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Krajané ve Spojených státech amerických

The Czechs in the United States of America

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl jsem všechny použité prameny a literaturu.

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Tato diplomová práce se zabývá emigrací Čechů z rodné země do Spojených států amerických v období let 1800-1914.

Diplomová práce se skládá ze dvou hlavních částí, a to první převážně teoretické a druhé, praktické. První část se zabývá studiem podmínek, které vedly Čechy k emigraci do Spojených států, přičemž se zaměřuje na společné faktory, které k odchodu vedly. Tato část obsahuje také informace o životě našich krajanů a krajanéské komunitě ve Spojených státech amerických.

Druhá část práce se pak skládá z popisů několika životních příběhů krajanů, kteří odešli z Čech v letech 1800-1914. Tyto příběhy následně porovnává s fakty, které jsou popsány v první části práce. Informace, které jsou obsaženy ve druhé části práce, byly získány osobní a elektronickou komunikací s potomky těchto českých emigrantů, kteří se usadili v USA.

Klíčová slova: Amerika, Češi, emigrace, emigranti, krajané, Spojené státy americké, 19. století

Annotation

ČÁN, Michal. *The Czechs in the United States of America*. Hradec Králové: Pedagogical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové, 2015. 80 pp. Diploma Thesis.

The subject matter of the diploma thesis deals with the Czech emigration from the homeland to the United States of America between the years 1800-1914.

The diploma thesis is composed of two main parts, the first part is mainly theoretical and the second, practical. The first part studies the conditions that led the Czechs to emigration to the United States and it is focused on the common factors that led to the leaving. This part also includes information on the life of our fellow countrymen and their community in the United States of America.

The second part is comprised of several descriptions of compatriots' life stories, of people leaving Bohemia from 1800 to 1914. Subsequently, the thesis compares these stories to the facts that are described in the first part of the work. The information that is contained in the second part of the thesis was gathered via E-mail communication and by personal communication with the descendants of these Czech emigrants who settled down in the USA.

Keywords: America, Czechs, emigration, emigrants, compatriots, the United States of America, 19th century

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Introduction

The title of my diploma thesis is “Czechs in America”. The choice of the theme was not random at all.

Firstly, I have been studying the English language for more than fifteen years. Furthermore, I am highly interested in the history, life, and institutions of the United States of America. In other words, I “fell in love” with English and the Anglo-American World. These are the accurate words to describe my relation towards the subject of English.

Besides, I am an avid civilian collector of law-enforcement memorabilia. I have been collecting it for more than 10 years. Over the time, I have met many police officers serving the communities all over the United States. I have also made friends with some of them, e. g. Officer Bryan A. Barbour from Pennsylvania, Sergeant Jeffrey G. Rejholec, Colorado, and Sergeant Dan Cisar from Nebraska. As some of the surnames may indicate, these police officers’ maternal or paternal ancestors left for the United States from Bohemia in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, these officers do not know their family histories and were able to describe only fragments of it. In fact, the officers just knew their ancestors came from the Czech lands.

Along, when surfing the Internet I stumbled on the website of the New Prague Police Department in Minnesota. I did not know that there was another Prague in America. I had thought that there was just the one and only Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic. The information written above induced me to the theme of my diploma thesis.

As this diploma thesis is named “Czechs in America”. I have decided to turn my attention to the problems of emigration from Bohemia to the United States from the year 1800 to the year 1914. Therefore, the thesis describes mainly the emigration from Bohemia in the nineteenth century.

My diploma thesis is divided into two separate parts. The aim of the first part is to describe both the situation of the Czechs living in Bohemia and their fellow countrymen who left for the United States during the nineteenth century.

Firstly, the thesis deals with the history of Bohemia and various factors that led to emigration overseas. Secondly, it explains the specific reasons of the Czechs leaving for America looking for some overall factors that led to the decision to set off for the

journey. Finally, the thesis focuses on the passage of the Czech emigrants from Europe to America. Afterwards, this work describes the life of the Czech-American community in the United States from various perspectives, beginning with the arrival in ports and ending with the outbreak of the World War I.

The second part of my diploma thesis consists of several stories of the Czechs who emigrated from Bohemia to America in the course of 1800-1914. These specific emigrants' stories that I gained via personal and E-mail communication with the descendants of these emigrants practically illustrate the first, mainly theoretical part of the thesis.

Finally, my thesis compares the life stories with the theoretical background described in the first part of the work, in order to find some overall features of the emigration or some specific ones.

PART I

1 The Situation in Bohemia 1620-1914

After the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 the Czech lands became a part of the Habsburg Empire. The Habsburgs, then, ruled the country for nearly 300 years. After the Catholic Counter Reformation when people were forced to convert, formerly a Protestant nation became Catholic. As a result, Protestants could meet only secretly or fled the country. The nation lost its aristocracy that was either executed or left the country. (Kvaček et al. 1990, 24-25)

Kořalka (1997, 97) claims Czech language was replaced by the German language. German was used as the official language in administration, culture and education. Thus the Czech was spoken just by peasants and farmhands.

Important changes can be seen after the revolutionary year 1848 that also influenced the Czech lands. It meant the abolition of the serfdom in the Habsburg Empire. Peasants were now allowed to leave the land they had been bound to. Many of them left the homeland to look for better conditions for living. (Rak 1992, 88)

The second half of the 19th century can be characterized as a period when Czech people moved from rural to urban and industrial centres. Seventy percent of the Habsburg industry was located in the Czech Lands. Hand in hand with industrialization went population growth from four to seven million inhabitants in 1914.

Even though after the defeat of Napoleon (1814-1815) the Empire became the leader of the German states in Europe, after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 the Empire lost its power. To avoid another potential war, the relations within the Empire itself had to be modified. In 1867 after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, the Empire became a constitutional monarchic union between the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. The Monarchy existed until October 31, 1918, the military defeat of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the World War I. (1914-1918) (Kvaček et al. 1990, 362-363)

2 Czechs and Information about the United States of America

2.1 The Earliest Information

In 1506 Mikuláš Bakalář Štětina, brought out his book called *Spis o nových zemích a o Novém světě* which was the first Czech written publication introducing the land over the ocean to the Czech public.

This work was followed by a more complete and complex book from 1554 by Zikmund of Púchov with a title *Kosmografie česká*. This book was based on famous book *Cosmographiae universalis libri VI* from a Swiss theologian Sebastian Munster. In the next century, Jan Ámos Komenský published *Lingua Methodus Novissima* criticizing Spanish rule in America.

Although these works were valuable for Czech audience, these books were not originally written by the authors mentioned, but were compiled together from other works. The first original works are dated to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Letters, maps and diaries, wrote out by Jesuit priests settled from Chile to California, made priceless contribution for Czech-American literature. (Kašpar 1986, 9-11), (Polišenský (1996, 9)

2.2 Information in the Nineteenth Century

Naturally, nineteenth century dailies and weeklies contained information about the United States but as the newspapers were censored by the State, America was depicted as a land of misery in every single article. The exception proves the rule so the readers in the period of 1846-1849 found neutral articles describing life in Texas by Jakub Malý or about American life in general undersigned by Havlíček or Náprstek. (Polišenský 1996, 9)

On the contrary, Čapek (1920, 32) mentions that veiled advertisements were daily printed in the press to propagate emigration and various job opportunities in America and the authorities tolerated it.

The contemporary writers informed their readers mainly about the negative aspects of life in America and so their opinions and thoughts accorded with the official Governmental views. One of them was Josef Devítský with his anti-emigration book called *Emigrants* published in 1849. (Polišenský 1992, 12)

Kutnar (1964, 57) states there was a large number of books written about the life of African-Americans and Indians in America. Czechs were aware of their situation thanks to many newspaper articles and short stories published in brochures or books.

In addition, many of these books were also written, so to say, mechanically, to discourage people from emigration overseas. These short story collections were as alike as peas. Always the same story but different names of Czech emigrants: failures.

The most important role played the letters sent by the emigrants from the United States to Bohemia. These letters were said to be the most effective way of propagation of emigration to America as many Czech emigrants declared the letter motivated them to leave. These letters circulated among people in villages, were passed from home to home, and some were also shared orally in the counties.

The authorities had evidences about letters going around in the areas of Pacov, Pelhřimov, Tábor, Budějovice, Strakonice, Prachatice, Břežnice, Plzeň and Domažlice. Those letters written with joy, inviting relatives or neighbours to join Czechs in America were considered to be highly dangerous for the regime and consequently were confiscated. Some even contained useful tips how to avoid or minimize the risk of failure in America. On the other hand, letters describing emigrants' bad experience were made public and printed in the newspaper as articles or advertisements.

Not surprisingly, the emigrants' letters were sometimes falsified, either by the shipping companies, or by emigration agents to support the ideas needed of the specific side, many fabricated stories therefore spread around Bohemia. (Kutnar 1964, 22-25), (Polišenský 1992, 14; 1996, 27)

However, at the turn of nineteenth century, the mood in the society totally changed, people considered emigration as something common and normal. Many potential emigrants needed information about the United States, thus there were many brochures, leaflets, books written or translated on this theme.

Láska (1977, 31) points out a remarkable monthly publication called *České osady v Americe* that informed potential emigrants on the conditions and possible settlements in the United States. It was published four years.

For example, there was a great demand for the literature focused on the history of the United States, so Jakub Malý was asked to translate Washington Irving's original book with the Czech title *Amerika od času svého odkrytí až na nejnovější časy*. Not only prose works but American poets were more often translated, for instance Czech public

became familiar with translations of Gorge P. Morris and Henry W. Longfellow. (Kutnar 1964, 58)

One of the books providing useful tips for potential Czech immigrants was the diary by Josef Osvald *Výprava českého Sokolstva v Americe*. The author describes the Sokol Excursion to America in 1909 and also adds useful observations about Ellis Island immigration control or safety tips during the voyage. (Osvald 1909, 23-24)

One of the authors who spent a part of his life in America was Josef Václav Sládek, who shared his impressions with Czech readers in his works as *Americké obrázky a jiné prózy, Básně and Jiskry na moři*. His glimpse into the Czech-American life was very valuable for he spent two years travelling and working in New York, Wisconsin, Missouri, Louisiana and Texas. (Polišenský 1996, 59)

(Dubovický 2000, 30) Dr. Joseph Štolba, for example, wrote travelogue about America called *Beyond the Ocean* that was published upon his arrival in 1873.

3. Migration Processes

3.1. European Migration Processes in the Nineteenth Century

As to Šatava (1989, 11-12) migration processes, emigration and immigration, have naturally belonged to human beings and their history since the prehistoric times. After the discovery of the New World in 1492, huge intercontinental migration movement can be observed, having its peak at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

This European movement, mainly to the United States, was highly exceptional. First, the largest number of European emigrants left overseas, mainly to the United States, starting a brand new nation. Secondly, there has been no other greater migration movement in the Bohemian history, except for the internal migration within the Austrian Empire.

Šatava (1989, 30-31) declares the individual had to have a specific reason for leaving the country and the migration motives always had to overcome the factors that had bound the potential migrant and the land together. The reasons for moving could be represented by economic and social changes either in the homeland, or in other countries.

The migration processes greatly influenced and changed not only the migrants themselves, but also their sons and daughters, their homeland and the land they settled

in. In other words, migrants changed the whole environment. Immigrants with different backgrounds and lives met in one country and this led to adaptation, acculturation and assimilation processes. Immigrating to the United States, to the land which had been already inhabited, the settlers played roles in the formation on the brand new American nation.

Jansen (1969, 60-63) uses for the description of the migration motives his “push and pull” theory. He assumes there are either economic or social differences between the country, the migrant was born and lived, and the land he heads for, in other words some factors “push” the migrant from the area of origin while the others “pull” him to the destination.

Šatava (1980, 51) finds the push factors in European population explosion and industrial revolution enticing peasants to cities while North America “pulled” immigrants to free vast areas offering many jobs. As a matter of fact, the European emigration was the main cause of the industrial revolution in the United States.

Migration processes in the nineteenth century have greatly changed the European land not only at that time, but also played a significant role for the future. Social, economic and political state of Europe was the cause of emigration to America. The roots of the contemporary situation could be found in Great Britain as the initiator of the Industrial Revolution in 1830’s.

Production in manufactures was replaced by factories. Changes in industry were accompanied by introduction of new techniques and crops in agriculture. There was population growth thanks to revolution changes in medicine or lifestyle, thus European population grew. Higher mobility and urbanisation can be seen. As to Davidson (1990, 686) it is estimated that approximately 89 million people moved from rural areas to urban centres from 1820 to 1920 in Europe.

However, the new trend brought with it also some negative aspects as crops failures, recurrent crisis, unemployment and poverty. As matter of fact, people from rural areas who were replaced by various machines looked for new job opportunities in cities, however, after some time there were no job vacancies as too many people arrived in cities at a certain time.

Castles (1993, 48) declares that the first half of the nineteenth century was so the main period of emigration from the British Isles to America for between 1800 and 1860, 66 percent of all European emigrants came from Great Britain. 22 percent of emigrants

were from Germany. In addition, from the 1850's to 1914 most emigrants left Ireland or Southern and Eastern Europe, the areas that were reached by the industrialization later.

Polišenský (1997, 25) adds that the Irish potato famine and fight for the political freedom along with Norwegian fights between the State and the Church led to deteriorating of the situation and growing numbers of emigrants who were mainly young males looking for better future, single and married women and also groups of workers and families.

As to Šatava (1989, 50) the whole issue needs deeper consideration because there was a large number of various factors influencing the decision to leave of a potential emigrant. First there was a certain social, economic and political situation in the country. Second, potential emigrants featured personal aspirations and in addition, the important factors played migrant's personality, his intelligence, emotionality etc.

One of the factors that supported emigration was also the internal mobility within the state. Finally, there was a conflict between what one had, his current social and economic status, and what one could have in the future.

Lastly, some people were afraid of emigration to foreign countries as well as the negative reaction of their fellow countrymen who were usually strongly against the emigration.

As to Šatava (1989, 52) it is hard to guess individual reasons for emigration. Political, ethnic and religious oppression were often mentioned, however the political and religious situation of nations was getting better. Hand in hand with these changes however great emigration wave spread throughout Europe. Owing to this fact, generalisation is not possible. It is natural there were always several motives and reasons that led to the decision on leaving the homeland.

Castles (1989, 50) states that one of the main motives for emigration to America was to avoid occupations as of workers. The individuals dreamt of becoming independent farmers or businessmen. Unfortunately, this dream often did not come true as many immigrants accepted hard work in the United States. On the other hand, some people made their dreams come true and bought their own farms or became successful businessmen. Others, at least, provided their children with good education.

3.2 Emigration to the United States before 1848

The earliest footsteps of people from the Czech lands on the American soil may be found in the 1620's as hundreds of nameless Protestants fled from their homeland in order to escape religious persecution. They firstly went to other European countries and then to America. Unfortunately, there are not many ship or church records we could use to be more exact. (Láska 1978, 1)

The first Czech known by name, who entered the present territory of the United States of America, was Joachim Gans, a Prague metallurgist, who came to Roanoke, North Carolina in 1585 with explorers, organized by Sir Walter Raleigh. When their expedition ended, they returned to England. (Dubovický 2003, 9)

Polišenský (1996, 12) claims the first historically known Czech to settle permanently in America was Augustine Herrman (1621-1686), who fled Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War. Herrman was employed by the Dutch West-Indian Company and arrived in New Amsterdam, which was later renamed New York, in 1633. (see Picture 1) Herrman was a talented surveyor, merchant and a diplomat. He was given a land where he built a farm that he named "Bohemia Manor". He is best known for his famous and widely used map of Virginia and Maryland. (Habenicht 1910, 13)

Habenicht (1910, 11) and Láska (1978, 1) share the same opinion that Herrman was the earliest settler of the Czech origin. However, Chada (1981, 2) and Rechcigl (2000, 14) doubt Herrman's Bohemian roots, as his genealogy is not reliable, for it has never been documented.

Čapek (1935, 87) confirms that there was a great newspaper dispute over Herrman's origin in 1889. Václav Šnajdr, the editor of *Dennice Novověku* and Bartoš Bittner from *New Yorké Listy* were sure Herrman was of German origin. However, most of the Czech-American society did not care. On August 18, 1889, Baltimore Czechs made a pilgrimage to the Herrman's grave to examine its tombstone in order to photograph the wedge above Herrman's "R" in his surname and prove his Czech origin. The examination of the Herrman's surname engraved in the stone did not end the disputations, though. Two "Rs" written one above the other did not clearly show either Bohemian or German origin of the surname.

Frederick Philipse, Herman's contemporary and neighbour, is another immigrant from Bohemia. He ran a successful business and became one the richest

people in New Amsterdam at the end of the 18th century His genealogy is not also clear. (Rehcígl, 1993, 10)

Moravian Brethren, or “Moravians”, members of the re-established Church of the Czech Brethren and followers of the John Hus, formed the first significant wave of immigrants from the Czech lands. They began to settle in Georgia in 1735 where they found a refuge from religious persecution. They later moved to Pennsylvania where they established a town called Bethlehem. The town has become the centre of missionary work for the whole world and the seat of the first women’s college in the United States. (Habenicht 1910, 15) *Bohemia under the Austrian Despotism* (1857) by Michal Antonín Dignovity was probably the first anti Austrian book printed in the United States. Dignovity travelled through twenty- six American states and finally settled in Texas as the first Czech. (Dubovický 2003, 20) Moreover, Polišenský (1998, 18) mentions Karel Antonín Postl (Charles Seisfield), a writer, well known thanks to his works depicting life in America, e.g. *The United States of America as They Are*. Another person that influenced American cultural life at this time was Anthony Philip Heinrich, who came to America in 1832 and was a famous composer. (Rehcígl 2000, 20) In addition, not only cultural life, but also business was connected with Czech names. Láska (1978, 6) mentions F. V. Lasák, a successful furrier and a businessman, cooperating with John Astor.

Láska (1978, 7-8) concludes the list of immigrants by Jan Nepomuk Neumann (1811-1860), a Bohemian saint, who left the Czech lands to extend the Catholic faith in America. He served as a priest in New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania and was canonized in 1977.

Čapek (1920, 25) adds that thirty-nine Czech soldiers deserted from the Austrian Army when serving in the Mainz fortress in 1847. Not only they escaped to the United States, but also the military accountant stole the regimental funds.

3.3 Emigration to the United States after 1848

3.3.1 The Situation in Bohemia as a “Push Factor”

Kutnar (1964, 7) and Čapek (1920, 25) compare the emigration from Bohemia between two periods: before and after the year 1848. Until the revolutionary year, therefore after the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) the authorities dealt with emigration

of individuals who left Bohemia for political, religious or personal reasons. The land was abundant with everything, food was cheap and there was a great deal of work.

However, after 1848 the situation considerably changed. Poor unemployed people faced periodical economic crisis influencing their social and economic conditions. Furthermore, the state was not able to deal with it. The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and related affect also did not ease the situation of Bohemians within the Empire.

Láska (1978, 8) and Polišíenský (1997, 24) suggest, that after the failure of the Revolution of 1848 many Czechs so called “forty-eighters” were facing a revenge from the state so they fled to America in order to find a refuge. Therefore, to avoid imprisonment, many Czechs left for the country in the following years.

Among the “forty-eighters” we count many politicians, newspaper editors, i.e. Vojtěch Náprstek, military deserters, e.g. Eduard Preis, and many others, for example Philip Bruckam, a physician, and August Hubáček, a popular saloon keeper. As the authorities hunted for the revolutionaries, they had to cross the border illegally. Some of them used forged passports, some even had to wear a disguise. František Korbel for example left the country disguised as woman to confuse the soldiers patrolling the border.

Arriving in America between 1848-1849 did not necessarily mean that the immigrant was a victim or an opponent of the regime, though. For example, Franc V. Červený was aboard the same ship as Náprstek but he set out on his journey to set up business as a producer of musical instruments in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (Láska 1978, 10)

In addition, Čapek (1911, 4) states the number of political refugees from Bohemia was not accurate. Most of the “political refugees”, as they characterized themselves, were not victims of the political system, but they were in trouble with the authorities for other problems. In fact, many emigrants came to America under false pretences as it was more advantageous.

The Revolution of 1848 was also followed by some important social and economic changes. One of the key factors was the Abolishment of the Serfdom. Peasants were bound neither to their masters, nor to the land anymore. However, their masters did not want to let them go as they consequently lost much of their wealth. Yet the Czech peasants were enjoying freedom, their former masters extorted compensations for leaving the farm lands. Thus many peasants consequently fell into

debts they were not able to pay off. As a result, the only solution of the worsening situation seemed to be the emigration overseas.

(Bícha 1980, 9)

Generally, the period of the 1850's in the Czech lands was the time that was characterized by two problems which were not radically solved by the authorities.

Firstly, there were failures of potato crops and bad harvests were followed by shortage of food. Consequently the cost of food rapidly increased. The second problem occurred in the field of industry. Craftsmen and artisans lost jobs as they were not able to compete against factories built during the Industrial revolution. Poverty, unemployment and hunger led to their despair of masses. (Kutnar 1964, 66-67)

According to Polišenský (1992, 54, 55) the migration overseas was closely linked to the internal migration and movement from rural areas to urban centres. In fact, the industrial revolution in Bohemia only accelerated the movement from villages to cities that had already been in progress. Liberec, Kladno, Ostrava, Prague and Wien were the cities where Czechs wanted to land a job. We can say that the areas around the cities were not influenced by the emigration overseas as the peasants from the nearby farms looked for jobs in the towns.

As a matter of fact, mainly people from rural areas were leaving the land until 1880. Because of the industrial revolution, social and economic conditions greatly changed. There were no job vacancies both in the Czech rural regions for the peasants were replaced by machines and in the urban centres where redundant labourers sought for jobs.

Kutnar (1964, 21) adds that emigrants were frustrated by social and economic conditions in the state. They were accompanied by food and textile industry crisis. Political and national oppression along with taxation then led to the final downfall.

As to Dubovický (2003, 7) Czechs leaving the homeland were motivated mainly by social and economic conditions but the earlier political and religious aspects also influenced the decision to leave. One of the factors was also the situation and the subordinated position of the Czech lands within the Austrian Empire that even accelerated the movement towards America.

Čapek (1920, 28) states the motives of emigration overseas were mainly economic, but he defined economic causes widely. In his opinion, people suffered from hunger and could not land a job. In case they were employed the wages were considerably low. Poverty and taxation led to despair. In addition, military deserters and

ship agents played an important role in the problem. Political and economic situation in Bohemia was unimportant, though.

Auerhan et al. (1912, 7) questioned the emigrants to learn the motives for emigration.

„ Most of the responses find the main cause of the Czech emigration in our economic situation. Sometimes there is not a chance to land a job, other time low wages that make our people to leave. Also the lack of own land, debts of peasants and expensiveness have great effect. Better economic conditions, sometimes real sometimes false, lure our people to emigrate. Other times it is the activity of emigration agents, at another time a letter from friends or relatives that cause emigration. As the secondary causations are announced political and culture improvements of the foreign country, desire to gain new experience, to learn new languages and to get to know new countries, longing to enrich, adventurous minds, and longing to travel, the lack of love a for the homeland and lack of awareness, family disaster, evading the compulsory military service, avoiding imprisonment etc.”

As Hájková (2011, 19) and Šatava (1989, 54) declare many victims of political persecution left the country in the 1880's. Those were supporters and leaders of the Socialist movement opposing anti-social laws who fled to the United States. Namely, Norbert Zoula, Lev. J. Palda, Josef Boleslav Pecka. Fratišek Hlaváček, and Fratišek Choura. In America, they could freely carry on their previous actions.

3.3.2 Pull Factors

There were many so-called “pull” factors that lured people to settle in America. Czechs living in Bohemia received various information about the United States of America that encouraged them to leave the homeland.

On the other side of the ocean, in the United States, the situation was opposite. Newly born capitalism needed workforce and offered high wages. Thousands of Europeans busy looking for jobs found the place where they could land the job.

One of the most important factors that “pulled” the emigrants to America was the abundance of virgin land that was either given to settlers for free or sold for a small amount of money. When the American Government passed The Homestead Act of 1862 many Czechs left for America to buy farmlands in the American Midwest. The Government provided immigrants with 160 acres of the land for a token payment in

case the immigrant would farm at least five years on the land. (Láska 1978, 19), (Kašpar 1986, 235)

Both Dubovický (2003, 11) and Čapek (1920, 28) claim that approximately 25 000 Czechs started their journey to America in order to find gold in California as they had heard and read many highly-coloured newspaper stories about gold-diggers in America.

However, Láska 's opinion (1978, 10) greatly differs, for he declares that no Czechs are known to have set out to dig the gold and become millionaires in a trice. There is no evidence of Czech groups settling down in California. Moreover, because of the great distance and slow communication between Bohemia and California, the news about gold was printed in Czech newspapers and books with time lag of four years. Moreover, nobody publicly declared he would leave the land for the gold.

Kutnar (1964, 68) also claims that emigration agents of German shipping companies and American railroad companies had the power to change minds of Czechs. They offered new lives in the country that was described as a “paradise” for urban or rural dwellers.

Polišenský (1992, 55) and (Pelant 1919, 20) mention that relatives living in America played an important factor when deciding whether to leave or stay. A relative in America could provide lodgings and landing a job. The distance then did not play any role. Letters sent by these earlier emigrants had also great affect on the potential emigrants.

For example, (Tomáš Čapek 1935, 26) was sent a pre-paid ship ticket from “Stocký-Kareš Company” by his brother in order to not to pay for the ticket in the port and to save some money. This is certified by Halas (1912, 16) whose brother, a baker, had left for the United States and lived in Chicago, Illinois. He later sent information on jobs in the area to his brother. After some time Halas left. Čapek shared the same experience with his readers (1935, 18) for he had four brothers who had left for America. As a matter of fact, one of the brothers could always take care of him.

3.3.3 The Emigrants in the 1850's

In fact, the poorest peasants and poor people in general could not afford to leave for America. As they had no salary, they were not able to pay the travel expenses needed for the journey to German ports and the ship tickets to America. The sum of money was also checked by the authorities before approving the emigration requests.

However, this did not mean that the destitute could not leave the land. Firstly, some migrants could leave the land illegally without official documents. The others could save their money and finally reaching the amount of money requested by the authorities. Finally, some Czechs received pre-paid ship tickets from their relatives who had already settled in America. At last, the 1870's considerably lowered the cost of ship tickets now available to more people. (Šatava 1992, 52-53)

Emigrants leaving for the United States at the second half of the nineteenth century were mainly people of common peasant background, agricultural labourers and farmers. There were also many craftsmen and artisans leaving the state, e.g. masons, shoemakers, tailors, coopers, carpenters, tailors, bricklayers, joiners, blacksmiths, locksmiths, weavers, and furriers. (Kutnar 1964, 14)

Families sent the fathers at the age of 30-44 or oldest sons (aged 15-29) to America because the family saved up just for one ship ticket. In case the male landed a job and stabilized his economic situation, he sent a letter with money or pre-paid ship tickets enclosed to Bohemia. Thus, he enabled the rest of the family to start a journey to America. (Polišenský 1992, 55)

It is clear, that at the beginning of the migration wave only well-off or wealthier Czechs could leave the country. What is interesting, there were great economic differences between the emigrants, moreover there were great financial contrasts among the members of the same occupations. Peasants brought with them between 300 and 400 Florins, artisans 90-800 Florins and day labourers 200-250 Florins. Evidently, some of the emigrants even did not comply with the officially prescribed 200 Florins per emigrant needed for the approval.

As many emigrants did not save enough for the journey, they were returning back to Bohemia from German ports for they were not able to buy the ship tickets. (Kutnar 18, 1964)

Besides, many boys and young men feared of having to serve in the army for eight years as it was required so they fled from the Czech lands illegally. In other words they were army deserters. Another group was formed by young men who were forced to

leave the native villages or towns. Mayors of the villages usually made them set out on a journey.

Moreover, some unmarried poorer girls paid the travel expenses from their dowries. Sometimes they did not reach the American shore for the voyage for girls who were on their own was extremely dangerous. (Polišenský 1992, 54-55)

Šatava (1992, 53) says the emigrants leaving the Czech lands were aware of the bad social and economic situation and therefore they left in order not to lose what they had earned or got before. As a matter of fact the middle class sought for more prosperous lives in America. Besides social and economic motives we must also take into account the fact that many emigrants, especially young men were adventurous and romantic. They wanted to see the country they had read about in newspaper articles. Finally, there were also some well-to-do emigrants who left for America in order to make a fortune. (Polišenský 1992, 54), (Kutnar 1994, 13-14)

Chada (1981, 3) adds that the Czech intelligentsia usually did not leave the home for they worked in the Austrian bureaucracy and also fought for better conditions of Czechs within the Empire as editors.

4 Bohemian Areas Affected by Emigration after 1848

From 1851 the authorities started to monitor the numbers and origin of emigrants from individual regions, or those leaving through Prague or border railway stations of Podmokly and Bohumín.

The districts of Prague and České Budějovice were not affected by the emigration because the centre of the state was wealthy and people from the southern Bohemia usually moved to Vienna, thus migrated within the Empire.

On the contrary, the areas affected by mass emigration overseas were four. The first was the area of eastern Bohemia around Rychnov nad Kněžnou, Čermná and Lanškroun. The second was the area of south-western Bohemia with the centre in Plzeň. Finally they were followed by the area of eastern Moravia around Ostrava and the area of southern Moravia. In total, 80 percent of all emigrants from Austrian Empire were Czechs. (Polišenský 1996, 27-28)

In the 1852 approximately 3.650 people left Bohemia. People were leaving the region of Pardubice, most of them from the counties of Lanškroun, Vysoké Mýto,

Litomyšl and Kutná Hora. Czechs from the counties were heading for Texas, Wisconsin and Iowa in the United States.

The region of Plzeň became the centre of emigration to the United States. In total, 2.174 Czechs left their homes in the counties of Rokycany, Strakonice, Přeštice and Březnice. Consequently, every village in the county of Březnice was marked by the emigration.

In fact, not only individuals but also groups of people and families left these counties. These emigrants, mainly former artisans and day labourers, looked for their new homes in Pennsylvania, Missouri and Illinois.

Between 1853 and 1854, the emigration fever spread throughout the whole country. Czechs were leaving the old emigration centres but also established new ones. These were in the Budějovice region, with counties of Strakonice, Budějovice, Třeboň and Prachatic. Meanwhile the former emigration centres were left mainly by artisans and daily labourers, this area was left mainly by peasants.

The lines above clearly show the character of mass emigration. Czechs in great numbers left particular villages and towns. Along, leaving together meant a safer journey to America and higher probability of success overseas as emigrants could help each other. (Kutnar 1964, 14-15), (Polišenský 1996, 28-29)

5 The Emigrant and the Authorities

The first emigration patent was published in 1784. Its amendment from 1832 and some following regulations became the main instrument of regulating emigration. The emigration was then possible only with the permission of the state. The patent from the year 1832 was not used during the revolutionary years 1848-1849. In the years afterwards, though, it was reused again. (Dubovický 1993, 22)

Polišenský (1992, 9) describes the structure of the governmental institutions that dealt with the issues of emigration. It was as follows. At the bottom of the pyramid, there were district offices (later district “hejtmanství”), then the second instance were regional offices (regional governments), that provided the people with permissions to leave the country, and finally land governorships. At the top of the pyramid, there were the Ministry of Interior and the Supreme Police Office (later the Ministry of Police). (Polišenský 1992, 9)

There were two types of emigration: legal and illegal. An emigrant was allowed to leave the country in case he had fulfilled his military service, paid off his debts and taxes to the state. (Dubovický 2003, 17) After some time he obtained a travel passport, issued for a three-year period that could be used for travelling abroad. Applicants could also ask the authorities for an emigrant's passport, even though with this one, the emigrants were not allowed to come back to the homeland and consequently lost their citizenship. As a result of that fact, emigrants usually left the country with travel passports that secured the possibility of return. (Šindelář 1970, 17)

Although illegal emigration was common, the authorities had a small chance to find it out. People usually fled the country and there was no way how the authorities could punish it. The only chance was to stop the illegal emigrants on the border that was patrolled by military troops. (Kutnar 1964, 11), (Čapek 1920, 25)

Meanwhile the official Austrian statistics registered only one legal forms of the emigration, holders of emigrant's passports, the other ways of emigration were excluded. Thus the holders of travel passports and illegal emigrants are not included on the official figures. This is the reason why the official inexact Austrian statistics greatly differ from the records kept by the American Authorities. (Kutnar 1964, 11)

As it was already said, the authorities kept a record of people who left the Czech lands. They noted the name, age, sex and the sum of money people took to pay the transport to America. Emigrants were to have at least two hundred florins per an adult and 150 florins for a child. This amount of money was necessary for the travel expenses to the United States.

However, these lists were abandoned in 1884. In fact, there were several reasons, the figures included only the holders of emigrant's passports who intended to stay in America. People with travel passports and illegal emigrants were excluded. Thus the records were kept by Austria's consuls in the most important seaports. (Čapek 1920, 27), (Kutnar 1964, 14)

The situation was changed in 1867 by the December Constitution which established the freedom of emigration. The state, however kept some regulations for the men liable for military service. In addition, the bilateral pact between Austria and Germany enabled Czechs to apply for the American citizenship (Hájková 2011, 9). As to Polišenský (1992, 23) the procedure necessary for leaving the country could last only one month at the time.

6 Attitudes towards the Emigration after 1848

6.1 The Authorities

The state before the early 1850's did not take any actions against the emigration as it did not play an important or dangerous role towards the regime. Moreover, the authorities used the early stages of the emigration as a natural regulator of the social tense in the society. The unsatisfied or rebellious Czechs were leaving the country while the calm citizens remained.

However, the emigration did not change anything for the political and economic situation was constant. Polišíenský (1992, 9) adds that there was no unified policy on the matters of emigration illustrating that on the example of different attitudes of the authorities towards the emigration. The Ministry of Police was rather repressive while the actions taken by the Ministry of Interior were more liberal.

The years 1849 and 1850 may be defined as the turning point between the emigration of individuals and mass emigration from Bohemia, though. Consequently, both the authorities and the Czech society started to pay the attention to the problems of the emigration movement. (Kutnar 1964, 8-9)

Although the Government declared the mass emigration as a threat in 1852, the authorities were not able to handle it even though the political leaders were afraid of the political and social impacts of this phenomenon. There were two types of dangers toward the regime. Firstly, as the people were leaving the country, the state was losing military force, workforce, and tax payers but also national wealth in the form of money people were taking with them to America. Emigration threatened economic situation of the state. (Polišíenský 1992, 5)

Secondly, both the successful and the unsuccessful emigrants returning back from the sea ports spread ideas and thoughts contradictory to the Government. The successful ones informed their relatives and neighbours about America as the land with abundance of everything, "paradise". These emigrants would spread the emigration fever through the nation.

The ones, who failed in America, or even before they voyage in Bremen or Hamburg would spread negative mood among their fellow countrymen, while they would join poor, dissatisfied and frustrated classes of the society.

As a result, since 1852 the emigration agents and the emigrants returning from the sea ports were interrogated as potential propagators of emigration ideas. Leaflets, brochures and letters propagating emigration were confiscated. Stories of both unsuccessful returning emigrants and frustrated fellow countrymen in America were held, copied and made public.

According to Kutnar (1964, 29) for its anti-emigration propaganda the authorities used mainly newspapers and magazines but also the local influence of preachers and teachers. As to the Police Minister Kempen the newspapers were the best and the most effective instrument that could be used against ideas of emigration. Therefore the reading audience could find every day articles about unsuccessful emigrants returning from Hamburg and Bremen.

In other words, the authorities started nation-wide crusade against emigration. All in all, these actions were taken to discourage Czechs from emigration to America. (Polišenský 1992, 10-11)

The Bohemian political authorities knew well the political and social reasons for the emigration while the Viennese Government closed their eyes and declared that the main cause of the emigration were the emigration agents. The Bohemian authorities were active and found the solution in the internal colonisation as the most effective way how to handle this threat. They wanted to direct the potential emigrants to underdeveloped regions of the country, i.e. Hungary. However Czech attempts in 1855 and 1856 were not very successful because the Bohemian idea found support neither in Vienna, nor in Hungary. As a matter of fact, only a few Czech peasants and craftsmen settled in Transylvania. (Kutnar 1964, 28-29)

Thus, the State tried to retard the emigration flow and reduce the number of emigrants but at the same time the authorities did not introduce law prohibiting the emigration. Presumably, there was a strong possibility that after the ban on leaving the country would soon follow a strict American response. In other words, Austro-Hungarian and American political and business relations and interests could be damaged by premature governmental decisions from Vienna. (Kutnar 1964, 27)

6.2 The Public

The emigration movement made for the south and east of Europe from the North-western Europe. The Czech lands were affected at the beginning of the 1850's. As to Šatava (1989, 57) the specific feature of the Czech lands was that leaving the country was recognized by the society as something dark and unpleasant since the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620.

Kašpar (1986, 234) states the Czech conservative press controlled by the government crusaded against emigration and informed about Czech assimilation with the majority of Americans overseas, thus every Czech who left the country was lost forever.

Josef Kajetán Tyl's play *Lesní panna aneb cesta do Ameriky* written in 1850 was one of the contemporary works dealing with the problem of emigration. In his play Tyl describes the social and economic situation of people in the Czech lands that induced people to think about emigration to America. Tyl also writes about factors that lured people to migrate overseas. As to him, these were the idea of life in wealth and democracy. However, Tyl was not in favour of emigration as he found it dangerous for the nation.

At the time the nation needed every single man and patriot. Every Czech leaving meant a great loss for the society and its economy. He did not find the solution in social reform but in coming down to earth, remaining in the homeland, hard work for the national wealth and, conciliation with the situation. (Kašpar 1986, 235), (Kutnar 1964, 9) Filip Stanislav Kodým, editor of *Hospodářské noviny* and Tyl's contemporary, was discouraging peasants from emigration and also criticized the state government and its policy that led to migration. (Kutnar 1964, 54)

Some editors produced special anti-emigration brochures informing about bad social and economic conditions in America. One of them was Karel Muller with his brochure *Máme-li se stěhovati do Ameriky*. (Kutnar 1964, 30)

Šatava (1989, 65) mentions, that the Czech society was not in favour of emigration overseas and people were strongly against it. However the contemporaries did not fully understand the motives of migration. The only thing they knew was that the states lost its citizens and wealth because people took with them all their savings.

According to Kutnar (1964, 68) a Czech middle class businessman wanted the government to stop the emigration wave for the emigrants were cheap labour force.

On the contrary, at the turn of the nineteenth century emigrants were not condemned and emigration became a day-to-day reality. In fact, fellow countrymen understood the reasons for why one left for America. Even some Czechs appreciated the Czech-American business relations. (Šatava 59, 1987)

In 1913 Herites (1913, 13) states the economic situation in the homeland has driven Czechs to America. Even though he considered the emigration as a great loss for the nation, he admits the voyage was the only way to improve one's social and economic situation. On the other hand, he admired the individuals who stayed in the homeland working hard for the nation.

On the other hand his contemporary Osvald in 1909 (1909, 21) still thought the emigration was not necessary. The wages in Bohemia were similar to those in America so the economic motives were false. Every Czech who left the country was lost for the nation. If one wants to return, then just with money he earned in order to support the country.

7 Emigration to America as a Business

7.1 Emigration Companies

As to Castles (1989, 48) the immigration movement to America was welcomed and unregulated until the 1880's. People who were thinking about the possibility of emigration could obtain the information about America from two sources, first from emigrant letters sent by fellow countrymen from the United States or from various emigration agents whose job was to encourage potential emigrants to set out on a journey to America. These emigration agents worked for ship companies from the German ports of Hamburg and Bremen (Hapag, Lloyd) sometimes cooperating with American railway companies such as Hudson River Railway or Kansas-Topeka Railway. These companies were looking for new passengers and, as in case of Topeka Railway, new settlers on the land.

As the authorities were not in favour of the emigration, people leaving the country and returning home were thoroughly investigated for initiating mass emigration overseas as private persons or for working as agents of emigration companies. People connected with the revolution of 1848 and 49 were even more likely to become emigration agents.

In fact, emigration agents of the Bremen and Hamburg ship companies could freely spread leaflets, brochures, posters and other materials about emigration among Czechs until 1852 when the activity of emigration agents was prohibited by the law.

Even though the promotion of emigration was outlawed, the emigration agents were expelled and all the advertising materials confiscated, a massive illegal whispering campaign started. In addition, some ship companies wanted to take the appropriate steps to be in business legally, but the government did not provide the concessions needed.

In the end, the Austrian Police stopped being interested in agents of both rival companies, the North German Lloyd and Hapag after investigations had revealed that some retired police officers and clerks started their own emigration agencies. (Kutnar 1964, 22), (Polišenský 1996, 27) (Polišenský 1992, 11-13)

The companies recruited the agents from the beginning of the 1850's. Firstly, the companies sent coloured leaflets both in German and Czech to Bohemia and tried to set up a network of agents, primarily landlords, businessmen, journeymen, and tailors. The companies also contacted intelligentsia living in rural areas as teachers, physicians and were offering them to become emigration agents with a provision of ten florins per one emigrant. Sometimes a free ticket was given for five subscribed emigrants. Some agents also gave hand to people who did not have official documents and gave them tips, how to leave the country without the official documents requested. (Polišenský 1992, 18)

7.2 Emigration Agents

Alois Kareš of Vamberk (1825-1885) was one of the first Czechs working for a shipping company, initially for Rubke and Woellmer in Hamburg and finally starting his own business with Petr Augustin Stocký in Bremen. At the beginning of his career, Kareš was operating in Eastern Bohemia (Lanškroun, Ústí nad Orlicí and Vysoké Mýto). Later, as the most successful agent with alleged agents throughout the whole state, he was interrogated by the police many times but never arrested.

Even though Kareš declared himself as a man of a straight character and a patriot helping out his fellow countrymen, the mainspring of his human actions were motivated by money. First he arranged emigration contracts with his fellow countrymen and consequently he bought their houses and agricultural lands. Afterwards he resold the houses with higher profits.

On the other hand he also used a part of his provisions to pay travel expenses for some compatriots, e.g. Josef Václav Sládek. Kareš is also known as the initiator and

propagator of the idea of the first Czech colony in the United States, this plan however failed. (Polišenský 1992, 14-16), (Kutnar 1964, 22)

Kareš-Stocký Company (see Picture 2) was recognized by Czechs even after Kareš's death as Osvald (1909, 25) shows that by recommending the company for the transfer to America, as the only purely Czech company in Bremen.

Another agent was Josef Pastor (1841-1899) He left for the United States in 1866. Former editor of the Chicago Journal *Pokrok* later returned to Europe and opened an emigration office in Hamburg. In 1889 he also published a popular book called *Czech Settlements in America*.

The last but not the least, Bohdan Theodor Reiner was a Czech agent who worked for emigrants whose emigration requests had been denied by the authorities and he helped emigrants to leave the country illegally. His colleague was Josef Novinský who worked for "Atchinson Topeca Santa Fé Railway" propagating new settlements on the land owned by the railway company. Novinský operated in the area of Konice and Uničov in Moravia. (Polišenský 1992, 54), (Polišenský 1996, 51)

Herites (1913, 13) warned people about the emigration agents. As to him they were just money-grubbing and needy businessmen who did not know anything about the life overseas.

8 The Voyage to America

Kutnar (1964, 46) and Dubovický (2000, 17) state the best way to arrange the details of the journey was to do it beforehand, from home. As a matter of fact, emigrants avoided being victims of the sharp practises and tricks of criminals.

When the legal emigrants dealt with bureaucratic machine, they obtained necessary official documents needed for the journey. They sold their houses and agricultural lands to get more money for the journey and as long as the emigrants were ready to set out on a journey, they could.

Davidson et al. (1990, 687) says that the emigrants had lost much before they set out on a journey and they lost even more on the way. To reach the port, they sometimes went on foot, got on a train, coach or sailed on a vessel down the Labe River. Sometimes, even entire families not having money, started the journey on foot via Teplice, Dresden, Liepzig, Brunswick to Bremen. On their way, they begged for money

in order to pay their future travel expenses and to save more, they slept on the streets under the open air.

At the beginning of the 1850's, the emigrant got on a train in Ostrava via Bohumin to Vienna. Others left from Prague to Dresden and finally from Hannover to Bremen. The trains, unfortunately, were neither fast nor comfortable. The emigrant trains were often many hours late.

The cities on the emigrant's way to the sea (Dresden, Leipzig), had a bad reputation, because money-changers and false agents were selling counterfeit tickets. All the criminals were a threat to emigrants. The final destinations of all were always identically the German ports Bremen (see Picture 3) and Hamburg. (Polišenský 1992, 18-19)

As Halas (1912, 17) confirms the essential thing for the emigrant was the ship ticket. Halas received his ticket beforehand from his brother living in America. However, most of his fellow countrymen were not so lucky and had to buy the ticket either in Bohemia from a Czech emigration agent or in a port from a randomly chosen ship agent. The second possibility, though, was risky, as the emigrant not knowing language and the environment could lose all his savings in a trice. Czechs were awaited by racketeers, moneychangers, swindlers and pickpockets who often robbed them.

As to Kutnar (1964, 40-41) the stay in a port lasted from a few days to several weeks. People waiting for the arrival of the ship were spending money on food and drink, their stays in inns and they also bought provisions, cutlery, blankets etc. Emigrants also bought out tools and implements, even grain needed in America. As a result, the ports lived on the European emigration fever.

Boarding the ship was a mere formality; the absolutely essential condition for the emigrant was to find the ship tickets and spare money, though. The cost of the ticket was 50-70 florins a person. In case people did not have enough money, they could not be taken on the board. However, a few lucky individuals got on the board on the condition that they worked their passage. (Jandáček 1947, 43)

Polišenský (1992, 21-22) and Dubovický (2000, 17) compare the transport of emigrants to former transport of slaves to America and finds the conditions of African-American slaves as much better.

The explanation is simple. In the 1850's the ships were primarily used for transport of pigs and cattle, others carried timber, tobacco or cotton. Afterwards, they were used also for transport of emigrants, though. This lasted until the time when the

owners of the ships found out that the best way to make money is to construct special ships for emigrants' transport.

Obviously, the transport of immigrants was highly profitable because there was no need to put money into the ships and the transporters only wanted to make a profit at the expense of passengers. The passage on the sailing vessel lasted between 5-14 weeks. The weather conditions during the voyage played the most important role and influenced the duration of the voyage.

Both Dubovický (2000, 17) and Polišínský (1996, 26) claim the conditions aboard were barbaric. Everything the passenger needed, from a blanket to food, they had to secure himself. Overcrowded steerage decks without windows and fresh air welcomed the passengers. The toilets often broke down. People often complained about the quality and amount of food and the behaviour of the crew. Many passengers were exploited and women travelling on their own were raped many times. There was hardly any food and if the crew found some, it was very simple and had poor quality. People suffered from hunger and thirst most of the time aboard. This was true of water as well. It was stored in barrels after wine so it spoiled in few days on the ocean. Halas (1912, 18) saw many people starving on the ship but luckily he had a chance to help the cook and he therefore got larger portions of meals.

From the 1840's the British authorities required that vessels had to have three and a half kilos of food per person a week as the conditions on vessels were unbearable. In addition, the sailing boats and its passengers were endangered by fires, thunderstorms, shipwreck, seasickness or epidemics, of which the most common were typhus and cholera. (Kutnar 1964, 42-43)

In 1851 sixteen Czech families left for Texas via Hamburg. Aboard, they were given bad food and each family had to cook for themselves. Along, the ship was overcrowded with the Irish and the voyage lasted seventeen weeks. As a result, one half of the Czechs died and the dead were buried at sea. (Březáček 1930, 13)

Fortunately, the newly introduced steamboats in the 1850's noticeably improved the conditions of the voyage. (see Picture 4) The ticket was twice as expensive, but the voyage was more comfortable, faster and safer. The travel then lasted only two weeks. The passengers spent most of the time in the steerage that was divided into compartments of twenty beds, completed by tables and chairs. Many factors led to the improvement of the travel conditions in the 1870's and 1880's. Not only laws but also competition between the North German Lloyd and Hapag companies affected the

situation of transporting emigrants as they wanted to attract more passengers. (Polišenský 1996, 26-27)

Still, at the turn of the nineteenth century Osvald (1909, 26) recommended the passengers voyage in the second or first class because the steerage conditions on the steamboats were bad. Kutnar (1964, 41) states the emigrants were aware of the great differences in the cost of the ship tickets depending on the ship and services provided by the company. Understandably, the poorer emigrants could not afford more expensive ship tickets thus had to stay in the steerage, the lowest class of the ship. Depending on the class and the boat the tickets varied in price from 45 to 210 Florins per passenger. The Hamburg companies also taxed the infants with 5 Florins.

The captains of the ships became responsible for the state of health of their passengers they carried to America thus the passengers had to undergo medical examinations before embarkation and during the voyage. Many old people and children died on the ship, though. (Polišenský 1992, 24)

Halas (1912, 23) mentions that passengers, mainly women washed the clothes regularly, while on the board. The ship was also cleaned every day, more often when the day of reaching the shore approached. Understandably, the last day on the ship, all took their best clothes to be allowed to enter the United States of America.

Pelant (1920, 25) and Herites (1913, 126) claim that the first and second class passengers underwent faster medical examination than the rest of passengers and similarly the immigration procedures were just perfunctory when compared with the steerage passengers.

All in all, a more expansive ticket could mean smooth and trouble-free start of a new American life. Another useful tip was hidden in the advice to study English during the voyage as it could be useful at emigration control procedures in American ports. (Herites 1913, 126)

9 The Arrival in the United States

If the Czechs surpassed the hardships of their voyage to United States, they stepped on American soil either in ports in New York, New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia or Baltimore. (Dubovický 2003, 18)

The busiest of them all was the port in New York. Polišíenský (1992, 25) mentions that between 1820-1860 New York welcomed 3,7 million out of total 5,4. million immigrants.

In order to be able to cope with the mass of immigrants, New York established the Marine Hospital on the Staten Island in 1797 as to have a place where the ill immigrants could be cured. In 1824 the State of New York started to keep records of the number of immigrants.

Prior to 1890 the individual states regulated the immigration to the United States. The Marine Hospital was in 1855 replaced by a famous station called Castle Garden on Manhattan. There were two specific features of this station. The first one, state-licensed agents provided jobs or railway and boat tickets to newcomers just on the spot. The second one was that immigrants could also change their money and read post there. Because of these services provided in Castle Garden, New York was by far the safest port for the immigrants in the United States. Unfortunately, Castle Garden was not prepared to handle growing numbers of immigrants and corruption appeared soon among the agents. (Polišíenský 1992, 31)

In 1890 the Federal Government started to deal with the problems of immigration and established the Bureau of Immigration. As a result a new federally-operated station was opened on New York's Ellis Island. Newcomers, "steerage" and third class passengers were transported on a ferry to Ellis Island where they had to undergo a complete and thorough medical examination and an oral interview. In case an immigrant did not pass either of these, he was forced to return back to his homeland. The reasons to deny the entry were different: from criminal history to physical illnesses. However, only 2% of newcomers was sent back in fact. Automatically, passengers in their sixties, children under thirteen years of age without parents, widows and unmarried women with children were sent back Kutnar, (1964, 12) adds.

Polišíenský (1992, 32) claims the reason for rejection could be even the fact that the newcomer had already found his job before his arrival in the States. Obviously, that meant a danger for an American labourer who could become jobless. What is

interesting, first and second class passengers were not required to undergo the inspection process on Ellis Island, their papers and the state of health were checked on board of the ship. The reason was simple they had enough money to buy more expensive tickets and so there was a small chance they would become a “problem” for the US bureaus and the health system.

Kořalka (1964, 43) reminds that if a newcomer successfully passed all the examinations and registration procedures, he could take his belongings, buy food and continue on his way. Unfortunately, the environment was very treacherous. Just behind the corner the immigrant could become a victim of deceptive agents, thieves, runners or prostitutes. Many people abused newcomers who were not able to speak English and did not know the American environment.

10 Czech Settlement of the United States in the Nineteenth Century

New lives of Czechs coming to America usually started on the Northeastern coast of the United States. The Czechs were arriving there in great numbers as they could later easily continue on their way to the inland. (See Picture 5) The East Coast itself was heavily populated and later immigrants living there faced unemployment. However, a minor part of Czech immigrants had to settle in New York or Baltimore because they did not have funds to head inland.

Czechs living in New York hired rooms in the less desirable quarters of the city where the furniture consisted just of necessary pieces. Usually two families shared one apartment in a tenement house in order to save some money. Czechs settled on the Lower Eastside, in Essex Division, Delancy and Rivington Streets neighbouring other European immigrants.

In the neighbourhood Czechs found people speaking their language, new friends, schools, and cultural centres. Czech restaurants, pubs, newspapers reported news from the homeland. People also received useful tips on adjusting to life in America. The neighbourhood could also be just a place where to start. There was no rural settlement near the New York City, except for one established by eleven families at Bohemia on Long Island in 1855 (Čapek 1920, 40-41), (Chada 1981, 27)

Some Czechs left for the Middle West, the area of the North American Lakes where new towns were established. As Láška (9, 1978) claims the earliest Czech rural settlements in America were established in the State of Wisconsin at the beginning of

the 1850's. The first Czechs arrived in the City of Milwaukee, but the first farming town was Caledonia, in the north of Racine.

The other settlers headed for Cleveland, Ohio and Chicago in Illinois. Some of them found their way on new wagons to the prairies of Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri. Later, the most adventurous ones crossed the central part of the United States for California. In addition, some Czech settlers affected by letters from evangelic preacher Bergman started farms in Texas. However, a considerable part of them moved to Iowa in 1855 as the climate in Texas was inhospitable. (Kutnar 1964, 43), (Chada 1981, 3-4), (Březáček 1930, 12)

Herites (1913, 101) mentions that the Czechs who wanted to settle down invested the savings primarily into apartments or houses (see Picture 6). Their chance of purchasing a real estate depended on the place where they settled. The ownership of a house in New York or Philadelphia was a dream of many settlers, however only a few Czechs did so for the houses were expensive. On the other hand, in the Middle West Czech immigrants could buy a frame house for approximately 3.000 dollars. Czechs sometimes took out loans, provided only by Czech fraternal organizations.

Kutnar (1964, 46) says that a Czech immigrant aged twenty one or older could buy 160 acres of Minnesota land for two dollars from the government. At the beginning of the 1850's it seemed that St. Louis, Missouri would become the largest Czech centre in the United States for it had a strategic position on the River Missouri.

However when the City of Chicago, Illinois was connected with the rest of the land by railway lines after 1853, it was easier and cheaper to reach. Thus Chicago became the second largest Czech city after Prague in Bohemia. (see Picture 7) New York and Cleveland, and Ohio were also becoming Czech urban centres while Czechs as a group soon disappeared from New Orleans, (Louisiana), Buffalo (Missouri) and Dubuque (Iowa), for they moved away or assimilated with majority of population.

Rural settlements of the Czechs were spreading westward from Wisconsin and the group in Texas was growing. After the initial hardships of the 1850's, several groups of settlers returned and new ones arrived impressed by the lifestyle of cowboys. (Pelant 1920, 52), (Láska 1978, 18-19), (Čapek 1920, 50)

Unlike the other ethnic groups, the Czechs in the 1870's gave little seriousness to the manner in which the communities were settled. Therefore Czech communities were spread throughout the whole United States. Groups of pioneer families and individuals set out on journey in order to find fertile land. Czechs heading for the

central and western part of the United States provided themselves with a pair of ox and prairie wagon or schooner. They piled featherbeds, kitchen utensils and clothes and started the journey. These ventures were often led by agricultural magazines, i.e. *The Husbandman of Omaha*, Nebraska. As its audience wished, the magazines established exploratory committees that looked for the suitable land with help from various companies and authorities. In order to have financial funds to purchase the land, the Czech committees often founded companies where every subscribing settler had his share. Czechs were allowed to settle on the new land in case they paid their instalments regularly. (Chada 1981, 25-26), (Čapek 1920, 46), (Březáček 1930, 14)

In the 1890's Czechs were living in nearly every American state. Some of the settlement had primary form while the others of secondary form were established by the earlier Czech immigrants who moved in order to find better farm lands or new jobs opportunities in the urban centres. By that time, many Czechs moved to regions of North Dakota, Oregon, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida and Indiana. (Kutnar 1964, 46-47)

One of the settlers Josef Doležal decided to buy land in Oklahoma. This land, formerly inhabited by the Cherokee Nation, was sold by Government for one dollar. The land was divided into 160 acre parcels of land and in case the settlers were interested in the purchase they paid the sum needed to the authorities in Orlando. The next day the settlers competed for the land in a race so-called "land run". The pioneers on horseback and wagons waited on the border of the area and when the race started, they rushed to put down the American flag where they wanted to settle. The principle was simple - first comes, first served. Doležal himself won a great part of the land, as he had a well trained and fast horse and protected himself and the land with a colt. (Březáček 1930, 115-116)

Čapek (1935, 67) describes a typical Czech borough in an American city of the second half of the nineteenth century. It is the example of Czech neighbourhood in Omaha, Nebraska. It was called Praha or Bohemian Town and was located near William Street, between the thirteenth and the sixteenth southern street. There were small wooden houses of fellow countrymen, a little wooden church that formerly served as a pub and a wooden National Hall. One could find there also a printer, several pubs, a grocery store, butchers' shops, bakeries and two pharmacies.

Herites (1913, 101-102) states the urban centres of Czech community in the second half of nineteenth century were Chicago (Illinois) (see Picture 8), New York, Cleveland in Ohio, St. Louis in Missouri, Cedar Rapids in Iowa, Omaha in Nebraska,

Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Baltimore in Maryland, Milwaukee in Wisconsin and Detroit-Michigan. In Wisconsin we could also find a purely Czech town, where only two Englishmen lived with Czech majority, this town was called Wilber.

As to Pelant (1920, 31-32) many Czech villages and towns bore the same names as their Czech models, e.g. Kolín (Louisiana), Karlín (Missouri), Prague and Praha (Nebraska) (see Picture 9), Tabor and Vodňany (South Dakota), and Rožnov in Texas. Other settlements were named after their founders or personalities such as Homolka and Vlasatý (Minnesota), Mashek (Missouri) or Veselyville in North Dakota.

According to Čapek (1935, 118) the Czechs in Bohemia did not know the United States and surprisingly the same situation prevailed among Czechs in America. Most of the fellow countrymen got to know only New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Pittsburgh as there was no need to visit the South or West of the United States.

Finally, as to Láška (1978, 21) there were two unsuccessful attempts to establish purely Czech settlements for Czechs wanted to separate themselves and establish larger ethnic colonies. The first one failed in 1865 due to lack of subscribers and the second one in 1876 after the death of one of the members of the search team in Shasta County, California.

11 Czechs Working in the Urban Centres

Both Herites (1913, 69) and Kutnar (1964, 45) say the first thing the newly arrived Czech immigrant was supposed to do was to land a job. The sooner, the better. Arriving in America, immigrants were taken aback by the hustle and bustle of the city, fierce competition and mercilessness of the American business environment.

Therefore, the best option was to secure a job before the journey. Sometimes Czechs arranged their contracts with the help from their relatives who had been already living in America and at other times they contacted Czech-American businessmen and specified the details of the job via letters.

The others though had to concentrate on finding a job without any help. Only strong and hard-working individuals could handle this brand new situation. The unemployed Czechs were likely to spend all their savings in a few days after their arrival. Then, without money, they roamed around the streets, fell in debt and consequently did not have even funds for the way back to Bohemia. To avoid life in despair and poverty, immigrants often had to accept a job they would never take in

Bohemia. In America, though every worker or employee was respected regardless of the job he did. Lazy and indolent Czechs never became millionaires in America. As a matter of fact, Americans made a laughing stock of the unemployed immigrants.

All over all, it took a fellow countryman about ten years to reach the social and economic status of the typical American worker or a businessman.

It was highly improbable, that a newly arrived Czech immigrant could find a job on the Eastern coast of the United States. There were no job vacancies, because these were in the hands of the earlier European immigrants.

Thus many fellow countrymen left for the Middle West, the regions of the North American lakes where new towns were built and first farming colonies established. Newly-built towns such as Chicago, St. Louis, and others, welcomed Czechs and offered them many job vacancies.

Wages were comparatively higher than in Bohemia, one could earn ten dollars (20 Florins) per month. Czech immigrants in urban areas earned their living either as labourers working for Czech immigrants' companies, others as craftsmen employed by well-to-do businessmen. Some Czechs worked also as door-to-door salesmen making the rounds of remote farms. (Herites 1913, 75), Kutnar (1964, 45-46), (Chada 1981, 27) Czechs asserted themselves as tailors, shoemakers, teachers, musicians or evangelical preachers too. (Kutnar 1964, 43)

Čapek (1920, 74) states that both the first and second generation of Czech immigrants worked mainly as farmers, labourers, tailors and agricultural labourers. Occupations such as cigar factory workers, carpenters and miners in the first generation were replaced by clerks, copyists and salesmen from the second generation.

Many Czech immigrants though were deeply disappointed about their situation because the dream of a new prosperous life in America dwindled away after a few months. Even though some settlers wanted to start up their own business, they lacked necessary funds. Czech carpenters, for example, could not afford to pay the rent, buy tools or wood to carry on their craft.

Generally, Czech craftsmen faced stiff competition from factories and their cheap products. As long as the craftsmen were not used to large-scale production from their homeland, they were crushed by national companies in America and ended up as workers and labourers.

Besides, Czech tailors and shoemakers were hired by American firms, given semi-finished products and their task was to make them complete.

In general, Czech immigrants faced unemployment and competition of other workers. Secondly, because of their need for jobs, Czechs were often exploited by their employers. In addition, because of the language barrier, Czechs neither found attractive job positions, nor knew the labour laws handling workers' grievances. On the contrary, workers in Bohemia believed in Christian treatment of their masters. The faith was on the American land replaced by organized labour activity and the American Federation of Labour filled in for the preachers.

Therefore some moved to rural areas of Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri and became farm owners. (Kutnar 1964, 44), (Chada 1981, 27-28)

Láska (1977, 14) mentions "Česká hospoda" - a Chicago pub opened in 1855 by Jan Slavík. Becoming a landlord was not a difficult and expensive task as the initial investments were covered by the local breweries. Czech pubs were generally recognized as traditional meeting points where Czechs gathered for a beer and while drinking, they were chatting and discussing topical issues, in Czech, naturally.

As to Čapek (1980, 77-78) if the landlord established his pub in the neighbourhood of his own fellow countrymen, he could do nicely for himself just with basic English.

In addition, Czech landlords in America had great influence on the life of immigrants' society because many organizations were established in the pubs. Moreover, the owners were characterized by great power and prestige, therefore everybody wanted to get on well with them. Finally, not only Slavík's pub was popular with the settlers, also at Mottl's in Chicago and at Hubáček's in New York were places that went down in Czech-American history.

Láska (1977, 35) claims that 95 percent of the Czechs living in the New York City in 1873 were employed in the cigar-making industry. (see Picture 10) A considerable part of them came from Sedlec, a Czech cigar industry centre. Although many Czechs sought for jobs as butchers or musicians, all of them sooner or later joined fellow countrymen from Sedlec. Therefore Herites (1913, 77) adds that being a watchmaker in Prague did not automatically mean that a Czech would land the same job in America.

The cigar makers lived in company houses on the Lower East Side along Avenue B, called "Czech Boulevard". Obviously, this was not a happy place to live or work as Chada (1981, 28) says "the families lived in virtual state of serfdom". The worst working conditions and lowest wages were comparable just with the situation in Chicago sweat shops or needless industry.

Čapek (1920, 80) concludes by reminding us of the abolishing act of legislature in 1888 that prohibited cigar-making for it caused a great damage to human health.

Beside, in the 1890's Czechs in New York were also known as skilful pearl button makers. Newly arrived Czechs from Žirovnice brought the art of pearl button making with them from Bohemia. Sixty-seven Czechs running businesses employed more than 1500 workers, not only in New York, but also in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Illinois.

As Czechs preferred mainly indoor jobs, they could be rarely found working outdoors as road builders, unskilled labourers or coal miners.

Czechs in Baltimore often shucked oysters, in summer they picked strawberries and berries. In winter they were employed in can factories. Czechs in Chicago worked in slaughterhouses, others in lumber yards. Czechs working at home were often tailors. Czech Clevelanders worked as coopers and tinkers while Czechs in St. Louis made candles and ropes. Czech St. Louis was also known for Czech brewers. Mentioning Omaha, Nebraska, Czechs were said to be skilled butchers. (Čapek 1935, 116), (Čapek, 1920, 20)

According to Čapek (1920, 45) *“Czech community in Cleveland, Ohio listed 696 families, numbering in total of 3252 persons. Of these 1749 were men and 1503 women. The occupation of men were as follows: 346 labourers, 76 masons, 72 joiners, 56 tailors, 44 shoemakers, 39 coopers, 25 locksmiths and machinists, 13 musicians, 11 smelters, 12 butchers, 9 saddlers, 9 weavers, 8 stone cutters, 7 wheelwrights, 6 furriers, 6 tinsmiths, 5 bakers, 5 tanners, 5 dyers, 4 cutlers, 2 builders, 2 bookbinders, 1 printer, 1 watchmaker, 1 sanitary inspector, 1 policeman, 1 brewer, 1 litographer, 1 priest, 22 saloonkeepers”*.

Herites (1913, 38) mentions that the Czech emigrant intelligentsia often returned back after a few months spent in America. The causes of failures greatly differed, but some were common though. Czechs were not able to speak fluent English, were not able to prove their university education and sometimes were too self-confident. They also lacked patience and tenacity.

Being the best one in Prague did not necessarily mean being the best in the New York City. Chada (1981, 40) also sees one of the roots of the problem consisting in cultural differences between Bohemia and America.

On the other hand, Czech physicians who graduated from the Prague University had a great chance of finding the job vacancies. Unless they spoke English, they should have stayed in the homeland, though. Czechs without enthusiasm observed the trend of Americans studying at Czech universities and returning back to America as highly regarded experts possessing Czech university diplomas.

In fact, members of the Czech-American intelligentsia were Czech descendants whose parents came to America as the first generation. In fact members of the second generation communicated in English like the natives and their numerous achievements can be attributed to their education and knowledge of the language. Moreover, Czechs in the number of their intelligence by far surpassed other American Slavs.

When comparing Czech physicians to lawyers, the physicians had a better starting position for a diploma from a European university enabled them to set up a practice without an admission examination. The lawyers, on the contrary, were supposed to speak English fluently and knowledge of the American law was indispensable. Czech physicians were represented by Jan Habenicht or A. M. Dignowity, Czech lawyers by Thomas Čapek. (see Picture 11) At the turn of the nineteenth century one could read newspaper articles about Czech physicians, lawyers, architects or druggists. (Chada (1981, 39-40), (Čapek 1920, 85-86)

Czech women's working life greatly differed from the one the native American women lived. Before marriage, American women normally worked; however after marriage their lives change and they became housewives.

On the contrary, Czech-American women living in urban and rural areas worked until the retirement. Czech women worked as cigarmakers, later as teachers, typists or accountants. (Herites 79, 1913)

Both children living on farms and in cities were also busily working, sometimes at the expense of their education. Sadly, the parents were not able to measure the importance of education for their offspring's future. The contribution to the family income was vital. Children, aged from eleven or twelve, were made to play truant or received official employment certificates issued by the schools. Thus boys and girls sold newspapers or collected coal on the streets of cities all day long, others worked in cigar or candy industries. Some assisted in taylor's shops or department stores. (Herites 1913, 80), (Davidson et al, 1990, 699), (Chada 1981 28-29)

In 1870 one of the Czechs who missed his golden opportunity in business was Josef Kříž who may have become a stockholder of John D Rockefeller's Standard Oil

Company. Kříž declined Rockefeller's offer, though. On the other hand, many Czech Clevelanders were later employed with the company. (Láska 1977, 23)

12 Czech Farmers in America

The life on American prairies and plains of Middle West and South West was totally different from the one, Czech immigrants had lived in the Czech countryside. In fact, every Czech met the initial hardships for he had to get to know many new things and techniques. While some settled down, the others left due to defaulting on their payments. According to Chada (1981, 27) every Czech thought of starting his own farm but only the hard-working, persistent and lucky individuals fulfilled their dreams. (Jandáček 1947, 137)

According to (Reports of the Immigration Commission) as quoted by Čapek (1920, 69) in average, more than thirty-five per cent of all Bohemian breadwinners were agriculturists at the turn of the nineteenth century. This shows the agricultural character of Czech settlers in America.

The earliest settlers and pioneers had better perspectives than their fellow countrymen who arrived at the turn of the nineteenth century. In other words, the later the settlers came, the harder it was to find fertile soil. In case the settler found some, it was extremely expensive. 5 acres cost 2100 dollars (420 Florins). (Kutnar 1964, 45)

Sometimes making individual purchases, other times receiving it for free, Czechs acquired a considerable amount of both virgin and cultivated soil in Oregon, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, Florida, or in California. In 1880, 51.466 out of 85.361 Czechs had tilled the country lands in the West or Midwest. (see Picture 12) (Chada, 1987, 31), (Herites 1913, 28)

Láska (1977, 9) and Kutnar (1964, 45) characterize Czech farmers as people who kept faith in their land because the land happened to be their new home. This special affectionate relation to the ground was strengthened by the fact this was the only thing they had. Therefore if a Czech settled down, he rarely left the place. Primarily, Czechs had to clear the land. In wooded areas they felled the trees with simple axes. On plains and prairies they chopped out the undergrowth or burned the prairie grass. Due to lack of money, Czechs did not own basic farm implements so entire families broke the

soil and manually reaped the crops. The luckier ones cultivated the deep virgin land with a special iron plough pulled by a pair of oxen.

Their first pioneers' dwellings were known as dugouts or dug houses. These were shelters dug partly underground. Where no trees grew, they had to build their houses from block of sod, near the wooded areas, log cabins were raised. Later, real houses were erected. In the United States the typical farm houses were isolated structures. Other buildings, like barns and sheds then surrounded the farm house. (Chada 1987, 31)

The only things farmers could see, were their farms, the broad and never-ending fields and sky above. There were no farms or towns nearby. In comparison with Czech rural areas, Czechs arriving at the 1850's did not have any neighbours and in case they did, those lived far away. Therefore there was no instant sociability, Czech farms were isolated. Many Czech immigrants, especially women, found it difficult to adjust to this isolated life and finally they moved to towns or cities. (Herites 1932, 13)

Although everyone in a Czech village had his or her role, Czech-American farmers, either males or females, depended only on themselves. Thus, every individual was responsible his own wealth. Surrounded only by the Native Americans and wild animals, the Czech pioneers had to face recurring thunderstorms, droughts, prairie fires and locust swarms. Their financial and personal security changed considerably every day. (Bícha 1980, 49), (Kutnar 1964, 45)

Březáček (1930, 152-153) says Czechs were amazed how fast the locust swarms were and how devastating their attacks could be. Unfortunately, there was no way how to stop the swarms eating even clothes forgotten outside.

Březáček (1930, 157) also mentions the Ovesný family farming in Missouri. In 1888, the family was twice attacked by the Native Americans-The Sioux Tribe. For the first time The Sioux burned the Czech farm down and stole cattle and horses Czechs kept. However, when the family was attacked for the second time, they were saved by Pawnee Otove Tribe, friendly Native Americans they had cooperated with.

Herites (1913, 32) describes the division of labour on their farms which rooted in the peasant culture in Europe. Having a great deal of work, Czech farmers delegated some routine tasks to their children perhaps, sometimes earlier than it was customary in the United States. Therefore a part of the year the children were absent from school. Understandably, every leg and hand had to be used.

Bícha (50, 1980) adds that there was also a division of men's and women's work. Women worked on the field too. On the contrary, native women usually worked in the garden and maintained the household clean. On the other hand, there were many films depicting women working on the fields but these women were usually widowed and this work was the only way how to earn their living. Czech women though, were daily seen working on the field, gardening and preparing meals for the family members.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the situation of the Czech farmers changed. The farms were always in good condition. Neatly kept and well painted homes decorated every area. Czechs had interesting social life and gave their sons and daughters education. Czechs stayed while the natives left.

In comparison with the native farmers, Czechs cultivated more acres of the land. They were much more likely to fertilize the land too. Part of the additional acreage utilized by the Czech farmers provided oats to feed the farm animals and part of the acreage enabled them an opportunity to grow cotton as a cash crop. Czechs also grew more feed and cover crops than the natives. At the same time they practised crop rotation. In short, they did better job in caring for the soil and securing income for their efforts.

All over all, Czech farmers and their farms had good nationwide reputation. Czechs were widely respected for their work on the farms and excelled all their neighbours. As a matter of fact, many native farmers wanted to buy Czech farms as the farms were attractive and the land fertile. Moreover, 90 percent of the farms were free of debt. (Bícha 1980, 48), (Hodges 1915, 9)

When mentioning a farm, Czechs were famous for production of wheat corn, buckwheat, onions, beans, and potatoes. In addition Czechs were more likely to maintain milk cows, they kept orchards and cultivated gardens and their own work stocks and hogs. They normally preserved their own milk products, while the natives did not. They were also known thanks to fresh fruit from typical orchards. On many Czech farms one of the primary garden crops was cabbage, destined to be "stomped" in the sauerkraut barrel. In fact, Czech farms in the United States were self sufficient. Naturally, farmers also sold their products to businessmen travelling around or distributed products to cities often using railway connection. (Jandáček 1947, 126)

Czech farmers and their farms gained good nationwide reputation. Czechs were widely respected for their intensive and hard work on the farms. As a matter of fact,

many native farmers wanted to buy Czech farms as the farms were attractive and the land fertile. Moreover, 90 percent of the Czech farms in America were free of debt. Farms in Czech hands contributed to the national wealth. (Bícha 1980, 48), (Čapek 1980, 77)

13 Czech-American Society and Its Features from 1848 to 1914

13.1 The First Period (1848-1870's)

The period starts with the Revolution of 1848-1849 and it is typical for its Czech rural settlements established in the United States. The common Czech immigrants sympathized with the revolution ideas in the homeland. One of the immigrants was Vojtěch Náprstek, who played the leading role in this wave of emigration to America.

The first generation of Czech immigrants had to undergo great hardships in the field of occupations and economic situation for they found themselves at the bottom of American society as the newly arrived immigrants. It took at least ten years till the time Czechs emerged from the initial immigrants' base. Czech settled on farms in the Middle-West or in ghettos in urban centres (New York). It is estimated that the number of Czechs was nearing 10000 at the end of 1850's

Newly arrived Czechs settled in America and formed the fundamentals of the Czech-American culture. The Czech-American cultural and social life flourished for many fraternal and social organizations were established. Some of them were only locally based while the others gathered Czechs from all states. The national convention of these organizations was in 1865 in Chicago, Illinois. These organization preserved Czech culture and traditions, thus retarded affects of America.

In addition, new schools and churches appeared too. First newspapers and calendars were published by Czech editors.

Many Czechs of the first generation created an optimistic and idealized picture of their homeland in their mind and they desired to see Bohemia before their death. This is one of the signs proving that the first Czech generation of immigrants never adapted to the American way of life, for sure, it was also caused by the language handicap as they were not able to speak English.

Later, the second, third or fourth generation was able to visit the homeland again. This period was ended by the American Civil War (1860-1865) which retarded

the immigration flow to America, as well as aggravated the situation of Czech settlers. However, the end of the Civil War and of the Austro-Prussian war resulted in a larger wave of immigration. (Chada 1981, 2-3), (Kašpar 1986, 74), (Šatava 1989, 91)

13.2 The Second Period (1870's to the Mid 1890's)

The year 1882 is often considered to form a time border between the “old” and the “new” immigration. The members of the “old” generation were usually skilled literate Protestants from northern and western European states characterized by representative form of government.

Generally, the members of the so-called “new” generation of immigrants were usually coming from southern and eastern European states and they were usually labour workers who accelerated the American industrial production. (Šatava 1989, 90)

However, both Hájková (2011, 10) and Polišínský (1996, 74) state this was not true of Czechs, for immigrants from Bohemia were at that time more skilled, well educated and literate.

It is estimated that there were 40 000 Czech immigrants living in America by 1870. Czechs were concentrated in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, New York, Michigan and Nebraska. The largest urban centres were Chicago, Illinois and St. Louis, Missouri. On average, 5000 Czech immigrants were arriving in America at that time. In 1891 11 758 Czechs immigrants reached American ports.

Czech immigrants came with the intuition of permanent settlements rather than with the idea of a temporary job in a mine or factory. This was reflected by the ratio of males to females 57,2 to 42,3 percent. Czech immigrants as to these figures tended to come with their families. In this respect they differed from the Germans who had ratio of 59,2 percent males to 40,8 percent of females.

On the other hand, some Czechs wanted to return back to the homeland after earning good money. However, Czechs often bought houses, got married, started families and thus they became deeply rooted. As long as their children started to speak only English, the family could not return back home at all. (Čapek 1935, 112-116)

This period is characterized by a newly established Czech-American middle class. The Czech middle class applied for loans with first Czech banks founded in Chicago in 1886 and thus they were able to buy their own houses.

However, Czech society was divided by the religious disputes among freethinkers and Catholics. In the Czech-American daily life new types of Czechs

emerged that the Czech society in the homeland missed. Besides freethinkers and Catholics, there were self-made men who wanted to earn their living on their own, businessmen, young women supporting emancipation, and young renegades. Specific Czech-American subculture with its values and goals rose. Czechs also became politically conscious and ran for various offices in local and state politics.

Moreover, the members of the first generation did not forget their homeland and therefore visited their Bohemia for several times. These trips were only visits and excursions, no Czechs resettled in Bohemia again. (see Picture 13)

Newly established “Americká matice pro školy v Čechách“ in 1886 collected one thousand dollars and sponsored schools in the homeland. Generally, Czech-Americans sponsored and helped their fellow countrymen in Bohemia.

Czech socialists expelled from the empire found a refuge in America. Socialists, radicals and anarchists gathered in New York Cleveland and Chicago led by socialist editor Lev J. Palda.

Czechs who were born as the second generation in America did not speak Czech, even though their parents did. Herites (1913, 87) claims that the parents from the first immigrant generation were unhappy and cried when their children replied their questions only in English for they were not able to answer in Czech.

As a matter of fact, the children accepted the standards of American culture and gained the knowledge of the English language at schools. Unfortunately Czech descents did not have any relations towards Bohemia, their parents' homeland, moreover they considered it to be too far and too small.

Young Czechs studied at Catholic, Protestant and in evening schools, some even continued with their studies at universities. Thus Czech-American intelligentsia originated, in the cities of New York and Chicago. Among them we count many teachers, priests, physicians, lawyers, editors, ballet masters, architects, and photographers. First women graduating from universities appeared soon.

Although Czechs both preserved their traditions and customs and were nationally conscious, they usually did not regret the fact that they had left the homeland. For as to them, it was inevitable. Czechs were greatly affected by the American majority in the fields of politics, social policy, economy and culture. Therefore they could not avoid Americanization which could be only retarded, but not stopped. (Láska 1978, 28-29) (Chada 1981, 7-8), (Šatava 1989, 90-91), (Polišenský 1996, 86)

13.3 The Third Period (Mid 1890's to 1914)

It was estimated that about 86 000 Czechs lived in the United States in 1880. The fourteen years following 1900 accounted for the greater part of this sum as there were about 94.603 arrivals from 1900 to 1910 and 38.679 in the four years of 1910-1914 before the war. It was estimated that in 1914 about half a million of Czechs of the first and second generation lived in the United States. Czechs were mainly settled in Middle West towns and rural areas, besides New York and Texas. There were more than nearly 725 urban centres with more than one hundred Czechs living there, i.e. these towns and cities can be find in Texas, Wisconsin and Nebraska. The biggest Czech urban centre was Chicago in Illinois, though. It was followed by the New York City.

Czechs settled in every state of the United States, even in Alaska. However, Alaska was not the state with the highest Czech population, these were Illinois with nearly 130.000 Czechs and Nebraska and Ohio sharing the same figure of 50.000 Czech settlers. The smallest Czech population lived in the state of North Carolina with approximately sixteen Czechs.

Czechs as well as other nations tend to move to cities in the period before the World War I, thus only one third of all Czechs earned their living as farmers on fertile lands in the Midwestern American States and Texas. It was estimated that of Czech born abroad thirty-two percent of first-generation Czechs were farmers and later forty-two percent of the second generation worked on farms.

As to occupations, one could find many shopkeepers, labourers and tradesman in Czech rural communities. Some Czechs owned manufactures or small breweries. This period also favoured to changes in Czech press, therefore twelve dailies were published.

Czechs were more conscious than their fellow countrymen in Bohemia, but they lost ties to their homeland as they were more and more Americanized. (Láska 1978, 30-31), (Polišenský 1996, 84-85), (Chada 1981, 23-24)

According to Čapek (1920, 237) Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the head of the Realist Party in Bohemia, visited the United States twice, in 1902 and 1907. During his first stay, when he had been invited by Charles Crane - an industrialist, he gave a series of lectures at the University of Chicago on the topic *History of Small Nations* explaining political, national, economic and philosophical topics. He spoke also at Czech ethnic gatherings about the status of the Czechs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, his emphasis was on self determination of the nation.

In 1907 Masaryk joined the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston. In 1912 Francis Lutzow held a lecture tour around American universities, e.g. Columbia University or Yale, in order to have lectures on the Czech history: The Hussites, Jiří of Poděbrady or Jan Amos Komenský. In other words, he propagated the Czech lands and informed Americans about facts that had been earlier stated but were not true.

In 1911 active Czechs established “Česko-Americká národní rada” in order to represent Czechs-Americans in American society. This period is ended by the outbreak of the World War I which in fact did not affect an ordinary farmer’s life very much for Europe was located too far from the American borders. (Láska 1978, 44-45)

14 Czechs in the American Society

14.1. Czechs and the American Majority

Czechs were coming to the United States from rural and urban areas and consequently they settled in the same areas, either in cities or on farms. Czech immigrants arriving in America like other ethnic minorities, did not immediately accept the life standards, culture and other features of the American society.

Czechs kept their traditions, customs and ethnic wealth and did not tend to join the rest of the society for they did not find the bulk of the population pleasant and friendly.

However the constant aim of American authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century was totally opposite. Americans wanted the immigrants to relinquish their traditions, ideals and values for those of American society. This attitude of American society is defined as American conformity. (Chada 1981, 9)

In fact more successful in the fight towards Americanization were those whose lived in rural areas than fellow countrymen who lived in urban centres. They passed some attributes to their children, more or less successfully. As Hájková (2011, 16) claims Czechs living in rural areas were able to keep and preserve the traditions and customs they brought from Bohemia. This attitude towards Americanization was also supported by Czech schools, fraternal organizations and churches.

The day-to-day reality, though, finally led Czechs to dilemma. In case they wanted to be accepted and treated as equal by the American majority they had to somehow adapt to the American environment and its specific characteristics. Naturally, Czechs like other ethnics also underwent acculturation process.

As a matter of fact, in the course of years Czechs had to accept various American characteristics. However, their core sustained still for Czechs were able to keep some of their ethnic and cultural wealth. (Herites 1913, 51), (Chada 1981, 11)

The fact that Czech-Americans did not forget their homeland and roots is clearly presented in the book *Czech-American Historic Sites, Monuments and Memorials* by Miroslav Rechígl Jr.. One of the examples of monuments is according to Rechígl (2004, 23) Anton J. Čermák's monument erected in Bohemian National Cemetery in Idaho, Illinois.

As to Chada (1981, 2) and Šatava (1989, 79) one of the characteristic features of Czechs in America was that they were recognized by the native society as complete strangers. Czechs did not participate in the American Revolution in 1776 and did not have any personalities either. Moreover, there were no articles about Czechs in American newspapers. Unfortunately for Czechs, the situation did not change until the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. Czechs were doing their best to become widely known so they propagated themselves as descendants of Augustine Herrman or Moravian Brethren. In order to avoid their obscurity they publicized various materials about Czech history and culture.

In fact, an American felt the lack of books that dealt with Czechs and Bohemia. Some of the few books written before the World War I were Tomáš Čapek's *Slovak of Hungary, Slav and Pan Slavism*, Francis Lutzow's *Bohemia a Historical Sketch* or Emily Greene Balch's *Our Slavic Citizens* (Hájková 2011, 13)

For Czechs did not follow the usual standards which were expected by the American society, they were not accepted by the American majority. Polišíenský (1996, 81) states Czechs in America were called "Bohunks" (Bohemians and Hungarians). They also ranked among the emigrants of the first generation who did not meet the standards of "WASP" (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant). As the ideal immigrant was of white race, Protestant in faith and of Anglo-Saxon Origin.

Moreover, immigrants from Poland, Greece and Italia were not welcome either as Šatava (1989, 71) claims with Czechs they were also pejoratively nicknamed "PIGS" (Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slavs).

Besides, as Hájková (2011, 13) mentions Czechs were also called “Bohoes”, “Cheskey” and “Bootchkey”. Čapek (1920, 115) explains the roots of the name “Bootchkey” for it sprung from the streets of New York City because Americans often heard Czechs young boys yelling “počkej”. There was not therefore a long way from “Počkej” to “Bootchkey”.

Americans considered Bohemians as the nation of clans. This was a well-founded opinion, because Czechs really tended to move to rural areas and neighbourhoods in cities that had been already settled by fellow countrymen. Czechs living in Czech quarters had no need to study the English language for they seldom got in touch with people speaking English. It turned out that the ignorance of the language was a great Czech handicap. Czechs were not able to write or speak English. Meanwhile, English was a German language, whereas Czech totally differed as a member of the Slav language family. (Chada 1981, 3)

A change for the better was brought by the second generation of Czech-Americans, children who were able to speak English, attended American schools and joined Americans on various occasions.

In fact the Czech state of alienation was strengthened by the conflicts within the Czech society in America connected with the matters of religion and faith. As a matter of fact, church did not unite American Czechs as it did the Catholic Church among the Irish or German. However, Czechs found an alternative; instead of churches they gathered in fraternal organization, saloons and National Halls. (Čapek 1935, 111-113), (Bícha 1981, 33-34)

As to Polišenský (1992, 54) Czechs separated themselves into three main groups: Catholics, Protestants and Freethinkers.

According to Dubovický (2003, 15) one of the features of Czech immigrants was also “mail-order bride system” for Czechs settled in America looked for their future wives through advertisements published in Czech newspapers and in case they fell in love with a girl they never saw, they paid her a ship ticket.

The next typical highly positive feature was literacy, for most of the newly arrived Czechs were literate, which was not customary among other nations coming to America. (Chada 1970, 3) Šatava says (1989, 100) Czechs kept some traditional bounds with the old homeland.

Czechs were known for their typical cuisine as well as mushrooms they ordered and received in packages from Bohemia. Old women for example still wore scarves on

their heads as they did in the homeland. Young ladies, members of the second generation, changed the scarves for hats, though.

14.2 Czechs and Their Neighbours in the United States

Before their arrival Czechs had already known two ethnics that did not live in Europe. They knew Native Americans and African Americans. The Czechs with their previous experience from homeland felt sorry for the ethnics that suffered great privations, cultural and physical genocide on the American land.

Czechs rarely settled in the South of the United States as they were abolitionists and fought on Abraham Lincoln's side during the Civil War. Osvald (1909, 47) describes his stay in America in 1909 mentioning he was shocked when he saw African Americans in Washington D.C. As some blacks prepared his food in a restaurant, he did not want to eat anything they touched.

Even though Czechs were convinced Native Americans' territorial claims were legitimate, newly arrived settlers built their homes on the territories of Mississippi, Missouri and in the North and South Dakota. As a matter of fact, Czech settlers therefore contributed to exclusion and marginalisation of Native Americans. As for the areas they settled, Czechs often suffered Native American forays.

Březáček (1930, 139) mentions an incident at Beaver Creek, Kansas on October 1, 1878 for four Czech men were shot by Northern Cherokees and their house was burned down. Czech women were raped, horses and cattle were stolen. On the contrary, Březáček (1930, 115) also states that meeting Native American did not necessarily mean a negative experience. Josef Francl of Svojšice, for example, made friends with the Sioux Tribe he met in 1854 at Fort Laramie, Wyoming

As Hodges (1915, 15) reminds, newly arrived Czechs were friendly a trustworthy neighbours. The relations with other ethnics were always individual. Some were good some were bad. Generally, Czechs did not have good relations with the English, through no fault of theirs. The English were not thought to be immigrants, as their language was ruling the others. The English considered the later immigrants underdeveloped, thus they looked down on Czechs and Poles. The English wanted to cooperate just with the Scandinavians and Germans.

On the other hand, the closest relations were among Czechs and Germans, either from Germany, Switzerland or Austria. As a matter of fact, Czechs were able to speak German, they were transported on German ships, they read German newspapers and

went to German pubs. Marriages between both ethnics were common. American cities like New York, Chicago or Milwaukee may be examples of Czech-German settlements. Czechs also got on well with Poles, Slovaks and Jews. All over all, in rural area the ethnicity did not mean anything. (Polišenský 1992, 35-36), (Čapek 1935, 74-75) (Castles 1993, 46)

On the contrary, Čapek (1935, 47) states his parents were not in favour of his brother's marriage for he married a German girl.

Chada (1981, 3) sees a characteristic features of Czechs in relation between Czechs and Russians and Balkan nations. Although Czechs lived in the heart of Europe, they were familiar with these eastern neighbours.

14.3 Czech Families Living in America

Czech families arriving in America in the nineteenth century were characterized by establishing ethnic colonies and tended to be clannish. Therefore they were able to preserve their customs and traditions they brought from Bohemia and thus were able to retard assimilation.

The head of the Czech family was usually the father, however the most important family member was mother. The crucial decisions were made by both of them though. On the contrary to other Slavic families, Czech ones were not patriarchal.

The role of the mother was powerful but she had also a wide range of responsibilities.

She raised her children and looked after the household. Moreover, women living in urban centres worked in shops or manufactures, those who lived on farms worked on the farmlands and maintained orchards. Generally, Czech women were known as great cooks.

Czech children were often absent from school for they had to contribute to the family income. They worked on the farmlands for a certain part of the year or collected coal or sold newspapers in the urban centres. When in school, children were educated in English therefore they were soon Americanized and able to speak English. As to Čapek (1920, 101) the knowledge of the English language was highly important for the children's future as it bettered the social and economic status in the society.

Czechs often married members of the same ethnic group. Thus the assimilation with the American society was sometimes retarded. However, Czech girls and boys often married member of other nations, mainly Germans, Austrian, Poles and

Hungarians. On the other hand, there were not many intermarriages between Czechs and Latin Americans or Spaniards.

In addition, a few Czech girls married Cuban cigar workers who they had met in New York cigar manufactures. (Čapek 1920, 96-98), (Bicha 1980, 57-58), (Dubovický 2003, 22)

14.4 Czech Organizations in America

Czechs living in American urban centres and rural communities gathered in various ethnic organizations based on the principle of religious belief, political attitude or cultural interest. These fraternal and benevolent organizations were not unique because all other national groups in America founded similar organizations. However Czechs were pioneers of fraternal organizations as their first was founded in 1850 (Šatava 1989, 79)

Some of the noticeable Czech organizations were for example ČSPS and American Sokol. ČSPS (*Česko-Slovanská Podporující Společnost*) was founded in St. Louis, Missouri in 1854. This first meeting of this fraternal organization was held in Jakub Mottl's saloon. All fellow countrymen were invited to join, except for Catholics. This fraternal organization served as a primitive insurance agency as the members were regularly charged and in case of a death or injury the relatives obtained a certain sum of money. Besides, this organization held various cultural and educational events, choirs, theatre performances, sponsored school education and built national halls. This organization supported the idea of Czech national consciousness among Czech Americans as well as integration of Czechs to the American society. Chada (1981, 139-140)

In 1865, the first American Sokol organization was founded in St. Louis, Missouri as well. Thus purely Czech gymnastic organization, with roots in Prague of 1862, became the most popular Czech fraternal organization with nearly seven thousand Sokol lodges throughout the States. (see Picture 14) This organization did not propagate only the importance of physical exercising, but also nationalistic, liberal and educational thoughts. (Láska 1978, 21), (Hájková 2011, 19) The American Sokols were in contact with the Czech members and visited each other regularly. Osvald (1909, 29) in his books mentions the Czech Sokol visit to the United States in 1909 which was led by Dr. Josef Schreier. American Sokols gave Czechs a warm welcome when they arrived in the Port of New York.

Láska (1978, 22) adds that also women founded their own organisations. There were in total five major Czech women's organisations in America. The first of them was Jednota Dcer Vlasty established in New York in 1868.

14.5 Czechs and Their Faith

The question of the Czech faith developed in a distinctive feature of the Czech-American society. There was a fight in the minds of Czechs coming from Bohemia in the 1850's. As they lived under the Habsburg rule, Catholicism was somehow a prescribed religion, closely linked to the authorities. However, the Revolution of 1848 brought along great changes affecting religious matters. Thus, after reaching the American land Czechs clearly showed their attitude towards the Catholic Church. Thus, like Germans, they broke up with Rome. This split with Catholicism played an important role in the future Czech-American life. It affected social and economic conditions as well as relations among Czech-Americans. Most of the Czechs emigrants became freethinkers, for the fundamentals of freethinking were humanistic and non-confessional. According to Šatava (1989, 109-110) Czechs by their choice of freethinking did not reject the religion, only the Catholic Church.

In fact, the situation of Czech Catholics in America was not enviable. Lives of Czech newcomers were hard even without the religious disputes. Czech Catholics remained alone. Their fellow countrymen became freethinkers, liberals or Protestants. Czech Catholics missed churches, did not have any clergy and the Austrian Authorities did not want to assist them in the fight for the faith. Therefore they had to go to German and Polish churches. The Catholic Church played many roles, from a refuge for the worshippers to a cultural centre. The parishes organized various cultural and social events and maintained schools. As to Láska (1978, 12) the first Czech Catholic church in the United States was built in 1854 in St. Louis, Missouri. As a matter of fact, as in Bohemia ninety-six percent of inhabitants were officially Catholics of faith in the United States only one third of all Czech emigrants remained steadfast in the Catholic faith. (see Picture 15)

The freethinking movement was very popular among other Slavic minorities living in the USA, but supporters exceeded them all. Czech-American cultural life could not exist without various active Czech freethinkers who were often editors of Czech newspapers and politically active individuals. Consequently, Czech freethinkers were usually not members of any of the American Churches. Czech freethinking movement

was distinguished by its moralistic attitude, although it was not fanatical. Freethinkers also tried to solve various social problems. They distinguished religious and political matters and believed in equality of both sexes. Freethinkers were members of cultural and social institutions, fraternal lodges and Sokols. (Chada 1981, 23-24), (Herites 1913, 93), (Dubovický 2003, 24), Pelant (1920, 33)

Láska (1978, 30) illustrates the religious disputes among Czechs with an incident from Chicago, Illinois on June 12, 1887. Catholic crowd led by a local priest disrupted a meeting of the Methodist Sunday School. The Methodists had to leave the building through a back door for the crowd was demolishing the furniture in the house. Thus, the following meetings of Methodists were guarded by the police.

An incident at a school in Bohemia, New York was made public in 1888 as Josef Nohovec and his friends expressed opposition to religious pictures that were put on a wall in a classroom. Later, the pictures had to be removed. (Herites 1913, 94)

14.6 Czechs and American Politics

As Chada (1981, 3) states Czechs were at a disadvantage because of their former political system. After their arrival, Czechs were surprised by the representative and parliamentary government of the United States thus it took considerably long time till they gained an insight into American political system.

Czechs in America always supported the American Democratic Party, except for those living in Nebraska who voted for Democrats. The Czechs of the second generation more often acquired for American citizenship as well as they were interested in the right to vote.

On the other, hand until the 1880's there were not many Czechs who would run for public offices, so from this point of view, Czechs were rather passive. As to Chada (1981, 18) and Herites (1913, 111) Czechs lacked self-assuredness and aggressiveness.

This first honourable exception represented Edward Rosewater who was in 1870 elected to Nebraska Territorial Legislature. When he was in his office, he contributed to the foundation of the Omaha Board of Education. Numerous compatriots then followed his example and hold seats in various bureaus in Wisconsin, Nebraska or Texas. The year 1906 brought a huge success to Adolph J. Sabath who became Congressman in Washington D.C. He supported Czechs living in America and propagated the idea of the sovereign Czechoslovakian state. (Chada 1981, 30), (Čapek 1920, 88)

14.7 Czech Literature in America

Šatava (1987, 103) observes that there were not many books written by Czech-American authors and that the writers were always put in shade by newspaper editors from various dailies, weeklies, etc. Thus we may find many writers and poets among editors as well as many prose works or poems printed in newspapers, alongside of classic articles and news.

The year 1865 was essential for the Czech-American literature because Charles Jonáš in Racine, Wisconsin finally acquired the Czech diacritic types and printed the first issue of *Bohemia English Interpreter*. Afterwards the first original Czech book in America was written by Charles Procházka. The title of Procházka's book was simple: *Pravda*. In comparison with the Czech press, *Slowan Amerikánský*, the first newspaper, was printed in 1860. Finally, F. B. Zdrůbek published his *English Grammar* written for Czech immigrants studying the English language. (Čapek 1920, 160)

Čapek (1920, 165) explains why there were only dozens of Czech books available to people in America. As common Czech-Americans could not spend money like water, they primarily bought food and drink, then they dressed up their family and if they had some spare money, they bought newspapers. In their busy lives they did not have enough time to read books. They were happy if they managed to read the weeklies.

The most important Czech publishers in America like August Geringer from Chicago, John Rosický in Chicago, Antonín Novák in Milwaukee and Charles Jonáš in Racine always claimed there were many authors who wanted to have their books published. Besides, these writers were gifted and talented, but the Czech-American society did not buy and read books.

(Čapek 1935, 132)

On the contrary, Láška (1977, 33) denies indifference towards Czech and international literature among Czech readers in America. In October 1887 Jan Rosický, a publisher from Omaha, Nebraska, started to publish the popular *Knihovna americká*, a semi-monthly Czech-written book that got the audience familiar with the authors like Verne, Dumas, Arbes, or Jirásek.

One of the greatest initiatives in the Czech-American prose was the translation of *Babička (Grandmother)* by Božena Němcová. Not having known that, France Gregor in 1850 had contributed greatly to the Czech-American literature and anti-Americanization of Czech children, as this book was read, a child could have a glimpse at Czech rural

life. Another of her original works was *The History of Bohemia* that she wrote after her stay in Bohemia.

Čapek (1920, 204) reminds the list of authors would not be complete without Josephine Humpal-Zeman (1870-1906) a newspaper writer and advocate of women's suffrage who introduced *Amerika v pravém světle* to her Prague audience in 1903. (Čapek 1920, 206)

In the field of poetry, Czech poets could be represented by František Hlaváček, L.W. Dongres or Jan V. Brož with his collection of poems *The Prairie* and John Vránek, an author of *On American Soil*. After these pioneer authors from the 1890's, many other poets carried on the proud tradition of Czech-American poetry. (Láska 1977, 35)

As Čapek (1920, 210) explains there could be found two principal history book in Czech-American libraries. The first one was published by Joseph Čermák. His *History of the United States* became very popular as well as his other book dedicated to Sokol trainers *Physical Training, Being a Practical Aid to Čech American Instructors of Youth*. In 1910 Jan Habenicht, a Chicago physician, wrote a unique piece describing the history of the Czechs in the United States, widely known as *Dějiny Čechův amerických*.

14.8 The Czech Press

Czech-American press is thought to be one of the most distinctive features of Czechs living in America for there were numerous titles offered to the reading audience in thousands of copies.

Moreover, Czech press helped to preserve the national identity a consciousness. From the year 1860 to the end of 1910 about 339 serial newspapers were printed in the United States. The newspapers varied in orientation: some were Catholic, Protestant or Freethinkers'

In the matters of religion, some were neutral, while in the field of politics they were Socialist or left of the centre. Some newspapers were primarily local, while the others gained attention of the whole state. Moreover, the audiences greatly differed too, some were orientated towards women, children, farmers or physicians while the others dealt with themes of law, physical exercises, and humour. (see Picture 16) (Láska 1978, 42), (Čapek 1920, 170-171)

The first Czech published newspaper on the continent was the *Slowan Amerikánský*. This semi-monthly and weekly was edited and printed by a former mason and musician František Kořízek. The first newspaper was published in Racine, Wisconsin in the early morning of January 1, 1860. On the contrary, Jan Erben's *Národní noviny* began publication on January 21, 1860 in St. Louis, Missouri. As these two newspapers did not have enough subscribers, they merged under the name *Slavie*, published in Racine since 1861. A few famous editors contributed to the fame of the newspaper, namely Fratišek Mráček, Vojtěch Mašek and Charles Jonáš. For nearly one hundred years, this newspaper played the major role in Czech-American press. With subscribers throughout the whole United States it presented objective American and international news. The newspaper contained various articles, news, information for newly arrived settlers, and advertisements (Čapek 1911, 81- 90)

The most important dailies before the World War I were *Spravedlnost* edited by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in America, Catholic *Národ* and Freethinker's *Svornost* edited by August Geringer, printed in Chicago.

Among the most important newspapers printed in New York ranked *Newyorské Listy*, and labourers' *Hlas Lidu* while the leading role in Nebraska played *Hospodář* and *Pokrok Západu* edited by Jan Rosický from Omaha. (Čapek, 1920, 185-188), (Šatava 1984, 124-125)

Láska (1978, 30) illustrates the history of the Czech press with the example of *Chicagské listy*, a small ethnic paper. Being published from 1882 to 1884 by J. V. Matějka it was initially a daily, a weekly, and by-weekly. As it was very successful with the audience at one time, it had also an evening edition. On the other hand it suspended publication several times and in the end it was not able to be in competition with the rival *Svornost*.

14.9 Personalities of Czech-American Life in Nineteenth Century

Although there were many nameless Czech immigrants arriving in America in the nineteenth century, some of them rendered themselves famous not only among fellow countrymen, but also in the whole American society.

František Korbela (1831-1920), a victim of the Revolution of 1848, and his brothers started their American lives as cigar makers in New York. In 1862 they moved to California where they manufactured cigar boxes. Finally, they bought redwood forests and founded winery in Sonoma, California. They produced wine and champagne with the trademark Korbela and Bros., Co. Moreover, Austrian Government surprised at his huge business success appointed František Korbela a consul in America. Former revolutionist therefore became a politician in the service of Austria. (Chada 1981, 36)

Osvald (1909, 128) remembers his visit to Korbela's Chicago factory as he took a part of Sokol stay in America in 1909. He admired the Korbels and their achievements. Mark Bridle (e-mail message, February 14, 2012) thinks Korbela's story is fascinating for after escaping prison in Bohemia and various American adventures he became a wealthy Californian entrepreneur. As he states Korbela Champagne is still popular with Americans. (see Picture 17) Furthermore, one town in Humboldt County in California is named after the Korbels.

Dr Aleš Hrdlička (1869-1943) arrived in the United States in 1882. He was a respected anthropologist who gained reputation all over the world. He founded the American Journal of Physical Anthropology and the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. (Čapek 1935, 205)

Adolph Joachim Sabath (1866-1952) left for the United States from Zábok in 1881 and settled in Chicago, Illinois. He studied at the Chicago Law School and later became a member of the Democratic Party in Chicago. Afterwards he was elected to the American Congress. He served as a Democratic Congressman from 1907 to 1952 (Rehčigl 1987, 25)

As to Pelant (1919, 60) Sabath advocated old age pensions and friendly immigration policy. Thus Sabath was popular with his fellow countrymen as he supported Czech immigrants in America. For example Sokols appreciated his contributions to Czech Americans during their stay in America in 1909. (Osvald 1909, 48)

There were many other Czechs that gained respect and fame in America.

Rehcígl (1998,13) mentions for example Antonín Čermák, the Mayor of Chicago, Illinois, who saved Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the American President, or Albín Polášek, a famous sculptor living in Chicago. (see Picture 18)

PART II

15 The Survey-Specific Stories

As I wanted to gain information on particular Czech emigrants, who settled in America and compare this information and facts with the facts I gathered from books, I have decided to contact Czech-Americans living in the United States, preferably some descendants of immigrants who settled in America from 1800 to 1914.

Thus, from January to March 2012 I sent approximately four hundred e-mail messages-requests asking for participation in my survey focused on the emigration to the United States from the year 1800 to the year 1914. The e-mail addresses used I found on the web pages of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Adresář Krajanských spolků - USA* and web pages of Krajane.net: *Krajanské spolky a organizace-Spojené státy americké* However, these e-mail directories have not been updated, thus about thirty percent of the messages returned as “undeliverable”.

Fortunately, some messages reached their addressees. First, I was often suggested useful sources of information such as various books, brochures and magazines. Secondly, many people stated they were later Czech emigrants of 1968, therefore they could not assist me with my dissertation.

Some of the people also said they were passed the e-mail from their friends or colleagues. As Rosemary Davis stated, she was given my message from the priest Mons. Dušan Hladík, of Chicago Mission, Illinois.

Surprisingly, the first person who shared the story of her ancestors with me was Eva Bulova, my great-aunt, my grandfather's sister from the father's side of the family. She married Jan Bulova, a member of Prague side of Bulova family. As we have never talked about her husband and his family for it was a taboo, I highly appreciated the fact she had decided to tell me a few words about Joseph Bulova, a watchmaker and her husband's great-uncle. Later on, I was contacted by seven other people who provided me with information on their ancestors. Their histories follow.

16 The Emigrants' Stories in Contrast to the Overall Character of Czech Emigration Overseas between 1800-1914

16.1 Joseph Bulova

Joseph Bulova was born in Louny in 1851. He had one older brother, Dr. Josef Adolf Bulova (1840-1903), who was my great-uncle's grandfather. Eva Bulova (2012) states Dr. Bulova was well known Prague physician, philosopher, Darwinist and the author of religious texts. Dr. Bulova had strong ties to Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk as they regularly visited each other, discussing social and political problems of the Czech nation. Dr. Bulova was married and had two children Jiří and Jana

Joseph Bulova, a trained watchmaker and jeweller, took interest in leaving Prague for New York, The United States.(see Picture 19 and Picture 20) Eva Bulova (2012) claims Joseph had no other reason, he was just adventurous and he was desirous of America. In 1870 at the age of nineteen, Joseph arrived in Manhattan, New York. Dubovický (2003, 18) states that landing in this port supports the idea of overall emigration to America as this was the busiest port with Czech immigrants. As to Šatava (1992, 54-55) many young skilled Czechs left for the homeland for they were adventurous and wanted to explore America. It is clear that Bulova's voyage to America meets the criteria of overall Czech emigration to America.

After some time, Joseph wrote a letter to his brother asking for a certain sum of money because he needed financial funds for opening and running his own jewellery shop on Maiden Lane in Lower Manhattan. This was not common because Czech immigrants usually sent money to Bohemia to their poorer relatives, not vice versa. (Čapek 1935, 26)

Josef always supported his brother's ideas so he immediately sent a package containing money to New York. That is remarkable. Thanks to his brother's help from Prague, Joseph was able to start his own business in New York as he desired. He proudly named his jewellery shop "J. Bulova".

The first day when Joseph opened his shop was the day when the worldwide known "Bulova Watch Company" was born. Vice versa, after his brother's death, Joseph subsidized his sister-in-law in Prague. In 1880, Joseph met his future wife

Bertha and one year later they got married. Four years later, in 1884, Joseph was naturalized.

Eva Bulova (2012) says Joseph was very skilled, handy and precise. He surpassed all expectations and outdid all jewellers in New York. His commitment, innovation and artistry lead to fame all over the city. The recipe for success was hidden in the year 1912 when Joseph established his first plant for wristwatch components in Bienne, Switzerland. Thus all Bulova watches were hallmarked “Bulova Suisse” The components were fabricated via assembly line and sent overseas where the watches were completed. More plants were erected in the years to come in Swiss cities Geneva and Neuchatel.

Dubovický (2003, 42) states that Joseph Bulova was one of the most successful businessmen overseas whose company is world wide known, even in the Czech Republic. Also, his start was remarkable, as he firstly borrowed some money from his brother in the homeland. Joseph had nine children, eight daughters and one son Arde (1889-1958) who took over the company after his father’s death in 1936. (Eva Bulova 2012, pers. comm., May 15)

Bulova is a world-wide known company producing wristwatches, radio-clocks and clocks. In 1920, the company introduced itself to American customers via the first radio-commercial in America. In the history, there were also many famous people wearing Bulova watches, i.e. Charles A. Lindberg, and later astronauts from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) for the company cooperated with this national agency. Besides business, the company took interest in retirees’ social conditions in New York and thus established old people’s home. Moreover, Bulova founded Bulova School of Watchmaking for disabled veterans who were returning from the Pacific and Europe after the end of the World War II. Finally, Bulova also sponsored the return of Jews to Israel.

Nowadays, there are many wall clocks marked Bulova in railway stations throughout the whole United States remembering that nearly every American is familiar with this brand. (Bulova Watch Company website), (Dubovický 2003, 42) (Eva Bulova 2012, pers. comm., May 15)

16.2 Josef Vaško

Josef Vaško, Mark Bigaouette's great grandfather, was born in 1864 in Čermná (nowadays Dolní Čermná). His older sister left for America in 1889 and she wrote letters to her brother to join her in the States for the life in America was great. Thus Josef emigrated to America with his wife Rosalie Janda and three children in 1891. As Kutnar (1964, 57) reminds letters that were sent overseas to relatives in Bohemia were a great source of information about America for potential emigrants and played a vital role in the process of the decision making. As a matter of fact, we can see a typical reason for leaving the homeland for America. They landed at Castle Garden, in New York. They continued on their way to Wisconsin as Josef's sister had been living there.

After short time they bought a farm outside of Sun Prairie, Wisconsin (near Madison, WI). Herites (1913, 28) states that there were many Czech farmers who settled in the area for the land was fertile. In America Rosalie Vaško gave birth to thirteen children, in total they had sixteen children. Mark Bigaouette's grandfather Joseph was the oldest child born in America, in 1892. The family decided this area of Wisconsin had too many Germans and they wanted to live with more Czech people, so in 1912, they moved to Silver Lake, Minnesota (near Minneapolis). On the contrary, Čapek (1935, 74) states that Czechs in America were often bound to Germans by friendship.

In 1919 Rosalie died because her state of health was bad due to numerous deliveries. Josef was not able to take care of all his children, and therefore decided to return to the homeland alone. In fact, he left his children to their own devices. When he was in America, the independence of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed on October 28, 1918 so in 1920 he came back to his native village in the new Czechoslovak Republic. He got married again and had another son. In total he had seventeen children. Joseph, Bigaouette's grandfather, had to raise all his younger brothers and sister.

When his siblings were older and left home, he decided to get married. He wanted a real Czech woman, not an American or Czech-American so he went back to Czechoslovakia in 1928 and lived with his father for a year. He fell in love with a local girl from Kyšperk (Letohrad nowadays). He married Marie Kubíček (the girl) in 1929. On the day of their wedding, he was thirty-eight and she was twenty-one years old. They came back to Minnesota, worked hard as farmers, and retired in New Prague, Minnesota. They had three children, the middle child was Marcella, Mark Bigaouette's mother. (Mark Bigaouette, E-mail message, March 23, 2012)

16.3 Josef Hrdý

Rosemary Davis's grandparents Jana and Josef Hrdý, her mother Mary and uncle were of peasant origin living in a village near Plzeň in Bohemia. They decided to leave for Chicago, Illinois, in 1911. They chose Chicago for some of the family relatives had already lived there. As to Pelant (1919, 20) relatives living in America could secure jobs and lodgings for relatives who decided to follow them in their footsteps to America. (Kutnar 1964, 14) adds that mainly people of peasant background left for America. Her mother, aged 19, went to work in a tailor factory like her parents. As to Čapek (1920, 84) being employed as a tailor was a typical Czech feature. Mary got married in 1920. She and her husband, John Veselý, read an article in a Czech newspaper at that time, that a town of Meadowlands, Minnesota looked for Czech settlers. (see Picture 23 and Picture 24) Čapek (1920, 32) adds that advertisements in Czech and American newspapers were used to lure people into buying new houses and land in new areas.

As the town was establishing a Czech farming community John found it as a great opportunity for he did not like the hustle and bustle of Chicago. He moved his wife and her parents. On the contrary, Polišínský (1996, 84-85) states, that Czechs moved mainly to urban centres while only one third of them lived in the rural areas, at that time. They moved into a house that had been owned by some Finnish immigrants who moved away. (see Picture 25, Picture 26 and Picture 27). They also bought forty acres of land and acquired milk cows, raised chickens and gardens. The life there was harsh with inhospitable climate of long cold snowy winters. Thus, after some time they moved to Illinois, where in 1931 their daughter Rosemary was born. (Rosemary Davis, E-mail message, February 18, 2012).

For sure, this departure and its continuation meet the criteria of the overall Czech emigration overseas. As to Pelant (1919, 20) relatives who settled in America could cause that their relatives in Bohemia followed them in their footsteps. Čapek (1920, 74) claims that many Czech immigrants were employed as tailors. Naturally, Kutnar (1964, 14) adds that mainly people of peasant background left for the country as they knew the environment from the homeland and were used to life in the countryside.

16.4 Václav Šafránek

As to Evelyn Fergle (Fergle 2012) her grandfather Václav Šafránek was of peasant background. He spent three years in the cavalry of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the 1880's and did not want to return to farming in Brtníkov. Her grandmother Anna Malý from Chotěšov was also of peasant background. She had only a minimum of school education for her mother had died in childbirth when Anna was seven so after two years of school attendance, she was farmed out to work as a goose-girl for a neighbour at the age of nine. Thus future of both was fairly limited.

After marrying Anna Šafránek in the late 1890's, the couple moved to Ústí nad Labem settling in Růžová ulice. Mary, their first daughter and Evelyn's mother was born in 1896 and the second daughter Hedwig was born in 1900.

Václav Šafránek worked in a sugar beet refinery in Ústí nad Labem while his wife studied at German school. Later, Anna joined his husband in the refinery and did auxiliary works like picking coal. While the parents worked, older Mary had to take care of her sister Hedwig. It was a very hard and demanding life.

Václav Šafránek left for America in 1904-1905 in order to seek for a more prosperous and better life. Arriving in Chicago, the city offered more opportunities. He had several jobs but later found relatively permanent employment in the round house of a Railroad Company in Chicago. Later, he sent the letter with money enclosed to his wife to pay for the ships tickets to join him in America. Anna and her daughters followed the head of the family in 1907. Polišenský (1992, 55) confirms that poorer families of peasant background usually saved up for one ship ticket and sent to America the oldest son or father who saved up to buy ship tickets for the rest of the family.

After a two-week voyage in 1907 the family settled in the Chicago area, initially in several locations as they had connections with previous Czechs. They lived in the neighbourhoods that were predominantly Czech. Březáček (1930, 12) adds that Chicago was a centre of the Czech community in the United States offering many jobs to handy people, therefore it is not a surprise that the family settled there. Once in Chicago, Anna Šafránek began washing clothes for the Bohemia Jewish ladies in the neighbourhood and also washed floors in the nearby saloon owned by Mr. Tancl.

Although their daughter Mary was eleven, she was placed in a second grade at the Von Humboldt School for she did not speak any English. Fortunately her teacher was of German origin so she could communicate in German with him. As a gifted child, Mary learned the English language in one year. To contribute to the family income,

Marry and her sister had to carry the washed and ironed clothes to the women their mother did the wash for and they also got a nickel a week for lighting the candles for the Jewish family on Friday nights. At the age of fourteen, Marry had to leave school to go to work. She got work at a tailor shop. As to Herites (1913, 80) Czech children were often made to leave schools in order to find a job and contribute to the family income. When she was 16, a Czech man offered classes for the immigrant women so Mary learned to make button holes and continued to work at tailor shops like Hart Schaffner Marx, a big employer of immigrant girls and women. Čapek (1978, 84) claims that Czech men and women were often employed as tailors. Even though she had only formal education to the fifth grade she bought a newspaper *Denni Hlasatel* every day from that time on. This was the way she taught herself to read and write in the Czech language.

Láska (1978, 72) states that Czech press was popular with the audience and this was reflected by the numerous papers and publications that were published. Marry enjoyed herself being able to speak both Czech and English.

Due to combined income of the parents and their frugality (a typical feature of Czech-Americans) the family was able to buy a large two-flat house on the northwest side of Chicago. The family did not engage in Bohemian clubs and organizations since they were busy working. They were sociable and well-known in the area, though.

The family remembered the homeland every day as Anna made a typical Chotěšov homemade soup every day, moreover “knedlicky” and “zeli” and other Czech typical dishes were served every day. (Evelyn Krenek Fergle, E-mail message, April 4, 2012) In addition, many Czech families kept preparing Czech traditional food to remember their homeland (Šatava 1989, 100)

As Kutnar (1964, 14) confirms Czechs leaving homeland were usually peasants looking for better living conditions in America, therefore Šafránek’ emigration meets the criteria of overall Czech emigration to America.

16.5 Thomas Mašek

As Sharon Masek Lopez remembers (Masek Lopez 2012), her great-grandfather Thomas Mašek was born in a village in the Central Bohemia Region in 1865. When Thomas was fourteen, his father died. Thus as the only son, Thomas had to start to work and earn money for the family.

In 1880 John fled from his homeland because he was feared of the compulsory military service in The Austrian Army. In other words, Thomas deserted but he managed to cross the border, though. According to Polišíenský (1992, 55) evading the compulsory military service was one of the common reasons for leaving the country for soldiers had to serve several years. He headed for the United States for some of his relatives had already been living there. According to Pelant (1919, 20) Czechs living in America always helped their newly arrived relatives. As a matter of fact, Thomas found a refuge in Cleveland, Ohio at his family. With help from his relatives he found a job as an undertaker. When he earned his first wages he immediately sent it to other family members who had stayed in Bohemia. Čapek (1935, 26) confirms, this was typical of foreign immigrants to sponsor their fellow countrymen.

It was again in Cleveland where Thomas met his future wife Barbara. She was born in Prague in 1875. Some Barbara's relatives had already been living in Cleveland and they invited her and her family to join them in America. They accepted the offer from the family and arrived in America in 1885. Herites (1913, 101-102) claims that Cleveland was one of the centres of the Czech community in America. While living in Cleveland, Thomas and Barbara had four children. Thomas did various jobs but he earned his living mainly as a plumber. In 1909 the family was persuaded by friends to move to South Dakota. They settled on a farm near Geddes. The fifth child, Anna, was born there. At this time, however Americans usually moved to cities. (Polišíenský 1996, 84-85) The Mašeks were members of the Catholic Church. However, Thomas rowed with a local priest, because the priest asked twenty-four dollars charge to baptise his daughter, Anna Mašek. This sum of money was unacceptable for the family as they did not have any savings. In Thomas's eyes the church failed because the priest insisted on paying the money even though he had known the family was needy. Because of this incident, the family left the Church. Thomas died on the farm in 1928, at the age of sixty-three. His wife, Barbara, died in 1959. (Sharon Masek Lopez, E-mail message to the author. February 3, 2012)

16.6 George Veseley

As Fran Fricke (Fricke 2012) remembers her maternal grandparents had not met each other in Bohemia. George Veseley, whose grandfather left Bohemia in 1903 and whose grand-mother Anna Blaha left in 1907. The both went via German port Bremen seeking for new prosperous lives in America but her grandfather landed in Baltimore, Maryland and his future wife landed in New York. As to Davidson et al. (1990, 687) these ports were the busiest ones in America for they dealt with thousands of immigrants every day. Kutnar adds (1964, 58) that leaving the homeland for a better future in America was a typical motive for emigrants. Maybe, the most common reason among emigrants.

It is not verified but George and Anna probably met in New York. When they married they moved to Toledo, Ohio for the rest of their lives. George Veseley worked as riveter in the Toledo shipyards and Anna ran a confectionary store which was located in the front part of their house. Anna also worked in the sugar beets fields on the Ohio border with Michigan.

They lived in the Czech neighbourhood of the city and her grandfather founded the Sokol Moravian group which had a hall near their house. As avid Sokols, they led their daughters to sports and thus both were wonderful athletes. Not only the family were very sporty, but also patriots who bought and read Czech newspapers every day. Hájková (2011, 19) adds and confirms that Sokol was the most popular Czech fraternal organization with people who were interested in sports and Czech culture and society.

In addition, the family were on good terms with Hungarian neighbours and Anna Veseley could talk to them in their native language. (Fran Fricke, E-mail message, March 7, 2012)

16.7 Mathias Vojik

JoAnn Dostal (Dostal 2012) states her great-grandparents, Matthias Vojik, his wife Kateřina (Katherine) son Štěpán (see Picture 29) and their daughter Marie arrived in December 1853 in Castle Garden, New York. There were many Czechs from the same Bohemian area who came on the same ship. The ship was a sailing vessel named Bark Hansa. Her great-grandparents left their home in Těšínov, Southern Bohemia in early 1853 as they wanted to start a more prosperous farming life in America.

According to Kutnar (1996, 14-15) southern Bohemia became one of the centres of emigration at that time as some peasants were looking for better life in the “New World”. Their neighbours John Kostka, his wife Kateřina and their daughters Marie and Kateřina travelled with them.

The journey was anything but pleasant, they travelled in the hold sections of the sailing vessel, the conditions were crowded, they had to depend on the wind direction and as a result the voyage took six weeks. Many emigrants became ill before reaching the American port, sadly Kostka’s daughter Kateřina too. She died aboard and was buried at sea. Finally, their ship landed on December 13, 1853. This description is highly realistic as Polišínský (1996, 26) states.

They knew of a Czech Settlement in Cleveland, Ohio where they stayed during the winter with some families that had already lived there. In the spring, they set off on a journey to Iowa via the Ohio River to the Mississippi River which is the East border of Iowa and on to Davenport and Dubuque. There they went to the land office and purchased forty acres of the land from the U.S. Government for 1 dollar. This was land in the Howard County, Northeast Iowa that was open to new settlements. There had already been some fellow countrymen who had settled there and this drew the new people that wanted land for farming.

Before they could build a shelter on their land, her ancestors took a shelter in abandoned barracks in Fort Atkinson. Their first shelter on their land was a house built of sod. Later, they were able to build a big wooden house. Initially, they had to work very hard and therefore they soon prospered and consequently the farm grew to over 150 acres. The family earned their living growing grain for their animals, wheat and rye for flour and had a large vegetable garden. As to Chada (1987, 31) this is overall description of Czech farmers starting their farms.

Her great-grandparents, Matthias and Kateřina had nine children and all farmed in this area of Iowa. The farm was then passed on to her grandfather John and his wife Emailie Lukeš. (see Picture 30) They had six children including her father Frank. John died at the age of forty-two of a heart attack leaving his wife to raise the children. Her father Frank was the next generation to take over the farm. He and his wife, Clara Koudelka Voyek had three children including JoAnn Dostal. (see Picture 31 and Picture 32)) All the children were well educated and none of them wanted to go into farming so her parents sold the farm in 1968. (JoAnn Dostal, e-mail messages February 17 and 20, 2012)

16.8. The Kasiks Emigrations

16.8.1 Václav Kasik

Václav Kasik was born in Kladruby, No. 3 in 1839. Václav was the second child of Václav and Josefa Kasik. He had 5 siblings, two sisters (Anna and Marie) and 3 brothers (Matyáš, Filip and Jan).

In 1855, when Václav was 16, his older sister married Jan Belšan. Václav's wedding was celebrated a few years later. Marie, his wife, was born in Kralovice in 1845. Václav became a large farm owner and played an important role in the economic and social life of the village. Besides farming, he devoted his time to pig and cattle slaughtering. He became a well-known local butcher and earned his living by travelling around villages as people invited him to their homes.

The family moved to Bujesily near Kladruby in 1865. Vojtěch Kasik, his uncle, with his family had already lived in the village earlier. In 1867 Marie gave birth to their first daughter, Anna. This year made the family happy twice for Václav also became the mayor of Kladruby. Václav's second child, Marie, was born in 1868.

In 1865, the Kasiks received the first information about emigration to America. They read an emigrant's letter that circulated in Kladruby. Polišenský (1996, 27) adds that emigration letters were so much important in the terms of emigration, that they were confiscated by the Government. The economic conditions in the region were not favourable thus the possibility of a new and better life in America was tempting. Václav, a skilled farmer and butcher, considered leaving for America as a unique opportunity for the family and did not want to snatch it.

In 1867 Václav's cousin Filip from Kočkov emigrated with his wife and son. Following his brother's footsteps, Josef of Kočkov started a journey to the New World in 1884. Consequently, Václav began intensively planning his family emigration. By then, their children Václav (James), Filip, František (Frank) and Růžena (Rose) had been born. The last two children, Albina and Jaroslav, were born in 1882 and 1885. Definitely, Václav carefully drew a plan of his family emigration.

Václav (James) as the oldest son got ready for the emigration. Polišenský (1992, 55) declares it was a typical feature of emigration overseas that the oldest son of the family left for America as the first family member to get to know some facts about the life in America. As a sixteen-year-old boy he left in 1887 and probably settled in Czech

immigrants' area known as Pilsen in Chicago, Illinois. With help from his father's cousins, he found a new home and job. Václav sent home some letters announcing, the situation in the United States was better than it had been in the homeland.

As a result, Filip followed his older brother to America. He was also sixteen years old and found a job as a butcher. By 1890, Václav Kasik was ready to carry out his plan. After the fall harvest, in September 1890, he sold his house in Bujesily and prepared the family for the journey. His eldest daughter Marie had got married to František Bouda a few years earlier. Her son, Václav Bouda, was born in July 1889. The Bouda family and the rest of Kasiks left for America in September 1890.

Unfortunately, Marie died in the United States when her son was a few years old. After her death, her husband and son returned back to Bohemia and settled in Borek, the České Budějovice Region. Surprisingly, in October 1903, her son, Václav, returned to America at the age of fourteen. He sailed to New York on the ship called Furst Bismarck, probably accompanied by some neighbours from Kladruby who decided to emigrate too. Filip headed for his uncle Filip's residence at 1032 W. 19th St. in Chicago. His grandparents, uncles and aunts were happy that he rejoined the family. He soon started to work as a tailor (his aunts Rose and Albie both worked as tailoresses). He later worked as a butcher like the rest of his family. He married and had two children. He started his own butcher shop on 26th Street in the Lawndale neighbourhood.

16.8.2. The Family

The initiator of family emigration towards America was Filip Kasik of Kočkov. In 1867, when Filip was thirty-two years old, he arrived in New York with his son and wife.

Josef Kasik from Kočkov was the next one to leave. Polišínský (1992, 55) mentions that relatives who succeeded in the new land often motivated their relatives to join them. For sure, this was one of the cases. Josef was Filip's younger brother and arrived in New York in 1884. He also brought his three children. One of Josef's sons, also Josef, was born 1877 in Chicago, became a butcher, got married and had a family.

Václav Kasik of Bujesily (originally from Kladruby) put his plan into affect. As to this accurate scheme, the emigration of Václav and his family was planned in steps. The oldest son Václav Jr. came first, in 1886 or 1887. He was about sixteen or seventeen years old at that time. It is not known where he initially lived, however it is

thought that he stayed for at least one month with the family of one of his father's cousins in Chicago, either Filip or Josef, as both of them had been living in America for some time. Václav's second son Filip left in 1889. He sailed on the ship Columbia from Hamburg on October 17, 1889 arriving in New York on October 28. He spent the voyage as a steerage passenger. The next step of the emigration in 1890 was represented by the parents, Václav and Marie and the children who still lived in Bohemia, including their daughter Marie. Marie was Václav's first married child. She married František Bouda from Borek and in 1889 they had a son, Václav. They sailed all together on the same ship Columbia like Filip had done the previous year, leaving from Hamburg in September 1890 and arriving in New York On October 3, 1890.

Also around 1890, Anton Kasik from Vysoké Mýto, a nephew of Filip from Kočkov, emigrated and came to Chicago where he worked as a butcher. Anton got married in Chicago where he had three sons, Robert, Anton and Edward.

Václav Bouda, the son of Marie Kasik Bouda, returned to America in 1903 on the ship Furst Bismark as an unaccompanied child. There are entries in the ship diaries that other passengers came from Kladruby too. This may be a coincidence, however it might also mean that these individuals who were a bit older looked after young Václav on the board. In the ship's diaries, the ultimate destination for Václav is listed as his uncle Filip's house in Chicago, Illinois.

Václav Kasik (b. 1839) who emigrated from Bohemia to Chicago in 1890 had been a country butcher. In Chicago, Václav Kasik and his sons carried on the family tradition in the butcher trade after they arrival in Chicago in 1886-1890. Soon afterwards, in 1895, Václav's sons Václav, Filip and František established the first Kasik butcher shop at 1034 19th Street in the Pilsen neighbourhood, Chicago. After the city changed addresses in the early 1900's the address became 2243 19th Street. In the following a years, the extended Kasik families started many successful butcher shops. At least ten other shops were built in various neighbourhoods of Chicago and the nearby towns of Cicero, Berwyn and Riverside. Kutnar (1964, 44) adds that there were many butchers among Czech settlers. (P. Kasik 2012, E-mail message to the author, 7 July)

All over all, this is a typical example of mass migration from the Czech lands, for a specific area is left by groups of people, in this case by one family. (Kutnar 1964, 14-15) Moreover, they settled in Chicago, Illinois, the centre of Czech community in America. (Březáček 1930, 12)

17 Conclusion

In my diploma thesis “Czechs in America” I focused on the topic of emigration to the United States of America between 1800 and 1914. In the first part of my diploma thesis I worked with specialized books and I read many journals, biographies, travel books and other various sources. The information that I collected I used and compiled for some future readers of my diploma thesis. For I strongly hope they will acquire limited knowledge of the Czech emigration overseas in the nineteenth century as it is not possible to learn and to get to know everything about such a complex issue as the Czech emigration in the nineteenth century of course is.

The second part shows us some specific histories of Czech emigrants who left for America in the nineteenth century as I got to know them with the help of their descendants.

We can see that we can compare these stories and motives for leaving for America with the theoretical facts in specialized literature and we may say these emigrants’ motives and life stories meet the overall criteria for the emigration as they are described by sociologists and historians.

At the beginning of the process the only thing I knew was that there were some emigrants who set off on a journey to America in the nineteenth century. I also gathered that our ancestors established some communities and towns. Moreover, some started families, thus we can meet Americans whose surnames are “Mashek”. Thanks to this diploma thesis I know that there were some common characteristic features that all the emigrants shared.

They lived in the same land, in a certain time and experienced the similar hardships and joys in the homeland. For many of them leaving the land was the only solution of their despair and crisis. We must not forget though that there were also people that did not have to leave the land, for they had more possibilities but they chose a passage to America. I want to say that we can generalise the reasons for the voyage to America; however every single man, woman or child wrote their own life story. Some of the stories are recorded in books and letters, some of them were unfortunately forgotten.

I am very happy that I could reveal some of the specific stories of the Czech emigrants leaving for America for each of the stories is different, describing something

else. Something more than people can read in the books. As I can see the work completed, it could be a description of a man or woman leaving the country. It starts in a Czech rural area and ends in America. As to me, we should not forget. We should never forget the women and women who left the country. His or her motives did not play an important role.

I am convinced we should admire our ancestors, fellow countrymen who left the country one hundred years ago or more and started their journeys overseas. They did not have many maps or guides, they did not have any mobiles phones, airplanes or motorboats.

Despite this fact, they were able to arrive in German ports and even in the United States of America. How much luck and how much strength did they need? Nobody knows the trouble they had seen. We cannot imagine that.

They coped with the initial hardships in America, they even lacked the knowledge of the English language. Finally, they were able study at universities and graduated from them. Others started their own businesses. We can be proud of them. My question is, who would be able to do the same nowadays?

When working on my diploma thesis I caught a part of a radio discussion that was broadcasted on the Czech National Radio Station “Český Rozhlas 1 Radiožurnál” on March 21, 2012 at eleven o’clock A.M. The topic was “McDonald’s and its 20 Years on the Czech Market” for the first McDonald’s Restaurant was opened in 1992 in Prague, Czech Republic. People often claimed that they do not visit American fast food restaurants offering junk food. As the radio presenter kept on mentioning, the purely American origin of the world’s largest chain of hamburger fast food restaurants, I decided to call in the studio and I shared the interesting information I had previously read in Rechčígl’s book *Postavy naší Ameriky* with the studio’s audience. According to Rechčígl (2000, 110) Ray Kroc was a successful businessman of Czech origin who purchased the chain of McDonald’s Restaurants from McDonald brothers in 1961 and turned it into the largest chain of hamburger fast food restaurants serving sixty-eight million customers a day all over the world.

Also, I received an e-mail message dated February 7, 2012 from Joe Lansberger, the Chair of the Project Planning Task Force, Czech and Slovak Sokol St. Paul, Minnesota. He invited me to their Sokol Archives located in St. Paul, Minnesota for they have many records of the Czech emigration to the United States that go back to 1868. They keep many photographs, letters and other materials related to the history of

Czech-American Minnesota. Regretfully, I had to decline his offer to visit them for I did not have enough time and I lacked financial funds to set off on a journey to America.

However, in his next e-mail message dated February 10, 2012 he stated they would be happy to help me out in the future. Even though there are many materials related to the Czech emigration overseas, there are not any historians or experts who would be able to translate various texts in German and Czech. As a matter of fact, the archives contain plenty of valuable sources of new, never published information but nobody knows when they will be translated.

As I became highly interested in the Czech history of the United States and the Czechs in the United States, I buy books on the theme and I also started to collect postcards, brochures and photographs related. It is my new hobby. I must confess, Czech-American history ranks among my hobbies. I think falling in love with this field of study is the best thing the work on my diploma thesis could lead me to.

18 Bibliography

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20 Appendix



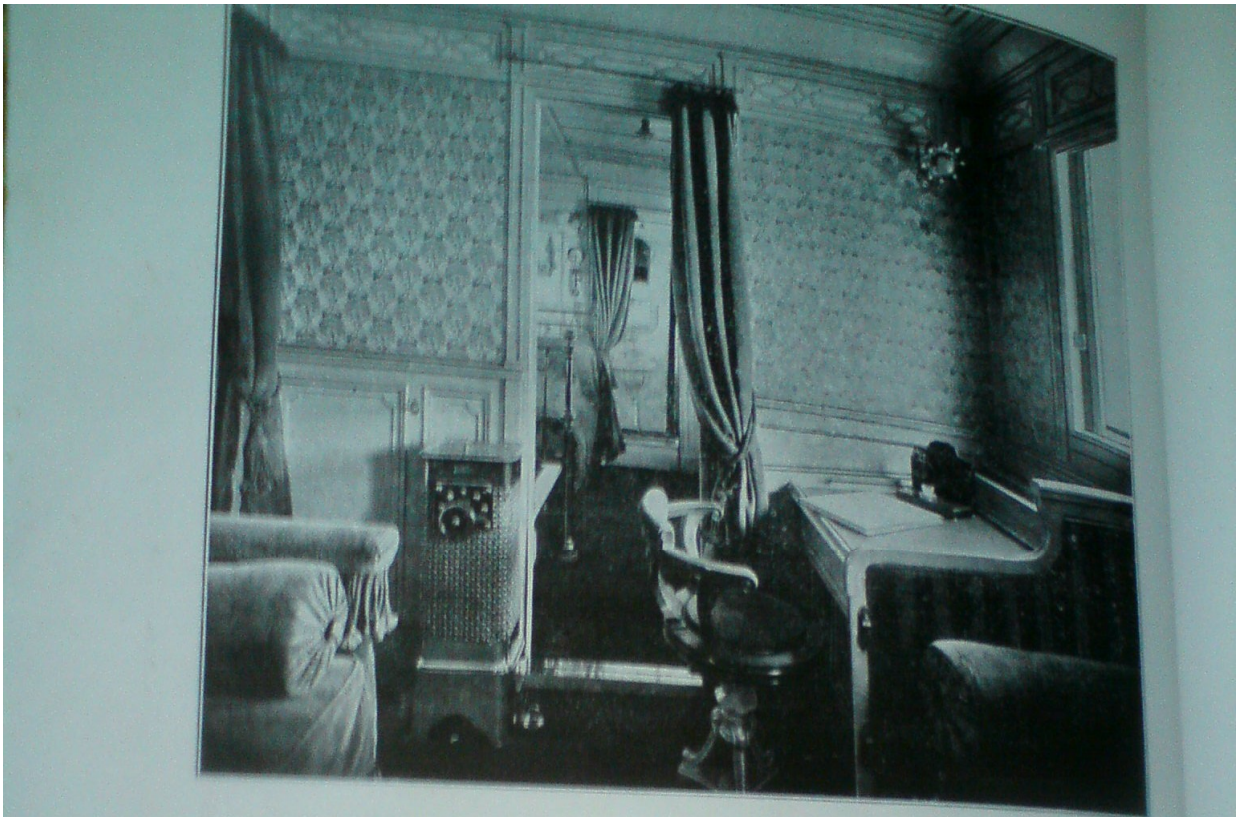
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Picture 2 - Kareš-Stocký Form. (Obec Malachovo 2012)



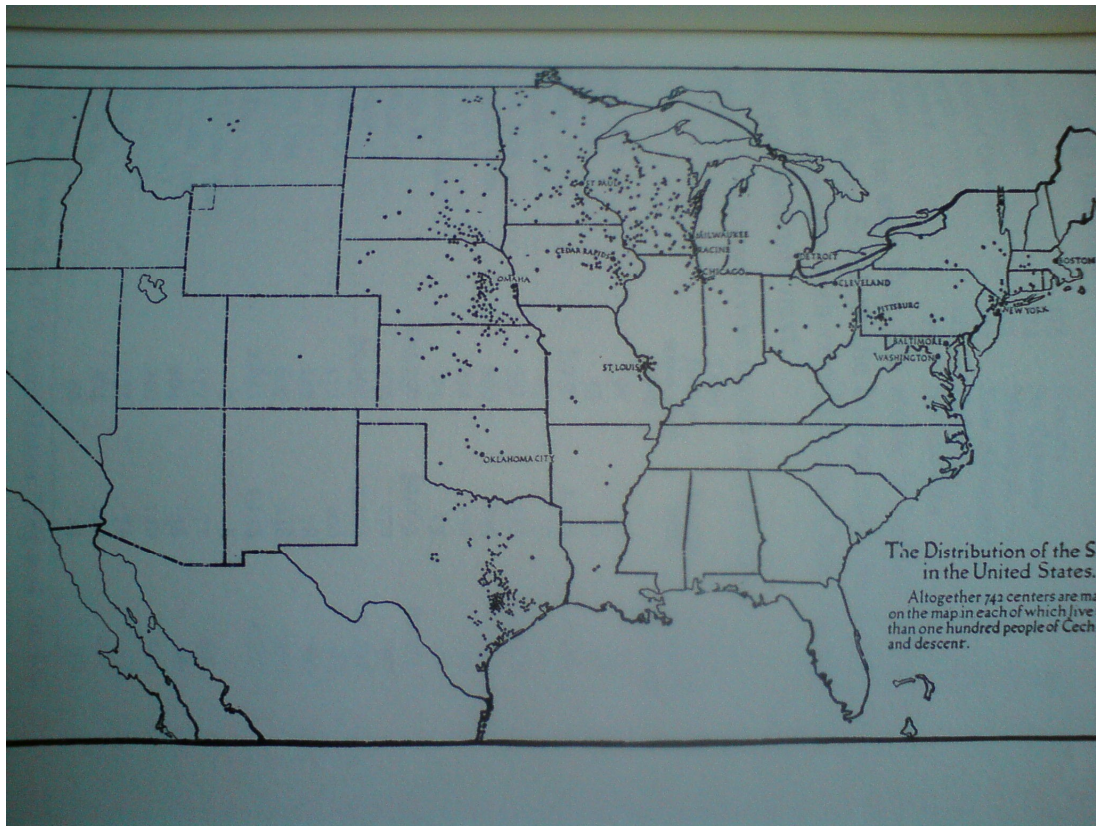
Picture 3 - The Port of Bremen in 1868. (Michal Čán 2013)



Kajuta I. třídy.



Picture 4 - First Class Cabin and a Steamboat. (Osvald 1909, 24)



Picture 5 - The Distribution of the Stock in the United States. (Čapek 1920, 60)



Picture 6 - Czechs in front of their House in Ohio, 1870's. (Náprstek Museum Collection)



Allegorický vůz Jednoty Táborigitů při odhalení pomníku Karla Havlíčka
Borovského v Douglas Parku v Chicagu dne 30. července 1911.

Picture 7 - Czechs in Chicago in 1911, Allegorical Wagon. (Michal Čán 2013)



Picture 8 - Postcard from Chicago, Freethinkers' School ČSPS. (Michal Čán 2013)



Main street, Prague. An entirely Czech town

Picture 9 – Prague, Nebraska. (Prague Proud, 2012)



BOHEMIAN CIGARMAKERS AT WORK IN THEIR TENEMENT.

Picture 10 - Bohemian Cigarmakers in New York, 1890's. (Riis 1890)



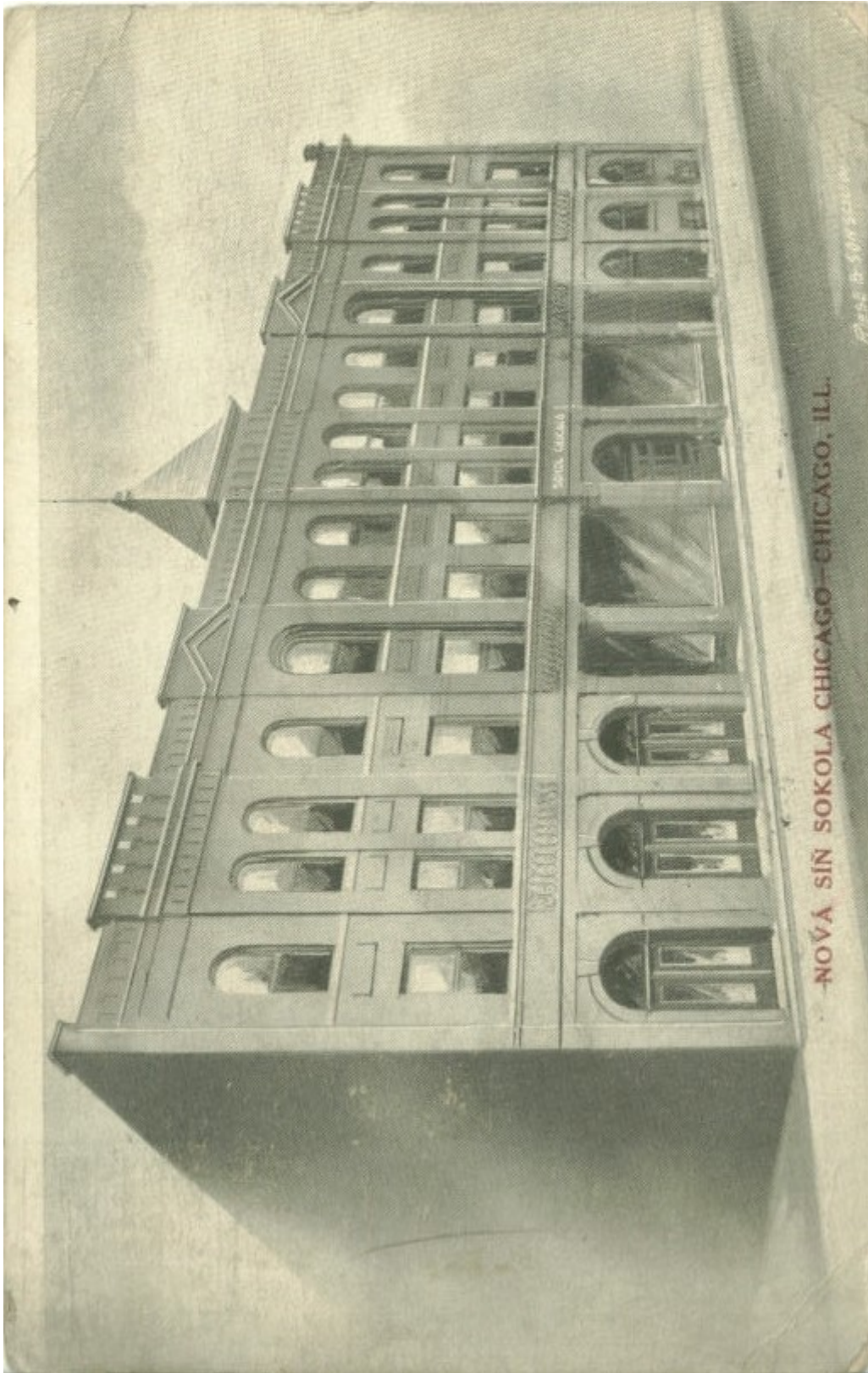
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EARLY NEWSPAPERS

Picture 16 - Czech Newspapers in America. (Čapek 1920, 193)



Picture 17 – Korbel Champagne Bottle. (Michal Čán 2013)



Picture 18 - Albín Polášek Memorial Plaque in Frenštát p. R. (Michal Čán 2013)



Picture 19 - Joseph Bulova. (Eva Bulova 2012)

Dec 8 - 37.

JOSEPH BULOVA
580 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Liebe Schwägerin Josephine

Froliche Weihnachten und ein
Friedliches Neujahr,

Jammer hab ich kurtzlich gesehn Ihre Gesundheit
erscheint besser als jezt indem sie nicht wie
früher von Magen und einer Art Atmungs-
Beschwerden gequelt wird und da sie dann
mitt heisser Suppe, Kandy, allerlei Erwaren
züberuhigen müssen glaubte, Magenpumpen
allerlei Experimente und Medikamente
wurden in den Murestund von verschiedenen
Arzten erprobt, biss ein Vernünftiger
eine einfache Diet und bei Magen Rebellion
mir heisses Trinkwasser zu sippen verordnete,
und siehe da, dass hilft.

Was sonst dass Wenn und Aber hier und Dürben
anbetrifft - dass must du mir erlassen
Alle Menschen, Verwandte, Freunde, Bekante kurtz mit jedem
man in Brüchung kommt, Jammert in diesem Jammerthal
mit sehr wenigen Ausnahmen mann müsst gradler wie

Picture 20 - Joseph Bulova Personal Letter on his Letterhead Paper (Michal Čán 2013)

FACTORIES
WOODSIDE, LONG ISLAND
SAG HARBOR, LONG ISLAND
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
BIENNE, SWITZERLAND



CABLE ADDRESS
"BULOJEWEL, NEW YORK"

BULOVA WATCH COMPANY, Inc.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

630 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

February 16, 1950

Dear Jan:

There is an opening for a young man like yourself in our factory in Bienna, Switzerland. We should very much like you to occupy this position of trust, especially since you are a member of the family.

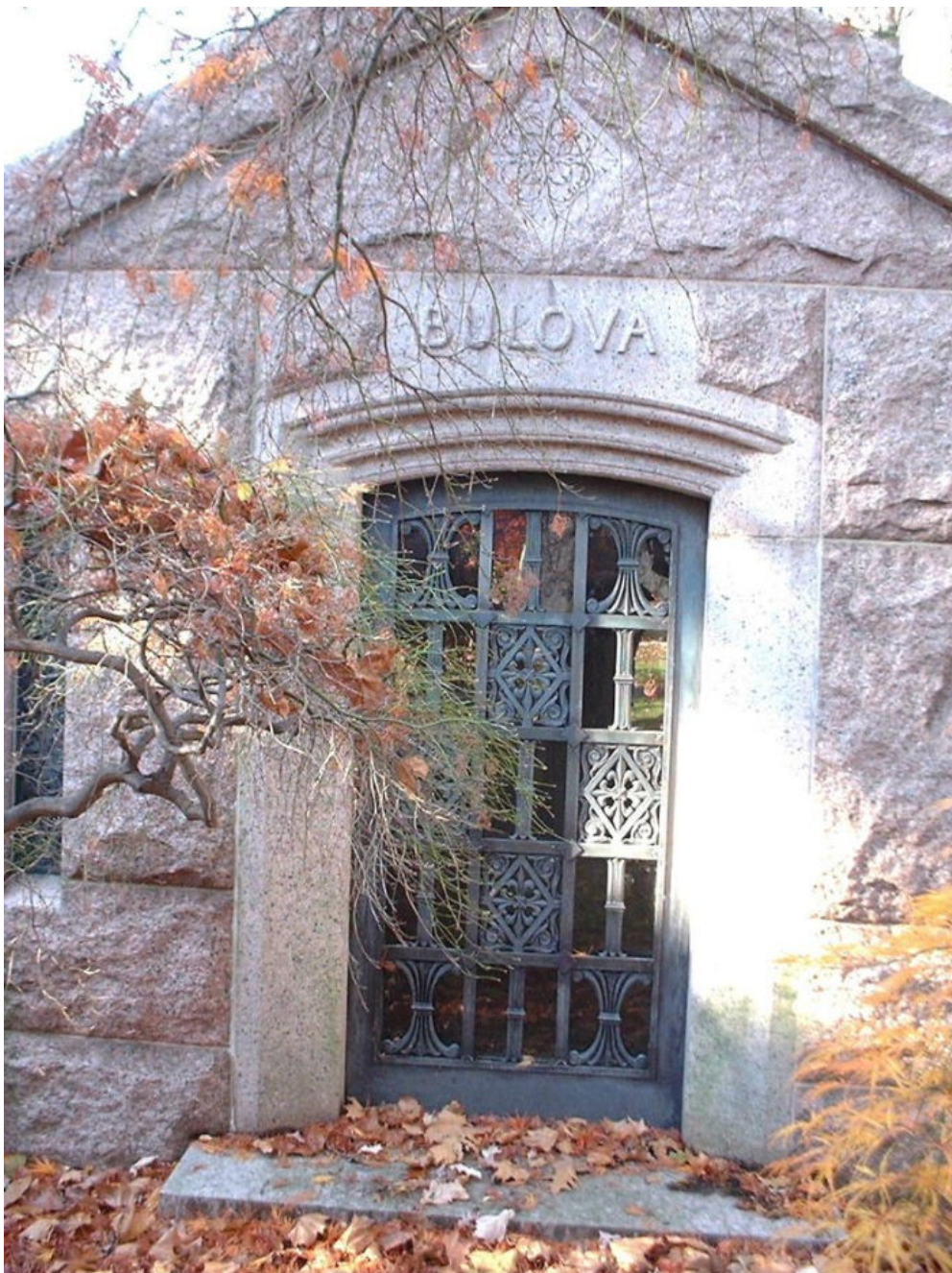
I wonder if you could ask the permission of your Government to release you for this job, which is an exceptional opportunity for you. Of course, we will be glad to take care of your parents and sister, in addition to your lovely wife and baby.

We would be glad to know whether we may welcome you and your family. We'd appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible, so that we may know how to plan.

Sincerely yours,

1947/1950

Picture 21 - Bulova Watch Company Letterhead Paper (Michal Čán 2013)



Picture 22 - Bulova Family Burial Chamber. (Eva Bulova 2012)

MASARYK MEADOWLANDS

ČESKÉ OSADY v MINNESOTĚ

Bohemian Colony at Masaryk, close to Meadowlands, was fostered and built up by Paul S. Sramek and Frank K. Kozumplik, of Chicago. Started in 1917

BRÁNA K NEODVĚSTI STĚŽÍ

NA POZEMCÍCH DRÁHY DULUTH & IRON RANGE A CHICAGO ROCK ISL. & PAC. JEŽ PRODÁVÁ L.B. ARNOLD, LAND COMMISSIONER 110 Wolvin Bldg., DULUTH, MINN. A ČESTÍ ZÁSTUPCÍ. DOBRÁ PŮDA DOBRÉ URODY. TRHY BLÍZKO

F. F. KOZUMPLIK P. S. SRAMEK

Picture 23 - Advertisement in Chicago Newspapers. (Rosemary Davis 2012)

Buy on Easy Terms and Long Time Payments.

Meadowlands Farms

Where there is a future for YOU.

LOCATION

44 Miles from the Twin Ports, Duluth and
 35 Miles from Hibbing, Virginia, and the Range
 275,000 Non-Producers within 45 Miles of Meadowlands

MEADOWLANDS

How to Reach These Productive Dairy, Truck Market Garden Farms:

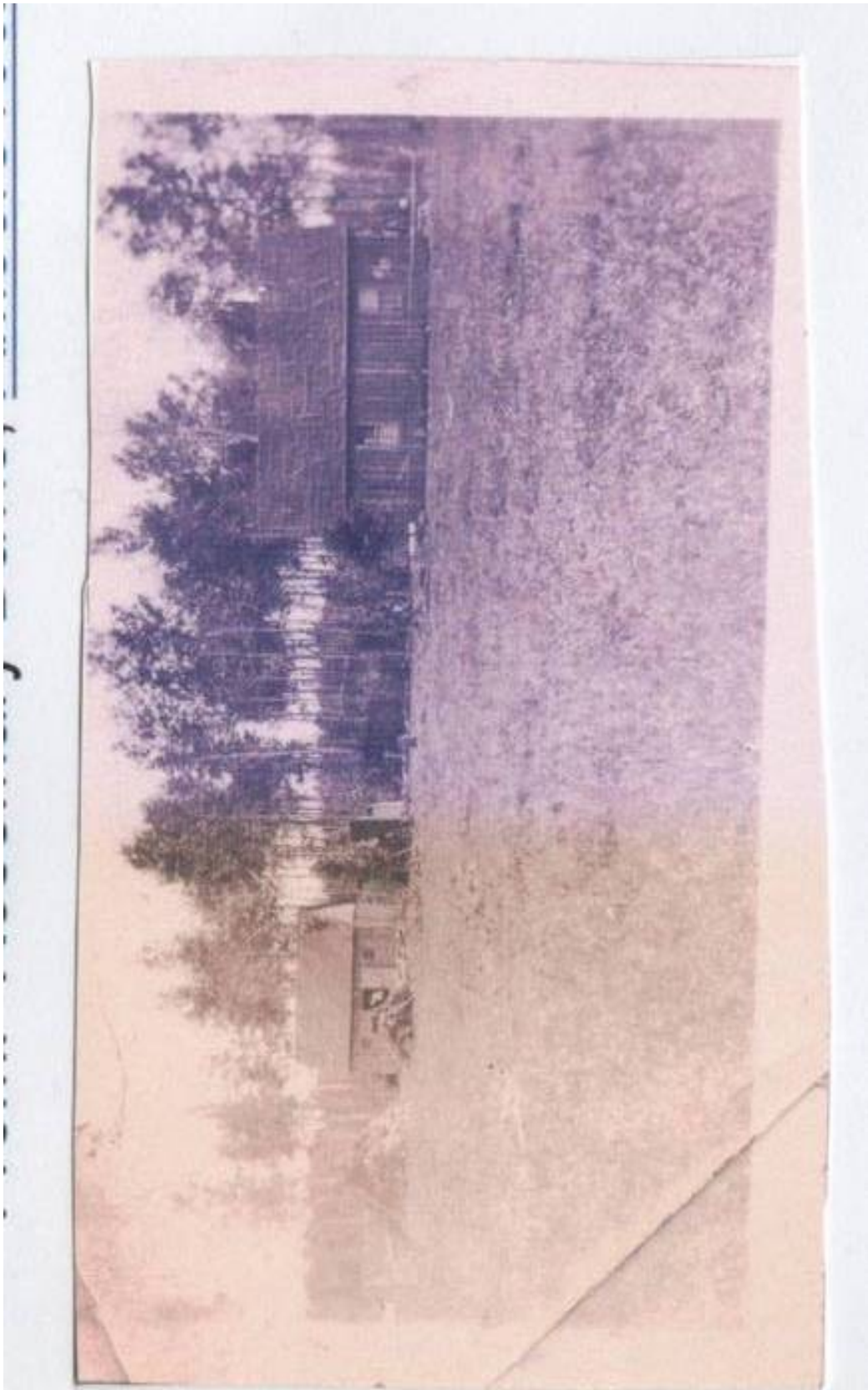
BY AUTO: From the Duluth Heights take the paved Miller Trunk Highway to Junction of well Highways 18 miles, thence west 15 miles to Meadowlands Trunk Road, the downlands. Total, 41 miles. Time: 1 hour, 40 minutes easy driving.

BY RAIL: From Duluth and Range towns, buy ticket to Meadowlands over D. & I. R. R. daily.

No matter what your circumstances are, there is a way for you to get a farm and independence.

LAND DEPT., D. & I. R. R. CO.
 110 Wolvin Building
 Telephone, Melrose 800

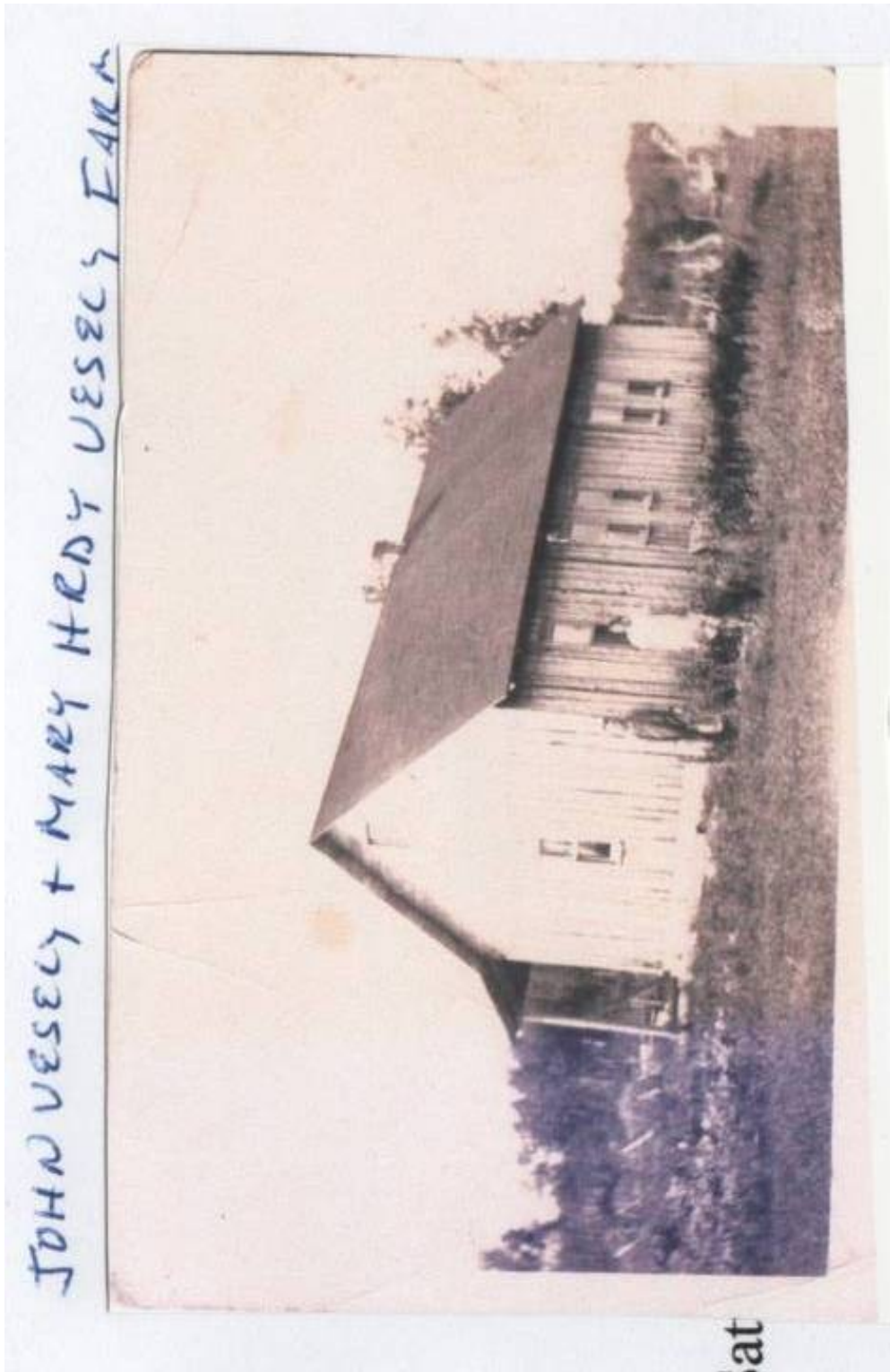
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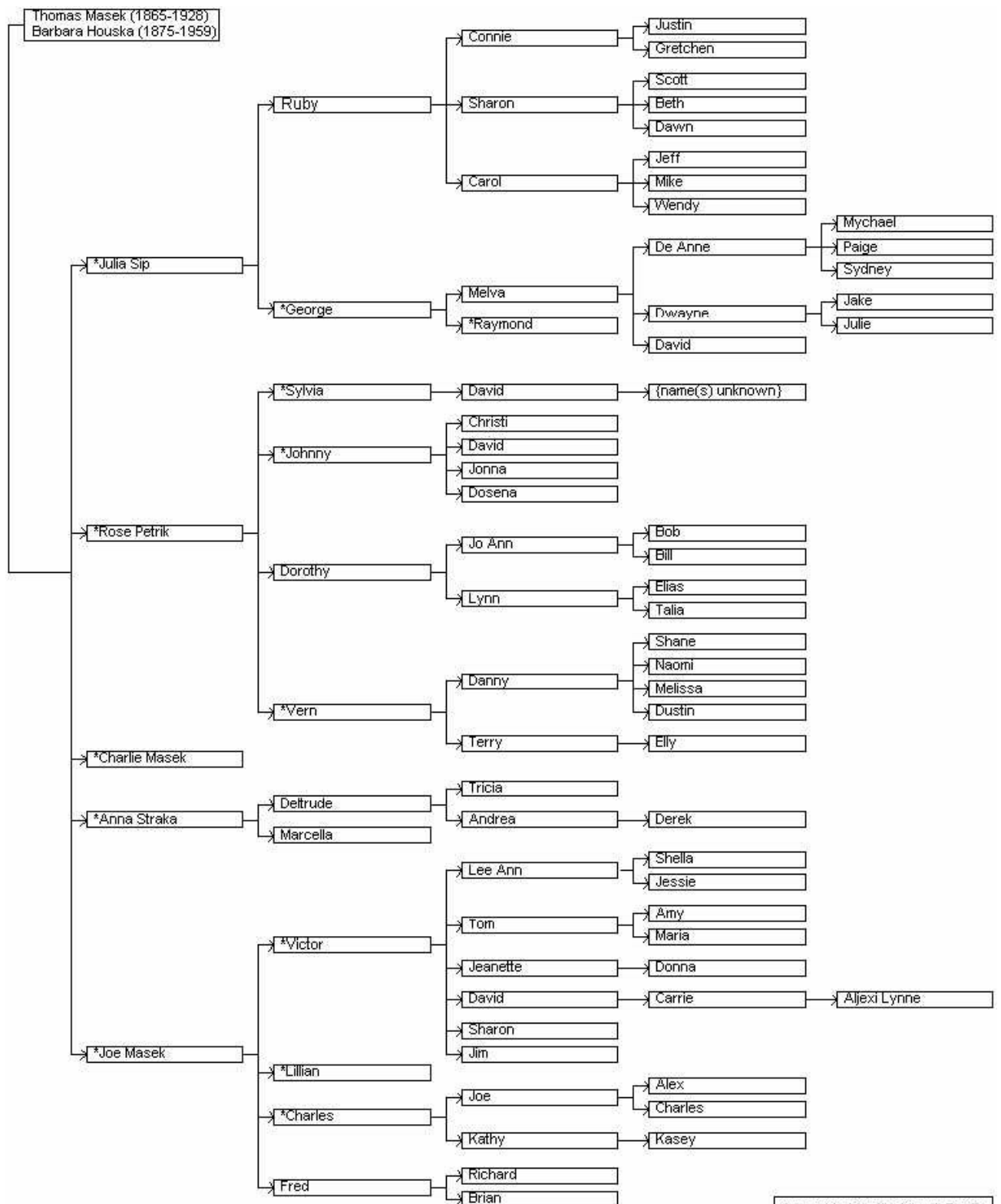
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Picture 27 - John Vesely and Mary Hrdy-Vesely Farm, cca 1922. (Rosemary Davis 2012)



* Indicates Deceased

Assembled for the Masek Family
Reunion; July 13, 1996
Lincoln Neb. Revised: 10/17/97

Picture 28 - Masek Family, Family Tree. (Sharon Masek Lopez 2012)

IN THE BEGINNING



MATTHIAS and KATHERINE VOYEK

Matthias Vojik was born in Budejovice, Bohemia in April 1829. His wife, Katherine Stepan Vojik, the daughter of Albert Stepan and Elizabeth Sobolik, was born January 5, 1829 in Vsetec, Bohemia.

Picture 29 - Matthias and Katherine Vojik. (Dostal 2012)



WEDDING PORTRAIT

Bride and Groom: John Voyek and Emailie Lukes
Attendants: Anna Zahasky, Jim Strnad, Mary Strnad, Frank Kinkor

Emailie was the daughter of Frank Lukes and Barbara Zahasky
Lukes.

Picture 30 - John and Emailie Vojik. (JoAnn Dostal 2012)



Frank and Clara Voyek Family
Seated: Frank and Clara
Standing: JoAnn, Lawrence and Susan

Picture 31 - Frank and Clara Voyek Family. (JoAnn Dostal 2012)



Picture 32 - Current family photograph: JoAnn and Gerald Dostal Family. (JoAnn Dostal 2012)



Picture 33 - Kasík Family Photo. (Phillip Kasik 2012)