

Czech digitized registers or Kramerius systems at the National Library of the Czech Republic).

As part of his research trips around Europe, the author visited several museums that focus on emigration issues. These included the Maritime Museum²⁷ in Liverpool, England, the Red Star Line Museum²⁸ in Antwerp, Belgium, and the Emigration Museum²⁹ in Hamburg, Germany. These research visits contributed to a greater understanding of emigration issues and also to a broader awareness of the literature, particularly of a secondary nature.

2. Czech Emigration to the USA

People have been migrating since the beginning of their existence. Moving in search of better living conditions has always been part of human nature. Probably the largest movement of migrants is associated with the long 19th century, between 1836 and 1914, when some 30 million European immigrants left for the United States.³⁰ Nearly 5.5 million people emigrated from German-speaking countries alone during this period.³¹ This mass migration across the Atlantic Ocean included a significant proportion of the population of the Czech lands.

Although we can find Czech traces in North America before the revolutionary year of 1848, there were only tens, or at most hundreds, of Czechs there then.³² Augustine Herrman³³ (1621/1623-1686), who

27 <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime-museum>.

28 <https://www.redstarline.be>.

29 <https://www.ballinstadt.de/en/>.

30 Cohen, *Migrace*, p. 70.

31 *Vzkazy domů*, p. 7.

32 For more about the pioneers of the pre-May period, see Rechcigl, *Tam za tím mořem*, in particular, pp. 9-23; Vlha, *Mezi starou vlastí*, pp. 34-60; Rechcigl, *Počátky české*; Rechcigl, "První čeští přistěhovalci"; Rechcigl, "První židovští přistěhovalci"; Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, pp. 14-24.

33 In literature, the Czech version "Heřman" is present, for instance, in Nekola, *České Chicago*, p. 6; see also Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, pp. 17-18; the form "Herman," with a single "r," is also present; see Rechcigl, "První čeští přistěhovalci"; Vlha, *Mezi starou vlastí*, p. 35.

settled in New Amsterdam (the early name of New York City) just before the middle of the 17th century, is still seen as the first immigrant from Bohemia. He became a successful merchant and cartographer and acquired extensive land in Maryland, which he named Bohemia Manor.³⁴ Mass emigration from the Czech lands did not occur until after 1848; however, we can only speak of a significant increase in emigrants from the 1850s onwards.³⁵

This period is referred to in Czech historiography as the “long” 19th century, which begins with the outbreak of the French Revolution and ends with the end of the First World War and saw the disintegration of four monarchies.³⁶ This period was marked by the development of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, the emancipation of many nations, the demographic revolution, increased access to education and, in many respects, the development of cultural life. However, the phenomenon of emigration is one of the very important processes that took place in the 19th century. This natural social phenomenon is part of almost every age; however, the causes of migration vary according to specific religious, economic, social or political conditions. The classic example of European emigration, or emigration from the Czech lands, is the settlement of the United States of America during the 19th and 20th centuries. At that time, the USA represented a new territory where emigrants could acquire their own land cheaply, or find well-paid jobs in big cities and generally improve their social status (to experience the so-called American dream).

The phenomenon of Emigration

In the second half of the 19th century, the reasons for emigration from the Czech lands were no longer religious, as had been the case earlier (especially in the 17th and 18th centuries), but primarily so-

34 For more about Herrman, see Zelený, *Augustine Herrman Bohemian*.

35 Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví*, p. 8; see also Doubek, *Česká politika*, p. 15. For more about migration periods, see Šatava, *Migrační procesy*.

36 Hlavačka et al., *České země v 19. století I*, p. 25.

cial and economic.³⁷ Mass migration from Czech territory was caused mainly by the lack of employment opportunities, which began to appear in some regions in connection with relative overpopulation, but also by the agricultural crisis; these aspects led to food shortages.³⁸ Therefore, young people of productive age were the most frequent to go overseas.³⁹ In general, the migrants heading across the ocean were not the poorest and most impoverished people, but those who had lost their prospects for economic and social employment at home, but were still able to secure sufficient financial resources (usually having sold all their possessions or borrowed money from relatives before leaving) and, above all, the physical and mental strength to start a new life in a completely unfamiliar environment.⁴⁰ They traveled with the barest of possessions, which consisted of blankets, utensils, farm implements and prayer books.⁴¹ The discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s was also a powerful impetus for leaving for the United States,⁴² although these causes tended to make them more adventurous.⁴³

During the 19th century, the inhabitants of the Czech lands most often moved within the Austrian Empire itself, and from 1867 within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, if they moved abroad, they most often chose the United States.⁴⁴ According to official statistics, over 1.2 million people emigrated from the Czech lands between 1848 and 1918, and over 350,000 of them went to the USA.⁴⁵ There were plenty of job opportunities in American cities, and they could buy land for farming cheaply in the countryside. Emigration from the Czech lands was partly similar in form to German or Scandinavian emigration, since most Czechs and Moravians moved out permanently,

37 Brouček, *Etapy českého vystěhovalectví*.

38 Hladký, "Sociálně-ekonomické migrace," p. 337.

39 Vaculík, *České menšiny v Evropě*, p. 15.

40 Kořalka and Kořalková, *Základní tendence českého*, p. 34.

41 Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, p. 34.

42 Vaculík, *České menšiny v Evropě*, p. 269.

43 Historian František Kutnar compares the discovery of gold in California to a new Eldorado. See Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví*, p. 9.

44 Brouček, "České zahraniční komunity," p. 144.

45 Šatava, "Vystěhovalectví do USA," p. 158.

with their entire families.⁴⁶ These were middle, wealthier classes of peasants. For the poorer classes, it was mainly the father or elder son who left, and when they saved money in America, they paid for their family's transportation across the ocean.⁴⁷ The increase in steamships also contributed to the spread of emigration across the Atlantic Ocean, as did the decline in shipping costs.⁴⁸

Emigration could have taken place legally or illegally. Legally, emigration from the Czech lands was governed by Emperor Francis I's patent no. 2557, issued on March 24, 1832, which amended the first emigration patent no. 466 from 1784. According to it, a serf who left for a foreign territory and confirmed in writing that he waived the right to protection from his home municipality was considered an emigrant.⁴⁹ A change occurred after the revolutionary year 1848, and thanks to the abolition of serfdom and the obligation to work, the possibilities to leave the empire became easier: the issuance of passports was removed from the administration of the superior and this agenda fell to the subprovincial regional offices; the governorates granted permission to emigrate. Administrative work was considerably speeded up compared to the previous period. Further liberalization was brought about by the imperial decree of February 9, 1857. A special document was no longer required to move around the Habsburg Empire. Two years later, Austria acceded to the Dresden Convention on the free movement of citizens between the German states. This meant that a passport with identity verification was sufficient to travel to Germany instead of a traditional passport. Many emigrants to America took advantage of this fact, as the place of departure across the Atlantic Ocean was usually north German ports.⁵⁰ In the 1850s, an Austrian citizen needed a passport (usually valid for three years) or an emigration passport to emigrate. It was also possible to travel with a legitimation card (i.e.,

46 Hájková, "Naše česká věc," p. 8.

47 Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, p. 26.

48 Brouček, *Etapy českého vystěhovalectví*.

49 Kysilka, *Vystěhovalectví*, p. 24.

50 Vlha, *Mezi starou vlastí*, pp. 78-79. For more about the passport policy of the Austrian state, see Rychlík, *Cestování do ciziny*.

a passport), which allowed the passenger to go directly to the port.⁵¹ Because obtaining these documents was sometimes lengthy, illegal migration was not infrequent. František Pospíšil's memoirs indicate how common it was:

So I went to Bremen and hired places on a sailing ship, because the journey on steamers was very expensive. It was in 1852. I paid \$73 per person, half for the children, for a cabin. We sailed on April 20. My brother-in-law also gave me his son to take with me, and I paid half extra for him, and then took care of him. I was also accompanied by Mr. Václav Kohout, who paid his own way and was a very kind companion, and I also took Mr. Jan Paula with me at his earnest entreaties for my expenses. All three went without official permission, and so everyone can understand how careful I had to be and that I was concerned that none of those entrusted to me should get into trouble, especially as Mr. Kohout was still in military service.⁵²

From the late 1860s emigration became easier because the newly introduced constitution of December 21, 1867, contained a passage on the right of an individual to emigrate freely to a foreign country, which was limited only by conscription.⁵³

Advertising poster for shipping from Hamburg to ports in the United States and to other locations around the world.

Source: *Archive of Ivan Dubovický*



51 Jaklová, *Češkoamerická periodika*, p. 39.

52 Recollections of František Pospíšil for the Czech-American *Amerikán národní kalendář* (American national almanac) from 1885, quoted in Kašpar, *Tam za mořem je Amerika*, p. 62.

53 Hájková, "Naše česká věc," p. 8.

To sail overseas, the Czechs most often used the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, from where regular steamship lines operated. Travel to these German ports was greatly facilitated by the development of rail transport.⁵⁴ Other important ports were Antwerp and Liverpool, but they did not become as important to the Czech lands as the coastal German cities.⁵⁵ Within the Habsburg monarchy, the ports of Trieste and Rijeka were relatively important,⁵⁶ but the population of the Czech lands did not use this southern route as much. Bremen and Hamburg lived off European emigration and the travel fever that had been running high since the 1880s. There were several maritime companies that specialized in immigrants. The largest of these were the Lloyd's in Bremen and the Hamburg-American Line (Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft, HAPAG).⁵⁷ Each had emigration agents (even from Bohemia) who lured migrants from Central Europe to travel to the “dream” America. They were paid a commission (one free ticket or a few gold pieces) for the sale of the tickets.⁵⁸ From Germany, they would then sail, stopping in the British Isles or directly to the United States.⁵⁹

A significant role in the migration process was played by the promotional campaign of German transport companies in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Travel agents activated the interest of the general public. One of the successful Czech agents was Ferdinand Missler, who represented the Bremen branch of the North German Lloyd steamship company (Norddeutscher Lloyd) and later even opened his own travel agency.⁶⁰ Another agent working for Lloyd was Alois Kareš (1822-1885), originally a merchant from Vamberk. In a

54 Further to traveling: Hlavačka, “Ta pravá mobilita”; Hlavačka, *Cestování v éře dostavníku*; Hlavačka, *Dějiny dopravy*; Hlavačka, “Mobilita”; Ulmanová, *Cestování*.

55 Opatrný, “Za moře s námi,” p. 31.

56 More in Boček, *S nadějí za oceán*, pp. 103-112.

57 Hakenová, *Kulturní identity*, p. 27.

58 Polišínský, *Úvod do studia dějin vystěhovalectví do Ameriky II*, p. 27.

59 For more details about the possibilities of ship travel from the Habsburg monarchy, see Boček, *S nadějí za oceán*.

60 Křížová, *Za velkou louží*, p. 14.

short time he built up a network of associates throughout eastern and later southern Bohemia. Eventually he had representatives in Prague, Podmokly and Leipzig, important places where trains carrying emigrants to German ports passed through. He supplied his contacts with leaflets, brochures and various posters offering his services and warning about scammers misleading the public with false promises of Atlantic crossings. Kareš also stayed in contact with already settled Czechs (e.g., he sent Czech books to Czech associations in Chicago), probably for the sake of creating Czech communities and possible re-emigration.⁶¹

An advertisement offering the services of Josef Pastor, an emigration agent based in Hamburg, Germany.

Source: *Archive of Jaroslav Kříž.*

Josef Pastor (1841-1899), who settled in Hamburg after several years in America (he had worked as an editor in Chicago), worked for HAPAG. He was mainly engaged in a competitive struggle with the Bremen agents for the favor of the emigrants.⁶² Josef Pastor also tried to get Czechs to settle close to each other on the American continent. In addition to this, from 1884 to 1889 he published *České osady v Americe: měsíčník pro české vystěhovalce a naše zaoceanské krajany* (Czech settlements in America: A monthly magazine for Czech emigrants and our overseas compatriots).⁶³ Another travel agent was Bohdan Reiner from Strakonice, who worked for various steamship companies and was especially famous for arranging passage to the USA for those who were not allowed to emigrate by the authorities (e.g., Czech socialists, conscripts fleeing military service).⁶⁴

61 Kříž, "Česká Amerika," p. 40.

62 Opatrný, *Amerika prezidenta Granta*, p. 18.

63 Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, p. 30.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 34.



The most important European and American ports for Central-European emigration in the second half of the 19th century.

From the Czech lands, not only individuals but also entire families moved across the sea to America, especially before the First World War, as we have already mentioned above. Several families even traveled at the same time, as the memories of Josef Raisler, who settled in Chicago with his family, attest:

On July 25, 1857, we all set out together from our home [Hřešihlavy, Rokycany district], namely, the families of Fold, Piš, Rokeš, Konopásek and ours. What was in each family of children, I no longer remember. We had a daughter, Anna, who was born in March of the same year in which we left our beloved fatherland and our dear homeland.⁶⁵

The memoir of Josefína Hýnová (born 1858 in Pacov near Tábor)⁶⁶ proves that many families left for America in parts. Mostly male members left, first finding work and then sending their family money and even a boat ticket. In this case, however, it was slightly different:

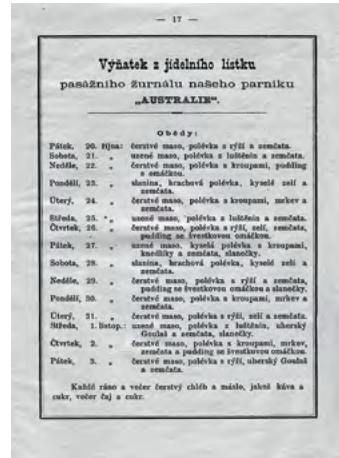
Ten children were born to our marriage, five of whom died in infancy. In 1904, two of our children, daughter Libuše and son Otto, left for America after agreeing that the rest of us would come to them later. This also happened, and in 1909 I came to America with my husband and the other three children. We settled in Racine, Wisconsin, where my daughter Libuše was mar-

⁶⁵ *Amerikán národní kalendář 1892*, p. 191.

⁶⁶ *Amerikán národní kalendář 1943*, p. 74.

ried. My son Otto was at that time in the military band at Fort Crook, Nebraska. My husband died March 4, 1916, in Racine, where he is buried. Two years later we sold our property in Racine and moved to Chicago.⁶⁷

A sample of a menu of the HAPAG shipping company from 1889.
Source: Archive of Ivan Dubovický.



It was rather the poorer classes who went across the ocean, but not the poorest ones, for it was necessary to have relatively sufficient finances to cover the cost of transportation and the first months of a new life abroad.⁶⁸ From 1854 the Austrian authorities introduced the condition that applicants for emigration had to prove that they had sufficient finances.⁶⁹ To give an idea, let us consider the prices of boarding passes. In 1852, a ticket from German territory to the United States cost 210 guilders in first class, 90 guilders in second class, and only 54 guilders in steerage. Children under 12 had lower rates. In 1913, a ticket in steerage was around 100 to 140 Austrian crowns. The price for second class was between 200 and 450 Austrian crowns. The highest level of comfort cost well over 1,000 Austrian crowns.⁷⁰ The prices of ship tickets clearly indicate the difference in the services offered to passengers and the associated comfort offered to them when traveling across the Atlantic Ocean.

In the mid-19th century, an ocean voyage was not in the category of comfortable travel. Emigrants complained in letters sent back home about the problems of seasickness, lack of food, crowded holds, dangerous experiences in sea storms and poor medical care, because when an

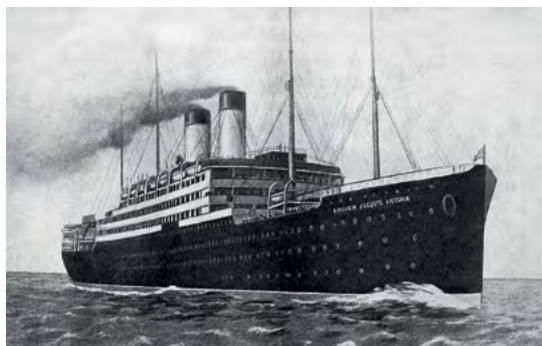
67 Ibid., p. 81.

68 Křížová, *Za velkou louží*, p. 14.

69 Vaculík, *Češi v cizině*, p. 19.

70 Boček, *S nadějí za oceán*, pp. 145-146.

epidemic broke out on a ship (e.g., cholera), many children, the elderly and the sick died during the voyage across the Atlantic.⁷¹



The steamship *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, which plied the Atlantic Ocean in the early 20th century. Source: Archive of Jaroslav Kríž.

Jan Promberger stated in his memoirs what kind of food was available to the passengers on the sailing ship:

In the morning he was given bitter black coffee to drink, at noon a piece of salt pork or beef and half rotten meat and some peas or beans, in the evening some bitter tea. To this he had a ration for eight days of 2 and 1/2 pounds of dry, gritty, rough black bread and 2 pounds of white meat, half of which was moldy.⁷²

Johanna Rösler of Polna briefly remarked of the food on the sailing ship that it was “unter Hund und Schweine [good for dogs and pigs].”⁷³ It also happened that the captain of the ship and his sailors were not very friendly to the passengers.⁷⁴ The voyage was a bad experience for an unnamed Czech family who emigrated to America in the autumn of 1854: “The voyage was exceedingly stormy. Over 60 days they were exposed to the elements of the sea.”⁷⁵ Adolph Joachim Sabath (1866–1952), in his memoirs, described in detail the “comfort” of the ship he sailed on in 1881 from Bremen to Baltimore:

The streams of emigrants slowly disappeared into the spaces of the maritime colossus, from the bowels of which a foul smell perme-

71 Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví*, p. 42.

72 Cited in Hoffmannová, *Vystěhovalectví*, p. 27.

73 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 27.

74 Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví*, pp. 42-43.

75 Habenicht and Pregler, *Památník*, pp. 18-19.

ated the deck. The air below in steerage was filled with steam and dampness, and only small electric bulbs placed at various points in the corridors gave the passengers an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the interior of the ship which was to be their home for the 18-day voyage across the Atlantic. The ship's middle deck was divided, certain spaces of varying dimensions, with space reserved in each section to accommodate about five dozen passengers. In some places large families, men, women and small children could be seen together. Straw mats, a knitted sheet, one pillow, and a gray blanket served as beds for the passengers. [...] Apart from the foul smell that emanated from the sweaty and dirty human bodies, there was the aroma of garlic, onions and liquor, all of which helped to create the disgusting atmosphere that only such a convoy of European emigrants traveling in the hold provides for passengers. The luggage consisted mostly of large knapsacks, trunks and sacks, which contained blankets clothes, and assorted household goods that the emigrant families would take with them to their new homes in America.⁷⁶

All of these aspects made the emigrants' mental state of mind difficult.

The journey across the ocean took no more than 14 days by steamer, the sailing ships were dependent on windy conditions, and therefore they sailed for 8 to 12 weeks.⁷⁷ Deck tickets for sailing ships were considerably cheaper, but the travel was paid for by the lesser comfort of the passengers.⁷⁸ A certain exception is seen in the memoirs of Antonín Pacl, who was quite satisfied with his journey on a sailing ship:

The journey across the sea, although on a sailing ship, because steam ships were few and very expensive and much more dangerous, as I was told, was quite pleasant and quite comfortable. In

76 Memoirs of Adolph Joachim Sabath, quoted from Nekola, *Čech v americkém Kongresu*, pp. 24-25.

77 Kříž, "Česká emigrace do USA," p. 8.

78 Kašpar, *Tam za mořem je Amerika*, pp. 25-26.

four weeks we landed at New York, whereas otherwise a sailing vessel required three months for the voyage.⁷⁹

During the 1860s, steamships slowly began to displace sailing ships as more tonnage was built, increasing from 5,000 to 10,000 tons. As a result, this meant that steamers could hold up to 300 passengers in the cabins and 1,500 people below deck. Further price reductions were due to competition between shipping companies and the speeding up of the Atlantic crossing.⁸⁰



The Castle Garden immigration station in New York City.

Source: Archive of Ivan Dubovický.

New York City was the main gateway for immigrants; those heading south, however, usually landed in New Orleans or Galveston, Texas.⁸¹ Other American ports were Baltimore, Boston, Charleston and Québec City, Canada.⁸² New York City was home to the Castle Garden immigrant processing depot,⁸³ which had been in operation since 1855. In 1892 a new immigration station was established at Ellis Island, located on the dockside area, which operated until 1954. Here, over 17 million people touched American soil: every day, immigration officials

79 Pregler, “Ze zkušenosti.”

80 Polišíenský, *Úvod do studia dějin vystěhovalectví do Ameriky II*, pp. 26-27.

81 Vlha, *Mezi starou vlastí*, p. 84.

82 For more about shipping across the Atlantic, see Opatrný, “Za moře s námi,” pp. 30-33; Boček, *S nadějí za oceán*, in particular, pp. 57-69.

83 For more detailed information about Castle Garden, see an undated letter by the traveler Čeněk Paclta, the Museum of the Bohemian Paradise, heritage of Čeněk Paclt, letter to Czech brethren, undated, pp. 7-8; Kříž, *První Čech*, pp. 42-43.

processed several hundred individuals, and in the busiest years, several thousand.⁸⁴ Immigrants who made it to these points stayed in the hold area for the duration of the voyage. Those who could afford a first- or second-class stateroom could pass through inspection aboard the ship and ascend the gangplank to lower Manhattan.⁸⁵ The station was losing importance in the 1950s as shipping was displaced by air travel. Today, it is home to the Ellis Island National Museum of Immigration.



The immigration station on Ellis Island in New York Harbor.

Source: Wikimedia Commons (public domain).

In the case of the first stage of mass emigration of Czechs to the USA, which covers the period from 1848 to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918,⁸⁶ farmers initially predominated, heading for the Midwest and Texas. Up to 80% of the agricultural population of the first immigrant generation⁸⁷ worked on their own farms. The first center of Czech settlement in the early 1850s was the city of St. Louis, Missouri, and from there Czechs headed to agricultural

84 Dubovický, *Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy*, p. 36.

85 Tindall and Shi, *USA*, pp. 413-414.

86 Kašpar, *Tam za mořem je Amerika*, p. 14.

87 The first generation of immigrants refers to those who came to the USA from Europe, the second generation was born in the USA and the following generations are descendants of the second generation of Czech-Americans. See Kučera, *Český jazyk v USA*, pp. 46-56.

areas – Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas and Texas.⁸⁸ In the 1870s, they were still settling in Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota.⁸⁹

Decades later, urban settlement began to dominate among Czechs. This was concentrated in large industrial centers such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Omaha and Baltimore.⁹⁰ In some states, Czechs were even pioneers, and their arrival is still commemorated by the names of settlements of Czech origin.⁹¹ There were also efforts to create a tight-knit Czech settlement on American soil, but these projects were ultimately unsuccessful.⁹²

After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, tens of thousands of Czechs from the United States were expected to return to their homeland. However, mass re-emigration did not take place.⁹³ After the First World War, interest in emigrating to the USA did not diminish, although it was drastically restricted by American legislation from 1921 onwards. Immigrant quotas were introduced. The influx of Czechoslovaks thus declined, which affected the development of Czech communities across America. The consequence was the “accelerated” assimilation of Czechs and Slovaks in the US.⁹⁴ The interest of Europeans in emigrating to the USA did not diminish, so in 1924 further changes were made to US legislation and the quota system. According to the Immigration Act of 1924, the annual quota was set at 2% of the number of people who were living in the United States in 1890. The quota for Czechoslovakia was thus only 3,073 persons per year. Two special

88 On Czechs in the Midwest, see, for example, Korytova-Magstadt, *To Reap a Bountiful Harvest*. On Czechs in Texas, see Eckertová, *Kameny na préríi*.

89 For a more detailed account of the Czechs in these localities, see, for example, Rosická, *Dějiny Čechů v Nebrasce*; Dvořák, *Dějiny Čechův*.

90 Vaculík, *České menšiny v Evropě*, pp. 271-272.

91 Mucha, “Česká místní jména v USA.”

92 For more details, see Kutnar, *Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví*, pp. 47-54; Národní muzeum – Náprstkovo muzeum asijských, afrických a amerických kultur, fond Krajané 2, Paměti Jana Boreckého, pp. 62-63; see also Kříž, “Česká Amerika,” pp. 39-41.

93 Vaculík, *České menšiny v Evropě*, p. 280.

94 Polách, *Krajané v USA*, p. 28. For more details about assimilation of Czechs in Chicago, in particular before 1918, see Horak, *Assimilation of Czechs*.

offices for emigrants were established in Czechoslovakia, called state health inspection emigration stations. The Prague-Libeň station covered the Czech region, and for emigrants from Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus the station was in Svatobořice near Kyjov. To be admitted to the USA, emigrants needed a visa, which they applied for in advance at the American consul's office. The application was accompanied by several documents: a certificate of survival, a medical certificate, two photographs and, if necessary, a military certificate and a marriage certificate.⁹⁵ Due to the introduction of the so-called quota laws in the USA, many European emigrants left to try their luck in Latin America.⁹⁶ The quota system was modified in 1927-1929 (the National Origins Act), which meant that total European immigration was limited to 150,000 people per year.⁹⁷

In the second half of the so-called long 19th century, i.e., in the years from 1848 to 1918, over 350,000 people left the Czech lands for the USA, as we have already mentioned.⁹⁸ In the following period, which ended with the outbreak of the Second World War, emigration from Czechoslovakia did not stop, although it was drastically limited by the quota system in the USA. Despite these restrictions, according to Vladimír P. Polách, 90,000 people left Czechoslovakia between 1918 and 1938.⁹⁹ Although there are several statistical estimates,¹⁰⁰ the above statistics are plausible in the context of migration development. What is certain is that over a period of a hundred years, almost 500,000 people left the Czech lands for the United States of America in search of a better life. However, we are talking only about incoming Czech immigrants; we should not forget about the second and possibly third

95 Vaculík, *České menšiny v Evropě*, pp. 281-282.

96 Kašpar, *Tam za mořem je Amerika*, p. 18.

97 Polách, *Krajané v USA*, p. 54.

98 Šatava, "Vystěhovalectví do USA," p. 158.

99 Polách, *Krajané v USA*, p. 28.

100 Ethnologist Leoš Šatava states for this period only 35,000 persons; see Šatava, "Vystěhovalectví do USA," p. 158. By contrast, Vera Laska's estimate, based on statistics, is 88,600 immigrants (Laska, *The Czechs in America*, p. 133). Considering the evolution of migration, I would lean towards the data of Laska and Polách.