.G. Masaryk was set up in 1921. Later, Czechs found their homes also in Hawthorne, Brookfield, Riverside and Stickney (see Appendix 2 with the plan of Chicago).\(^8^5\)

Currently, the former Czech neighbourhoods are settled by Mexicans in particular and Czechs are dispersed all over the city, especially in small towns in Chicago suburbs.\(^8^6\)

This fact is also supported on the Chicago’s official tourism website where we can learn that “Pilsen is the heart of Chicago's Mexican-American community.”\(^8^7\)

### 4.3 Countrymen’s Press in Chicago

At the time when the world did not know the television, let alone the internet, it was the newspapers that functioned as the information source. The Czech newspapers published abroad kept the emigrants informed about the news and situation in their homeland and thus worked as a connection between their motherland and the new country. The newspapers also enabled immigrants to better orient in new and unfamiliar surroundings. “The Czech press reached the height of its influence and leadership in World War I, when it served as a forum of revolutionary comment and opinion and shaped the thinking of those engaged in the movement to free the Czech and Slovak people politically.”\(^8^8\)

There were plenty of newspapers established in Chicago and it would make a very extensive list, for the purpose of this bachelor thesis, to name them all. Thus, I have picked up a few representatives with different orientation.

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\(^8^4\) Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův amerických*, 567.


\(^8^8\) Chada, *The Czechs*, 135.
As it was mentioned before, the first daily newspaper in the States was established in Chicago in 1875 under the name Svornost (the Concord). Although it was not the first periodical in Chicago it belonged to the most significant ones.

The first issue of freethinkers’ Svornost\(^9^9\) came out on Friday on 8\(^{th}\) October and consisted of four pages. The front page informed the readers that starting from 25\(^{th}\) October the magazine will have been coming out every afternoon at 3 o’clock (see Appendix 3). The daily was founded by August Geringer, a teacher and a bookbinder who came to Chicago in 1869.

From an extract of the speech of František Boleslav Zdrůbek, an editor of Svornost, we learn why the magazine got the name Svornost. Chicago should have become the centre of Czech national life in America and this aim could only be achieved by concord and effort of Czech immigrants, who despite unfavourable circumstances had been trying to bring the Czech nation to prosperity.

Initially, the magazine contended with financial troubles. It did not have as many buyers as it was expected. The annual subscription cost seven dollars and fifty cents which was a great deal of money back then. In the first years the magazine did not have more than 210 buyers that earned the magazine from ten to twenty dollars per week. Thanks to the iron will and endurance of the publisher and his colleagues, the magazine managed to survive the unfavourable period and the situation turned to the better.

In 1885 the newspaper moved from a rented house on Canal Street to its own building at the corner of the 12\(^{th}\) and Clinton Streets. Later in 1917 it moved again into modern building on Crawford Street that was close to the Czech quarters of Kalifornie and Lawndale and not far from the Czech suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn.

Nevertheless, financial troubles and lack of subscribers led to the end of the first Czech daily in the United States in 1950s. Svornost had been operating until 1957, which makes it one of the longest-lasting Czech-American newspapers.\(^9^0\)

As far as the religious oriented press is concerned, I am going to mention several titles. Let me begin with Katolické Noviny\(^9^1\) (The Catholic News), a weekly newspaper which was established in 1867. After the termination of St. Louis’ weekly Pozor, four Czech priests, among them Josef Hessoun and Josef Molitor bought the newspaper with its equipment including the printing machine for 850 dollars and moved it to Chicago.

\(^9^0\) Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 64.
\(^9^1\) Bubeníček, Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu, 106–107.
Katolické noviny, the first Czech Catholic magazine in America, had been issued since October 1867 with an annual subscription three dollars. The newspaper, however, ceased to exist soon after it had been established, in May 1868, probably for the lack of subscribers. The main editor and publisher was the parish priest Josef Molitor, who is considered the first Catholic journalist. Only political topics were edited by Antonín Jurka, a former member of Pozor newspaper, and later by Miloš Novotný.

Next, let me continue with the first Czech Catholic daily newspaper in America. It was called Jednota\textsuperscript{92} (the Unity) and it was established in 1888 in Chicago. The first issue came out on 5\textsuperscript{th} May 1888. The daily did not have long duration though and it broke up at the same year. The main editor and publisher was Mr. Přibyl from Montgomery, Minnesota.

Lastly, I would like to mention contribution of the order of the Czech Benedictines which also significantly participated in establishing of the Catholic newspapers in Chicago. On 1\textsuperscript{st} July 1893 the first issue of a weekly Katolík (the Catholic) was published, which was later issued twice a week. Katolík operated until 1975. Another newspaper that managed to remain for so long on the scene was a daily newspaper Národ (the Nation) that had been published for eighty-one years since 1894. It started as a daily newspaper, in 1958 the frequency changed to a semi-weekly newspaper and since 1963 it was issued once a week. Four years later, the order of Benedictines issued Hospodářské listy (the Farm Gazette) which survived until 1930. The magazine was issued once in a fortnight and edited by Ludvík V. Dongres, who was employed in Omaha’s newspaper, and later by Antonín F. Veselý. And the Czech Benedictines did not forget about children either and issued a weekly magazine for kids called Přítel dítětí (the Children’s Friend) that was first issued in January 1890.\textsuperscript{93}

Currently, the Czech Mission in Chicago, a religious and a cultural centre located in Brookfield, issues a Catholic monthly newspaper, called Hlasy národa (Voices of the Nation), under the leadership of Monsignor Dušan Hladík. The magazine contains thirty-two pages and costs $2.50 per one issue (see Appendix 4). Hlasy národa is however, the successor of the Catholic weekly newspaper Hlas národa (Voice of

\textsuperscript{92}Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 608.
the Nation) which was first issued on 3rd January 1976 and since 1993 had changed to biweekly newspaper. The newspaper was published by Velehrad, a cultural and religious centre, but ceased to exist in 2000.\textsuperscript{95}

In the 1880s the socialist-anarchist press was set up in Chicago. In the preceding period, in January 1874 a separate Labour Party was set up in Chicago with two Czechs among the leading members of the party, namely Prokop Hudek and Leo Meilbek.\textsuperscript{96}

An anarchist weekly \textbf{Budoucnost}\textsuperscript{97} (the Future) had been published since 16\textsuperscript{th} June 1883 for three years. The paper was originally presented as a biweekly newspaper that advocated the interests of a working class and later transformed into an anarchist paper.

The articles published in Budoucnost promoted the labour movement and very often appealed for resistance and fight. One of the contributors was Jakub Mikolanda, a qualified baker who participated in anarchist movement.

Other anarchist newspapers were a weekly \textbf{Lampička} (The Lamp) which was established in 1885 and existed only until the following year, \textbf{Práce} (The Labor) which ceased to exist after one year of existence as well and \textbf{Dělnické Listy} (the Labor Gazette) of which the first issue was published on 6\textsuperscript{th} August 1887. In 1890s František Hlaváček, a labour campaigner and a socialist journalist, became an editor of two anarchist papers. They were weekly magazines \textbf{Pochodeň} (the Torch), first issued on 1\textsuperscript{st} July 1896 and \textbf{Spravedlnost} (the Justice), which initially belonged under the Social-Democratic Party and since July 1905 it got under the governance of the Czech-Slav Socialist Party in America.\textsuperscript{98}

In the early 1890s there were two Czech daily newspapers coming out in Chicago, the aforementioned Svornost and Chicagské Listy.\textsuperscript{99} The third Czech daily Denní Hlasatel was established in 1891.

The new daily newspaper, \textbf{Denní Hlasatel},\textsuperscript{100} (the Daily Herald) was set up by the Czech Typographic Union which was established by the typesetters of Chicagské Listy,

\textsuperscript{95} Center for Research Libraries, accessed April 18, 2012, http://catalog.crl.edu/search~S1/?Yczech+newspapers&searchscope=1&SORT=D/Yczech+newspapers&searchscope=1&SORT=D&SUBKEY=czech+newspapers/1\%2C54\%2C54\%2CB/frameset&FF=Yczech+newspapers&searchscope=1&SORT=D&9%2C9%2C.

\textsuperscript{96} Bubeníček, \textit{Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu}, 349–350.


\textsuperscript{98} Habenicht, \textit{Dějiny Čechův amerických}, 607–613.

\textsuperscript{99} Habenicht remarks that Chicagské Listy were established in August 1882 as a weekly newspaper but in August 1884 the paper had been issued semi-weekly and since 1886 daily. The owner of the paper was J. V. Matějka until 15th March 1892 when the newspaper which got into serious financial difficulties was bought by a company with a notary Jan Pecha at the head. Later, Pecha was substituted by Antonín Kozel at the head of the publishing company of Chicagské Listy. The paper shut down on 30th October 1893.
Svornost and Čechoslovak on 7th December 1890. The Union was founded in order to advocate the interests of typesetters or typographers who worked under bad financial conditions. The Union demanded an eight-hour working day and a pay rise for the typesetters from the publishers of the aforesaid newspapers. But the publishers did not meet the Union’s demand which resulted in a strike of all Czech printing houses in Chicago on 1st May 1891. Despite this the publishers managed to keep issuing the magazines also due to the fact that many typesetters did not eventually participate in the strike. The striking typesetters felt the need to defend themselves in the eyes of public because they could have read only the publishers’ opinions in the magazines and thus, they started to issue their own leaflets from the Kerner’s publishing house on 18th Street.

But the typesetters moved from leaflets to a real newspaper and on the 4th May 1891 they published the first issue of Denní Hlasatel. The newspaper was oriented on the working class but it was neutral to serve all groups and even though the paper was of freethinking nature, it did not “behave” in an anti-religious manner in contrast to other newspapers. This approach gained the paper a significant number of readers and Denní Hlasatel became the most wide-spread Czech paper in Chicago.

The founders consisted of approximately forty typographers. The name was suggested by F.J. Kuták, the chairman of the publishing house and a leading editor who emphasized the idea that the magazine must not be one-sided and must serve to all groups of people. The newspaper was initially printed by publishing companies of Kerner and Hildebrant (or Helebrant), situated on 19th and Brown Streets.

Already in the first months Denní Hlasatel overshadowed the two other dailies in the number of readers. Hlasatel also introduced new system of subscription that meant that people did not have to pay a monthly subscription but they paid weekly and they were thus allowed to buy the paper only when they wanted and when they had money. This new system brought new customers for Hlasatel and the number of readers had doubled in a short period despite the economic crisis. Concurrently with Denní Hlasatel, the Union had been publishing also Týdenní Hlasatel (The Weekly Herald) since 1892, which was

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102 Jan Habenicht remarks that Čechoslovak was a Catholic weekly newspaper first published on 2nd July 1883 by Jan Geringer, who was a brother of August Geringer from Svornost, and Viktorin Keclík. Čechoslovak ceased to exist in September 1897 under the leadership of Keclík’s son Otakar.
103 Bubeníček points out that the first issue came out on 1st May but it was in the form of striking note which was meant as a treat to the publishers that the Union will have established their own paper if they had not meet their demand.
transformed into semi-weekly newspaper since 1898. In 1899 the newspaper built its own building on Ashland Avenue and 18th Street. Denní Hlasatel operated until 1994.

Further development of the Czech press in Chicago (and in the United States as a whole) was influenced by the immigration quotas in 1920s which led to the falling numbers of new immigrants, also the “old” generation of immigrants was weakening and the new generation of Czechs in the States got Americanized. Apart from the shift in the identity of the Czech community, the development of the periodicals was also negatively influenced by the economic crisis at the turn of 1920s and 1930s. Such tendency continued even in the following decades. But it does not mean that the Czech newspapers would have completely disappeared. The Czechs kept issuing their newspapers and also founded new titles but only in lesser extent. We can observe that the similar situation affected also other areas, such as the development of Czech societies which will be mentioned in the following sub-chapter or the development of Czech schools.103

Since 1994 when Denní Hlasatel ceased to exist, a weekly newspaper Nedělní Hlasatel (the Sunday Herald), which was a Sunday issue of Denní Hlasatel kept issuing in Chicago. From the email received on April 10, 2012 from the Chicago Public Library’s Ask Librarian service we learn that the issuing frequency had changed. “According to WorldCat,” a global catalogue of library holdings, “the newspaper switched its publication frequency in February of 1999, moving from a weekly to a semimonthly publication.” But only the information provided by the telephone service of the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago reveals that Nedělní Hlasatel, which was founded in 1891, published the last issue in April 2006 and ceased to exist.

4.4 Chicago and the Czech Societies

The Czechs in Chicago have been gathering into a variety of associations in compliance with their religion, interests, hobbies, etc. Since the immigrants found it hard to assimilate into new culture, they were setting up societies which became the centres of their community life. In this chapter I am going to introduce some of these associations.

The oldest Czech society in Chicago was a military group, established due to the upcoming Civil War. The society was established on 16th October 1860 under the name

103 Jaklová, Čechoamerická periodika, 261–270, 331.
Česko-slovanská setnina (the Slavonian Lincoln Rifle Company) in a tavern owned by August Kučera located on Canal Street.

In the following year the Slavonian Lincoln Rifle Company was authorized by the Illinois governor and its members were given arms. Their training was led by Geza Mihaloczy (also Gheza Michaloczy), probably a Slovak army officer, who used to be a valet at František Adolf Valenta’s house.

The Slavonian Lincoln Rifle Company consisted of approximately fifty members but when the group was called up into the army on 16th April 1861 only twelve men joined up. It caused that Setnina had to be topped up with the Germans and thus, the group renamed only to the Lincoln Rifle Company. The first fight that they went through was the battle of Perryville and then they fought in Murfreesboro, Chattanooga, Mission Ridge and Tunnel Hill. In July 8, 1861 the Lincolns were assigned to the 24th Illinois Infantry Regiment as a company “F.”

The second Czech association that was established in Chicago was Slovanská Lípa (the Slavic Linden). As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, these associations were being set up all over the United States in the 1860s. The first meeting of Chicago’s Lípa took place in the tavern of August Kučera on 20th November 1861 whereas it was officially established four days later on 24th November. Slovanská Lípa had sixteen founding members. The meetings were held at the wine bar of Mr. Kronfus on 49 La Salle Street every Sunday afternoon. Since 1st October the entrance fee for joining the society was raised from fifty cents to one dollar.

Its own building Slovanská Lípa had only in September 1864. The fact that the association needed its own building was agreed during the meeting in April. The appropriate lot was found at the corner of Clinton and Van Buren Streets and the erection began. The construction was finished on 11th September and on 17th September the opening ceremony took place. The construction cost 2,671 dollars while the intended budget was $2,500. The building, however, burnt down during fire in 1867. Despite the fact that the building was not destroyed completely nobody was keen that it should have been reconstructed. The association decided to buy a new lot and build a new house and so Lípa purchased a lot on Taylor Street and commenced the construction of which

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the expenses climbed up to approximately thirty thousand dollars. New building was finished in September 1869.

Meanwhile, Slovanská Lípa organized first balls, theatre performances, concerts and other cultural events. The first ball took place on 26th December 1861 in the Becker’s Hall on Clark Street with the accompaniment of the Czech Great Union Band. The Czech theatre performances had begun in 1863 when the first play, a comedy “Pan Strýček”, was shown on 22nd February in Turner Hall on Clark Street. The ticket cost 35 and 25 cents and 15 cents for children. Next play was introduced in a half of March and other performances followed every month. The first theatre performance in the newly built house took place on 18th September. The actors chose the play of Václav Kliment Klicpera called Valdek.

Currently, we can find in Chicago, more precisely in Lyons, Czech theatre Divadlo Bohemia, which consists mainly of actors of a former Czech theatre Dech and which except for its own plays, performs for example adopted plays of famous couple Svěrák and Smoljak and their theatre Divadlo Járy Cimrmana.

“For a number of years [...], the Lípa was the driving force behind the community’s cultural affairs. It sponsored ethnic elementary schools, financed the establishment of Czech libraries, initiated choral societies, and assisted the poor. It secured money for these projects from the proceeds of plays, dances and receptions, and picnics which attracted the Czechs as well as other Slavs.”

The first choral society was called Lumír that was established in 1862. Although it was soon terminated, another choir called Hlahol was set up shortly. Hlahol organized its first concert and ensuing ball on 25th December 1865.

Every quarter the members of Slovanská Lípa elected their representatives and officers. Since 1865 the interval between the elections prolonged to a half of a year. The year 1865 is remarked by an event, so called Slavic Convention. It took place between 31st December and 2nd January 1866 in Chicago. The purpose of this convention was to connect all Slovanská Lípa into one organization called Národní Jednota (the National Union). Twenty-two representatives selected Karel Jonáš as their chairman. When the Union gathered after two years of “sleeping,” as Bubeníček points out, only fifteen representatives were present though and in 1872 the National Union vanished. Chada concludes that “by 1880 the popularity and activity of the Lípa declined [...].”

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Among the most significant societies was also a gymnastic association Sokol (the Falcon). The Chicago branch called Tělocvičná Jednota Sokol (the Gymnastic Union Sokol) was established on 19th August 1866. Sokol had then approximately fifty-nine members and František Novák, one of the founders of Slovanská Lípa, became the first director. In the following year TJ Sokol joined Slovanská Lípa, which led to disputes in the organization tough. The disputes were so serious that as early as 1868 the former members were about to establish a new gymnastic association.

The new society was set up on 5th April 1868 under the name the Česko-americký Sokol (the Czech-American Sokol). At the beginning of the subsequent year the members decided to build their own building with gymnasium. The association chose a plot on De Koven Street and already on 1st July the opening ceremony took place. The construction cost almost 7,150 dollars and all members had to participate in raising the money.

In August 1878 Národní Jednota Sokolská (the National Sokol Union) was established in Chicago, in order to get all Sokols together. It consisted of eight Sokol societies and in 1904 it already brought together eighteen associations and over three thousand members. The further development of Sokol is rather confusing as the associations constantly merged together or split up. But it must be said that Sokol societies still continue to exist all over the United States and in Chicago as well. In addition, Sokol societies were not and are not solely sporting organizations. Sokol has been setting up also a variety of cultural, entertaining or educational societies and has been organizing many events.

As far as the religious societies are concerned, the first Catholic society was founded in the parish of Saint Wenceslaus. The Czech immigrants who missed the services of churches attended at least the German services. In 1863 the Czech Catholics in Chicago came up with an idea to establish their own church. During the meeting held on 14th August they agreed to build a church in the part of the city where the majority of Czechs were settled. The society chose a plot at the corner of De Koven and Des Plaines Streets which cost them 1,100 dollars. The construction had begun in August 25, 1864 and the church was finished in spring 1865.

110 Bubeníček, Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu, 79–84. – Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 617–620.
But the Czech faithful in America had been dealing with the lack of Czech priest. Czech Chicagoans at first asked for help the German priest Augustin Lang from Iowa to take charge of their parish. Despite the fact that priest Lang was of German origin he spoke fluent Czech because he had used to live in Bohemia. Nevertheless, the priest could have stayed only for two weeks, he served the first Mass in the church, and on the due date he left. After him a Jesuit priest František Šulák stayed in the parish for two months. Meanwhile, the Czech settlers who were unable to find a permanent priest for their church decided to establish the Saint Wenceslaus society in January 1, 1866. After a priest Šulák had to leave, a bishop promised the society of St. Wenceslaus that he would send them a new priest.

It was a priest Josef Molitor, born in 1842 in Valašské Meziříčí, who took charge of the St. Wenceslaus parish and he stayed there for nearly forty years until his death on 23rd August 1906. His first service in the church of St. Wenceslaus was held in October 28, 1866.

The activities of the St. Wenceslaus parish not only were religious but the parish paid attention to education as well. In spring 1867 the society set up a school. And similarly other Catholic societies had been establishing schools in parallel with churches.

As the Czech Catholic population grew, the church of St. Wenceslaus was not big enough for such a numerous community. Furthermore, the rest of the Czech Chicagoans living in the opposite part of Chicago complained about the distance to get to the church. These factors motivated the Czech Catholics in Chicago to establish another parish with a school. The new parish was founded in the second half of 1870 and one year later, in autumn 1871, construction of a church and a school, situated at the northwest corner of 25th Street and Princeton Avenue, was finished. The parish was dedicated to Saint John of Nepomuk and a priest Vilém Čoka became the first parish governor. The Chicagoans later adopted the name the Little South Side for the parish of St. John of Nepomuk but not the Czech Catholics who kept using its original name.

The promising development of the parish was however, disrupted by the Great Fire of 1871 and by the subsequent regulation issued by the City Council that ordered that in certain areas, including the area around the parish, it was not allowed to build wooden houses. This measure caused that the poor Czech immigrants arriving to America after

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111 Bubeníček, Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu, 84–86. – Habenicht, Dějiny Čechův amerických, 621–622.
1871 started to settle the area north-west of the Little South Side, today’s Plzeň, where they could have built cheaper wooden houses.

The inconveniences connected with travelling to the distant churches and their schools brought about the idea of establishing a new church and a school in Plzeň. The idea came from a priest Vilém Čoka who also took charge of the newly established parish. The parish of Saint Procopius was founded on 5th August 1875 at the corner of Allport and 18th Streets. Currently the church serves predominantly to a Mexican and American congregation.

4.4.1 Current Czech Societies in Chicago

Although it has been said that today Czech Chicagoans do not make a compact community anymore and they rather got Americanized, there are still some Czech societies which keep the Czech community together and maintain the Czech language, traditions and culture. But it is true that the founders and members of the current Czech societies in Chicago are very often Americans of Czech ancestry and they do not have to be necessarily born in the Czech Republic.

The selection of concrete organizations will be mentioned in Chapter 5 that deals with the institutions which have been currently offering Czech language classes in Chicago.

5 THE CZECH LANGUAGE IN CHICAGO

The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the readers with the results of my research that is dealing with Czech language classes in Chicago and its neighbourhoods and to briefly sketch in the issue of Czech schools and the Czech language in Chicago in the past. To be more specific the aim of the research was to find out if there are any institutions or associations in Chicago which offer lessons of the Czech language in order to provide a comparison of the past and the present situation.

5.1 History of the Czech schools

After the arrival to the United States, a lot of Czech immigrants realized that it was impossible to keep the knowledge of Czech alive among young children or children born in America only by using the language within the family because the children assimilated into the American community more easily. This situation contributed to the establishment of schools throughout the States. The Czechs had been setting up two types of schools, the freethinking and the Catholic schools.113

Freethinking schools were being found in several U.S cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Cedar Rapids or Baltimore. After 1900, when the Czech education system in the United States was at its height, there were up to one hundred freethinking schools and ten thousand students all over the United States. Nevertheless, after World War I there was a significant decline in a number of students as a consequence of the decrease of immigrants coming to the United States. Despite this, the Catholic schools had relatively stable number of students. In 1933 there were purportedly 121 Czech Catholic schools with more than twenty thousand students who were mainly concentrated in Texas, Illinois and Ohio.114

The freethinking schools were only supplementary schools (unlike the Catholic schools which replaced the elementary schools) and the classes were held only at the weekends or after school, teaching there writing, reading and history in the Czech language.115 The Czech schools were established and funded by various countrymen’s societies, such as Slovanská Lípa or Sokol and of course the local parishes were also setting up their schools.

113 Zemek, Češi a Slováci v Americe, 30.
114 Zemek, Češi a Slováci v Americe, 30–32.
What is more, Czech immigrants in Chicago were thinking of establishing a school of higher education. Notwithstanding, the idea was not successful eventually. But they were successful in “[...] promoting Czech as a regular subject in the curriculum of the high schools.”

They were namely Harrison High School in Chicago and Morton High School in Cicero where Czech was taught.

Harrison High School was established in 1909 and located on today’s West 24th Boulevard. In 1920s the school had about six thousand students and the Czech students made a considerable percentage. The school was named after the 30th Mayor Carter Harrison who became the first Chicago-born mayor there. In 1917 the school opened two-year classes of Czech which were taught by Bohumil Král and Eduard Míček. In 1925 about 200 students enrolled the course of the Czech language and the students, not only Czechs, were divided into seven classes. Currently, the building has been occupied by the Maria Saucedo Scholastic Academy.

The Czechoslovak Taxpayers’ Association of Cicero (Československý poplatnický spolek) contributed to the fact that the J. Sterling Morton High School located on Austin Boulevard in Cicero, started to provide Czech language classes since 1916. The facts that Cicero and its neighbourhoods were inhabited by a numerous Czech community, and that 85% of students of the existing Morton High School were of the Czech origin, became significant stimuli. Czech language classes had high attendance similarly as in the case of Harrison High School.

Back in the days, it was the association of Slovanská Lípa which established the first Czech school in Chicago on 8th April 1865. The school took place probably on Saturdays and Sundays and the quarterly tuition was 25 cents per pupil.

Another society that set up a Czech school in Chicago was Plzeňský Sokol. Plzeňský Sokol itself was established in July 1879 and its Sunday school for Czech children opened in 1882. Thanks to the contributions of Plzeňský Sokol lessons and

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121 Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 75–76.
necessary materials were free. The classes took place every Sunday from 9 a.m. until 12 o’clock.  

In September 1921 another Czech school was opened. It is situated on 57th Avenue and 22nd Place in Cicero and the school bears the name of the first Czechoslovak president T. G. Masaryk. The school of T.G.M. is special because it still exists and still offers the lessons of Czech.

The Czech education in the United States and its further development more or less followed the path of the Czech newspapers and societies which due to the aforesaid factors never reached the level as in the early 1900.

5.2 Czech language classes in Chicago at present

The aim of this research is to make a comprehensive list of societies or other institutions which currently offer Czech language classes in Chicago and its neighbourhoods. This research may provide an image of how does the Czech community in Chicago stand in preserving the Czech community alive, its traditions and values by maintaining and propagating the Czech language.

Based on my research and with the help of the Consulate General of the Czech Republic in Chicago I managed to create a list of institutions that offer lessons of Czech in Chicago and its neighbourhoods. According to the relevant information there are currently seven organizations in Chicago providing classes of the Czech language.

The research is focused on the historical background of the institutions and as far as the classes are concerned the aim is to find out more about the organizational side of Czech language classes, such as a class schedule, number of students and their reasons for enrolling on the course.

5.2.1 United Moravian Societies

Let me begin with the United Moravian Societies (UMS, Ústředna moravských spolků), an organization which was established in 1939 in order to promote Czech, Moravian and Slovak folklore and their culture, traditions and language.

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Formerly, the organization consisted of forty-one delegates representing twenty-two Czech societies while currently it consists of one club.\textsuperscript{124}

The main event of the UMS is the Moravian Day festival which first took place on 24\textsuperscript{th} September 1939 in Plíšen Park in Chicago and which launched the annual tradition with the exhibits of Czech traditional dances in the traditional costumes, music or crafts. At present the Moravian Day is “a gathering of all Moravian, Czech and Slovak peoples from the metropolitan Chicago area, as well as the many others who travel each year from all parts of the United States, Canada as well as the Czech and Slovak Republics to join in the celebration of their heritage.”\textsuperscript{125}

The United Moravian Societies is one of the seven organizations in Chicago offering Czech language classes. The classes are led by a former high school teacher Anthony J. Jandacek who was born in Prague and in 1950 moved to the United States.

The UMS offers two types of classes for adults, the first class for beginners is held on Mondays from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. in the building of the Czech Mission in Brookfield and the second is for advanced students. The lessons take place at UMS Clubhouse on 166 N Brandon Drive in Glendale Heights, Illinois. The Monday class focuses mainly on grammar issues and the class consists of approximately ten students while the Saturday lessons should be more conversational but the content of both courses is more or less the same, only the student change. According to the information provided by Monsignor Dušan Hladík, the priest of the Czech mission, the students are rather older people born in the Czech Republic who like to meet together and listen to their mother tongue. The classes are divided into ten-week terms in autumn, winter and spring and students are required to pay small fees for each trimester or three dollar per one class.\textsuperscript{126}

\textbf{5.2.2 Czech Mission in Chicago}

The second organization which among other things offers courses of the Czech language is the Czech Catholic Mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (Česká misie svatých Cyrila a Metoděje). The aim of the Czech Mission is to keep the Czech religion and cultural heritage alive among the countrymen living in Chicago and its neighbourhoods.

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In addition to the religious activities, such as weddings, baptisms or services in the Czech language, the Czech mission is engaged in educational and cultural activities and issues a religious and cultural magazine Hlasy národa (Voices of the Nation). Except for the everyday service, there are two Sunday Masses, one on Saturday evening and the other on Sunday morning, usually with the attendance between 100 – 120 people. Cultural activities include fancy-dress parties for children and adults, picnics, New Year’s Eve party or Easter party with a wine tasting.

The Czech Mission follows in the footsteps of the Order of the Czech Benedictines of Lisle and the Czech-American Cultural Society Velehrad. When the Czech Benedictines, who took care of the Czech Catholic community in Chicago for more than one hundred years, left, the priest Vojtěch Vit took over the care of the Czech Catholic community and he set up a religious and cultural centre called Velehrad in August 1975.

The building of Velehrad was located on Lawndale Avenue but the Catholic society did not possess a church so the services were held in a church of St. Procopius on Allport Street and later in 1989 when the society moved from Lawdale the masses took place in an adjacent church of Virgin Mary of St. Hill on 61st Avenue in Cicero.

In 1999 the old priest Vít asked for a replacement and in July the priest Dušan Hladík from diocese of Brno came to Chicago and has been serving at the Mission until now. But the changing of the two missionaries raised disputes between the members of Velehrad and the Czech Catholic community which resulted in the detachment of Velehrad from the Czech Catholics in Chicago.

On that account a new religious and Catholic centre called the Czech Mission was founded. But the two parties came into conflict over the ownership of the building until the Czech Mission bought it from Velehrad.

Unfortunately, an unfavourable development in the area threatened to close the church and the Mission decided to buy their own church despite the fact that it had invested a great deal of money into the reconstruction of the building on 61st Street. Since February 2009 the Czech Mission moved to Rochester Avenue in Brookfield where it bought its own building with a church from the Methodist church.

The Czech Mission is a second organization in the list which offers classes of the Czech language. The Mission actually runs a school called Saturday school of Cardinal Beran (Sobotní škola kardinála Berana) which apparently takes places on Saturdays, between 3:30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Aside from Czech language classes the courses are focused
on religious education and history of the Czech lands. All subjects are taught in Czech. In the school building there is also a library with hundreds of Czech books.

This school year, there are twenty-five children between 6 and 10 years old, who are divided into two groups, the young and the older or those with lesser and those with better knowledge of Czech. The Czech classes are taught by a native Czech Mrs. Monika Moro who teaches at the Mission as a volunteer for free. The religious education currently teaches the priest’s assistant Mrs. Ludmila Havelková, a volunteer from the diocese of Brno. The volunteers change after one year. The school is free of charge including books or other teaching aids.¹²⁷

5.2.3 T. G. Masaryk School

T. G. Masaryk School arranges Czech language classes for children and for adults which take place once a week.

The school for children is held on Saturdays between 10:30 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. Because the class is attended by children of different ages (6–12) and with different language level, the teachers, Irena Čajková and Lenka Muráriková, create their own curriculum which at the moment best fits the needs of children. But generally, the content of the course covers grammar, reading and writing and the music and an elementary teaching, all in the Czech language.

Both of the teachers are present on the classes, while Mrs. Čajková, a teacher from the University of Chicago works with older children teaching them particularly grammar issues and her colleague Mrs. Muráriková attends the youngest and teaches them to read and write. This year the class is attended by ten children but the numbers of pupils varies a year from year. Last year there was up to twenty-two children in the class.

The majority of children come from families where at least one of the parents speaks Czech with a child. In the past the courses were also open for children who did not speak Czech but due organizational reason these children are not accepted into the course. The school wishes to open this kind of course for children in the future, it is, however, dependent on financial aspects.

The second course of the Czech language for adults takes place every Tuesday from 7 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. from September until May. There are approximately sixteen students in

¹²⁷ The information about the Czech Mission was provided by Monsignor Dušan Hladík in e-mail message to author, April 3 and April 4, 2012. – Česká misie v Chicagu, accessed April, 21, 2012, http://home.comcast.net/~velehradchicago/index.html.
the class. The course is led by Roger Dvorak, an American citizen who was born of Czech parents in England.

The school charges fifty dollars for a semester, only a necessary fee to cover the expenses for teaching materials. The rest is financed by the school. The school itself is financed by various Czech organizations which contribute to the school in order to keep it in existence.\textsuperscript{128}

\textbf{5.2.4 Sokol Spirit and Sokol Tabor}

The American Sokol has forty-four district organizations in North America which share the same values, follow the same objectives and claim the allegiance to their Czech forerunner. “The mission of the American Sokol is to provide fitness and community for individuals and families through physical, educational, cultural and social programs.”\textsuperscript{129} In Illinois there are five Sokol units located in Brookfield, Berwyn, Naperville, Downers Grove and Stickney.

Sokol Spirit\textsuperscript{130} is one of those units affiliated with the American Sokol. Spirit is located on South Prairie Avenue in Brookfield and it was formed in 2005 by merging three Sokol units together, Sokol Slavsky, Sokol Berwyn and Sokol Brookfield, which were established in 1890, 1911 and 1925 in the order of appearance, also by mutual merging.

Czech language classes in Sokol Spirit have a long tradition as Sokol Spirit has been offering Czech language classes since 1920s. The classes are held on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings.

The Wednesday classes are scheduled as follows. The classes for beginners start from September until November between 7 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. The students are charged seventy-five dollars for ten lessons. From January until March the conversational classes are held at the same time and then the course called “Survival Phrases/Travel” follows in May and takes place until June. The fee for six lessons is fifty dollars.

The advanced learners attend the Saturday classes. The lessons are held from September to February between 9 a.m. and 11:30 a.m. and the main subject is grammar. The students have to pay $125 for twenty lessons. This year in June 2012 there is going to be a gathering of all Sokol members in Prague called Sokolsky Slet. For those participating

\textsuperscript{128} The aforementioned information about the T. G. Masaryk School in Cicero was given by Irena Čajková and Andrew Bultas, President of T. G. Masaryk School in e-mail messages to author, April 1, 3 and 16, 2012.


in Sokolsky Slet, there are going to be three extra lessons of Czech between 8:30 a.m. and 10:30 a.m. for thirty dollars.

Czech language classes are taught by a head teacher Pavlína Reichlová, Vera Wilt, a Czech translator and interpreter, Lenka Murariková and Lenka Mezera.

Sokol Spirit receives donations from its members and friends which ensures the operation of Sokol Spirit.

Second unit of the American Sokol Organization which offers courses of the Czech language in Chicago is Sokol Tabor. Sokol Tabor and Sokol Oak Park merged together in 1926 in order to create a new unit called Sokol Tabor. Tabor settled in the building of the former Sokol Oak Park located on South Clarence Avenue in Berwyn. Currently, Sokol Tabor is a member of the USA Gymnastics, a national gymnastic organization.\(^{131}\)

### 5.2.5 Northwestern University

Northwestern University is a private university which was established in January 1851. Two years later the university bought land on the shore of Lake Michigan, approximately twelve kilometres north of Chicago. The town surrounding the university got the name Evanston after one of the founders of Northwestern University John Evans. The first classes began in the fall of 1855.\(^{132}\)

The university consists of twelve schools and colleges. The oldest college is Judd A. and Marjorie Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences which was established in 1851 and which further consists of tens of departments and programmes. Among them, there is the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature which belongs to the list of institutions in Chicago that offer classes of the Czech language. The Czech language has been taught at Northwestern for fifteen years with one short intermission. Currently the department offers two classes, elementary and intermediate classes. In the first year of the course, usually 6 to 12 students enrol on the course, but only two thirds manage to finish it. The content of the course is focused mainly on grammar issues and the students learn to read, write and gain speaking and listening skills and they get the idea of the Czech culture.

Usually 3 to 6 students continue in the second year and all of them ordinarily finish the course. The students repeat the Czech grammar, read Czech literature and newspapers and increase their vocabulary.

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The courses are scheduled into four lectures of fifty minutes per week. The school year is divided into trimesters, each trimester has nine weeks.

The lecturers are Martina Kerlová who is the member of the Slavic and German Departments since 2002 and has her Master’s degrees in German Literature and German Studies from Masaryk and Charles Universities, and Ivana Doležalová who currently works on the university’s study abroad programme in Prague.

The course of the Czech language is available only for the students of Northwestern University. The tuition is approximately 45,000 dollars per year. Nevertheless, the students have a possibility of gaining financial aid or scholarship.133

5.2.6 The University of Chicago

As it was mentioned before the University of Chicago was formed in 1890 by the American Baptist Education Society and John D. Rockefeller and it was opened two years later. In 1930 new division into four sections was implemented and thus the Division of the Humanities was established. The Division of the Humanities currently consists of twenty-one departments while the department of the Slavic Languages and Literatures is among those institutions in Chicago that offer Czech language classes.134

The Slavic Department currently offers two courses of Czech, the elementary which focuses on the basic grammar issues and the Czech culture. The students develop their reading, writing, listening and speaking skills, and the second-year course in which the main focus is put on the reading skills of students within their study field.135

5.2.7 School of the Art Institute of Chicago

Lastly, I would like to mention an organization which currently does not have Czech language classes in its curriculum but recently offered the Czech class for its students and there is still a possibility that the Czech class will be reopened. It is the School of the Art Institute of Chicago (SAIC) which was founded in 1866 as the Chicago Academy of Design.

133 The information about the Czech classes at the Department of Slavic Languages of the Northwestern University was provided by Martina Kerlová in e-mail message to author, April 6 and April 8, 2012.
The school is situated in the centre of Chicago on South Wabash Avenue and offers a wide range of study programmes, including art and technology, art history, theory and criticism, fashion design, filmmaking, painting and drawing, photography and others.136

Between the fall 2005 and spring 2011 the Liberal Arts Department of the SAIC offered its students a Czech language class for beginners. The classes were held twice a week for ninety minutes.

This introductory course in reading, writing and conversational Czech was taught by a native speaker, Irena Čajková, who also teaches Czech at the T. G. Masaryk School in Cicero and is employed at the University of Chicago. The teacher also put emphasis on cultural issues which go hand in hand with the language.

The average enrolment was ten students per semester and the classes were attended mainly by students who planned to participate in the Prague study programme during summer or winter interim. Nevertheless, Czech language classes were replaced by Chinese because the school did not have enough money to run both courses and chose the other one.137

5.3 Conclusion of the Research

This research led me to the conclusion that the Czechs living in Chicago or the descendants of Czech immigrants who settled in Chicago are still concerned to preserve the Czech language and our culture and traditions for their children and future generations.

The research shows that persons interested in Czech language classes either come from the generation of Czechs who cannot speak Czech but are interested in the language of their grandparents or they can be seniors who can speak Czech and want to hear their mother tongue or maintain the knowledge, or they are children from mixed families where at least one on the parents speak Czech, or another group consists of people who attend Czech classes for various reasons, such as the American post-graduate students who plan to run their research in the Czech Republic, Americans who might have visited Prague or know any of the famous Czechs and want to know more about their country.

Comparing the past and the present situation, it resembles in the disposition of the school. In both cases there were Czech associations providing Czech language classes,

137 The information about the Czech class was provided by a SAIC registrar Bradley Erz in the e-mail message to author, April 24, 2012.
particularly at the weekends and functioned as a complementary schools, and there were also American schools, which, influenced by the multicultural environment, have been offering the courses of Czech as well.

The Czechs living in Chicago, however, admit that once a numerous and strong Czech community weakens and the new arrivals rather integrate into the American society. Notwithstanding, the fact that the Czech language is taught even at the universities proves that the Czech minority in Chicago still has its place and is still visible.
6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to present a general overview of the emigration phases of Czechs to the Unites States against the historical background of the Czech lands, explain why the Czechs chose to settle down particularly in Chicago and further expound on the Czech community life in Chicago.

Chronologically ordered events dated from the establishment of Chicago, which were important in the development of the city and which made Chicago’s history, are mentioned in Chapter 2.

In the following chapter I dealt with the emigration of Czechs in general. The Czech emigration began in the first half of the seventeen century but it did not expanded before the mid-nineteenth century. Until then the voyage to America was connected with many hardship. Not only the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean was very demanding, but it was also hard to get to one of the ports from where the boats sailed.

Finishing of the railroad connection between the Czech lands and the German ports in the 1850s became one of the stimuli which raised the mass emigration. The decision to leave the motherland very often seemed as the only solution for people who had long-term financial difficulties and hardly managed to make ends meet, followed by the religious or political oppression. So when people heard about the discovery of gold in California or the assignment of free land in America, they bought boat tickets for the last savings they had and left. And when in 1870s the sailing boats were replaced by the steamships and the transatlantic voyage shortened, people were motivated even more.

But the voyage was only the beginning. By arriving to America hardships of people did not cease to exist. For the Czechs who in most cases did not speak English it was hard to assimilate into the new society. Therefore they predominantly settled down in close proximity to each other. Thus we can observe that in Chicago, a favourite destination of Czech immigrants, the Czechs formed the whole neighbourhoods and lived in communities. This situation has changed though. Currently, Czech immigrants do not tend to unite with their countrymen in such an extent.

This tendency also had an impact on other parts of their life. While in the past the Czechs greatly linked up to form Czech organizations of various kinds and published their own Czech-written newspapers, the numbers of these periodicals and organizations have been declining in time. Their decline was also brought about by the decrease of Czech
immigrants that was caused either by the situation in Bohemia, such as World Wars and invasion of the Red Army, or by the immigration restrictions implemented by the American government.

The topic of the Czech newspapers and associations was described in Chapter 4. Both the newspapers and associations were operated by different people based on their religious or political creed. Two main groups were the freethinkers and the Catholics, which was also taken into account in this thesis.

The first Czech schools in Chicago were also established by these two groups, the freethinkers and the Catholics. The Czechs set up Czech schools in order to preserve the knowledge of Czech among their children and future generations as they were more likely to assimilate into the new way of life and forget their mother tongue. Besides newly established schools, the Czech language was also taught at American high schools, Harrison High School and Morton High School. The issue of the Czech schools in the past in Chicago was described in Chapter 5.

Lastly, the thesis consists of a research that is focused on the institutions that offer Czech language classes in Chicago and its neighbourhoods. These institutions can be divided into two groups. The first ones are Czech societies which are also engaged in other activities such as gymnastic, religious or cultural activities, and the second group are American institutions, universities which have the Czech language in their curriculum but only for the students who enrol on the universities.

The research is supported by the background information of each institution and then deals with the courses. Namely the content of the courses, who teaches the courses, how many students attend the classes and further additional information if they were available. To sum up, the courses are mainly focused on the grammar issues of the Czech language backed by the information on the Czech history, culture and traditions. The findings stated in the research were obtained with the help of the members of the particular organizations.

Even though the Czech minority in Chicago is largely outnumbered by minorities of the Germans, Irish or Polish, it still makes a significant group which has its own restaurants where you can have your favourite traditional Czech meal and a few groceries which sell Czech bakery products, sweets or Czech books and magazines imported from the Czech Republic.


Důležitým krokem v rozvoji města se stalo budování říčního kanálu Illinois and Michigan Canal na konci třicátých let 19. století. Vybudováním kanálu se vytvořila spojnica mezi řekou Mississippi a Velkými jezery, která pro město znamenala nové obchodní příležitosti a revolucí v přepravě vůbec. Krátce nato se začala budovat i první železnice v Chicagu, která odstavila říční kanál „na druhou kolej.“ Tyto projekty byly důležité v tom, že se zlevnila přeprava zboží a odpadly mnohé problémy, a došlo k celkovému rozvoji města.
Další milník v dějinách Chicaga představoval požár, který vypukl v roce 1871. Obrovská část města shořela, při požáru zemřelo až na tři sta lidí a škody byly enormní. Chicagané se však dokázali vzhodit a město znovu velmi rychle vybudovat, a tak se začala šířit pověst o vzkvétajícím městě plném příležitostí, což přivedlo do města další obchodníky, přístěhovalce a další. Přes dvacet milionů návštěvníků Světové výstavy, která se konala v roce 1893 v Chicagu na počest čtyřistaletého výročí objevení Ameriky, pak už jen potvrdilo to, že Chicago patří mezi významná světová centra.

V současnosti je Chicago centrem obchodu, průmyslu a oblíbeným cílem mnoha turistů, které láká starobylá architektura i moderní mrakodrapy.


Zpočátku to ale Češi v Americe neměli vůbec snadné. První problém, který museli překonat, byla dlouhá a vyčerpávající cesta přes Atlantik. Plavba trvala zhruba osm týdnů, lidé se mohli na přeplněných lodích a neměli dostatek jídla nebo vody. Zlepšení přišlo až v sedmdesátých letech, když byly plachetnice nahrazeny parními loděmi, a plavba se zkrátila asi na dva týdny. S rozvojem technologii se plavba zkrátila ještě asi na polovinu na počátku 20. století.

Poté se čeští přistěhovalci ocitli ve zcela novém prostředí, často bez peněz a bez znalosti angličtiny. Češi, kteří měli ještě nějaké úspory, se často stěhovali na venkov, zejména do Texasu, Wisconsinu, Iowy, Minnesota nebo Nebraska, kde si mohli koupit a obdělávat vlastní pozemek. Ostatní se usazovali ve velkých městech, jako New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland nebo Baltimore, kde pracovali převážně v továrnách nebo v jiných dělnických profesích.
Vzhledem k tomu, že jen málo Čechů umělo mluvit anglicky, usazovali se raději v blízkosti svých krajanů nebo v německých osadách, jelikož němčina byla Čechům tehdy bližší.

Jak jsem již uvedla, vystěhovalecký proud zcela zlyhal v posledních letech světové války. Na vině však nebyla pouze situace v Čechách, ale i na americké půdě. V roce 1921 byly přijaty kvóty, podle kterých byl do Spojených států přijat jen určitý počet přistěhovalců. Pro Čechy to představovalo omezení na zhruba čtrnáct tisíc přistěhovalců ročně a o pár let později americké úřady toto číslo snížily na necelé tři tisíce osob. Po skončení války a krátké vládní zkoušce samostatného Československa počet osob pracejících se z exilu dokonce převyšil počet vystěhovalců. V následujících letech byli lidé plně očekávání a věřili v lepší budoucnost, takže žádný větší odliv obyvatelstva se nekonal, a když lidé emigrovali, tak z ekonomických důvodů. Po nastolení Mnichovského diktátu a po vypuknutí druhé světové války nebylo snadné dostat se ze země a vystěhovalectví kleslo na minimum.

Větši vystěhovalectvě vlna vyvolala situace po únoru 1948, kdy byla Komunistická strana ustanovena jedinou vládní stranou a chopila se moci v Československu. Tato událost znamenala konec demokracie a nastolení totalitního režimu, kdy stát přešel k centrálně plánované ekonomice, a začalo omezování lidských svobod. Během prvních dvou let lidé masově opouštěli Československo, v té době byly totiž ještě stále průjezdné hranice, které byly později střeženy ozbrojenými hlídkami a obehnány ostnatými dráty s vysokým napětím. Navzdory přistěhovalským kvótám byli lidé, kterým hrozilo v Čechách nebezpečí ze strany komunistického režimu, do Ameriky přijati.


Vraťme se ale zpět do druhé poloviny 19. století, kdy se Češi začali usazovat v oblasti Chicaga. Jak již bylo zmíněno, neznalost angličtiny vedla k tomu, že se Češi
usazovali v okolí svých krajanů a postupně tak vznikaly české čtvrtě, například Praha, Plzeň, Česká Kalifornie, Nový Tábor či Vinohrady, a později se Češi stěhovali více na předměstí Chicaga do Berwynu, Brookfieldu nebo Cicera. V současnosti jsou bývalé české čtvrtě obsazeny převážně Mexičany a Češi žijí roztroušení po celém městě, zejména na předměstí Chicaga.

Česká komunita v Chicagu byla natolik silná a schopná, že si Češi začali vydávat česky psané noviny, a nebylo jich málo, počítaly se na desítky. Protože bylo vydáváno opravdu hodně českých titulů, které často existovaly jen krátce a pak zanikly, do této práce jsem vybrala pouze některé zástupce určitých směrů, jako byli například volnomyšlenkáři, katolíci nebo anarchisté.


Největší rozmach zaznamenal český tisk v Chicagu a v Americe v období první světové války. Po té, co byly zavedeny kvóty omezující počet přistěhovalců, česká komunita v Chicagu začínala ztrácet postupně na síle. I když dále vydávala české noviny, sdružovala se ve spolcích nebo zakládala české školy, oslabení je patrné.


Češi v Chicagu také zakládali české spolky, které například sdružovali lidí se stejnými zájmy nebo s podobným přesvědčením. Řadíme sem Slovanskou Lípu, která byla založená v roce 1861. Slovanská Lípa organizovala pro své krajany řadu plesů, divadelních představení a další kulturní nebo vzdělávací akce. Pod jejím vedením vznikaly například pěvecké a divadelní sbory nebo byly zakládány knihovny. Od 80. let 20. století však popularita Lipy klesla, až postupně zanikla. Dalším příkladem je sportovní sdružení Sokol, které bylo založeno v roce 1866, a které cti zásady svého českého předchůdce. V Chicagu existovalo několik sokolských organizací a stejně tak je tomu i dnes, přičemž současné organizace vznikaly neustáleme sloučováním různých sokolských spolků.

Tyto organizace spojuje především fakt, že nabízejí výuku českého jazyka v Chicagu, a na výuku českého jazyka v Chicagu dnes a v minulosti, jsem se zaměřila v poslední kapitole této práce.

Motivem pro zakládání českých škol byl fakt, že děti, které se snáze přizpůsobovaly novému americkému prostředí než dospělí, byly i náchylnější k tomu, aby zapomněly svůj rodný jazyk. Začaly vznikat školy svobodomyslné, které zakládaly většinou již existující spolky, a školy katolické, které spravovaly jednotlivé farnosti. Rozdíl mezi nimi byl ten, že školy svobodomyslné byly pouze školy doplňkové, které vyučovaly pouze o víkendech, případně během pracovního týdne, odpoledne, až dětem skončila škola. Stejně tak fungují české školy i dnes. Školy katolické fungovaly jako normální základní školy, kde se kromě tradičních předmětů vyučovaly i náboženství.

Jak v minulosti tak i dnes, se český jazyk vyučoval buď v českých společích, nebo na amerických středních (vysokých) školách. Byly to střední školy Harrison High School v Chicagu a J. Sterling Morton High School v Cicercu a dnes jsou to vysoké školy Northwestern University, která se nachází asi dvanáct kilometrů severně od Chicaga, a the University of Chicago, která leží nedaleko centra.

Tímto výzkumem jsem chtěla zjistit, jestli se čeština stále ještě v Chicagu nebo jeho okolí vyučuje. Když se mi potvrdilo, že ano, snažila jsem se zjistit, jaká je náplň výuky, kdo v dané organizaci češtinu vyučuje, co motivuje studenty ke studiu, a to jsem doplnila o stručnou historii dané organizace.

Pro dané téma výzkumu jsem se rozhodla z toho důvodu, že se hovoří o tom, že česká komunita v Chicagu upadá, lidé se prý nechtějí tolik spolčovat se svými krajany a spíše se amerikanizují. Nakolik je to pravda je těžké posoudit, ale fakt, že se stále ještě v Chicagu vyučuje český jazyk, který je součástí české identity, mysliím dokazuje, že
česká komunita zde ještě funguje a stále propaguje českou kulturu, tradice a jazyk.
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Picture of Allium tricoccum
APPENDIX 2: Plan of Chicago
APPENDIX 3: Front Page of Svornost newspaper
APPENDIX 4: Front Page of Hlasy národa
APPENDIX 1: Allium tricoccum (Wild Leek/Wild Garlic)


APPENDIX 2: Plan of Chicago

APPENDIX 3: Svornost newspaper

APPENDIX 4: Hlasy národa (Voices of the Nation)

Source: Provided by Jiří Gruntorád from library Libri Prohibiti in Prague, e-mail message to the author. April 4, 2012.
ANNOTATION

This thesis is dealing with the Czech emigration to the United States of America with focus on Chicago area. Firstly, I chronologically described the most significant events in the history of Chicago, events that also influenced the development of the city, and I explained the origin of the name of Chicago and its nickname “Windy City.” Secondly, I dealt with the general overview of the emigration of Czechs to the United States described against the historical context of the Czech lands. Thirdly, I focused on the Czech community life in Chicago and depicted the Czech neighbourhoods, Czech periodicals, Czech societies and Czech schools which the Czechs established in Chicago. Finally, I introduced my research whose aim was to find out if there are still any organizations in Chicago and its neighbourhoods which offer the courses of the Czech language.

ANOTACE