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Czechs and Germans in Cleveland since 1850: Separate and Connected Lives and Communities in Migration

Czechs, Germans, Indifference and Cleveland

The Czech historian Jan Křen called the Czech-German relationship a "community of conflict," because Czechs and Germans both segregated themselves from each other and struggled against each other, all very visibly, while they also, less visibly, lived and worked together. They made and guarded boundaries between each other, and at the same time they crossed and ignored these boundaries. They also took their "community of conflict," with all its habits and attitudes, to America, but here they entered a new, common status as immigrants and minorities adrift in a host society. This removed much cause for conflict (over language and power), and it made them more attractive or at least useful to each other for all they shared as Central Europeans. So, in America, the Czech-German relationship was more of a "community of separateness" than a "community of conflict," and it developed in more areas of activity in a large city like Cleveland, Ohio, where not just Germans but also Czechs, some 40,000 at their peak, lived in large numbers.

Cleveland grew as a petroleum-refining, steel-making and machine-building city that also had to feed, clothe and house its growing population, and Germans and Czechs came to do much of this work, and to become connected to each other in various ways, because of the culture of skilled trades and labor migration that they already shared in Central Europe. A growing city also brings in many kinds of other people to serve its concentrated population. Priests to minister to its Catholics. Newspaper editors to inform

and entertain people, and beer brewers to help them to better enjoy their meals and leisure time. Czechs and Germans, separately, in common, and in collaboration, demanded, supplied and consumed these products and services, again because of their common culture from Central Europe.

All these areas of activity in the city brought Czechs and Germans into many different kinds of relationships. In the trades, factories, workshops and labor unions, they could be fellow workers in relationships of mutual benefit, reliance and support, or of distrust and antagonism. They also occupied positions in a hierarchy and related to each other as employees, subordinates, foremen, managers and owners in workplaces and organizations on a scale from small workshops to large industrial corporations. In the Catholic Church, Germans and Czechs also worked and related to each other in a hierarchy as bishops, chancellors, parish priests, assistant priests and lay people in a common diocese. But here they also shared an ideology, Roman Catholic Christianity, and it united them and committed them to obligations and practices of love, charity and respect for each other, regardless of ethnicity and language. At the same time, this ideology was challenged by another one, nationalism, which not only laymen but even priests brought into the Church. Nationalism and its allied modernizing ideologies from Central Europe, like freethought, rationalism and liberalism, had their own sites, organizations and workplaces in Cleveland, from beer halls to associations for fraternal insurance benefits, physical fitness and education, to print shops and editorial offices, which produced a product and a literature in the city's Czech and German newspapers. Editors of newspapers in two different languages would seem to have no use for each other and for each other's audiences, but in fact they were not quite so disconnected.

Czechs and Germans shared a common "Central Europeanness" that came from migration, labor and language before they crossed the Atlantic. Of course, it was shared unequally, because German speakers were on the order of ten times more numerous in Central Europe, and power and prestige were bound up with the German language. So, Czech speakers had more reason to enter the other language and culture, which were also present at home: in 1900 Bohemia, one of every five or six schoolchildren in the capital (Prague) and also in three cities on the periphery (Budějovice, Liberec and Most) were bilingual. All America-bound Czechs traveled through German-speaking lands at least once, to reach the emigration ports of Bremen and Hamburg, from where they crossed the ocean with German shipping companies. Even this equipped them with some knowledge of German language and culture, and the emigration experience became a centerpiece of the stories they later told and wrote about themselves. But many Czechs and also Germans already crossed the language border for months and years as children and

young adults to serve and learn as apprentices, journeymen, soldiers and maids. These formative experiences were a favorite topic of Czech writing in America. In fact, the richest archive for the study of childhood, youth and labor migrations in the Czech Lands before 1914 may be the farmers journal *Hospodář* in Omaha, Nebraska: it published hundreds of letters and memoirs every year. In rural Austria, at least one-third of the population in the 19th-century were servants, and many of these would have come from the Czech Lands. And for the Habsburg imperial capital, Vienna, as early as 1837 guild registration books suggest from "90,000 to 180,000 incoming journeymen" per year, "as compared to a population of 350,000."[1]

Even these simple facts of migration, mixed families, bilingualism and diglossia blur the picture of Czechs and Germans as distinct and mutually exclusive categories. We have known since Immanuel Kant how stuck we are with simplistic categories in our minds and outlook on the world. New scholarship helps us to get ourselves unstuck from categories like "Czechs" and "Germans" or at least to handle them more critically. Benedict Arnold argued that modern nations are not something primordial: they are constructed and imagined communities. But what about indifference? Are there people who stay out of the "construction" of the nation that claims them or who abandon one construction project for another as it suits them? This is the question that Tara Zahra took up, along with German and Slavic Central Europe as her case study, and she found much evidence for such people and behaviors there: as one man in Czechoslovakia answered when asked about his ethnic affiliation after World War II, "It is a matter of who is giving more." Scholars who "analyze nations as 'imagined communities,'" Zahra writes, "risk remaining imprisoned within nationalists' own discursive universe ... without questioning the extent to which [their] ideologies resonated among their audiences."[2]

Should scholars continue to write about ethnic groups as "entities" and "cast [them] as actors"? No, writes sociologist Rogers Brubaker. Instead, we should refocus our "attention from groups to groupness," because ethnic groups are more like "events," like "something that 'happens,' as E. P. Thompson famously said about class." Or does not happen, because "high levels of groupness may fail to crystallize, despite the group-making efforts of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and even in situations of intense elite-level ethnopolitical conflict," as in the Czech Lands in the century after 1848, or in Transylvania in our times, where Brubaker found that "[m]ost Hungarians, like most Romanians, are largely indifferent to politics and preoccupied with problems of everyday life—problems that are not interpreted in ethnic terms." Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are those who "live 'off' as well as 'for' ethnicity." In Cleveland, they included priests and newspaper editors, but

ethnic entrepreneurs also had everyday problems, like everyone else, and they were easier to solve without regard to ethnic divisions.[3]

So, perhaps Czech and German groupness did not happen always and everywhere in Cleveland, even if, as Mark Cornwall says, "the 'indifference camp' ... sometimes overstates its case" and "does not adequately reflect the degree to which national loyalties and questions ... were steadily ingrained in everyday thinking" in Central Europe. But he also says, in this Habsburg history forum in the journal *German History*, "scholars of Germany, without understanding the Habsburg Monarchy, cannot really comprehend the German diaspora in all its complexity." "Recent Habsburg historiography," adds Tara Zahra, "challenges the very notion of a common German identity or a German 'diaspora'" and makes "clear that the concept of 'Germanness' was extremely locally and regionally inflected."[4]

Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs: Priests and Journalists

Priests could be ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, especially in Cleveland, where the Catholic diocese created a parallel system of nationality parishes, with their own languages and territories, besides the usual system of English-language territorial parishes for all Catholics by residence. As late as 1961, the bishop explained that a pastor was "correct in not accepting non-Bohemians in his parish and school." So he wrote to an African-American woman turned away with her three children from a local church after she moved to the area. Racial discrimination seems likely as a motivation for the bishop's argument here, but it was certainly an affirmation of the nationality parish system.[5] The first Czech pastor, Antonín Krásný, came to Cleveland a century earlier (1858) as assistant priest for the St. Peter's German church, after he served eight years in a Habsburg prison for his activity in the revolution of 1848, a peak event in the history of Czech groupness—and an ironic outcome for Krásný. But before dying in 1870, he managed to open the first Czech parish in Cleveland, St. Wenceslaus. Nothing more about him seems to survive in the documentary record.[6]

A nationalist priest of greater impact was Oldřich Zlámal (1879-1955), installed in 1915 in the city's chief Czech parish, Our Lady of Lourdes, which he led for forty years. For half that time, from 1921, Zlámal served under a bishop, Joseph Schrembs (1866-1945), who came from Bavaria at age eleven. Ethnicity and politics sometimes divided the two men, but their correspondence also reveals a solid and cordial relationship in their shared evangelical cause and culture. Zlámal already joined the Czech ethnopolitical cause at the seminary in Olomouc, as he relates in his autobiography, and in Cleveland he rallied Catholics to the clearly un-Catholic Czechoslovak

independence movement, which arose in the secular, religiously indifferent majority of Czech society and preferred the Bohemian Reformation and suppressed Czech Protestantism as a foundation of national identity. An episode from 1930 shows how tensions arose and then subsided between Zlámal and his bishop: Schrembs spoke in Budapest at celebrations for the 11th-century St. Emeric, patron of Hungarian parishes in America and the son of a Bavarian mother. The bishop's sympathies for Hungary, shorn of land and people for the benefit of Czechoslovakia and other states after the recent First World War, offended Zlámal. Schrembs reassured the pastor that all "eighteen different nationalities" in the diocese were "equally dear" to him. Then the reaction of Cleveland's Czech Catholic newspaper to the Budapest speech offended Schrembs: he accused the *Američan* of a "dastardly appeal to the Bohemian and Slovak people of this diocese to attack their bishop" and to withhold their contributions to the Church. But he closed his letter with words of tender reconciliation for Zlámal, writing, "[T]hank you for the spirit of fairness that has characterized all you have said." Five years later, Schrembs wrote to the bishop of his native Regensburg, in good German, and to others, on Zlámal's behalf, to ease the Czech pastor's journey to the Holy Land.[7]

Newspaper editors appear much freer as ethnic entrepreneurs than priests in a hierarchy, freer of the involvements with outsiders that could soften their ethnocentrism and diminish their legitimacy, but this was not quite the case with Czech journalists and at least one German in Cleveland. Until secondary schools in the Czech language became possible in the 1860s, and then one university in 1882, Czech elites were educated in German, and even after that, at least a reading knowledge of German remained a part of their idea of a good education. Václav Šnajdr (1847-1920) was already a "passionate nationalist" at the *Gymnasium* in Mladá Boleslav, where the only concession to Czech was to make it the language for teaching Catholic religion and Latin. So he wrote a few years before his death in a sketch about himself for a booklet to commemorate fifty years of the Bohemian Gymnastic Sokol Association in New York. Students like him, Šnajdr recalled, were "woefully behind" in Czech, and he longed to become a great stylist in the language. So, he transferred to Jindřichův Hradec, with its good Czech teachers who had nowhere else to go. One of them, a physics teacher named "Steinhauser," dressed like a nationalist and even trained the boys in gymnastics on the schoolyard with commands in Czech. It was a thrill for them, especially when the town's army officers and civil servants passed by. Šnajdr went on to study philosophy at the university in Prague, but he fled in less than a year to avoid trial for treason after his part in a student demonstration. He fled to Berlin, helped to publish the first Czech political journals in exile there, and then left

to raise money for them in America.[8]

In 1873, Šnajdr came to Cleveland, where he spent half his life and issued the most intellectually ambitious Czech newspaper in America. Even the name was extravagant: *Dennice novověku* (Morning star of the new age). Enlightenment and science were a big part of what it delivered to readers, and of Šnajdr himself as ethnic entrepreneur. A lifelong inspiration was Filip Stanislav Kodym's *Zdravověda* (1863), a cult object for Šnajdr's student generation. A landmark of popular science, this book about modern medicine meant progress and freedom to them, as Šnajdr recalled at the end of his life. But much more of the best science and scholarship was open to him in German, and it sometimes showed in Šnajdr's writing: in a travel book about California, where he retired in 1910, he uses the German word *verfty* for shipyards, instead of *loděnice* or even the English word. This is a jarring miscue from a master writer in a time of anti-German purism in the Czech language. Poetically, Šnajdr died at his home and garden in Pasadena, below the astronomical observatories on Mount Wilson.[9]

Václav Šnajdr had something of a German counterpart in Julius Kurzer (1835-1884), who in the 1870s and 1880s edited the daily *Wächter am Erie*, launched in Cleveland by refugees from the revolution of 1848. Kurzer, the son of a Habsburg war commissar in Alpine Tyrol, became a mining engineer after an education at *Gymnasien* and a mining school in Hungarian towns now in Romania, Serbia and Slovakia, and at the Vienna polytechnic, where he took a small part in the 1848 revolution. Kurzer also traveled in England, Scotland and Switzerland, thanks to an inheritance. He came to Prague as a technical manager for a coal company but moved on to manage a German newspaper in the city, where he "fought to preserve and expand the German element with his innate energy and skill," as his biography says in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum*, an extravagant late 1890s block of a volume about the prowess of German Cleveland in every field of life and business. Kurzer "spoke six languages," reported a local English-language newspaper. Perhaps Czech was one of them. Julius Kurzer and Václav Šnajdr had much in common as parallel German and Czech ethnic entrepreneurs, first in the 1860s Bohemia of ethnic conflict and then in immigrant Cleveland.[10]

Brewers, Toolmakers and Others

Beyond the Catholic Church and the ethnic press, Czechs and Germans practiced separateness from each other and connection with each other everywhere else in the broader world of work and leisure, where the product, object and pass for entry were not (or mostly not) ideology or language. These practices and relationships are especially visible in the industries and

cultures that most attracted Czechs and Germans and where they left a greater documentary record. This happened in beer brewing and in the skilled trades.

German- and Czech-speaking immigrants built separate breweries in Cleveland, and sources tend to ascribe brewing companies, by ownership, to one ethnic community or the other, but physical plant, careers and taste crossed or ignored the ethnic border between them. This happened despite a certain residential separation between the two ethnic groups: the German community centered on the West Side, in Ohio City, while the later Czech and Polish communities concentrated on the East Side, especially along Broadway Avenue, above the broad and deep Cuyahoga Valley that separated the two sides of Cleveland. John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company and then steel mills arose in the Valley and employed Czechs and Poles. Today, "Broadway-Slavic Village" is the only neighborhood named for an ethnic group, among thirty-six neighborhoods, as named and defined by the Cleveland City Council, that comprise the city's territory.[11]

Nevertheless, Czech beer brewing started on the West Side. The first Czech to brew lager beer, Frank Zíka, did so by leasing Schneider's brewery. Zíka's family was among the first Czech arrivals in Cleveland, in 1849, and it settled on the West Side. Forty years later, Václav Medlín opened his Bohemian Brewery there after learning the trade in Plzeň (Pilsen, in German), Bohemia, and then working at his trade among Germans in Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo and Jersey City for twenty years. Medlín went broke, but Václav Huml (1846-1920) reorganized and recapitalized the brewery as the Pilsner Brewing Company in 1894 with several others from the small Czech business class that arose in Cleveland. Sales grew four times over in just four years, from 6,000 to 26,000 barrels. Huml, trained as a locksmith, was a gifted business manager. Of his three brothers, one emigrated to Germany, another became a judge in Prague, and the third accompanied him to America. Huml built up the Pilsner Brewing Company as its president and became wealthy enough to own a home on the fashionable Detroit Avenue in the western suburb of Lakewood, where part of Cleveland's business elite lived, and one of his five children, Edward J. Humel (1879-1969), a chemist in the city's steel industry, married the daughter of German immigrants. Václav Šnajdr, the newspaper editor (see above), succeeded Huml as president of Pilsner Brewing in 1904. That year the Czechs who launched the Forest City Brewing Company in their main neighborhood on the East Side recruited Huml to serve as its treasurer and general manager.[12]

Forest City, which almost survived Prohibition but not the Great Depression (it closed in 1930), had only two brewmasters, both Czech. But on the West Side, at the other brewery, Pilsener, which lasted to the 1960s, the succession of brewmasters included two Germans, Vincenz Spitschka (b.

1852) and Franz Knopp (1877-1947). Spitschka came from a family that operated a glassmaking factory in German-speaking northern Bohemia, where he attended a *Realschule* and started his career as a brewer. From there, he moved on to work at breweries across Germany and then across German America. For three years, the Czech Pilsener brewery enjoyed the services of one of the most advanced professionals in the industry: Spitschka studied the chemistry of beermaking at the Lehmann brewing school in Worms, Germany, completed the Schwarz brewing school in New York, and patented several new technologies. Knopp came to Pilsner as brewmaster by 1918 from another brewery, in New York, and remained so to his death three decades later. He and his wife entered the United States census in these years as native speakers of German, he from "Austria," and she from Germany.[13]

Cleveland's Germans perhaps even regarded Pilsener as a German brewery: they could certainly get this impression from *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland and its Germans). This monumental tome from 1907, the second published with this title (the first appeared in 1898), included twenty pages on the city's brewing industry and lavished praise on the Pilsener Brewing Company: it sprawled over five acres at Clark Avenue and West 65th Street, was still growing every year, and had reached a capacity of 150,000 barrels per year. It was a place where visitors, who were "always welcome," could marvel at the newest technologies and at the "spotless purity" there. It was a showcase of progress in beermaking, and the only reference to anything Czech was to the "best Bohemian hops" that made Extra Pilsener Bier popular "everywhere" in the city "as much for its wonderful taste as for its abundance of nutrients." The promotional enthusiasm of the narrative smothers any sort of ethnic, ours-or-theirs doubts about the brewery.[14]

Ethnicity among Czechs and Germans in Cleveland's brewing industry was something that individuals could show, hide or change on their own person, and ignore or emphasize in others. Andrew Mitermiler (1840-1896) was the city's leading architect of beer breweries. He was from Choceň in eastern Bohemia, but the ethnic identity that others might ascribe to him did not stop him from taking his architectural services across ethnic lines in Cleveland. Perhaps the prestige of his University of Vienna diploma eased the way. For master brewer Karel Charvát (b. 1889), on the other hand, ethnicity did become a barrier. He was doing well in his trade in Bohemia as brewer for 48 innkeepers who operated their own common brewery, but he went to Cleveland in 1908 because his parents asked him to join them there. The Czech-owned Forest City Brewery, where he applied for work, sent Charvát to join the union. It turned out to be the "international" union, did "all its business in German," and would not recognize his papers, because they were from the Czech "national" union back home. Charvát, in his letter to the

Hospodář newspaper, was referring to the conflict that turned the Habsburg Empire's Czech- and German-speaking Social Democrats against each other in the decade before the war, when Czech workers seceded from the central, German-speaking Social Democratic labor unions in Vienna to form their own Czech-speaking labor organizations. In Cleveland, the German-speaking union authorities made Charvát go through another apprenticeship at Forest City, for two years, as a condition of his employment. So, the Czech master brewer discovered that the troubles betweens Czechs and Germans in Bohemia and Austria could follow a man to America and complicate his life even there.[15]

If Czech-German differences and their unpredictable outcomes overtook Karel Charvát in Cleveland, where he did not seek to go, it was these differences that dislodged František Vlček (1871-1947) from Austria and sent him to Cleveland, where became the largest maker of tools for American automobiles. Vlček's achievement as the largest industrialist among Czechs in America motivated him to write a 362-page book about his life. He wrote in detail about his four difficult years from the age of fourteen as a journeyman blacksmith, first in his native southern Bohemia, and then across the language frontier in German-speaking Upper Austria. It was an ordeal of unstable work, thieves, dirty *herberky* (journeymen's dormitories), privation and the disgrace of returns to his home village, all the more painful because he had little to expect there as the youngest of many children in his family. Finally, Vlček's ticket to a good life was a job as a machinist with a large, modern, solid and enlightened employer, Josef Werndl's Austrian armaments factory in Steyr. Until it all came to nothing in one night: a fight broke out between Czechs and Germans. Vlček stayed out of it but got blood on his shirt. It made him look like a brawler, and so his German bosses fired him. Only then did he take Cleveland, where he had two older sisters, as an option.[16]

In Cleveland, Vlček settled into the two Czech neighborhoods where his sisters lived, Old East Cleveland and Broadway, and he married there. At the same time, he continued his cosmopolitan work career in the new country. The first employer that Vlček chose was a German blacksmith named "Ebert." This was a common strategy for Czech people: if they needed to do something in the unfamiliar new Anglo world around them, such as to find work and learn about further prospects, they could turn first to Germans, whom they could more easily talk to, understand, assess and trust. Germans could relate to Czechs in the same way: Ebert, for his part, hired only Czechs, as Vlček noted. From there, Vlček went to McGregor, an Irishman on the West Side, and finally to Petráš, a Czech on Broadway. From Austria, Vlček was already used to the dynamic of uncertainty and opportunity in wage labor, and he walked all over the city seeking jobs. Finally, Vlček started his own shop in

Old East Cleveland. Prospects were dim, because of competition from the city's two other Czech blacksmiths. To make life better for all three, Vlček arranged a pact, but the others undercut him. This betrayal among his own countrymen changed Vlček's life, as he told it: it turned him back to the larger Anglo world, which included many Germans, inspired his drive and made him the only big industrialist in Czech Cleveland: he employed 480 people by 1919 and peaked at 750 during World War II. Along the way, Vlček, a devoted Catholic, earned a Vatican medal from the hands of Cleveland's Bavarian-born bishop Schrembs.[17]

Vlček's son-in-law demonstrated another kind of interethnic connection, Germanizing his Czech surname, for his own convenience in America's Anglo society. Edward Charles Koster (1892-1989) was engaged to Vlček's daughter when he claimed an exemption from the wartime draft in 1917, because, as "superintendent and director" of the Vlchek Took Company, he had a "position in [a] factory working on government work." Koster was the grandson of Czech immigrants on both sides of his family. His original surname, as recorded at the start of the decade in the United States census, was Koštíř, a common surname in the Czech Lands that means "broom maker." The son of truck farmers in the country outside Cleveland, Koster studied at the city's Case School of Applied Science. By changing one letter, an "i" to an "e," he turned his Czech surname into a German one. Appropriately enough, "Koster," a surname recorded by the 14th century, has a cluster of meanings centered on service, custodianship and supervision. But as a small irony, it occurs mostly in western Rheinland-Pfalz, near Luxemburg, and in the Saarland, on the other side of Germany from the Czech Lands. But America was English-speaking, English was a Germanic language, not Slavic, and that mattered more to Czechs like Koster, who pursued great ambitions for upward mobility: by World War II, when Vlček's company expanded and ventured into new technologies, like plastics, Koster was its general manager.[18]

Groupness: Thomas Masaryk in 1918 Cleveland

Kathleen Neils Conzen, writing about Germans in America, saw "ethnicity as festive culture," as she put it in the title of a 1989 essay. This analysis, older by over a decade, is akin to Brubaker's discovery of ethnicity as a "groupness" that comes and goes. Like Brubaker, Conzen cuts down exaggerated notions of ethnicity into something much more limited, like an event. She writes about a German "vocabulary of celebration," reinvented in America largely by the same liberal middle class and artisanal groups, organized into *Vereine* (associations), that had become the keepers of national ritual in the fatherland. As a voice from the time put it in the 1907 *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum*,

a book that was itself a celebration, "It is up to our *Vereine* to make the festivals that the German community, or they themselves, put on, into events worthy of the same." They included, in the authors' review, the festivals of the choral and *Turner* groups, for Humboldt in 1869, and, on a rising scale of participation, extending even to the "rest of Cleveland" (meaning non-Germans), the festivals for Germany in 1890 and for the Schiller-Goethe memorial unveiling in June 1907.[19]

Czechs in Cleveland practiced much the same kind of "ethnicity as festive culture," and even at their most separate from Germans, during the festivities for Thomas Masaryk's 1918 visit to Cleveland, they remained intimately connected to them. Masaryk, a philosophy professor from the only Czech university (Charles University), was leading the Czechoslovak independence movement when he came to the city for two days on Saturday, June 15th. The next day, a festival in his honor started with a mass parade down Euclid Avenue, still famous then as Cleveland's "Millionaires' Row," to the Wade Park speaker's platform. Some 25,000 people, organized by *spolek* (association), social group, ethnicity and gender, joined the parade from their assigned starting positions in the streets from East 57th to East 77th, including some 200 *spolky* (associations) with their banners and 38 marching bands. In a time when the United States was at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Cleveland's *Svět* newspaper located the Czech people firmly in the Slavic world and not in German Central Europe: it headlined its story on the event, "Homage of the Czechoslovaks to Masaryk: The Largest Panslavic Demonstration in the History of Our City."[20]

Leading the parade were 90 Cleveland policeman of Czech ancestry who petitioned Director of Public Safety Anton B. Sprosty, who was himself of Czech ancestry, for this honor. The policemen marched in three platoons, the first one led, as the *Svět* newspaper reported, by the "senior Czech police captain," A. Honig, whose surname was German, the second by Captain Synek, and the third by the "most junior Czech police captain," J. Čadek. Just a few years earlier, Cleveland had a police chief of German descent, Frederick Kohler (1864-1934): he served from 1903, when Mayor Tom L. Johnson appointed him, to February 1913, when the "Civil Service Commission removed him as police chief on charges of neglect of duty and gross immorality." Kohler allegedly "discriminated against Irish officers, brought his favorites downtown, and exiled his opponents to the 'woods.'" Kohler's wife, Josephine Modroch, whom he married in 1888, was a woman of Czech descent. Clearly, the police force was another workplace and social space in Cleveland where many Czechs and Germans made careers and connections.[21]

The Sunday of Thomas Masaryk's visit culminated in a public meeting at Grays Armory. Many people came to hear the speakers, among whom

was Cleveland mayor Harry L. Davis. Sup's Czech band played, and the *Svět* newspaper wrote about it the next day. The first speaker was the marshal of the day's great parade, Karel Bernreiter, another Czech with a German surname. Serving on the mayor's war council and war bond committee, Bernreiter was the Czechoslovak independence movement's man in Cleveland's Anglo establishment. Major Hodges, who commanded the 150 Czech and Slovak soldiers granted leave from Camp Perry to march in the parade, called them "expert Hun killers." Oldřich Zlámal, the charismatic Czech priest in Cleveland (see above), lamented that his "superiors" would not allow him to join the Czechoslovak Legion because of the "shortage of Czechoslovak priests."[22]

But amidst all the wartime fervor to distance the Czech people from Germans, with whom they shared so much of their culture, lives and even families in Central Europe and in Cleveland, the *Svět* newspaper, despite itself, showed that this Central Europeanness was not something that could be shed. The city's Czech daily newspaper did this in its ignorance of the Slavic and Eastern European world into which it tried to relocate the Czech people: it left both the "speaker for the Southern Slavs" and the Romanian officer who spoke at Grays Armory unnamed, and the paragraph it devoted to the "likable Russian" Lysenkovskii was full of error and omission. Vasilii Samuilovich Lysenkovskii (1882-1968) may have "spoken for the Russians . . . in pithy Russian," as the *Svět* wrote, because he was a priest from Odessa in the Russian Empire, but his parishioners at St. Theodosius in Tremont, a neighborhood of Carpatho-Rusyns and Western Ukrainians on Cleveland's West Side, were emigrants from the Habsburg Empire, and they were former Byzantine Rite Catholics. The *Svět* was unaware of all this, and it even misspelled the priest's name as "Lysenchovský." Personal knowledge of the Austrian crownlands and Germany was common at the *Svět* and among its readers, because many Czechs went there as servants, maids and journeyman (and also as soldiers to other Austrian crownlands and Bosnia), but far fewer Czechs had cause to spend part of their lives in Russia, the Balkans or even among the Slovaks in Hungary. Even in wartime Cleveland in 1918, where Czechs materialized as an immigrant ethnic group in a classic instance of Brubaker's "groupness" and Conzen's "festive culture," they and the ethnic entrepreneurs in their newspaper offices and churches could not relocate themselves out the common Central European culture, ties and relationships that they shared with Germans.[23]

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Notes

[1] Rates of bilingualism in schoolchildren in 1900 were 16-17% in Prague, Budějovice and Liberec, and 22% in Most. Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (Spring 2010), 107, citing Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1905), 435. Josef Ehmer, "Quantifying Mobility in Early Modern Europe: The Challenge of Concepts and Data," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011), 331, 336.

[2] Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities," 100, 111-112.

[3] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (2002), 165-166, 168, 180.

[4] Robert Evans, Tara Zahra, Nancy Wingfield and Mark Cornwall, "Forum: Habsburg History," *German History* 31, no. 2 (2013), 227, 237-238.

[5] Mrs. Lois E. Horn to Bishop Whalen [sic], September 11, 1961, and Auxiliary Bishop John F. Whealon to Mrs. Lois E. Horn, September 15, 1961. Hoban folder, Holy Family parish papers, Archives, Catholic Diocese of Cleveland. For context, see Dorothy Ann Blatnica, "'In Those Days': African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922-1961," (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1992).

[6] Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův Amerických* (History of the American Czechs) (St. Louis: Hlas, 1910), 692-693. On "Father Anthony Krasney" at St. Joseph's parish, see Fr. John Doctor, OFM, ed., "125 Years of History," in *St. Joseph Franciscan Parish, 125th Anniversary, 1855-1980* ([Cleveland]: Ray's Printing Service, no. 48 in Allied Printing Trades Council, [1980]), 16-22.

[7] Oldřich Zlámal, *Povídka mého života* (Story of my life) (Chicago, Ill.: Tiskárna Českých benedktínů, 1954). Martin Frank Polluse, "Archbishop Joseph Schrembs and the Twentieth Century Catholic Church in Cleveland, 1921-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1991). Bishop Joseph Schrembs to pastor Oldřich Zlámal, November 7, 1930, and January 2, 1931. Schrembs folder, 1921-1932, Our Lady of Lourdes parish papers, Archives, Catholic Diocese of Cleveland.

[8] Václav Šnajdr, "Ze vzpomínek starého Sokola" (Memoir of an old Sokol), in Bohemian Gymnastic Sokol Association (New York, NY), *Památník vydaný k oslavě padesátiletého trvání tělocvičné jednoty Sokol v New Yorku, 1867-1917* (Souvenir book for celebration of the New York Sokol Gymnastic Society's fifty-year existence) (New York, 1917), 194-199.

[9] Václav Šnajdr, "Ze vzpomínek starého Sokola," 194-199. "Sprecklesovy verfty" (Spreckles's shipyards). Václav Šnajdr, *Výlet do Kalifornie: cestopisná črta* (A journey to California: travel sketches) (Cleveland: Dennice novověku, 1904), 124. "Dopis ze slunné Kalifornie" (A letter from sunny California), *Svět*, January 21, 1922, which is a letter dated January 15, 1922, in Los Angeles, from a couple that evidently resided in Cleveland, about visiting countrymen from Cleveland who were now living in Los Angeles, including the recent widow of Václav Šnajdr. See also František J. Kuták, "Václav Šnajdr," *Orgán ČSPS* 28, no. 9 (September 1920).

[10] Typesetter Heinrich F. Rochotte and lawyers Louis Ritter (1826-1902) and Jacob Mueller (1822-1905) launched the twice-weekly *Wächter am Erie* on August 9, 1852. Jacob Mueller, "A German Perspective on Cleveland in the 1850s," in *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and Private Documents of Northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860*, ed. Robert A. Wheeler (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 287-289. Jacob Mueller, *Memories of a Forty-Eighter: Sketches from the Period of Storm and Stress in the 1850s*, translated by Steven Rowan (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1996). "Julius Kurzer," in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (1897-1898), 144. *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland: Deutsch-Amerikanische Historisch-Biographische Gesellschaft, [1907]) was a no less extravagant follow-up volume one decade later. Julius Kurzer obituary, *Summit County Beacon* (Akron, OH), May 21,

1884, accessed at https://www.newspapers.com/clip/51025447/the-summit-county-beacon on May 5, 2022.

[11] Cleveland City Council, *Cleveland Neighborhoods: A Comprehensive Guide to the City's Thirty-Six Neighborhoods*, a pamphlet issued in 1999 and held by the Cleveland Public Library.

[12] Fr. Sakryd, "Kronika Čechů na západní straně města" (A chronicle of the Czechs on the city's West Side), *Svět*, February 14 and 21, 1931 (on Zíka). Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998), 120-121, 104-114 (on Medlín). On Huml, including a photographic portrait, see *Památník k jubilejní oslavě 50-ti letého výročí založení Řádu Žižka čís. 9 ČSPS v neděli, 10. ledna 1926 v Cleveland, Ohio* (Cleveland: Svět, [1926]), [pages 21-22], an unpaginated and uncataloged booklet in the "Bohemians in Cleveland" collection at the Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS) in Cleveland, issued to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Jan Žižka lodge, local no. 9 of the ČSPS, the largest "Czecho-Slavonic" fraternal benefit society in America. Huml was a founding member of the lodge. Václav and Edward Huml, spelled variously, in the Ancestry databases and the Cleveland Necrology File. Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland*, 140-141 (on Forest City Brewing Company).

[13] Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland*, 124, 161, 184, 187-188. "Vincenz Spitschka," in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* ([1907]), 297-300. Frank Knopp in New York State Census (1915), World War I Draft Registration Cards, and United States Census (1920, 1930, 1940), accessed in the Ancestry databases.

[14] "Clevelands Brau-Industrie" (Cleveland's brewing industry), part 3, chap. 6, in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland and its Germans) ([1907]), 134-153, including 149-150 on the Pilsener Brewing Company.

[15] "Mitermiler, Andrew Robert," in *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, https://case.edu/ech/, accessed on July 25, 2022. "Andrew Mitermiler," in *Cleveland Architects Database*, compiled by Robert D. Keiser (Cleveland: Cleveland Landmarks Commission, June 2011), 141-143, including a chronological table of Mitermiler's buildings, https://planning.clevelandohio.gov/landmark/arch/pdf/CLC_architects.pdf, accessed on July 25, 2022. Karel Charvát, letter from Twinsburg, Ohio, *Hospodář*, January 20, 1929, volume 38 (1928), 727. Later, Prohibition drove Charvát from his trade, and after working at a steel mill, he became a farmer in Twinsburg, southeast of Cleveland. The Czech-German rift in the Habsburg Empire's Social Democratic labor organization before World War I continues to attract the attention of historians: see Jakub S. Beneš, *Workers and Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890-1918* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2017); Jiří Kořalka, "The Czech Workers' Movement in the Habsburg Empire," translated by Karl F. Bahm, in *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, edited by Marcel Van Der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 321-346; Raimund Löw, *Der Zerfall der "Kleinen Internationale": Nationalitätenkonflikte in der Arbeiterbewegung des alten Österreich, 1889-1914* (Breakdown of the "Small International": nationality conflicts in the workers' movement of the old Austria, 1889-1914) (Vienna: Europa-Verlag, 1984); and Josef Kolejka, "Rozkol sociální demokracie na autonomisty a centralisty v roce 1910 a činnost centralistické sociální demokracie v letech 1911-1919" (The rift in Social Democracy between autonomists and centralists in 1910 and the activity of the centralist Social Democracy in the years 1911-1919), *Slezský sborník* 54 (1956), 1-28.

[16] František Vlček, *Povídka mého života: historie amerického Čecha* (Story of my life: history of an American Czech) (Cleveland: Vlchek Tool Co., 1928). "Doma" (At home), the first of three titled parts in this didactic autobiography, covers the events up to his 1889 emigration to America at age eighteen. It is 95 pages and so amounts to 27% of the book. According to Ham Hook, "Boy Horseshoer Now Industrial Leader" (Growing with Cleveland series), *Cleveland Press*, December 3, 1928, Vlček went to "learn the machinist's trade in a factory in the Stirian [sic] district" at age fifteen, and there, as a "good pupil," he soon made "fine surgical

instruments."

[17] "Za mořem" (Across the sea), part two of František Vlček, *Povídka mého života*, 136 pages (39% of the book), is about the two Czech neighborhoods where Vlček lived and about his progress there to business success. It ends with a 1909 fire that destroyed what he built. So, "U cíle" (Reaching the goal), the third and last part, 121 pages (34% of the book), is about his resurrection from sole proprietor to corporate executive, because he needed capital and Anglo partners to start over. For articles from the years 1928 to 1947 in Cleveland newspapers about Vlček and his company, see the Biographical Clipping File, Center for Local and Global History, Cleveland Public Library, microfiche number 562 of 603, including Ham Hook, "Boy Horseshoer Now Industrial Leader" (Growing with Cleveland series), *Cleveland Press*, December 3, 1928 (480 employees in 1919); "Vlchek Pours Out Tools for Peace," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 8, 1945 (peaked at 750 employees); and John Mihal, "Vatican Medal Is Bestowed on F.J. Vlchek by Bishop," *Cleveland News*, July 15, 1938.

[18] Edward Charles Koster in Ancestry databases accessed on April 14, 2022, including the 1910 United States census, World War I Draft Registration Cards, Cuyahoga County Marriage Records, and United States School Yearbooks, where his entry in the 1915 yearbook for the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland included his photograph and claimed that "Ed became famous as the mainstay of the Mechanical football team" and that he "seldom talks much, but his ready smile and constant good humor have made him thoroughly liked by everyone." "Koster" in Edwin Großgoerge's Deutsche Nachnamen website, https://www.deutsche-nachnamen.de/index.php/herkunft-a-z, and in the Karte zum Namen website, https://www.kartezumnamen.eu/index.php?sur=koster&s=Suchen, accessed on April 14, 2022. "F.J. Vlchek, Tool Firm Head, Dies," *Cleveland Press*, June 10, 1947 (Koster general manager).

[19] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, edited by Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 44-76 (quotation from page 55). "Die deutschen Kirchengemeinde und Vereine" (The German religious communities and other associations), part 2, chap. 4 in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* ([1907]), 97-98.

[20] K. Bernreiter, "Pořad slavn. průvodu na počest prof. Masaryka" (The order of the festival parade in honor of Prof. Masaryk), *Svět*, June 12, 1918. "Hold Čechoslováků Masarykovi: největší všeslovanská manifestace v dějinách našeho města" (Homage of the Czechoslovaks to Masaryk: the largest Panslavic demonstration in the history of our city), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 1, 6.

[21] "Čeští policisté do průvodu: 90 městských strážníků-krajanů žádá ředitele Sprostýho o zařazení do pol. kolony za nedělní manifestace" (Czech policemen for the parade: 90 city policemen and countrymen ask director Sprosty to include them in the police escort for Sunday's festival), *Svět*, June 14, 1918. "Kohler, Frederick" and "Public Safety," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, https://case.edu/ech/articles/k/kohler-frederick and https://case.edu/ech/articles/p/public-safety, accessed on March 24, 2022.

[22] "Památná schůze v Grays Armory" (Memorable meeting at Grays Armory), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 8. Josef Mašek, *Památník Českého národního sdružení v Clevelandu, O., 1915-1920: dle protokolních záznamů, časopiseckých zpráv, osobních sdělení předních nár. pracovníků, jakož i dle paměti a poznání vlastního, napsal Josef Mašek, bývalý tajemník clevelandské odvodní kanceláře* (An account of the Czech National Association in Cleveland, O., 1915-1920: written by Josef Mašek, former secretary of the Cleveland recruiting office [for the Czechoslovak Legion in France] from minute books, press reports, personal communications from our leading national workers, and his own recollections and experience) (Cleveland: České národního sdružení, 1921), 85-86 (on Bernreiter).

[23] "Památná schůze v Grays Armory" (Memorable meeting at Grays Armory), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 8. The entry for "V. Lysenkovsky" in *The Living Church Annual and Whittaker's Churchman's Almanac* (1912), 464, is in the section titled "Clergy of the Catholic Commu-

nions" and lists Lysenkovsky at "64 Starkweather Ave." in Cleveland, Ohio, the address of St. Theodosius Russian Orthodox Cathedral in the Tremont neighborhood. Sources from the Russian Orthodox Church in America list him as the priest there in the years 1910-1921. "Kovalevskie, Khersonskaia guberniia," https://forum.vgd.ru/1228/106540/, accessed on July 31, 2022, is a post on a genealogical forum in Russia from a descendant in San Francisco on the Kovalevskii family in the Kherson guberniia of the Russian Empire, now in southern Ukraine. It claims that Vasilii Samuilovich Lysenkovskii completed the seminary in Odessa in 1905 and emigrated to the United States with his wife and children on May 5, 1909, but it cites no sources.